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**Entangled Roots: Race, Historical Literature, and Citizenship in the Nineteenth-
Century Americas**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

LITERATURE

by

Thomas Genova

June 2012

The Dissertation of Thomas Genova
is approved:

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Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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2012

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Abstract

Thomas Genova

Entangled Roots: Race, Historical Literature, and Citizenship in the Nineteenth-Century Americas

This dissertation examines in the transnational conversation on the place of Afro-descendants in the republican nation-state that occurred in New-World historical literature during the nineteenth century. Tracing the evolution of republican thought in the Americas from the classical liberalism of the independence period to the more democratic forms of government that took hold in the late 1800s, the pages that follow will chart the circulation of ideas regarding race and republican citizenship in the Atlantic World during the long nineteenth century, the changes that those ideas undergo as they circulate, and the racialized tensions that surface as they move between and among Europe and various locations throughout the Americas.

Focusing on a diverse group of writers --including the anonymous Cuban author of *Jicoténcal*; the North Americans Thomas Jefferson, James Fenimore Cooper, and Mary Mann; the Argentines Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Eduarda Mansilla de García; the Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván; the Haitian Émile Nau; and the Brazilian Euclides da Cunha--, I argue that --in the extended Caribbean, the Southern Cone, and the North American empire--, *letrado* members of the lettered elite were entangled in a hemispheric dialogue on the place of Afro-descendants in the body politic as they looked abroad to countries in similar post-independence

situations for models of how to adopt republican forms to racialized New-World society. In dialogue with one another, letrados from across the Hemisphere turn towards the region's shared history of conquest, colonization and inter-ethnic conflict in order to elaborate a political philosophy to meet the particular structural needs of the Americas. Looking into the past from the vantage of the present, nineteenth-century letrados collectively attempted to imagine a future community in which creole hegemony would be preserved.

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Introduction

This dissertation examines the deployment of historical discourse in the transnational conversation on Afro-New World citizenship that took place in the historical writing of the Americas between independence in the 1810s and 20s and modernization at the end of the nineteenth century. In an effort to document this hemispheric dialogue on the place of Afro-descendants¹ in the New-World republic, the study explores the circulation of political ideas in the Atlantic World during the long nineteenth century, the changes that those ideas undergo as they circulate, and the racialized tensions that surface as they move between and among Europe and various locations throughout the Americas. Ultimately, I look at how the republican model evolves in racialized terms from the classical liberalism of the independence period to more democratic forms of government at the century's end.

Previously, most studies of race in the nineteenth-century New-World historical novel –such as those Concha Meléndez, Aida Cometta Mazoni, Cynthia Steele, and Fernando Operé, among others—have focused on indigeneity in works as diverse as the anonymous *Jicoténcal* (1826), James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* (1826-1841), Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Guatizmozín*:

¹ Translating the Spanish words *afrodescendiente* and *afroamericano*, I use the terms “Afro-descendant/descendent” and “Afro-New World” in English to refer to people of African descent living in the Western Hemisphere. I offer this choice of terms as a solution to the nonequivalence of the English “black” (which belongs to a binary system of racial ascription) and the Spanish “negro” (which represents one point among many on a broad spectrum of possible racial identities). This question of how to deal with the nonequivalence of culturally specific categories is at the heart of my project.

Último emperador de Méjico (1846), Émile Nau's *Histoire des caciques d'Haiti* (1854), José de Alencar's *Guarani* (1857), and *Iracema* (1865), Eligio Anacona's *Mártires de Anáhuac* (1870), Juan León Mera's *Cumandá* (1877), and Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo* (1882). Lyric works by José María Heredia, Esteban Echeverría, Coriolan Ardouin, Juan Zorilla de San Martín, José Joaquín Pérez, and Salomé Ureña de Henríquez and the ways in which early republican poets attempt to forge a future out of their countries' indigenous pasts have also garnered scholarly attention. These texts reflect the tendency of nineteenth-century writers to turn to the foundational moment of the Encounter between European and Amerindian societies as they contemplate the region's present and future.

Yet, despite the historical presence of Afro-descendants throughout the colonial Americas, the place of blackness in the nineteenth-century historical novel has received less attention from scholars.² This is particularly surprising when one considers how fundamental the question of Afro-New World citizenship was to nineteenth-century republican history in the Americas: from the 1791 slave revolution in Haiti to the exclusion of Afro-descendants from Spanish citizenship in the 1812 Constitución de Cádiz to the Rosas dictatorship in Argentina –which was strongly supported by and eventually associated with the country's black population-- through the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction, the racially charged struggle for Cuban independence, and Emancipation and the subsequent proclamation of the Republic in

² A notable exception is Lee Joan Skinner's section on Vicente Riva Palacio's 1868 *Monja y casada. Virgen y mártir* in *History Lessons*.

Brazil. Given this backdrop, it seems inevitable that the nineteenth-century historical novel of the Americas also should explore the place of blackness in the New-World republic.

A focus on the Hemisphere's Afro-descendent population, diasporan in nature, requires a comparative lens. Taking the transnational moment of 1812—in which a group of metropolitan Spaniards and *criollos*,³ responding to the French invasion of Spain and subsequent exile of King Fernando VII, met in the Andalusian city of Cádiz to draft a Spanish Imperial Constitution denying citizenship to Afro-descendants—as a point of departure, one discovers a series of hemisphere-wide conversations on the place of Afro-descendants in the New-World republican nation-state. Examples include the dialogue between the anonymous novel *Jicoténcal* and several political writings on slavery from the Age of Revolution, North American writer James Fenimore Cooper's use of Spanish colonial sources and Eduarda Mansilla de García's subsequent *mesitza* adaptation of his work, Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván's expropriation of Haitian Émile Nau's *Histoire des caciques d'Haiti* at a moment when his country was struggling to define itself ethno-nationally, and the politically invested translations that Argentine writer and statesman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and North American educator and social reformer Mary Mann make of each other's work during Radical Reconstruction.

³ A person reputedly of "pure" European descent born in the Americas. Following current usage, I also will employ the term "creole" in English.

As the title, which refers to the notion of “entangled histories” --that is, an ideological exchange among the various political and linguistic regions of the Hemisphere that undermines the hegemony of the nation-state in the reconstruction of intellectual history--⁴ makes clear, my dissertation works at the crossroads of literature and history in order to analyze the texts that it discusses within a transnational conversation on race and the republican nation-state. Drawing transatlantic, North-South, and South-South comparisons, my project puts disparate local histories into dialogue with one another in an effort to understand the larger intellectual milieu of the nineteenth-century Americas. In this way, I use comparative literature as an entry point into comparative history, examining how historical writing --both nineteenth-century historiographic texts such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento’s *Facundo*, Émile Nau’s *Histoire des caciques d’Haïti* (1854), and Euclides daCunha’s *Sertões* (1902), as well as historical fiction--operates on a hemispheric scale to negotiate the tensions between the enlightened principles of the Age of Revolution and the political-economic exigencies of the various nation-states of the Americas in the decades following independence.

The existence of this inter-American conversation that uses history to discuss the place of Afro-descendants in the New-World nation-state complicates received wisdom about the republican experience in the Americas. While it has become commonplace among scholars --from historians E.J. Hobsbawm and John Chasteen to theorist Walter Mignolo--to view nineteenth-century republicanism in the Americas

⁴ I will return to “entangled histories” below.

as an uncritical importation of European political thought by creole elites disinterested in the region's heterogeneous racial reality --what Brazilian critic Roberto Schwartz might call a "misplaced idea"--, the conversations presented here lend themselves to a more nuanced reading. In this dissertation, I suggest that, rather than ignore the subaltern masses in their Europeanizing zeal, creole elites in various New-World states were in fact engaged in a hemispheric dialogue on how to reconcile the republican model with the racial exigencies of the region's neocolonial political economy. Over and over again, the writers discussed in the following pages ask one another how republican ideals can be made to fit with slavery, racial restrictions on suffrage, shaky myths of ethno-national origins, and heterogeneous bodies politic. Though the responses they provide are oftentimes exclusionary and elitist, the collaborative international effort to develop them points to a genuine attempt on the part of the nineteenth-century creole elites to elaborate a New-World political philosophy based on difference --difference both from the (neo)colonial metropolises and among the members of the respective New-World national bodies.

Not surprisingly, in their attempt to elaborate a distinctly New-World political philosophy, the creole elites look to the Hemisphere's prehistory, to a moment before European cultures had become hegemonic or --true to their spirit of transnational intellectual exchange-- the region had splintered into four score and more nation-states. Seeking to understand the cultural and geopolitical particularity of América,⁵

⁵ Throughout this dissertation, I will use "América" (with an accent on the "e") in the Spanish-language sense of the term to refer to the Western Hemisphere as a whole.

nineteenth-century writers turn to the *crónicas*, or accounts of the conquest and colonization of the New World and the first encounters among the groups that would form the heterogeneous population that posed such problems for the implementation of the republican model in the Hemisphere. I thus take nineteenth-century historical writing as a corpus of discussions on the place of Afro-descendent peoples in the New-World nation states, examining these texts as a means of narrating the national past as a romance in which the nation has already been founded according to the needs of the present.

Comparative Literature and Comparative History

While the transnational approach I have just described may be one of the newer newest things to literary studies, historians have been considering the Americas on a hemispheric scale throughout the twentieth century. Early examples include Herbert Bolton's 1921 *Spanish Borderlands*, Frank Tannenbaum's 1947 *Slave and Citizen*, Antonello Gerbi's 1955 *Dispute of the New World*, and Edumundo O'Gorman's 1958 *Invención de América*. More recently, Anthony Pagden's *Colonial Identity Formation in the Atlantic World*, David J. Weber's *Spanish Frontier in North America*, Frederick Cooper, Rebecca J. Scott, and Thomas C. Holt's *Beyond Slavery*, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's *Puritan Conquistadors*, George Reid Andrew's *Afro-Latin America*, and Mathew Gutterl's *American Mediterranean*, among others, have

overcome the confines of the nation in order to explore the past on a transnational scale. By taking advantage of the circuits that historians have been mapping, literary scholars can fill in the lacunae in national literary histories as they reconstruct transnational genealogies for literary *topoi* and political notions that appeared at different points in the Hemisphere in otherwise inexplicable ways. At the same time, the textual influences uncovered by literary scholarship point to certain networks of intellectual exchange that the historical discipline has yet to explore fully.

Particularly, this dissertation will make use of the notion of “entangled histories,” which Shalini Randeria, an Indian postcolonial social anthropologist based in Switzerland, has popularized in order to describe the impact of British colonial rule on contemporary Indian society. An effort to negotiate the tensions between comparative history and transfer studies (Werner and Zimmerman 32), the entanglement paradigm has emerged in recent years out of the growing interest in “transnational approaches to history”:

According to this view one is much less interested in similarities and differences between, let us say, Europe and the Arab world, but rather in the process of mutual influencing, of reciprocal or asymmetrical perceptions, in entangled processes of constituting one another. In a way, the history of both sides is taken as one instead of being considered as two units for comparison. One speaks of entanglements; is interested in travelling ideas, migrating people, and transnational commerce; mutually holds images of ‘the other;’ and one talks about mental mapping, including aspects of power, subordination, and dominance. Cultural dimensions are usually central to such an approach. Europe and non-European parts of the world, the West and non-Western civilizations are the most preferred topics for such approaches (Kocka 42-43).

Also referred to as *histoire croisée*, in European historiography, this methodology has been applied especially to research on the relations between France and Germany. In the field of New-World history, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has become a proponent of

the approach that would “upset the normative narratives of the core” in its “understanding [of] the histories of Spanish and British America” and their republican descendants “as an entangled whole” and “demonstrate the futility of studying historical phenomena that were transatlantic, hemispheric, and transnational within the limits of national narratives” (“Entangled Histories”). Rather, the aim of entangled histories is to discover the points of dynamic contact between national units that traditionally have been viewed as discrete.

As an inter-American web of texts and contexts, my archive speaks to the geopolitical issues affecting the different paths taken by the racialized discourse of citizenship in the post-independence Americas and shows how the transnational, cross-cultural exchange of ideas between different regions, by the end of the nineteenth century, had helped to give rise to what Anna Brickhouse calls the imperial “Inter-American state system.” In focusing on entangled hemispheric networks of personal contacts and circuits of information, I follow the examples of many inter-Americanists working on various topics in the fields of literature, history, and cultural studies, such as Susan Gillman, Kirsten Silva-Gruesz, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, George Handley, Anna Brickhouse, Iván Jaksic, and Mathew Guterl, among others.

In this way, I take to heart Román de la Campa’s comment in *Latinamericanism* that, given the “extraordinary plurality of nations, traditions, languages, and diasporas,” found in the region and its “century-and-a-half history of neocolonial struggles and modernizing revolutions [...], and its proximity to Western

literary indexing of postmodern textuality,” Latin American studies “is ripe for studies of a broader historical and theoretical range, perhaps even for a disciplinary shift to a Latin American comparativism that will not be bound to a narrow canon of authors and a strict metropolitan definition of literary intertextuality.” While, traditionally, “scholarship focusing on Latin American cultures has tended to reinforce the fixed boundaries demarcating nations” and languages (5) --as the dearth of extensive comparative studies on Spanish America and Brazil or the non-Hispanophone Caribbean evidences--, recent work on comparative indigenities and migrancy, a growing interest in African diasporan studies, and the embracing of U.S. Latino Literature by many departments of Spanish and Portuguese, seems to suggest an increased interest in comparatism in Hispanic and Latin American studies.

Meanwhile, Gustavo Pérez Firmat’s *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?*, Cynthia Steele’s *Narrativa indigenista en los Estados Unidos y México*; Alfred MacAdam’s *Textual Confrontations*; Sybille Fischer’s *Modernity Disavowed*; and Lois Parkinson Zamora’s *Useable Past* and *The Americas, Otherwise*, a special issue of *Comparative Literature* that she guest edited with Silvia Spitta; Lisa Voight’s *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic*; and the work of Robert McKee Irwin are all admirable examples of comparative American literary studies written in the U.S. academy but thought out of Latin America. Abroad, contributions to hemispheric studies have been made in Brazil by the likes of Antonio Cândido,

Roberto Schwartz, Stelamaris Coser, and Miriam Gárate; in Québec by Marie Couillard and Patrik Imbert; and in the Caribbean by J. Michael Dash.⁶

Though my training is in Spanish American literature, my dissertation, following these admirable examples, is more broadly hemispheric, exploring the entanglement of racial republican discourse in the expanding North American empire, the Southern Cone, and the extended Caribbean. In this way I heed Sophia McClennen and Earl Fitz's calls for a Latin-America based comparative literature that takes into account the region's geographic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. My dissertation conceives of the Americas as a network in which any two points may be linked to each other, or interrelate with a variety of other points, allowing for South-South, in addition to North-South, comparisons.

Yet, what would be the relationship between breadth and depth in this sort of inter-American scholarship? While my dissertation is indebted to Franco Moretti's model of "distant reading" in that I focus on the transnational circulation of a specific set of discourses --those of blackness and citizenship—in a particular literary genre -- that of the historical novel—in the nineteenth-century Americas, my work also

⁶ It is important to note that a parallel, somewhat controversial project is underway in many (North) American Studies programs, as can be seen in monographs such as José Saldívar's *Dialectics of Our America* and Anna Brickhouse's *Transamerican Literary Relations in the 19th-Century Public Sphere*. While they are valuable and perceptive studies in their own rights, the books focus on North American imperialism and the hidden cosmopolitanism roots of early Anglo-American literature --not the polyvalent internal dynamics of *nuestra América*. While this methodology has greatly enriched our understanding of U.S.-Mexican relations, the imperial conflict of 1898, and the non-Anglo cultures of North America, as Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine point out, "studies that focus on a US-centered system carrying out imperial designs in different geographic locales" --almost always Mexico or Cuba-- "have made US nation-building the default center of comparativist analysis, often in unhelpful ways." While I believe the construction of the North American nation-state to be an interesting and important topic, my project focuses on the development of the republican model throughout the Americas. For a summary of New American scholarship, see Ralph Bauer, "Hemispheric Studies."

departs from Moretti's methodology in important ways.⁷ Intrigued by Lois Parkinson's Zamora's call for a comparative literature based on difference, I also agree, at least in principle, with Guyatri Spivak's insistence on close readings of texts in their original language in order to attempt an understanding of voices marginalized by certain planetary processes—in this case, the spread and development of the racialized republican nation-state model. Thus, throughout my dissertation, I have tried, whenever possible, to pay attention to the philological particularities of the texts that I analyze, mapping the long history of terms such as “vertu”/“virtud/virtue,” “esclavitud/esclavage,” and “civilización/civilization/civilização” (as they travel from, in the examples just given, French to Spanish and English, Spanish to French, and Spanish to English to Portuguese), or using translated word choice as a tool to reconstruct genealogical links among North American, Haitian, Dominican, and Argentine political texts, even when this means frequent consultations of dictionaries, grammars, and native speakers.

This attention to language and the ideological and textual circulations that it reveals—a sort of distant reading with a zoom feature—is my way of mediating between what Walter Dignolo would call the “global designs” of the capitalist world system—embodied in the bourgeois form of the historical novel and the republican

⁷In “Conjectures on World Literature,” Franco Moretti, drawing on Immanuel Wallerstein's theorization of the capitalist world system and Pascale Casanova's work on the Republic of Letters, proposes “distant reading” --a sort of literary corpus analysis that involves the scanning of a wide array of texts for particular features and mapping their circulation across the globe—as an alternative to the close reading practice on which traditional comparative literature, which stresses philological expertise acquired through a deep knowledge of a limited group of national literary canons, is based. He argues that the “distant reading” of a broad range of texts for specific elements will yield a different, though equally valuable, picture of world literary developments.

nation-states that it justifies—and the local histories of the various nation-states that adopted it to their own cultural and political-economic ends. In this way, the conflict between breadth and depth endemic to comparative work becomes productive as it is put to the use of mapping the spread and development of the racialized nation-state model in the Americas. This interest in using the literary as a springboard for the study of planetary political processes marks another difference between my methodology and that of traditional or Morettian comparative literature. At the same time, my concern with political history forces me to examine not only the influence of the center on the periphery, as literary scholars from Pascale Casanova and Moretti to Gustavo Pérez Firmat and Wai Chee Dimock do, but --following Fernando Ortiz and Mary Louise Pratt, among others-- to consider how the local histories of the periphery may have conditioned the global designs of the center.

One of the underlying premises of this dissertation, then, is that, not only are the literatures and histories of distinct “nations” in the Americas entangled with one another, but literary and historical discourses are themselves entangled. While, at first, it may seem odd to use historical literature to reconstruct political history, intellectual specialization, as Julio Ramos points out, was not commonplace in Latin American society during most of the nineteenth century and the divisions between literature, history, and politics were not deeply marked. Indeed, as Ramos, drawing on the work of Ángel Rama, points out, the Spanish word *letrado* means both jurist and man of letters. This semantic imbrication points to an overlap of functions, as can be seen in the large number of nineteenth-century Latin American statesmen who

were also actively engaged in using literature and history to build what Earnest Gellner calls a national “literate high culture.”⁸ In the chapters that follow, I deal with similar letrado polymaths such as the Argentine statesman and essayist Domingo Faustino Sarmiento; the Dominican politician, dilettante historian, and novelist Manuel de Jesús Galván; and the Brazilian diplomat and journalist Euclides da Cunha.

Though Ramos and Rama’s theorizations are thought out of Latin America, the North American Mary Mann, like her compatriot, James Fenimore Cooper, was able to take advantage of the relatively fluid nature of nineteenth-century lettered culture to pen both literary and political texts. Similarly, though Rama and Ramos theorize the letrado in masculine terms, I also look at the work of female writers such as Mary Mann and the Argentine Eduarda Mansilla de García who --though their political agency was circumscribed in ways that that of the male letrados was not--, through their family connections and personal intellectual prowess, were able to make influential literary interventions into the public sphere.⁹

⁸ Along with Ramos’s key example of the Cuban poet and *independentista* José Martí, one might think of Andrés Bello, the South American grammarian and senator.

⁹ For more on the relationship between literature, or lettered culture, and nationalism and nation-building, see Carlos J. Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity: The Rhetoric of Cultural Discourse in Spanish America*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*; Eds. Sara Castro-Klarén and John Chasteen, *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*; Earnest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; E.J. Hobsawm, *Nations and Nationalism: Programme, Myth, Reality*; Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*; Juan Poblete, *Literatura chilena del siglo XIX: Entre públicos lectores y figuras autoriales*; Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada*; Julio Ramos, *Divergent Modernities*; Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*. Many of these works draw on Frederick Jameson’s exploration of the relationship between novels and the “social tensions” that produce them in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* and his theory of “third-world allegory” elaborated in “Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism.” For primary sources on literature and nation-building see Norma Klahn and Wilfred H. Corral’s two-volume edited work *Los novelistas como críticos*.

Foundational *Historias*

As Lee Joan Skinner points out, “moments in which the evidently historical mode intrudes upon the fictional narrative,” such as those that I discuss in this dissertation, “are possible in large part because the novelists saw the two narrative modes as complementary rather than exclusionary.” For the letrados:

The invocation of history did not preclude the use of fiction, nor did defining one’s text as a novel mean that traditional historiographical concerns had to be eradicated from the work. While nineteenth-century historical novelists in Spanish America understood that the two narrative modalities were distinct, they did not see them as diametrically opposed. Rather, their historical novels mark instead another point on the continuum of the production of historical narratives in nineteenth-century Spanish America (Skinner 214).

The imbrications between discursive spheres in the nineteenth-century provided the conditions of possibility for historical literature to play a fundamental role in the foundation of New-World national cultures. Perhaps not surprisingly, many historical novelists, such as the Argentine Vicente Fidel López, were also historians (Skinner 14) who seem to have taken to heart Andrés Bello’s comment in “Autonomía cultural de América” that the best way to learn New-World culture and history is through the region’s literature.

As it turns out, while many of the texts that I analyze in this dissertation have never been rubber-stamped by the academy as official history, some, such as Manuel de Jesús Galván’s *Enriquillo* (1882), are taught in history classes despite their being

novels while others, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1845), regularly appear on Latin American studies syllabi, pointing to the works' importance in extra-literary spheres. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot points out, "universities and university presses are not the only loci of production of the historical narrative." Instead, "most Europeans and North Americans learn their first history lessons through media that have not been subjected to the standards set by peer reviews, university presses, or doctoral committees. Long before average citizens read the historians who set the standards of the day for colleagues and students, they access history through celebrations, site and museum visits, movies, national holidays, and primary school books." I hold that, much in the same way that, "from the mid 1950s to the late 1960s, Americans learned more about the history of colonial America and the American West" from visual narratives such as "movies and television than from scholarly books," in the nineteenth century, written historical narratives fulfilled a similar role in the construction and popularization of hegemonic histories (19-20).

New-World independence –achieved, with few exceptions, between 1770 and 1830-- put the Hemisphere's past in vogue among the region's letrados. In the United States, Thomas Jefferson learned Spanish in order to better study the history of the conquest and early colonization of the Americas and, two generations later, William Prescott would write his own *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), followed by a *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847). The same period would see Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas commission the Italian Pedro de Ángelis to edit and publish a series of manuscripts from the South American nation's colonial past while

the liberal thinker Domingo Faustino Sarmiento turned a critical eye towards that very same legacy in works such as his 1845 *Facundo* and 1850 *Recuerdos de provincia*. Meanwhile, the Haitians Thomas Madiou, Alexis Beaubrun Ardouin, and Émile Nau would write histories to explain their country's unique past to the world. Importantly, though they had been circulating in manuscript form for generations, the first editions of works such as Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1855) and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's *Historia de las Indias* (1875) would finally be published in a Spain struggling to come to terms with the loss of its empire. Analyzed by Beatriz Pastor and others as rhetorical structures in their own right, these *crónicas* would serve as the inspiration for many of the historical novels with which I will concern myself in this dissertation.

At the same time, as Fernando Unzueta, drawing on Michel Foucault's *Mots et les choses*, explains, historical discourse would come to function as a sort of "skeleton key" for the "various cultural discourses of the period" (63). According to Unzueta, by the early 1800s, historicism had "asumido el papel que tenían la 'filosofía' o la teología en épocas anteriores" ["assumed the role that 'philosophy' or theology had in earlier eras"] as the privileged mode of explaining the world.¹⁰ "Las más diversas disciplinas recurren a la historia y la historicidad de sus materiales para explicar su racionalidad y justificar su validez como ciencia; proliferan los estudios históricos y todos los discursos culturales apelan a narraciones históricas o genéticas como modalidad explicatoria e instrumento de comprensión que legitima sus

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, all of the translations included in this dissertation are my own.

contenidos” [“The most diverse disciplines resort to history and historicity in order to explain their rationality and justify their scientific validity; historical studies proliferate and all of the cultural discourses appeal to historical or genetic narrations as an explanatory mechanism and an instrument of comprehension to legitimize their contents”] (Unzueta 13-14), as Charles Darwin’s 1859 *Origins of Species* and Frederich Nietzsche’s 1887 *Genealogy of Morals* –to pick just two obvious examples of the nineteenth century preoccupation with evolution—attest. It was only natural, then, that New-World letrados should turn to history in order to explain the compositions of their republican national families.

In order to appreciate how nineteenth-century New-World historical writing served this genealogical purpose, it is first necessary to understand how history functioned as a discourse during the period. Hegel’s proclamation that “the history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom” (Hegel Chap. 21) had introduced teleology and the notion of an overarching order into historiographic discourse. According to Raúl Ianes Vera, this:

Permitió en su momento a los criollos recién independizados diseñar el proyecto fundacional de las nuevas naciones dentro del marco conceptual del progresismo articulando una imagen del pasado como etapa necesariamente superada en la marcha desde las tinieblas de la dominación colonial hacia la libertad y el progreso histórico que resumía el significado último de la independencia política y la fundación de las nuevas nacionalidades (32).

At the time allowed the newly independent creoles to design the new nations’ foundational project within the conceptual framework of progressivism, articulating an image of the past as a necessarily overcome phase in the march from the shadows of colonial domination to liberty and the historic progress that summed up the final meaning of political independence and the foundation of new nationalities.

Teleological, nineteenth-century New-World historiography can be seen as a narrative structure elaborated by the letrado elites in order to provide genealogical justifications for present-day problems. Taking his cues from Hegel's teleological conception of Universal History as a "Spirit" (Hegel. Chap. 99) and the Prussian philosopher's acknowledgment that historical causality is a *post facto* reconstruction of the links between events (Hegel Chap. 30), as well as Walter Benjamin's problematization of the tendency to view history in teleological terms, Hayden White proposes to study nineteenth-century historiographic discourse as "what it most manifestly is: a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse." Noting that this discourse is interested in "*explaining what* [past events] *were by representing them*" (White 2),¹¹ White highlights the fundamental narrativity of modern historiography and argues for the rhetorical analysis of historical texts.¹² In his notion of "emplotment," White introduces the question of the historian's agency into the discourse on historiography, shifting the fulcrum of the conversation from *what* history signifies to *how* it signifies.¹³

¹¹ Emphasis in the original.

¹² "The ethical moment of a historical work [is] reflected in the mode of ideological implication by which an *aesthetic* perception (the emplotment) and a *cognitive* operation (the argument) can be combined so as to derive prescriptive statements from what may appear to be purely descriptive or analytical ones. A historian may 'explain' what happened in the historical field by identifying the law (or laws) governing the set of events emplotted in the story as a drama of essentially Tragic import. Or, conversely, he may find the Tragic import of the story he has emplotted in his discovery of the 'law' which governs the sequence of articulation of the plot. In either case, the moral implications of a given historical argument have to be drawn from the relationship which the historian presumes to have existed *within* the set of events under consideration *between* the plot structure of the narrative conceptualization on the one hand and the form of the argument offered as an explicit 'scientific' (or 'realistic') explanation of the set of events on the other" (27).

¹³ For a discussion of White's notion of emplotment, see Paul Ricoeur's *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Ricoeur notes that White's analysis, in emphasizing the writing of historical narrative, does not take into account the documentary and representational aspects of historiography, subjects taken up by Trouillot in *Silencing the Past*.

Writing two decades after White, Michel-Rolphe Trouillot continues to insist on the historian's agency while distancing himself from the semiotic free play of his predecessor's poststructural critiques, instead turning his attention to the functioning of power in the construction of historical narrative. Given that, as the constructivists claim, "history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives[,] what matters most are the process and conditions of production of such narratives" and the "differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others" (25). In their explanation of the shared textuality of historiography and the historical novel, scholars such as White and Trouillot provide the theoretical justification for considering the two genres simultaneously, a case only made stronger by the polyvalent functionality of the nineteenth-century letrado to which I referred earlier. This allows scholars to read historiography as a rhetorical construction and the historical novel as an explanatory technology.

The New-World Historical Novel as Foundational Fiction

Thus, in addition to the construction of "nonfictional" historical discourse, in this dissertation, I will explore the "process and conditions of production" of nineteenth-century historical novels, texts that confound contemporary genre categories by "self-consciously identif[y]ing] as a fiction while simultaneously invoking the conventions and tropes of the privileged discourse of history" in order to

intervene in contemporary debates (Skinner 12-13).¹⁴ In *The Historical Novel*. Georg Lukačs situates the genre's rise following the 1814 publication of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverly* –generally regarded as the first historical novel-- in the context of “reactionary romanticism,” that is, the ideological resistance to the consolidation of bourgeois hegemony in nineteenth-century Europe.¹⁵ However, the critic claims that, despite this romantic interest in pre-capitalist society, the well-wrought historical novel, due to the structural exigency of resolving the conflict in a narratologically satisfactory but historically accurate manner, demonstrates the necessity of the passing of the earlier order. As critics such as Ianes Vera and Alejandro Gómez Acosta explain, the historical novel quickly took root in the Hispanic world, which, also peripheral, shared Walter Scott's preoccupation with the transitions between historical periods and modes of production.¹⁶ Yet, if Scott, as Lukačs interprets him, is concerned with the decline of gentile society and the rise of central monarchy, nineteenth-century Hispanic historical novelists are interested in the evolution of the

¹⁴ Recently, the “new historical novel” of the Latin American postboom has consumed critical attention as it returns to the colonial *crónicas* and the early republican foundational novels based on those texts in order to problematize the dominant construction of the nation. See Kimberle S. López, *Latin American Novels of the Conquest*; Seymour Menton, *La nueva novela histórica en la América Latina*; and Juan José Barrientos, *Ficción-historia*, among others.

¹⁵ *Waverly* would be translated into Spanish in 1833 by none other than Cuban poet José María Heredia. For more on Heredia, see Chapter I of this dissertation.

¹⁶ This peripheral situation is not dissimilar to the one that Lukačs finds in Germany, where he believes that novels set in the past –if not historical novels in the strict sense of the term- first appeared. “It is only” there, “during the last phase of the Enlightenment that the problem of the artistic reflection of past ages emerges a central problem of literature” (21). The theorist claims that this is due largely to the nation's status as Western European periphery. While England and France had been able to consolidate as nation-states as the result of bourgeois revolution, in Germany “revolutionary patriotism comes up against national division, against the political and economic fragmentation of a country which imports its cultural and ideological means of expression from France” (21). According to Lukačs, “the inevitable result of this situation is to turn to German history. Partly it is the reawakening of past national greatness which gives strength to hopes of national rebirth. It is a requirement of the struggle for this national greatness that the historical causes for the decline, the disintegration of Germany should be explored and artistically portrayed” (23).

bourgeois nation-state out of the central dynastic model, as *Jicoténcal*'s condemnation of Carlos V's Spain, as well as the genre's popularity among exiled Spanish liberals in London and Paris after the 1813 Restoration of King Fernando VII indicates.¹⁷ In Spain as in Spanish-America, then, the historical novel represents the importation of a technology for building a national culture in the face of a Hispanic obscurantism that condemned the territories of the former empire to the status of semi-feudal realms on the periphery of the capitalist world system where Northern European models of republican government did not fit.

That said, Spanish American historical novels, beginning with the anonymous *Jicoténcal* --the region's first contribution to the genre-- differ substantially from the Scottian model in that they use famous historical figures --instead of the "middling

¹⁷ The Hispanic cultural milieu on both sides of the Atlantic traditionally has been regarded as unpropitious to the development of national high culture, which Ernest Gellner identifies as fundamental to the emergence of the bourgeois nation-state. Exaggerating somewhat, Enrique Anderson Imbert makes the point that "no hay ninguna duda de que la España de los últimos años de Fernando VII era un vacío intelectual. El terror, la censura inquisitorial, la arbitrariedad, el plebeyismo, paralizaron las plumas y las imprentas" ["there is no doubt that Spain in the last years of Ferdinand VII represented an intellectual vacuum. Terror, Inquisitional censorship, arbitrariness, and feudal attitudes of servitude paralyzed pens and printing presses"]. Importantly, "en lo que respecta a la novela histórica, es sabido que las de Walter Scott fueron prohibidas" ["regarding the historical novel, it is known that those of Walter Scott were banned"]. However, "esto no quiero decir que [los hispanoamericanos] crecieron solos, como huérfanos. Había otra España, la que los emigrados liberales se llevaron consigo. El meridiano literario se desplazó en 1823 de Madrid a Londres" ["this does not mean that (the Spanish Americans) grew up alone, like orphans. There was another Spain, the one that the liberal émigrés took with them. The literary meridian moved in 1823 from Madrid to London"] (28) --where the bourgeois revolution was firmly installed and the novels of Walter Scott circulated freely.

Not surprisingly, Telesforo de Trueba y Cosío's *Gomes Arias, or the Moors of the Alpujarras*, the first "Spanish" historical novel, was first published in English in London in 1828. González Acosta questions Telesforo Trueba y Cosío's title as the author of the first Spanish historical novel, arguing that an 1823 text published in English in London by the pseudonymous Leucadio Doblado called *Vargas. A Tale of Spain* was actually written in Spanish by the Peninsular exile Blanco White (31-32). While the argument that González Acosta lays out is important for literary history, it does not do much to change the narrative of the relationship between the Hispanic historical novel and Northern European liberalism that I am interested in telling here. For more on exiled Spanish liberals in London, see Vicente Castillo Llorens, *Liberales y románticos: Una emigración española en Inglaterra*.

heroes,” such as Waverly, that Lukačs identifies in Scott’s novels—as protagonists. As Neil Larsen argues in “A Note on Lukacs’ *The Historical Novel* and the Latin American Tradition,” this difference is due to the incommensurability of Latin American and European economic models and their concomitant forms of modernity; Spanish America in the nineteenth century simply did not have a bourgeoisie ready to provide the sort of “middling heroes” that populate Scott’s novels. If the European historical novel is interested in “plasmar e imponer una identidad de clase social” [“capture and impose a class identity”], New-World literature from *Jicoténcal* to *Facundo* to Vicente Fidel López’s *Novia del hereje* (1854) to Cirilo Villaverde’s *Cecilia Valdés* (1882) is interested in national identity (Ianes Vera 40) and in the underdevelopment of the very same bourgeois nation-state with whose rise the European historical novel deals.

Vicente Fidel López suggests this in his “Carta-Prólogo” [“Letter-Prologue”] to *La novia del hereje* when, hoping to intervene in the nation’s future development by writing its past, he claims that his goals in penning the novel were: “Iniciar a nuestros pueblos en las antiguas tradiciones, hacer revivir el espíritu de la familia, echar una mirada al pasado desde las fragosidades de la revolución para concebir la línea de generación que han llevado los sucesos y orientarnos en cuanto al fin de nuestra marcha” [“Initiate our peoples in the former traditions, revive the spirit of the family, take a glance at the past from the thickness of the revolution in order to conceive of the trajectories that events have spawned and orient ourselves in regards to the end of our march”] (22). The temporal positionality from which López writes is

indicative of the Janice-like project of nineteenth-century New-World historical literature. Paradoxically seeking to “initiate” the nation in its “former traditions,” these historical texts proleptically attempt to conceive “la línea de generación” of the past from the vantage point of the present in order to “orient” themselves” towards the future, to provide what Mexican critic Noé Jitrik calls “el camino formal” [the formal path] by which to arrive at a “reasonable state” (“De la historia” 16).¹⁸

Thus, nineteenth-century New-World historical novels, in addition to historiographic interventions, function as what Doris Sommer has identified as “foundational romances,” or narratives that educate readers as to the human borders of the nation through the *topos* of the foundational couple, parents of the national family. Drawing on Benedict Anderson’s theorization of the importance of the novel for nation-building, Sommer argues that these narratives played a crucial role in the development of nationalism in Latin America, establishing and justifying social hierarchies for the newly-formed Spanish American republics by uniting certain elements of the population in the national family while excluding others. “Identifying with the heroes and heroines, readers could be moved to imagine a dialogue among

¹⁸ In addition to the article quoted here, Jitrik has published a short book on the historical novel entitled *Historia e imaginación literaria*. It is important to note that the deployment of the historical genre as a technology for developing the nation-state was not limited to the Hispanic world. In the newly-independent United States, for example, Cooper sets his *Spy* during the War for American Independence. In the introduction to the 1831 edition of the novel, he claims that the setting represents a response to critics of his first novel, who claimed that he, “an American in heart as in birth,” had given “the world a work which aided perhaps, in some slight degree, to feed the imaginations of the young and unpracticed among his own countrymen, by pictures drawn from a state of society so different from that to which he belonged.” Seeking to “atone” for his error, Cooper “determined to inflict a second book, whose subject should admit of no cavil, not only on the world, but on himself. He chose patriotism for his theme” (ix). Thus, in the United States, as throughout the Americas, the historical novel is deployed to educate “young and unpracticed” nations in the proper modes of citizenship.

national sectors” that were in disagreement in the early republic and “make convenient marriages” (Sommer 14) which would provide “a figure for apparently nonviolent consolidation during internecine conflicts at mid-century.” In these works, Sommer argues, “erotic interest [...] owes its intensity to the very prohibitions against the lovers’ union across racial or regional lines. And political conciliations, or deals, are apparently urgent because the lovers ‘naturally’ desire the kind of state that would unite them” (47). “Eroticism and nationalism,” then, “become figures for each other in modernizing fictions” (2). “The rhetorical relationship between heterosexual passion and hegemonic states functions as a mutual allegory, as if each discourse were grounded in the allegedly stable other.” That is, the state succeeds only if the foundational couple is able to conceive and give birth to it.¹⁹

The temporal relations invoked by the foundational romance’s promise of future progeny explains why, though the subject is not her principal concern, many of the foundational romances that Sommer analyzes -- such as Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), José Mármol’s *Amalia* (1851), Alberto Blest Gana’s *Martín Rivas* (1862), Jorge Isaac’s *María* (1867), and Galván’s *Enriquillo*, among others-- are also historical novels. The texts postulate the nation’s foundation as the result of a marriage between carefully selected partners that took place in the past, thereby providing the national present with historical, cultural, and political legitimacy --

¹⁹ In recent years, some scholars have expressed concern that Sommer’s notion of the national romance has become the hegemonic way of reading nineteenth-century Latin American fiction. Nina Gervassi-Navarro’s *Pirate Novels: Fictions of Nation Building in Spanish America* represents one attempt to consider the nationalist impulse in nineteenth-century Spanish American literature beyond the foundational fictions model.

which critics Georg Lukačs and Noé Jitrik identify as the “work” of the historical novel—and a desirable future (desirable because it evolves out of a past carefully emplotted to secure certain aims). Considering the foundational texts discussed in this dissertation as historical novels –that is, reading them according to the generic rules of both the foundational romance and the historical novel—allows for a fuller understanding of how they function as interventions in nation time, of how they reconsider the nation’s troubled past in order to justify the contested present and imagine a future community consolidated under creole hegemony in the form of the foundational couple’s as-yet unconceived children.²⁰

This literary interest in breeding the nation would take on an almost eugenic quality in the still-consolidating nation-states of the nineteenth –century Americas, in which national identity was “problemática, indecisa, llena de censuras o, por lo menos, constituida por intermitencias” [“problematic, indecisive, full of suppressions, or, at best, sporadically constructed”] (Jitrik 17) and creole hegemony, as I will explain in the chapters that follow, was tenuous at best.²¹ Thus, the consolidation of

²⁰ In addition to the authors I mention here, Francisco Solares-Larrave, in “Discurso contrahistórico : Paradigma narrativo en dos novelas sobre la época colonial latinoamericana,” argues that historical novel’s such as Justo O’Reilly Sierra’s *Hija del judío* (1848) and López’s *Novia del hereje* modernize history by speaking from the present, supplementing historical documents with other, fictional texts. Meanwhile, I should note that, while Sommer does not deal with the historical novel *per se* in *Foundational Fictions*, her “Not Just Any Narrative : How Romance Can Love Us to Death,” a sort of draft of ideas presented in the later work, was published in Daniel Balderston, ed., *The Historical Novel in Latin America : A Symposium*.

²¹ To give a few brief examples: *Jicoténcal* was published 72 years before Cuba became independent from Spain and 76 years before the withdrawal of North American troops from the island, while *Facundo* appeared as part of the movement against the Rosas dictatorship. Meanwhile, *Enriquillo* appeared seventeen years after (the fourth) Dominican independence and, in Haiti, Nau wrote his *Histoire des caciques* when over half of the country’s territory was in the process of succeeding. Similarly, in the United States, Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans* appears two years before Andrew

the nation in these novels is not as historical as it is proleptic, an effort to put the narration of the past to the service of the political needs of the present. As a result, in the foundational historical novels, not just any reproductive heterosexual coupling may found the nation; even if the partners represent what Georg Lukačs would call different “social-historical trends,” they must still be able to give birth to a citizen body whose racial and class characteristics will not threaten the status of the creole letrados that created them. Perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in the energy that Cooper invests into keeping Cora unreproductive in *The Last of the Mohicans*; the mulata displays disinterest in the lascivious glances of the creole plantocrat Duncan -- the fiancé of her white, aristocratic half-sister--, and emphatically refuses the Amerindian Magwa’s indecent proposal that she should “live in his wigwam forever.” Even this, however, is not enough for Cooper, and Cora must die before the novel’s white protagonists can marry and give birth to the North American nation. In the foundational romance, the genealogical drive of historiography in general and the historical novel in particular takes on a biological --in addition to a political-- sense. As Ianes Vera notes, unlike the nationalist texts of European romanticism, the nineteenth-century “literate high culture” (to use Earnest Gellner’s term) of the Americas does not seek legitimacy in the region’s traditional folk cultures. Rather they represent a *coupure* --or cutting-- of the folk, not in the sense that Micheal de

Jackson would transform race (instead of class) into the organizing force of North American democracy while, in Brazil, Euclides daCunha would write his *Os sertões* (1902) in the aftermath of a popular rebellion against that country’s newly proclaimed republican government.

Certeau intends the term, as a cleavage of the present from the past, but as a paring away of those elements that will not be used to build the nation.

As I have noted, the foundational historical genre was deployed throughout the Americas as a means of negotiating the racial tensions inherent in the transition from colony to nation-state and the uncomfortable ambiguities of the various forms of republican government that were attempted in the Hemisphere. While the coincidence can be explained by the fact that, during the nineteenth century, the different nation-states of the Americas responded to similar historical, social, and political conditions, as I explain above, this dissertation focuses more on the hemispheric dialogue in which letrados from the region were entangled as they looked abroad to countries in similar post-independence situations for models of how to navigate the racially fraught transition from imperial subjection to republican citizenship. In this way, my dissertation interrogates the rise and evolution of the republican nation-state model in the Americas from classical liberalism to more the broadly based democratic forms of government that superseded it when the overwhelming presence of popular political agency finally rendered the racially exclusive creole nation-state model unviable. Interested in the evolution of ideas as well as the circuits by which they travel, I investigate the development of a racialized notion of citizenship through historical literature while mapping the transnational routes taken by republican discourse in the nineteenth century. While I am indebted to the literary and historical monographs that I have discussed throughout this introduction, my work differs from those studies in

the specific way in which it considers historical literature to be part of a larger archive of nineteenth-century racial and nationalist thinking, and the way in which it reconstructs the transnational contours of that archive through philologically focused textual analyses.

Chapter Outline

My first chapter, **Natural Aristocracy, Race, Slavery and Virtue in *Jicoténcal***, analyzes the vision of republican citizenship in the anonymous Cuban novel *Jicoténcal* in light of Thomas Jefferson's notion of "natural aristocracy." I argue that, in rewriting Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira's 1683 *Historia de la conquista de México*, the novel presents the Americas as the home of a seemingly egalitarian republicanism based on virtue. That vision, however, is complicated by the racially exclusive definition of "virtue" employed in the text, which, in a hybrid fashion, draws from both the Hispano-feudal notion of "el valer más" and the ideas of the liberal 1812 Cádiz Constitution. A consideration of the novel as part of the transatlantic network of racial republican thought reveals the imbrications among race, caste, and class in the nineteenth-century Americas and shows how this tripod system adapts republican notions of citizenship to the racialized political economies of the New World at a moment when they were being threatened by colonial slave revolts.

Chapter II: Cooper in Captivity: Colonial Scenarios and Citizenship in Jacksonian Democracy and Argentine Liberalism studies New-World democracy as the virtue-based model of classical liberalism was giving way to a more democratic conception of the national body. The chapter explores the transnational literary-historical entanglements between the North American James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and the Argentine Eduarda Mansilla de García's *Lucía Miranda* (1860). Using Diane Taylor's theory of scenarios, I discuss the relevance of the colonial encounter, as represented in Ruy Díaz de Guzmán's *Anales del descubrimiento, población y conquista del Río de la Plata* [Annals of the Discovery, Population, and Conquest of Río de la Plata] (1612), to race and class relations in the Americas at the moment of national consolidation. At the same time, I map the genealogical links among Díaz de Guzmán, Cooper, and Mansilla. The transnational tale of entangled origins that I reconstruct provides a way to discuss intellectual and ideological relations between the nation-state projects in the Jacksonian United States and liberal Argentina. Though both Cooper and Mansilla offer conservative critiques of the growth of capitalism and its attendant social changes in their respective countries of origin, writing at a moment in which white hegemony was being contested on the frontiers both nations, the authors differ in how they deploy the ideologemes of republican motherhood and hybridity through the figures of their nonwhite heroines --a difference of which Mansilla was fully aware.

Of my chapters, **Chapter III: From Disavowal to Dialogue: Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo* and Haiti**, deals most explicitly with the entanglement of

transnational literary investigation and history as it maps the entanglement of the Haitian historian Émile Nau's 1854 *Histoire des caciques d'Haiti* and the Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván's 1882 novel, *Enriquillo: Leyenda histórica dominicana*, as the "history of the indigenous leaders of Haiti" and the "Dominican historical legend" struggle over the meaning of the colonial past that the two countries share. Although both works draw on the crónicas to tell the story of an Amerindian uprising against Spanish authority led by the *cacique*, or indigenous leader, Enrique on the island of Hispaniola during the early sixteenth century, they make different uses of that history. While the first seeks to situate the Amerindian rebellion as a precursor to the Haitian Revolution, the second attempts to minimize the influence of that event --and, with it, of blackness-- on the island's culture and history. My analysis of the relationship between the works relies on Sybille Fischer's notion of "disavowal," in which the Haitian Revolution and its aftermath are not totally silenced, as Trouillot has suggested, but manifest themselves indirectly through literary slippage, despite the efforts of authors like Galván to expunge the events from the historical record. At the same time, however, I expand on Fischer's work by placing the Dominican Galván's novel into dialogue with the Haitian Nau's history. This conversation positions Haiti as a subject --and not simply an object-- of discourse. In this way, I hope to have achieved a fuller understanding of the dialectical relationship between the two countries while coming a step closer to a scholarly consideration of nineteenth-century Haiti that views the country in terms other than those of radical alterity. At the same time, by explaining how Haiti and blackness operate as interlocutors --and

not as excluded others-- in the Dominican text, the chapter marks a turning point in my dissertation, signaling a moment in which the architects of the New-World nation-state, no longer able to write nonwhite agency out of history, were forced to find ways to contain it --however marginally-- within the national narrative.

Chapter IV: Sombras de *Facundo*: Translation, Education, and Entanglement, explores how creole letrados in the second half of the nineteenth century, having found a place for nonwhites in the national narrative, struggle to incorporate these groups into the body politic through public education. The chapter examines the entanglement of the Argentine writer and statesman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and New England educator and social reformer Mary Mann through his 1867 *Vida de Horacio Mann* (a translation of her 1865 *Life of Horace Mann*) and her 1868 *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants* (a translation of his 1845 *Facundo*). I am interested in how Sarmiento racializes barbarism in terms of blackness and how Mann transculturates that racialization to meet the political needs of the Reconstruction-era United States. If Sarmiento casts the United States as Argentina's future, Mann scripts Argentina as North America's past, a process that both writers carry out by identifying Argentine gauchos, recently incorporated into the national project, with North American freedmen and defeated white Southerners. These politically invested translations are intimately connected with the rise of North American imperialism and Latin American neocolonialism, as Sarmiento courts Mann's imperial gaze in order to further his racial-national goals in Argentina and his foreign-policy aims in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. By putting the traditionally

literary activity of translation to the service of the political projects of imperialism and neocolonial modernity, the relationship between Mann and Sarmiento represents a clear example of the entanglements between comparative literature and transnational history, crystallizing the methodological concerns and power dynamics that form the heart of my dissertation around the two disparate but intimately interrelated forms of modernity that develop in concert with one another in the United States and Argentina.

