Introduction

A Global View on Local Consumption

"Quibdó is the emporium of foreign merchandise for a great extent of very sparsely populated territory," wrote John C. Trautwine, a Philadelphia-born engineer, in 1852.[1] Trautwine had reached "the much-talked-of Quibdó" after a hazardous month's voyage from the Gulf of Urabá, on Colombia's Caribbean coast, up the Atrato River, and had little disposition to move about for two or three days after his arrival. But once he regained his strength, the North American resumed the task of leaving a record of his exploration for an interoceanic canal route across the Pacific lowlands of Colombia.[2] In his account, Trautwine included his verdict on the river town, its commerce, and

[1] John C. Trautwine, *Rough Notes of an Exploration for an Inter-oceanic Canal Route by Way of the Rivers Atrato and San Juan, in New Granada, South America* (Philadelphia: Barnard and Jones, 1854), 37.

[2] Today's Colombia had different names throughout the nineteenth century – the Republic of Colombia (1819–31), which included roughly the modern nations of Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador; Nueva Granada (1831–58); the Confederación Granadina (1858–63); the Estados Unidos de Colombia (1863–86); and the Republic of Colombia (since 1886). Because of these changes Colombia adopted various territorial divisions throughout the nineteenth century. In 1853 the country was divided into provinces, cantons, and districts. The constitutions of 1843 and 1853 ratified the territorial division into provinces. In 1855 the formation of states was approved and with the Constitution of 1863, the process of territorial organization centered around states was completed. The Constitution of 1886 turned states into departments. These departments, in turn, were divided into provinces, and these, into municipal districts. For the sake of clarity, Colombia and Colombians rather than any other name will be used wherever possible.

its people. "Nearly every house is a shop, in which the systems of selling and bartering extend to every imaginable object that can be procured to sell or barter," he declared. According to Trautwine, twenty to thirty tons of textile fabrics, groceries, crockery, and other foreign merchandise were sent monthly up the river from the old colonial port of Cartagena to Quibdó and the surrounding region. "The great bulk of the articles is of inferior quality, adapted to the necessities and primitive tastes of the poor and semi-civilized negroes and Indians, among whom it is distributed," the North American claimed.[3] To Trautwine's amazement, imported manufactured goods were tailored to satisfy the needs and tastes of those whom he saw with prejudiced eyes.

Three years after Trautwine's visit, a letter crossed the Atlantic with detailed information about the preferences of those whom he had deemed primitive. This was not the first time that the merchant José María Botero Arango was addressing his "*estimados amigos*" (dear friends) at Stiebel Brothers' headquarters in London's Crosby Square with suggestions on textile samples. In his July 1855 letter, the Antioqueño merchant told the company that dark and basic designs were little fancied by his customers. Because of this, Botero Arango, who traded in Santa Fe de Antioquia and Quibdó and would settle in Medellín in 1857, asked for new samples of "sufficient size to recognize their quality" as well as new designs because, in his own words, "they like variety here."[4] He was well aware that not just anything shipped would satisfy the country's diverse population. Trautwine's observation thus rang true. If merchants wished to sell their textiles, machetes, toiletries, and many other imported commodities in Quibdó and its surroundings, they needed to acknowledge local preferences and demands.

By 1890 the US consul in Barranquilla was still insisting on the need to follow such an unnegotiable premise. Johnson Nickeus, stationed in the main port in the Colombian Caribbean, knew that US merchants were still concerned over the little progress made in acquiring a more significant portion of the South American market. With determination, he set about to write a detailed report setting forth "in what respects the manufacturers of Europe excel [US manufacturers] in complying with

[3] Trautwine, *Rough Notes*, 37.
[4] Libro copiador de correspondencia, 1855–57, Archivo Botero Arango e Hijos (hereinafter ABA), Series 227, Sala de Patrimonio Documental Centro Cultural Biblioteca Lev, Universidad EAFIT, Medellín, Colombia, 62.

the wants, tastes, and peculiarities of the people in preparing and decorating . . . merchandise and in packing it for transportation."[5]

