

Introduction

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Perhaps no period in Latin American history better exemplifies the word “transition” than the first seven decades of the nineteenth century. In 1800 the region was largely controlled by the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and seventy years later, it mostly consisted of independent nation-states, with the notable exceptions of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The series of geopolitical shocks that began with Napoleon’s invasion of Spain in 1808 and continued through and beyond the fabled victory of Sucre’s army in the Andean department of Ayacucho (1824) reverberated throughout the rest of the century. Indeed, by making our volume span the years 1800–70, we straddle both sides of the twenty-two year period (1808–30) that traditionally separates the Colonial Era from that of the Spanish American Republics and the “nation-building” period that occupies the rest of the century in most historiographic accounts. Literary and cultural history has traditionally followed this periodization, too, since the concept of a national literature depends upon a nation-state; in the 1850s and 1860s, Cuban poets such as José María Heredia and Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (Plácido) were anthologized as “Spanish” in Great Britain and the United States.

With the political and material reality of independence, a diverse group of writers and thinkers faced the question of how to articulate a regional American identity naturally founded in the Spanish colonial project as a weapon for decolonizing within and among the discrete nation-states brought into being by the military struggle against colonization.¹ The question depended not on a simple opposition between regional and national or national and local identity but rather on interwoven relationships between all of these layers of identity. The search for a concept or institution capable of creating community and continuity amid the fragmentation of the wars of independence and their aftermath has led to excellent scholarship focused on colonial and postcolonial archives, questions of sovereignty and government, as well as the self-conscious

definition and creation of national literary and cultural traditions.² By focusing on the critical role played by affect, sentimentality, and emotion, this collection aims to uncover the basic bonds that texts and other forms of cultural production employed to establish networks, friendships, and institutional associations in a geopolitical context in which all manner of associations and identities had been violently disrupted. As Jeremy Adelman has argued, the secession from Spain and Portugal was not an epic celebration of national becoming but rather a chaotic and traumatic process fraught with tension and political unrest (160–163). Those who saw themselves as founding patriarchs took on the task of creating symbols, laws, and traditions that aimed to instill patriotic feelings in the citizens of the newly formed republics. Writing from a position of institutional power, these figures relied on the pen and the sword to impose a patriarchal and racially homogenizing vision of the nation that assigned hierarchical places to different social groups. Ultimately the “aristocratic republics,” a term coined by Jorge Basadre, were designed by creole elites whose resentment of Spanish colonialism had more to do with taxation and economic liberalism than with any deep-seated decolonial ambition. As Mariátegui would claim retrospectively, the emergent Spanish American nations were inorganic political artifacts in which *gamonalismo* and feudalism persisted under the veneer of bourgeois modernization.³

Recent scholarship has taken up the issue of national identity and the tensions inherent to the nation-building phase of early modernization, conceptualizing the nascent republics as “imagined communities” (Anderson 1), “foundational fictions” (Sommer 1), and also as “affective communities” (Peluffo 2016, 4) shaped by the deployment and circulation of emotions. Less attention has been paid to transitions between cultural regimes and to the residual presence of premodern trends during times of “uneven modernity” (Ramos 11). The chapters in this volume investigate the overlapping (and underlying) “structures of feeling” (Williams 127) that played a key role in formulating the real and imagined publics and body politics (*res publica*) that cultural producers created and addressed. By questioning the boundaries between opposing semantic fields – colonial versus modern, civilization versus barbarism, public versus private, rational versus emotional – this collection proposes affective rereadings of the binaries that have long framed the story of early republican subjectivity in Latin America. While few critics would deny that Latin America reached a period of “extreme cosmopolitanism” (Montaldo 2013, 11) at the turn of the century, it is equally true that transnational currents of modernization and network-building circulated even before independence.