My **Epilogue** looks at a subsequent engagement with the transnational, uneven modernity embodied in the entanglement of Mann and Sarmiento that reconsiders the racial exclusions of the nineteenth-century historical writings that I discuss in the body of my dissertation. Euclides da Cunha's *Sertões* (1902) --the title of which is a reference to the arid interior region of Northeastern Brazil-- tells the story of an 1896-97 monarchist and religious fundamentalist rebellion of former peons against the newly declared positivist Brazilian Republic while adapting the civilization/barbarism binary of Sarmiento's *Facundo* to the Brazilian context. However, written two or three generations after its source text, *Os sertões* turns the logic of *Facundo* against itself, postulating the atavistic, mixed-race rebels as civilized and the Republic, whose motto is "order and progress," as barbaric. In this way, da Cunha, in dialogue with the nineteenth-century historical-literary tradition of the Americas, casts doubt on the era's racial republican projects that I discuss in the body of my dissertation from the vantage point of the turn of the century, a moment in which creole nationalism was under attack throughout the Hemisphere.

Working at the juncture between comparative literature and comparative history, my project ultimately asks larger questions about the limits and possibilities of comparative methodology itself: how does the researcher working in this comparative vein reconcile the differences between the disciplinary standards of evidence for literature and history? What does the comparative perspective allow one to see that nation-based studies do not? By what routes do ideas circulate among distinct national and linguistic groups? How important are genealogical links among texts to comparative study? What “counts” as evidence for reconstructing a transnational literary-historical genealogy? Finally, why and how do authors in one location choose and then adapt a model created for a set of cultural and historical circumstances very different from their own? Adopting my multilingual, interdisciplinary methodology itself as one of my objects of study, each chapter of my dissertation uses a different comparative framework in order to explore the transnational entanglements of race, history, and literature, examining how racial republican discourse is “translated” as it circulates between and among diverse national and linguistic contexts.

Chapter I: Natural Aristocracy, Race, Slavery and Virtue in *Jicoténcal*

In this chapter, I will explore the entanglement of virtue, slavery, “race” (in the phenotypical sense as well as that of aristocratic lines), and republican citizenship in the anonymous novel *Jicoténcal*,²² in light of the notion of “natural aristocracy,” as explained by Thomas Jefferson in his October 28, 1813 letter to John Adams. The first step in my larger project of mapping the hemispheric entanglements of race, historical writing, and republican citizenship during the long nineteenth century, I will consider the implications of the novel’s probable Cuban origins for the community it imagines as well as the work’s place in the broader intellectual context of transatlantic republican thought.²³

²² On the novel *Jicoténcal*, see Jessee Alemán, “The other country: Mexico, the United States, and the gothic history of conquest;” Enrique Anderson Imbert, “Notas sobre la novela histórica en el siglo XIX;” Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations*; Debrah Catillo, *Redreaming America: Towards a Bilingual American Culture*; Julio E. Hernandez-Miyares, “Rev. of *Jicoténcal*;” Luis Leal “*Jicoténcal*, primera novela histórica en castellano;” Luis Leal and Rodolfo J. Cortina, “Introducción a *Jicoténcal*;” Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Las corrientes literarias en la América Hispánica*; Iván Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life: 1820-1880*; Alejandro González Acosta. *El enigma de Jicoténcal: Estudio de dos novelas sobre el héroe de Tlaxcala*.

²³ The question of the authorship of *Jicoténcal* has been at the center of a debate for some time and is by no means settled. The book’s anonymous status, as well as its initial North American publication, have given rise to many theories over the years. Pedro Henríquez Ureña argues that the author was almost certainly Mexican, while Enrique Anderson Imbert feels that he could have been a Spaniard. José Rojas Garcidueñas, meanwhile, proposes simply that he was a Spanish American liberal. Luis Leal introduced the possibility of Cuban authorship when he pointed to Félix Varela, a liberal Cuban priest who lived the latter part of his life exiled in Philadelphia and New York, as the probable author, mostly for reasons of ideological and linguistic similarity between the novel and other texts known to have been authored by Varela. Alejandro González Acosta, on the other hand, identifies Cuban poet José María Heredia as the author, also by means of linguistic comparison with the writer’s signed works. Most recently, Anna Brickhouse has suggested that the novel was produced by a triumvirate of Spanish American exiles in Philadelphia, arguing that Heredia drafted the work, the Ecuadorian Vicente Rocafuerte revised it, and Varela had it submitted for publication.

Yet, regardless of who the author was, it seems likely that he was Cuban. González Acosta notes that the text includes many words that were only used in Cuba at the time of the novel’s publication, such as “caobo,” “majagua,” and “ceiba” (149). He attributes the novel’s Mexican setting to “una antigua tradición insular [...] compuesta por la atención literaria cubana hacia la historia mexicana” [“an old

I will use the novel to examine the place of caste and class in discourses on national belonging that, in the Americas, rise with the nation-state model out of the debris left by the collapse of colonial feudal-dynastic structures, considering how the discourse of “virtue” present in the rhetoric of natural aristocracy might compensate for those structures by providing a new system of social exclusion based on birth. I will argue that the book presents a seemingly egalitarian vision of republicanism based on virtue, but that that vision is complicated by the exclusive nature of the definition of “virtue” that the novel, in dialogue with various political texts from the Atlantic World --such as the Rights of Man, the Cádiz Constitution, and Thomas Jefferson’s October 18, 1813 letter to John Adams on natural aristocracy--, employs. Published in Spanish in Philadelphia in 1826, the novel tells the story of the Tlaxcalans, an indigenous people subjugated by Montezuma who fatally ally

insular tradition [...] consisting of Cuban literary attention to Mexican history], as evidenced by texts such as Heredia’s poems “Oda a los habitantes de Anáhuac,” “Las sombras,” “A los mexicanos, en 1829,” “Al Popocateptl,” and “En el Teocali de Cholula;” the poem “Jicoténcal” by Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (a.k.a. Plácido); and Gómez de Avellaneda’s novel *Gutzimotzin*, último emperador de México (1846) (126). The geographical description of Tlaxcala (spelled “Tlascalá” by the anonymous author), which, according to the novel, “se extendía más de Oriente a Poniente que de Norte a Sur” [“extended farther from East to West than from North to South”] --much as Cuba does--, also suggests a Caribbean origin for the text (4). Moreover, as Leal points out in his Introduction to the *Arte Público* edition of the novel, the text contains a number of errors regarding Mexican geography, suggesting that the author lacked a deep knowledge of the region. Perhaps most importantly, anticolonial in nature, the novel would be out of place on the Spanish Main, which, by 1826, was already fully liberated from Spain and ruled entirely by republican governments. For these reasons, I assume Cuban (or Cuban-American) authorship in my discussion of the novel. Taking Leal, González Acosta, and Brickhouse’s theories seriously without committing myself to any one of them in particular (which would be unnecessary for this project), I will use other texts by both Varela and Heredia in order to situate *Jicoténcal* in the transatlantic Cuban context.

For more information on the controversy surrounding the anonymous author’s identity, see Enrique Anderson Imbert, *Estudios sobre escritores de América*; Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations.*; Luis Leal, “*Jicoténcal*, primera novela histórica en castellano;” Luis Leal and Rodolfo J. Cortina, Introduction to *Jicoténcal*; Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Las corrientes literarias en la América Hispánica*; Iván Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life*; Marissa Garland, “The Authorship of ‘*Jicoténcal*;” Alejandro González Acosta, *El enigma de Jicoténcal: Estudio de dos novelas sobre el héroe de Tlaxcala*; José Rojas Gariceñas, “Otra novela sobre el tema de *Jicoténcal*.”

themselves with Cortés when he invades Mexico. Normally studied either in the context of the Latin American Romanticism and the historical novel²⁴ or New American Studies (particularly as early U.S. Latino literature),²⁵ *Jicoténcal* has become a traditional starting point for explorations of hemispheric literary connections.²⁶ Anna Brickhouse and Iván Jacksic, for example, both take the coincidence of the anonymous text's having been published in the same year as James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*²⁷ as starting points for their monographs while Deborah A. Castillo explores the gender implications of the book's republican politics as a way to begin her project of "redreaming America" in bilingual terms – Gretchen Murphy even discusses the historical piece at the beginning of her entry on "The Hemispheric American Novel in the Post-Revolutionary Era" in the *Cambridge History of the American Novel*. As they highlight the importance of *Jicoténcal* to the hemispheric context, the above-mentioned studies have focused productively on the relationship between the novel's North American publication and Mexican content. This chapter, however, considers the implications of the novel's probable Cuban

²⁴ See Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Las corrientes literarias en la América Hispánica*; Enrique Anderson Imbert, "Notas sobre la novela histórica en el siglo XIX;" Alejandro González Acosta, *El enigma de Jicoténcal: Estudio de dos novelas sobre el héroe de Tlaxcala*.

²⁵ See Luis Leal and Rodolfo J. Cortina, "Introducción a *Jicoténcal*;" Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations*; Jesse Alemán, "The other country: Mexico, the United States, and the gothic history of conquest."

²⁶ The book seems to have enjoyed initial renown, inspiring a contest of stage plays based on the novel's historical content in Puebla, Mexico in 1828. (See Leal, Introducción; González Acosta, *El enigma de Jicoténcal*.) The novel apparently also reached Valencia, Spain, where, in 1831, it moved the conservative Salvador García Baamonde to write the novella *Xicoténcal, príncipe americano* as a rebuttal of the ways in which the black legend is mobilized in the Cuban text (see González Acosta, *El enigma de Jicoténcal* and "Una vida para la ficción: dos novelas sobre Xicoténcatl 'El Joven'"). After that, according to González Acosta, who has written the most extensive study to date *Jicoténcal*, the novel "se sumergió en las profundas aguas del olvido" and is not mentioned again until John Lloyd Read "rediscovers" it in his 1939 *Mexican Historical Novel (1826-1910)* (119).

²⁷ I will discuss *The Last of the Mohicans* in Chapter II of this dissertation.

origins for hemispheric studies, paying particular attention to how the text was influenced by the transatlantic debates in which the island, as part of the both Spanish Empire and the extended Caribbean, was entangled during the early nineteenth century. When considered in a context that is simultaneously Cuban and transatlantic, *Jicoténcal* reveals itself as a nuanced discussion of race, government, and labor in the Americas, presenting an aristocratic, racially exclusive view of New World republicanism that can serve as a gateway to understanding the ideological complexities of the other works that will be treated in this dissertation. Viewing the novel as a node in the transatlantic network of racial republican thought reveals the entanglement of race, caste, and class in nineteenth-century Inter-America and shows how this tripod system supports the political economies of the nation-states in which it is deployed.

Fearful of the radical energy unleashed by the Age of Revolution in the Americas, the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*, like many of the nineteenth-century creole writers that I discuss in this dissertation, turns to the continent's history in order to formulate a vision of republican citizenship compatible with the racialized political economy of the New World. In the novel, pre-Conquest Tlascalala²⁸ serves as a space to discuss the limits and possibilities of republican government in the early nineteenth-century Americas, offering a pro-republican –but not necessarily pro-democratic, as I will explain--, anti-colonial rewriting of Antonio de Solís y Rivandiera's 1683 *Historia de la conquista de México, población y progresos de la*

²⁸ I follow the anonymous author's lead in spelling the Nahuatl proper nouns "Tlaxcala" and "Xicoténcatl" as "Tlascalala" and "Jicoténcal."

América Septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España [History of the Conquest of Mexico, and the Population and Progress of North America, Known by the Name of New Spain]²⁹ from the perspective of the Tlascalans. A “republic” that has been subjugated by the “despotic” Montezuma, Tlascala decides to side with Cortés against the Mexica,³⁰ a move bitterly opposed by the Jicoténcals, a father and son who hold positions of leadership in the republic. Jicoténcal the Younger is eventually killed by Cortés for his opposition. Meanwhile, Teutila, his wife from a neighboring city-state, dies after a frustrated attempt to kill Cortés.³¹

In this way, the work constitutes a projection of the Cuba of 1826 –which, with Puerto Rico and the Philippines, remained a colony at a moment when the countries of the Spanish Main had already achieved independence-- onto early sixteenth-century Mexico, deploying the indigenous Tlascaltecas as figurations of Euroamerican *criollos* of the colonial elite. This substitution is common in nineteenth-century Cuban literature, and can be seen in works such as Heredia’s poem “Las sombras” and Gómez de Avellaneda’s novel *Guatimozin*.³² Importantly,

²⁹ An English translation entitled *History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* by Thomas Townsend, Esq. was published in Dublin in 1727.

³⁰ The Mexica are more commonly referred to as the “Aztecs.” More properly, however, the term “Aztec” refers to all of the ethnicities living in the Valley of Mexico at the time of Contact (including the Tlaxcaltecas), while “Mexica” designates the group whose empire dominated the region. As the distinction between the groups is important to the plot of *Jicoténcal*, I will use the term “Mexica” to refer to Montezuma’s empire.

³¹ For information about the historical Tlaxcala, see Lucina M. Toulet Abasolo, *Tlaxcala en la conquista de México: El mito de la traición*.

³² A common tropological strategy, as historians such John Lynch, Anthony Pagden, and Rebecca Earle have pointed out, this tendency to portray criollos as Amerindians helps to explain the profusion of nineteenth-century historical novels dealing with “the colonial period or the pre-Hispanic civilizations” (Brushwood 5-6). As Aida Cometta Manzini comments in *El indio en la novela de América*, the political struggles of the period “engendran un repudio hacia todo lo español y, como consecuencia lógica, un acercamiento al indio” [“create a rejection of all things Spanish and, as a result, a rapprochement with the Indian”] perhaps due to the influence of French romanticism and

Jicoténcal does not refer to the Amerindians as “indios,” as would have been common at the time that the novel was written. Instead, when the indigenous are marked ethno-racially on a transnational level, the term used is “americanos,” which is the semantic opposite of “europeos” --not “blancos” (Pagden)--, and which, in the early nineteenth century, referred specifically to the Euro-descendent population of the Western Hemisphere (Chasteen, *Americanos* 1). Collapsed into criollos, the Amerindians of *Jicoténcal* lose their referential specificity and become simple binary opposites of the European despots.

That said, the racial masquerade involved in such geographical and temporal displacement does not complicate the social leveling for which the book’s republican rhetoric supposedly advocates but, rather, reveals the aporias already present in enlightened republican thought on both sides of the Atlantic. The author employs the definition of “republic” given by Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Du Contrat Social* (1762) as a society in which “chacun de nous met en comun sa personne et toute sa puissance sous la suprême direction de la volonté générale; et nous recevons en corps chaque membre comme partie indivisible du tout” [“each of us puts his person and all of his power into the common pool under the supreme direction of the general will; and we receive as a group each member as an indivisible part of the whole”] (24). Such a community necessarily does away with social hierarchies, as, according to Rousseau “the general will” tends towards “equality” –at

works such as Jean-François Marmontel’s *les Incas* (1777) and François-René de Chateaubriand’s *Atala* (1801) (11).

least among citizens (55). However, the philosopher points out that the success of the egalitarian republic is contingent upon the citizens' "virtue."

North American statesman Thomas Jefferson, later employs this notion of virtue in his explanation of "natural aristocracy" in his famous 1813 letter to John Adams. Perhaps inspired by the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Jefferson claims that:

There is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. [...] There is also an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society. And indeed it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for the social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of the society. May we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural *aristoi* into the offices of government? The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government, and provision should be made to prevent its [sic] ascendancy (n.p.).

In the pages that follow, I will argue that, while the notion of natural aristocracy represents a counterdiscourse to the hereditary honor of the medieval period and the divine right of kings, advocating instead for government by a "best" class determined not by accidents of birth, but by virtue, it is also a hybrid institution, marrying the feudal concept of aristocracy to the bourgeois principle of virtue. The novel *Jicoténcal*, drawing on the discourse of the virtuous natural aristocracy, presents a seemingly egalitarian vision of republicanism based on civic virtue --that is, the orientation of one's energies towards the good of the nation--, that that vision is complicated by the way that the text understands "virtue" to exclude certain groups -- particularly, as I will show-- Afro-Hispanics, from public life. The virtue of the natural aristocracy presented by the novel serves to imagine a republican community

that, while replacing Spanish dynasticism with New-World republicanism, is still entangled with certain aspects of the colonial socio-political structure from which the text ostensibly seeks emancipation.

Historical Background

The question of republicanism and its implications for Spanish American social and political hierarchies had become particularly important in the region in the aftermath of the 1808 Napoleonic invasion of Spain, which forced monarch Fernando VII into exile and prompted the drafting of the 1812 Cádiz Constitution by a committee of delegates from all over the Spanish Empire. Despite the liberal legacy of Cádiz, the European thinkers cited by Spanish American independentistas tend to be French, which has led some historians to view the independence of the Spanish colonies as an elite movement lead by, in E.J. Hobsbawm's somewhat condescending words, "small groups of patricians, soldiers and gallicized *évolués*" ignoring local particularities and "leaving the mass of the Catholic poor-white population passive and the Indians indifferent or hostile" to their efforts to inaugurate European-style republics (175).³³

That said, in recent years "a more fragmented and contingent understanding of independence" has "taken shape, less triumphalist than earlier nationalist histories but also more attuned to the democratic potential of Latin America's Age of Revolution"

³³ On the ideological origins of Spanish American independence, see Richard Herr, "The Constitution of 1812 and the Spanish Road to Parliamentary Monarchy."

and to the ways in which the global designs of republican revolution were entangled with the local histories of anticolonial activity in the region (Schmidt-Nowara 230). Juan Marchena, for example, points out that “el mundo pre-independentista no es precisamente un rebalse de paz” [“the pre-independence world wasn’t exactly a reservoir of peace”]. Rather, he notes, there had been uprisings against corruption and inequality throughout Latin America before the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, most famously the 1780 Tupac Amaru rebellion in Peru and the 1795 Coro Rebellion in Venezuela. Meanwhile, the popular uprisings in Mexico in and before 1810 provided the impetus for the independence movement in that country. Citing Haiti as a paradigmatic example, he notes that the goals of these movements were not those of the French enlightened republicanism that the creole elites later espoused, as political and economic liberty could mean little to the slaves, peons, and menial workers behind the uprisings. In this way, Marchena presents a vision of radical independence “from below” that traditionally has been marginalized in official histories.

Independence “from above,” however, was more conservative in nature. Though at first, the popular revolts against Spanish rule “received tacit, sometimes even active, support from the local and regional elites, who also had their grievances against Bourbon policy and who were initially willing to use the rebellions as tools for obtaining royal redress for those grievances. [...] as the rebellions followed their course, attracting [...] tens of thousands of followers and generating calls for an end to slavery and forced Indian labor, the dominant class could not ignore their potential revolutionary content” (Andrews, “Spanish American Independence” 117).

Moreover, “the Haitian Revolution,” and similar, failed revolts, “offered convincing evidence of the destructive forces contained within the structure of colonial society” and served as a frightening example of what might happen if popular agency were left unchecked (Andrews 124). Fearful that the radical energy unleashed against the Spaniards might turn against them after independence, the criollo elites took great pains to limit popular participation in the post-colonial nation-states. Independence leader Simón Bolívar’s “Discurso de Angostura” encapsulates elite *independentista* thought of the period:

No aspiremos a lo imposible, no sea que por elevarnos sobre la región de la libertad, descendamos a la región de la tiranía. De la libertad absoluta se descende siempre al poder absoluto, y el medio entre estos dos términos es la suprema libertad social. Teorías abstractas son las que producen la perniciosa idea de una libertad ilimitada. Hagamos que la fuerza pública se contenga en los límites que la razón y el interés prescriben: que la voluntad nacional se contenga en los límites que un justo poder le señala: que una legislación civil y criminal, análoga a nuestra actual constitución domine imperiosamente sobre el poder judicial, y entonces habrá un equilibrio, y no habrá el choque que embaraza la marcha del estado y no habrá esa complicación que traba, en vez de ligar la sociedad” (107).

Let us not aspire to the impossible such that, raising ourselves above the region of liberty, we descend into the region of tyranny. Absolute liberty descends always into absolute power, and the mean between those two points is supreme social liberty. Abstract theories are all that the pernicious idea of unlimited liberty can produce. Let us have public strength be contained within the limits that reason and interest prescribe. May the national will be contained within the limits that just power indicates for it. May a civil and criminal legislation analogous to our present constitution rule imperiously over the judiciary, and then there will be a balance, and there will not be a clash that hinders the march of the state and there will not be such complications that weigh down, instead of bind together, society.

In Marixa Lasso’s words, Bolívar “feared not that the popular classes would remain aloof from modern politics but that they would participate too much” (3). *Jicoténcal* and the political texts with which it engages deploy the discourse of virtue in order to block the popular participation that Bolívar feared.

Republicanism and Anticolonialism

Jicoténcal represents an effort on the author's part to put European political thought into dialogue with the local conditions of the colonial and newly independent Americas. Published in the aftermath of the abrogation of the Cádiz Constitution and independence on the Spanish Main, *Jicoténcal* is, in the words of González Acosta, a "novela-ensayo" ["novel-treatise"] on the virtues of republican government (196), which aims to "exponer las ideas liberales propias del iluminismo" ["present the ideas of the Enlightenment thought"] of the age in which it was written, dialoguing with Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, Rousseau, and several New-World Enlightenment thinkers, such as Thomas Jefferson and the Cuban priest Félix Varela, as well as the Cuban romantic poet José María Heredia (Hernández- Miyares 77). In such a context, the republican values espoused by the novel can be viewed as a counterdiscourse to the dynastic Spanish colonial model.

The importance of the conflict between colonial despotism and criollo republicanism is evident from the second paragraph of the text, which lays out the work's argument: "la completa destrucción de un imperio inmenso, de una república considerable y de una multitud de otros Estados menores, que ocupaban una gran parte [del continente americano], emprendida y llevada a cabo por una banda de soldados a sueldo y órdenes de un déspota, que tenía su trono a más de dos mil leguas de distancia" [the complete destruction of an immense empire, of a considerable republic, and of a multitude of other minor States that occupied a large part [of the

American continent], undertaken and carried out by a band of common soldiers and the orders of a despot whose throne was at two thousand leagues' distance"] (3). This passage, which echoes both the black legend discourses circulating in Europe as well as Montesquieu's condemnation of despotism in *De l'Esprit des lois*, juxtaposes foreign despotism with autochthonous republicanism by pitting the virtuous republican Tascalas first against the decadent Mexica and later against the depraved Spanish Empires.³⁴

The anticolonial nature of the book's republicanism becomes clear when one realizes that the work is in many ways an aggressive rewriting of Spanish historian Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira's 1683 *Historia de la conquista de México, población y progresos de la América Septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*, which was published several times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is quoted frequently throughout *Jicoténcal* (González Acosta 4), turning to the history of the Americas in order to consider the form that newly emancipated New-World nation-states should take. In his introduction to the Porrúa edition of de Solís's text, Mexican historian Edumundo O'Gorman postulates that de Solís writes his history in reaction to the "decadencia de España" ["decadence of Spain"] brought on by the baroque crisis of the Peninsular imperial system, mobilizing Spain's glorious past as a bulwark against the country's contemporary decline (xi). Yet, despite the original

³⁴ In keeping with what Lukačs identifies as a defining feature of the historical novel before 1848, the Amerindian and Peninsular characters in *Jicoténcal* through which this moral-historical conflict is worked out are presented with little psychological depth. Rather, like Walter Scott, the anonymous Cuban author "endeavours to portray the struggles and antagonisms of history by means of characters who, in their psychology and destiny, always represent social trends and historical forces" (Lukačs 34). The characters are not individuals as much as "living embodiment [of] historical-social types" – in this case, virtuous republicans and vicious monarchists (35).

intentions of the seventeenth-century *Historia*, the anonymous Cuban author of *Jicoténcal* cannibalizes de Solis's text, resemanticizing the Spaniard's colonial discourse as he interpolates it into his New-World, anticolonial novel. His most obvious intervention is to make the Tlaxcalteca leader Jicoténcal the Younger, a minor figure in the de Solis source text, his protagonist. This shift in perspective leads to a modification in meaning, as, in the novel, the character of Jicoténcal ceases to be the rebel that de Solis portrays and becomes a hero of New-World emancipation. This change signals the difference in ideologies between the two works, where the first represents a colonial and the second an anti-colonial discourse.

These ideological differences are most tangible in the visions of republicanism presented in the texts. De Solis's critical genealogy of Tlaxcalan republicanism is a case in point:

Tuvieron reyes al principio, y duró su dominio algunos años, hasta que sobreviniendo unas guerras civiles, perdieron la inclinación de obedecer, y sacudieron el yugo. Pero como el pueblo no se puede mantener por sí enemigo de la sujeción hasta que conoce los daños de la libertad, se redujeron a república, nombrando muchos príncipes para deshacerse de uno (108).

They had princes at the beginning and their reign lasted some years, until, following a series of civil wars, they lost their inclination to obey, and shook off the yoke. But, as a people cannot remain an enemy of subjection on its own until it knows how freedom damages, it reduced itself to a republic, appointing many princes in order to get rid of one.

The novel, however, removes the critical tone from the description of being “reduced to a republic, appointing many princes in order to get rid of one,” commenting simply that: “Se quiere que una antigua tradición conservase la memoria de los tiempos remotos en que Tlascala fuera gobernada por un solo y poderoso cacique o rey, pero

que el pueblo se sublevó contra los excesos de su autoridad y, después de haber recobrado su soberanía, se constituyó en república” (4) [“It is hoped that an ancient tradition will conserve the memory of remote times in which Tlascala was governed by a single, powerful cacique or king, but that the people rose up against the excesses of his authority and that, after recovering their sovereignty, constituted themselves into a republic”]. Rather than rule by “powerful kings and chiefs” with their “excesses of authority,” or even de Solís’s “many princes,” it is “equality” which forms the “espíritu público” [“public spirit”] of the Tlascalan republic represented in the novel (4). In this Rousseauian vision, the subjugation of despotic systems embraced by the Spaniard Solís is replaced by the enlightened equality between citizens who are also “participants in sovereign authority” (Rousseau 25).

The novel’s opening makes this Manichean conflict between republican virtue and despotic vice clear. In the first paragraph, the “república de Tlascala” is juxtaposed with the Spanish “bárbaros medio salvajes” [“half-savage barbarians”] who subject the Amerindian “sociedades civiles” to “trastornos incapaces de describirse” [“disturbances unable to be described”] (3). Likewise, Carlos V, Emperor of Spain at the time of the Conquest of Mexico, is characterized in the second paragraph of the novel as a “déspota,” while the Tlascalans are “simple” “republicanos valientes aguerridos” [“brave republican warriors”] (3). By describing the Tlascalans in both political and moral terms in successive paragraphs, the narrator establishes a link between republicanism and moral virtue, a link that is made clear later on when Jicoténcal the Younger claims that “a la sombra de nuestras leyes

seguimos nosotros el camino de la virtud y de la gloria, y con ellas hemos ligado cuanto hay de bueno en la sociedad” [“in the shadow of our laws we follow the path of virtue and glory, and with them we have bounded all that is good in society”] (51). The law may be the foundation of Tlascalala’s republic, but virtue and glory are necessary to create a model society.³⁵

It seems likely that this idea is drawn from *De l’esprit des lois*, in which Montesquieu argues that republican governments are founded on the principle of virtue. He argues that, while “il ne faut pas beaucoup de probité, pour qu’un gouvernement monarchique ou despotique se maintienne ou se soutienne” [“not much probity is needed for a monarchical or despotic government to maintain or sustain itself”] because “la force des lois dans l’un, le bras du prince toujours levé dans l’autre, reglent ou contiennent tout” [“the force of the laws in the one, the arm of the prince ever raised in the other, rule or contain everything”], “dans un état populaire, il faut ressort du plus, qui est la vertu” [“in a popular state, another means is necessary. That is virtue”] (39-40). He feels that “lorsque cette vertu cesse, l’ambition entre dans les couers qui peuvent la recevoir, et l’avarice entre dans tous” [“when this virtue ceases, ambition enters into the hearts of those who can receive it, and greed enters into all”] (42). To the colonial Americas, this discourse of virtuous republicanism presents a radically different model than that offered by the monarchical metropolises, which perhaps helps to explain why it would be more quickly adapted in the New

³⁵ Indeed, virtue is so important for the text that the Tlascalans’ downfall is brought about by their deviation from its principles. As Castillo points out, “tellingly, the narrator of *Jicoténcal* focuses his attention on the Tlaxcalan senate, where a lack of vision and honorable statesmanship create serious problems, permitting a corrupt senator to influence his fellows into making the wrong decision by allying their people with the Spaniards” (Castillo, 36).

World than on the European continent on which it originated. Yet, how is the European republican notion of virtue, conceived as a counterdiscourse to the dynastic system of pre-Revolutionary France, modified when adapted to fit the particular needs of the New-World colonial caste hierarchies, which are based both on family networks and on racial phenotype? A close reading of the word “virtue” as it is used in *Jicoténcal* suggests an answer.

The Virtuous Republic

A genealogical overview of the discourse of “virtue” may prove helpful. In *La ciudad y el campo* [The City and the Country], Julio Caro Baroja explains that “la palabra *honor*, u *honos-honoris*, tiene muchas acepciones en latín clásico. Se asocia así con las ideas de consideración, estima, gloria; se liga con la existencia de dignidades y magistraturas públicas, recompensas, ornamentos y vestidos que realzan al que los lleva ante los demás” [“the word *honor*, or *honos-honoris*, has many acceptences in classical Latin. It is associated with notions of consideration, esteem, and glory. It is tied to the existence of public dignitaries and magistrates, compensations, ornaments and dress that elevated those that wore them above the rest”] (66). In the Middle Ages, the term comes to have two referents:

1: El orgullo de sangre, que es sentimiento muy cultivado por los pueblos llamados bárbaros, tales como visigodos, ostrogodos, francos, etc. 2: La convicción de que los hombres buenos constituyen, ante todo, una comunidad de fieles, idea que se deriva de la propaganda cristiana y que [...] tiende a restringir de modo considerable los principios éticos difundidos en época clásica, en la que la comunidad era de ciudadanos ante todo (67).

1: Pride in one's blood, which is a highly cultivated feeling among the so-called barbarous peoples, such as the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, the Franks, etc. 2: The conviction that good men constitute, above all, a community of the faithful, an idea derived from Christian propaganda and which [...] tends to restrict considerably the ethical principles disseminated in the Classical period, in which the community was made up of citizens above all else.

In the thirteenth century, a series of “enfamamientos” [“infamements”],³⁶ such as illegitimacy or adultery, stripping people of their honor were codified (70-71). The existence of these enfamamientos results in the “incapacitación o inhabilidad para cargos, tales como los de juez, consejero real o de concejo, vocero o cargo público en general” [“the incapacitation or inability for positions such as judge, royal advisor or member of an advisory panel, spokesperson, or public employment in general”] (71-72). At the same time, the twin notions of “valer más” [“to be worth more”] and “valer menos” [“to be worth less”] entered into law. “El ‘valer menos’ ocurría por cosas tales como manifestar cobardía, incumplir la palabra dada o desdecirse” [“Being worth less occurred for things such as showing cowardice, not keeping one's word, or recanting something one has said”] while “el ‘valer más’ parece haberse conseguido sólo con las armas en la mano y sin atender casi nunca a principios de templanza y de valor sereno y justo” [“Being worth more seems only to have been attainable with weapons in one's hands or by almost always disregarding the principles of temperance and of just and serene valor”] (74).

The notion of valer más “está ligado con una idea de la honra que no es individual, sino con una especie de honor colectivo” [“is bound up with an idea of

³⁶ Drawn from Medieval law, the term is not used in contemporary Spanish and does not appear in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*.

honor that is not individual, but a sort of collective honor”] which adjusts itself to “un sistema de linajes patrilineales” [“a system of patrilineal lineage”] in which “las glorias de un individuo del linaje alcanza [sic] a la totalidad de éste, las vergüenzas también” [“the glories of an individual from the line extend to the entire line, and his shames, too”](76).

Later, the consolidation of the absolute monarchy and the creation of a court during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when *Jicoténcal* takes place, led to a conception of honor based on noble rank (90-91). Meanwhile, with the contemporaneous establishment of the Inquisition and the resulting persecution of *conversos* to Catholicism suspected of secretly maintaining the Jewish faith, the question of *limpieza de sangre* [“cleanness of blood,” or, the absence of Jewish ancestry] became important in Spanish society, as a lack of *limpieza* rendered one ineligible for noble honors and public office (92-97). This situation continued until the eighteenth century, when the ascendancy of bourgeois commercial interests led to the replacement of honor with virtue as the organizing principal of society (116-118). Eventually, in nineteenth century “las penas de infamias hereditarias” [“penalties for hereditary infamies”] were suspended (121) –or so it seems, as I will explain below.

This eighteenth-century enlightened notion of virtue has its origins in classical thought. Aristotle attempts to explain the concept in the second book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, arguing that virtue is “a kind of mean [and] aims at what is intermediate” (Chapter 6):

Virtue, then, is a state of character concerned with choice, lying in a mean, i.e. the mean relative to us, this being determined by a rational principle, and by that principle by which the man of practical wisdom would determine it. Now it is a mean between two vices, that which depends on excess and that which depends on defect; and again it is a mean because the vices respectively fall short of or exceed what is right in both passions and actions, while virtue both finds and chooses that which is intermediate. Hence in respect of its substance and the definition which states its essence virtue is a mean, with regard to what is best and right an extreme (Chapter 6.).

An embracing of reason and moderation over the boundless heroism of the “valer más” and the character of an individual over the accomplishments of one’s ancestors, “virtue” seems an appropriate ideology for the temperate and individualistic bourgeoisie.³⁷ Yet, even in classical times, the discourse of virtue retained a certain aristocratic character. In Book VIII of the *Eudemian Ethics*, Aristotle, attempting to explain why some are more fortunate in their endeavors than others, writes that:

Things are fine when that for which men do them and choose them is fine. Therefore to the noble man the things good by nature are fine; for what is just is fine, and what is according to worth is just, and he is worthy of these things; and what is befitting is fine, and these things befit him—wealth, birth, power. Hence for the noble man the same things are both advantageous and fine; but for the multitude these things do not coincide, for things absolutely good are not also good for them, whereas they are good for the good man; and to the noble man they are also fine, for he performs many fine actions because of them. But he who thinks that one ought to possess the virtues for the sake of external goods does fine things only by accident. Nobility then is perfect goodness.

Thus, noble people have greater access to virtue than common people, suggesting that, even if the Aristotelian concept of virtue does not rely on bloodlines --as do the Hispano-feudal notions of honor and valer más-- it is still not a leveling force in society. Aristotle makes this clear in Book III of the *Politics*, where he claims that “no man can practice virtue who is living the life of a mechanic or laborer” --

³⁷ On bourgeois cultural values, see Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

occupations that are incompatible with the contemplative lifestyle that he believes to be essential to the acquisition of virtue (Chapter 5).

As a result, according to Aristotle, “at Thebes there was a law that no man could hold office who had not retired from business for ten years” (Chapter 5). At the same time, however, he feels that “the noble, or free-born, or rich, may with good reason claim office; for holders of offices must be freemen and taxpayers: a state can be no more composed entirely of poor men than entirely of slaves” (Chapter 12). Though he believes that “justice and valor” (Chapter 12) are necessary qualities in the leaders of a state, he also believes that “that those who are sprung from better ancestors are likely to be better men, for nobility is excellence of race” (Chapter 13). In sum, Aristotle does not embrace the hereditary lines of honor and infamy that would become dominant in medieval thought but, rather, advocates an aristocracy in the etymological sense of the term: government by the best. It so happens, however, that the best tend to come from select families.

This slippery notion of virtue --of what it means to be “the best”-- is significant for discourses on citizenship during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the nascent bourgeoisie revives the term as the bulwark of republican society. Article VI of the 1789 “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,” for example, states that “tous les Citoyens[,] étant égaux” [“all Citizens, being equal”] before the law “sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur capacité, et sans autre distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talents” [“are equally admissible to all dignities, appointments, and public

employment, according to their ability, and without any distinction beside that of their virtues and talents”], in this way replacing the hereditary privileges of the nobility with rights based on the “talents and virtues” to which Jefferson would later refer.

But, what is this virtue, exactly? Beyond the Aristotelian notion of moderation, the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal* seems to understand the term as Rousseau does in the “Discours sur l’économie politique” (1755) as “cette conformité de la volonté particulière à la générale” [“that conformity of the individual will to the particular”]. Echoing ideas set forth by Montesquieu in *De l’esprit des lois* (1748), he adds that “les plus grands prodiges de vertu ont été produits par l’amour de la patrie” [“the greatest marvels of virtue have been produced by the love of the patrie”].

The need for a virtuous political class was felt widely throughout the Americas during the early republican period and can be found in the writings of Bolívar, Father Félix Varela, Jefferson, and José María Heredia. In “Patriotismo,” a series of articles on corruption in Mexico published in *El conservador* between June 15 and August 13, 1831, Heredia writes that “los vicios particulares” [“personal vices”], such as “el aspirantismo, monstruo desorganizador, y enemigo capital de la virtud que recomendamos, ha sido el que principalmente se ha presentado en la palestra para impedir el acierto en las resoluciones legislativas” [“ambition, disorganizing monster and chief enemy of the virtue that we recommend, has been the main (vice) to present itself in the forum to impede rightness in legislative resolutions”] (219). He continues:

Si [los diputados] pertenecen a alguna sociedad secreta de influjo y poder en la nación, votan ciegamente por las instrucciones que de ella reciben, sin previo examen de su justicia, necesidad o conveniencia; si las cosas públicas cambian de aspecto, las opiniones del diputado sufren también su transformación, porque esto es conforme y conducente a sus miras ulteriores; si es necesario que escriban a sus respectivos pueblos o estados para extender un error cualquiera, extraviar el buen juicio y provocar el desorden, se prestan de buena gana, y se apunta este servicio en el número de sus sacrificios patrióticos; pero si estos métodos, y otros que omitimos por decencia no son de la época, se ocurre al ordinario de adular a los que tienen el poder, y particularmente a los ministros: se busca a éstos, para saber su voluntad y pensamientos, se sostienen en las discusiones todas sus pretensiones y caprichos, se canonizan sus actos más ilegales, como si fueran virtudes, y se vota con desfachatez y constancia por lo que ellos quieren, aunque los pueblos se perjudiquen y padezcan todas las calamidades imaginables; el caso es llevarse al cabo de la jornada, o antes si es posible, una legación, un correlato, una comisaría, una plaza de oidor CC., para que después estos buenos ahijados paguen con vejaciones a los mismos que los eligieron, con la sedición a la patria, que los alimenta, y con mil ingratitudes al gobierno que les dispensó su protección y patrocinio. Aun los que quedan sin colocación logran al menos la ventaja de que las relaciones adquiridas en el período de su encargo, les sirvan eficazmente para nuevas intrigas y enredos (220).

If [the diputados] belong to a secret society that has influence or power over the nation, they vote blindly according to the instructions that they receive, without prior examination of their justice, necessity, or convenience. If public things change their look, the diputado's opinions suffer the same transformation. For that reason, he is content and compliant with its ulterior motives. If it is necessary that they write to their respective peoples or states to spread an error, miscarry justice, and provoke disorder, they jump at the chance and count this service as one of their patriotic sacrifices. But if these methods --and others omitted for the sake of decency-- are inopportune, it occurs to the ordinary man to flatter those with power, particularly ministers. They are sought out in order to discover their will and thoughts, their whims and claims are maintained in debates, their most illegal acts are canonized as though they were virtues and one votes shamelessly and constantly for what they want, even though the people are harmed and suffer all calamities imaginable. The idea is to get, by the end of the work day --or earlier, if possible-- a piece of legislation, a corollary, a commissionership, a judgeship so that later these good godchildren can pay back by vexing the same people who elected them by betraying the state that feeds them, with a thousand acts of ingratitude towards the government that gave them its protection and patronage. Even those who wind up without an appointment gain at the very least the advantage of the relationships they have acquired during the time they were carrying out their task, which will serve them well for later intrigues and entanglements.

For Heredia, the problem with government corruption is that it has as its goal, “no el bien común de los pueblos” that Rousseau seeks “sino algún interés en particular, muchas veces, pueril; y cuando todos [los vicios] han llegado a reunirse en los distintos miembros de una mayoría legislativa, ya hemos visto los desastres que es capaz de causar la explosión de semejante volcán. Sus lavas han producido en otros

combustibles de afuera, y dentro de breve tiempo se ha seguido la conflagración general del país” [“not the common good of peoples, but personal interest, oftentimes childish. And when all [of the vices] have managed to come together in the different members of a legislative majority – well, we have already seen the disasters that the explosion of such a volcano is capable of causing. Its lava has set fire to other wood, and in no time conflagration has been general in the country”] (221). That is, “del mismo modo que los particulares se afectan de las buenas cualidades de sus gobernantes, así también se corrompen, cuando preside la inmoralidad en las operaciones de aquéllos” [“in the same way that individuals effect the good qualities of their governors, so too are they corrupted, when immorality rules the operations of the latter”]. As a result, when “personas de una conducta viciada o sospechosa” [“people of vicious or suspicious conduct”] have held public office in Mexico, “la relajación ha cundido, cual peste desoladora, por todas las clases de la sociedad. La entereza y actividad de los magistrados, la imparcialidad de los jueces, la disciplina y honor militar, el candor y mansedumbre del pueblo, todo se ha debilitado, y en gran parte desaparecido” [“laxity has spread like a devastating plague through all classes of society. The integrity and efficiency of magistrates, the impartiality of judges, discipline and military honor, the candor and docility of the people –all has been weakened and largely disappeared”] (222). Virtue is the bedrock of the republic.

Reproducing Virtue

For the author of *Jicoténcal*, as for Rousseau and Heredia, personal and political vice and virtue are intimately intertwined and fidelity to fatherland and the common good comes above all else. When Teutila is imprisoned by Cortés, for example, Jicoténcal the Elder comments that his son's beloved is “indignamente oprimida” [“undeservingly oppressed”] and that “fácil le sería [al joven Jicoténcal] atacar por sorpresa su prisión y no le faltarían bravos que le ayudasen” [“it would be easy [for the Young Jicoténcal] to attack her prison by surprise and he would not lack brave men who would help him”]. Yet, Jicoténcal the Younger, “también tiene una patria y sabe que debe sacrificarle sus pasiones, y este sufrimiento y esta conformidad, [...] hacen ver que Tlascalca tiene todavía vida y vigor” [“also has a patria and knows that he should sacrifice his passions to it. This suffering and this acceptingness [...] show that Tlascalca still has life and vigor”] (52). The young Jicoténcal “should [debe] sacrifice his passions” to the patria, privileging *deber*, or “duty” over “passion” and personal desires, thereby ensuring the “life and vigor” of the Tlascalcan republic.

When the younger Jicoténcal finally marries Teutila, his father advises him not to “[dejarse] seducir por los dulces placeres de [s]u nuevo estado cuando la voz de la patria [l]e llame en su socorro” [“allow (himself) to be seduced by the sweet pleasures of (his) new state when the voice of the patria calls (him) to its succor”], as this is “la primera obligación de todo hombre en sociedad y la [del joven Jicoténcal] se aumenta hoy en razón de que [va] a engrandecer [s]u existencia social” [“the obligation of every man in society and that of [the young Jicoténcal] increases today

for the reason that [he is going to] greaten [his] social existence”] by wedding Teutila (80). Here, the success of the Tlascalan state is tied to that of Jicoténcal and Teutila’s marriage. The “dulces placeres” of this marriage, however, are subordinate to “la voz de la patria,” which represents Jicoténcal’s primary obligation. Productive romantic love is at the base of the Tlascalan state, and represents a form of virtuously suborindating one’s desires --both personal and interpersonal-- to duty and the common good.

The character of Jicoténcal the Younger, meanwhile, is a figure of national liberation from the first pages of the novel, largely because he embodies what González Acosta calls the virtuous “unión del amor por la mujer [...] y el amor por la patria” [“union of love for a woman [...] with love for the patria”] (85) and Sommer would see as the dialectics between erotics and patriotism. Indeed, in the novel, Jicoténcal’s marriage to Teutila serves as a “garante” [“guarantee”] of a “pacto patriótico” [“patriotic pact”] between the Tlascalans and Teutila’s people (77). In this marriage, then, we see the Rousseauian alignment of self-fulfillment with service to society.

Importantly, in addition to virtuously serving the needs of the state by marrying and fulfilling their own needs, Jicoténcal and Teutila are called upon to reproduce their virtue. As Jicoténcal the Elder states at their wedding:

Este grande acto de la primera alianza del hombre os va a elevar al gran rango de padres de familia, rango cuya nobleza incomparable habéis merecido por vuestras virtudes. ¡Los dioses os preserven de faltar a las dulces pero sagradas obligaciones que vais a contraer el uno hacia el otro, y ambos hacia vuestros hijos y hacia la sociedad! ¡Qué la tibieza no debilite vuestro afecto, que la tea de la discordia no esparza su fatal humo en vuestra pacífica mansión y que

una larga posteridad, educada como vosotros en la virtud, haga vuestras canas tan felices como lo es en este momento vuestro anciano padre! (80).

The great act of man's first alliance will elevate you to the rank of *paterfamilias*, a rank whose incomparable nobility you have earned by your virtues. May the gods keep you from shirking the sweet but sacred obligations that you are going to contract towards each other, towards your children, and towards society! May coolness never weaken your affections, may the torch of discord never spread its fatal smoke on your peaceful home and may a long posterity, educated as you are in virtue, make your grey hairs as happy as your aged father is at this moment!

The couple, then, must “educate their children in virtue.” In this way, the historical text situates the reproduction of the republic's natural aristocrats in a fictionalized past, thereby ensuring that the body politic will continue to be virtuous in the future that the novel imagines –a desire that, like the early nineteenth-century Cuban republican project, is ultimately frustrated.³⁸

This reproduction of a virtuous citizenry is particularly important in nation-states that are in the process of constructing themselves. In the 1797 “Discurso preliminar dirigido a los americanos” that precedes his Spanish translation of the Rights of Man, Juan Mariano Bautista Picornell writes that the legislatures of emerging states should publish their new laws and then cast from the “seno del cuerpo social a todas aquellas personas reconocidas por enemigos del nuevo sistema” [“bosom of the social body all people recognized as enemies of the new system”]. When sovereignty depends upon unity, he says, it is “absurdo conservar en la asociación civil hombres que alteran todos los principios, que aborrecen todas las leyes y que se oponen a todas las medidas” [“absurd to retain men who upset all principles in the social body, men who abhor all laws and oppose themselves to all

³⁸ For a theoretical discussion of progeny and the temporal function of the foundational historical novel, see the Introduction to this dissertation.

measures taken”]. In such cases, “el destierro de unas gentes tan corrompidas e incorregibles asegura la libertad y evita la pérdida y muerte de muchos millares de ciudadanos útiles y vigorosos” [“the banishment of such corrupt and incorrigible persons assures liberty and avoids the loss and deaths of many thousands of useful and vigorous citizens”]. Thus, “la regeneración de un pueblo no puede ser sino el resultado de su expurgación, después de la cual aquellos que quedan no tienen más que un mismo espíritu, una misma voluntad, un mismo interés: el goce común de los derechos del hombre, que constituye el bienestar de cada individuo” [“the regeneration of a people cannot be anything but the result of their expurgation, after which those who stay will not have but a single spirit, a single will, a single interest -- the common enjoyment of the rights of man, which constitute the wellbeing of each individual”] (7-8). New-World enlightened thought, then, does not stop at recommending that governments encourage citizens to make ideal matches and reproduce a certain kind of virtuous citizen --as in the marriage of Jicoténcal and Teutila and Sommer’s theorization of the foundational romance. Rather, the early republican thinkers of the Americas also advocated the expulsion of the unvirtuous from the body politic. This virtuous expulsion, as I will explain later, took place along racial lines.³⁹

The novel *Jicoténcal*, for its part, is heavily invested, not only in the reproduction of the virtuous natural aristocracy, but in preserving that sector of the body politic from the influence of corrupting elements. When Diego de Ordaz, who

³⁹ For different reasons, the expulsion of certain racialized groups from the body politic is also a theme of Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans*, as I will explain in Chapter II of this dissertation.

has accompanied Cortés to Mexico, hears of doña Marina's designs on the young Jicoténcal, he exclaims: "¡Jicoténcal el bravo, el honrado, el virtuoso Jicoténcal unido a Marina! No permitáis, señor, una unión tan monstruosa. ¡La pérfida unida a la franqueza, el vicio a la virtud, el envilecimiento a la nobleza!" ["Jicoténcal the brave, the honorable, the virtuous Jicoténcal united with Marina! Do not permit, señor, such a monstrous union. Perfidy united to frankness, vice to virtue, lowliness to nobility!"] (59). Vice and virtue, lowliness and nobility make for unviable foundational marriages, weakening the natural aristocratic line with the blood of people who, as I now will show, are, according to the novel, unfit for citizenship.