To this end, Nickeus wrote at length about the many goods that reached Barranquilla – flour, butter, rice, sugar, sardines, biscuits, crackers, furniture, hardware, machinery, musical instruments, paper and stationery, watches, and clocks. But it was his remarks on cotton textiles that were the most telling in regard to US manufacturers' failures in Colombia. "Cotton goods are by far the most important of all merchandise in this country," he noted, particularly cotton prints – "almost entirely imported from Manchester." As many had done before him, the US consul insisted that locals preferred cotton textiles of very specific dimensions – "the width must be 22 to 23 inches and the pieces of 30 yards exactly." By making prints "wider than consumers want them here, and in unsuitable lengths," US manufacturers were getting nowhere in the Colombian market. In the meantime, Nickeus claimed, "the Manchester firms constantly furnish great varieties of designs from which importers here can select the most suitable to the taste of the market."[6] Predictably his report concluded with some general observations on Colombians' preferences:

> These people have peculiar notions, tastes, and customs, which are the growth of centuries. I am simply stating what has been told our merchants a thousand times by consuls and others, that it is useless to attempt to force on the people our tastes and peculiarities. Our merchants must manufacture goods to suit these people; their tastes must be studied and complied with. This is done in the most careful and minute way by all Europeans, and unless Americans do likewise England, France, and Germany will continue to get the lion's share of the trade.[7]

Appearing somewhat irritated by the stubbornness of those who insisted on ignoring local preferences, Nickeus asked US merchants to "lay aside a little of your independence, send your salesmen with samples, . . . ascertain what these people want and give it to them."[8]

Trautwine's, Botero Arango's, and Nickeus's words, whether intentionally or not, offer small windows into the world of goods inhabited by Colombians in the mid-1800s, scattered testimonies of how

[5] Bureau of the American Republics, *How the Latin American Markets May Be Reached by the Manufacturers of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893), 132.
[6] Bureau of the American Republics, 132–33.
[7] Bureau of the American Republics, 146.
[8] Bureau of the American Republics, 146.

peasants, *colonos* (settlers), day laborers, formerly enslaved people, *bogas* (river boatmen of African descent), and market women became active agents in the global circulation of modern goods. By piecing out multiple – yet dispersed – depictions of their material world and their intimate relationship with it, *Plebeian Consumers* studies how the material culture of broad sections of nineteenth-century Colombia's population, far from being indigenous, was inextricably intertwined with complex and diverse global processes of production and exchange. It reveals how, in their capacity as free citizens, the country's popular sectors became the largest consumers of foreign commodities in mid nineteenth-century Colombia and dynamic participants of a highly interconnected world.

This book unfolds as both a global and a local story. Methodologically and narratively it shifts "the periphery" to the center of the analysis to offer a new take on global interconnectivity in the nineteenth century, in which the taste of the popular sectors from apparently isolated countries such as Colombia played a key part.[9] With this shift it hopes to open new lines of inquiry into the different ways that peripheral consumers altered global processes from below and critically highlight the multidirectionality, scales, and nuances of nineteenth-century global relationships by studying a wide spectrum of consumer practices and a broad range of everyday goods. To tell this global tale, *Plebeian Consumers* not only follows consumers' preferences and demands but studies how their adoption of foreign goods was in large part due to how merchants and local intermediaries in Colombia conveyed consumers' tastes to manufacturers across the Atlantic. In response to these efforts, as this study will show, British, French, and US retailers were ready to redesign and adapt their products for a predominantly plebeian population. Although on a global scale, Colombians might appear inconsequential to modern historians, they were cherished consumers to nineteenth-century manufacturers of global goods.

[9] Such an approach is a response to the historiography that treats Latin America as the "other." For an interesting discussion of this historiography, see Hilda Sabato, "Historia latinoamericana, historia de América Latina, Latinoamérica en la historia," *Prismas* 19, no. 2 (2015): 135–45. For a discussion of the periphery relevant to my use of the term, see Mary Louise Pratt, "Modernity and Periphery: Toward a Global and Relational Analysis," in *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identitities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization*, ed. Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 21–48.