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Our volume seeks new ways of reading Latin America's great era of political and cultural transition and asks how the study of affect intersects with more canonical and established cultural readings of the early republican period. It draws together key topics in the field of nineteenth-century cultural studies that include race and gender, sentimental masculinities, epistolary networks, etiquette and manners, and transoceanic sisterhood. If some canonical figures are missing or are framed outside of their traditional patriarchal roles, this is the result of a deliberate choice to privilege voices neglected by national literary histories in order to revise top-down national imaginaries. Ultimately, this volume seeks to reconstruct and problematize nation-building itself as the primary mode of cultural and political transition by foregrounding the construction of transnational, transoceanic, and transregional networks and the affective glue that held them together. Likewise, by focusing on affective communities that often transcended geographical boundaries, the volume's form attempts to include a theoretically and geographically broad set of individual cases rather than to systematically "cover" individual authors, cities, or nation-states.

By interweaving new readings of canonical texts with chapters on cultural artifacts that were erased from the canon despite their massive circulation (e.g. Manuel Antonio Carreño's *Manual de etiqueta y buenas maneras*), the collection aims to provide a less hierarchical vision of cultural production that crosses the boundaries between "high" and "low" culture. In the case of women writers, their exclusion from national communities prompted the creation of cross-border sisterhoods that critiqued and problematized the republican fraternity that saw itself as the heart of the nation-building project. As a number of the included chapters show, women were active in the public sphere throughout the nineteenth century, not only as military subjects during times of war (Francisca Zubiaga de Gamarra, Juana Azurduy, Manuela Sáenz, *rabonas*, *cantineras*) but also as cultural producers who, from the periphery of the "lettered city" (literary salons, children's books, women's periodicals), envisioned feminized and, at times, radically inclusive models of nation-building. This volume also includes chapters on material and visual cultures, intersectional masculinities, seriality, narratives of war, communities of reading, material culture, ideas of childhood, and epistolary space. A number of chapters focus on the intersection between race, gender, and class, in the texts in question as well as the ways in which the feminine republican subject politicized domesticity in the name of more oppressed social groups (indigenous people and the enslaved).

Finally, it is important to note that this volume situates itself in a time period in which the relationship between literature and history is a fluid one, an era in which the boundaries between these two disciplines remained largely undefined. Our volume thus seeks to expand the ongoing conversation between cultural critics and historians that has already played a decisive role in a number of twenty-first-century compilations on the nineteenth century (Acree and González Espitia; Chasteen and Castro-Klaren). By linking critical theory, history, and the archive, our volume seeks to highlight the affective underpinnings of orality, textuality, and visuality, as cultural practices that garnered tremendous official and unofficial importance in nineteenth-century Latin America.

Volume Organization and Chapter Summaries

We have grouped the chapters into four Parts that rely on affect as a theoretical lens from which to explore the intersections between history, politics, and culture in the early part of the nineteenth century. We do not conceptualize affect as a pre-social or pre-political intensity but as part of an “affective economy” (Ahmed 119) in which emotions circulate between national and individual bodies creating shifting boundaries between them. Rather than following a chronological approach, we cluster essays around constellations of topics that underscore areas of affective and ideological intensity. The transferring and adaptation of European cultural trends to a new continent resulted in a series of tensions and dissonances that the volume seeks to analyze in all their tectonic density and complexity. We believe that cultural trends have porous endings and beginnings and that overlapping “structures of feeling” in moments of critical transition lend themselves well to a synchronic and affective theoretical approach.

Part I Aesthetics of Disorder

The first Part of the volume looks at authority and disorder as a problem of representation and imagination, as protest movements and the democratization of the printed word create new spaces for debate, as war itself challenges the capacity for representation and analysis of contemporary observers, and as authoritarian coalitions seek to contain and control the forces unleashed in new spaces of reading and physical conflict. What becomes of the affective forces that held the empire or nation together amid the spectacle of violence? What happens when the act of reading and debating moves from the salon or university to the

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streets? To what degree does the figure of a caudillo depend on real or represented affective connections to people and place? When Germán Arciniegas described the independence movement in Spanish America as “the triumph of student consciousness” rather than mere *caudillaje* (quoted in Michelena 467), his phrasing counterposed two conceptual frameworks for marking the political transition that occurred in much of Latin America during the nineteenth century: independence as a project carried out according to principles and plans versus independence as a violent rupture of an existing social and political order, and a rift that occasioned the frequent triumph of force over politics or principle. The first frame serves as a defense of independence while the second mirrors a critique of revolutionary social change that encompasses critiques of the French and Haitian revolutions along with, later on, the European uprisings of 1848.