Feminine Virtue and the "Prostitution" of Peoples

All this noble reproduction is dependent on a disciplining of female comport in order to safeguard feminine virtue, as is made clear in the dichotomous relationship between Teutila, true to her people, husband, and self even in death (she commits suicide as part of a failed attempt to avenge the Tlascalans against Cortés), and doña Marina, who, according to the novel, betrays her people to the Spanish invaders, is uncertain of the paternity of her child, and shifts allegiances easily and incompletely.⁴⁰ In the novel, the "virtue" of both of these women is under constant attack --attacks which are consistently described by the text in terms of "esclavitud"

⁴⁰ In "Gendered Nationalism in *Xicotencal*," Jayson T. Gonzales Sae-Saue problematizes the dichotomy that I am drawing here. His points are valid and provocative, but do not necessarily undermine my larger argument.

[slavery]. When Teutila becomes a prisoner of Cortés, for example, the narrator says that she “se vio [...] esclava” [“she found herself a slave”], an allusion to the conquistador’s lascivious intentions (which are ultimately frustrated) (48). As Teutila says later in the book, “en mi esclavitud tiene una gran parte su brutal lujuria. Ese insolente orgulloso ha querido prostituirme” [“his brutal lust is a large part of my slavery. That proud insolent wanted to prostitute me”] (62). Similarly, the novel claims that Cortés separates doña Marina from “el camino de la virtud” [“path of virtue”], at which point she becomes his “esclava” --a term she uses to refer to herself throughout the book. “Prostituted,” doña Marina is, according to the logic of the text, unfit for the virtuous republican motherhood of the natural aristocracy emphasized in Jicoténcal the Elder’s wedding speech, as her desires do not promote the general welfare. She becomes a slave, a non-citizen of the republic.

The cases of Teutila and doña Marina show that slavery in *Jicoténcal* is understood as a lack of virtue (in all its meanings) on the part of the enslaved. This can be seen at another point in the novel, when Jicoténcal the Elder ventriloquizes the conquistadores and argues that their thoughts are:

‘Yo vengo a esclavizaros a vosotros y vuestro pensamiento, vuestros hijos y vuestra descendencia, vengo a destruir vuestro culto y haceros apostar de vuestra religión – vengo a violar vuestras mujeres y vuestras hijas; vengo a robaros cuanto poseéis si os sometéis gustosos a tanto envilecimiento. Mi soberana benignidad os reserva el alto honor de que seáis mis aliados para que perezcáis peleando contra mis enemigos’ (10).

I come to enslave you and your thinking, your children and your descendants. I come to destroy your rite and have you abandon your religion. I come to rape your wives and daughters. I come to rob all that you have if you submit willingly to such degradation. My sovereign benignity reserves for you the high honor of being my allies so that you may perish fighting against my enemies.

If the text defines virtue as a noble mastery of one's own desires, it posits slavery as the complete opposite, as the loss of control over one's values and actions, a state that Teutila, in the quote discussed above, likens to "prostitution."

The same term appears again in reference to the Tlascalans after they have decided to forge an alliance with the Spanish against the Mexicas. The narrator comments that:

La soberanía de los Estados es como el honor de la mujer: cuando los pueblos la conservan intacta, son respetados y estimables, como lo es una mujer honrada en todos los países; mas cuando el interés, la corrupción, la debilidad o cualquiera otra causa les hacen ceder su apreciable joya, ni los unos ni las otras son más que objetos de desprecio, dignos, cuando más, de lástima y de conmiseración. Sin embargo, los pueblos pueden revivir al honor y lavar su envilecimiento reconquistando con valor lo que les arrancará el torrente de la fatalidad. Empero la infeliz república de Tlascala fue condenada por entonces a sufrir por largas edades el digno castigo de su vil prostitución (107).

The sovereignty of States is like a woman's honor: when peoples conserve it intact, they are respected and estimable, as an honorable woman is in all countries. However, when self-interest, corruption, weakness or any other cause makes them yield their precious jewel, neither is more than the object of scorn and worthy, at best, of pity and commiseration. Nonetheless, peoples can revive their honor and wash away their debasement by reconquering with valor that which the current of fate tore from them. However, the unhappy republic of Tlascala was condemned to suffer for many ages the rightful punishment for its lowly prostitution.

Here, the parallels between the "prostituted" Tlascalans and doña Marina, the Amerindian lover of conquistadors, are striking. According to the text, both "yield their valued jewel" out of "self-interest, corruption, and weakness." Both, too, experience the loss of the noble, properly reproductive republican virtue upon which Tlascalan society rests. As Castillo says, Cortés "sullies the virtue of both women and the State with his corrupting acts," thereby linking, on a discursive level, the personal virtue of potential republican mothers to the political virtue of the republic (53).

Thus, just as individuals like doña Marina can be barred from equal participation in the republic because of their unvirtuous slave status --much as Picornell advocates in his “Discurso”-- so, too, can whole peoples, *Jicoténcal* argues as it turns to the past in order to imagine the limits of the future national community. After the Tascalans decide to side with Cortés against the Mexica, Jicoténcal the Younger reflects on how “la cadena de sucesos que la fatalidad había dispuesto contra su república, había hecho que ésta pasase en tan poco tiempo desde el alto rango de una nación digna y respetable al envilecimiento de unos esclavos vendidos a un advenedizo afortunado” [“the chain of events that fate had set against the republic had made her pass in such a short time from the high rank of a worthy and respectable nation to the debasement of slaves conquered by a lucky newcomer”].⁴¹ Here, too, “slavery,” and enchainment are equated with loss of virtue in all senses of the word: “Los vínculos sociales estaban rotos, la autoridad prostituída, la traición dominante y premiada, el patriotismo y el mérito despreciados, hollados los derechos y ultrajadas las leyes; en una palabra: desquiciado todo el grande edificio que no pudo jamás conmovier el poder colosal de los emperadores mejicanos” [“Social links were broken, authority prostituted, betrayal widespread and rewarded, patriotism and merit scorned, rights trampled upon and the law outraged –in a word, shattered was the whole great edifice which could no longer unsettle the colossal power of the Mexican emperors”] (117). The notion of service to the patria has been replaced by treason, the ties that bind society have been broken and republican rights trampled on. “Patriotism

⁴¹ The Spanish noun “república” is feminine, helping to make possible the metaphoric constellation of virtue and prostitution that I am explaining in this subsection.

and merit” --“virtues” in the language of Montesquieu, the French National Assembly, Picornell, and Jefferson--, have been scorned. Authority has been “prostituted” --a term that also appears, as has been already mentioned, in Teutila’s description of Cortés’s lust for her-- and, in language reminiscent of Spaniard Félix Lope de Vega’s 1619 play, *Fuenteovejuna*, which also deals with the relationship between sexual violence and imperial military power- “ultrajada” [outraged, violated, raped].

At another point in the novel, the narrator moralizes that:

Cuando el poder arbitrario llega a asesinar a un hombre virtuoso, cubriendo este horrible atentado con una farsa judicial tan ridícula como insultante, y cuando el despotismo descarga así su mano de hierro a presencia de un pueblo que no le ahoga o despedaza en la justa indignación que debe excitar tan bárbara tiranía, ese pueblo sufre justamente sus cadenas, aun éstas son poco para lo que merece su cobarde y vil paciencia (120).

When arbitrary power manages to murder a virtuous man, covering this horrible affront with a judicial farce as ridiculous as it is insulting, and when despotism thusly unleashes its iron fist in the presence of a people who do not drown it out or rip it to shreds out of the righteous indignation that such barbarous tyranny should excite, that people suffers its chains justly, and even these are little in comparison with what their cowardly and base patience deserves.

Heredia makes similar comments in his 1832 poem “La estrella de Cuba,” in which he accuses the Cuban people of “entregarse” “al tirano insolente” [“giving themselves” “to the insolent tyrant”] --an image not lacking in sexual connotations--, claiming that they, “cobarde y estólidamente/ no ha querido la espada sacar” [“cowardly and stupidly/ did not want to draw the sword”] (xxi-xxiii). Like the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*, Heredia believes that liberty must be virtuously won. A few lines later, perhaps alluding to the foreign plots to liberate Cuba that were underway in the 1820s and 30s, the poet declares that, “[...] si un pueblo su dura

cadena/ no se atreve a romper con sus manos/bien le es fácil cambiar de amos/pero nunca ser libre podrá” [“if a people their hard chain/do not dare to break with their own hands/easy is it for them to change masters/but never can they be free”] (ixxx-xxxii). The critique, common in early nineteenth-century Cuban independentista discourse, echoes Rousseau’s belief that peoples become enslaved by surrendering their liberty in return for protection from a sovereign (*Contrat social* 15-16). Such comments are particularly pertinent in the context of an early nineteenth-century Cuba that recently declined to join the colonies of the Spanish Main in the struggle for independence. In this reading, the Cuban people, like *Jicoténcal*’s doña Marina, unvirtuously fail to subordinate their own desires to the common good of the republic, instead forming alliances with Spanish colonialism. Like doña Marina, then, the Cuban royalists, loyal to the Spanish Crown, do not number among the natural aristocracy, but among the slaves and must be expelled from the body politic if the republic is to thrive.⁴²

Racial Restrictions on Virtue

⁴² A glimmer of hope shines at times during the second half of the novel when, after Jicoténcal the Elder dies, Mariana begins to recover her “virtue,” distancing herself from the Spaniards’ plans for territorial and cultural imperialism (108-109), thereby suggesting the efforts of the people to break their own chains. That said, she is unable to stop Cortes’s siege of Tenochtitlán. Unlike the noble Teutila, doña Marina does not redeem herself from this failure --the novel simply ends with her by Cortes’s side as he announces his plans for the siege. The text, then, does not give her the opportunity to become the virtuous republican mother of a revolutionary mestizo Mexico --it simply ends with the promised defeat of the indigenous. Personal virtue certainly plays an important role in the novel, but doña Marina seems unable to fully recover hers, nor can she raise virtuous progeny, as Teutila and Jicoténcal are called upon to do. The ranks of the natural aristocracy are closed to her and her illegitimate children by viceful conquistadores. For another reading of social exclusion in *Jicoténcal*, see José López Alfonso, “*Jicoténcal*, Los disfraces de la historia.”

This equation of unvirtuous disqualification from participation in public life with “esclavitud” --a legal condition in which the rights of citizenship are suspended-- , then, is hardly accidental and points the reader back to the racial tensions underlying the New-World Age of Revolution discussed earlier in this chapter. As I have noted, Tlascalan republicanism does not imply democracy. Hannah Arendt argues that “democracy [...], to the eighteenth century still a form of government, and neither an ideology nor an indication of class preference, was abhorred because public opinion was held to rule where the public spirit ought to prevail” (227). Rather, the ancient and neoclassical ideal was isonomy, or political equality among citizens:

This equality within the range of the law, which the word isonomy suggested, was not equality of condition --though this equality, to an extent, was the condition for all political activity in the ancient world, where the political realm itself was open only to those who owned property and slaves-- but the equality of those who form a body of peers. Isonomy guaranteed [...] equality, but not because all men were born or created equal but, on the contrary, because men were by nature [...] not equal, and needed an artificial institution, the polis, which [...] would make them equal. Equality existed only in this specifically political realm, where men met one another as citizens and not as private persons. (23).

As Hobsbawm puts it, the 1789 Rights of Man and Citizen, an ideological precursor of Jefferson’s notion of “natural aristocracy,” is a “manifesto against the hierarchical society of noble privilege, but not one in favour of democratic or egalitarian society” (81). For the French National Assembly, as I have shown, the idea of “virtue” is ostensibly tied to that of equality. Yet, in the phrase “all Citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally admissible to all public dignities, positions, and employments according to their capacity, and without any distinction other than that of their talents and virtues”, “virtue” is deployed as a means of containing equality; citizens are equal before the law, but it is permissible to make distinctions between

them according to their talents and virtues. The definition of equality allows for a certain degree of inequality.

Father Félix Varela, who translated natural aristocrat Thomas Jefferson's 1812 *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* into Spanish in the same year that *Jicoténcal* was published (González Acosta 141), alludes to this dialectic between equality and inequality in his *Observaciones sobre la constitución política de la monarquía española* [Observations on the Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy] (1821/1852), when, echoing sentiments expressed in Bolívar's "Carta de Jamaica" and "Discurso de Angostura," he argues that:

La igualdad natural y social van acompañadas necesariamente de una gran desigualdad, pues los hombres en la naturaleza, sin embargo de que constan de unos mismos principios y tienen iguales derechos de la especie, se diferencian en las perfecciones individuales: ya en lo corpóreo, ya en lo intelectual; en la sociedad, del mismo modo, es preciso que haya diferencia, pues el sabio jamás será igual al ignorante, el rico al pobre, el fuerte al débil, pues estas cosas dependen o de la fuerza o de la opinión, mereciendo siempre mayor atención el hombre de quien se espera mayores bienes o de quien se temen mayores males (23).

Natural and social equality are necessarily accompanied by a great inequality, as men in nature, even though they have the same principles and the same rights of the species, differ in their individual perfections. Be it in the bodily, the intellectual, or the social spheres, it is all the same --it is clear that there is difference, as the wise man will never be equal to the ignorant, the rich man to the poor, the strong man to the weak, as these things depend either on strength or opinion, always deserving more attention the man from whom greater goods are expected or he from whom greater evils are feared.

Perhaps for this reason "The Rights of Man and of the Citizen" declares that "les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune" ["social distinctions can only be founded on the common good"], suggesting that, for the greater good, the less virtuous cannot enjoy the same sort of equality as the natural aristocracy. Indeed, the novel *Jicoténcal* denies doña Marina the right to participate in

republican life in the same way that the characters Jicoténcal and Teutila are able to because of her relative lack of virtue, a condition which, in the language of the text, renders her “una esclava.”

In the rest of this section, I will explore the ways in which ideas of virtuous citizenship and lowly slavery are, for early nineteenth-century Cuban criollo republican thinkers, at the same time mutually exclusive and constitutive of one another. Particularly key is the rather free use of the term “esclavitud” in their writings, as I have just shown in my discussion of *Jicoténcal*. The metaphor of slavery, of course, is widely used in enlightened and romantic discourse to refer to the condition of people living under absolute rule and appears perhaps most famously at the opening of the first chapter of Rousseau’s *Social Contract* (a work that clearly influences the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*): “Man is born free and yet everywhere he is in chains” (6). In Spanish American letters, the trope appears in the *Lettre aux espagnols américains*, written in French and published in 1791 in London,⁴³ where the author, Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán was living in exile after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish empire (Grases 148). Recognized by Peruvian historiography as a “precursor de la Independencia,” he writes that, as far as “our three centuries” of Spanish colonialism are concerned, they can be summarized in four words: “*ingratitude, injustice, esclavage et désolation*” (2). Later, in the Romantic period, “the topic of slavery provided an opportunity for writers to express the characteristic romantic longing for freedom” (Lindstrom, 99). This is especially

⁴³ The title page, however, claims that the work was published in Philadelphia, perhaps because of the cache that the city enjoyed in liberal circles at the time (Grases 148).

the case, as González Acosta points out, in Cuba, as works such as Gómez de Avellaneda's 1841 novel *Sab* --in which slavery serves as a metaphor for the injustices of colonial society as it becomes incorporated into the capitalist world system-- attest (143-144).

Yet, while slavery might be a mere metaphor in Rousseau's eighteenth-century Geneva, I cannot help but wonder if the trope could be so innocuous in the Americas of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Cuba, for example, had depended heavily upon the labor of African chattel slaves for two or three generations by the time *Jicoténcal* was written. In such a society, the concrete referent of a word like "slavery" would have been at least as immediate as the abstract one. As David Brion Davis points out, even in Europe, the term becomes increasingly slippery in the second half of the eighteenth century, when some French thinkers began to wonder if the retrograde lifeways of the colonies might contaminate the modernizing metropole. "Already the wealthy colonial slaveholders had allied with the most conservative nobility, and had begun to treat the people of France like American Negroes. If colonial slavery was not abolished, the liberties of France could not survive" (Davis 439). At the same time, in British North America, James Otis, possibly alluding to the relationship between the Sugar Act and the slavocratic West Indies, recognized "certain connections between Negro slavery and the infringement of colonial liberties," pointing to an evolving entanglement between the metropolitan metaphor of slavery with the lived economic experience of colonial society (Davis 441).

It is clear, then, that African chattel slaves are not directly interpolated by the enlightened and romantic discourses of slavery at the same time that, in the Americas, at least, the colonial literal referent is inevitably invoked by the metropolitan metaphor. The text of the 1812 Cádiz Constitution and the political debates that produced it represent a privileged site from which to explore the entanglement of the two geopolitically grounded meanings of slavery and the implications of such for an imperial world.

The Citizenship of Afro-Hispanics in the Cádiz Constitution

For the Cádiz Constitution, there is something about the condition of servitude that is not compatible with the rights and duties of citizenship. Article 25 of the document states that the exercise of citizenship “se suspende” [“is suspended”] for, among other reasons, “el estado de sirviente doméstico” [“the status of domestic servant”]. Father Félix Varela attempts to explain this restriction on Spanish citizenship in his 1821 *Observaciones sobre la constitución política de la monarquía española*, a course on the Constitution that the Spanish government commissioned him to give in Havana after the document was reinstated in 1820 (Leal, “Félix Varela” 239).⁴⁴ Echoing Aristotle’s claim that mechanics and laborers are lacking in the virtue necessary to participate in public life, Varela notes that a “mayordomo” [“butler”], for example, is not excluded from citizenship, even if he is a salaried

⁴⁴ It had been abrogated in 1814 when King Fernando VII returned from the exile into which Napoleon had forced him and declared an absolute monarchy.

employee and dedicates himself to household management because “sus funciones son de orden muy distinto” [“his functions are of a very different order”] from those of a domestic servant, and one cannot “suponer en ellos la escasez de ideas, la debilidad de sentimientos, y la deferencia absoluta a un dueño que pueden sospecharse en un sirviente verdaderamente doméstico” [“suspect in them the scarcity of ideas, the weakness of feeling, and the absolute deference to a master/owner that can be suspected in a true domestic servant”] (108-109). A domestic servant, then, lacks the control over his own actions that is so important to the concept of virtue presented in *Jicoténcal* and, like Cortés’s Tlascalcan allies, shows “absolute deference to a master/owner.”

Of course, words such as “master” and “owner” had very particular connotations in slaveocratic nineteenth-century Cuba, in which a particular caste was legally bound to show “absolute deference” to its dueños. A year after the publication of his *Observaciones*, Varela writes his “Memoria sobre la esclavitud” [“Note on Slavery”] (which was not published until the abolition of slavery in 1886), in which he proposes a plan for emancipation. Curiously, the priest does not argue that the slaves should take initiative and refuse to show “absolute deference” to their owners, as a reading of his *Observaciones* might lead one to believe, but that these owners should be compensated economically for granting the slaves their freedom. That is to say, in Varela’s plan, slaves do not dare to break “their hard chain [...] with their own hands,” as Heredia advises in his poem. Consequently, they “nunca ser libre[s] podrá[n]” [“can never be free”]. In this discourse, slaves and freed *libertos* are denied

the sort of autonomy which Heredia, Varela, the Cortes de Cádiz, and the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal* all identify as a prerequisite for virtuous republican citizenship. Always already unvirtuous, they have no place in public life.

However, it is important to point out that the Constitution does not stop at denying citizenship to subalterns, servants and slaves; rather, it includes measures to limit the political rights of all people of African descent. While Article 5 declares all “hombres libres” [“free men”] to be Spaniards, Article 22 suggests that Afro-Hispanics --both blacks and *castas* of partial African descent-- are not automatically included in this group. Rather:

A los españoles que por cualquier línea son habidos y reputados por originarios del África, les queda abierta la puerta de la virtud y del merecimiento para ser ciudadanos: en su consecuencia las Cortes concederán carta de ciudadano a los que hicieren servicios calificados a la Patria, o a los que se distingan por su talento, aplicación y conducta, con la condición de que sean hijos de legítimo matrimonio de padres ingenuos; de que estén casados con mujer ingenua, y avecindados en los dominios de las Españas, y de que ejerzan alguna profesión, oficio o industria útil con un capital propio.

Spaniards who on whichever side are considered to be of African origin have the door of virtue and deservingness open to them in order to become citizens. In the case of those traits, the Cortes will grant a letter of citizenship to those who have rendered the necessary services to the Patria, or to those who distinguish themselves through their talent, application, and conduct, on the condition that they be children of a legitimate marriage between free parents; that they be married to a free woman; and that they live in the realm of the Spains and practice some sort of useful profession, trade, or industry and possess their own capital.

Thus, Afro-Hispanics --even those who are free-- may only obtain citizenship if they prove themselves to be virtuous, to be worthy of membership in the natural aristocracy to which other inhabitants of the Spanish Empire seem to belong without question. This “virtue” consists of birth to “ingenuous” --that is, free (Alvarado 58)-- parents, marriage to a woman of similar standing, and either gainful employment or

economic self-sufficiency. In sum, like Jicoténcal and Teutila (and unlike doña Marina), a virtuous Afro-Hispanic should be able to reproduce the virtuous nation. Given the material and social conditions of the time, these requirements for citizenship exclude all African chattel slaves and most libertos, as well as many Afro-Hispanics who had been born free, a state of affairs that manifests itself linguistically in the repetition of the hypothetical subjunctive mood in the list of stipulations (“sean”/”estén,” “ejerzan”).⁴⁵ Lasso points out that, despite the opening of the road to citizenship via “virtue and deservingness,” Afro-Hispanics were generally held to be unvirtuous by early nineteenth-century Hispanic societies (41). She argues that, due to the influence of African cultural retentions, the Spaniards argued that even blacks who were “born and raised in America [...] had learned African habits from their parents” (40). In the imperial world of the early nineteenth century, African ancestry

⁴⁵ This exclusivity may account for the widespread Afro-Hispanic opposition to the Article (see Alvarado and Lasso). Marixa Lasso attributes the clause to a desire on the part of Peninsular *diputados* to limit Spanish American power in the Cortes after the Constitution abolished the colonial status of the American provinces and granted equal representation based on population to Spanish citizens from both Hemispheres. According to Lasso, the Peninsular Spaniards, fearing that full citizenship for Afro-Hispanics would lead to a Spanish American majority in the Cortes, sought to limit the citizenship rights of *pardos*, or mixed-race people of African descent, who constituted the bulk of the *casta* population in the American provinces. She explains that, “by declaring that all free men were Spanish, the constitution officially included free people of African background as members of the Spanish nation. Yet Article 29 declared as citizens only those Spaniards whose origins could be traced to Spain or America, but not to Africa. In addition, parliamentary representation was to be proportional to the number of people whose origins went back exclusively to Spain or America –once again including creoles, Indians, and mestizos, but excluding many people of mixed racial descent with some degree of African background. This formula greatly diminished American representation, calling into question official Spanish declarations of American equality” (39-40).

Most of the Spanish American *diputados*, on the other hand, favored full citizenship for Afro-Hispanics. Yet, as Lasso points out, “even if American deputies tended to favor liberal notions of citizenship, however, they did not immediately promote *pardos*’ equal rights to representation” -- rather, they advocated indirect criollo representation for Afro-Hispanics (38). She explains that, outside of Cádiz, the criollos who remained in the Spanish American territories were less convinced of the need to incorporate blacks in the civic body and only acquiesced due to practical considerations brought on by the war (45-46).

becomes entangled with the hereditary infamy of the Middle Ages, an impurity of blood that disqualifies one from virtuous participation in public life.

Importantly, the Constitution does not demand these proofs from people of other ethnic backgrounds, though the requirements for Afro-Hispanics to receive letters of citizenship are not very different from the rules that the Constitution establishes for the naturalization of foreigners. To the Cortes de Cádiz, Afro-Hispanics are essentially foreign, not really part of the nation for reasons of lack of virtue. In this way, the European metaphor of slaves (commonly referred to simply as *negros* in nineteenth-century Spanish) as a noncitizen is entangled with the citizenship rights of real Afro-descendants in the Americas.

The de-nationalization of Afro-Hispanics can be explained by considering it in its historical context. The Cádiz Constitution was drafted in the same year as the Aponte Conspiracy in Cuba. An anti-colonial revolt against slavery led by the free black José Antonio Aponte and rumored to be supported by Haiti, the rebellion had a lasting impact on race relations in Cuba, leaving a fear of freedmen in the Creole elite that would hamper abolitionist and independence movements on the island for two or three generations. As late as 1832, “Captain-General Francisco Dionisio Vives [...] returned to Spain [...] and briefed the Spanish authorities about the situation on the ground. Although he had had to break up several separatist conspiracies of white Creoles, Vives saw the main threat to colonial rule neither in the liberal elites, nor in the slaves by themselves, but in the free people of color” (Fischer, *Modernity* 80-81). If Afro-Hispanics were the only group denied the rights of citizenship by the liberal

Constitution, it may very well have been because they were perceived as the greatest threat to Spanish colonial policy.

Natural Aristocracy Revisited

This belief in the inassimilability of Afro-descent people to New-World republican projects was widespread in the Americas during the Age of Revolution. In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, for example, Jefferson writes of an emancipation bill which includes provisions for the colonization of freedmen. Anticipating objections, he comments that:

It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expence [sic] of supplying, by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race. --To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral (264).

Like the framers of the Cádiz Constitution, Jefferson views blacks as beyond the limits of the nation. Bitter, inherently distinct, and physically and morally deficient, blacks, according to the Virginian, are lacking in the virtue necessary for participation in public life and are excluded from the “natural aristocracy.”

What does it mean for the concept of natural aristocracy if there are racial restrictions on citizenship and participation in public life? What is “natural” about this natural aristocracy? Biology, it would seem. In his 1813 letter to Adams, Jefferson’s

comments on natural aristocracy come after a discussion on breeding. He writes to Adams of a “piece” he has read which seems to be “a reproof to man, who, while with his domestic animals he is curious to improve the race by employing always the finest male, pays no attention to the improvement of his own race, but intermarries with the vicious, the ugly, or the old, for considerations of wealth or ambition.”

Jefferson disapproves of marriage that does not take into account “the beauty, the healthiness, the understanding,” or –tellingly-- “virtue of the subject from which we are to breed.” The statesman goes on to say that:

The selecting the best male for a Haram [sic] of well chosen females also, which Theognis seems to recommend from the example of our sheep and asses, would doubtless improve the human, as it does the brute animal, and produce a race of veritable aristoi. For experience proves that the moral and physical qualities of man, whether good or evil, are transmissible in a certain degree from father to son.

As has already been noted, these considerations are central to Jicoténcal’s union with Teutila, which has as much to do with consolidating state interests and producing a virtuous line of descent as it does with romantic love.

Importantly, the word “race” appears twice in the fragment quoted above. The well-read, polyglot and linguistically dexterous Jefferson employs the word to refer to a breed of plants or animals, a usage also found in Peninsular Spanish (i.e., una raza de árbol, una raza de perro --a kind of tree, a breed of dog). He also uses the word when discussing “a race of veritable aristoi.” Jefferson is talking about breeding a particular subset of the human species, a race of aristocrats. While the term may sound strange to modern ears, in *Waverly* (published just one year after Jefferson’s letter and twelve years before *Jicoténcal*), for example, Walter Scott uses the term

“race” not to refer to ethno-national groups, such as the Englishmen or Scotsmen who confront each other in the novel, but to aristocratic houses. Given that *Waverly* is regarded as the first representative of the historical genre to which *Jicoténcal* belongs, and that Heredia --who almost certainly had at least a hand in the production of *Jicoténcal*-- translated the Scottish work into Spanish seven years after the anonymous novel was published, and also considering that Varela --another candidate for the authorship of the novel-- was well-versed enough in the work of Jefferson to translate some of it into Spanish, it is not far-fetched to believe that the notion of aristocratic races is entangled with that of virtue in the Cuban novel. After all, the anonymous text is heavily invested in the preservation of the Tlascalan noble line through the marriage of Jicoténcal and Teutila. The virtuous “natural aristocracy” is not simply racially exclusive, as the Cádiz Constitution suggests, but is also --like the hereditary nobility it was meant to replace-- based on lineage.

Thus, despite the bourgeois emphasis on virtue, the natural aristocracy continues to be as much of a caste as that of the colonial *ancien régime*. That said, natural aristocracy is not synonymous with whiteness, as Jefferson’s condemnation of “false aristocracy” makes clear.⁴⁶ Rather, as the comments on reproduction in his letter and in the anonymous *Jicoténcal* suggest, one must be bred to virtue. A system of social stratification that appeals to both lineage and comport (Foucault’s symbolics of blood and symbolics of sex), the liberal republican discourse of natural aristocracy represents a mediation between the dynastic realm --in which sovereignty was

⁴⁶ This idea would lose ground in the years leading up to Andrew Jackson’s 1828 presidential victory. See Chapter II of this dissertation for more information.

hereditary--and the republican nation-state, in which sovereignty theoretically resides in the citizens, who freely compete with each other for positions of power.

Jicoténcal, then, is a foundational historical novel that attempts to resolve the tensions between the dynastic and republican models, casting off the Spanish colonial yoke while maintaining the criollos' hegemonic status. More than that, however, the novel offers a vision of how such hybridity might be politically productive, of how the feudal-dynastic family model might be mobilized to (re)produce a particular citizen body for the republic so that the social mobility caused by emancipation from colonial "slavery" does not lead to the political or economic vitiation of the republican natural aristocracy, which depended on the forced labor of others for its survival. Flawed though it may strike contemporary readers, the model proposed in *Jicoténcal* was in fact in place in many New-World republics during the early nineteenth century. Importantly, this model was arrived at through a transnational dialogue in which the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*, the criollo diputados at Cádiz and Jefferson, consider the republican proposals put forth by the Europeans Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the French National Assembly and adopt them to the racially fraught local histories of the Americas.

Cooper in Captivity: Colonial Scenarios and Citizenship in Jacksonian Democracy and Argentine Liberalism

In this chapter, I will explore the transnational literary-historical connections between the North American James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and the Argentine Eduarda Mansilla de García's *Lucía Miranda* (1860) and the implications that those entanglements have for class and racial hierarchies in Jacksonian democracy and Argentine liberalism. Using Diane Taylor's theory of "scenarios" and Amy Kaplan's ideas regarding the "anarchy of empire," domesticity and national motherhood, I will discuss the relevance of the colonial encounter, as presented in Ruy Díaz de Guzmán's *Anales del descubrimiento, población y conquista del Río de la Plata* [Anals of the Discovery, Population, and Conquest of Río de la Plata] (1612), to class and race relations in the Americas at the moment of national consolidation, focusing on the place of the natural aristocracy and Afro-descendants in the bourgeois democracies that were emerging in the United States and Argentina during the period.⁴⁷ At the same time, I will suggest the possibility of a genealogical link between Díaz de Guzmán, Cooper, and Mansilla in order to highlight the ironically transnational dimensions of nation-building in the nineteenth-century Americas.

⁴⁷ While I focus on blackness, Concha Meléndez and Cynthia Steele have studied Cooper in terms of hemispheric indigeneity. Other inter-American studies of *The Last of the Mohicans* can be found in Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions*, Anna Brickhouse's *Transamerican Literary Relations*, and Iván Jaksic's *Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life* --the latter two pairing the novel with the anonymous *Jicoténcal* (discussed in Chapter I of this dissertation). I differ from these studies in my interest in race and historical literature and the Argentine literary genealogy that I suggest for *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Though ultimately unverifiable in a scientific way, the transnational tale of origins that I map in this chapter provides a window into the circulation of ideas regarding race, class and citizenship in the nineteenth-century Americas and furnishes a way to discuss the relationship between the bourgeois nation-state projects in the Jacksonian United States and liberal Argentina. In their work, Cooper and Mansilla offer highly-qualified views of the racial and class realignments brought about by the rise of capitalism and democracy in their respective countries. Both ultimately imagine a community led by a hereditary cultivated class, though they differ in their views on what to do with the nonwhite populations of the Americas, as can be seen in their divergent deployments of the ideologemes of republican motherhood and racial hybridity. If Cooper sacrifices the mulatta Cora in order to ensure the continuance of the white natural-aristocratic line when faced with the fact of democratization and the threat of nonwhite incorporation into the North American body politic, Mansilla, in the name of a similar colonial-patrician order, deliberately breaks with Cooper by presenting the mother of the nation as a hybrid figure.

The author of 32 novels, mostly of the historical genre, Cooper (1789-1851) was born into a Mid-Atlantic gentry family in the same year as the French Revolution began and two years after the passing of the U.S. Constitution and the first performance of Royall Tyler's *Contrast* and died three years after the Mexican-American War and a year before the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. His politics shifted from Federalist to Jeffersonian to Jacksonian over the course of his life (Lofren 21), during which he witnessed both the consolidation of

the Union and the beginning of its sectional disintegration, living through the conflicts between Jeffersonian Democrats and Federalists, the Louisiana Purchase, the Seminole Wars, the Monroe Doctrine, the Age of Jackson, the Mexican-American War, the anti-rent protests in New York, and the early debates over slavery. Abroad, the period saw events such as the Haitian Revolution, the Aponte and Escalera Conspiracies in Cuba, independence on the Spanish Main, the failure of the first Spanish Republic and the absolutism of Fernando VII, the July Monarchy in France, and the social unrest of the European 1848 –all moments rife with the racial and class tensions that would play such an important role in the author’s work.

Eduarda Mansilla de García (1834-1892) was born into the Argentine upper class during similarly convulsive times. Daughter of the general Lucio Norberto Mansilla and Agustina Ortiz de Rozas, she was the niece of *Federalista* dictator Juan Manuel de Rozas, whose political favor towards the ranchers of the Argentine hinterland brought him into conflict with the import-export interests of Buenos Aires’s Europeanizing commercial classes –a situation that resulted in years of bloody civil strife that only ended in the decade after *Lucía Miranda* was published. As in Cooper’s United States, these conflicts were hardly free of racial overtones. Supported largely by the Afro-descendent working classes of Buenos Aires and the mixed-race masses of the interior, the Rosas dictatorship was followed by an official whitening movement consisting of the importation of European immigrants and a genocidal war against the country’s Amerindian population. Faced with such situations, both authors would turn to the Hemisphere’s pre-history of European

conquest and the encounter between cultures in order to comment on the race and class hierarchies of the republican states that inherited that legacy.

Inter-American Encounters: Cooper in Argentina, Argentina in Cooper

The canonical text concerning the Rosas period of Argentine history is *Facundo* (1845), a historiographical narrative by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, a fervent opponent of Mansilla's uncle, Rosas. Sarmiento famously begins the second chapter of his *Facundo*, dedicated to a typology of "Argentine characters," with a meditation on *The Leatherstocking Tales*, Cooper's cycle of five novels on North American late colonial and early republican frontier history organized loosely around the life of Natty Bumppo.⁴⁸ Reading *The Last of the Mohicans* from the opposite end of the Hemisphere, Sarmiento feels uncannily at home with the folkways of colonial New York, and claims that the novel is filled with "descripciones de usos y costumbres que parecen plagiadas de la pampa" ["descriptions of customs that seem plagiarized from the pampas"] and brags of being able to resolve various narrative situations in "*Los relatos de Leatherstocking*" at least as well as the North American author does (22). Later, he suggests that there is "un fondo de poesía que nace de los accidentes naturales del país y de las costumbres excepcionales que engendra" [sic]

⁴⁸ The novels are: *The Pioneers: The Sources of the Susquehanna. A Descriptive Tale* (1823); *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826); *The Prairie: A Tale* (1827); *The Pathfinder: The Inland Sea* (1840); and *The Deerslayer: The First War Path* (1841).

[“a font of poetry that is born of the natural accidents of a country and the exceptional customs it [sic] engenders”] (22). For that reason,

Si un destello de literatura nacional puede brillar momentáneamente en las nuevas sociedades americanas, es el que resultará de la descripción de las grandiosas escenas naturales, y sobre todo de la lucha entre la civilización europea y la barbarie indígena, entre la inteligencia y la materia; la lucha imponente en América, y que da lugar a escenas tan peculiares, tan características y tan fuera de círculo de ideas en que se ha educado el espíritu europeo, porque los resortes dramáticos se vuelven desconocidos fuera del país donde se toman, los usos sorprendentes y originales los caracteres (22).⁴⁹

If a spark of national literature can momentarily shine in the new American societies, it is that which results from the description of grandiose natural scenes, and above all of the description of the struggle between European civilization and indigenous barbarism, between intelligence and matter; the dominant struggle in América, which gives rise to peculiar, characteristic scenes far removed from the ideas in which the European spirit evolved, because dramatic devices become unknown outside of the country from which they are taken, and customs, surprising, and characters, original.

Sarmiento believes that this struggle between European civilization and Amerindian barbarism should serve as the wellspring for New- World expression, as it does for Cooper, and praises the Argentine poet Echeverría for taking up the theme in his narrative poem “La cautiva” (1837).⁵⁰

Yet, if poetry springs from the land, how can Cooper serve as a model for writers all over the Americas? What does it mean that similar themes, such as the struggle between civilization and barbarism, appear in both Sarmiento’s *Facundo* and Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans*? And, if “dramatic devices become unknown outside

⁴⁹ The passage reflects Sarmiento’s notoriously ungrammatical Spanish, though the edition from which I cite modernizes and standardizes the author’s original orthography, which was unconventional even in his era.

⁵⁰ I will explore *Facundo* and opposition to *Federalismo* in nineteenth-century Argentina in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

of the country from which they were taken,” why is Sarmiento able to remain one step ahead of Cooper’s adventure plots? The Argentine writer’s identification with Cooper is only reconcilable with his romantic belief in a poetic *volkgeist* if he takes the Anglo novelist for Latin. As José Martí would later do with Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* (1884) in the introduction to his 1887 translation of the text,⁵¹ here Sarmiento nationalizes Cooper, granting him honorary citizenship in the Argentine -- and, by extension, Spanish American-- literary and cultural polysystem through his playful accusation of “plagiarism.”

Ironically, if the North American writer plagiarized the pampas, then Sarmiento exhorts Spanish American writers to copy the plagiarized theme back by writing about material similar to that of Cooper. All of this circular borrowing produces a feeling of incest –an effect that is only possible if Cooper is already part of the same family as Sarmiento and Echeverría, if, as Sarmiento seems to suggest, the Anglo-American writer is already part of a Spanish American “us.”⁵² In the spirit of Sarmiento’s comments, this chapter reads *The Last of the Mohicans* across what Wai Chee Dimock calls “deep time,” examining relationships with colonial Latin America and liberal Argentina in order to explore the racial and class dynamics of postcolonial nineteenth-century New-World society.

⁵¹ See Susan Gillman, “*Ramona* in Our America.”

⁵² For a poststructuralist reading of this passage with Borges’s short story “Pierre Mendard, autor del *Quijote*,” see Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (52-56). The rest of Sommer’s chapter offers a Latin Americanist reading of Cooper via Sarmiento. My reading differs from Sommer’s in its discussion of class and Jacksonian democracy, and in its consideration of the relationships between Cooper, Díaz de Guzmán, and Mansilla.

Sarmiento's adoption of Cooper as his brother *americano* seems less far-fetched when one considers the entanglement of *The Last of the Mohicans* and the myth of Lucía Miranda, the wife of a Spanish conquistador in Argentina who was killed by an Amerindian chief whose affections she spurned in favor of her Spanish husband. The story first appears in Ruy Díaz de Guzmán's 1612 *Anales del descubrimiento, población y conquista del Río de la Plata*, also known as *La Argentina Manuscrita*, a *crónica* written as a counterdiscourse to Dominican Friar Bartolomé de las Casas's works denouncing the conquest (de Ángelis 1). The foundational text was originally published as the first volume of Pedro de Angelis's *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata*, an edited series of historical documents commissioned by dictator Juan Manuel Rosas in an effort to create a cultural identity for the newly-independent Argentine state (Marre 340-341).

Like Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, set along what would become the New York-Québec border, Díaz de Guzmán's *crónica* takes place along porous frontiers between empires, this time the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the region that would become Paraguay and Argentina, empires with which various indigenous groups are allied or opposed. Like Cooper's novel, the *crónica* "involves a racist discourse of revenge in which the fear of rape and possession of white female bodies by indigenous men is used to justify the conquest and possession of native lands" (Hanway, *Embodying Argentina* 86), and features noble and ignoble Amerindians in the form of twin *caciques* named Mangoré and Siripo, both of whom --like their

counterparts Uncas and Magua in the North American novel-- become sexually interested in Lucía. Siripo kidnaps her and makes her his slave, but offers her, her liberty if she will agree to marry him, much as Magua offers to pardon Cooper's Cora her life if she will accept a similar arrangement. Like Cooper's novel, the story of Lucía Miranda serves as a foundational text for the future nation. In taking Lucía in marriage, the cacique Siripo would make her his queen and give her legitimate power over the Guaraní whom she and her husband Sebastián went to Argentina to conquer and colonize (18). Though she refuses this offer, it is only to reaffirm the values of Christian marriage and fidelity --imperial ideals to which she, like Cora of *The Last of the Mohicans*, willingly sacrifices her life, thereby consecrating the Argentine soil for an eventual Spanish victory that renders her refusal a moot point. It is important to point out that, like Cooper's narrative, the Lucía Miranda myth is a fictional construction with no apparent basis in historical fact (Rotker 104, Lojo 29), as the heavy-handed parallels between the foundational couple and the saints for whom they were named --the chaste St. Lucy and the martyred St. Sebastian, who, like his literary namesake, is shot with arrows-- would suggest. The fictive nature of the legend begs the question of why it was deliberately placed at the beginning of the *Argentina manuscrita*, which purports to be a factual narrative --a question to which I will return later.

Despite the suggestive parallels between the texts, it is impossible for Díaz de Guzmán to have served as a direct source for Cooper, as his history, though completed in 1612, was not published until 1836 (and, then, in Spanish)--ten years

after the first edition of Cooper's novel. Other versions and adaptations of the story were, however, circulating --and circulating in English-- during Cooper's lifetime. The tale bears an uncanny resemblance to *The Tempest* (1611) --which was among "Cooper's favorite of Shakespeare's plays" and provides many epigraphs to *The Red Rover*, published just two years after *The Last of the Mohicans* (Franklin) --in which a European heroine named Miranda fends off the sexual advances of the native Caliban. Yet, *The Tempest* cannot have served as a source text for the Díaz de Guzmán's *Lucía Miranda* story because, while first performed in 1611, it was not published until 1623. There is no evidence to suggest that Díaz de Guzmán was in London in 1611 --in fact, Lojo claims that he never even travelled to the Spanish metropolis, much less England (29).⁵³

However, Sir Thomas Moore's 1718 drama, *Mangora, King of the Timbusians. Or the faithful couple. A tragedy* --which, though clearly influenced by Shakespeare's *Tempest*, was probably based on the Latin version of Nicolás del Techo's 1673 *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*, in which a version of the Lucía Miranda tale appears (Lojo 47)--, tells the story of yet another European Miranda threatened by Amerindian seducers, this time named Mangora and Siripus. A relationship between Cooper's novel and Moore's drama is conceivable. First, the Anglicization of the supposedly Hispanicized Guaraní proper noun "Mangoré" into English as "Mangora" with the stress on the first syllable reminds the Anglophone reader of "Magua," the name of *The Last of the Mohicans*'s

⁵³ For more on Shakespeare's *Tempest* and the Lucía Mirand myth, see Lojo 44-46.

indigenous antagonist. Also, the play introduces a second abducted maiden, Isabella, into the plot. A possible ancestor of Cooper's Alice, she, unlike Miranda (or Díaz de Guzmán's Lucía, or Cooper's Cora) survives the abduction and lives to marry the Spanish conquistador to whom the colony is entrusted becoming, like her North American descendant, the allegorical mother of the nation.⁵⁴

More importantly, Moore introduces the question of miscegenation --a constant preoccupation of Cooper's, as I will show below-- into the story, referring to the indigenous abductor as an "Indian" with a "sooty breast" who "durst" make advantages to a "pure white Spanish dame" (4).⁵⁵ By casting the conflict in specifically racial terms (an "Indian" with a "sooty breast" making advances towards a "pure white Spanish dame"), Moore departs from Díaz de Guzmán and del Techo's treatments of the story, which, like Mary Rawlandson's 1682 Puritan captivity narrative, concentrate mostly on the religious differences between Lucía and her Amerindian abductors. (Unlike Cooper, the *cronista* is ostensibly concerned with the upholding of Christian marriage, not the crossing of racial lines.)

⁵⁴ I will return explore the notion of the mother of the nation at greater length below.

⁵⁵ This chapter revolves around the interrelated --but not interchangeable notions-- of miscegenation and *mestizaje*. Though both have the Latin verb *miscere* (to mix) as a root, the English term, coined during Reconstruction, refers to the then-illegal marriage between persons of different racial ascriptions. The children produced by such unions were considered particularly threatening, as they necessarily problematized the binary division upon which segregated North American society was constructed. The Spanish word, on the other hand, dates from the colonial period and, far from illegal, was acceptable in certain social classes. The offspring of such relations always had a place in the multi-tiered Latin American social pyramid, though their exact location has varied over time. *Mestizaje* --and the intercultural exchange that it implies-- is normally regarded as a cornerstone of Latin American cultures, though, again, valorizations of that legacy have shifted over time. The mestizo population was held in particularly low regard in Argentina during the second half of the nineteenth century when Mansilla was writing. The closest Spanish equivalent for the English word "miscegenation" is "herejía de castas" and, as the name suggests, originally had religious connotations. For a discussion of "limpieza de sangre," see Chapter I of this dissertation.

Importantly, by contrasting Mangora's "sooty breast" against the whiteness of the "pure white Spanish dame," Moore casts the Amerindian figure in terms of blackness, a description that is repeated throughout the play, which, at other points, refers to Mangora as "a black imp of hell." This elision between blackness and indigeneity in South America has precedent in the *Relación* of Hernando de Ribera, who accompanied Governor Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca on an exploratory expedition through the continent's interior in 1543.⁵⁶ In his account, which is traditionally published as an appendix to Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Comentarios* on his time as governor of Río de la Plata, Hernando de Ribera claims that there are "muy grandes poblaciones de gentes, los cuales son negros [quienes] tienen barbas como aguileñas, a manera de moros" ["very large populations of people, who are blacks with long, pointy beards, like the Moors"] in South America living between the Santa Marta Mountains (in present-day Colombia) and the Marañón River (in present-day Peru) (325). Though the population is located far from the Asunción area in which the Lucía Miranda myth is set, Moore never claims that his play takes place in Paraguay and may have been confused by South America's complicated geography, especially because Ribera's account appears in a larger text dedicated to the Southern Cone region where the Lucía Miranda story takes place. Direct or indirect influence from Ribera would explain why Moore represents the Timbusians as having great riches in gold, which is not part of the traditional renditions of the

⁵⁶ The same Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had taken part in the ill-fated 1527 Pánfilo de Narváez expedition to the Americas, been shipwrecked off the Florida coast, and wandered for several years among the indigenous tribes of what is now the Southeastern United States and Northern Mexico, as he recounts in his *Naufragios* [Shipwrecks] (1540).

Lucía Miranda story (Lojo 47), though it is part of Ribera's representation of the black tribes of South America. This ambiguity between blackness, indigeneity, and Moorishness (in Ribera's description of the Amerindian's beards) –also important to Mansilla's *Lucía Miranda*, as I will explain below—may have struck the North American Cooper as uncannily close to home as he penned his frontier romance in the years following the first Seminole War, when an ethnically mixed group of Amerindians and maroons resisted North American expansion into Florida.

When one considers Wayne Franklin's contention that Cooper began Spanish lessons in 1825 (*James Fenimore Cooper*), it seems obvious that the author was, at the very least, thinking about the Hispanic world as he drafted *The Last of the Mohicans*, as evidenced by the fact that the Cora of the novel shares her unusual name with the Incan priestess in Marmontel's *les Incas* (1777). Thus, it seems probable that Cooper was at least inspired by Moore's play when writing his novel, if not directly, then by breathing it in with the cultural air that circulated in the Atlantic-World polysystem at the time. At the very least, Díaz de Guzmán's Lucía Miranda story is an early example of a tradition of narratives of encounter in which Cooper also participates.⁵⁷ Fascinating though this possibility of influence might be for traditional comparative literary studies, I cannot prove a genealogical link between Cooper and the Lucía Miranda myth via del Techo and Moore. Nor am I interested in

⁵⁷ I use "encounter" as a translation of the Spanish "*encuentro*," a polyvalent term that is coming to replace "*descubrimiento*" (discovery) as the way to refer to intercultural meetings such as the one that occurred on San Salvador on October 12, 1492. While, in English, "contact" is beginning to replace "discovery" as the name for this sort of event, I believe that "encounter" better reflects the back-and-forth nature of the relationship established when cultures mutually discover each other (as opposed to "us" contacting "them") and the sometimes unsettling changes produced by situations of conquest, coloniality, captivity and their uncanny offspring.

doing so. Regardless of whether or not there exists a relationship of direct influence between these works, there was clearly something was in the intellectual air that the three writers were breathing that entangled the texts in ways that challenge nationally-specific readings of the transition from colony to republic in both the U.S. and Argentina –as well as strict periodizations dividing the colonial era from the republican nation-building of the nineteenth century.