By studying global interconnectivity from the margins, I hope to contest Latin America's place in nineteenth-century global history.[10] Focusing on consumption – and not on the production of export commodities, as a good share of economic history has done so far – allows me to forcefully challenge ongoing stereotypes about the region's peripheral role in the world economy and its unquestionable "dependency" on the Global North.[11] Furthermore, by examining how plebeian consumers affected patterns of production in Europe and the United States, I dispute the notion that Colombia's global relationships in the nineteenth century were dictated entirely by outsiders and even more so, by the country's elites. I do so while simultaneously confronting a historical narrative – itself first created in the nineteenth century – of Colombia as a country with self-sufficient regional markets, isolated from the outside world, and incapable of overcoming the fragmentation of its national market.[12]

[10] On the challenges of doing global history for Latin America and why the region has remained on the periphery for this way of writing history, see Matthew Brown, "The Global History of Latin America," *Journal of Global History* 10, no. 3 (2015): 365–86. See also Gabriela de Lima Grecco and Sven Schuster, "Decolonizing Global History? A Latin American Perspective," *Journal of World History* 31, no. 2 (2020): 425–46.

[11] The primary purpose of the first wave of modern economic history in Latin America was to explain how the region gradually set aside the colonial economic model and joined the world market as a supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials for Europe first and then the United States. Because Latin America's global relationships have often been inequitable, these scholars concentrated on exploitative aspects of Latin American production for foreign markets and trade imbalances; priority was given to export-centered explanations of nineteenth-century economic development, which meant that imported manufactured goods were sidelined in the historiography. One of the pioneering works of this wave of history was Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969). Among the studies that maintain this position, see Enrique Cárdenas, José Antonio Ocampo, and Rosemary Thorp, eds., *An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Latin America. Vol. 1: The Export Age: The Latin American Economies in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Palgrave, 2000); Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John H. Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortés Conde, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America. Vol. 2: The Long Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, 2nd ed. (2003; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[12] Such narratives crafted in the nineteenth century still permeate our current understanding of Colombia's history. Observers, journalists, and scholars at that time gravitated toward the country's backwardness, attributing it variously to population makeup, geography, weak institutions, and feeble economy. Assessing social and economic conditions via metrics such as the number of railways and roads constructed, these lettered men and women openly proclaimed nineteenth-century Colombia as backward in the global theater. This assessment appeared in various forms in the new and more critical

Plebeian Consumers aims, therefore, to counterbalance these interpretations by depicting nineteenth-century consumers as part of a ceaselessly interdependent world. In this sense, it joins the works of historians who have more broadly questioned the perception, held until very recently, that the nineteenth century was when global exchanges – of objects, ideas, people, and technologies – lost strength and momentum.[13] Indeed, interpretations of the nineteenth century as the moment when Latin American countries turned in on themselves remained ingrained well into the twentieth century. Most of these stressed internal nation-building processes and explored each country's connection with the outside world in light of

interpretations of the national past that emerged by the first half of the twentieth century. The most important of these was offered by historian Luis Eduardo Nieto Arteta, who characterized nineteenth-century Colombia's economy as an "economy of archipelagos." Although subsequent scholars have revised some of Nieto Arteta's views, his idea of the country's fragmentation still resonates. In 1986, for instance, historian Frank Safford maintained the concept of a fragmented economy for Colombia after revisiting the "archipelago" thesis. He claimed that because of "the isolation of local economies, national economic policy was not important to anyone, because Colombia was both economically and politically invertebrate." Frank Safford, "The Emergence of Economic Liberalism in Colombia" in *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History*, ed. Joseph LeRoy Love and Nils Jacobsen (New York: Praeger, 1988), 35–62, 53. Paradoxically, Safford has been one of the few historians to have paid serious attention to the country's import trade. Luis Eduardo Nieto Arteta, *Economía y cultura en la historia de Colombia* (1942; repr., Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1996), 351, 373; Frank Safford, "Acerca de las interpretaciones socioeconómicas de la política en la Colombia del siglo XIX: Variaciones sobre un tema," trans. Margarita González and María V. Gussoni, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, nos. 13–14 (1985–86): 91–151, 97 (My translation). For works that embrace the fragmentation thesis see, among many, Marco Palacios and Frank Safford, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Frank Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia, 1821–1870" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1965).