The larger question of how to contextualize violence, disorder, and assertions of authority thus exceeds the scope of the independence movement of any particular nation-state. Julio Ramos has suggested that the aesthetics of late-nineteenth-century modernism could be read, at least in part, as the search for some heroic ideal capable of transcending the fragmentation produced by modernity itself (69). The impulse to compensate for bonds that have been broken or destroyed likewise transcends time and place, as theorized by Ben Anderson, who develops the concept of “affective atmospheres” to evoke the difficulties of representing, in moments of great social tension, “collective affects that are not reducible to the individual bodies they emerge from” (80).

Part I begins with chapters by Candela Marini and Ronald Briggs. Marini’s analysis of Bate and Company’s attempts to photograph the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) reveals a disconnect between the available photographic technology and the actions – battles and movements – that it tried and largely failed to capture. Instead, she argues, the war photographs protagonize empty spaces and challenge the viewers to imagine the events that took place there, even as newspaper writers attempted to give meaning to the struggle by linking it backwards in time to the Wars of Independence. Meaning-making thus coexists with, precedes, or even takes the place of representation. Briggs focuses on how the pro-independence uprisings that shook the city of Caracas beginning in 1810 were interpreted in the London-based periodical *El Español*, edited by the Spanish liberal José María Blanco White (1775–1841). Blanco White emphasized the familial bonds uniting the Hispanophone world and channeled contemporary critiques of the French and Haitian revolutions

to produce a limited and racially exclusive vision of the Spanish empire as a flawed affective community.

The notion of uprising or revolution becomes much more figurative in chapters by Brendan Lancot, William G. Acree, and José Ramón Ruisánchez Serra that analyze the creation and representation of reading publics beyond the lettered elite. Lancot foregrounds the emotional response of Lima's artisans to the job-threatening changes propelled by the guano boom as he analyzes the 1870s-era press written by and for artisans in Lima. He emphasizes the "affective labor" formed by artisan-writers who took on the task of shaping their own literary and aesthetic spaces. Acree's chapter examines the visual and textual creation of spaces for public reading, using Argentina and Uruguay as case studies for understanding broader cultural trends. By focusing on newspapers, literary propaganda, patriotic poetry, political pamphlets, and other popular modes of literary entertainment, Acree argues that the texts read aloud in the streets of Montevideo and Buenos Aires became the center of an affective economy that led to new forms of regional, commercial, and intellectual networks. For Ruisánchez Serra it is the newspaper page itself rather than the reading public that becomes the space for imagining a more democratic Latin American public. He focuses on the evolution from the *anuncio*, which he sees as a harbinger of literary realism, and the modern advertisement, which makes the commodity itself a channel for communicating affect. Taking test cases from Bogotá, Valparaíso, and Buenos Aires, three cities that were hubs for newspaper printing and distribution, he uncovers the relationship between commerce and desire and its role in producing alternative communities in a climate of rapid industrialization.

From this wide-angle view of the Latin American public, Ariel de la Fuente and Ricardo Salvatore take a more micro-scaled look at the phenomenon of the caudillo. De la Fuente examines the intermingling of literary tropes and lived experiences in Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's development of the prototype for the regional warlord whose personal virtues exist in opposition to modernity. Analyzing anecdotes that illustrate the greed and rage of Juan Facundo Quiroga through the dual lens of Sarmiento's writings and the rich corpus of popular oral traditions about the caudillo, de la Fuente shows how the enraged caudillo of the narrative serves to highlight a political economy based on forced contributions and thus projects more recent concerns backwards into a reading of the past. Salvatore's chapter looks at the correspondence between individual caudillos in Argentina during the rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1793–1877). Salvatore argues that for all of its authoritarian qualities, caudillo rule also

depended on effective emotional communication between warlords whose differing interests and temperaments continually threatened Rosas's coalition. Emotions play dual public and private roles in Salvatore's analysis, as the caudillos struggle to contain and soothe each other's emotions within the private realm of letters even as they reflect on their own political roles, which they tend to characterize as expressions of "popular feelings and beliefs" rather than arbitrary authority sustained by force.