Díaz de Guzmán's *Argentina manuscrita*, Moore's *Mangora*, and Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* represent what Diane Taylor would call "scenarios" --that is, "a paradigmatic setup that relies on supposedly live participants, structured around a schematic plot, with an intended (though adaptable) end" (12)-- of encounter. These scenarios "exist as culturally specific imaginaries –sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis, or resolution" (12) and provide a framework into which to fit historical actors and events and through which to assign them meaning. In this way, Taylor claims, "no matter who restages the colonial encounter from the West's perspective --the novelist, the playwright, the discoverer, or the government official-- it stars the same white male protagonist subject and the same brown, found 'object'" (12).

Taylor's theory of scenarios makes it possible to read Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* and Mansilla de García's *Lucía Miranda* as episodes in larger narratives of their respective nations. While the similarities between these two works and their respective sources can certainly be dismissed as mere generic conventions of the captivity narrative, reading the texts as Taylorian scenarios that repeat rhizomatically

across a New-World cultural field provides a framework to explain how the representations of the colonial encounter by Cooper and Mansilla that I discuss in this chapter intervene in the nineteenth-century societies in which they were written.

Like the Spanish American historical novelists I discuss throughout this dissertation, Cooper attempts to provide a genealogy with which to justify a particular reading of the current and future state of affairs in his country. By choosing the French and Indian War as his subject matter, Cooper traces and displaces the conflicts caused by the Louisiana Purchase, the Seminal Wars, North American influence in the Caribbean, and the coming Mexican cession to the eighteenth century. In this way, he casts the colonial French and Indian War as a variation on a reoccurring theme in North American national life and posits the victory of Anglo-Saxon civilization at the war's conclusion as the teleological end of the foundational historical narrative of colonial encounter. Meanwhile, Mansilla produces an against-the-grain reading of a myth from the colonial period in order to critique current events in her country --such as bourgeois ascendancy and expansion into indigenous territories--, returning to the conflict between Spaniards and indigenous in Argentina's colonial past in order to provide a vision of national identity that differs sharply from the one promoted by the official anti-indigenist discourse of the era. At the same time, the genealogy that I suggest in this chapter allows for a consideration of the particular variations on the Lucía-Miranda scenario of encounter as the myth evolves over time and space in Argentina and the United States, transcultural rewritings that elucidate the particular ways in which each of the two authors offers a

patrician intervention into the bourgeois modernity that was taking hold in their respective countries during the nineteenth century.

Between Virtue and Virility

Cooper's response to the emergence of bourgeois modernity in the United States consists of an ambivalent attitude towards the rise of Jacksonian democracy and the attendant replacement of the notion of natural aristocracy with the myth of the self-made man as the basis of citizenship in the North American republic. The writer's work registers his uneasy stance towards the transition between early Republican society and the continental empire model in the United States, a model in which race --not class-- organizes social hierarchies. The social and political changes of the 1820s, 30s, and 40s are commonly thought to be embodied by the figure of frontiersman-turned-military-commander-turned-planter-turned-president Andrew Jackson, whose "success in life personified the wresting of the continent from alien enemies, both Native and European, white supremacy over other races, and equal opportunity for all white males, without preference for birth or education, to enjoy the spoils of conquest" (Howe 330). These changes, however, were not unproblematic. *The Last of the Mohicans*, published just three years before Jackson would assume the presidency, "search[es] for answers to the greatest questions posed by the unrealized promise of this new nation: 'Who shall inherit the American land?' 'What form of

society shall we establish?’ and, above all, ‘What is the meaning of political justice in a republic?’” (McWilliams 11).

Cooper’s description of George Washington in *The Last of the Mohicans* reflects the class tensions of the era. The author writes:

They had recently seen a chosen army, from that country, which, reverencing as a mother, they had blindly believed invincible –an army led by a chief who had been selected from a crowd of trained warriors for his rare military endowments, disgracefully routed by a handful of French and Indians, and only saved from annihilation by the coolness and spirit of a Virginian boy, whose riper fame has since diffused itself, with the steady influence of moral truth, to the uttermost confines of Christendom (481).

In a footnote, Cooper explains that he is referring to “Washington, who after uselessly admonishing the European general of the danger into which he was heedlessly running,” during the French and Indian War “saved the remnants of the British army, on this occasion, by his decision and courage.” The passage extols the general’s merits --merits that, importantly, are not entirely explained in terms of virtue, as in Jefferson’s letter to Adams or in *Jicoténcal*,⁵⁸ but rather of its cognate, virility. Cooper’s Washington surpasses “trained warriors” with “rare military endowments” with “decision and courage.” He continues by noting that “the reputation earned by Washington in this battle was the principle cause of his being selected to command the American armies at a later day.” While the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal* and Jefferson sought to select from the best stock in order to breed a race of natural aristocrats, Cooper’s Washington is the embodiment of the American myth of the self-made man, who, “supposedly humble in his origins and without formal education

⁵⁸ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

or inherited wealth” rises through the ranks as a result of individual effort and superior strength --a somewhat more successful version of *The Leatherstocking Tales*’s Natty Bumppo (Smith 100-101).

As Daniel Walker Howe points out, the United States in the generation following the War of 1812 “was not a relaxed, hedonistic, refined, or indulgent society. Formal education and family connections counted for comparatively little.”

Rather:

The man who got ahead in often primitive conditions did so by means of innate ability, hard work, luck and sheer willpower. Disciplined himself, he knew how to impose discipline on his family, employees, and slaves. Impatient of direction, he took pride in his personal accomplishments. An important component of his drive to succeed was a willingness -- surprising among agrarian people-- to innovate and take risks, to try new methods and locations. With an outlook more entrepreneurial than peasant, the American farmer sought to engross more land than he could cultivate in hopes that its value would rise as other settlers arrived” (38).

Thus, as the nineteenth century progressed, the consideration that Jefferson attached to the virtuous “subject from which we are to breed,”⁵⁹ is gradually replaced in importance by manly discipline in the quest for economic success.

These efforts are not limited to frontier farmers. As Gail Bederman explains in *Manliness and Civilization*, the discourse of masculinity played a key role in the expansion and formation of the North American middle class, newly enfranchised by white manhood suffrage at the time that Cooper was writing. “Between 1820 and 1860, as increasing numbers of men had begun to earn comfortable livings as entrepreneurs, professionals, and managers, the middle class had begun to

⁵⁹ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

differentiate itself from other classes by stressing its gentility and respectability.” Thus, “middle-class parents taught their sons to build a strong, manly ‘character’ as they would build a muscle, through repetitive exercises of control over impulse. The middle class saw this ability to control powerful masculine passions through strong character and a powerful will as a primary source of men’s strength and authority over both women and the lower classes” (11-12).

Despite its emphasis on character and self-control, the ideology that Bederman describes is not the same as the virtue of the natural aristocracy that Jicoténcal the Younger displays.⁶⁰ While Jefferson believed that natural talents and virtues should be cultivated in order to create an ideal ruling class, the discourse of manliness argues for a training of the character for the purpose of social advancement, exemplified by the portrait of Washington in the passage by Cooper. “In the context of the market economy’s unpredictability, a manly character built on high-minded self-restraint was seen as the rock on which middle-class men could build their fortunes.” For example, “middle-class men were awarded (or denied) credit based on others’ assessment of the manliness of their characters, and credit raters like Dun and Bradstreet reported on businessmen’s honesty, probity, and family life” (12). Thus, the subordination of one’s passions to the common good that --as I explained in Chapter I in my discussion of Jicoténcal the Younger-- defined the virtue of the natural aristocracy, adapts itself in the discourse of manliness to the bourgeois need to trust in the character of one’s business associates. This discursive change is

⁶⁰ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

not without socio-political consequences; far removed from the aristocratic monopoly on virtue, the discourse of manliness democratizes participation in public life for the self-made men of the masses. Anyone can advance, provided he, like Cooper's Washington, develops a strong, masculine character.

Of course, the historical Washington was not a self-made man, but a Tidewater aristocrat --and Cooper, knowing that his readers would have been aware of the fact, makes little effort to conceal it in his description of the General. If the juxtaposition of "a chief who had been selected from a crowd of trained warriors for his rare military endowments" with the "Virginia boy" who surpassed him is meant to suggest country simplicity triumphing over urbane training, the particularities of Washington's biography tell a different story. Cooper concedes the point when he refers to the place of "moral truth" --that is, virtue--in securing Washington's place in history, thereby relocating the bourgeois-democratic narrative of Washington's upward mobility based on personal merit within the natural-aristocratic discourse on virtue.

The same ideological ambiguity can be found in *The Prairie* (1827), where Cooper comments that:

The descendants of [the British colonists] have been content to reject the ordinary and artificial means by which honours have been perpetuated in families, and have substituted a standard which brings the individual himself to the ordeal of the public estimation, paying as little deference as may be possible to those who have gone before him. This forbearance, self-denial, or common sense, or by whatever term it may be thought proper to distinguish the measure, has subjected the nation to the imputation of having an ignoble origin. Were it worth the enquiry, it would be found that more than a just proportion of the renowned names of the mother-country are, at this hour, to be found in her ci-devant colonies; and it is a fact well known to the few who have wasted sufficient time to become the masters of so unimportant a subject, that the direct descendents of many a failing line, which the policy of England has

seen fit to sustain by collateral supporters, are now discharging the simple duties of citizens in the bosom of this republic (66).

If, on the one hand, Cooper mocks and condemns aristocracy, speaking disparagingly of the “artificial means by which honours have been perpetuated in families” and claiming that genealogists waste time on an “unimportant [...] subject,” he also feels compelled to defend the United States from the “imputation have having an ignoble origin” and goes through the trouble of pointing out that many Americans are descended from British aristocratic houses. In this way, Cooper appears less than convinced of the democratic ideals he claims to espouse.

At other times, Cooper’s preference for the natural aristocracy --which he terms the “gentry”-- over the self-made man --like that of Mansilla, whom I will discuss below-- is more overt. When, in *The Last of the Mohicans*, Duncan asks Munro for permission to marry one of his daughters, the latter praises the former’s lineage and makes derisive comments regarding those who have earned their rank by exploiting the natural resources of the New World: “A pretty degree of knighthood, sir, is that which can be bought with sugar-hogsheads! And then your two-penny marquessates!” (651). Munro’s family, the character tells us, was also “both ancient and honorable [...] though it might not altogether be endowed with that amount of wealth, that should correspond with its degree” (653).

Munro’s comments, like depiction of Washington as both a self-made man and a natural aristocrat, register the tensions surrounding the declining influence of the gentry in North American society during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. In the classical republicanism of Jefferson, property serves as a sort of moral qualification, as a guarantor of virtue. “The man who had not shown the ability to accumulate property was not a full man, and could therefore hardly be a full citizen” (Hobsbawm 236). Jefferson saw “the cultivator of the earth, the husbandman who tilled his own acres, as the rock upon which the American republic must stand,” as “such men had independence, both economic and moral, that was indispensable in those entrusted with the solemn responsibility of the franchise” (Smith 128). In an effort to expand access to such virtue, the statesman presented to the Virginia legislature a plan for “the abolition of entails and primogeniture and the proposal that every landless adult should be given fifty acres from the public domain.” While Jefferson’s “homestead proposal” failed, the statesman “did succeed in establishing a federal policy favoring westward expansion” (Smith 128) and, as president, he would purchase Louisiana from France, thereby guaranteeing land for a colonizing army of yeomen farmers.

This westward expansion spurred by Jefferson’s 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France makes possible the sort of class mobility against which Cooper uses Munro’s comments on the buying of titles in the eighteenth-century colonial context to rail. For the previously marginalized classes, the possibility of land ownership that the Purchase represented “meant that one’s livelihood was not dependent on the goodwill of another, as was the case, presumably, with tenants, serfs, indentured servants, wage-workers, or chattel slaves, as well as women and children” (Howe 37). Thus, the opening of a vast territory to

settlement decreased class differences by expanding property ownership beyond the traditional gentry of the virtuous natural aristocracy. Cooper takes up this theme in *The Prairie*, where social leveling results from the relationship between the upper-class Ellen Wade and the frontiersman Paul Hoover, whose marriage at the end of the novel is made possible by the seeming irrelevance of social origins in the newly-acquired territory.

Though criticizable on other accounts (as I explain below), Frederick Jackson Turner's "Significance of the Frontier in American History" is clear on the relationship between westward expansion and democracy. The historian writes that "the frontier states that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its existence came with democratic suffrage provisions" --perhaps because, where land was abundant, property ownership could no longer be held as a guarantor of virtue-- "and had reactive effects of the highest importance upon the older States whose people were being attracted there. An extension of the franchise became essential" (30). The removal of property requirements for voting and the transition from a liberal to a democratic republican model represents a shift in the nation's self-fashioning and in the constitution of the body politic. The republic was no longer considered "an integrated unity of social ranks but a society of individuals, often hostile and competitive, who believed they were both equal and unequal" (Langley 67). This socio-political development, in turn, gives rise to the image of the United States as a classless society. As Smith writes "the political ideology of the 1830's and 1840's assumed that the common man had risen to dominate, or at least to share

control of the government without ceasing to be the common man,” representing a transfer of power from the Jeffersonian natural aristocracy to the Jacksonian body politic comprising all white males (Smith 137-138) --ironically, as a result of an expansionism that Jefferson favored in order to widen the base of the propertied natural aristocracy. This genealogical relationship between Jeffersonianism and Jacksonianism is reflected in the unresolved tension between the two models that underlies Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*.

In *The Last of the Mohicans*, the frontier experience of conquest and colonization replaces the virtue of the natural aristocracy with the virility of the self-made man, as the constant need for Natty to instruct Duncan and the Munro sisters in the ways of the woods demonstrates. Yet, in the end, Southern aristocrat Duncan marries the Scottish aristocrat Alice in order to give birth to the republican nation; as Cooper informs the reader in *The Prairie*, the couple’s son, Duncan Uncas Heyward was “an officer of the States in the war of revolution” (122), thereby establishing Alice and Duncan as the foundational couple of the North American nation and fulfilling the futuristic function of the historical novel of the Americas to which I refer in the introduction to this dissertation. The frontier in the novel functions as “a ripe discursive space for American gentlemen to reinvent themselves as natural, honorable leaders of a democratic republic” (Murray), much as Duncan does when, under Natty’s guidance, he saves Alice and Cora from their Amerindian captivity.

Unlike the Scottian historical novel, here there is no “wavering hero” sympathetic to both sides to smooth the tensions between two world orders (Dekker

94). Rather, “Heyward’s union with Alice does not reconcile two conflicting heritages but emphasizes their rupture” (Kelly 74). The aristocrats found the nation while the woodsman Natty Bumppo, whom the Hurons call “la Longue Carabine” --a phallic appellation that leaves little doubt as to the character’s associations with the myth of the self-made man--, is left with the Amerindians to vanish into the ever-receding Western frontier.⁶¹

The Last of the Mohicans *and the Question of National Limits*

This “vanishing” of the nonwhite characters at the end of *The Last of the Mohicans*, which precedes the Indian Removal Act by a short four years, points to what today seems a rather obvious problem with the frontier thesis. Turner does not limit his argument to the role of westward expansion in the evolution of the mythic North American classless society around whose aporias Cooper skates, but also makes claims regarding the place of the West in North American ethno-national development. In a variation on the melting pot narrative, Turner claims that, “in the crucible of the frontier immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics” and goes on to cite the

⁶¹ For Cooper’s explanation of his class politics, see *The American Democrat; Or, Hints on the Social and Civic Relations in the United States of America*. The book offers a highly nuanced view of social organization, endorsing a qualified democracy that would respect the place of “gentlemen.” Cooper uses “gentleman” to mean Jefferson’s “natural aristocrat” and “aristocrat” to refer to Jefferson’s “artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents.” In the name of terminological consistency between chapters and in order to facilitate comparative work, I tend to use the term “aristocrat” where Cooper would have said “gentleman.” For an explanation of Cooper’s definitions of “gentleman” and the “aristocracy,” see Allan M. Axelrod, “Cooper, Aristocracy, and Capitalism.”

examples of the Germans in Pennsylvania and the Scots-Irish in Virginia (23). It is difficult for a contemporary reader not to note the Euro-centrism in Turner's argument. The Amerindian and Mexican inhabitants of the land that Americanized these European populations are absent from Turner's vision, while blacks are only present through the historian's comments on the westward expansion of slavery and the heightening of the sectional differences that would eventually bring about the Civil War. Missing is a consideration of the implications that this racial imperialism might have for the American democracy that the European immigrants are supposedly learning and forging on the frontier. In Turner's thesis, the West becomes the classless society where whites go to acquire the virtues of self-made men, as the example from *The Last of the Mohicans* described above illustrates.

It is important to recall that, nearsighted though Turner's vision might seem today, the westward expansion of the United States did, in fact, bring about a diminishing of the class differences through the establishment of white manhood suffrage. On the one hand, it reduced the importance of birth and wealth in the public sphere, a societal change that Arthur Schlesinger details in his classic study, *The Age of Jackson*. On the other, the definition of the citizen as a white male created a subaltern class of nonwhites permanently excluded from participation in public life, though, as in the Latin American example discussed in Chapter I of this dissertation, present in the nation through its expropriated land and labor. More to the point, the presence through exclusion of blacks and Amerindians in the North American nation created the material possibilities necessary for white men to accumulate the wealth

that lead to the paradoxically contemporaneous births of the myth of the self-made man and that of the classless society.

This can be seen in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*. Set on the New York-Québec border in 1757 during the French and Indian War, the novel stages the establishment of the political and human frontiers of the nation, fixing the limits of Anglo-Saxon empire against French, Amerindian, and hybrid others. Importantly, the text was published in the decade following another border conflict: the first Seminole War, in which Amerindians and maroons fought against the United States army's efforts to subjugate and remove them from the newly incorporated state of formerly Spanish Florida --that is, to place them beyond the nation--, as the community's insistence on its right to the land, as well as its attractiveness to runaway slaves, undermined the hegemony Anglo-American plantation system that was being implemented in the region. Though the aim of the War was ostensibly the removal of the Seminole tribe from central Florida, an area that had recently been purchased by the United States from Spain, maroonage was a key issue in the conflict, as the Amerindians were providing refuge to North American slaves who had escaped from plantations in Georgia.⁶² This alliance between the Amerindians and the maroons against the North American nation-state was particularly disruptive of the dominant nationalist paradigm in the United States during the Age of Jackson. As Amy Kaplan explains, "underlying the dream of imperial expansion [was] the nightmare of its own

⁶² On the Black Seminoles, see Kevin Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas* and Jane Landers, "Slave Resistance on the Southeastern Frontier: Fugitives, Maroons, and Banditti in the Age of Revolution."

success, a nightmare in which movement outward into the world threatens to incorporate the foreign and dismantle the domestic sphere of the nation” (12). She coins the “oxymoron” “anarchy of empire” in order to suggest “the breakdown or defiance of the monolithic system of order that empire aspires to impose on the world, an order reliant on clear divisions between metropolis and colony, colonizer and colonized, national and international spaces, the domestic and the foreign” that occurs when heterogeneous foreign elements are incorporated into the expanding nation (13). Living freely in a formerly Spanish barbarous territory, the Black Seminoles must have represented to the nineteenth-century Anglo-American mind the embodiment of the sort of Latin American racial mixing that North Americans prided themselves on avoiding.⁶³ Suddenly included within the newly-expanded national borders, the inassimilable Black Seminoles had to be removed in order to defend the integrity of the national body.

The Last of the Mohicans presets a scenario similar to the Seminole War’s unsettling Afro-indigenous alliance in the relationships among the mulatta Cora and the Amerindians Uncas and Magua, which echo the collapse of distinctions between Afro-descendants and the indigenous in Ribera’s *Relación* and Moore’s *Mangora*. Particularly provocative is the moment near the beginning of the novel when Cora and Uncas first lay eyes on one another, when he accidentally makes a noise and causes her to glance at him as her carriage goes by:

⁶³ See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*.

Though this sudden and startling movement of the Indian, produced no sound from the other, in the surprise, her veil was also allowed to open its folds, and betrayed an indescribable look of pity, admiration and horror, as her dark eye followed the easy motions of the savage. The tresses of this lady were shining and black, like the plumage of the raven. Her complexion was not brown, but it rather appeared charged with the colour of the rich blood, that seemed ready to burst its bounds. And yet there was neither coarseness, nor want of shadowing, in a countenance that was exquisitely regular and dignified, and surpassingly beautiful. She smiled, as if in pity at her own momentary forgetfulness, discovered by the act of a row of teeth that would have shamed the purest ivory; when, replacing the veil, she bowed her face, and rode in silence, like one whose thoughts were abstracted from the scene around her (488-489).

The action narrated here is relatively simple and the fragment calls attention to itself by treating the seemingly minor event at such length. Drawn out in this manner, the incident becomes an exchange of gazes and a moment of mutual recognition between the two nonwhite heroes of the novel. Importantly, this fragment, which suggests the beginning of a relationship of reciprocity between the two characters, also racializes them. Uncas is referred to as “the Indian” and “the savage” while the language quoted here consistently points to Cora’s physical darkness – even her teeth “that would have shamed the purest ivory” only serve to highlight by contrast the blackness of her eyes, hair, and skin. Equally important here is the erotic nature of the language used to describe the moment of unrestrained gazing between the two. Exotically unveiled, her eyes follow his “easy motions” while the image that he sees is one of a complexion “charged with the colour of rich blood, that seemed ready to burst its bounds.” The encounter suggests the possibility of a sexual union between the Amerindian and the mulatta, an unsettling prospect for the time of the novel, in which, as I have mentioned, Afro-indigenous hybridity in Florida presented a very real threat to the integrity of the North American nation-state.

It is clear that the undesirability of such a union is at the forefront of Cooper's mind, and the novel repeats that sentiment over and over again as Cora repeatedly refuses the indecent proposal of the Huron Magua to "let the daughter of the English chief follow and live in his wigwam forever" and give birth to mixed-race children such as the Black Seminoles that were being born in Florida in the period in which Cooper was writing --a fate over which she virtuously chooses death (589). Once again, this death is narrated in sexually suggestive language; Magua commands, "woman [...] choose the wigwam or the knife of le Subtil!" Moments later, he "recoiled a step, and one of his assistants, profiting by the chance, sheathed his own knife in the bosom of Cora" (862). The images of penetration that Cooper invokes while narrating the death of Cora point to the nature of the threat that she represents to the logic of the novel, which resides in her potential to subvert North American racial hierarchies by giving birth to hybrid offspring. These hypothetical children, like those of Díaz de Guzmán's *Lucía Miranda* and *Siripo* and the Black Seminoles --and unlike the future mestizos of Mansilla's novel, as I will explain later--, must be expelled from the nation, as their presence would only undermine and contest the appearance of social and political equality through which the nation defines itself. In this way, as George Dekker points out, the marriage of Alice and Duncan at the novel's conclusion and the promise of a purebred future republican citizenry that it embodies underscore the unsuitability of the other possible foundational pairings that the text presents. In this way, the Jacksonian equality brought about by expansion into

Western lands is predicated on a Jeffersonian preoccupation for “the subject from which we are to breed.”⁶⁴

Importantly, unlike doña Marina in *Jicoténcal*,⁶⁵ Cora has, through her actions, proved herself more than virtuous. One wonders, then, at Cooper’s vehemence. Cora has only to exchange a few glances with Duncan and to hint that she has “much more” to say to him “than cooler reason would approve” to merit her death at the end of *The Last of the Mohicans* (838), while doña Marina, who actively attempts to infiltrate the virtuous national family by attempting a relationship with Jicoténcal, is allowed to survive the anonymous Cuban novel. Why does the possibility of hybridity perturb Cooper so much? Perhaps all this fear on the North American author’s part is due to the fact that, in a world in which the citizen is defined as a white male, to marry a white male to a nonwhite female is to admit the subaltern into the national body and to allow their hybrid offspring to become the inheritors of the wealth that he is recently free to make for himself in the lands that have been appropriated from nonwhites and which a reluctant democrat like Cooper still regards as a necessary prerequisite for civic virtue in the West.⁶⁶ The possibility proves oxymoronic because Jacksonian democracy, like the Cádiz Constitution,⁶⁷ has already defined nonwhites as without the body politic. To include them would be to

⁶⁴ In focusing on the racial exclusivity of the republican project presented in *The Last of the Mohicans*, I follow the lead of a long tradition of commentators ranging from D.H. Lawrence to Leslie Fielder to Doris Sommer to Anna Brickhouse. Meanwhile Barbara Alice Mann has recently argued that, despite his constant assertion of his identity as “a man without a cross,” the character of Natty Bumppo is, secretly, of partial Amerindian descent.

⁶⁵ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

⁶⁶ For a historical discussion of the economic effects of interracial relationships in the newly-acquired territories, see Virginia Mechem-Gould, “Slave and Free Women of Color in the Spanish Ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola.”

⁶⁷ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

undermine the frontier individualism that makes North American liberalism possible, based as it is on the expropriation of indigenous land and slave labor. Though Cora's level-headedness proves invaluable in the wilderness, she cannot fully partake of the society she helped to create without destroying it. Like lower-class Natty, nonwhite Cora is valued because she makes the consolidation of the republic possible, but it is ultimately the natural-aristocratic Alice and Duncan whose children lead the new society.

Once again, the promise of children points to the forward-looking aspect of the historical novel. Children, of course, imply mothers, and this may explain why Cooper felt he had to sacrifice Cora at end of *The Last of the Mohicans*. The years following the publication of the novel would see the flourishing of the cult of domesticity --which posited the bourgeois mother as a civilizing, progressive force in the nation-- and the ideal of republican motherhood, that is, the raising of children for the proper exercise of citizenship. Amy Kaplan identifies a link between the notion of the home as woman's empire and the beginnings of North American imperialism in Louisiana and Mexico. "If, on the one hand, domesticity drew strict boundaries between the private home and the public world of men, on the other, it became the engine of national expansion, the site from which the nation reaches beyond itself through the emanation of woman's moral influence" as mother of the colonizing settlers in newly acquired territories (29).

By turning the homestead into a home, domestic republican mothers such as Cooper's Alice:

Redefine the meaning of habitation [...] to make Euro-Americans feel at home in a place where *they* are initially the foreign ones. Domesticity inverts this relationship to create a home by rendering prior inhabitants alien and undomesticated and by implicitly nativizing newcomers. The empire of the mother thus embodies the anarchy at the heart of the American empire; the two empires follow a double compulsion to conquer and domesticate --to control and incorporate-- the foreign within the borders of the home and nation (Kaplan 34).

Thus, “both the empire of the mother and the American Empire sought to encompass the entire world outside their borders, yet this same outward movement contributed to and relied on the contradiction of the domestic sphere to exclude persons conceived of as racially foreign within those expanding national boundaries” (42). If North American domestic values are to be brought to colonized territories by civilizing republican mothers, then allowing imperial subjects such as Cora to be the mothers of a colonizing family, instilling values of uncertain origin in the future voters they raised, would represent a threat to the established political-economic order even greater than that caused by the Jacksonian granting of suffrage to non-elite whites.

Cooper, of course, does not participate directly in the cult of domesticity, as his constant focus on the virility of the self-made man attests. He does, however, insist on ending his novel with a proper foundational marriage between racially appropriate partners that inevitably leads to the founding of the nation and the establishment of the domestic sphere headed by republican mothers in a formerly virgin land. Yet, as the expulsions of Cora and Uncas indicate, “under the self-contained orderly homes” of the domestic republican family “lies the anarchy of imperial conquest.” The domesticity prefigured by the conclusion of Cooper’s novel “both reenacts and conceals its origin in the violent appropriation of foreign land.

Buried in the pit closely accessible to the domestic space, ghosts from prior imperial encounters haunt the self-enclosed household of the family and the nation.” Like Cooper’s veiled allusions to the Black Seminole insurgent agency that has already been incorporated into the national sphere and the narrative devices that contain it, “‘Manifest Domesticity’ turns an imperial nation into a home by producing and colonizing specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside its ever-shifting borders” (Kaplan 50) --such as the Lucía Miranda myth that, in *The Last of the Mohicans*, is happily domesticated into the North American foundational narrative. As I will now show, this entanglement of the Miranda myth with Cooper’s *Mohicans* provides the conditions of possibility for Mansilla’s conservative critique of the forms that bourgeois modernity would take in both the United States and Argentina.

Return to Argentina: Mansilla’s Alternative Imagining of the Nation

Mansilla –who, as she recounts in her *Recuerdos de viaje* (1882), would, in 1860 (the same year in which she published *Lucía Miranda*) travel to the United States when her husband Manuel García succeeded Sarmiento as Minister to the northern country —would surely have seen the similarities between the racial ideology of Cooper’s republican marriage plots and Argentine statesman Juan Bautista Alberdi’s famous proposal for government through populating-- that is--whitening.⁶⁸ The plan was aimed at ameliorating the sanguineous damage supposedly

⁶⁸ For more on Manuel García’s time in the United States, see Chapter IV of this dissertation.

done to the Argentine national body through Spanish colonialism, which, he felt, left the country a nation of racial degenerates, largely because the *mestizaje* that Díaz de Guzmán abjects in his foundational text still found a way to occur. In the 1879 “Páginas explicativas” to his 1852 *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República argentina* [Bases and Points of Departure for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic], Alberdi explains that “gobernar es poblar en el sentido que poblar es educar, mejorar, civilizar, enriquecer y engrandecer espontáneamente y rápidamente” [“to govern is to populate in the sense that to populate is to educate, improve, civilize, enrich and enlarge spontaneously and rapidly”] (22). In other words, to govern means to emulate the success of the burgeoning North American republic. For Alberdi, as for Sarmiento, Argentine racial stock must be “improved,” so that the country may gain “la inteligencia y la costumbre de su propio gobierno y los medios de ejercerlo” [“the intelligence and habits of self-government, and the means to exercise them”] (22). “Poblar es civilizar” [“to populate is to civilize”], he adds, only when population occurs, as in the North American West, “con gente civilizada” [“with civilized people”], that is, “con pobladores de la Europa civilizada” [“with populators from civilized Europe”] -- an idea with which Cooper clearly concurs (22). “With this,” explains Francine Masiello, “the early liberal intelligentsia demanded a purification of the race and sought a republican metaphor to protect the land from the expansion of indigenous peoples and undesirable “others” (5). Among other measures, this purifying process involved the institution of civil marriage so that Catholic Argentine women could be

free to marry Anglo-Saxon Protestant businessmen, thereby infusing the Argentine national body with a healthy quantum of civilized blood. This provision, together with Alberdi's firm belief in the importance of educating girls so that they would become better mothers --an idea the Latin American positivist shares with the Argentine women's movement (Lojo 18) and, as I have already mentioned, the North American cult of domesticity--, points to the importance of the domestic sphere and the notion of republican motherhood in the nineteenth-century Argentine liberal project.⁶⁹

Euarda Mansilla de García's novel *Lucía Miranda*, while it rewrites the scenario of encounter I have been discussing in this chapter employing the notions of republican motherhood and the national domestic space, makes no effort to exorcise the specters haunting the nation from within its expanding borders, as Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* does, in this way presenting a national project radically different from those of Alberdi and Cooper. Opting out of the racialized internecine conflicts that divided Argentina throughout the nineteenth century, Mansilla "condemned the political practices of Federalists and [their political opponents the] Unitarians alike, perceiving the two parties to be indistinguishable in that both suffered corruption and lacked moral conviction. Doubtful of the partisan politics" of her Federal father and Unitario husband, "Mansilla offered a program of her own for state reform and modernization" that would incorporate --rather than exclude-- the racialized other into the national project (Masiello 40).

⁶⁹ On Latin American positivism, see Leopoldo Zea, *Pensamiento positivista latinoamericano*.

Mansilla's ideological independence marks a shift in values from more conventional mobilizations of the Lucía Miranda myth, such as those that I have discussed in this chapter up to now. The story of Lucía Miranda appears again and again throughout Argentine literary history, normally at moments, such as the Europeanizing 1860s, when the human and geographic borders of the nation are in question, serving, in this way, much the same function as the scenario of encounter in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, written on the eve of the Age of Jackson.⁷⁰ Susan Rotker, who views the Lucía Miranda story as an allegory of racial conflict in Argentina (101) and a cautionary tale about the dangers of white-indigenous cooperation, regards the rape of Lucía as an original sin that is repeated over and over in Argentine literature (98). In such a reading, "Lucia stands for the white Argentine nation that is considered to be vulnerable to indigenous attack and as an idealized citizen who has a privileged but troublesome relationship to the land and its indigenous inhabitants" (Hanway, *Embodying Argentina* 86) and her body, "kidnapped and later killed to maintain honor and fidelity, marks only the enormous distance between white culture and the representation of the indigenous as Other" (Rotker 101).

In "Valuable White Property: Lucía Miranda and National Space," Nancy Hanway links the popularity of the Lucía Miranda myth in mid-nineteenth century Argentina to the country's territorial and economic expansionist projects into indigenous territory --a situation similar to that in which Cooper rewrites the myth in

⁷⁰ 1860 actually saw the publication of two versions of the myth. In addition to Mansilla's novel, Rosa Guerra also published a novella called *Lucía Miranda* based on Díaz de Guzmán's crónica.

the North American context--, noting that the indigenous were perceived by the Argentine liberal project as an impediment to the country's development (117). She claims that "the desire by the growing nation to contain and put boundaries around lands that were still not under the control of urban Buenos Aires required a narrative," such as that of Lucía Miranda, "that would re-create indigenous territory --seen as limitless, uncontrolled, and racially-marked-- as a space that belonged to the white nation" (119). Continuing along the same lines, Susana Dillion argues that that narrative harnesses the Catholic sexual values reflected in the colonial text to the nineteenth-century bourgeois national project that Alberdi lays out, transforming female continence from the bedrock of the Christian family to the guarantor of racial purity.

Mansilla breaks with this traditional deployment of the Lucía Miranda myth by making mestizaje a fundamental part of the nation she imagines in her novel. This is clear from the opening of the text, when the author notes that Sebastián Gaboto founded the Espiritu Santo fort from which Lucía is kidnapped on his way back from a mission in Paraguay. By highlighting the Paraguayan connection, Mansilla draws attention to that country's importance to the colonial history of the Southern Cone region of South America. Maintaining the Amerindian language Guaraní as an official tongue, possessing a large indigenous population, and closed to foreign trade for many years, nineteenth-century Paraguay was fiercely anti-western, a trait that would bring it into conflict with Eurocentric Argentina as the century progressed, eventually erupting into the War of Triple Alliance (1864-1870) not long after

Mansilla's novel was written.⁷¹ By placing Paraguay, the radical racial other, at the beginning of a narrative of the foundation of the Argentine nation, Mansilla undermines the Buenos Aires elite's efforts to imagine the community in terms of whiteness.⁷²

The resurrection of this colonial history, in which white ascendancy was anything but a given, had subversive implications for the Europeanizing Argentina of Mansilla's day. In his *Comentarios*, Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca is constantly drawing attention to the poor material situation of the Spanish colonists and to the setbacks they suffer at the hands of nature and the natives. In addition to marking a departure from the other historical narratives that I study in this dissertation, which center on the conquest and establishment of European hegemony in the Americas, the history of Spanish defeat that crystalizes around the raid of the Espíritu Santo Fort in which Lucía is taken captive represents an inversion of the image of Argentine society that nineteenth-century liberals like Alberdi wished to create.

In this context, Mansilla's decision to alter the racial background of the myth's heroine becomes particularly intriguing. In the crónicas, as in Moore's play, Lucía Miranda is a white Spaniard, presumably of socially-respectable parentage. Mansilla, however, makes a point of noting that Lucía is the illegitimate daughter of a Spanish nobleman by "una joven de origen morisco, hija de padres artesanos" ["a young woman of Moorish background, the daughter of artisan parents"] (5). In

⁷¹ For more on the War of the Triple Alliance, see Chapter IV of this dissertation. For a literary treatment of nineteenth-century Paraguay, see Augusto Roa Bastos's 1974 novel, *Yo, el supremo*.

⁷² On the discursive exclusion of the indigenous from the Argentine nation, see Miguel Fernández, "'¡Viva el salvagismo!': The Representation of Amerindians in Argentine Satirical Newspapers during the Years of National Organization. (1852-1880)."

fifteenth-century Spain, Lucía's Moorish descent and status as a *cristiana nueva*, along with her illegitimacy, would have represented hereditary infamies barring her and all of her descendants from full participation in the Spanish state.⁷³ Meanwhile, in the liberal Argentina of the 1860s, her status hardly would have been higher than that of Cora in the world of Cooper's novels. Yet Mansilla chooses the mixed-race woman of humble origins as the mother of the Argentine nation. On the one hand, this decision to incorporate the abject Arab element into the Argentine national narrative - -reminiscent of the Moorish-looking black Amerindians from Ribera's *Relación--*, represents a strike at Sarmiento, the country's most famous liberal, who, in his *Facundo* (1845), points to the traces of Moorish blood and culture as the source of the "backwardness" that Spain left in its wake in Argentina and which the country's liberals hoped to reform.⁷⁴ On the other, by casting a half Moorish, half Christian Lucía as the heroine of her captivity narrative, Mansilla recalls the genre's origins in the Medieval and Baroque religious conflicts of the Iberian world, positioning the mixed-race Lucía as simultaneously the subject and the product of European captivity by nonwhites and undermining the racial logic of Hispanism both in the Mediterranean and the Southern Cone by suggesting that the other was always already included in the advancing forces of Western civilization and is, therefore, an inextricable part of the nation.⁷⁵

⁷³ On hereditary infamies, see Chapter I of this dissertation.

⁷⁴ Sarmiento's views on Arabs were, however, much more complicated than I am painting them here. In his autobiography *Recuerdos de provincia* (1850), for example, he proudly proclaims his supposed descent from an Algerian sheik.

⁷⁵ On the Mediterranean origins of the captivity narrative, see Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial*

Even more subversive is the possibility that Mansilla may have been influenced by the racially-exclusivist Cooper in her reassignment of Lucía's ancestry. Given her extraordinarily thorough culture, it is more than likely that she had read *The Last of the Mohicans* either in Vicente Pagasartunda's Spanish or Auguste Defauconpret's French translation, especially when one considers Cooper's importance both to the rise of the historical-novelistic genre in which Mansilla writes and to the development of New-World literature in general, to which Sarmiento's comments quoted at the beginning of this chapter attest.⁷⁶ She would, then, have been aware of the similarities between the plots of Cooper's novel and the Lucía Miranda myth. It is thus not hard to imagine that Mansilla's decision to give the *conquistadora* protagonist of her tangled love story mixed African (Moorish) and European (Spanish) origins was inspired by Cooper's story of a mulatta heroine who is similarly desired by two Amerindian men and proves herself indispensable to a colonial expedition in a New-World territory located between empires (351). While, as Diana Marre points out, there are more than 20 versions of the Lucía Miranda tale (not counting the Cooper connection), therefore making it difficult if not impossible to trace the origins of any particular innovation, the heroine is not of Moorish descent in any of the other Hispanic iterations of the story that I have consulted. Lucía is not, for example, of mixed-race in the Jesuit José Guevara's *Historia del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán* --a work that, published in 1839 by Pedro Ángelis, was,

Worlds. For a discussion of the representation of the Moors in nineteenth-century Peninsular literature, see Jesús Torrecilla, "Moriscos y liberals: La idealización de los vencidos."

⁷⁶ For more on Spanish translations of Cooper, see John De Lancey Ferguson's *American Literature in Spain*.

according to Lojo, the principle source of Mansilla's novel (39). At any rate, Mansilla de García appears to be the first writer to discuss Lucía's life before she arrived in the New World (Lojo 30, n31).

That said, the Argentine novelist subverts the logic of Cooper's narrative by allowing her mixed-race heroine to become the mother of the nation. Though Lucía, like Cora, dies childless, she orchestrates the relationship between the Spanish Alejo and the Amerindian Anté who, after Lucía's execution, run away together to the rainforest --presumably to carry on their relationship in peace-- and act as a surrogate foundational couple to the nation (136). Thus, at a moment of increased Northern-Europeanization of the Argentine culture and population, Mansilla, in her narrative of *mestizaje*, draws attention to the country's origins in the encounter between Ibero-Mediterranean and indigenous civilizations. A sort of *madrina* [matron of honor/godmother/patroness] to the couple's union, the half-Moorish Lucía becomes the metaphorical *madre* of the Argentine people.

Thus, Mansilla incorporates the *mestizaje* that traditional versions of the Lucía Miranda myth expel from the nation through the relationship between Alejo and Anté, who come to replace Moore's Isabel and Mosquera and Cooper's Alice and Duncan in Mansilla's foundational scenario of historic encounter. By providing the nation with mixed-race, illegitimate origins, the author breaks with the imperial "Manifest Domesticity" that Kaplan identifies in North American novels of the period and to which Cooper owes the futuristic projection of his novel, as well as Alberdi's wish to govern Argentina by populating it with Europeans. This racial rewriting of the

Lucía Miranda scenario of encounter as a narrative of foundational mestizaje becomes all the more subversive when one remembers that the novel was written in the years leading up to the Guerra de la Triple Alianza against non-Western Paraguay and the genocidal Campaña del Desierto against the indigenous people of the pampas.

Perhaps, however, more than a “rewriting,” Mansilla’s intervention is a restoration of a mestizo element already present in the source text. In the same way that she reintroduces Cooper’s narrative of América into the Argentine context, so, too, does the author remove the myth’s anti-miscegenationist message and return the narrative of mestizaje that lay buried beneath the Díaz de Guzmán source text to the surface. As Operé points out, “one of the historical explanations for captivity is the reproductive potential of the captive women.” That “captive women were the mothers of new generations of mestizos who grew up in the Indian camps” would have constituted part of the cultural context that informed Díaz de Guzmán’s crónica (xvi). Rotker, for her part, repairing on the fact that Sebastián originally accepts Siripo’s offer of an indigenous wife in exchange for Lucía, claims that “in the abstract, the tale dramatizes an exchange of women that goes back to the oldest tribal customs, registering the ancestral pact among human groups: the traffic in women” in which “the exchange of wives marks the union between groups.” Thus, the mythological justification for the expulsion of nonwhites from the Argentine nation carries within it a symbol of interracial union.

Marre, on the other hand, views Díaz de Guzmán’s choice not to represent the consummation of Lucía and Siripo’s marriage as a way of denying the importance of

mestizaje to Argentine history (353). Yet, the very fact that Sebastián and Lucía were remarried to Amerindians implies --even if it never directly mentions-- interracial sexual union and the possibility of children. Moreover, that the *cronista* was himself a mestizo (his maternal grandmother was indigenous) from what is today Paraguay makes it unlikely that he would condemn interracial union categorically. Rather, like his more famous Peruvian counterpart, the mestizo *cronista* Garcilaso, el Inca, Díaz de Guzmán sees the fusion of cultures as fundamental to the identity of Spanish America. Otherwise, why would he have bothered to include the Lucía Miranda anecdote in his *Argentina manuscrita*, given that “no one has proven that the characters of the tragedy of Lucía Miranda existed historically” (Rotker 104)?⁷⁷ The potential political implications of the performance of mestizaje in his text, along with the fact that, as I have already mentioned, the *crónica*’s particular staging of the scenario involves marrying and subordinating a Spanish woman to an Amerindian man, may have lead Díaz de Guzmán to write the Spanish lovers’ deaths into his scripting of the events in order to contain the radical racial energy that his scenario of colonial encounter unleashes.

This reading of the source text seems especially viable when one recalls that Pedro de Angelis originally published the *Argentina manuscrita* at the behest of Rosas, who drew much of his support from the mixed-race popular classes (Marre 340). The fact that “the image that the liberal administrators wanted to project --the

⁷⁷ Marre suggests that there is a documentary basis to the myth of Lucía Miranda. She does not, however, point to a specific point in the document she mentions in which the story is narrated (349-351).

construction of progressive societies based on European models-- did not match the reality of a country inhabited by about two hundred tribes who challenged their program of civilization” (Operé xxviii), may have led the liberals who defeated Rosas to the more canonical interpretation of the Lucía Miranda myth as another statement against racial and cultural mestizaje, similar in subject and message to Echeverría’s 1837 “Cautiva.”

In her almost Baroque assimilation of the racial other through the trope of mestizaje, Eduarda Mansilla in *Lucía Miranda* --not unlike her brother Lucio in *Excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1870)-- rejects the bourgeois nation-state project in favor of the feudal-aristocratic model of the Spanish imperial dynastic state. The book, which contains episodes taking place in Spain, Italy, and the Americas and makes references to Flanders and Germany, situates the Argentine national narrative in the very Spanish Empire away from whose cultural, racial, and economic legacies bourgeois liberals such as Sarmiento and Alberdi were attempting to move. This is especially clear in the extended Italian sequence in the text which, in relating the story of doomed love between don Nuno, Lucía’s adoptive father, and Nina Barberini, a Neapolitan heiress, carries the story to a world outside of the space of the Argentine bourgeois nation-state and into the realm of European aristocratic culture. If Cooper is ambivalent about the rise of the middle classes in the United States, Mansilla leaves no doubt as to her preference for the aristocracy; the Barberini palace is adorned with statues of ancestors, Etruscan pottery, and paintings by Titian --

cultural artifacts far removed from the commercial capitalism that bourgeois liberals were attempting to fortify in the Argentina of the era (14-15).

The extensive knowledge of European high culture displayed in the description and throughout the book points to the pro-aristocratic tendencies that Mansilla's text --like Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*-- demonstrates despite its vindication of mestizaje as the foundation of the Argentine nation. If Mansilla admits nonwhites into the nation, it is as subordinates, as Lucía's tutelage of Anté, whom she teaches to be a good wife (109) and whose desire to dress in European fashion she does not discourage --actions which indoctrinate the future mother of the nation in European modes of proper feminine comport-- , demonstrates (107). Indeed, even if Lucía is half Moorish, she is culturally Hispanic, as evidenced by the devout Catholicism she practices throughout the novel. While not racially exclusive like that of Cooper, Mansilla's nation-state model is not egalitarian as much as patrician. This can be most clearly seen at the end of *Recuerdos de viaje* (1882), her account of her stay in the United States not long after she wrote *Lucía Miranda*, when she confesses to having been a Confederate sympathizer:

Yo era sudista.

A pesar de los esclavos? se me dirá. Á pesar, respondo humildemente, que ese Sud, donde reinaba la esclavatura, era hasta entónces el monopolizador de la elegancia, del refinamiento, y de la cultura en la Union; verdad, que el Norte reconocia y proclamaba á cada paso en sus aspiraciones sociales (122).⁷⁸

I was a Confederate [sudista].

Despite the slaves? I will be asked. Despite them, I humbly reply, for that South, where slavery reined, was until then the monopolizer of elegance, of refinement, and of

⁷⁸ The quoted text preserves the orthographic particularities of Mansilla's Spanish, which were standard at the time that she wrote.

culture in the Union, a truth that the North recognized and proclaimed at every step in its social aspirations.

“Sudista” [literally “Southist”] is the Spanish adjective referring to the now-defunct Confederate States of America. Yet, the direct referent of the term aside, there are clearly hemispheric resonances and an opposition to a particular, Northern-style of modernity in the quoted passage, in which Mansilla embraces her “Southern” identity in order to reject the Argentine liberals’ efforts to assimilate the country to European and North-American cultural and economic canons. Despite the African ancestry she ascribes to the mother of the Argentine nation in her novel, Mansilla in her *Recuerdos* overlooks North American slavery to embrace the Southern cause in the name of aristocratic values that exert a greater hold on her, asserting, in this way, a hybrid, peripheral modernity as a counterdiscourse to the Northern-style cultural embourgeoisment for which the liberals in her country advocated. As in the Colombian Jorge Issac’s *María* (1867), perhaps the most famous work of the conservative wing of Latin American Romanticism (in which, not coincidentally, the tragic ending is brought about by the protagonists’ study of European ways), the love and respect that *Lucía Miranda* shows for nonwhites does not serve to alter their subordinate status. Rather, Mansilla longs for a return to the same patriarchal world of the Spanish colony that Sarmiento in *Recuerdos de provincia* (1850) admires in spite of himself, a world in which, she imagines, servant and served lived in an idyllic, though hierarchical, harmony. And, beside the genocidal visions of Cooper and the Argentine liberals, it may really have looked that way.

The entangled history of cross-cultural influence that I have proposed in this chapter --of Díaz de Guzmán's Spanish *crónica* on Argentina somehow influencing Cooper's vision of the Jacksonian United States and engendering, in turn, a novel that would be critically re-exported back to an Argentina that was undergoing similar changes-- points to the hemispheric nature of the debates on the limits of republican citizenship that I discuss in this dissertation. If Cooper and Mansilla look beyond the nation to write their national narratives, perhaps it is because their aim is to critique the very national project itself. Yet, in turning abroad for ways to imagine their domestic communities, they also find alternate models that they, like the bourgeois modernizers they oppose, wish to disavow. Once again, as the figures of Cora and Lucía demonstrate, this debate revolves around the unresolved question of the place of Afro-descendants in the New-World republic. Yet, even as these mixed-race characters are martyred before they have the opportunity to give birth to the republican body politic, they prove their indispensability to the national project. Such situations would render the racial exclusivity of early versions of New-World republicanism increasingly unsustainable as the century progressed. In the second half of my dissertation, I will look at how creole authors in the Dominican Republic, Argentina, and the United States reacted to the undeniable presence of the other within the nation's geographic and human borders.