Among the works that address and challenge the fragmentation thesis, see James V. Torres, "Trade in a Changing World: Gold, Silver, and Commodity Flows in the Northern Andes 1780–1840" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2021); Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Mapping the Country of Regions: The Chorographic Commission of Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016). For a discussion of the historiographical debate, see Alexander Betancourt Mendieta, *Historia y nación: Tentativas de la escritura de la historia en Colombia* (2007; repr., Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2020).

[13] Historians have started to challenge this view. See Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller, America in the World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015). Osterhammel, however, touches on Latin American briefly. In 2022 the first issue of the journal *Global Nineteenth-Century Studies* was published. The journal was created as a forum for scholars from a wide array of disciplines who share an interest in the world's connectedness between 1750 and 1914.

such processes.[14] The result was a good share of works on nineteenth-century Latin America that predominantly explain internal processes of national formation as well as the place of foreign ideas and resources in said processes, thereby overlooking the impact of the region's ordinary women and men on other geographical spaces in intellectual, political, and economic terms.

One could have hoped that the rise of global history would offer new interpretations of nineteenth-century Latin America by compensating for nation-state-based histories and repositioning the region's relationship within global networks. However, as various Latin American scholars have recently noted, global history has not radically changed the region's place in Western historiography, leaving Latin American history in general and nineteenth-century history in particular underrepresented.[15] There are many reasons for this, one being that global history scholars have been primarily occupied with exploring the power dynamics between China, South Asia, and Europe, finding it challenging to place Latin America in their narratives. Such historiographical emphases have had major interpretative results, namely they have relegated Latin America once again to the "periphery" and have rendered its nineteenth-century historical actors as passive participants in global transformations. The same can be said of the global turn in the history of consumption. Although initially studies on consumption focused on the origins and expansion of the consumer society in Europe and North America,[16] later scholars turned to new histories and geographies of consumption, which included excellent works on China and India and countries in Africa.[17] This new focus did result in important studies in the

[14] De Lima Grecco and Schuster, "Decolonizing Global History?," 434.

[15] For examples of how global and world historians that sideline Latin America, see Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (2004; repr., Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012); Osterhammel, *Transformation of the World*; Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (2014; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 2015).

[16] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption in America: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

[17] See, among many other works, Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (2003; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); and Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

last two decades on Latin America's history of consumption, but very few of these studies centered on the nineteenth century.[18]

Historians of the Atlantic world, for their part, have challenged the peripheral nature of Latin America. Still, Atlanticists have been cautious in incorporating the nineteenth century into their histories, stopping at the 1820s, with the end of the Age of Revolutions.[19] This has, once again, silenced various actors' contributions to global processes in nineteenth-century Latin America. As historian James E. Sanders has stated, "ending studies of the Atlantic world in the early nineteenth century has worked to obscure the importance of ... later political struggles and their Atlantic character, thereby emphasizing events and processes in the North Atlantic, while ignoring sites of democratic innovation such as Colombia."[20] In a similar vein, Matthew Brown has called historians to spend more energy investigating the influence that Latin America had on the rest of the world in the mid nineteenth century, the moment when Latin America embraced and was embraced by the global, in culture as well as in commerce.[21] *Plebeian Consumers* shares these concerns, and

[18] For some noteworthy exceptions to this exclusion of nineteenth-century Latin America from the history of consumption, see Benjamin Orlove, ed., *The Allure of the Foreign: Imported Goods in Postcolonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (2001; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Arnold Bauer's is one of the most cited contributions on this subject. However, he turns to the concept of "material culture" rather than to consumption. Also worth mentioning is Manuel Llorca-Jaña, *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century* (2012; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). For studies on twentieth-century consumption in Latin America, see Natalia Milanesio, *Workers Go Shopping in Argentina: The Rise of Popular Consumer Culture* (2013; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015); Eduardo Elena, *Dignifying Argentina: Peronism, Citizenship, and Mass Consumption* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011); Steven B. Bunker, *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012). Heidi Tinsman, *Buying into the Regime: Grapes and Consumption in Cold War Chile and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

[19] As historian José Moya has underscored, the concept of the Atlantic world "is applicable more to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century than to previous or later periods." José C. Moya, "Modernization, Modernity, and the Trans/formation of the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 187–207, 187.

[20] James E. Sanders, "Atlantic Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century Colombia: Spanish America's Challenge to the Contours of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 1 (2009): 131–50, 133.