Part II Affective Communities

The second Part of the volume explores processes of nation-building and struggles to replace the colonial order with a national one in the context of war. How do feelings about the nation circulate in the public sphere and how do they become narrativized by liberal and conservative elites? What ideologies, principles, and emotions glue communities together and what forces pull them apart? What are the material conditions of these historical imaginaries and how do those conditions intersect with marginalities of gender and race? All the chapters in this Part engage with Benedict Anderson's influential ideas on nation-building and his much-quoted thesis of the nation as "an imagined political community." In contrast to Anderson's vision of the nation as an affective fraternal community rooted in print capitalism only (novels, periodicals), the chapters in this Part argue that nontraditional genres such as etiquette manuals, ethnographic portraits, visual artifacts, and the lesser known genre of the *tradición* were equally important platforms from which to mold future citizens and visualize a fraught and evasive vision of modernity. Rather than thinking of nation-building processes as rational endeavors in which citizens choose to coexist, we seek to bring to the forefront the emotionality of nationalist ideologies while simultaneously exploring ways in which certain emotions discriminated against individuals who did not embrace Christian values or republican virtue. We follow Mary Louise Pratt in her early gendered critique of Anderson's masculinist views and hear her call to diversify the nineteenth-century canon by incorporating racialized and gendered perspectives into nation-building debates anchored in the fraternal politics of white supremacy.

Part II opens with Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado's critique of popular sovereignty, a historical concept that frames cultural production in the nascent Spanish American republics. While questioning the idea of Mexican national literature as an allegorical construction that is dependent on the narrativization of a national essence, Sánchez Prado traces the

genealogy of article 39 of the constitution that grants popular sovereignty to the Mexican people. In Sánchez Prado's reading of Francisco Zarco's liberal oeuvre, fear of rebellion, conceptualized as the accumulated rancor of the masses, becomes an ideological tool for forging the nation-state from the positionality of a hegemonic intellectual that sees himself as the inheritor of the power of the monarchy. While for Sánchez Prado, literary and visual artifacts operate in tandem to determine and to limit participation in State society, Shelley Garrigan's chapter "The Arithmetic of Sentiment" delves into the numerical subtexts that permeate Ignacio Manuel Altamirano's *Clemencia*, a serially produced Mexican novel that was at the heart of the Mexican liberal project. In Garrigan's reading of the sentimental excess that permeated novels, periodicals, and visual culture, the language of tears becomes a hermeneutic tool for dissecting the affective agency of liberal subjectivities. This sentimental project secularized morality while simultaneously fetishizing calculus, accumulation, and exchange.

Also focused on the emotional power of *costumbrismo* as a series of nation-building "tableaux vivants" is Lina del Castillo's chapter, entitled "Costumbrismo as Political Ethnography." Here, two cultural portraits of popular sectors by New Granada authors become emotional rallying cries for incorporating an ideal reading subject into a republican project that pitted liberal and conservative sensibilities against each other. For Castillo, popular sovereignty becomes tied to partial secularization in nations that were still under the orbit of monarchic power.

Sentimentality was highly valued throughout the century for its capacity to engage readers emotionally before ironic modernity took hold of the literary imagination. Building on the problematization of the sentimental attachment to land as a vehicle for nation-building, Vera Tudela's chapter, "The Disruptive Andean," centers on the construction of a feminized and Andeanized version of the Peruvian nation in Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Tradiciones cuzqueñas* (1884). Here, Matto's *tradiciones*, defined by Palma as a hybrid between history and literature, are not a defective copy of her predecessor's hegemonic model but a contested space from which to promote a radically different vision of the nation. By examining how both authors affectively engage with the Andes region, the Quechua language, and a new genre that became the precursor of the short story, Vera Tudela engages with a series of dichotomies – cosmopolitanism versus regionalism, orality versus textuality, Lima versus Cuzco – that were central to the conceptualization of historical transitions in the long nineteenth century.