Chapter III: From Disavowal to Dialogue: Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo* and Haiti

In this chapter, I will explore the transnational entanglements driving the dialogue between Haitian historian Émile Nau's 1854 *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti* [History of the Indigenous Chiefs of Haiti] and the Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván's 1882 novel, *Enriquillo: Leyenda histórica dominicana* [Enriquillo: Dominican Historical Legend].⁷⁹ Although both works draw on the colonial *crónicas* to tell the story of an Amerindian uprising led by the cacique Enrique on the island of Hispaniola during the early sixteenth century, they deploy that history to different ends. Nau, as critics have noted, seeks to situate the Amerindian rebellion as a precursor to the 1791 Haitian Revolution in the metanarrative of New-World slavery—a reading that has the effect of undermining Dominican claims to autonomy from Haiti, which were cast largely in cultural terms. Meanwhile, though Galván is clearly influenced by Nau—whom he never acknowledges—the Dominican writer distances himself from the Haitian's reading of Enrique's revolt in the context of radical antislavery. Using Louis Félix Boisrond-Tonnerre's 1804 Declaration of Haitian Independence and Tomás de Bobadilla y Briones's 1844 "Manifiesto de los habitantes de la parte del Este de la isla antes española o de Santo Domingo, sobre las causas de su separación de la República haitiana" ["Manifiesto of the Inhabitants of the Eastern Part of the Island Formerly known as La Española or of Santo Domingo on the Causes of their Separation from the Haitian Republic"] to situate Nau and

⁷⁹ In 1954, Robert Graves, commissioned by UNESCO, published an English-language translation of *Enriquillo* entitled *The Cross and the Sword*.

Galván in the ongoing discussion over the significance of the history shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, I use the entanglement of the texts that to analyze the place of blackness in the transnational conversation on New-World republicanism from a South-South perspective. If the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*, applying European and North American political philosophy to a traditional narrative of conquest,⁸⁰ trumpets a classical liberal republic in the hands of a racialized natural aristocracy and Cooper and Mansilla, by restaging a colonial scenario of encounter in contemporary contexts, offer aristocratic meditations on the political-economic and moral implications of bourgeois modernity,⁸¹ Galván, through his dialogue with Nau on the history of Hispaniola, ultimately concedes a place to the black masses in the New-World nation-state, albeit at the margins.

While I will attempt to keep in mind the distinctiveness of the two linguistic and national literary traditions discussed in this chapter through my close readings of specific language, my main focus will be on the entanglement of the two lettered systems. I argue that Nau's *Histoire*, by reappropriating the island's Hispanic history for the Haitian nation-state, responds to the traditionalist cultural nationalism expressed in Bobadilla y Briones's "Manifiesto" --itself a reaction to the radical anticolonialism of Louis Félix Boisrond-Tonnerre's 1804 Declaration of Haitian Independence. Galván's *Enriquillo*, meanwhile, represents a refutation of the rereading of history proposed by Nau's text by privileging the nation's origins in the encounter between Spanish and Amerindian cultures to the point of marginalizing the

⁸⁰ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

⁸¹ See Chapter II of this dissertation.

African element of the island's identity –an effort that is ultimately unsuccessful, as I will show. I hold that this frustrated disavowal (to use Sybille Fischer's term) is as much a product of the undeniable presence of Haiti (and, with it, blackness) on both sides of the border as it is of class tensions within the Dominican national body.⁸²

Historical Background

At its heart, this chapter deals with how the divergent interpretations and emplotments of the entangled histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic on both sides of the border intervene in the respective republican self-fashionings of the two nations, particularly in terms of race. Taking my cues from the authors I analyze, I trace this entangled history back to the colonial encounter, concretely, to the Amerindian cacique Enrique's 1519 rebellion against Spanish authority on the island. Nephew of Anacona, the defeated queen of Jaragua, Enrique (whose indigenous name was Guarocuya) was orphaned in an early battle between the Amerindians and the Spanish and raised in a monastery under the tutelage of fray Bartolomé de las Casas, but included among the Amerindians bequeathed to Andrés de Valenzuela in his *repartimiento*.⁸³ Depicted in the crónicas as a docile, acculturated indigenous noble, Enrique's complacency towards Spanish rule changed when Valenzuela attempted to rape the cacique's wife, Mencía. Frustrated when his pleas for justice go unanswered,

⁸² For an explanation of "disavowal," see below.

⁸³ In this Chapter, following the authors I discuss, I will use "Enrique" to refer to the historical figure, "Henri" to refer to the personage in Nau's *Histoire*, and "Enriquillo" to refer to the character in Nau's novel.

in 1519 Enrique began a rebellion by leading a group of Amerindians into the Bahoruco Mountains to resist Spanish domination on the repartimientos.

In 1533, the colonial government signed a peace treaty with Enrique, agreeing to allow him and his followers to continue in the mountains unmolested. In exchange, Enrique promised to help the Spanish authorities capture any African chattel slaves who may also have revolted. Importantly, by the time of Enrique's rebellion, blacks outnumbered Amerindians on Hispaniola by over thirty percent (Klein and Vinson 256; Altman 593, 611). The African slaves had proven a source of unrest in the colony from their arrival and, in 1503, the governor Nicolás Ovando unsuccessfully recommended that their importation be stopped due to the high incidences of maroonage (Bosch VI). Inspired by Enrique, in 1522, between two and three thousand African slaves under the leadership of Juan Vaquero revolted --perhaps with the intention of founding a "black republic" (Moya Pons *Manual* 35; Klein and Vinson 213)-- and some 300 of them joined the cacique in the Bahoruco Mountains (Moya Pons 36; Bosch VI), which were fast becoming a popular refuge for maroons (Altman 611; Bosch VI). Bosch claims that the slave revolt produced the first death in the uprising, which spurred Spanish authorities to take the events seriously (VI), fearing that, "debido a la superioridad numérica de los negros no estaba lejos el día en que toda la Isla llegaría a estar sometida a ellos" ["due to the numerical superiority of the blacks, the day was not far when the whole Island would be subjugated by them"] (Moya Pons 36).

The link between the indigenous rebellion and slave revolt in the Spanish imaginary is made clear by the fact that the colonial authorities referred to Enrique's followers as "cimarrones" [runaway slaves] (Altman 598). For a historian like Altman, "Enrique's group in some ways became a microcosm of the demographic changes that had overtaken the indigenous society of Hispaniola, although it did not include any Spaniards. Enrique's community in rebellion both exemplified the vast demographic shifts of the early Caribbean and offered a sort of model for interethnic collaboration" (Altman 610). Thus, "rather than signal the initiation of a period of relative peace on Hispaniola, the peace accord concluded with Enrique instead marked a shift in Spanish concerns away from the remaining indigenous population and towards the African group" (Altman 611). In fact, by 1542, blacks had become the largest group on the island, with a slave population between 25,000 and 30,000 and several maroon communities (Altman 611).

The strong presence of African chattel slaves would, of course, ultimately lead to the 1791 Haitian Revolution on the western part of the island, which had been ceded to France in the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick.⁸⁴ Between 1795 and 1819 between 35 and 50 percent of the population of Santo Domingo either left or was killed as a result of the unrest on the island (García Muñiz 175, n4).⁸⁵ Seeing "la continuité territoriale de l'espace insulaire" ["the territorial contiguity of the insular area"] as "la pierre angulaire de l'indépendance haitienne" ["the cornerstone of Haitian independence"]

⁸⁴ The Haitian Revolution has produced a vast bibliography. In addition to the works cited in this chapter, see C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins*; Carolyn Fisk, *The Making of Haiti*; Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*; and David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*.

⁸⁵ Humberto García Muñiz, "La plantación que no se repite: Las historias azucareras de la República dominicana y Puerto Rico, 1870-1930."

(Théodat 67), Haiti --perhaps acting on fears that an alliance between the Spanish and French Bourbon dynasties would result in the Spanish colony being used as a base to attack the newly independent nation (Moya Pons, *La dominación* 23)-- invaded the East in 1805. Later, after the 1808 Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the East, like much of the Hispanic world, rebelled against France and rejoined the former metropole in 1809 (Price-Mars 74-75).

The unsteady period of metropolitan rule known as “la España boba” [“Spain the dumb”] that followed (Piña Contreras 20), was marked by a series of Haitian-inspired slave revolts and efforts on the part of the nonwhite Dominican masses to unite with the revolutionary state in the western part of the island. In response to these efforts, in 1821, Spanish colonial governor Pascual Real tried to gain the support of Coronel Pablo Alí against the pro-Haitian conspirators. However, Alí was soon informed by the members of a creole *independentista* faction that had organized in opposition to the pro-Haitian elements in the country that, as a mulatto, he was ineligible for Spanish citizenship under the newly reinstated Constitución de Cádiz.⁸⁶ Disgruntled with the colonial regime, Alí soon joined forces with the very creoles who had informed him of his disenfranchisement, taking his large battalion with him (Moya Pons, *La dominación* 30-31). With this new-found support, the creoles, led by José Núñez de Cáceres, declared independence from Spain with a proposed Constitution that preserved slavery (Price-Mars 106).

⁸⁶ For more on the history of the Constitución de Cádiz and the document’s importance to colonial race relations, see Chapter I of this dissertation. For an outline of Pablo Alí’s life, see Geggus 201.

This development reactivated the Haitian government's fears that Spanish Haiti (as the eastern country was now called) might act as a base for the conquest of the new Afro-New World republic. These fears were exacerbated when the former Spanish colony sought annexation to la Gran Colombia (present-day Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador) --a republic which, despite Simón Bolívar's promises to Haitian president Boyer, had refused to abolish slavery (Pérez Cabral 37). As a preemptory measure, the Haitian army entered the eastern part of the island nine weeks after it declared independence from Spain. Realizing that the majority of the population supported the Haitian conquest, the creole independentistas elected to welcome Boyer's troops (Moya Pons, *Manual* 223) and, in 1822, Núñez de Cáceres left the island for Venezuela (230), a move that was received enthusiastically by the country's mixed-race masses, who identified with Haitian antislavery. Support for unification among the elites, however, began to wane as Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer --already unpopular due to his decision to pay restitutions to France for the former metropole's losses in the Revolution-- adopted a series of cultural, linguistic, religious, and economic reforms that threatened the status of the landowning *hatero* elite. Frustrated by their declining power, in 1844, under the leadership of Juan Pablo Duarte, this elite took advantage of a Haitian conspiracy to depose Boyer --whose regime had been marked by conflict between mulatto and black political factions-- to declare their independence, basing their claims on the historical and cultural distinctiveness of the eastern part of the island. In retaliation, the Haitian army would invade the Dominican Republic twice in the following decade, a situation which, in

1860, would lead the *hatero* elite to seek protection in reannexation to Spain –a decision that Galván applauded loudly.⁸⁷

From Silencing to Disavowal to Dialogue

The fraught history outlined above produced a network of foundational political and literary texts –Boisrond-Tonnerre’s Declaration of Independence, Bobadilla y Briones’s “Manifiesto,” Nau’s *Histoire*, and Galván’s *Enriquillo*-- whose entanglement with one another demonstrates the role of each side of the island in the other’s nation-building process. In order to map the dialogue between these texts, I will make use of Sybille Fischer’s notion of “disavowal,” in which the Haitian Revolution is not totally silenced, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot has suggested, but manifests itself indirectly through literary slippage.⁸⁸ Intriguing though the silencing hypothesis proves, as Ada Ferrer points out, news of the Haitian Revolution in fact spread quickly and widely. “As news of the slaves’ actions erupted onto the world stage, everyone seems to have been talking and thinking about the events in Saint-

⁸⁷ This history gives rise to a complicated linguistic situation, in which Haitian government business and official culture were conducted in French, while the Haitian masses were monolingual in Creole. Spanish, meanwhile, though the native language of most inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, had been banned from government and education. There exists some evidence to suggest that a hybrid language, combining elements of Spanish and Creole, began to emerge in limited forums during the unification period (Fischer, *Modernity* 181-182).

⁸⁸ For Trouillot, “silencing” is, in essence, a decision on how to write history and what history to write. Drawing on Hayden White’s theorization of the “emplotment” of historical narrative, Trouillot argues that “silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance) with the result that “any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences” (Trouillot 26).

Domingue. [...] If this was silence, it was a thunderous one indeed” (22).⁸⁹ Searching for an explanation for this paradox –that the Haitian Revolution was simultaneously silenced and on the lips of the entire Atlantic World-- Sybille Fischer turns to the Freudian notion of “disavowal,” or “una medida defensiva” [“a defense mechanism”] employed by the Ego to protect itself from unprocessed trauma (“Respuesta” 226). Disavowal differs from silencing in that it requires that “we remain cognizant that it is *something* that is being disavowed.” Existing “alongside recognition,” the concept of disavowal “requires us to identify what is being disavowed, by whom, and for what reason.” Thus, “it is more a strategy (although not necessarily one voluntarily chosen) than a state of mind, and it is productive in that it brings forth further stories, screens, and fantasies that hide from view what must not be seen” (*Modernity* 38). For Fischer, “we can understand the political and ideological operations of [certain texts] only if we recognize how they both silence *and* articulate, suppress and memorialize, disavow and assert. In the fantasies of the nineteenth-century literary texts, we can still perceive the traces of another future that existed in the imagination of those who did everything to prevent that future from becoming reality” (Fischer 135-136).⁹⁰

By placing Haitian and Dominican texts into dialogue with each other, I hope to follow Fischer’s disavowal model to its logical conclusion, examining the ongoing dialectical relationship between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. That is to say, I

⁸⁹ The articles collected in Doris Garraway’s edited volume *Tree of Liberty*, in which Ferrer’s essay appears, and Susan Buck-Morss’s work on “Hegel and Haiti” suggest that, for a subject that was silenced, Haiti seems to have generated a good many conversations --and important ones, at that.

⁹⁰ For critiques of Fischer’s *Modernity Disavowed*, see Clevis R. Headley, “La historia y la idea de la modernidad en *Modernity Disavowed*.” and Neil Roberts, “Más allá del silencio y la memoria: El concepto de renegación en la obra de Sibylle Fischer.”

will use the disavowal model to analyze the entanglement that lies behind disavowal, concentrating as much on what it is that is being disavowed as on the act and process of disavowing it. In this way, I hope to situate Franco- and Creolephone Haiti within the context of Latin American literature, a field that, though increasingly pluralist in scope, has often overlooked –or, at best, marginalized-- the world’s first black republic.⁹¹ Challenging –and hazardous—though it may be to stray beyond our fields of linguistic, historical, and cultural expertise, if we, as scholars wish to read texts such as *Enriquillo* as reacting to Haiti, then it is only logical that we also look at how Haiti was acting.

The Declaration of Haitian Independence and Anticolonialism

⁹¹ While Sybille Fischer’s *Modernity Disavowed*, as the exception that proves the rule, engages heavily with the nineteenth-century history of Haiti, the emphasis is on Haitian political --and not literary-- texts. Meanwhile, though a thorough and interesting study in its own right, Elzbieta Sklodowska’s *Espectros y espejismos: Haití en el imaginario cubano* concentrates mostly on the image of Haiti in Cuban letters, not on the literature of Haitians themselves. Thus, despite Latin American studies’s traditional willingness to discuss the relationship between metropolitan French works and Latin American literature, the unproblematic incorporation of Lusophone Brazilian texts as objects of study, and the more recent openness towards literature in indigenous languages and Spanglish, the field has paid little attention to the Franco- and Creolephone literature of Haiti (or of the French Antilles in general). In fact, to this date, neither Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past* nor Fischer’s *Modernity Disavowed* have been translated into Spanish, though the ideas found therein circulate in Latin American scholarly circles in limited form through translations of works that mention them (for example Juan María Madariaga and Cristina Vega Solís’s 2003 translation of Mignolo’s *Local Histories/Global Designs*, entitled *Historias locales/Diseños globales: colonialidad, conocimientos subalternos y pensamiento fronterizo*) and at international conferences (for example, Catherine Walsh’s untitled presentation at the Simposio Internacional: La cuestión de la des/colonialidad y la crisis global at the Universidad Ricardo Palma in Lima, Peru on August 6, 2010). The scholarly oversight regarding Haiti is particularly glaring because, while scholars of Latin American literature have not taken much interest in the country, the authors themselves have; as works as diverse as Alejo Carpentier’s *Reino de este mundo* (1949), Manuel Zapata Olivella’s *Changó, el gran putas* (1983), and Mario Vargas Llosa’s *Fiesta del chivo* demonstrate (2000) --to say nothing of the passing references to Haiti in Dominican-American texts such as Julia Álvarez’s *In the Time of the Butterflies* (1994) or *In the Name of Salomé* (2000) and Junot Díaz’s *Brief and Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*.

In order to understand how nineteenth-century Haiti dialogues with the Dominican Republic in the hemispheric sphere, it is important to understand the very particular discursive roots of the transgressively anticolonial, antislavery Haitian nationalism that the Dominican intellectual elite ultimately rejects. As Trouillot explains, the Haitian Revolution “entered history with the peculiar characteristic of being unthinkable even as it happened” (73) because the notion of an anticolonial uprising on the part of the slave masses simply did not fit with the Creole and European epistemological paradigms. The Revolution’s lack-of-fit with Western models—a heritage that Galván later attempts to disavow—seems not to have been accidental. Though “it is clear that Dessalines’s secretaries were [...] well schooled in the conventions of political discourse of the time, and especially in French (and American) revolutionary discourse” (Jensen 80), it seems that they chose to bypass this intellectual heritage when conceiving the Haitian Revolutionary state. According to tradition, the first version of the Haitian Declaration of Independence, drafted by Charéron, was a tame document modeled on that of the United States. Dessalines rejected the text and at the last minute commissioned Louis Félix Boisrond-Tonnerre, “a young officer of color” to write a new version of the proclamation more radical in orientation (Dubois 298).

Though Jennifer Glasse sees the revolutionary slogan “Liberté ou morte!” [“Liberty or death!”] written in the header of the first page of the Haitian Declaration, as “echoing the battle cry of the American Revolution, ‘Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death,’” Boisrond-Tonnerre begins to mark his distance from the Virginian Jefferson

in the first paragraph of his Declaration. The North American version begins by noting that it has become “necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them to another.” Without making mention of the impending war, Jefferson says that he will proceed to “declare the causes which impel them to separation” and goes on in the next paragraph to discuss the colonists’ natural rights. While Haitian proclamation is also interested in listing the wrongs perpetrated against the colonized by the European metropole, Boisrond-Tonnerre’s tone differs sharply from that of Jefferson:

Ce n’est pas assez d’avoir expulsé de votre pays les barbares qui l’ont ensanglanté depuis deux siècles; ce n’est pas assez d’avoir mis un frein aux factions toujours renaissantes qui se jouaient tour-à-tour du fantôme de liberté que la France [sic] exposait à nos yeux; il faut par dernier acte d’autorité nationale, assurer à jamais l’empire de la liberté dans le pays qui nous a vu naître; il faut ravir au gouvernement inhumain qui tient depuis long-temps nos esprits dans la torpeur la plus humiliante, tout espoir de nous réasservir; il faut enfin vivre indépendants ou mourir (3).

It is not enough to have expelled from your country these barbarians who have bloodied it for two centuries; it is not enough to have put a stop to the factions that took turns playing with the phantom of liberty that France [sic] held up to our eyes; it is necessary, as a final act of national authority, to safeguard forever the empire of liberty in the country where we were born; it is necessary to plunder the inhuman government that has long held our spirits in the most humiliating of torpors of all hope of reenslaving us; in sum, it is necessary to live free or die.

On the one hand, Boisrond-Tonnerre appears aware of his North American predecessor, and even borrows Jefferson’s language of “it becomes necessary,” which he translates with the very bourgeois-sounding “il faut” --language that resonates with the republican discourse of rights that Jefferson hopes to inaugurate in the Americas. Yet, while the Virginian eschews any reference to violence, Boisrond-Tonnerre speaks of the “expulsion of the barbarians who have bloodied [the country] for two

centuries,” of “seizing” powers from the “inhuman government,” and of the need to “live independent or die.”

Further analysis of Boisrond-Tonnerre’s language reveals just how little regard he has for the “inhuman government” of the French Revolutionary state, to which he refers throughout the “Declaration” as “france” with a lowercase “f,” violating the country’s orthographic conventions while undermining its international standing (4, 6, 7). At another point, he claims that “le nom français lugubre encore nos contrées” [literally, “the French name still glooms our lands”] (3). As Laurent Dubois points out, the verb *lugubrer* is a neologism derived from the adjective *lugubre*, or, “gloomy” (298). Once again, Boisrond-Tonnerre attacks the French Revolutionary state, which had reinstated slavery in Haiti, from within its language. Provocatively, Dubois translates “lugubre” with the Derridian term “haunts” (298). Such an interpretation draws attention to the spectral quality of the French *nom* [“name” or “noun” –in short, the semiotic or epistemic system for understanding the world] in Revolutionary Haiti. Boisrond-Tonnerre is particularly concerned with this legacy and notes that “tout y retrace le souvenir de crautés de ce peuple barbare; nos lois, nos mœurs, nos villes, tout encore porte l’empreinte française” [“everything retraces the memory of the cruelties of that barbarous people; our laws, our morals, everything still bears the french brand”] (3). This reference to “french brand” is more than a gruesomely appropriate tropological device. If eighteenth-century political thinkers had used the metaphor of slavery to talk about the condition of the bourgeoisie under absolute rule in Europe or of the creoles in relationship to the

colonial metropolises, here the Haitian writer uses the term to refer to the African chattel slaves of the colonies, whose liberty and subjectivity would undermine the political and economic gains made by the metropolitan bourgeois rational subject during the French Revolution, as the controversy over abolition in the colonies attests.⁹² If the legacy of French civilization haunts the Haitian state (as the mulatto politics I describe below demonstrate), Boisrond-Tonnerre attempts to exorcize this specter through a resignification of the colonizer's terms. Like his twentieth-century Martinican counterparts Frantz Fanon and Édouard Glissant, Boisrond-Tonnerre recognizes the need for intellectual decolonization – a need that Bobadilla y Briones rejects and Galván is only willing to acknowledge in the most oblique of ways, as I will show.⁹³ Thus, the Haitian Revolutionary state, from its very inception, rejects the political and semantic values of both European colonialism and the creole nationalism that was spreading in other parts of the Hemisphere, proving itself inassimilable to enlightened culture.⁹⁴ It is this anticolonial legacy that the Dominican nationalists would reject when proclaiming their own independence from Haiti in 1844.

Cultural Nationalism in Bobadilla y Briones's "Manifiesto"

⁹² See Chapter I of this dissertation.

⁹³ In addition to *The Wretched of the Earth*, see Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and Glissant's *Discours antillais*.

⁹⁴ Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that, despite efforts on the part of the Haitian government to uncover it as part of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the country's independence, the first copy of the Declaration was missing until February of 2010, when Julia Gaffield, a Canadian graduate student in History at Duke University, discovered it in the British National Archives in London. (The copies that had circulated previously were based on handwritten transcriptions of the lost original.) See "The Document's Origins;" Damien Cave, "Haiti's Founding Document Found in London;" and "Julia's Moment of Discovery."

Given its strong anticolonial, antislavery discursive construction, it is not surprising that the Haitian Revolutionary state should have been so popular among the Dominican masses, which, as I noted above, supported the antislavery government of the East. Enthusiasm among the elites, however, began to wane in the wake of Boyer's assimilationist cultural policies. According to Moya Pons, the Haitian president declared that "el interés de la República exige que el pueblo de la parte oriental cambie a la brevedad posible de hábitos y costumbres para adoptar los de la República, a fin de que la unión sea perfecta y que la antigua diferencia... desaparezca sin más" ["the interests of the Republic demand that the people of the eastern part change their habits and customs as quickly as possible so as to adopt those of the Republic, so that the unión can be perfect and the former differences...disappear without further ado"] (*Manual* 246-247).⁹⁵ Through a series of laws similar to those implemented in North America following the Mexican cession of 1848, the Haitian government sought to weaken the political and economic authority of the landowning elite of the newly acquired territory through a policy of cultural homogenization. Following the closing of the Universidad de Santo Tomás de Aquino in 1822, the use of Spanish in government functions, education, and judicial matters was prohibited in 1824 and again in 1834. Discontent grew as Dominican lands were divided among Haitian army officers and Boyer agreed to resettle North American freedmen in the Samaná Peninsula in eastern part of the

⁹⁵ Moya Pons attributes the quote to Boyer, but does not cite a source. As no translator is mentioned, I imagine that the historian translated the quote into Spanish himself.

island (Guerrero 117-118; Núñez 90-91).⁹⁶ The uncertain status of the property rights of Dominican whites under the Haitian Constitution (Price-Mars 207-208) could not have helped matters.⁹⁷ Equally inflammatory was Boyer's decision to confiscate the property of absentee landowners, particularly those who had fled in the aftermath of the Haitian occupation (Moya Pons, *La dominación* 50) –a decree in which “el Arzobispo de Santo Domingo [...] veía [...] un peligro inminente para la conservación de los bienes de la Iglesia” [“the Archbishop of Santo Domingo [...] saw [...] an imminent danger for the preservation of the possessions of the Church”] (51), whose hegemony was further undermined in 1823, when the Haitian government stopped paying clerical salaries (Moya Pons 53).⁹⁸ Lay members of the Dominican elite, meanwhile, saw their way of life threatened by laws requiring Dominicans to acquire Haitian citizenship before working in commerce (Moya Pons 53) and agricultural reforms consolidating Dominican properties and requiring the owners to produce “aquellos frutos que serían para la exportación” [“crops for exportation”] –a major change for the *hatero* colonial elite, which practiced an economy based principally on ranching (58). Perhaps most vexingly, Boyer required Dominicans to pay reparations to France, even though the treaty with the former metropole did not call for their contribution (71).

Though the popular classes continued to support the Haitian regime, the Dominican elite began to contemplate either independence or annexation to another

⁹⁶ For more information on the relocation program, see Chapter II of this dissertation.

⁹⁷ Whites were prohibited from owning property under the Haitian Constitution. See Fischer, *Modernity*.

⁹⁸ The payment of clerical salaries was reinstated three years later (Moya Pons 56).

colonial power. The separatist group La Trinitaria, under the direction of Juan Pablo Duarte, took part in the 1843 Conspiracy des Cayes, a Haitian-led rebellion against Boyer, who had fallen out of favor with the people as a result of his draconian Code Rural, a series of economic measures aimed at paying restitutions to France. While the conspirators were successful in replacing Boyer with Hérard, the Trinitarios faced persecution under the new régime and, in 1844, declared the independence of East Haiti.

A product of the mid-nineteenth century, the movement for Dominican independence was strongly influenced by European liberalism and romantic nationalist thought (Moya Pons, *Manual* 258), basing its claims for autonomy on presumed differences between the Haitian and Dominican *volkgeists*. Thus, in the 1844 “Manifiesto de los habitantes de la parte del Este de la isla antes española o de Santo Domingo, sobre las causas de su separación de la República haitiana,” Tomás de Bobadilla y Briones –who had served as a functionary of the Haitian government until Boyer was deposed in 1843 (Moya Pons, *La dominación* 160)—asserts Dominican cultural particularity by deliberately rejecting the radical legacy of the 1804 Haitian Declaration of Independence, instead turning towards Northern culture and the legacy of colonialism. Taking the very North American Declaration of Independence that Boisrond-Tonnerre rejects as a model, Bobadilla y Briones begins with a paraphrase of the preamble to the Jeffersonian document:

La defensa y el respeto debidos a la opinión de todos los hombres y a la de las naciones civilizadas imponen a un país unido a otro y deseoso de retomar y reivindicar sus derechos

rompiendo sus lazos políticos, que declare con franqueza y buena fe los motivos que lo inducen a dar ese paso, a fin de que no se piense que lo ha impulsado un espíritu de curiosidad y de ambición. Creemos haber demostrado con nuestra heroica constancia que deben soportarse los males de un gobierno mientras nos parezcan soportables, siendo mejor eso que hacer justicia o sustraernos a los mismos. Pero cuando una larga serie de injusticias, de violencias y de vejámenes acaba por probar la intención de reducirlo todo a la desesperación y a la más absoluta tiranía, es entonces un sagrado derecho para los pueblos y aun un deber, sacudir el yugo de semejante gobierno y proveer nuevas garantías que les aseguren su estabilidad y su prosperidad futura.⁹⁹

The defense and respect due to the opinion of all men and to civilized nations demand that a country united to another and wishing to repossess and vindicate its rights by breaking its political ties frankly and of good faith declare the motives that have induced it to take this step, so that it will not be thought that [the country] has been impelled by a spirit of curiosity and ambition. We believe that we have demonstrated with our heroic constancy that the evils of a government should be supported as long as they seem supportable to us, as this is better than doing justice or escaping them. But when a long series of injustices, violent acts and vexations demonstrates the intention to reduce all to desperation and the most absolute tyranny, it is then the sacred right of peoples and even a duty to throw off the yoke of such a government and provide for new guarantees that assure their stability and future prosperity.

After echoing Jefferson's insistence on the need to give "just cause" when "one people dissolve[s] the political bands which have connected them with another," Bobadilla y Briones proceeds to adduce the reasons for which "los habitantes de la parte del Este de la isla, antes Española o de Santo Domingo, valiéndose de sus derechos, impulsados como lo fueron por veintidós años de opresión y oyendo de todas partes las lamentaciones de la patria, han tomado la firme resolución de separarse para siempre de la República haitiana y de constituir un Estado libre y soberano" ["the inhabitants of the Eastern part of the island formerly known as La Española or Santo Domingo, exercising their rights, impelled as they have been for twenty-two years of oppression and hearing everywhere the lamentations of the

⁹⁹ Compare Bobadilla y Briones's Spanish with Jefferson's English: "When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

patria, have made the firm resolution to separate themselves forever from the Haitian Republic and to build a free and sovereign state”], enumerating the wrongs that Haiti had perpetrated against the eastern half of the island. Here Duarte’s reliance on “rights” to justify Dominican independence contrasts sharply with Boisrond-Tonnerre’s explanation of how the Haitians had won their independence by seizing power from the colonial metropole.

This “violación de nuestros derechos, costumbres y privilegios” [“violation of our rights, customs, and privileges”], along with “muchísimas vejaciones[,] nos han revelado nuestra esclavitud y nuestra decadencia” [“many vexations[,] have shown us our slavery and our decline”]. Bobadilla y Briones’s employment of the term “slavery” here undoes the political work performed by the Haitian Declaration of Independence. If Boisrond-Tonnerre expropriates the metropolitan discourse on slavery to show the limits of the enlightened political-economic thought of metropolitan and colonial whites, here Bobadilla y Briones reappropriates the term for the creole elite. By removing the literal referent and transforming “slavery” once again into a metaphor, the Dominican independentistas undermine the ideological justification of the Haitian state from which they seek to separate themselves. The motives Bobadilla y Briones gives for this separation are more cultural than political. He claims that the Haitian government “ha puesto por doquier el sello de la ignominia privándonos, con una verdadera burla del derecho natural, de la única cosa española que nos quedaba: el idioma natal y ha puesto de lado nuestra venerable religión para que desaparezca de nuestros hogares” [“everywhere has placed the mark

of ignominy, depriving us, in a true mockery of natural right, of the only Spanish trait that was left to us: our mother tongue, and has put aside our venerable religion so that it might disappear from our homes”]. As is made clear by the motto “Separación, Dios, Patria y Libertad” [“Separation, God, Patria and Liberty”] with which the “Manifiesto” closes, the Dominican independentistas attempted to construct their *patria* in the Spanish that Boyer had banned from the public sphere via separation from the Haitian state that had, they perceived, restricted their religious freedom. By vindicating the Dominican right to the Spanish language and the Catholic religion -- the same unifying forces of the Spanish imperial state and the justifications for the Castilian imperial enterprise in the Americas to which Galván, as I will explain below, would later lay claim--, Bobadilla y Briones calls for a sort of return to the colonial order. This becomes clear when he claims that, during the Haitian occupation, “si un español se atrevía a hablar contra la opresión y la tiranía, era denunciado como sospechoso, se lo encerraba en un calabozo y muchos padecían aun el suplicio para espantar a los demás y hacer morir, conjuntamente con ellos, los sentimientos heredados de nuestros padres” [“if a Spaniard dared to speak out against oppression and tyranny, he was denounced as suspicious, shut up in a cell and many even suffered torture in order to frighten others and kill, along with them, the feelings inherited from our parents”]. By presenting the Dominicans as Spaniards and the children of Spaniards, Bobadilla y Briones obviates the memory of the more than twenty years that had transpired since independence from Spain and unification with Haiti and calls for a return to a moment before the Haitian occupation when Santo

Domingo was considered “the Athens of the New World” --a theme that appears over and over again in *Enriquillo*.¹⁰⁰ Such intense Hispanism, of course, has the effect of obscuring the central place that slave revolt and blackness have, as I outlined above, occupied in Dominican history. Perhaps not surprisingly, most Dominicans did not side with La Trinitaria, fearful that the creole independentistas might, as they had attempted in 1821, annex the country to Colombia and reenslave the mixed-race masses (Moya Pons, *Manual* 268). In response to these culturalist claims to Dominican sovereignty, Haiti invaded and reoccupied the eastern part of the island until 1855 and then again from 1855 to 1856.

Nau's Response to Bobadilla y Briones

In many ways, Nau's *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti*, written just ten years after the “Manifiesto,” represents a response to the cultural nationalist claims put forth by Bobadilla y Briones, re-emplotting the island's Hispanic history as part of the Haitian national narrative, with the effect (intentional or not) of obviating Dominican claims to autonomy on the grounds of cultural and historical difference. This is made clear in the narrative by the attention Nau pays to the story of Francisco de Bobadilla, an early colonial governor of Santo Domingo who is retired by Isabel I after he unjustly imprisons Columbus (205-218). While the anecdote is also included in the *crónicas*,

¹⁰⁰ See below.

given that, at the time that the *Histoire* was written, Haiti was involved with the Dominican Republic in a conflict over an independence declared by another Bobadilla who had rebelled against another colonial authority, it seems unlikely that Nau would have failed to notice the coincidence. By explaining how Francisco de Bobadilla's downfall was caused by his desire to strike against the established power hierarchy, Nau undermines the similar movement that Tomás Bobadilla y Briones's document had spurred. Such a strategy is typical of Nau, who, throughout his *Histoire*, makes selective use of events from the early colonial period that, retold in the mid-nineteenth century, acquire a new significance, working to silence Dominican claims to sovereignty. Much as William H. Prescott's description of the Aztecs in his *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1840) resonates uncomfortably with nineteenth-century North Americans' received ideas about Mexico at the same time that it introduces the country into U.S. literary space eight years before its northern extremities would enter that nation's territory, so, too, does Nau's *Histoire* intervene in the conflict over Dominican sovereignty by rescripting the island's Hispanic history as part of the Haitian national narrative. If geographer and historian Jean-Marie Théodat locates the origins of the postcolonial conflicts between Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the colonial wars between France and Spain, Nau obviates the "coupure en deux de l'île [qui] est le fondement du dédoublement de l'insularité" ["splitting in two of the island [which] is the foundation of the doubling of insularity"] (Théodat 13) by positing the origin point of the national narrative before those events occurred. By claiming that the Haitian nation develops out of the same

Hispanic history that Bobadilla y Briones reclaims in order to justify Dominican independence, Nau delegitimizes that independence and bolsters Haitian claims to the eastern half of the island.

For the same reasons, Nau, following a trend that many scholars have observed in nineteenth-century Haitian discourse, presents the indigenous Taínos as the forbears of the current Haitian population and positions Enrique's 1519 rebellion against Spanish colonialism at the beginning of a teleology that concludes with the Haitian Revolution in 1791, as becomes clear when the text compares the two groups: "La mémoire d'Ovando serait exécrée dans la dernière postérité des aborigènes d'Haïti, s'ils n'avaient pas tous péri, autant que celle de Rochambeau est jusqu'à ce jour odieuse aux Haïtiens" ["The memory of Ovando would be execrated down to the last generation of Haitian aborigines, if they had not all perished, just as that of Rochambeau it to this day odious to the Haitians] (222). If the French inherit the Spanish history of barbarism on the island, then it follows that the nineteenth-century Haitians inherit the indigenous legacy of resistance, transforming Spanish colonization of the island in which the Dominican independentistas take inspiration into the prehistory of the Revolution that brings the Haitian state into being.

This reading explains Nau's otherwise curious decision to develop what in the crónicas is a relatively minor incident across 35 pages situated at the end of his text such that the cacique's victory over the Spanish serves as the culmination of the narrative of early colonialism on the island. Read within the context of the *Histoire's* account of relations between the indigenous and the Spanish in early Santo Domingo,

the tale of Henri (as he is called in Nau's French), demonstrates a clear, though unsettling, narrative logic: first, Guarionex revolts when his wife is raped by the Spaniards, then Mayobanex surrenders when his is taken captive. Finally, Henri restores Haitian "honor" when he successfully revolts against colonial authority after Valenzuela attempts to rape his wife, Mencía. Of course, these incidents also appear in the histories of Las Casas, Herrera, and Fernández de Oviedo. That said, in the crónicas, because of their length and geographically expansive content, the three incidents seem unrelated. Shorter and focused entirely on the Spanish colonization of Santo Domingo, Nau's emplotment of the events in his *Histoire* allows the reader to identify a trajectory in which Henri redeems the natives after the violation of their bodies, culture, and territory by Europeans from Castile --and, by extension, France.

Nau's desire to portray Enrique's rebellion as precursor to the Haitian Revolution is made obvious by his decision to translate the cacique's name to "Henri." Though the mere Gallicization of the historical figure's name may seem innocent enough, it must be remembered that, in Haitian history, the Henri of note is not the Enrique of the crónicas, but Henri Christophe, the black revolutionary leader who subsequently became emperor of the southern part of the country. By producing a semantic confusion between "Enrique" and "Henri," the author situates both figures within the same anti-colonial history, suggesting that the indigenous rebellion of 1519 serves as a starting point of a teleology that ends with the black revolution of 1791.¹⁰¹

By appropriating the Spanish crónicas in order to justify Haitian hegemony in the

¹⁰¹ For more on the politics of translating proper nouns, see my comments on "Horacio Mann" in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

East by reclaiming the Spanish colonial history on which the Dominican independentistas based their claims for sovereignty as the heritage of the Haitian revolutionary state, Nau replaces Bobadilla y Briones's notion of irreconcilable cultural differences with idea of the two nations as "spatial twins" (to use Théodat's conceptualization of the relationship) united by a common legacy of anticolonial antislavery.

These genealogical ties become apparent at the end of the *Histoire*, when Nau notes that, "some years after" Henri's death:

Pas un Indien lui survit. On ne trouve plus que de rares descendants de ceux dont on démêle à peine quelques traits caractéristiques à travers le mélange plus prononcé du type africain et européen. Les femmes surtout de ces sang-mêlées qu'on persiste, jusqu'à ce jour, à appeler dans l'est, où elles sont en plus grand nombre, INDIOS, et de ce côté-ci, IGNES, corruption du mot indien, se reconnaissent à leur form symétrique, à leur teint olivâtre, à leur belle peau, à leur grands yeux noirs et à leur chevelure longue, abondante et noire (314-5).

Not an Indian survived him. One no longer finds but rare descendents of those in whom one can just barely glimpse some characteristic traits through the more pronounced mixture of African and European types. These mixed-bloods --whom, up to this day, people persist in calling, in the East, where they are more numerous, INDIOS, and, on this side, INGES (a corruption of the word 'Indian') --, especially the women, are recognized by their symmetrical form, their olive complexion, their beautiful skin, their big black eyes and their long, abundant black hair.

Thus, not only did the Taínos initiate the revolutionary process that the nineteenth-century Haitians inherit, their genetic trace remains on the island, even if it has been somewhat modified by an influx of African and European blood. The Taínos are not simply the forbears of the nineteenth-century Haitians; rather, through a process of race mixture, they become the literal ancestors of that population. At the same time, the comparison that Nau makes between the language "in the East" and "on this side" through the juxtaposition of the cognates "indios" and "inges" points to the

underlying similarities between East and West (to which he does not refer as separate countries) and suggests that the hybrid republic that Nau imagines will encompass the entire island.¹⁰²

As Amy Reinsel argues, Hispaniola's indigenous past was a common theme in Haitian literature of the 1830s which, in its effort to produce a national culture, was particularly interested in themes that would resonate in both parts of the then-unified island—such as the indigenous past, which, David Nicholls suggests,¹⁰³ was frequently offered by the cosmopolitan mulattoes of the Generation of 1836 as a cultural anecdote to what many perceived to be President Boyer's excessive Francophilia. Yet, by 1854, when Nau published his text, Boyer was long gone and the east was engaged in a fiercely contested succession, making it difficult to read Nau's *Histoire* as an innocent attempt at an inclusive cultural nationalism.

As it turns out, the Amerindian theme plays a prominent role in Haitian Revolutionary discourse, which sought to build alliances among the various marginalized groups of the Americas --the Declaration of Haitian Independence is even addressed "aux armées indigènes" ["to the indigenous armies"]. Referring to the

¹⁰² The passage also demonstrates the bias towards hybridity characteristic of Nau, who hoped to inaugurate a cosmopolitan culture under the tutelage of the mulatto elite on the island. A typical member of the Haitian Generation of 1836, he rejected both the Francophilia of the traditional mulatto elites and the Afrocentricism of the black Haitian intelligentsia and looked for the country's identity in "a fusion with its own New World origins" (Dash, "Before and Beyond" 532). In keeping with the mulatto reformist program, by discussing the demise of the cacique Henri's followers, Nau suggests that Emperor Henri Christophe's regime is a phase that Haitian history has already completed, opening the door to mulatto hegemony. (See David Nicholls, "A Work of Combat: Mulatto Historians and the Haitian Past, 1847-1867.") Importantly, in Nau's narrative, "not an Indian survived." The true heirs of Henri's rebellion are the "sang-mêlées" whose beauty the writer praises even as he refers to the popular Creole term "inges" --the only word in that language that appears in the text-- as a "corruption" of the elite French "indien."

¹⁰³ *From Dessalines to Duvulier*.

Revolutionary period, Fischer points out, “the most obvious incident of a political identification between the former slaves and Amerindians is, of course, the renaming of Saint Domingue as Haiti” which “signals a violent break with the colonial past and a symbolic erasure of colonialism and colonial slavery. In keeping with this strategy, the insurgent slaves called themselves *ingigène* [sic] although at least half of the former slaves were born in Africa and some of the generals of the uprising were born on other Caribbean islands.” She concludes that “indigenism is used as a political rather than a racial, ethnic, or even geographic term, expressive perhaps of the idea that it is the slaves, not the masters, who have a rightful claim to the land” (Fischer 242). Dubois, for his part, claims that Dessalines’s use of “indigenous symbolism” was “was an attempt to assert a legitimate claim to a land in which a majority of the nation’s inhabitants were exiles, having been brought there from Africa against their will.” Yet “it also suggested that this claim was based on resistance to, and the ultimate victory over, the brutality of colonialism, something which the enslaved shared with those wiped out by the Spanish centuries before they ever arrived,” as Nau takes pains to point out. “Haiti was to be the negation not only of French colonialism, but of the whole history of European empire in the Americas.” Thus, “the new nation was to channel the centuries of suffering of those pushed to the margins by the official activity of colonialism into a new political community meant to guarantee the eternal freedom of its scarred constituency” (299). As Dash points out, “without resorting to a pre-Colombian foundational myth, [Nau] suggests an awareness of Haitian space that precedes the arrival of the Spanish and in which the

war of independence and the new black republic were a continuum of New World civilization” (Dash, *The Other America* 46).

More than that, through this continuum, Nau seeks to tell the story of New-World slavery. In relating the birth of the repartimiento system of forced Amerindian labor as part of the treaty of surrender after Francisco Roldán revolts against Christopher Columbus’s authority, Nau notes that the conspirators receive “des esclaves indiens” [“some Indian slaves”] in exchange for their cooperation (202). “Désormais, l’esclavage officiel de la race conquise est inauguré” [“From that moment, the official slavery of the conquered race is inaugurated”] (204). This sentence, uncharacteristically short and direct for Nau, underlines the importance of the event in his larger narrative. The author’s use of the term “esclavage” to refer to indigenous servitude is particularly noteworthy. Though the colonial cronistas also refer to the “esclavitud” of the Amerindians, the term obviously did not have the same resonances in the sixteenth-century Spanish of the early Empire as it did in the nineteenth-century French of postcolonial Haiti. As with Pierre Ménard’s *Don Quijote* in the short story by Borges, signs like “esclavage” and “Henri” simply do not signify the same way after they have been left to the free play of history.¹⁰⁴

Nau’s *Histoire*, then, tells the story of New World slavery and revolt, from the original sins of Contact and Conquest to redemption through the Haitian Revolution. Nau leaves no doubts as to his intentions in this regard when he refers to Father Antonio de Montesinos’s sermon condemning Spanish abuses of the Amerindian

¹⁰⁴ I will return to “Pierre Menard” and the complexities of intercultural translation in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

population of Santo Domingo as the beginning of the “procès de l’abolition de l’esclavage qui dure depuis cinq siècles [“process of the abolition of slavery that lasts five centuries”] (266). Moreover, the text narrates the transition from the repartimiento system of Amerindian forced labor to African chattel slavery, noting that the introduction of black slaves in 1501 was the beginning a ““new era” that proved “fatale pour la race conquise” [“fatal for the conquered race”] (250) and establishing a relationship between the growth of the African population and the decrease of the indigenous’s numbers (261).

Importantly, as this demographic shift occurs, blacks begin to displace Amerindians in importance in Nau’s narrative. The author claims that the Africans “excitaient les naturels à l’insubmission” [“excited the natives to insubordination”] -- the exact opposite of what happened historically when, in 1521, the African slaves working Diego Columbus’s land, inspired by Henri’s 1519 uprising, rebelled, some of them eventually joining the cacique in the mountains (249). This African rebellion, as Nau accurately reports, frightened the Spanish and pushed them to negotiate with Henri before insurgency became more widespread on the island (Nau 288-289; Bosch IV). From that point on, Nau correctly notes, slavery became more a question of Africans and less a question of Amerindians (Nau 289; Altman 611). Thus, by the end of the *Histoire*, the indigenous inhabitants of Santo Domingo yield demographically to the Afro-descent population, which becomes the true revolutionary force on the island. The Spanish colonial history that Bobadilla y Briones claims for the Dominicans is thus converted into the patrimony of the Haitian revolutionary state. If

Cooper and Mansilla stage the neocolonial debates of their day on the imperial frontier,¹⁰⁵ Nau turns to the colonial period in order to silence the conflicts present in his society.¹⁰⁶

Galván's Hispanism in the Caribbean of 1882

Galván's *Enriquillo*, on the other hand, far from emplotting the indigenous uprising as a precursor to the Haitian Revolution, disavows the interpretation of events presented by Nau, emphasizing instead the Hispanist nationalism expressed in Bobadilla y Briones's "Manifiesto." Alternatively read a paragon of the nineteenth-century Spanish American historical novel,¹⁰⁷ an *indianista* text,¹⁰⁸ a foundational fiction,¹⁰⁹ and a work of Dominican conservative nationalism,¹¹⁰ *Enriquillo* is as frequently praised for its fusion of literary art and historical accuracy as it is vilified for the ahistorical absence of blacks and the overemphasis of Hispanic culture in the novel which aims to be national. Though Fischer, for example, acknowledges that

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter II of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁶ The reading of Hispaniola's history that Nau proposes would remain controversial into the twentieth century. In his *Invasiones haitianas de 1801, 1805 y 1822* (1955), written towards the end of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo's dictatorship, Dominican historian Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi condemns "los que han querido establecer una relación imposible entre lo haitiano y lo español e indígena" ["those who have wanted to establish an impossible relationship between Haitian elements and the Spanish and indigenous"] (51), directing particular vehemence at Price-Mars (49-60). Resorting to a biological argument that has since been disproven, Rodríguez Demorizi writes that, "una raza, como se sabe, es un conjunto de individuos que posee la misma fórmula genética, los mismos genes. Y esa condición no se cumple rigurosamente, de modo igual, en el pueblo dominicano y en el haitiano" ["a race, as it is known, is a group of individuals who have the same genetic formula, the same genes. And this condition is not rigorously fulfilled, in the same fashion, in the Haitian and Dominican peoples"] (55), Rodríguez Demorizi over identifies with the Dominican Republic's Spanish heritage in order to distance the country racially from Haiti.

¹⁰⁷ Enrique Anderson Imbert, *Estudios sobre escritores de América*; Fernando Alegría, *Historia de la novela hispanoamericana*.

¹⁰⁸ Concha Meléndez, *La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica*.

¹⁰⁹ Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*.