[21] Brown, "Global History of Latin America," 379. Similarly, Moya argues in favor of embracing a new kind of Atlantic in the long nineteenth century – different from the Atlantic conceptualized for the early modern period – that stemmed from unprecedented

thus it stresses the dynamic and fluid global connections of Latin America's popular sectors in the second half of the nineteenth century. This requires, as mentioned, not positing a priori that Colombia was a fragmented republic and Latin America was a dependent region, even while recognizing the many political and economic challenges that the country and region faced throughout the nineteenth century.

As much as *Plebeian Consumers* tells a global and connected story, it also tells a local tale of struggles for citizenship and political recognition in which plebeian consumption plays a key role. This is a different kind of story about popular actors than the one often told by the historiography so far. In the past two decades, historians of Latin America have broadly studied popular men and women to understand their role as political actors in the new republics, explore the obstacles they faced in acquiring land and protecting their property rights, recognize the trials that freedmen and freedwomen encountered after emancipation, and grasp the struggles for citizenship of Indigenous, Black, and mixed-race inhabitants.[22] These studies owe much to previous scholarship on Colombia's nineteenth-century artisan republicanism, peasant movements, and republican politics and free elections, all of which have deepened our understanding of the country's political culture during this period.[23]

transformations in people, commerce, ideas, capital, and technology. Moya, "Modernization," 187–207.

[22] This literature is too vast to cite in full. Among the most recent studies, see James E. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia 1795–1831* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007); Jason McGraw, *The Work of Recognition: Caribbean Colombia and the Postemancipation Struggle for Citizenship* (2014; repr., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780–1825* (2016; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Claudia Leal, *Landscapes of Freedom: Building a Postemancipation Society in the Rainforests of Western Colombia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

[23] Malcolm Deas, "La presencia de la política nacional en la vida provinciana, pueblerina y rural de Colombia en el primer siglo de la República," in *Del poder y la gramática y otros ensayos sobre historia, política y literatura colombianas* (1993; repr., Bogotá: Taurus, 2006), 175–206; Catherine LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1850–1936* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); David Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832–1919* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del movimiento plebeyo, 1849–1854* (Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, 1995); Margarita Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones: Variaciones sobre la política en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1770–1815*

Altogether, this literature has reassessed the nineteenth century – a period once viewed as the heyday of caudillos, anarchic turmoil, and misrule – as an age of liberal experimentation and struggles for political recognition. By so doing, historians have challenged the teleological perspectives underlying the scholarship that had cast nineteenth-century Spanish America's political volatility as a symptom of the "failed" modernization of its new polities. Scholars have also called for repositioning Latin America at the vanguard of republicanism in the modern Atlantic world[24] and invited historians to rethink the origins and meanings of republicanism through a critical analysis of the political practices of a diverse and wide variety of Latin America's historical actors.[25] The latter embracing a multilayered view of citizenship in the nineteenth century that welcomes the idea that citizenship was exercised and fought over in multiple arenas, including the ballot box, the public sphere, and the battlefield.[26]

This book adds to and critically addresses this new body of work by reconsidering popular groups and republican politics at this time through the lens of political economy and the everyday practices of economic life. By exploring how the popular sectors in mid nineteenth-century Colombia participated in the market economy not only as laborers but as individuals who adopted new commodities, *Plebeian Consumers* studies the extent to which their role as consumers shaped ideas and practices of citizenship. It argues that for those in power as well as for those seeking to be recognized as political subjects, citizenship was inevitably tied to

(Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1993); Eduardo Posada-Carbó, ed., *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Mario Aguilera Peña, *Insurgencia urbana en Bogotá: Motín, conspiración y guerra civil, 1893–1895* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1997).

[24] On calls to consider Latin American as republicanism's vanguard, see Hilda Sabato, *Republics of the New World: The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 7; James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 9; Jeremy Adelman, "Liberalism and Constitutionalism in Latin America in the 19th Century," *History Compass* 12, no. 6 (2014): 508–16. On calls to critically analyze political practices, see Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 4; Sanders, "Atlantic Republicanism."

[25] Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 4; Sanders, "Atlantic Republicanism."

[26] For a review of the historiography, see Hilda Sabato, "On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 4 (2001): 1290–315.