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Cultural and book historians have emphasized the materiality of books as objects and commodities that circulate across national borders. Less attention has been paid to the political role that printers performed from the anonymity of spaces associated with book production. In “The Material and Cultural Politics of Publishing,” Corinna Zeltsman questions traditional visions of print culture that operate in a top-down fashion by shifting the focus from authors and readers to printers. Through a close reading of *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos* (1854) as well as paratexts found in newspapers and almanacs, Zeltsman argues that Mexican printers, in their conflicting roles as literate artisans, political figures, and editors were in charge of “repackaging international texts for local consumption.” In her chapter, the printing shop becomes a political and affective platform from which to reconcile love for the nation with the cosmopolitan sensibilities that were taking the lettered city by storm.

Closing Part II are two chapters on the construction of a national reading subject from the intimacy of the domestic interior. Working with a transnational corpus that weaves together etiquette manuals and novels from different parts of the continent, Juan Carlos González Espitia reads the affective pedagogy that these manuals promoted as secular tools to dictate morality in peripherally Victorian nations. While manuals have been studied for their ability to domesticate internal barbarism (González Stephan), discipline bodies, and create ideal modern citizens, González Espitia reveals the ways that urbanity’s maxims regulate heteronormative love in the intimate space of the bedroom. Finally, Part II ends with a chapter on conceptions of family and nation in Jorge Isaacs (Colombia, 1837–95), a Colombian writer who wrote the century’s sentimental best-seller *María* in 1868. In her chapter, Lee Skinner provides an analysis of Jorge Isaacs’ ideas on romantic love, genealogy and kinship in dialogue with *Novelas y cuadros de la vida Sur-Americana* by Soledad Acosta de Samper (Colombia, 1833–1913). By focusing on multiple family structures that represent different socioeconomic classes and races, Skinner shows how those representations provide an affective model from which to critique and comment on Colombia’s difficulty consolidating its national project.

Part III Intersectional Subjectivities

All chapters in Part III take an intersectional approach to the study of subjectivity in the early nineteenth century by seeking to decode the gender-race-class triad that was at the heart of liberal white privilege.

Coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 but previously used by Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldúa and bell hooks, intersectionality refers to the interlocking ways in which patriarchy, white supremacy, and colonialism, dehumanize, objectify, and criminalize oppressed social groups. In recent years, Crenshaw's legal term has lost some of its initial strength due to overuse and excessive circulation. Nevertheless, we believe that the concept's elasticity is a benefit to the study of complex processes of subject formation that must incorporate conflicting and overlapping layers of oppression and identification. When analyzing the transition between aesthetic trends, affective standards, and cultural debates, we focus on the ways in which racialized emotions adhere unevenly to certain subjectivities within broader social categories. We believe that the concept of transculturation can be applied to the study of early republican personhood and to the ways in which national and colonial subjects negotiated new concepts of the self. Mary Louise Pratt's idea of the contact zone as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict" (1992, 6) allows us to read processes of social change in a nonlinear and nonchronological manner. Rather than thinking of physical, spatial, and temporal borders as fixed, we seek to underscore their porosity and "in-betweenness" (Bhabha) in chapters that privilege movement across borders, mapping a number of intercontinental, transregional, transoceanic, and transnational flows.

We open this Part with a chapter by David Luis-Brown on the racialization of shame in surviving slave narratives by Juan Francisco Manzano (*Autobiografía*, 1840) and Harriet Jacobs (*Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 1861). Drawing upon the work of affect theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and Agamben's reading of Aristotle, Luis-Brown argues that shame is not just a site of emotional negativity and submission, but also a performative emotion that enslaved subjects used strategically to critique slaveholder paternalism and repudiate slavery. When ascribed to slaves, shame effectively maintained the hierarchy of the plantation. Luis-Brown, however, describes a process by which the enslaved person's shame became linked to pride, redirecting this negative emotion onto slaveholders and upsetting the affective standards of colonial Cuba. Lucía Stecher's chapter on two narratives of enslavement by Juan Francisco Manzano (Cuba) and Mary Prince (Bermuda) takes a different approach to the study of what Erin Austin Dwyer calls the emotional politics of slavery. In her chapter, she focuses on compassion