¹¹⁰ Pedro Conde, *Notas sobre Enriquillo*.

Galván's novel recounts the same events as Nau's *Histoire* (242), critics have not, to the best of my knowledge, considered how Nau may have influenced Galván, nor have they read Galván's Hispanism as a cultural nationalist response to Nau's insertion of the story of Enrique's rebellion into the metanarrative of antislavery a generation earlier. Yet, a reading of *Enriquillo* beside the *Histoire* shows that antislavery, blackness, and Haiti have not been completely effaced from the Dominican novel but simply displaced, perhaps despite the author's intentions. In this way, *Enriquillo* represents the mirror image of *The Last of the Mohicans* and *Lucía Miranda*, which I discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation. If Cooper and Mansilla attempt to deal with their racial misgivings following the expansion of national space into territories held by nonwhites through genocidal fantasies and visions of consensual subordination, Galván's task is to disavow the expansion of Afro-New World Haiti into his national space. Yet, rather than contained, nonwhite agency in the novel seeps in to the text and paratexts.

In order to see where antislavery, blackness, and Haiti fit into Galván's national novel, it is first necessary to understand the conditions under which the Dominican community was being imagined in the late nineteenth century. Galván viewed the Haitian occupation and Spanish annexation which crippled the cultural and political autonomy of the eastern half of Hispaniola for over forty years in negative terms, an opinion also found, for example, in Salomé Ureña de

Henríquez's¹¹¹ poem "Sueños" ["Dreams"] and César Nicolás Penson's collection of short stories *Cosas añejas* [Old Things] (1891). As writers, they hoped to spark a national cultural renaissance to bring the Dominican Republic back from the dark ages of foreign occupation and to guard against future incursions against national sovereignty, either from Haiti or from the United States, which was beginning to loom as an imperial power in the Caribbean.

In her poem "Luz" ["Light"], Ureña writes that, after four decades of dormancy, "el espíritu en ocio, ya contento,/surge a la actividad del pensamiento" ["the idle spirit, now contented,/emerges to the activity of thought"] (xxii-xxiii). And, with thought, "surge a la existencia/ al trabajo, a la paz, la Patria mía" [emerges to existence/to work, to peace, my Patria"] (xxiv-xxv). Here, Ureña identifies the potential for a Dominican *Risorgimento* in the development of a lettered culture with nationalist inclinations. Her attitude was not unique among the Dominican intelligentsia of the period, which dedicated itself to the nationalist cause. Taking advantage of the nineteenth century's new-found international interest in the early history of the Americas,¹¹² this lettered high culture would seek inspiration in the Spanish colonial history of Santo Domingo.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Ureña's life and work have recently come into vogue, thanks in large part to Dominican-American novelist Julia Álvarez's fictional biography of the poet, *In the Name of Salomé*.

¹¹² See the Introduction to this dissertation.

¹¹³ The Dominican government, for its part, also gradually became interested in harnessing this history to the project of nation-building, creating an archive of papers from the Real Hacienda (analogous to the contemporary North American IRS) in 1861, requesting from the Spanish government copies of documents relating to colonial Santo Domingo in 1884, and establishing a Dominican Academy of History, along with a national library and archives, in 1894 (Marte 7-8, n24). Despite the anti-imperial, nationalist motivations behind the nineteenth-century historiographic movement, the work of Haitian scholars such as Thomas Madiou and Alexis Beaubrun Ardouin exercised an important influence on

Galván --who, in his in his 1862 *General don Pedro Santana y la anexación de Santo Domingo a España* [General don Pedro Santana and the Annexation of Santo Domingo to Spain] advocates the return of the Dominican Republic to Spain on the grounds of shared cultural values-- would, in *Enriquillo*, follow this trend of colonial nostalgia. In the “Dedicatoria” [“Dedication”] to the 1882 edition of *Enriquillo*, for example, Galván suggests that he wrote his novel as a paean to the former metropole on the occasion of the 1873 abolition of African chattel slavery in Puerto Rico, which was still a Spanish colony at the time. The author describes the event in Romantic terms:

Entre los recuerdos más gratos de mi vida descuella el de una memorable fecha, en que la plaza mayor de la capital de Puerto Rico no bastaba a contener la multitud de gente de todas las clases, que además de cubrir el pavimento se apiñaba en los balcones y las azoteas circunvecinas. Desde el balcón central del palacio de la Intendencia un hombre arengaba con ademán solemne, con sonoro acento, aquella innumerable cuanto silenciosa multitud. Aquel hombre estaba investido de todos los atributos de poder; ejercía la autoridad absoluta en la Isla, era el gobernador capitán general don Rafael Primo de Ribera, y en aquel momento cumplía un bello acto de justicia proclamando en nombre de la Nación Española la abolición de la esclavitud en la hermosa Borinquen (348).

Among the fondest memories of my life, a memorable date stands out in which the Plaza Mayor of the capital of Puerto Rico was not sufficient to contain the masses of people of all classes who, in addition to covering the pavement, crowded into neighboring balconies and rooftops. From the central balcony of the government palace a man with a solemn expression and a sonorous accent lectured those countless but silent masses. That man was invested with all the attributes of power, he exercised absolute authority over the Island, he was the Captain Governor General don Rafael Primo de Ribera, and at that moment he was carrying out a beautiful act of justice by proclaiming in the name of the Spanish Nation the abolition of slavery in the lovely Borinquen.¹¹⁴

the first generation of Dominican historians (Marte 5), much as Nau would prove an important --if unacknowledged-- source for Galván.

¹¹⁴ Of indigenous provenance, “Borinquen” is a poetic name for Puerto Rico.

Following the series of “ruidosos y entusiastas vivas a España” [“loud and enthusiastic cries of ‘Long live Spain!’”] with which “aquella escena sublime” [“that sublime scene”] ended, the author:

A impulsos de la profunda impresión, del júbilo indecible que en mi caso causó tan espléndido triunfo de la justicia sobre una iniquidad secular, recorrí con el rápido vuelo de la imaginación la historia de América, y buscando analogías morales en los primeros días de la conquista, mi mente se fijó complacida en las grandes figuras [d]el ilustre filántropo fray Bartolomé de las Casas, y un compatriota mío, Enriquillo, último cacique de la Isla de Haití o Española, hoy Santo Domingo.

Impelled by the profound impression, by the ineffable jubilation that such a splendid triumph of justice over a secular iniquity caused in me, I quickly revisited with my imagination the history of América looking for moral analogies in the first days of the Conquest. Satisfied, my mind fixated on the great figures [of] the illustrious philanthropist fray Bartolomé de las Casas and a compatriot of mine, Enriquillo, the last cacique of the Island of Haiti, or La Española, today called Santo Domingo.

Thus, the liberation of African chattel slaves causes Galván to recall the defense of the Amerindians made by Las Casas, who, perhaps not coincidentally, first advocated for the introduction of African slaves into the Americas.¹¹⁵ The novelist interprets both events as acts of civilized generosity on the part of the Iberian nation towards the people of the New World.

Meanwhile, within the body of the novel itself, the author strives to depict colonial Santo Domingo as a beacon of Iberian civilization in the Americas. Describing the festivities for the appointment of Christopher Columbus’s son, Diego Colón, as governor of the island, Galván writes:

Inauguráronse, pues, grandes fiestas, convites, saraos, cabalgatas a los campos vecinos, y cuanto puede sugerir a los ingenios adúladores la riqueza desocupada. La colonia reunía todos

¹¹⁵ He later recanted.

los elementos de una pequeña corte, en la que resplandecían los más delicados refinamientos de la época. Los seis años de paz tiránica que Ovando llevaba en el gobierno habían elevado la isla Española al apogeo de su grandeza; los brazos de los indios, aplicados a las construcciones civiles bajo la dirección de entendidos arquitectos, habían convertido la humilde nereida del Ozama en una hermosa ciudad, provista de edificios elegantes y vistosos, con calles tiradas a cordel y casas particulares de aspecto imponente y gran suntuosidad interior; y el lujo se había desarrollado a tal extremo, que el adusto Rey Fernando, cuya mirada perspicaz todo lo veía en la vastísima extensión de los reinos y dominios sometidos a su cetro, hubo de dictar más de una vez pragmáticas severas, especialmente encaminadas a restringir la refinada ostentación a que estaban entregados los opulentos moradores de la isla Española (XVIII).

Great festivities were inaugurated: invitations, soirees, rides to the neighboring countryside – everything that leisurely wealth could suggest to the ingenious adulators. The colony possessed all the elements of a small court, in which the most delicate refinements of the era shone. The six years of tyrannical peace that Ovando had spent in government had elevated the island of La Española to the apogee of its grandeur; Indian arms, dedicated to civil construction under the direction of knowledgeable architects, had turned the humble nereid of the Ozama into a lovely city, complete with elegant and slightly buildings, with straight streets and private homes of imposing appearance and sumptuous interiors; and the luxury had been developed to such an extreme, that the solemn King Ferdinand, whose perspicacious gaze took in everything in the vast extent of the kingdoms and domains submitted to his scepter, on more than one occasion had to issue severe imperatives especially directed at restricting the refined ostentation to which the opulent inhabitants of the island of La Española had given themselves over.¹¹⁶

A “beautiful city” with “slightly and elegant structures” built by “knowing architects” under the “perspicacious gaze” of a “solemn king” for perhaps-too “opulent inhabitants,” Galván’s fairytale-like vision of colonial Santo Domingo lives up to the splendor that the city’s moniker of “the Athens of the New World” conjures. Even if the author describes the regime of Governor Nicolás Ovando, whom Colón replaced, with the ambivalent term “tyrannical peace,” he is quick to point out that Ovando’s rule brought the island to “the apogee of its grandeur.” By canceling out Ovando’s “tyranny” in using it to qualify an era of peace and refinement, Galván replaces the enlightened “black legend” of Spanish cruelty in the New World with the “leyenda

¹¹⁶ “La isla española” (with a lowercase “e”) also could be translated as “the Spanish island,” placing even further emphasis on the specifically Hispanic heritage that Galván wishes to highlight.

área” of Catholic Iberia’s civilizing mission in the Americas which, on the Peninsula, enjoyed popularity in reactionary discourse from the nineteenth century to end of Francisco Franco’s fascist dictatorship in 1975.

Such is the extent of Galván’s enthusiasm for this period of his country’s history that, in keeping with his antiquated literary style, he begins the above passage with the archaic verbal form “inauguráronse.”¹¹⁷ Reminiscent of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century “Golden Age” of Spanish literature (referred to as the *Barroco de Indias*, or “New-World Baroque” in the colonial context), the archaism, not atypical of Spanish American Romanticism --Gertrudis Gómez de Avellada’s 1841 novel *Sab*, for example, is littered with similar constructions--, was on its way out of fashion at the time of Galván’s writing; in addition to *Enriquillo*, 1882 would see the publication of the Cuban José Martí’s book of poems *Ismaelillo*, frequently considered a founding text of *modernismo*, a literary movement known for the replacement of the strict rules governing classical Spanish composition with the metrical structures and literary *topoi* of French symbolism. Considered characteristic of a peripheral modernity able to criticize the metropole,¹¹⁸ *modernismo* is also thought to be the first Latin American literary movement to influence Spain, having an impact on culturally reformist Peninsular poets of the Generación del 98 such as Juan Ramón Jiménez. Thus, at same the time that a movement away from the cultural legacy of the rapidly declining Spanish empire was underway on both sides of the Atlantic, Galván deliberately pays an unfashionable homage to his country’s colonial

¹¹⁷ The more contemporary form would be “se inauguraron.”

¹¹⁸ See Julio Ramos’s *Desencuentros de la modernidad*.

linguistic and cultural heritage, on another occasion referring to the Dominicans as “este pueblo latino-hispano” [“this Hispano-Latin people”] (“La anexión es la paz” [“Annexation is Peace”] 46).

Yet, as Julio Ramos makes clear, revolving around the 1898 conflict between Spain and the United States over the future of Cuba, modernismo is not only a rejection of Spain’s traditional hold on the Americas, but of the rising North American empire, as essays such as José Martí’s 1891 “Nuestra América” [“Our América”] and the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó’s 1900 *Ariel* make clear. Moreover, *modernistas*, such as the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, often mobilized the region’s Hispanic heritage against North American cultural, economic, and military incursions. In his 1899 sketch “D.Q.”—the title of which is an allusion to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s character Don Quijote, embodiment of an idealized vision of the Spanish nation—, Darío narrates the surrender of Spanish troops to North American forces that had occurred just a year before his story was published. Lamenting that “*no quedaba ya nada de España en el mundo que ella descubriera*” [“*nothing was left of Spain in the world that she discovered*”],¹¹⁹ the speaker attempts to describe his pain to the reader by asking (in Peninsular Spanish, at that), “¿Jamás habéis padecido viendo que asesinaban delante de vosotros a vuestra madre?” [“Have you ever suffered watching them kill your mother in front of you?”] (III).¹²⁰ Echoing the imperial notion of a New-World “discovered” by Spain and the colonial metaphor

¹¹⁹ Emphasis in the original.

¹²⁰ The second person plural “vosotros” and the possessive adjective “vuestro/vuestra” is only used in Spain. A Spanish American rendering of the same sentence would read “¿Jamás han padecido viendo que asesinaban delante de ustedes a su madre?”.

of the metropole as the “mother” country, Dario describes the North American wresting of Cuba from Spain as an affront to the “natural” Latin American cultural order, which ties the island to Spain like a child to its mother.¹²¹

Though, stylistically, *Enriquillo* is a not modernista text, written in the Hispanic Caribbean during the 1880s, the novel is not alien to the movement, either. The second edition even includes as a preface an 1894 congratulatory letter from Martí to Galván in which the former praises the Dominican novel as “cosa de toda nuestra América” [“a thing of all our América”], a turn of phrase drawn from the Cuban writer’s famous 1891 essay on Spanish American cultural and political autonomy (5).¹²² By the date of Martí’s letter, of course, Galván had distanced himself from his earlier pro-Spain positions and declared “su adhesión a la causa libertaria de Cuba” [“his adherence to the cause of Cuban liberation”], a change of heart that brought him into contact with the Cuban patriot (Meléndez, “Introducción” xxiv). While Concha Meléndez presents this ideological shift as a radical volte-face, I believe that signs of Galván’s later *independentismo* can be found in *Enriquillo*. Aside from the very obvious fact that, romantic as the text’s vision of colonial life may be, the novel’s plot deals with an Amerindian revolt against Spanish authority, the following passage, in which Enriquillo explains to Las Casas why he has refused a position as the Vicereine’s page, will serve as an example of Galván’s nuanced attitudes towards the former metropole:

¹²¹ In the twentieth century, Puerto Rican cultural nationalists would mobilize a similar assertion of their island’s Hispanic heritage against North American imperialism. See José Luis González’s *Pais de cuatro pisos* [*The Four-Storeyed Country*] for a critique.

¹²² Martí would visit Hispaniola three times between 1892 and 1895. For more information, see José G. Guerrero’s “José Martí: Aportes antropológicos de un viaje a Santo Domingo en el siglo XIX.”

—No os debo ocultar el motivo, y mi mayor deseo era decíroslo: yo estaba contentísimo con ver a mi prima; con la acogida que los señores Virreyes me dispensaron; y sobre todo, con la bondad de la Virreina, que llegó a parecerme, más que una persona de este mundo, una santa virgen, un ángel de los cielos, cuando la vi tan buena y tan cariñosa, tratando a la pobre Mencía como si fuera suya; pero a tiempo que más embelesado me hallaba y más olvidado de mis penas, aquella gran señora me dirigió estas palabras, que me dejaron frío, y me llenaron de pesadumbre: —“¿Quieres quedarte a vivir aquí y ser paje de nuestra casa?” —No recuerdo en que términos le respondí; pero le dije que no, y desde aquel momento, no sé por qué todo me pareció triste y odioso en aquel rico alcázar.

—Y ¿por qué te hizo tanta impresión la pregunta bien intencionada de la Virreina — preguntó Las Casas, que examinaba con ahincada atención el semblante de Enrique.

—¡Proponerme ser paje! —contestó el joven—. ¡Servir como un criado; llevar con reverencia la cola de un vestido; aproximar y retirar sitials y taburetes! Estos son los oficios que yo he visto hacer en aquella casa a los que se llaman pajos; y los que no creo propios de ninguno que sepa traer una espada” (2-VII).

--I should not hide my motive from you, and my greatest desire is to tell you: I was most happy to see my cousin; with the welcome that the Viceroy's gave me; and, especially, with the kindness of the Vicereine, who seemed to me, more than a person of this world, a Blessed Virgin, an angel from the heavens, when I saw how good and loving she was, treating poor Mencía as if she were her own; but at the moment when I found myself entranced and my pains forgotten, that great lady directed these words to me, which left me cold and filled me with grief: --“Would you like to live here and be a page in our house?” --I do not recall in what terms I responded to her; but I told her no and, from that moment, I do not know why everything about that rich castle seems sad and odious to me.

--And why did the Vicereine's well-intentioned question cause such an impression on you?—asked Las Casas, who examined Enrique's face with rapt attention.

--Propose that I be a page!—answered the youth.—To be a servant; to carry the train of a dress reverently; to place and remove seats and stools! These are the offices that I have seen those called pages perform in that house, I do not believe them befitting of anyone who knows how to carry a sword.”

What Enriquillo objects to in this passage is subordinate status, to being a “criado.”¹²³

Importantly, even as he refuses to serve as the Vicereine's page, he upholds the Golden Legend, pointing to his warm “acogida” by the Viceroy's and calling the Vicereine “más que una persona de este mundo, una santa virgen, un ángel de los cielos” who has treated her mestiza ward --Enriquillo's cousin and beloved, Mencía--

¹²³ Recall that Article 25 of the Constitución de Cádiz denies citizenship to “sirvientes domésticos.” For more on the matter, see Chapter I of this dissertation.

“como si fuera suya,” a reiteration of the myth of the civilizing mission if ever there was one. Yet, the very idea that Enriquillo might serve as a page is enough to render “aquel rico alcázar” “hateful” to him. That the speech is directed to Las Casas, who, for Galván, embodies Spain’s civilizing *empresa evangelizadora* in the Americas, makes the caicque’s words all the more powerful. Clearly, the colonialist argument of “les hemos dado la lengua y la fe” does not, in the eyes of the text, justify subordinate status, as is suggested by the novel’s conclusion, when Enrique and his followers are granted “asilo sagrado en que al fin disfrutaron paz y libertad” [“sacred asylum in which they finally enjoyed peace and liberty”] far from the *encomiendas* on which previously they had been forced to work. The narrator claims that, far from being a servant, “hasta el término de sus días ejerció don Enrique señorío y mixto imperio sobre aquella población” [“until the end of his days don Enrique exercised lordship and some jurisdiction over that population”] (LI). There must be more to Galván’s Hispanism, then, than pure annexationist impulse, as the author’s decision to assume the presidency the Unión Nacional, which aimed to “propagar y difundir las ideas de paz, sostener por todos los medios legales la independencia nacional, las libertades públicas y el principio de autoridad basado en la ley” [“propagate and disseminate notions of peace and sustain national independence, public liberty, and the principle of authority based in the law by all legal means”] two years before the publication of the first half of *Enriquillo* indicates (Blanco Díaz 21).

The answer to this seeming paradox may be very close to home. In his *General don Pedro Santana y la anexación de Santo Domingo a España*, Galván

writes that, “políticamente considerada, la anexión es un medio eficaz y poderoso de escudar la debilidad de la Española contra las luchas intestinas y los ataques de Haití” [“politically considered, annexation is an efficient and powerful means of shielding the weakness of La Española against internecine struggle and attacks from Haiti”] (12) –that is to say, more than the Dominican cultural affinities with Spain to which the author alludes both in his pamphlet and throughout the novel *Enriquillo*, what really drives Galván’s annexationist impulse is the fear that Haiti would once again invade and occupy the eastern half of the island, as it had done from 1822 to 1844. In fact, in 1877, twelve years after the reannexation for which he had so fervently advocated came to an end –and while he in the process of drafting *Enriquillo*—, Galván, in his capacity as minister in President Baez’s government, would attach a note marked “Confidential” to a letter to Segundo Portilla, Governor Captain General of Puerto Rico, complaining of Haitian interference in Dominican internal affairs and requesting Spanish intervention in the conflict. He claims that “esta enojosa situación ha acabado por convencer a todos los hombres sensatos de la absoluta necesidad de procurar un punto de apoyo para la existencia política del Estado Dominicano en un Gobierno extranjero” [“this aggravating situation has, in the end, convinced all sensible men of the absolute necessity of finding support for the political existence of the Dominican State in a foreign Government”]. Believing that “una guerra con Haití amenaza poner fin á esta trabajosa y triste existencia” [“a war with Haiti threatens to put an end to this laborious and sad existence”], Galván fears that “el instinto de conservación conduce pues los dominicanos fatalmente á aceptar cualquier mano que

se le ofrezca en son de amparo” [“the instinct of preservation thus fatefully drives Dominicans to accept whatever hand offers itself to them in a spirit of aid”]. He adds that “esa mano está siempre pronta, y es la de los Estados Unidos de América” [“this hand is always ready to lend itself, and it is the hand of the United States of America”], which had long had imperial designs on Hispaniola, as the U.S. filibustering expedition to Alta Vela, the traditional North American interest in the Samaná Peninsula, and the activities of the American Colonization Society on the island demonstrate (Moya Pons, *Manual* 339-340). However, “esto repugna á muchos” [“this revolts many people”]. “La Nación Española,” on the other hand, “conserva aquí más vivos que nunca recuerdos simpáticos, y tengo la seguridad de que nada sería hoy difícil, en el sentido de acercar los dominicanos á España” [“now more than ever is the source of warm memories here, and I have the certainty that, today, it would not be at all difficult to draw Dominicans to Spain”]. Reiterating the need for a foreign power to mediate in the Haitian-Dominican conflict, Galván proffers that “esta mediación que los dominicanos aceptarían con gratitud, la iniciará seguramente el gobierno de los Estados Unidos, si no quiere hacerlo el Gobierno de S. M. el Rey Don Alfonso XII” [“the government of the United States surely will initiate this mediation, which the Dominicans would accept gratefully, if the Government of HM King don Alfonso XII does not want to perform it”]. Thus, much as --as I will explain in Chapter IV-- mid-nineteenth century Argentine liberals moved towards France and the United States in order to distance themselves from Spain, the Dominican Galván gravitates towards Spain, not out of a lack of

commitment to Dominican sovereignty, but in order to defend that sovereignty against Haiti and the United States.¹²⁴

Enriquillo *and Nau*

Along the same lines, the scarce visibility of Haiti in Galván's novel is due to his desire to construct a Dominican national identity separate from that of the country's western neighbor. Guerrero notes that anti-Haitianism --that is, "la negación de Haití en lo político, lo jurídico, lo religioso, lo ideológico y lo cultural" ["the negation of Haiti in the political, juridical, religious, ideological, and cultural spheres"] (136)-- was central to nineteenth-century Dominican petit bourgeois thought and continued as a political force up through the Trujillo dictatorship (1930-1961) (122). Dominican nationalists, as Pedro San Miguel points out, sought to bury the "African past" represented by Haiti. "Esto se debe a que en República Dominicana la identidad nacional se ha erigido en buena medida a base de criterios negativos: se es dominicano en la medida en que no se es haitiano" ["This is because, in the Dominican Republic, national identity has been constructed in great part on negative criteria: one is Dominican to the extent that one is not Haitian"]. These criteria can be seen in the renaming of Eastern Haiti as the Dominican Republic in

¹²⁴ Spain, for its part, desiring to block the growing North American influence in the region where the Iberian metropole continued to control the then-provinces of Cuba and Puerto Rico, was only too happy to oblige the Dominicans' request for reannexation when asked (Moya Pons, *Manual* 341).

order to “demarcarse categóricamente del país vecino” [“demarcate itself categorically from the neighboring country”] (434).

Thus, if the Haitian Nau attempts to demonstrate the historical links between the former Spanish colony and the revolutionary black state, the Dominican Galván, wishing to forge a national lettered culture, makes an effort to disavow their country’s debt to Afro-New World insurgency. While Nau emplots his *Histoire* in order to position Henri’s rebellion as a precursor to the Haitian Revolution, Galván attempts to cover up the possibility. He writes that Enriquillo’s uprising “aparece como una reacción[,] como el preludio de todas las reacciones que en menos de cuatro siglos han de aniquilar en el Nuevo Mundo el derecho de conquista” [“appears like a reaction(,) like the prelude to all the reactions that in less than four centuries would annihilate the right to conquest in the New World”] and he compares it with other rebellions “en Méjico, en el Perú, en Castilla de Oro” (present-day Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama), claiming that “en todo el continente iban a realizar épicas proezas muchos de los mismos que salían descalabrados de la sierra del Bahoruco” [“throughout the continent great feats would be realized by many of those who intrepidly rushed out of the Bahoruco Mountains”] where the cacique and his followers had taken refuge (XLVIII). It would seem, then, that Enriquillo’s uprising was a “prelude” to all of the nineteenth-century Latin American revolutionary movements except the Haitian Revolution, which, not uncoincidentally, took place in the very same country where the cacique had revolted.

Despite the omission, it would have been all but impossible for Galván *not* to have been thinking about Haiti (if not Nau himself) as he wrote *Enriquillo*, given that the Dominican writer participated in a commission to fix the border between the two countries in 1877, the same year in which he published the first half of his historical novel. Even before that, Galván almost certainly would have been aware of Nau's interpretation of the island's past. Not only was the Dominican writer an assiduous student of the history of Hispaniola and fluent in French --he even translated some legal codes into Spanish in 1883 (Blanco Díaz 26)--, but he traveled to Paris, where he frequented the Bibliothèque Nationale, two years after Nau's *Histoire* was published. It was during this trip that he began work on *Enriquillo*, perhaps already aware of Nau, whose work he surely would have encountered before he published his own novel in 1882 (Piña Contreras 25; Joa 19). At any rate, Nau seems to be the only author before Galván to have made much of Enrique's rebellion, which, as I noted earlier, is not a major event in the crónicas, nor does it appear as a theme in the nineteenth-century *indigenista* poetry of Dominican writers such as José Joaquín Pérez and Salomé Ureña de Henríquez.¹²⁵

Galván's failure to acknowledge his debt to Nau --not even recognizing the Haitian writer as his predecessor in linking the life of Enrique to the question of national sovereignty-- is rendered all the more egregious by the fact that the Dominican author includes an appendix to his novel commenting on his colonial sources. Importantly, though Galván does not mention it, those sources reference the

¹²⁵ Enrique does appear briefly as a character in Chapter XLIII of Marmontel's 1777 *les Incas*. However, the scene focuses on the cacique's visit to Fray de las Casas's deathbed, not the rebellion.

very participation of slaves in Enrique's uprising that Nau emphasizes and which the Dominican author represses. Fernández de Oviedo, for example, comments on the participation of black slaves in Enrique's uprising in his *Historia general y natural* (1535), a text that Galván cites throughout his novel. In sixteenth-century Spanish, the cronista writes that the rebellion "no se había de tener en tan poco, en especial viendo que cada día se iban e fueron a juntar con este Enrique e sus indios, algunos negros" ["was not to be underestimated, especially seeing as how every day some blacks would join Enrique and his Indians"], suggesting, once again, that the slave revolt represented the greater cause for concern for the colonial authorities (Book V, Chapter IV). Later, he claims that:

Si el almirante don Diego Colom, el año de mill e quinientos e veinte e dos años, no fuera tan presto en el remedio de la rebelión de los negros que en aquella sazón desde su ingenio e hacienda se principió [...], pudiera ser que fuera necesario reaquistar esta isla de nuevo, e que no dejaran cristiano a vida, como lo tenían pensado (Book V, Chap. IV).

If the Admiral don Diego Columbus, in the year 1522, had not been so quick to remedy the rebellion of blacks that started on his sugar mill and hacienda at that time [...], it might be necessary to reconquer this island again, and they might not have left a Christian alive, as they had planned.

The slave revolt, which held the potential to do away with the entire Christian population of the island, was a very serious issue for Galván to have ignored.

Meanwhile, in his *Décadas* (1601), Antonio de Herrera y Torsadillas, also a major source for Galván, does not mention the slave revolt, but he does conclude his account of Enrique's rebellion with a discussion of the importation African slaves,

suggesting that the practice began in order to limit the harm to the island's economy that would be caused by the emancipation of the Amerindians as part of the peace treaty (144-176). In this way, he establishes a causal link between the indigenous uprising and the growth of Hispaniola's African population. Similarly, though Las Casas does not mention the participation of slaves in Enrique's revolt in his *Historia de las Indias* (1561/1875) --which is considered the most important source for *Enriquillo*--, he does, two chapters after his narration of the events, describe the development of sugar mills on the island and confess that he himself suggested importing African slaves to replace indigenous forced laborers, a confession that he follows with a condemnation of African chattel slavery (29-31). Thus, in the crónicas, as in Nau's *Histoire*, Enrique's rebellion forms part of a larger narrative of slave revolt on Santo Domingo. Despite Galván's well-known attention to documentation and historical accuracy, the divorce of Enrique's uprising from the metanarrative of anticolonial antislavery on the island marks a major difference between his narrative and its Spanish and Haitian sources.

To be fair, Galván does allude to the slave revolt once in his novel, albeit tangentially. The author refers to "la represión de un levantamiento de esclavos africanos que dieron muerte al mayoral en una hacienda del mismo Almirante" ["the repression of an uprising of African slaves who killed the overseer of an hacienda belonging to the Admiral [Diego Columbus] himself"] but, instead of pointing out the larger historical import of the rebellion, he limits himself to noting that "los alzados fueron fácilmente vencidos" ["the rebels were easily defeated"] and that some of the

survivors joined Tamayo, another Amerindian who had rebelled against the Spanish Crown (XLIX). There is no mention of the increasing importance of African slaves on the island during the period, nor of the growth of maroon colonies in the Bahoruco Mountains in the years following the rebellion. Instead, in the next paragraph, the topic of African slaves is abandoned and the text once again focuses exclusively on “los alzados indios” [“the Indian rebels”], thereby mobilizing the indigenous uprising in order to hide the trace of African slave revolt suggested by the previous paragraph.

This deployment of Santo Domingo’s Amerindian past against the African present is not uncommon in the nineteenth-century literature of the country. As poems such as José Joaquín Pérez’s “Areíto de las vírgenes de Marién,” which invokes an indigenous dance (the *areíto*) in order to describe the moment in which “la raza de Quisqueya, enoblecida/del caos confuso, ante la luz surgió” [“the race of Quisqueya, ennobled/from the confused chaos, to the light emerged”] (ii-iv), demonstrate. The notion of the “race of Quisqueya” here is particularly questionable. Though the term is employed by the poem to refer to the pre-Columbian history of the island, “Quisqueya” is neither a Spanish nor a Taíno word. Rather, it was coined after the Dominican Republic’s second independence from Spain in 1865 in order to distinguish the eastern country from Haiti, whose name is of indigenous provenance (Guerrero 131). “Quisqueya,” then, is a pseudo-indigenous term designed to appropriate the history to which “Haiti” had already laid claim for the eastern half of the island --a sort of anti-Haiti. Thus, if Nau appropriates the indigenous past in order

to situate Hispaniola in a black revolutionary history, Pérez and Galván employ a similar strategy in order to guarantee white hegemony on the island.

Though disavowed through the process that Fischer explains in the body of Galván's novel, the traces of antislavery and Haiti are clearly visible in the paratexts. The work is dedicated to the "eminente orador y publicista don Rafael María de Labra, Presidente de la Sociedad Abolicionista Española" ["eminent orator and publicist don Rafael María de Labra, President of the Spanish Abolitionist Society"] (348) and, in the prologue, as I noted above, Galván claims that the idea for the novel occurred to him as he witnessed the "espléndido triunfo de la justicia sobre una iniquidad secular" ["splendid triumph of justice over a secular iniquity"] represented by the 1873 abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico, where he was working in the colonial administration (349). Importantly, this account conflicts with Blanco Díaz and Nancy Joa's claim that the author began drafting his novel during his 1858 stay in Paris. If this claim is correct, then Galván must have intended his mention of Puerto Rican abolition as a kind of poetic truth, the very fictive elaboration of which calls attention to itself and, with it, to the novel's ties to antislavery. Regardless of its truth value, the inclusion of the anecdote in the introduction unquestionably introduces the themes of African chattel slavery and abolition into the novelistic discourse, despite the author's efforts in other parts of the text to direct the reader's attention away from them. The novel's strategy, then, is not one of silence regarding African participation in the colonial history of the island, but of disavowal, through which that which supposedly was silenced expresses itself via subtle and peripheral means.

The relationship to antislavery discourse is more explicit in Dominican poet José Joaquín Pérez's 1882 "Prologue" to *Enriquillo*, in which Galván is compared to Rafael María de Labra, Victor Schoelcher, Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass (358). At another point, Pérez states that, in Spartacus, John Brown, and Lincoln, one finds "reflejado el espíritu que animó al infortunado último cacique de la extinta raza de Haití" ["the spirit that drove the unfortunate last cacique of the extinct race of Haiti"] (354). Though Pérez in his poetry did not shy away from the word "Haiti," which, as I noted above, his country's official culture was in the process of replacing with the "Dominican Republic" or "Quisqueya," the appearance of the term in the same sentence as the names of various abolitionists has the result of locating Galván in the same antislavery trajectory that Nau maps in his *Histoire* --a work that, according to Concha Meléndez, inspired Pérez's 1877 collection of poems *Fantasías indígenas*, in which the previously mentioned "Arreíto de las vírgenes de Marién" appears (Meléndez. xi). Perhaps not uncoincidentally, Pérez's prologue, replete with radical energy, was omitted from the second edition of the novel (Meléndez 8). Thus, despite the complaints of critics that *Enriquillo* is a "reactionary novel" (Conde 61) divorced from the social, political, and racial realities of the country in which it was written, or, for Pedro Conde, a warning to the elite about the possibility of revolt in which the main character is presented as a docile servant whose final rebellion tragically disqualifies him from sainthood,¹²⁶ the history of New-World slavery and

¹²⁶ See particularly Chapters III-V of Conde.

emancipation --in which Hispaniola plays such a fundamental role—manages to infiltrate the text through its prefaces.

Yet, despite its exile to the periphery of the paratexts, the disavowed legacy of African agency on the island manages to find its way to the heart of the novel. I have already discussed how, according to Fischer, indigenist discourse in the nineteenth-century Dominican Republic served to erase the memory of the Haitian invasion and create the illusion of a majority Euro-descendent population. This assessment is accurate, but it is also necessary to take into account that, at least since the mid-sixteenth century, the term “indio” has been used in the Dominican Republic to refer to relatively dark-skinned people of African descent (Guerrero 127). Even Dessalines, in his “Alocución del Emperador al pueblo, a su regreso del sitio de Santo Domingo” [“Emperor’s Address to the People, upon His Return from the Siege of Santo Domingo”] (April 12, 1805), refers to the Dominicans as “indígenas españoles” (105-106).¹²⁷ Guerrero explains that “la categoría indio [...] ayudó somáticamente a blanquear al dominicano para hacerlo claramente distinto del haitiano” [“the category of Indian [...] helped somatically to whiten Dominicans to make them clearly distinct from Haitians”] (Guerrero 134). In Dominican Spanish, then, the racial term “indio” refers to Afro-descendants at the same time that it disavows the African descent of the majority of the Dominican population. This begs the question, who are the “indios” that revolt against Spanish authority in *Enriquillo*? Given the linguistic and historical context that I have explained in this chapter, the answer is not altogether clear, and it

¹²⁷ The text is included in Rodríguez Demorizi. No translator’s name is given.

is entirely plausible that the “Indian” uprising described in the novel, in addition to its historical referent in the crónicas, contains the memory of other revolts against colonial authority carried out by the African slaves on the island.¹²⁸ Disavowed, the Haitian Revolution haunts the text as a specter, manifesting itself through the very discourse of indigeneity that was mobilized in order to contain it.¹²⁹

Of course, if the specter of Haiti is contained by the indigenist national narrative, that means that it is already inside. As I said before, the Dominicans originally supported the unification with Haiti overwhelmingly, and it was only after Boyer attacked certain privileges and lifeways of the colonial hatero elite that the independence movement got underway. Even then, “existía entre las masas lo que podría estimarse como una base propicia a la fusión de las dos comunidades” [“there existed among the masses what could be considered a base favorable to the fusion of the two communities”] (Pérez Cabral 38) and Duarte, mindful of the fact, attempted to include a clause on racial unity in the Constitution, though his efforts were ultimately frustrated by his coconspirators (Balcácer 161). After independence was won, in 1855, a pro-Haitian party was formed in the Dominican Republic to lobby against annexation to the U.S. (Pérez Cabral 46). In what was perhaps the harshest blow to the pride of the national elite, after reannexation to Spain, the Dominican forces were aided by Haitian troops in their efforts to re-win independence from the

¹²⁸ On a similar note, much as Nau Gallicizes “Enrique” to “Henri,” thereby creating certain resonances with the Haitian emperor of the same name, it seems that some Dominicans, such as Gaspar de Arredondo y Pichardo, were in the habit of referring to the Haitian leader as “el general negro Enrique Cristóbal” (122), pointing to an interlinguistic nomenclatural entanglement that suggests that the racial identity of Galván’s Enriquillo is much more complicated than it initially seems.

¹²⁹ For a history of race relations in the Dominican Republic, see Silvo Torres-Saillant, “The tribulations of blackness: Stages in Dominican racial identity.”

metropole in the Guerra de Restauración (Guerrero 124). Despite its disavowal in Galván's foundational fiction, Haiti was deeply entangled with the construction of the Dominican nation.

In literature, the Haitian palimpsest to Dominican national life perhaps shows through most clearly in Penson's "Virgenes de Galindo," the fictionalized account of a true story that closes his collection *Cosas añejas*, to which Galván wrote a laudatory introduction. Though often condemned (and rightly so) for its hysterical racism, taking the myth of the black rapist to an extreme in telling the story of a group of black Haitian soldiers who murder and then rape three white Dominican sisters before dismembering their bodies and throwing them in a well, the text also operates as an allegory of Dominican complicity in the Haitian occupation. According to the logic of the narrative, if the Haitian soldiers are guilty of the girls' rape, their father, don Andrés, is guilty of negligence, as the text makes a point of noting that he was warned repeatedly not to leave his daughters unattended in the country home where the crime was committed. The Dominican popular classes are also complicit; Isabela, the girls' *dueña*, literally opens the door to the attackers (207), a gesture strongly reminiscent of the popular support that the Haitian occupation enjoyed. Thus, in Penson's story, the masses do not support Haiti out of an understanding of their vested interest in resisting racialized nonwage labor, but rather because the carelessness of the Dominican patriarchy allows them to be fooled by the Haitians and participate in the violation of the "purity" and "honor" of the colonial hatero elite. In the story, then, the Dominicans are the agents of their own destruction, as is reflected by the fact that,

historically, the rapists were not Haitian soldiers, but Dominicans --a detail that Penson chooses to silence (Fischer 174).

Or, rather, he disavows the fact, displacing Dominican responsibility for the crime through the allegory that I have just explained. Curiously, if Galván and Pérez rewrite history by whitening the Dominican past through the figure of the already extinct Amerindian, Penson disavows Haiti by blackening his Dominican malefactors, disguising them as Haitians. Like the semantic ambiguity regarding the word “indio” that creates an interpretive instability at the heart of *Enriquillo*, here, too, the effort to disavow Haiti ultimately serves to reaffirm the importance of blackness to Dominican national life.

A major participant in the public sphere of his day as well as an avid historian, Galván was, of course, only too aware of the racially exclusive nature of the Dominican Republic’s official nationalism and the strong ties between the country’s popular classes and Haiti. In “La situación pasada y la presente” [“The Past Situation and the Present One”], an article published in *La razón* in June of 1861, the author condemns those Dominicans who, like the servants in Penson’s story, supported and collaborated with the Haitian occupation: “Los que ayudan a los haitianos nos han hostilizado y nos hostilizan aun de un modo análogo a la nobleza de la causa que defienden: se han metido entre nosotros como amigos, y abusan de la hospitalidad intrigando y haciendo el triste papel de *espías*” [“those who help the Haitians have harmed us and they still harm us in a way analogous to the nobility of the cause which they defend: they have infiltrated themselves among us as friends, and they

abuse our hospitality by engaging in intrigue and playing the sad role of *spies*”] (62).¹³⁰ For Galván, the pro-Haitian Dominican is a spy, an enemy hidden within the national borders who, like Penson’s Haitian soldiers, having penetrated the national body, is able to betray it in the most intimate of ways.

No wonder then that Galván chooses not to mention his relationship with Nau, the textual spy that he follows into Haitian territory as part of the nationalist campaign to reappropriate the story of Enrique’s revolt for a Hispanist tradition. Yet, despite the covert nature of Galván’s textual trafficking, his debt with the Haitian historian is evident in the twin-like relationship between the two works --which, written on the same island, deal with the same rebellion which had hitherto received scant attention-- in the same way that the African ancestry of the Dominican Republic’s mulatto majority and the importance of Haiti to the country’s history, even if disavowed, are still perceptible. The novel may direct the reader’s attention away from these phenomena, hiding them in the marginal paratexts, but that is only possible because, in order to disavow them, Galván must have already registered their existence. Despite efforts to expel it, Haiti lingers on within the borders of the Dominican national narrative. A sort of cultural double agent --representing the betrayal of the elite national project to foreign forces at the same time that it acts as an unnamed source of that project’s foundational narrative—Nau’s Haiti, though simultaneously silenced and disavowed, is, paradoxically, entangled with the

¹³⁰ Emphasis in the original.

Dominican Republic in a transnational dialogue that produces the very Dominican nationalism that grounds itself in anti-Haitianism.

This productive relationship between inclusion and exclusion is not uncommon to Latin American texts of the period. As many commentators have noted, foundational novels such as the Ecuadorian León Mera's *Cumandá* (1877), the Peruvian Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* (1889), and the Cuban Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*—published in the same year as Galván's *Enriquillo* and Martí's *Ismaelillo*—turn to the trope of interracial incest in order to incorporate the nonwhite masses into the margins of the imagined community. These novels, in which a creole man and a mixed-race woman fall in love, only to discover that they are half-siblings, present nonwhites as part the national family (sisters of the creole heirs) while, at the same time, using the incest trope to bar their full incorporation as citizens (spouses, or legal equivalents, to the creole heirs). Like Cooper's Cora, these heroines, though members of the national-family, cannot be granted the status of mother of the nation without upsetting the political- economic principles upon which the nation is based though, unlike Cora, they are acknowledged as children of the national father (a stand-in for the patria).

Though *Enriquillo* does not belong to the genre of the interracial incest narrative, it shares these texts' desire to acknowledge the importance of nonwhites to the nation. If Galván's *Enriquillo* and the nonwhite masses he represents are ultimately denied full citizenship in the Dominican Republic—banished instead to the peripheral Bahoruco Mountains—, they are not—as is the case of Cooper's Cora and

Uncas-- killed off as a sacrifice to the gods of Creole domestic expansion, either. As in texts such as José Martí's 1891 "Nuestra América," which paradoxically interpolates a creole "we" in order to advocate for a multiracial New-World identity, this shift from outright exclusion to problematic incorporation marks an important change in mid-nineteenth century lettered culture. I will explore the implications of that change for New-World republican institutions more fully in the next chapter.

Sombras de *Facundo*: Translation, Education, and Entanglement

In 1847, Argentine writer and statesman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento spent an agreeable weekend in Newport, Massachusetts discussing education with North American pedagogue Horace Mann and his wife, Mary, who served as their interpreter. Though none of the participants knew it at the time, the meeting would have an impact on the culture, politics, and society of the Americas during the second half of the long nineteenth century, its reverberations felt from Boston to Buenos Aires as Sarmiento and Mary Mann --both educational and political reformers and well-traveled polyglots-- entered into a relationship of reciprocal exchanges of transcultural favors, evident in the prominent place that Horace Mann plays in Sarmiento's 1866 *Las escuelas: Base de la prosperidad i de la república en los Estados Unidos* [Schools: Base of Prosperity and the Republic in the United States] -- particularly in the *Vida de Horacio Mann* [Life of Horace Mann] section, a "translation" of Mary's 1865 biography of her late husband-- and Mary's efforts to produce and promote her 1868 *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants* --a translation of *Facundo*, Sarmiento's 1845 foundational text which turns to Argentina's particular colonial history in order to explain and protest the "barbaric" traditionalist regime of Federal dictator Juan Manuel Rosas-- as Sarmiento was running for the presidency of his country.¹³¹

¹³¹ Some background on the rise of Rosas and the Federales may prove helpful. The War for Independence, though successful, had wreaked havoc on Argentine social and economic order, ruining a large section of the viceregal upper class (including Sarmiento's maternal family, as the author recalls in his 1850 autobiography *Recuerdos de provincia*), chiefly through the devaluation of war

Mann and Sarmiento differ from the writers discussed in previous chapters of this dissertation in that they write in the wake of the Rosas dictatorship in Argentina and the Civil War in the United States, when it is no longer possible to exclude or disavow nonwhites from the nation. Rather, through mass education, they attempt to assimilate the Afro-descendent populations of their respective countries to the national project. In this chapter, I will examine the transnational character of racialized discourses on national belonging in the Western Hemisphere during the second half of the nineteenth century through the entanglements between Sarmiento and Mary Mann, both of whom are interested in using education to prepare nonwhites for the duties of citizenship in a broadly defined “South.” Particularly, I will argue

bonds and the loss of colonial administrative positions (Halperín Donghi, *De la Revolución* 151). The interior was disproportionately affected by these changes, as Independence led to “the rapid decline of the trade network [...] historically linking [Tucumán and Salta] with present-day Bolivia and Peru [and] the disappearance of traditional markets for mules, rice, tobacco, and sugar” (Katra 15), which, in turn, led to the decline of the provincial cities, as a large part of the population left (Katra 16). Moreover, the interior was unable to find a stable place in the world market that emerged after independence (HD 179) and, following the further economic hardship caused in Argentina by the British stock market crash of 1825, became wary of foreign influence and investment --a fear reflected in Rosas’s nativist tendencies (HD 184-185).

The people of the interior found little support in the Buenos Aires elite, which, even before independence, had traditionally looked down on what it saw as gaucho’s “precapitalist mentality” (Fridman 132). Naturally, the poorer classes of the interior resented this condescending attitude on the part of the Buenos Aires elite, which they already distrusted after witnessing the contemporaneous decline of the interior and rise of the coast due to foreign commerce. “Their trepidation about the Buenos Aires leaders’ --known as the Unitario Party-- imposition of disruptive modernizing practices, and their own traditional and inherently conservative cultural values, led them to embrace the theories of federalism,” or the privileging of local over central authority (Katra 17).

Furthermore, in the countryside, “against the will of the traditional elites, the early military leaders [of the movement for independence] mobilized the masses as a means of bolstering their own authority and expanding their armies.” After the war, “many common soldiers, after sampling the freedom of movement and the euphoria of the montonera campaign in defense of the newly defined homeland, would not be easily enticed to return to the drudgery and servitude of before” (Katra 25). At the same time, “dramatic changes had taken place in the society of the interior. The criollo landowners had resisted the economic crisis better than the urban elites and began to demand through the provincial cabildos a role in the region’s governance that was proportionate to their economic and military contributions” and, supporting Federalist policies, often evolved into caudillos with strong popular backing. “The authority they came to exercise extended from military to political and social issues” (Katra 17). The conflict between these Federales and the Unitarios would lead to a bloody civil war.

that Sarmiento defines barbarism in terms of blackness while drawing on Mann's iteration of the North American myth of the self-made man in order to "civilize" Argentina's Afro-descendent popular classes for the liberal national project. I then will examine how Mann reads that racialized notion of barbarism from her position in early Reconstruction-era New England and how Sarmiento reappropriates Mann's reading for his own socio-political purposes.

I will reflect on the geopolitical implications of the entangled translational relationship that exists between Mann and Sarmiento, examining its place in the rise of North American empire and the development of Argentina into a regional power. In this way, drawing on the fields of translation studies and twentieth-century Latin American cultural theory, I follow in the tradition that views Sarmiento as a creative transculturator --and not a servile recycler-- of metropolitan ideas and contribute to recent scholarship that seeks to identify the Argentine's influence *on* the metropolitan United States. At the same time, I want to recognize the often overlooked talents, efforts, and influence of Mary Mann, who, in studies of nineteenth-century New England intellectual culture, is often overshadowed by her more famous relations.¹³² In this way, I hope to shed some light on the little known entanglement of the United States and Argentina during Radical Reconstruction and the War of Triple Alliance.

¹³² In addition to her husband, Horace, I refer to Mary's sisters, Elizabeth Peabody and Sophia Hawthorne, and to her brother-in-law, Nathaniel Hawthorne. See Elizabeth Hall Tharp's classic biography, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem*, as well as Megan Marshall's more recent *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism*. Though otherwise laudable studies, both works dedicate significantly more attention to Elizabeth and Sophia than to Mary, the most subdued of the three sisters.

The Story

Sarmiento's entanglement with the Manns and the distinctly New-World political philosophy that it produces represent a change in the statesman's preferences for foreign cultures, which had previously been marked by a strong Francophilia, as the endless references to French authors in *Facundo* demonstrate. Sarmiento had visited France during the Restoration of the monarchy and soon became disenchanted by the re-aristocratization of the country's public sphere, seeing in King Luis Philippe uncomfortable parallels with the Argentine dictator Rosas, who also referred to himself as the "Restorer": "Nadie se ha engañado sobre el alcance de esta palabra." "Se restaura el mundo destruido" ["No one is deceived about the meaning of the word. What gets restored is the destroyed world"] of the *ancien régime* (*Viajes* 112).¹³³ Worse, Sarmiento's audience with anti-democratic royal advisor François Guizot, who had influenced the formulation of "civilization" that informs *Facundo*, proved an utter failure when he was unable to convince the French minister to withdraw his country's support for the Rosas regime. Disheartened, Sarmiento left Europe and traveled to the United States, inspired by the work of Horace Mann and hoping to meet the educational reformer in person, which he did, in this way turning away from

¹³³ Sarmiento had gone abroad as part of a world tour sponsored by the government of Chile, where he was living in exile, ostensibly to gather information about educational practices abroad but, according to Ilan Stavans, in large part because the "Chilean government, fearing that Sarmiento's activism against Rosas and his prestige among Argentine exiles would strain foreign relations between Chile and Argentina," sought a reason to send him out of the country (xxv. See also González Echevarría 8), perhaps in order to protect him from the political fallout from *Facundo* (Ard 6) and the dictator Rosas's demands for his extradition to Argentina (Palcos 110; Ard 39).

the monarchical European model and devoting himself fully to the New-World dialogue on race and republicanism.

Sarmiento describes his relationship with Mann, to whose ideas he had been exposed in London, in his *Viajes* (1847). In addition to acting as a sort of patron for Sarmiento while he studied public education in the United States, providing the foreign visitor with letters of introduction to important pedagogues and facilitating his access to documents of interest (449), Horace Mann was to exert a profound ideological influence on Sarmiento's 1849 *De la educacion popular* [On Mass Education], and on the Argentine's thought in general. When Argentine president Bartolomé Mitre sent Sarmiento back to the United States in 1865 --perhaps in order to eliminate him as a political rival (González Echevarría, *Facundo* 9)-- the new Argentine minister to the U.S. contacted the now widowed Mary Mann in order to inquire about the possibility of translating her 1865 *Life of Horace Mann*, a biography of her late husband, into Spanish (*Vida de Horacio Mann* 299). The result was Sarmiento's 1867 *Vida de Horacio Mann*, a text that has been largely neglected by both Sarmientine and inter-American studies, even as Sarmiento's correspondence with Mary Mann, as well as her translation of his work on Rosas, increasingly draw scholarly attention.¹³⁴ Yet, despite this egregious omission, the text raises important

¹³⁴ Mann had learned Spanish while working as a governess in Cuba in the 1830s. On *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants*, see Patricia M. Ard, "Seeds of Reform: The Letters of Mary Peabody Mann and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento; Iván Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life: 1820-1880*; Alice Houston Luigi, "Some Letters of Sarmiento and Mary Mann: 1865-1876. Part I" and "Some Letters of Sarmiento and Mary Mann: 1865-1876. Part II;" Kathleen Ross, "Translator's Introduction." *Facundo. Civilization and Barbarism: The First Complete English Translation*; Diane Sorrensen Goodrich, *Facundo and Argentine National Culture*;

theoretical questions as to the socio-political implications of translation in the context of the nineteenth-century hemispheric conversation on race and citizenship, pointing to how the interplay between transnational conversations and local histories gives rise to the entanglement of imperialism and neocolonialism in the Americas as the century progresses.

Translation as Entanglement

In *The Translator's Invisibility*, Lawrence Venuti argues that certain translations --which he calls "foreignizing translations"--, rather than attempting to assimilate the source text to the dominate linguistic and ideological canons of the target-language culture in the name of legibility, deliberately resist easy comprehension, instead maximizing the capacity of the target language's resources to produce a medium capable of expressing the ideological and linguistic features of the source-language text. According to Venuti, the relationship between foreignizing translation and source text is not derivative as much as dialectical, as the source text introduces new ideas into the target language at the same time that translation into the target language yields a richer understanding of the source text.¹³⁵ While Mann and Sarmiento do not concern themselves with linguistic renovation, their textual entanglements do perform cultural work, as Sarmiento uses his translation of Mann to

Ilán Stavans, Introduction. *Facundo: Or, Civilization and Barbarism*; Barry Velleman, ed, *My Dear Sir: Mary Mann's Letters to Sarmiento. 1865-1881*.

¹³⁵ On this last point, see also Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator."

import the North American myth of the self-made man into the Argentine public sphere at the same time that Mann hopes to use her translation of Sarmiento's text as a catalyst for national healing in the Reconstruction-era United States.¹³⁶

Considering Sarmiento and Mann's translations in terms of imports and exports points to the political-economic realities underlying the textual entanglements that I discuss in this chapter and throughout my dissertation. As Silvia Spitta points out, "the transfer or translation" of elements from one cultural system to another "is seldom only intralingual," as "the transfer of languages, meanings, and literary traditions takes place [...] between two countries, one of which is in a relation of power and domination over the other" (15). When considered on an extraliterary scale, then, translation, foreignizing or not, becomes a textual embodiment of what Mary Louise Pratt calls the "contact zone," or "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (4).¹³⁷ Through a series of discursive displacements, Sarmiento's *Vida de Horacio Mann*, like Mann's *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants*, constructs a specifically textual contact zone, an imagined space where the developing and neocolonial Argentine Republic becomes entangled with

¹³⁶ On translation and the importation of foreign cultural and literary values, see also Itmar Even-Zohar, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem."

¹³⁷ In the same vein, theorist Emily Apter considers translation to be a war zone, or a "a broad intellectual topography that is neither the property of a single nation, nor an amorphous condition associated with postnationalism, but rather a zone of critical engagement that connects the "I" and the "n" of transLation and transNation." Though her emphasis is on "small nations or minority language communities," Apter's conceptualization of translation as a "zone," like Pratt's, is useful in understanding the sort of transnational literary engagement that I describe in this chapter, in which the entanglement of source texts and translations becomes the space for working out larger geopolitical issues. Importantly, though Apter's "trans" metaphorically "operates as a connecting port," it represents "the point of debarkation to a cultural caesura --a trans-ation-- where transmission failure is marked" (Apter 5), meaning that the translation zone is a point of both connection and disconnect.

the Reconstruction-era rising North American empire, each one entering the other's national imaginary as they negotiate their respective places on the geopolitical map of late nineteenth-century inter-America. —once again, through an entangled discussion on New World racial history.¹³⁸

Vida de Horacio Mann: Translation, Transculturation and Education for Democracy

That said, the extent to which Sarmiento's *Vida de Horacio Mann* "counts" as a translation of Mann's *Life of Horace Mann* is questionable, as the source text is 602 pages while the "translation," published in Sarmiento's *Las escuelas*, is a mere 57 and includes information not contained in the English-language version. Sarmiento makes no effort to disguise his intervention into Mann's text, allowing his intercalations to stand free while placing the parts of his work that he has translated and transposed from the English-language version in quotes, though he does not use ellipses nor any other marker to signal the lengthy excisions from the translated passages that appear between the quotation marks. This strategy in some ways parallels the one employed by Mary Mann in the source text, in which she occasionally infuses her own narration

¹³⁸ *Facundo*'s first paragraph announces the text's intention to --like the other works I discuss in this dissertation-- look into the past in order to imagine a national future from the vantage of the present: "¡Sombra terrible de Facundo, voy a evocarte, para que, sacudiendo el ensangrentado polvo que cubre tus cenizas, te levantes a explicarnos la vida secreta y las convulsiones internas que desgarran las entrañas de un noble pueblo! [...] Facundo no ha muerto; está vivo en las tradiciones populares, en la política y las revoluciones argentinas; en Rosas, su heredero, su complemento [...] Un día vendrá, al fin, que [...] la Esfinge Argentina morirá [...] dando a la Tebas del Plata, el rango elevado que le toca entre las naciones del mundo" ["Terrible shade of Facundo, I am going to evoke you so that, shaking off the bloody dust that covers your ashes, you rise to explain to us the secret life and internal convulsions that tear apart the innards of a noble people! [...] Facundo has not died; he is alive in Argentine popular traditions, politics, and revolutions; in Rosas, his heir, his complement [...] A day will come, finally, when [...] the Argentine Sphinx will die [...] granting the Thebes of the Río de la Plata the elevated rank among the nations of the world that it deserves"] (7-9).

into what is otherwise a string of Horace's journal entries and private correspondence that she has compiled and published.¹³⁹

Yet, if his system of quote-bounded translations and free-standing commentary reflects the visual and bibliographic effects of Mann's annotated compilation, it also, like a mirror, represents an inversion of that strategy. The title page of her book reads *Life of Horace Mann*, "by his wife" --even though Horace's words represent a greater percentage of the volume than do Mary's. In *Vida de Horacio Mann*, on the other hand, the "translator's" original words --not Mann's text rendered into Spanish-- actually occupy most of the pages. Such is the extent of Sarmiento's changes to the source text that at one point he nonchalantly points out that Mary has published "algunos fragmentos" ["some excerpts"] of Horace's diary without noting that they appear in the very work that he is supposedly translating (88).

Importantly, though the Argentine *letrado* does not refer specifically to his work as a translation, the *Vida de Horacio Mann* does appear a few pages after a letter from Sarmiento to Mary Mann in which he writes that he has "el pensamiento de acometer la traducción" ["the thought of undertaking the translation"] of the *Life*

¹³⁹ If this technique makes sense for a biographer, as biography presupposes two subjectivities --that of the author and that of the biographical subject--, it does not for a translator, whose task, according to Venuti, traditionally consists of serving as an "invisible" medium for transmitting the words written by the author of the source-text --and not as a speaker in his or her own right. Thus, "a translator does not quote, for a quotation supposes a relation of non-identity between the quoted text and the quoting context, and this is the distinction that a translator strives to erase. In the optimal translation, the new text would be indistinguishable from the original, the translator becoming no more than an invisible conduit for the author's words" (Pérez Firmat 42). Thus, in including the quotation marks, Sarmiento, however subtly, rejects his invisibility as a translator. As I will show, he instead seeks to make a political intervention through the unconventional entanglement of the *Vida de Horacio Mann* and the North American text of which it is supposedly a translation.

of *Horace Mann* “al español” [“into Spanish”], “adaptándolo á las ideas y las necesidades de la América del Sud” [“adapting it to the ideas and needs of South America”]. On the one hand, the statement suggests that despite the liberties he takes with the source text, Sarmiento intended the *Vida* to be read as a translation of the English-language work. On the other, in asserting that the act of translation will involve an adaptation of the North American text to the local exigencies of South America, Sarmiento acknowledges that the *Vida de Horacio Mann* is what Gustavo Pérez Firmat would call a “poor correspondent” of the *Life of Horace Mann*. The Argentine writer passes off as a “translation” –or, a simple transference of syntagms across linguistic borders—a project that, in fact, represents a critical rewriting of the source material. This paradoxical nature of the text --at the same time a translation and not a translation-- provides a framework for not only reading the *Vida*, but for understanding the broader socio-political projects undertaken by Sarmiento in his *Escuelas* and *Mann* in her *Life in the Argentine Republic*.

Building on Adriana Rodríguez Pérsico’s claims in *Un huracán llamado progreso* [A Storm Called Progress] that Sarmiento’s ability, as reflected in his cosmopolitan reading practices, to interpret and synthesize a wide range of foreign sources constitutes the locus of his subjectivity (50-51), I argue that Sarmiento, in his translational practice, adopts a contestatory stance towards Argentina’s colonial legacy by situating himself within the peripheral zone of North-South entanglements in order to productively critique both Argentine and metropolitan cultures in a bilingual variation on the postcolonial counterdiscursive writing practices that Pérez

Firmat dubs “critical criollism” (9). The Argentine author and statesman’s “nordomanía” (to use *modernista* José Enrique Rodó’s disparaging term for the excessive imitation of Northern Hemispheric culture) does not involve “docile emulation of foreign usage,” but, rather, “a self-conscious, selective, and sometimes even willful manipulation” (Pérez Firmat 9) through a “dialectic of originality and derivativeness” (20).¹⁴⁰ In his translational practice, Sarmiento seeks to modernize his country’s cultural, political, and economic spheres by importing elements of North American national life into the Argentine cultural polysystem. Yet, even as he turns towards the United States in order to cancel out the legacy that Spain, “esa rezagada a la Europa” [“she that lags behind Europe”], bequeathed her colonies, Sarmiento, as I will show later on, remains fully aware of the cultural-imperial dangers of uncritical adoption of the North American model (10). Through his dialogue with Mann, Sarmiento attempts to recombine native and foreign elements in order to build and strengthen the Argentine nation-state so that the country may function as a protagonist –and not a pawn—of international affairs.

This sort of critical cosmopolitanism was typical of Sarmiento and of the anti-Rosas liberal reformers of the Argentine Generación de 1837, whose openness towards Europe did not represent a wholesale replacement of autochthonous culture but, rather, a productive dialogue between domestic and foreign elements. Speaking of the group’s frequent employment of Gallicisms in Spanish, Altamirano and Sarlo

¹⁴⁰ Drawing on Fernando Ortiz’s transcultural dialectics, “critical criollism” should not be confused with *créolité*, the diasporan process of becoming that Édouard Glissant discusses in *le Discours antillais*. While Pérez Firmat’s case study is intralingual “translation” of Peninsular texts into the Cuban vernacular during the early republican period, his observations are useful for describing Sarmiento’s relationship to metropolitan culture, as I will show.

write that “the Generation of 1837 claimed [...], for the first time in the history of Argentine culture, the right to contaminate Spanish in order to make it Argentine through the use of other European languages,” turning abroad in order to forge a national subjectivity (161). Allied with the oppositional Unitario Party, the members of the Generación de 1837, in their “contamination,” or foreignizing linguistic practice, represent an affront not only to “xenophobic” Rosas and Federalista politicians, but to the nativist discourse of *casticismo*, or cultural and linguistic purity, that, at the time, was in vogue in Spain, the former colonial metropole which the members of the Generation regarded as culturally retrograde (161). More than anything else, the Generation’s move towards Europe represents a critical criollist move away from Spain, much as the Dominican Galván moved towards Spain in order to move away from Haiti and the United States.¹⁴¹

The anecdote famously included in Sarmiento’s “Advertencia del autor” [“Author’s Note”] in the first edition of *Facundo*, in which the writer, fleeing to Chile in order to escape Rosas’s *mazorca* henchmen, writes the French quote “on ne tue point les idées” [“one does not kill ideas”] on the wall of a cave, much to the consternation of his monolingual pursuers, is often cited as an example of this instrumental and expropriatory relationship with foreign cultures. Sarmiento incorrectly attributes the quote to Fortoul, though it seems to be his own invention, or perhaps an adaptation or misrecollection of Diderot’s “on ne tue pas de coups de fusils aux idées” [“one does not kill ideas with gunshots”], which the Argentine

¹⁴¹ On Galván, see Chapter III of this dissertation.

letrado may have read in the *Revue Encyclopédique* (Jitrik 4). Some, such as Miriam Garate, have pointed to this “quotation,” which provides an unstable point of origin for Sarmiento’s slippery foundational text, as an example of the author’s “borrowed culture,” or of the “cultural vassalage” of which Venezuelan thinker Arturo Uslar Pietri accused nineteenth-century Latin American letrados.¹⁴² However, such a reading is ungenerous. Far from reducing himself to cultural vassalage, Sarmiento “adopts” the seemingly misplaced quote to the Argentine context -- a foreshock to what he would later do with the figure of Horace/ío Mann, as I will explain below. Though a fluent reader of French, on the title page of the 1845 edition of *Facundo*, Sarmiento deliberately mistranslates the quote as “a los ombres [sic] se deguella [sic]: a las ideas no” [“men are beheaded, not ideas]. Not only does this “translation,” in its departures from the source text, display an irreverent attitude towards the French Enlightenment, it subverts the rules of Academy Spanish by misspelling “hombres” and “degüella.” In this way, Sarmiento criollizes the quote, recombining Northern Hemispheric culture with the material circumstances of peripheral Argentina (a hasty exile from a regime that really does behead its opponents, leaving little time to corroborate sources or consider “fidelity” in translation, much less worry about silent letters and diacritic markings) for the purpose of fortifying the Argentine national project.¹⁴³ Like the other historical writers discussed in this dissertation, Sarmiento is interested in employing critical conversation with foreign thinkers to find

¹⁴² A classic critique of Sarmiento’s cultural and political cosmopolitanism is Ezequiel Martínez Estrada’s *Radiografía de la pampa* (1933).

¹⁴³ For more on the quote, see Concha 148; Piglia 131-132; Goodrich 85; and Stavans xi.

autochthonous solutions to the specific challenges his country faces in implementing republican ideas.

This critical criollist desire to “adapt” Northern Hemispheric ideas to “the needs of South America” through transnational dialogue is evident in the title of Sarmiento’s translation, *Vida de Horacio Mann*, which Hispanizes the subject’s first name, thereby engendering an Argentine Horace/io Mann¹⁴⁴ to renovate the South American cultural polysystem. Additionally, the change from “life” to “vida,” though an obvious and literal glossing, causes the title of Sarmiento’s work to resonate with the Roman Catholic hagiographic tradition of the *vita*, or saint’s life. In this way, the Spanish-language text engages with a tradition far removed from the reconsideration of the New England Calvinist heritage with which much of the English-language version is concerned.¹⁴⁵ This conversion of Horace Mann into a Catholic saint could not have been entirely accidental; in his initial letter to Mary on July 8, 1865, Sarmiento tells her that “the name of Mr. Mann was for me, during all of my work and struggles for education, what the works of St. Augustine were for the

¹⁴⁴ That the Hispanization of historical figures’ first names was a widespread practice in the nineteenth century --“Jorge Washington” is one of the more common examples-- more than lessen the significance of Sarmiento’s change of title, suggests the deep relation between translation and transculturation during the period. As I explained in Chapter III of this dissertation, a parallel example exists in Haiti, when Nau translates the cacique Enrique’s Spanish name to the French “Henri.”

¹⁴⁵ Curiously, these passages are omitted from the Sarmientine translation, ostensibly because, as Sarmiento writes in a September 12, 1866 letter to Mary Mann, “that Calvinist preacher is an exact copy of our Catholic preachers and I didn’t want to create controversy” (Ard 227). Sarmiento’s letters to Mann from before his assumption of the presidency have been collected by Ard and appended to *Seeds of Reform*. The letters that were originally written in Spanish, such as the one I refer to here, have been translated by Ard. A Spanish-language edition of Sarmiento’s letters to Mann --organized thematically rather than chronologically-- also exists. (*Cartas de Sarmiento a la señora Mary Mann*. Buenos Aires: Academia Argentina de las Letras, 1936.)

missionaries of the church,” in this way criollizing Horace Mann into kind of secular saint (Ard 61).

Sarmiento clearly has a clear understanding of the generic tensions between religious hagiography and secular biography. In *Recuerdos de provincia* (1850), he claims to have commissioned a Spanish translation of Mignet’s scholastic biography of Franklin because he knows “por experiencia propia cuánto bien hace a los niños esta lectura” [“from my own experience how much good this reading does children”] (243). He then proceeds to decry the absence of the biographic genre in early nineteenth-century Hispanic letters:

¡Santas aspiraciones del alma juvenil a lo bello i perfecto! ¿Dónde está entre nuestros libros el tipo, el modelo práctico, hacedero, posible, que puede guiarlas y trazarlas un camino? Los predicadores nos proponen los santos del cielo para que imitemos sus virtudes ascéticas i sus maceraciones; pero por mas bien intencionado que el niño sea, renuncia desde temprano a la pretencion de hacer milagros, por la razon sencilla de que los que lo aconsejan, se abstienen ellos mismos de hacerlos (243).

Holy aspirations of the young soul to that which is perfect and beautiful! Where, among our books, is the practical model, the possible, can-do type who can guide these souls and carve out a path for them? The preachers give us heavenly saints so that we can imitate their ascetic virtues and mortifications but, well-intentioned though the child may be, he renounces from a young age any effort to work miracles, for the simple reason that those who counsel him themselves abstain from working them.”

Rather than the fantastic lives of saints, Sarmiento feels that the young would profit more from reading about self-made men such as Benjamin Franklin:

El jóven que sin otro apoyo que su razon, pobre i destituido, trabaja con sus manos para vivir, estudia bajo su propia dirección, se dá cuenta de sus acciones para ser mas perfecto, ilustra su nombre, sirve a su patria, ayudándola a desligarse de sus opresores, i un dia presenta a la humanidad entera un instrumento sencillo para someter los rayos del cielo, i puede vanagloriarse de redimir millones de vidas con el preservativo con que dotó a los hombres, este hombre debe estar en los altares de la humanidad, ser mejor que Santa Bárbara, aboga contra rayos, i llamarse Santo del Pueblo.

The youth who --poor, destitute, and without any support but his own sense-- works with his hands to make a living and studies on his own, realizes that his actions could be more perfect, lends luster to his name, serves his country, helping it to break free of its oppressors, and one day presents all of humanity with a simple instrument to tame the lightning bolts from heaven, can boast of redeeming millions of lives with the preservative he bequeathed men, this man should stand at the altars of humanity, be better than Saint Barbara, plead against the lightning, and call himself the People's Saint (*ibid.* 243-244).

In this critical criollist notion of the “Santo del Pueblo,” Sarmiento replaces St. Barbara, patroness of storms, with Benjamin Franklin, inventor of the lightning rod. *Vida de Horacio Mann* adopts the hagiographic form in order to empty the genre of its religious content and replace it with modernizing reform in accordance with Sarmiento's socio-political program for Argentina. Thus, rather than reinscribe the official Catholic traditionalism of the Rosas regime through the *vita*, Sarmiento turns the genre against itself, replacing education for religious piety with education for the republican polity. In this way, Sarmiento entangles the autochthonous technology of the hagiography with that of the secular biography in order to construct a space for the modern myth of the self-made man in Argentine public life and, in this way, import the particular form of bourgeois modernity that that myth represents into the Argentine cultural sphere.¹⁴⁶

Thus, Sarmiento in the 1840s and 50s differs from the North American writer James Fenimore Cooper and the Argentine Eduarda Mansilla de García, both of whom, as I discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation, held ambivalent attitudes

¹⁴⁶ Thus, if Sarmiento's writings on the lives of Quiroga, Aldao, and el Chaco are, as Rodríguez Pérsico argues, “biografías de la barbarie” that serve to turn the semantic tables on the hegemonic Federalistas by scripting them as without the national project, his *Vida de Horacio Mann* represents an effort to bring civilizing elements into that same project (98-117). One the myth of the self-made man in republican discourse, see Chapter II of this dissertation. For a discussion of the biographical genre and Sarmiento see Sylvia Molloy. “The Unique Self: Mnemonic Strategies in Sarmiento's Autobiographies.”

concerning the rise of capitalist democracy and the myth of the self-made man that justified it. Unlike those authors, Sarmiento is not closed to the idea of incorporating Afro-descendants into the national project, indulging neither in Cooper's genocidal wish-fulfillment fantasies nor Mansilla's patrician search for lost time. Rather, as I now will show, he would turn to education in an effort to prepare the heterogeneous republican body for the duties of citizenship.

Civilization, Barbarism, and Blackness

Despite received wisdom concerning Sarmiento's Europeanizing zeal, while the Argentine letrado's 1883 *Conflicto y armonías de razas en América* [Conflict and Harmony of Races in America] can be considered a racist screed, his earlier thinking from before the rise of racial science is somewhat less categorical.¹⁴⁷ It is true that, in *Facundo*, Sarmiento conceives of blackness in terms of barbarism, but his desire was not to exclude Afro-descendants from participation in public life (as he would later attempt). Rather, --however problematically—he wished to incorporate the group through public education.

The question of how to incorporate the masses into the body politic would become urgent in Argentina following the 1821 electoral reform, which extended suffrage to the countryside, thereby shifting the balance of power away from the Buenos Aires bourgeoisie and towards rural landholders and the popular classes

¹⁴⁷ On the rise of racial science in Latin America, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenetics*.

(Ternavasio 243-245). Sarmiento, for his part, condemns Rivadavia's liberal government for attempting "lo que la aristocracia inglesa no quiere, lo que la Europa despotizada echa de menos" (*Facundo* 110) without considering the "razas," "tendencias," "hábitos nacionales" and "antecedentes históricos" that formed the local conditions at the time (111).

Among these local conditions was the racial adscription of many of the members of those newly enfranchised masses. Seth Meisel notes that slaves were often emancipated in return for service in the *independentista* army and that "in the most optimistic visions, the new-style army itself became a vehicle for transforming the colonial society of estates into a new democratic community composed of men who in their military and civic actions might make possible a government based upon the 'general will'" (275). Afro-Argentine leaders would later use this participation in the Independence movement to justify their inclusion in Argentine society (Windus 8-9). Moreover, "early republican governments began to erode caste privileges in an attempt to win the favor of their Afro-Argentine recruits. During the early 1810s many militia and veteran regimes were, for the first time, integrated. Black officers won the right to be addressed by the honorific 'don' and in several cases could even be found commanding white troops" (292). Once again, Federales --such as Artigas, who implemented radical racial reform in the area that is today Uruguay (Katra 25), much to Sarmiento's consternation (*Facundo* 68)-- proved themselves more receptive to these social changes than did their Unitario opponents, who, as members of the

elitist Buenos Aires bourgeoisie, resented the caudillos' alliance with nonwhites (Katra 31).

This historical context leads Sarmiento to associate what he deems the “barbarism” of the rural gauchos with blacks, as can be seen in his comments in *Facundo* on Rosas's custom of having his political enemies beheaded:

El ejecutar con cuchillo, *degollando* y no fusilando, es un instinto de carnicero que Rosas ha sabido aprovechar para dar, todavía, a la muerte, formas gauchas y al asesino, placeres horribles; sobre todo, para cambiar las formas *legales* y admitidas en las sociedades cultas, por otras que él llama americanas y en nombre de las cuales invita a la América para que salga a su defensa, cuando los sufrimientos del Brasil, del Paraguay, del Uruguay invocan la alianza de los poderes europeos, a fin de que les ayuden a liberarse de este caníbal que ya los invade con sus hordas sanguinarias. ¡No es posible mantener la tranquilidad de espíritu necesaria para investigar la verdad histórica, cuando se tropieza, a cada paso, con la idea de que ha podido engañarse a la América y a la Europa, tanto tiempo, con un sistema de asesinatos y crueldades, tolerables tan sólo en Ashanty y Dahomai, en el interior de Africa! (67-68).

Execution with a knife, *beheading* and not shooting, is a butcher's instinct of which Rosas has taken advantage in order to give even death gaucho forms and, to murder, horrible pleasures – above all, to exchange the *legal* and admissible forms of educated societies for others that he calls American [i.e., from the Americas] and to whose defense he invites América to leap when the suffering of Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay invoke the alliances of European powers to help them liberate themselves from the cannibal that invades them with his bloody hordes. It is not possible to maintain the tranquility of spirit necessary to investigate the historical truth, when, at each step, one trips over the idea that América and Europe have been able to be deceived for so long by a system of murders and cruelties tolerable only in Ashanti and Dahomey, in the interior of Africa!

The identification of the Argentine gaucho with Africa in this fragment is particularly important when one considers that Afro-descendants, though the objects of intense social and economic discrimination (Andrews, *Afro-Argentines*), constituted one of the major bases of support for the dictatorship of Rosas, who “promoted free blacks and former slaves to positions of command in the army, and posed as the benevolent

protector of the black population” (Andrews, *Afro-Latin America* 66).¹⁴⁸ Sarmiento claims that “los negros, ganados así para el Gobierno, ponían en manos de Rosas, un celoso espionaje en el seno de cada familia, por los sirvientes y esclavos, proporcionándole, además, excelentes e incorruptibles soldados de otro idioma y de una raza salvaje.” Thus, “la adhesión de los negros dio al poder de Rosas, una base indestructible” (218).

Yet, though his opinions were far from what today would be considered progressive, Sarmiento did not see blackness as a disqualification from participation in public life, as the anonymous author of *Jicoténcal*, the authors of the Cádiz Constitution,¹⁴⁹ and Cooper¹⁵⁰ did and as Galván¹⁵¹ perhaps wished were possible. Rather, he believed that, with proper instruction, Afro-descendants could be habilitated for the state. Near the beginning of *Facundo*, he describes blacks as the “eslabón que liga al hombre civilizado con el palurdo: raza inclinada a la civilización, dotada de talentos y de los más bellos instintos de progreso” [“link that connects the civilized man to the bumpkin, a race inclined towards civilization and endowed with talents and the most beautiful instincts of progress”] (28). If Sarmiento draws the line at considering Afro-descendants civilized, he does not consider them to be inassimilable to the national project, but rather, “inclined towards civilization.” This attitude can be seen in the episode of el negro Barcala included in *Vida del General Frai Felix Adao*, which replaced the third section of *Facundo* in the book’s second

¹⁴⁸ For other literary treatments of this topic, see Esteban Echevarría’s “Matadero” (1838/1871) and José Mármol’s *Amalia* (1851).

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter I of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter II of this dissertation.

¹⁵¹ See Chapter III of this dissertation.

edition.¹⁵² Unlike the black servants that Sarmiento imagines spying for Rosas,

Barcala fights for the cause of civilization:

Un obstáculo, empero, se oponía a [la ambición de Quiroga]. Un vecino de Mendoza había criado un negrito criollo esclavo, que desde temprano había manifestado el talento i despejo que no es raro ver en los descendientes de raza africana; leía i escribía, i criado al lado de los amos, en contacto con ellos i oyéndoles sus conversaciones, había completado una educación suficiente para que el jénio de que la naturaleza le había dotado se revelase en la primera oportunidad. Principió por ser asistente de su amo, i siguiendo una escala de ascensos vino a ser al fin comandante de un batallón de cívicos; lo que le ponía en contacto con las notabilidades políticas de la época. El negro Barcala es una de las figuras mas distinguidas de la revolución argentina, i una de las reputaciones mas intachables que han cruzado esta época tan borrascosa, en que tan pocos son los que no quisieron arrancar una pajina del libro de sus acciones. Elevado por su mérito, nunca olvidó su color i oríjen: era un hombre eminentemente civilizado en sus maneras, gustos e ideas, i en Haití hubiera podido figurar al lado de Petion y sus hombres mas notables. Pero lo que ha hecho de Barcala un personaje histórico, es su raro talento para la organización de cuerpos, i la habilidad con la que hacía descender a las masas las ideas civilizadoras. Los pardos y los hombres de la plebe transformaban en sus manos: la moral mas pura, el vestir y los hábitos de los hombres decentes, el amor a la libertad i a las luces, distinguían a los oficiales y soldados de su escuela. En Mendoza ha costado muchos años i diezmar a los patricios, para borrar las profundas huellas que Barcala dejó en los ánimos, i en Córdoba la revolución de 1840 contra Rosas reunió un batallón de infantería numeroso i decidido hasta el martirio, a merced de un farol de retreta que tenía escrita esta palabra: ¡*Barcala!* (9-10).¹⁵³

One obstacle, however, stood in the way of [Quiroga's ambition]. An inhabitant of Mendoza had raised a black creole slave who, from an early age, had shown a talent and clarity of thinking that is not uncommon to the descendants of the African race; he read and wrote and, raised next to his masters, in contact with them, and listening to their conversations, had received an education sufficient for the genius with which nature had endowed him to reveal itself at the first opportunity. He began as his master's assistant and, rising up the chain of command, eventually became the commander of a civil battalion, which put him into contact with the political notables of the day. Black Barcala is one of the most distinguished figures of the Argentine Revolution, and has one of the most impeccable reputations to have passed through this stormy period, in which so few have not wished to tear out the page from the book of their actions. Elevated for his merit, he never forgot his color and origins; he was an eminently civilized man as far as his manners, tastes and ideas were concerned, and in Haiti he might have counted among Pétion and his most notable men. What made Barcala a historical figure is his rare talent for organizing corps and his ability to bring civilized ideas down to the masses. The mulattoes and the common men were transformed in his hands; the officers and soldiers of his school were distinguished by the purest morals, the dress and habits of descent men, the love of liberty and enlightenment. In Mendoza the patricians took many years to erase the deep mark that Barcala left on the souls there, and in Cordoba the Revolution of 1840 against Rosas assembled a large infantry battalion, willing to fight to the death, thanks to a retreat lantern with the word *Barcala!* written on it" (9-10).

¹⁵² For more information about the differences between the editions, see below.

¹⁵³ "Batallón" is spelled two different ways in the edition that I consulted.

Educated, meritorious, and allied with the forces of civilization in the fight against Quiroga's barbarism, the heroic Barcala appears in a better light than Sarmiento's gauchos and, through his participation in the war for independence and the civil wars between Federales and Unitarios that followed, seems a model for the civilized nation that Sarmiento wishes to construct. Unlike other Unitarios, such as Esteban Echeverría and José Mármol, who feared that the space for black political participation provided by the military might become too broad, Sarmiento feels that Barcala had a positive impact on the morality, decency, and civic virtue of his mixed-race and lower-class troops (which, again, is very different from the ideas he would later espouse in *Conflicto y armonías*). In fact, here Sarmiento presents the ultimate example of Afro-New World political agency by comparing Barcala to Haitian president Alexandre Pétion, registering one of the few positive comments about Haiti in nineteenth-century Spanish American nationalist discourse.¹⁵⁴

Yet, Sarmiento's comments should not be taken as a statement of racial egalitarianism. Elizabeth Garrels suggests that, though he refers to Barcala as a "negro" in this passage, Sarmiento considered the historical figure to be of mixed race (106). In this way, the anecdote fits into the Argentine statesman's well-known belief that his country can only be improved through a whitening of the population as, according to Garrels, Sarmiento sees the mulatto Barcala as redeemed and uplifted by his white ancestry. For Sarmiento, mulattoes like Barcala were examples of the self-

¹⁵⁴ For more on Haiti, see Chapter III of this dissertation.

made men without money or family background who, by assiduous study, managed to prosper and become leaders of their societies, “el tipo Benjamin Franklin proyectado al discurso de la raza” [“a sort of Benjamin Franklin projected onto the discourse of race”] (Garrels 107-8).¹⁵⁵ The passage quoted above clearly demonstrates the importance of whiteness and education –“civilization” in the statesman’s terminology-- for Barcala’s moral and intellectual development. If he showed talent from an early age, that talent was only able to develop itself because he grew up hearing the refined conversations of his cultured masters. Even as it undercuts the agency of Afro-New World peoples, the “redemption” of Barcala in the hands of his masters highlights the importance of education to Sarmiento’s nation-building project.

Entangled Education

Earlier I said that Sarmiento attempts to renovate the Argentine polysystem through the translation of Northern Hemispheric texts. A consideration of which texts he chooses to translate or have translated reveals the centrality of education to the Sarmientine nation-building project. In addition to penning the *Vida de Horacio Mann*, Sarmiento founded the journal *Ambas Américas* [Both Américas] which translated North American articles on education into Spanish. Meanwhile, the Mignet scholastic biography of Franklin that Sarmiento had translated, as well as the *Vida de*

¹⁵⁵ For more on the figure of the *mulato* in Spanish American literature and race thinking, see Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal, *Para una semiótica de la mulatez*.

Lincoln [Life of Lincoln] that he commissioned, worked to import the myth of the self-made man into the Argentine cultural polysystem. Sarmiento's translations intervene in Argentine public life by looking abroad for models of how the nation can emerge out of barbarism and into civilization by following the path of education -- models that the statesman feels are lacking in his native country of priests and gauchos.

For Sarmiento, public education is the way to produce ideal citizens for the nation-state. He feels that the democratic revolutions of the nineteenth century have caused political theory to advance more rapidly than human science, granting rights to the people before the people are necessarily prepared to exercise them. In *De la educación popular* (1849), he writes that, if, before the revolutions of 1848 in Europe, “podria decirse que existen entre los pueblos civilizados dos derechos civiles distintos: uno que se referia a la propiedad, otra a la persona; aquella como garante de la inteligencia de la otra” [“one could say that there existed among the civilized peoples two different civil laws: one that referred to property, the other to the person, with the one serving as the guarantor of the intelligence of the other”], now all men have the right to be “*reputados* suficientemente inteligentes para la gestión de los negocios públicos por el ejercicio del derecho electoral, cometido a todos los varones adultos de una sociedad, sin distincion de clase, condicion, ni educacion” [“*reputed* to be intelligent enough to manage public affairs by exercising their right to vote, granted to all adult males in a society, regardless of class, condition, or education”]. Thus, the adoption of political equality as “the base of social organization” brings

with it “la obligacion de todo gobierno a proveer de educacion a las jeneraciones venideras, ya que no puede compeler a todos los individuos de la presente a recibir la preparacion intelectual que supone el ejercicio de los derechos que le estan atribuidos” [“the obligation of every government to provide an education to the up-and-coming generations, as it cannot compel all individuals of the present one to receive the intellectual preparation presupposed by the rights that have been attributed to them”] (18-20). In *Educación popular*, then, Sarmiento seems to offer a response to the “barbarism” detailed in *Facundo*, a situation that he sees as caudillos taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses in order to further the interests of the regional elite. Writing at a moment marked by hegemonic anti-intellectualism and difficult access to education for the popular classes, particularly Afro-Argentines (Andrews, *Afro-Argentines* 59-60), he warns that, “no educando a las jeneraciones nuevas, todos los defectos de que nuestra organizacion actual adolece continuarán existiendo” [“by not educating the newer generations, all of the defects suffered by our current system will continue to exist”] (26).¹⁵⁶ The children of Argentina must be educated for participation in public life.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ On class in Sarmiento’s Unitario thought, see Tulio Halerpín Doghni, “Sarmiento’s Place in Post-Revolutionary Argentina.”

¹⁵⁷ Sarmiento is hardly the only nineteenth-century Spanish American intellectual to concern himself with the education of the body politic for the responsibilities of republican citizenship. Leopoldo Zea proposes that, in Latin America, the gap between “civilization” and the political and social realities of the region’s Hispano-feudal heritage gave rise to disciplinary efforts on the part of the creole elite to correct the supposedly atavistic lifeways of the popular classes, as Francine Masiello’s study of gender discipline in Argentina and Juan Poblete’s work on the socio-economic and religious boundaries of the nation in nineteenth-century Chile demonstrate (*Pensamiento positivista latinoamericano* (2 vols.); *Between Civilization and Barbarism: Women, Nation, and Literary Culture in Modern Argentina*; *Literatura chilena del siglo XIX: Entre públicos lectores y figuras autoriales*). Poblete writes that “este largo proceso de reorganización societal” [“this long process of societal reorganization”] --often referred to as modernization or secularization--, can be conceived of as “*formación de públicos*

Sarmiento borrows many of his ideas from Horace Mann, whose 1857 *Report on an Educational Tour in Germany, France, Holland, and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland* he had read in London (Correas 5; Giarrizo 1) and to whose “capacidad, voluntad e influencia suficiente para obrar tamaño bien, ilustrando la opinion pública i del gobierno, concentrando e impulsando la accion de los animosos amigos del progreso, señalando los obstáculos i guiando por el buen sendero que sus largos estudios, sus viajes y su diaria consagración le indican” [“sufficient ability, will, and influence to work such a good, enlightening the public opinion and that of the government, concentrating and pushing the action of the enthusiastic friends of progress, pointing out the obstacles and guiding them down the righteous path that his long years of study, his travels and his daily devotions revealed to him”], he attributes the success of the Massachusetts Board of Education (*Las escuelas* 39-40). Like Sarmiento, Mann believes that public education is fundamental to a nation’s stability. In a June 11, 1837 journal entry published by Mary in her *Life of Horace Mann*, Horace writes that, in a democracy:

There will be a public opinion of almost uncontrollable power. The educated, the wealthy, the intelligent, may have a powerful and decisive voice in its formation; or they may live in their own selfish enjoyments, and suffer the ignorant, the vicious, the depraved, to form that public opinion. If they do the latter, they must expect that the course of events will be directed by the licentious impulse, and that history will take its character from the predominant motives of action; and that they will, at distant places and at distant times, be doomed to bear the ignominy they are now disposed to ascribe wholly to others (75).

nacionales y de formación de lo público nacional” [formation of national publics and formation of the national public sphere”]. “Como proceso social implicó, entre otras cosas, discursos y prácticas cruciales en la formación de las subjetividades de esos ciudadanos y fieles”] “As a social process it implied, among other things, discourses and practices that were crucial in the formation of these citizens and faithful”] --frequently, through the circulation of print matter such as the works discussed here (12).

Like Sarmiento, Mann sees education as a remedy to “barbarism,” as a way to produce “noble citizens” from somewhat unrefined human raw materials. And, much as his Argentine counterpart dreamed of expanding the sphere of civilization beyond the Unitario circles of Buenos Aires and Montevideo --where many Argentine liberals lived in exile-- and into the pampas, the Horace Mann of Mary’s biography gave up a senate seat in order to become president of Antioch College, carrying the fire of civilization westward. As Mary tells the reader, “all was uncertain as to the future, except that an untried enterprise was before him, insuring great labors; but he was animated by a strong hope that he should be able to put into action many long-cherished and favorite views. It was surely a virgin soil that his educational ploughshare was to break, and his enthusiasm figured a fair prospect of success” (402). “In the aspiring youth of our Great West[,] [Horace Mann] saw with prophetic eye a glorious promise, whose fulfillment bid fair to release society from the bondage of error. The grand sweep of the horizon enlarged his own sense of power; and he unconsciously transplanted his own expanded thought into the breast of every one he saw intent upon the search after knowledge” (418). A pioneer of civilization, Horace Mann sought to sow the culturally barren terrain of the West with the intellectual seeds of civilization.

For the Manns, as for Sarmiento, this civilizational thinking is not necessarily racial in nature. Despite Horace’s somewhat uncomfortable claim that phrenology is “the regeneration of the race” (461), Mary insists on his “principle and resolution in

regard to refusing admittance [to Antioch] to no one on account of their color” (442).

In another part of her narration, she writes that:

After the establishment of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, Mr. Mann was the constant recipient of letters from philanthropic and enlightened individuals of the South, inquiring of him what could be done to extend the blessings of common-school education to that benighted region, where a few aristocrats monopolized all the advantages wealth and culture could give, leaving wide-spread regions, inhabited by their own Anglo-Saxon race, a prey to the night and misery of ignorance; but neither he nor they, when they reasoned upon it, could see any light to their path in that latitude. But the day-spring has come; and, by one of those astounding retorts of Nature before which the machinations of man sometimes stand aghast, an oppressed and down-trodden race, whose aspirations for knowledge have hitherto been suppressed by legal enactments, bids fair to rise in its might, and be the superiors and instructors of the enslaved white men of the South --no less enslaved, because indirectly so, than themselves. Before they have well shaken off the givens that bound them, the negroes rush to the fountains of knowledge to slake that undying thirst which the Creator has planted in every soul, and which they appreciate as yet only because it has been forcibly withheld from them (143).

Thus, while the Manns fail to take African chattel slavery seriously, equating it with the ignorance of lower-class white Southerners, they also envision the freedmen to be the salvation of the poor whites, feeling that educated North American freedmen have the potential to lead the masses to civilization.

However, the Manns differ from Sarmiento on the question of black suffrage. In a January 29, 1866 letter to Mary Mann, the Argentine minister comments that, “for amusement I am drafting a speech which might be given before the convention of school superintendents. It is about the admissibility of colored people to citizenship, with the requirement, for both white and black, of knowing how to write. This is a means of proving that they possess, at least through reading, the means of uniting their existence, ideas and judgments with the rest of humanity.” Echoing ideas expressed in *Educación popular*, he argues that such knowledge “is the basis of

human liberty,” which is “an intangible, a feeling, but to insure it one must have knowledge of all the institutions that the experience of centuries has created” (Ard 144). Sarmiento, then, does not believe in the immediate incorporation of Afro-descendants into civic life. Rather, as this letter and his comments on Barcala make clear, he calls for an educational program that would prepare the group, along with the rest of the rural masses, for the duties of citizenship. Sarmiento’s argument here is not about inherent ineligibility for citizenship, as the proponents of natural aristocracy that I have discussed in other chapters formulate the issue, but about the need he perceives to prepare the masses for responsible suffrage.

While Mann voices disagreement with these views in her February 20, 1866 response, arguing that Southern prejudice would lead to the unfair application of any literacy requirement and that “the blacks are really better & more intelligent than the poor whites of the South, & better capable to vote” (Velleman 77), she shares Sarmiento’s concern for the education of the freedmen. In an October 15, 1865 letter to Sarmiento, she comments favorably on the practice of sending upper-class New England women to the South to teach them (Velleman 55-56). Thus, much as her husband in *Life of Horace Mann* leaves the Eastern Seaboard for Ohio as the president of the newly founded Antioch College in order to break “virgin soil” with his “educational plough-share” (402), Mary Mann, too, seeks to diffuse the New England Protestant ethic throughout the Hemisphere.

Yet, while Horace confined his civilizing mission to the continental United States, Mary soon began collaborating with Sarmiento to send those same New

England schoolteachers even further South --to Argentina. As in *Juanita* (1887), a posthumous novel in which Mann conflates the U.S. South with Cuba in order to express anti-slavery sentiments, here, too, she collapses the two Souths into each other in her efforts to further the cause of New-England style education. In a September 6, 1866 letter, she even speaks to Sarmiento of a couple that is going to Florida to teach freedmen and says she will try to convince them to go to Argentina (Velleman 101). In this imaginary, the Panhandle and the pampas represent interchangeable parts of the same hemispheric educational factory system, two faces of a decadent, feudal extended “South” defined against the enlightened “North” of New England.¹⁵⁸

Sarmiento, for his part, tries to position himself as a Northern liberal in the North/“South” schema outlined above. He displays a particular interest in the education of the freedmen, including a chapter on the “Educación de los negros libertos” (207-216) and reprinting a speech by a “Profesor Greene de Rhode Island” to the “Asociación Nacional de Maestros” [“National Teachers’ Association”] on the subject (171-172) in his *Escuelas*. At another point, he suggests that Missouri’s slow development is due to the presence of slaves in the state, an opinion that he juxtaposes with a discussion of illiteracy in the U.S. South, which he claims is even “mas negro [...] que la negra servidumbre” [“blacker than the blackest servitude”], thereby tying slavery and lack of education together in the same package of ideas (28).

¹⁵⁸ On the extended South, see Carolina F. Levander and Robert S. Levine, “Introduction: Hemispheric American Literary History.”

Like Mary Mann, Sarmiento sees the former Confederate States of America and Argentina as part of one large, backwards extended South waiting to be civilized by Yankee know-how. In *Las escuelas*, he applauds Northern efforts to educate the freedmen while commenting offhandedly that “los hombres de color de los Estados Unidos no se encuentran mas faltos de educacion que los habitantes blancos de nuestras campañas” [“the men of color of the United States are not more lacking in education than are the white inhabitants of our countryside”] (11). As the U.S. South and Argentina are equivalent, it stands to Sarmiento’s reason that the solutions applied in one region should work well in the other. At another point in the book, he says that he is including excerpts from the *Freedman* and notes that “mui tristes reflexiones sobre sí mismos traerá su lectura a los americanos del Sur” [“a reading will bring South Americans sad reflections on themselves”]. He continues by commenting that “esta será el primer movimiento: el segundo ha de ser, lo esperamos, seguir tan noble ejemplo” [“this will be the first reaction. The second must be, we hope, to follow such a noble example”] (216). For Sarmiento, as for Mann, Argentina is a variation on the U.S. South, and would do well to follow its Northern Hemispheric counterpart’s path on the road to civilization. Much as Sarmiento recasts the life of Horace Mann into an Argentine Catholic context, so, too, does he translate the U.S. freedmen as Argentine rural masses in his effort to bring “civilization” and political stability to the country through public education. The entanglement between cultures that this reading of the Reconstruction-era U.S. onto Rosas’s Argentina indicates had important political implications for both countries, as I will show.

Between Domestic and Foreign

Sarmiento wrote *Facundo* in order to do political work and used it throughout his life as an explanation of his program for Argentina. After excising the youthful excesses of the book's last two chapters, "Gobierno unitario" ["Unitarian Government"] and "Presente y porvenir" ["Present and Future"] --which included proposals for which he no longer wished to be held accountable (Palcos 46-62)-- and replacing them with a version of his 1843 *Vida del general D. Frai Felix Aldao*, he would for the rest of his life use the book as his calling card, sending it to people whose acquaintance he wished to make when he traveled in the hopes of interesting them in his political struggles in Argentina (*Viajes*, Ard). *Facundo* "was meant to travel, to be read not only back in Argentina, where it would contribute to the fight against the tyrant Rosas, but also in Europe and the United States, where it would sway public opinion in favor of Sarmiento's political cause" (Sorensen 85). To that end, the Argentine statesman had the text translated into French, English and Italian during his lifetime¹⁵⁹ --hardly accidental choices of languages, as they represent countries of vital importance to Sarmiento's nation-building project.¹⁶⁰

Based on the third Spanish-language edition of *Facundo* published in New York by Appleton in 1863 (Velleman 223), Mann's translation, despite its differences

¹⁵⁹ See Ed. Alberto Palcos.

¹⁶⁰ The Argentine statesman wished to enlist the support of France against Rosas and, as I will discuss below, that of the United States against the Paraguayan dictator López. Meanwhile, during his presidency, he imported hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants into Argentina. In addition to Jitrik and Sorensen Goodrich, see Óscar Tacca on nineteenth-century translations of *Facundo* (79-85).

from the canonical Spanish-language text (which normally follows the first Chilean edition, conserving Sarmiento's original closing chapters), was the only book-length version of the text available to monolingual English-language readers until Kathleen Ross published her translation in 2003. As though aware of the burden that this implies, the 1868 Mann translation, entitled *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism*, "repackages" (Stavans 30) Sarmiento's text before introducing it into the North American market, including a "Preface" on the historical background to the work, a 120-page "Biographical Sketch" of Sarmiento, mostly culled from *Recuerdos de provincia*, and a copy of a letter Sarmiento wrote to Charles Sumner protesting the disbanding of the U.S. Department of Education, a cause near to Mann's heart. While "the book that was presented to North American and English readers is heavily marked by the need to bridge the hemispheric cultural gap" (Sorensen, *Argentine Culture* 85), Mann is not as interested in bridging the gap as she is in making it productive. The entangled text that she created, like Sarmiento's *Vida de Horacio Mann* --which adapts the North American myth of the self-made man to the needs of a modernizing South America--, would fit the story of social and sectional conflict during the Argentine civil wars to the needs to the United States during Radical Reconstruction.

Paralleling Sarmiento's strategy in his *Vida* canonizing Horacio Mann, Mary simulatenously casts Argentina as far removed from North American civilization and uncannily close to home. On the one hand, the New Englander --who, having already translated articles from German for Horace's *Common School Journal*, was hardly a

novice (Marshall 435)-- makes little effort to hide the fact that her work is a translation or to disguise the *différence* between the English-language version and the source text, transcribing the poetry by Echeverría and Domínguez included in Sarmiento's *Facundo* without English translations, thereby suggesting that there is something about the poems that is untranslatable and, hence, unassimilable to Anglo-American understanding (29). Similarly, Mann's English-language version, especially in the latter portions of the text, is peppered with Spanish words, such as "llanista" (93), "alcalde" (94), and "caudillo" (250), giving the sense that the pampas are intellectually impenetrable to a North American reader. In other places, she provides an English-language gloss but includes the Spanish word in a footnote --as in "viscachas"/"rabbit" (20)-- or parenthesis --as in "desert (*travesía*)" (94) and "carob-tree (algorrobo)" (291)--, suggesting that the terms are similar but not entirely equivalent.

It is tempting (and generally correct) to read this insistence on untranslatability as an anti-imperial gesture on Mann's part, as a refusal to assimilate Argentina to North American cultural and linguistic paradigms by hiding the translated text's seams. That said, it is important note that Mann's highlighting of lack of equivalence occasionally serves to reinforce the sort of received ideas about the cultural differences between Anglo and Latin America that oftentimes proved politically useful to the burgeoning North American empire. For example, her choice to leave "hidalgo" in Spanish when "gentleman" (a word fundamental to her brother-in-law Nathaniel Hawthorn's *House of the Seven Gables*) works fine resonates

uncomfortably with the image of the unenterprising ruined Hispanic aristocrat (found, for example, in the writings of Richard Henry Dana) that played such a key role in U.S. imperial ideology at the time (288). In the same way, Mann's decision in the "Biographical Sketch" to leave Sarmiento's term "zamba" [woman of Afro-indigenous descent] in Spanish, complete with the untranslatable feminine ending "-a", in her English-language rendition of a passage from *Recuerdos de provincia* included in the "Biographical Sketch," though it acknowledges the cultural specificity of Spanish colonial race and color hierarchies, also serves to script mixed-race identity as something particularly Latin American, suggesting that the United States, by contrast, is a land of racial "purity" (294). Mann's foreignizing word choice here is difficult to dismiss as arbitrary given that, in an October 31, 1867 letter, she specifically asked Sarmiento for permission to include the section in which the "zamba" appears, suggesting that she thought carefully about the translation of the passage (Velleman 166). In this context, the incorporation of the Spanish word "zamba" into the English-language text becomes an echo of the Anglo-Saxonist discourse that justified nineteenth-century U.S. expansionism.¹⁶¹

The most curious instance of Mann's productive engagement with the tension between translatability and untranslatability, however, may be when she notes Sarmiento's inventive use of the neologism "higuericida," or "fig-i-cidal" in a footnote, but does not reproduce it in the body of her own text, rendering the term instead as "fig-slaying hatchet" (300). In this way, she manages to suggest both

¹⁶¹ See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*.

equivalence and incommensurability by at the same time translating and refusing to translate the term into English (300). Thus, like Sarmiento's *Vida de Horacio Mann*, which is and is not a translation, Argentina in Mann's text both is and is not equivalent to the United States.

The North American Civil War and the Battle of the Pampas

Mann's counterpointing of equivalence and nonequivalence extends beyond the linguistic realm and into the historical-political; like Sarmiento, she relates the struggle between Unitarios and Federales in Argentina to the U.S. Civil War. Once again, this play between the domestic and foreign is not accidental, as evidenced by her otherwise inexplicable decision to translate the titles of two of the three chapters that Sarmiento had originally called "Guerra social" as "Civil War".¹⁶² In a similar vein, in her "Preface," she refers to a possible Argentina redeemed from sectional strife as "the Union" (xxviii).

The evidence suggests that the Argentine text, on a regionally inflected conflict between agrarian and commercial interests, "was read in the United States as a reflection of the strength of republican ideals that the recent Civil War had reinforced" (Velleman 23). An unsigned review in *The Atlantic Monthly*, for example, claims that:

¹⁶² The third one was translated as "Social War."

An intelligent American can hardly read the life of this Republic and its prominent representative, without seeing in it again and again the broken image of his own country, and a new illustration of the vital energy existing in Republicanism. Our fathers laid the foundations of our nations upon an existing society, whose bases were town government and the free schools. We have seen how the absence of one of these elements, in connection with a system closely allied to ignorance, has constituted a barbarism which it was the giant task of the purer civilization to exterminate. . . . How fast can we transmute the ignorant freedmen and ignorant poor whites into intelligent citizens? This is a question which is the condition of national growth and true prosperity. Far away, at the southern extremity of the continent, a society accepting the same instruments of government which we have had, has likewise had to pass through a conflict, more open, and lasting for a longer period than our own, but alike with ours, the conflict of civilization and barbarism.¹⁶³

Yet, while the text --which follows Sarmiento and Mann's correspondence in drawing comparisons between Southerners and South Americas in terms of education-- was certainly received in the post-Civil War climate as a reflection on the troubled period from which the United States had just emerged, given the uncertainty of the future project of national reconsolidation, the triumphalism that this anonymous reviewer ascribes to any "intelligent American" seems misplaced. I am more inclined to agree with David Harberly's claim that, after the Civil War and the events leading up to it, North Americans were concerned that they were slipping into what they perceived as Spanish American-style political barbarism. It seems far more likely, then, that the Argentina of the translation provided a foil onto which to project misgivings about the identity and future of the newly re-United States. It is perhaps out of this insecurity that Mann feels the need to assure her readers of the United States' continuing viability as a leader in hemispheric affairs and as model for the republics to the South, claiming that Sarmiento "hopes by his influence [either as president or as senator] to increase the importance of his country's relations with the United

¹⁶³ Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants," *The Atlantic Monthly* 22, No. 132 (October 1868): 666-679. Quoted in Iván Jaksic.

States, whose great ideas he wishes to see planted in that hemisphere” (viii) and that “the general tendency of his propositions was to assimilate the Argentine Constitution to that of the United States” (365).

Despite the vision of North American hemispheric leadership that she proudly projects here, Mann simply cannot overlook the debacle of the Civil War that acts as a historical intertext for her translation, published just three years after the assassination of Lincoln. Rather, she seeks to redeem North American republican glory through a narrative that emplots the Civil War as an unfortunate history that has now been overcome. She notes that, “while Sarmiento has much praise for the United States, “he also detected the flaws in our country, and saw where liberty was travestied by the continued existence of slavery, but looking through all these obstacles he confidently predicted that in twenty years this would be the Great Republic of the world, and command the respect of all nations, possessing vitality enough to cure its own internal sores” (389). “The Great Republic of the World,” the re-United States represent a civilized beacon for an Argentina that, the text informs the reader, is still consumed by the darkness of barbarism. By counterpointing her country’s recent history with that of Argentina, Mann situates the U.S. Civil War in a teleological narrative that ends in national reconsolidation and imperial glory.

Mann does not stop at indulging her readers’ wish-fulfillment fantasies, however, but goes on to suggest her own plan as to how national reconsolidation might be achieved, predictably, through education, requesting Sarmiento’s permission to include his letter to Sumner on the disbanding of the Department of Education as

an appendix to the translation (Stavans xxix). As a result, one of the final impressions left on the reader by the text is that:

The greatest antagonism between the Southern States and the Northern, has come, in my judgment, from the Southern following the same plan as that of ancient society in Europe and South America, and the Northern advancing in new and peculiar paths. The system of education in the South, limited to universities and colleges, was that of England, France, Spain, Italy, and South America of today, leaving the majority of the people without intellectual preparation and development. The visible sign of the advanced North American system of government is the *Common School*, and if ever the South shows the same *visible sign*, regeneration will be secured (399).

Situated at the end of the text, the passage suggests that the path out of the barbarism in both Argentina and the United States is the improvement of human capital through education. With that, Mann and Sarmiento's translational entanglement comes full circle, as Mary's translation of Sarmiento's letter reintroduces the faith in Common School education that Sarmiento "adapted" from Horace back into the North American polysystem.

From Translation to Foreign Policy

As I have already pointed out, the translational entanglement of *rosista* Argentina as the Confederate States of America serves Sarmiento's modernizing goals, opening the door for New England schoolteachers to travel to the deeper South and reconstruct the newly-enfranchised masses of the pampas into productive citizens. Additionally, Sarmiento may have been interested in remaining in gaining the favor of Mann and the intellectual elite of the greater Boston area in order to

bolster his 1868 campaign for the presidency of Argentina (Ross 19). The long section of *Las escuelas* in which he describes meeting important figures in New England public life --such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Wadsworth Longfellow, and George Ticknor-- through Mary Mann certainly lends credence to such a hypothesis (180-187).

Yet, though Sarmiento's correspondence with Mann clearly indicates that he intended to use the "Biographical Sketch" as a campaign biography,¹⁶⁴ I agree with Diane Sorensen's claim that Sarmiento "appropriates hegemonic culture whilst maintaining a critical eye and demanding that the metropolitan powers transmit knowledge in ways that do not maintain colonialism" ("Liminality" 110). A critical criollist, Sarmiento was wary of the visions of imperial grandeur that he was helping Mary Mann to produce and, at the same time, anxious to find a way to put them to the service of his own political goals. Hence Sarmiento's interest in informing North Americans about Latin American politics and society, which can be seen in several of his letters to Mann. On January 29, 1866, for example, he writes that his "consuming passion [...] is to have Spanish taught [in the United States] in the schools so as to remove the cataracts that obscure the clear vision that each of the continents might have of the other" (Ard 143). In *Las escuelas*, meanwhile, he includes a letter informing the Argentine writer José Mármol that the eminent Hispanists William

¹⁶⁴ In his letters, Sarmiento repeatedly pushes for publication before the elections and continually makes suggestions as to the contents of the "Biographical Sketch" so as to avoid political blunders in front of Argentine and Chilean statesman and aggrandize himself to the Argentine voting public. See particularly his letters of October 29, 1867 (Ard 348); November 1, 1867 (Ard 351); November 5, 1867 (Ard 367-371); November 7, 1867 (Luigi 206); January 21, 1868 (Ard 386); and July 10, 1868 (Ard 443).

Wadsworth Longfellow and George Ticknor have not read his poetry and asking him for some samples for their libraries (202). In fact, Sarmiento found Longfellow and Ticknor to be utterly unfamiliar with the literature of the Southern Cone --a situation that wished to remedy by donating 1,000 tomes to various North American libraries (187).

More was at stake in this effort to educate Northern intellectuals about their Southern counterparts than simple cultural exchange. In a September 25, 1865 letter to Mann, Sarmiento comments that he wants to publish a “History of the Schools in South America” in English in order to “call the attention of North Americans to those countries, awakening an interest in their destinies.” In a thinly veiled allusion to the imperialist Mexican War, Sarmiento writes that, “once eliminated [...] the evil policies of slavery, annexation, and conquest,” he wants “to show American philanthropists the way to extend democracy, which is through popular education” (87).

A November 25, 1865 letter to Mann is more direct. Sarmiento lists the political problems of Latin America, including civil wars and the French invasion of Mexico and complains that “when North Americans see us wrapped in clouds of so much disorder, not only do they ignore us but they do not value us” (Ard 116). While he defends the Monroe Doctrine in *Las escuelas*, arguing that the US is the natural protector of Spanish America (297-298), he also condemns imperialism in general and North American expansion in particular (299-300). All of this suggests that Sarmiento, who has dedicated so much of his life to learning about and disseminating

North American cultural and political institutions in Argentina through didactic translations, realizes that the equation is one-sided, that most North Americans do not reciprocate his interest in inter-American understanding. Moreover, as his comments on Mexico show, he is aware of the catastrophic consequences that that intellectual trade imbalance can cause.

Sarmiento is unwilling to allow Argentina, along with Uruguay and Brazil, its allies in the War of Triple Alliance against Paraguay (also called the Paraguayan War in English),¹⁶⁵ to meet the same fate of North American indifference as Mexico under Maximilian has. On October 12, 1866, he informs Mann (in English) that he is “writing some explanations on the motives and object [sic] of the Paraguayan war, in order to counteract the mischievous influence the names Empire and Republic, as Brasil [sic] and Paraguay are regarded, have on public opinion here” (Ard 235).

Meanwhile, on January 3, 1867, Sarmiento complains that:

The newspapers find it useful, *sensational*, to be in favor of those savages. It does no good to show them the truth. For them, the truth is inconvenient. It is necessary for the Guaraní race to overcome the European race, for the tyranny created by the Jesuits to dominate those of us who labor to be civilized (Ard 257).¹⁶⁶

Typically, he describes Paraguay as a land immersed in indigenous atavism and casts the War of Triple Alliance as a struggle between civilization and barbarism. He attempts to enlist Mann’s help in spreading what he sees as the truth about

Paraguayan barbarism among the North American public --which, the Civil War still

¹⁶⁵ Succinctly, Paraguay and Uruguay had been Federalista strongholds. In April of 1863, there was a Unitario coup in Uruguay. Brazil came to the aide of the Unitarios, while Argentina under President Mitre secretly provided Brazil with arms. In retaliation, President Solano López of Paraguay began a war with Brazil and Argentina. My explanation follows Katra 255-259.

¹⁶⁶ Ard notes that the word “sensational” appeared in English in the original Spanish text.

a fresh memory, favored republican Paraguay over imperial Brazil--, asking her to translate an article he had written on the subject (257).

The result of Sarmiento's request appears to be *Revelations on the Paraguayan War and the Alliances of the Atlantic and the Pacific*. Recently digitalized by the Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina and included on the Proyecto Sarmiento website, the rare text was published by Hallet & Breen in New York in 1866 "sin mención de autor," though the Biblioteca Nacional refers to it as "perteneiente a Sarmiento" [belonging to Sarmiento], adding only that "no hay tampoco referencia al traductor" ["there is no reference the translator, either"], although "suponemos que se trata de Mary Mann" ["we suppose that it was Mary Mann"] (2). The letter quoted above, in which Sarmiento asks Mann to translate his article on the Paraguayan War, and the stylistic similarities between the *Revelations* and Mann's signed translation of *Facundo* lend credence to the Biblioteca Nacional's assertions as to the text's origins. Moreover, Sarmiento is identified as the author of the *Revelations* in an article in the September, 1867 edition of *The Radical* signed by "E.P.P." --clearly Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, a known contributor to the transcendentalist magazine. Mary Mann's sister and Sarmiento's acquaintance, Elizabeth Peabody would have been in a position to know about the clandestine translation.

The *Revelations* continue the South/South mirroring found in *Life in the Argentine Republic* and *Las escuelas*, this time casting the War of Triple Alliance as another iteration of the U.S. Civil War, explaining the South American conflict as a

war for the defense of civil society. For example, the (historically problematic) term “serf” is used to describe the Paraguayans throughout the pamphlet, which repeatedly attributes the country’s success in the war to the fact that its people have no choice but to do their dictator’s bidding --an observation that sounds suspiciously like many a description of antebellum slavery in the U.S. Thus, in the same way that Sarmiento sees the Southern U.S. poor whites reflected in the gauchos and Argentine Amerindians, Mann sees the “barbaric” Paraguayan government as another iteration of the Confederacy, to which she compares it in a November 9, 1866 letter (Velleman 108). She even goes so far as to say in her “Biographical Sketch” that the Paraguayan people have been “enslaved” by the dictator López, this time collapsing not only the Southern Cone into the U.S. South, but Afro-North American chattel slaves into the mostly indigenous population of Paraguay.

The entanglement described here cannot be dismissed as harmless literary figuration, especially because she does not publicly acknowledge her (or Sarmiento’s) role in the production of the *Revelations* and because her comments in *Life in the Argentine Republic* are delivered from her relatively authoritative position as translator. Mann is (perhaps too) interested in helping Sarmiento disseminate pro-Argentine information among the North American public. In a letter to Sarmiento that Velleman tentatively dates April 18, 1869, she writes:

Mr. Garcia wrote me a short time since that he wished I would prepare an article for some public paper or journal upon the subject of Lopez and promised me more information. I am all ready to do my best, but he gave me so impressive a warning not to speak of Gen Mac Mahon that I withdrew one article I had prepared for the Advertiser just as Mr. Dunbar the Editor was going to put it to press. The young man who wrote the article that troubles you so much is no longer in the office. Mr. Dunbar was in Europe at the time. Whenever you wish me to put any thing into the

Advertiser if you will say so in so many words, I will have it put in as a direct quotation from a letter from you – or if you prefer it, [I] will say <<from an authentic source>>, and then shape it in my own words. I am afraid of doing mischief and giving you trouble by venturing to judge for myself upon so important a matter (255).

Like the mysterious appearance of the *Revelations* on the New York presses, this letter speaks to the covert power underlying the translational entanglement Mann and Sarmiento. In addition to the ominously intriguing reference to “the young man who wrote the article that troubles [Sarmiento] so much” who is, for reasons that Mann does not clarify, “no longer at the office,” it should be noted that the Mr. García to whom Mann refers –husband of Eduarda Mansilla de García, whose *Lucía Miranda* opposes the sort of bourgeois modernity Sarmiento wished to implement in Argentina--¹⁶⁷ was the Argentine diplomat who succeeded Sarmiento in the United States and who was, at the time, serving in France. His father-in-law had been on the Federal side during the conflicts described in *Facundo* and his brother-in-law, Lucio Mansilla, best friend of Sarmiento’s son, Dominguito (who died in the war with Paraguay), would later write *Excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1877), a critique of Sarmiento’s anti-indigenous policy. In her letter, Mann offers to intercede by infiltrating the Boston press with any information that Sarmiento, now the president of Argentina, would like to have released secretly. Despite Mann’s disclaimer that she is “afraid of doing mischief,” the implications of this letter, though not quite illegal, are thoroughly scandalous. The widow of a former senator, Mann is offering provide clandestine aid to the president of a foreign country in an international conflict in which the United States is supposedly neutral. Her intervention here --largely

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter II of this dissertation.

motivated by her understanding of the War of Triple Alliance as a variation on the U.S. Civil War and of the gauchos and Paraguayans as austral iterations of white Southerners and freedmen-- , has the potential to further Sarmiento's modernizing project, which regards Federalista Paraguay as a thorn in its side. At the same time, it represents a foreshock of the kind of neo-imperialism that would characterize North American foreign policy in the Hemisphere in the following generation, rendering Argentina in the War of Triple Alliance a sort of dress rehearsal for what happen in Cuba in 1898 and in Panama in 1903. Thus, in the end, the hemispheric textual entanglements that I have been describing in this chapter become more than a technique for importing foreign ideas into a culture, or of resolving local conflicts through a foreign foil, or even of working out solutions to the particular problems faced by republican government in the Hemisphere --they are a bulwark of the emerging inter-American state system in which Mann and Sarmiento are shrewd and important players.

Epilogue

While Sarmiento and Mann's *Reflections on the Paraguayan War*¹⁶⁸ seems to have had a limited effect on international affairs, the geopolitical power relations that it embodies would come to define New-World politics in the following generation, as the United States consolidated itself into a hegemonic force in the Hemisphere largely through the racial-imperial ideas that Mann's writings reflect. Meanwhile, under the leadership of Sarmiento and his successors, Argentina would become one of the wealthiest countries in the world --a change largely due to such blessings of Sarmientine civilization as foreign investment capital and immigrant labor. Thus, if the Generation of 1837 adapted foreign models to domestic needs, by the turn of the century, Argentina was in a position to be a reference for other fledgling republics. Not surprisingly, then, in addition to its English, French, and Italian translations, *Facundo* had another afterlife two generations after it was first published in the Brazilian writer Euclides de Cunha's *Sertões: Campahna de Canudos* (1902),¹⁶⁹ which, like its Argentine predecessor, expresses misgivings regarding the place of the racialized underclasses in capitalizing, newly republican Brazil. While I do not have the space here to attempt a full-scale study of da Cunha's canonical history of the Canudos community's messianic rebellion against the newly proclaimed Brazilian Republic, I would like to mention briefly the work's relevance to the evolution of the

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter IV of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁹ In 1944, Samuel Putnam translated the work into English as *Rebellion in the Backlands*. For more on *Os sertões*, in addition to the works mentioned here, see Leopoldo M. Bernucci, ed, *Discurso, ciência e controvérsia em Euclides da Cunha*. The classic fictional treatment of the Canudos Rebellion is Peruvian author Mario Vargas Llosa's *Guerra del fin del mundo* (1981).

racialized nation-state model in the Americas, as well as discuss the text's implications for the kind of comparative project that I am performing in my dissertation.

“Um livro de ataque” [“an attack book”], *Os Sertões* narrates an 1897 rebellion against the republican government in Northeastern Brazil on the part of mixed-race *mestiços* who had previously worked on the region's *fazendas* (da Cunha). The work focuses on the figure of Antônio Conselheiro, a backwoods preacher and populist opponent of modernity who, according to Renata Mautner Wasserman, rebels against the political secularization and the shift of power from the sugar-producing Northeast to the industrial South brought on by the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic. As Brum Lemos says, “o Nordeste, sobretudo o interior, ou sertão, não teria sido integrado a contento nos planos de modernização. Nesta região, desde a época colonial, se desenvolviam formas particulares de organização social baseadas sobretudo na posse da terra e do gado e na organização comunitária e religiosa” [“the Northeast, especially the interior, or sertão, had not been properly integrated into plans for modernization. In this region, since the colonial period, particular forms of social organization based above all in the ownership of land and livestock and in community and religious organization had been developing” (17). As a result, in the nineteenth century, the Northeast --which, “açucareiro e escravista” [“sugar-producing and slave-holding”] had long been the economic and cultural center of the country, suffered a decline as “o Sul via florescer a cultura cafeeira e dava os primeiros pasos rumo à industrialização urbana” [the South saw a flourishing

coffee culture and took the first steps towards urban industrialization”] (Brum Lemos 13). In the Southern cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, birthplace of author Euclides da Cunha, “surgiram novas elites despostas a tomar as rédeas do poder político” [“there arose new elites ready to take the reins of political power”] (Brum Lemos 13-14). In such a climate, a group of army officers, trained in the positivist social scientific thought that was coming into vogue in Latin America at the end of the nineteenth century, overthrew Emperor Pedro II, whose popularity had declined among the agro-exporting elite following his decision to abolish slavery, and declared the Republic in 1889.¹⁷⁰ Yet, much as abolition had caused Pedro II to lose popularity among the former slaveholding *fazendeiro* landowners, it had endeared him to the freedmen and the mixed-race popular classes. It was members of this group who flocked to the settlement at Canudos out of dissatisfaction with the newly inaugurated republican order.

As a result, “Canudos se transformou num incômodo para os fazendeiros da região, que perdiam mão-de-obra para a comunidade” [“Canudos became a point of discomfort for the region’s fazendeiros, who lost members of their workforce to the community”] (Brum Lemos 19), as peons left the coastal sugar fields of Northeastern Bahia for the *sertões*, the primarily pastoral dry interior plains where the Canudos settlement harbored the promise of a new social order free from the hierarchies

¹⁷⁰ On the history of positivist thought in Latin America, see Leopoldo Zea, ed, *Pensamiento positivista latinoamericano* and Nancy Leys Stepan, “*The Hour of Eugenics*”: *Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*.

endemic to the fazenda system (Ribero 358-359). As da Cunha makes clear in an unattributed quote that he includes in his description of Canudos, “os aliciadores da seita se ocupam em persuadir o povo de que todo aquele que se quiser salvar precisa vir para Canudos, porque nos outros lugares tudo está contaminado e perdido pela República. Ali, porém, nem é preciso trabalhar, é a terra da promessa, onde corre um rio de leite e são de cuscuz de milho as barrancas” [“the sect’s recruiters occupied themselves in persuading the people that all those who wanted to save themselves had to go live in Canudos because other places were contaminated and lost due to the Republic. There, however, it is not necessary to work, it is the Promised Land, where there is a river of milk and the banks are of corn couscous”] (“O homem”). Here, the rejection of the Republic is presented as a rejection of labor, as an unwillingness to become exploitable human capital. If, as Argentine *letrado* Juan Bautista Alberdi claimed, “gobernar es poblar” [“to govern is to populate”] with industrious workers, then Canudos represented a serious threat to the Brazilian republic, especially because support for the proclamation of the Republic was largely based on the defunct Empire’s unpopular decision to abolish slavery.¹⁷¹ The *Canudenses*, then, threatened to pull out the Republic’s ideological underpinnings at the same time that they ate away at Brazil’s strong agro-export economy.

¹⁷¹ In this way, the relationship between abolition and republicanism differs from the better known Cuban example, in which the republican independentistas abolished slavery as a first step towards shaking off the yoke of Spanish dynasticism. On the causal link between abolition and republicanism in Brazil, see Andrews, *Afro-Latin America* 112. For more on Alberdi, see Chapter II of this dissertation.

Sarmiento's description of the conflict between Unitarios and Federales in Argentina as a clash between the forces of civilization and those of barbarism provides da Cunha with a framework for understanding these tensions within the early Brazilian Republic. Much as Sarmiento takes Cooper, the representative of the first successful republic in the Americas, as a model for New-World literature, so too does da Cunha adopt Sarmiento, the representative of the first Latin American country to attain high levels of development and prosperity, as a model for how to negotiate the place of the masses in the national project --a model which he is critical, as I will show. While, there have been many studies over the years noting the parallels between the Argentine and the Brazilian texts, as Miriam Gárate explains, the issue as to whether or not da Cunha had read Sarmiento when he wrote *Os sertões* has always been contentious. Despite common wisdom, which dictates that Brazil has traditionally been indifferent to Spanish American culture¹⁷² and a scholarly tendency to consider Brazil more in the context of the extended Caribbean than of Southern Cone, Mann's translation of *Facundo* circulated amongst the English-speaking population of Rio de Janeiro --which would have been comprised of foreigners and educated elites, such as the positivists who led the republican movement or da Cunha himself when he was older-- and, according to Sarmiento, sold out in one day (Velleman 229).¹⁷³ Even if that were not the case, the cultured and cosmopolitan da Cunha would surely have been aware of Sarmiento and of Argentine developments in

¹⁷² For a summary of the debate on the relationship between Brazil and Spanish America, see Robert Patrick Newcomb, *Nossa and Nuestra América: Inter-American Dialogues*.

¹⁷³ Sarmiento, for his part, frequently referenced Brazil in his writings, and notably dedicates a lengthy section of his *Viajes* to a condemnation of slavery in that country.

general, given that, during the Brazilian writer's childhood, Sarmiento was president of the Argentine Republic with which Brazil was allied against Paraguay in the War of the Triple Alliance, making a genealogical link between the two authors feasible. More importantly, da Cunha, who, in later life, would participate in an expedition to determine the border between Brazil and Peru, had a personal connection to his country's Spanish-speaking neighbors that would have made it difficult for him to be unaware of one of Spanish America's most important letrados.

The parallels between the two works are, at any rate, too sharp to ignore. Not only are both texts mixtures of novelized history and social scientific treatise that rely on a dichotomy between "civilization" and "barbarism," but they make use of the same tripartite structure, beginning with a geographical and climatological survey of the story's setting before moving on to an anthropological and sociological study of the main actors and ending with a prolonged description of bloody conflict.

I will return to the implications of this entanglement later. For the time being, however, I would like to focus on what the relationship between da Cunha and Sarmiento, regardless of the possibility of a genealogical link between the authors, means for the history of race and the nation-state in the Americas during the long nineteenth century. Like Sarmiento's Argentina, which had enfranchised the rural masses, da Cunha's post-slavery Brazilian Republic was faced with the question of how to incorporate the popular classes into the national project. For Sarmiento, the wild, rustic gauchos are "representantes de la barbarie primitiva" ["representatives of primitive barbarism"]. "Hostiles a la civilización europea" ["Hostile to European

civilization”] and to “toda organización regular” [“all regular organization”], they are as adverse to “monarchy” as to “the republic” and, like Sarmiento’s Barcala or his vision of U.S. freedmen and Southern whites, can only be redeemed for the body politic and for the capitalist workforce through public education. Echoing Sarmiento’s sentiments as well as his words, da Cunha claims that the *sertanejo* pathfinder known as the *jagunço* –a sort of Brazilian variation on the Argentine writer’s *baquiano*—is “tão inapto para apreender a forma republicana como a monárquico-constitucional” [“as inapt for learning the republican form as the constitutional-monarchical one”], indicating that he, too, views the mixed-race inhabitants of the underdeveloped hinterlands as incompatible with the political-economic demands of nation-state (“O homen”). Yet, if Sarmiento in *Facundo* believes that education can reform the gaucho, da Cunha is less optimistic. For the Brazilian journalist, “o mestiço é um ser desequilibrado” [“the mestiço is an unbalanced being”] and his successful integration into national life will not be brought about by education, but by providing his volatile mixture of bloods the conditions it needs to neutralize and gel into something productive --as, da Cunha claims, occurred in the country’s more developed southern states (“A terra”). Writing at the height of positivist racial thinking and a generation before Gilberto Freyre would introduce the division between race and culture into the Brazilian intellectual milieu, da Cunha turns to racial discourse to explain Brazil’s complex social reality. As Brum Lemos notes, with the Republic, “o homem brasileiro deixou de ser entendido em termos de corpo e alma” [“Brazilian man stopped being understood in

terms of body and soul”] –that is, as people who were or were not virtuous, compatible with the political-economic system, infringing on national sovereignty, or in need of education—“e passou a ser descrito positivamente no quadro das chamadas ciencias humanas: Sociologia, Psicologia, Antropologia” [“and began to be described positivistically under the rubric of the so-called human sciences: Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology”]. This shift “se deu em grande parte em torno de conceito de ‘raça’ e esteve imbricada no movimento de mudanças econômicas, políticas e sociais que ocorreu no país simultaneamente à ascensão das ideias republicanas, nas últimas décadas do século XIX” [“in large part revolved around the concept of ‘race’ and was tied to the economic, political, and social changes that occurred in the country contemporaneously with the rise of republican ideas in the last decades of the nineteenth century”] (12-13) --changes that, as Justin Barber points out, served the interests of “an oligarchy comprised mostly of [the] plantation owners and bourgeois technocrats who stood to benefit the most” from the “ordem e progresso” that the Brazilian republic had adopted as its motto (126).

Yet, at the same time that the mixed-race insurgents are ideologically and economically incompatible with the social and political changes that had taken place in turn-of-the-century Brazil, the capitalist nation-state is dependent on them. A comparison with the well-known “caráteres argentinos” section of *Facundo*, in which the author gives a typology of the inhabitants of his country’s interior, will prove illustrative. Able to pursue and capture criminals by recognizing their footprints, the *rastreador* [tracker] collaborates with the law. Meanwhile, the *gaucho*

malo's knowledge of the distinguishing traits of all the horses in a region aids commerce and the cantor's verses will be "recogidos más tarde como documentos y datos en que habría de apoyarse el historiador futuro" ["collected later as documents and facts which future historians will have to consult"] and will become part of national historiography. The baquiano [pathfinder], for his part, "está en todos los secretos de la campaña; la suerte del ejército, el éxito de una batalla, la conquista de una provincia, todo depende de él" ["is up on all of the secrets of the campaign; the luck of the army, the success of a battle, the conquest of a province –everything depends on him"]. He may belong to the world of barbarism but, like the other gauchos in Sarmiento's typology, his knowledge of the New-World environment renders him indispensable to the cause of civilization.

Yet, present as they may be in the foundational *Facundo*, the barbaric "Argentine characters" Sarmiento discusses are still subordinate to the civilization to which sooner or later they will have to yield, much as the caudillo Facundo Quiroga must be destroyed by the very barbarism that produced him if civilization is to triumph, as the author feels it doubtlessly will. If, as commentators frequently point out, Quiroga, who, like Sarmiento, was born in Andean city of San Juan, functions as a sort of double for the author, then the centrality of his death –which prefigures that of his successor Rosas-- in the work that cements Sarmiento's place in New-World letrado culture indicates the necessary yielding of the barbaric world of the caudillos to the literate high culture of the republican nation-state, at the same time that, as I have just explained, that state is predicated on the prior existence of the barbarism

that it supplants. Working for civilization but not part of it, the gauchos are raw materials for the construction of the nation that --as the case of Quiroga, like that of Barcala, makes clear-- will have to be brought into the lettered order if they are to be processed into productive members of society, much as blackness, in Galván's *Enriquillo*, simultaneously underlies and is excluded from the foundational nationalist discourse.¹⁷⁴

Brum Lemos explains how this dialectic works in the Brazilian context, where the unpopular Republican national project “se situava entre duas consciências opostas complementares: a de representar uma parcela presumivelmente superior da humanidade; o mundo branco, europeu e aristocrático, associado à cultura e científica, e a de ser parte de uma comunidade nacional, majoritariamente ‘mestiça’ e considerada ‘inferior’” [“was situated between two opposing consciences: that of representing a presumably superior section of humanity; the White, European, and aristocratic world, associated with scientific culture, and that of being part of a national community with a majority that was ‘mestiço’ and considered inferior”](15-16). This gave rise to the need to reconcile “a conciliação da diversidade étnica no ‘nacional’ como o um model político autoritário” [“the conciliation of the ethnic diversity present in the ‘national’ as a political-authoritarian model”]. As a result “a formação no campo intelectual de teorias sobre a nacionalidade, o a mestiçagem, voltadas à integração da diversidade humana no conceito de nação” [“the formation in

¹⁷⁴ On the inevitable march of civilization in the thinking of Sarmiento and da Cunha, see Costa Lima and Elías Palti, “Visiones de lo inasible: Sarmiento y Euclides da Cunha en las fronteras de la civilización.” On Barcala, see Chapter IV of this dissertation. On Galván, see Chapter III.

the intellectual field of theories of the nationality, or of *mestiçagem*, directed towards the integration of human diversity into the concept of nation”]¹⁷⁵ had “como correlato no campo político as tentativas de ‘branqueamento’ e a repressão aos ‘problemas sociais’ representados pela *mestiçagem*” [“as a corralary in the political field the ‘branqueamento’ (whitening) efforts and the repression of the ‘social problems’ represented by *mestiçagem*”] (16). In such a schema, the *mestiços* of the *sertões*, like the gaucho in Argentina or the “vanishing Indian” of the North American Cooperian tradition, becomes a symbol of the national at the same time that, as symbols, they are fixed, lifeless, unproductive, removed from the quotidian operations of the state, marginalized by the very discourse that places them at the center.

Os sertões counters this discursive containment and disempowerment of the *sertanejos* precisely by making their race-mixing *mestiçagem* productive. The work emplots the history it relates not as the classic historical narrative of the triumph of the nation-state, but, as Luis Lezama Costa Lima explains, as a hybrid historical-mythic-social scientific text that ultimately deals with the moral failings of Brazil’s turn-of-the-century *República Velha*. As Barber argues, inspired by Polish social scientist Ludwig Gumplowicz’s belief that race mixture is the engine of history, da Cunha postulates that the *sertanejos*, in addition to being the “rocha viva” [“bedrock”] of Brazilian nationhood, could, given the right conditions, one day become a great people: “Predestinamo-nos à formação de uma raça histórica em futuro remoto, se o

¹⁷⁵ *Mestiçagem* is the Brazilian Portuguese term for race mixing, much like the Spanish American *mestizaje*. See Chapter II of this dissertation for a comparison of *mestizaje* and the North American model of miscegenation.

permitir dilatado tempo de vida nacional autônoma. [...] A nossa evolução biológica reclama a garantia da evolução social” [“We are predestined to form a historical race in the remote future, if permitted an extensive period of autonomous national life. Our biological evolution demands the guarantee of social evolution”] (da Cunha “Nota preliminary”). In an ironic gesture, the hybrid of *Os sertões* performs, on a textual level, the very evolutionary cultural mestiçagem that its author feels the Canudenses need to complete in order to become a great race by combining various social scientific discourses with philosophy, journalism, and literary language. At the same time, the denunciation of the Brazilian Republic’s depravities found in its pages represents the Canudenes’ contribution to the world. “Thus the tragedy of the War of Canudos is the paradoxical destruction of the singularly legitimate product of Brazilian progress by a Republic waving the banner of ordem e progresso” (Barber 24-25). In this way, the binary opposition between civilization and barbarism upon which da Cunha and Sarmiento’s texts uneasily rest is broken.

Nowhere is this clearer than at the end of *Os sertões*, when the Republican army discovers the Conselhiero’s corpse after the siege of Canudos. Curiously, the body of this “grande homem pelo avesso” [“great man turned inside out”], as da Cunha calls him repeatedly throughout the book, is wrapped, like Christ, in a burial shroud --a religious allusion that seems somewhat out of place in a text that prides itself on displaying scientific erudition. Upon finding the body, the soldiers behead it and hand the head over to science to be studied. In part, the beheading of Conselhiero, like that of Luix XVI, symbolizes the end of the *ancien régime* at the hands of the

rational forces of the republican nation-state, here incarnated by the scientists who examine the preacher's severed head. Yet the act achieves a more subversive significance through its intertextuality with *Facundo*. In his book, Sarmiento deploys the Federales' custom of having their opponents beheaded as an emblem of a racialized barbarism, something acceptable only in Africa, as the Argentine writer says. In da Cunha's history, on the other hand, the beheading is carried out by the forces of republican *ordem e progresso* in the name of the very science of modern civilization that the author has mobilized throughout the text in order to condemn the Canudenses. In this way, the beheading becomes an intertextual reflexion on the civilizing projects of Sarmiento, Mann, and the Brazilian positivists.

Like Pierre Menard in the story by Borges, da Cunha attempts to recreate a classic text rewriting it from a later date. And, like Menard, he finds that his text is rendered distinct by its location in history. Da Cunha writes with the knowledge, not only of the bloody leveling of Canudos by the Republican army, but --as his entanglement with Sarmiento indicates-- of the catastrophic loss of life in the War of the Triple Alliance and the genocidal consequences that the Unitario emphasis on Western culture would have in the Campaña del Desierto (in which Eduarda Mansilla's brother Ludovico participated), which wiped out a large part of Argentina's indigenous population. He writes in a world in which the Mann's dreams of inclusion through education have given way to the forced homogenization of the population through assimilationist schooling and imperial jingoism and her wishes for universal manhood suffrage have been frustrated by Southern apartheid. He has seen

the pan-Americanism espoused in Sarmiento and Mann's letters evolve into the War of 1898, which gave birth to an imperial order that frustrated Galván's quest for sovereignty. The sort of hemispheric dialogues on race and citizenship that I have outlined in this dissertation, in the wake of the Spanish-American-Cuban War and the severing of Panama from Colombia, had begun to look more like an ideological tool of the inter-American state system than a method of national consolidation. The collaborative creole project of the comparative construction of the nation-state in the discursive sphere must have seemed to da Cunha like the very undoing of the civilization in which the letrado elite so fervently believed.

An embedded journalist observing the Canudos rebellion from within, da Cunha is the only letrado discussed in this dissertation –and one of the few in the nineteenth century—to directly inscribe subaltern rebellion into discourse.¹⁷⁶ If, in the Caribbean of *Jicoténcal* and *Enriquillo*, the Amerindian resisting colonization is deployed to deflect –however unsuccessfully—attention away from the Afro-descendants at the center of national life, and, in *The Last of the Mohicans* and *Lucía Miranda*, Afro-Indigenous agency is ultimately subsumed by the narrative of creole nationalism, *Os sertões* gives the masses their discursive due, presenting the reader with popular agency's ability to upset the republican project's ideological presuppositions without recourse to narrative containment devices. Witnessing the destruction caused by the republican army in Canudos, da Cunha openly states that the roles between civilizer and barbarian have been reversed: “Tínhamos valentes que

¹⁷⁶ For a subaltern reading of the Canudos rebellion, see Adriana Michéle Campos Johnson, *Sentencing Canudos*.

ansiavam por essas cobardias repugnantes, tácita e explicitamente sancionadas pelos chefes militares. Apesar de três séculos de atraso, os sertanejos não lhes levavam a palma no estadear idênticas barbaridades” [“We had brave men who yearned for these repugnant acts of cowardice, tacitly and explicitly sanctioned by the military chiefs. Despite three centuries of backwardness, our sertanejos do not rival such a display of barbarity”]. The sertanejos may be unbalanced mestiços unfit for the capitalist and republican models, but, in terms of barbarism, it is the bourgeois nation-state that really takes the cake, to translate da Cunha’s colloquial Portuguese.

The barbarism perpetrated by the Brazilian state in *Os sertões* is largely a question of self-preservation. As I have explained, the way of life at Canudos was an economic and ideological threat to Brazilian republicanism, much as the full enfranchisement of Afro-descendants by the Cortes de Cádiz would have spelled the end of the social hierarchies upon which the political economies of the various Spanish-American nation-states rested, as I demonstrated in Chapter I, and the acceptance of mixed-race peoples into the national imaginary would have undermined the system of property upon which mid-century North American and Argentine neocolonial expansion was predicated, as I explained in Chapter II. Whereas Galván in *Enriquillo* resorts to a myriad of strategies of disavowal to keep Afro-descendants - -inevitably part of the nation-- at its margins, and Sarmiento (perhaps taking a deep breath) turns to public education in order to make sure that the necessary incorporation of Afro-descendants into the nation does not radically alter the creole national project, da Cunha’s republican army, unable to manage even that, has no

choice but to stomp out the other if it is to preserve the status quo. Read at the end of this transnational trajectory, *Os sertões* becomes the vantage point from which one can take in and critique the (downward and sideways) sweep of republican history in the nineteenth-century Americas.¹⁷⁷

Thus, when situated at the end of the transnational trajectory of the entangled letrado conversation on blackness, New-World history, and republicanism in the long nineteenth century, da Cunha's *Sertões* demonstrates the disastrous consequences that that thinking --limited and often contradictory-- has had in the Americas. Yet, it is unfair to claim, as scholars and laypersons often do, that the pitfalls of New-World republicanism are due to the letrados' misguided and uncritical efforts to adopt European political ideals. Rather, as I have shown in my chapters, republican thought was constantly scrutinized in the Americas, as letrados from across the region dialogued with each other about how best to negotiate the gulf that the hyphen in the term "nation-state" simultaneously represents and covers over. What is the relationship between nation and state? Who falls through the space between the compound's parts? A transnational analysis reveals that, anything but the "Galicized *evolués*" of whom Hobsbawm speaks, nineteenth-century letrados worked together across the borders of the states they created and maintained to formulate a New-World political philosophy.

That hardly means that the letrado architects of the creole nation-state are the unsung heroes of New-World history, however. If republicanism in the Hemisphere

¹⁷⁷ Da Cunha summarized his pessimistic feelings on Spanish American republicanism in the 1907 article "Solidariedade sul-americana."

represented the transition from colonial subjection to citizen subjectivity, it would seem that not all subjects were compatible with the nation-state model, as the cases that I have examined in this dissertation suggest. Recent work on immigration --such as Nicolas de Genova and Johnathan Fox's studies on Mexican-Americans in the United States and Joan Walloch Scott's exploration of the controversy surrounding the use of the veil by Islamic students in French public schools-- also points to the ways in which the nation-state model may work to obscure certain subjectivities.

In the discipline of literary studies, a necessary effort is being made to recover these marginalized voices. Guyatri Spivak's recent turn towards the "planetary" in comparative literary studies promises to uncover subjectivities not easily registered by nation-based scholarship. Meanwhile, scholars of U.S. Latino literature have shown particular interest in moving beyond the institutional divide between the North and Latin American literary canons in order to incorporate entangled subjectivities into their investigations. Working largely independently of Latino studies, the field of the African Diasporan studies, influenced by thinkers such as Édouard Glissant and Paul Gilroy, reflects similar methodological interests. The topic of subjectivity beyond the nation-state has been treated extensively in postmodern literature of diaspora, in texts ranging from Gayle Jones's *Corregidora* (1975) to Manuel Zapata Olivella's *Changó, el gran putas* (1983) and Cubena's *Chombo* (1981) and *Los nietos de Felicidad Dolores* (1990) to Maryse Condé's *Moi, Titiutba...sorcière noire de Salem* (1986), Junot Díaz's *Brief and Wonderous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007), and Cristina Garcia's *Monkey Hunting* (2003). Of equal importance is the early twentieth-century Pan-

African movement, which produced works such as Claude McKay's *Banjo* (1929) and W.E.B. DuBois's *Dark Princess* (1928). An admirable body of criticism has grown up around these texts, moving beyond Benedict Anderson's model of the national novel and Doris Sommer's work on the foundational fiction in order to find a theoretical language with which to discuss novels for which the nation is an issue but not necessarily a central concern.

What I hope to have shown in my dissertation is that the notion of incompatibility of nonwhite subjectivity with the New-World nation-state model did not suddenly emerge in the wake of World War I or the socio-political movements of the 1960s. Rather, as da Cunha's refusal to continue playing the game demonstrates, nineteenth-century letrado culture was marked by an effort to control nonwhite *protagonismo* in the national *historias* of the Hemisphere. Ironically, through its very marginalization, Afro-New World agency was a central preoccupation of creole self-fashioning in the Americas in the decades following independence.

Yet, it is because of this very participation of blackness in the paradoxically transnational project of nation-state construction in the nineteenth century that the texts I discuss in my dissertation do not represent a continuum with the diasporan works cited above. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, transnationalism is considered to be a challenge and a threat to the hegemony of the nation-state, as the endless debates over borders in our contemporary world, otherwise characterized by the free circulation of goods and capital, demonstrates. In the nineteenth century, however, as I have shown in this dissertation, transnationalism worked to bolster

nation-state hegemony, with discrete local histories becoming entangled with one another as they further the global design of the republican model in the Americas. More investigation is necessary in order to determine when and how the shift occurred.

While my study has, with the complicated exception of Haitian mulatto Émile Nau, focused on creole writers, I acknowledge that an exploration of the image of blackness in nineteenth-century creole literature begs an examination of what Afro-New World writers from the period were saying. Diaspora-oriented literature of the nineteenth century might shed further light on the transnational creole conversation that I have mapped out here. Marcus Delaney's recently rediscovered *Blake, or the Huts of Africa* (1861/2), written as a response to Harriet Beecher's Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), is an obvious example and Martín Morúa Delgados' lesser-known *Sofía* (1891), a counterdiscourse to Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* (1882)-- which is rapidly becoming a central text in New World studies-- would work just as well. Meanwhile, in the historical discipline, Ada Ferrer's work on the Afro-Cuban civil rights movement, Susan D. Greenbaum's work on the participation of Afro-descendent cigar workers based in Florida in the Cuban independence movement, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof's analysis of the life of Afro-Nuyorican Arturo Schomburg, George Reid Andrew's speculations regarding blackness in the work of Machado de Assis (*Afro-Latin America*), and Paulina Alberto's work on early twentieth-century Afro-Brazilian middle-class culture all point to possible avenues of investigation. That said, given the hemispheric dimensions of the conversation about Afro-

descendants, as demonstrated by the inclusion of Mansilla de García and Sarmiento in this dissertation, I wonder about nineteenth-century Afro-New World writing from locations beyond the extended Caribbean. Seth Meiser, for one, includes some analyses of Afro-Argentine poetry in his discussion of black agency in that country's early republican period. One cannot help but imagine that there are more examples to explore.

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