UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Reading Centroamericanismo:
U.S. Central American Literatures in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1870-1921

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in English

by

Gabriela Valenzuela

2022

© Copyright by

Gabriela Valenzuela

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Reading Centroamericanismo:

U.S. Central American Literatures in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1870-1921

by

Gabriela Valenzuela

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Marissa Katherine López, Chair

This dissertation pushes back the timeline of U.S. Central American studies to the nineteenth century to problematize scholarship that frames Central Americans as new arrivals to the United States. The attention paid to nineteenth-century nation-building, Anglo-American novels in American Studies, along with analyses of mid-twentieth-century mass migrations in Latinx Studies, obscures the literary and cultural productions of Central Americans who journeyed to U.S. cities such as San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, and Washington D.C. in the long nineteenth century. Drawing on Anglo-American, Latinx, and Central American archives, this dissertation argues for an interdisciplinary reading practice that brings into view the diverse, fugitive forms that constitute nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literature. Each of the dissertation's four chapters trouble fixed categorizations of genre and literariness and explore disparate U.S. Central American texts that forge a nineteenth-century U.S. Central American

literary history that is simultaneously imbricated in and distinct from Anglo-American and Latinx cultural productions.

The dissertation of Gabriela Valenzuela is approved.

Patricia Arroyo Calderón

Michael C. Cohen

Kirsten Silva Gruesz

Marissa Katherine López, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

For my beloved Kimberly and Heather Bugsy.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Vita xi

Introduction: 1

1| The Racialization of the "Spanish-American" Woman in *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) and *McTeague* (1899) 21

2| Finding La Patria Grande: Román Mayorga Rivas's Transnational Centroamericanismo in the U.S. Periodical Press 54

3| Fragments of Femininity: La Mujer Centroamericana in the Archives of the Transnational Nineteenth Century 96

4 | *Centro América* in San Francisco: The Makings of an Isthmian Diaspora at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century 126

Bibliography 165

Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the support I've received from so many wonderful people during my doctoral journey, especially in the last two years. It's impossible to articulate how challenging it was to write the entirety of this dissertation in the middle of a global pandemic. Thank you, all, for getting me across the finish line.

First, I'd like to express my gratitude to Marissa López, without whom this dissertation wouldn't have happened. Marissa is an ideal dissertation director who has guided this misanthrope through every step of the doctoral program and believed in the value of my work long before I could. Thank you, Marissa, for everything—especially your rigorous feedback, brilliant scholarship, kindness, and humor. I am very grateful for your mentorship through graduate school and beyond. My goal now is to pay it forward.

I'd also like to thank the rest of my committee for their contributions and support in building up the ideas for this project. Patricia Arroyo Calderón helped me bridge the gap between Latinx and Central American studies. She welcomed me, an English-department interloper, into her Spanish American literature seminar, where the first kernels of this dissertation were born. Mil gracias, Patricia. I am grateful for Michael Cohen's incisive questions about my methodology, which sharpened the lucidity of my writing. Thank you, Michael, for setting a high standard of intellectual rigor. I would like to thank Kirsten Silva Gruesz for inviting me to participate in *Other Languages, Other Americas,* and *Translating America/America Translated* in 2017 and 2019, both of which were deeply formative to this project and my sense of self as an interdisciplinary scholar. I am grateful to add my name to the ever-growing list of Central Americanists whose work Kirsten has supported.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the UCLA English department for all it has given me. Richard Yarborough patiently answered my questions during Welcome Week in 2016. I want to thank him for continuing to check in with me long after that. I am also grateful for the guidance and feedback Carrie Hyde provided me in the early stages of the doctoral program. Chris Mott is a student advocate through and through. Thanks, Chris, for teaching me how to teach. Thank you, Michael Lambert, Jeanette Gilkinson, and the rest of the English department's generous staff. I wouldn't have been able to navigate the administrative side of graduate school without your support.

Outside of the UCLA English Department, I'd like to express my deepest gratitude to Kelley Kreitz, without whom I never could have written Chapter 2. Thank you, Kelley, for speaking with me on the phone for over an hour about archives in 2019, and for sharing your scans of *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*.

My time at UCLA would not have been the same without the friendships I have been lucky to cultivate there and without the collegiality of my fellow graduate students. Thank you, Will Clark and Efren Lopez, for your invaluable feedback, encouragement, and friendship. I look forward to collaborating with you both as CSU colleagues. My cohort mates, Jessica Lee and Lesley Thulin are two of the most generous scholars I have ever had the pleasure of meeting. I am eternally grateful to have gone through this experience with them. Thank you as well to Comfort Azubuko-Udah for all the laughs (and tears) we shared in the TA offices, and for forcing me to leave my apartment every once in a while. I wouldn't drive out to the Westside for anyone else. Shouhei Tanaka, fellow elder millennial, helped me get through the last few months of dissertation writing. Thanks for hanging with me on Zoom.

I want to acknowledge the Latinx Literary Reading Group's role in showing me the importance of compassion and collaboration in this profession. Some of my fondest memories at UCLA are from the in-person meetings we held before the pandemic. Thanks especially to Sal Herrera and Sammy Solis, for keeping LLRG going these last two years and for keeping me cool and hip about the latest pop culture. I am grateful for the feedback I received on my first chapter from this group, especially from Rafael Pérez-Torres.

Attending graduate school in my home city has been disorienting at times, so I would like to express my gratitude to the community that sustains me outside of UCLA. Thank you, Ani Sultanyan, for our decade-long friendship. The laughs we've shared over dinners, coffee, and movie nights have carried me through this journey, reminding me at every turn how lucky I am to have found such a caring friend so early in life. Brenda Martinez came into my life at the end of 2016 when, burned out from a rough first quarter of graduate school, I introduced myself to her on social media. Thank you, Brenda, for sharing your work with me, and for being a constant source of strength. Nghi Lam has listened to me sort myself out, and helped me get a sense of clarity in my academic and personal lives; thank you so much. Bugsy and Bobs, I miss you every day, but I remain grateful for you.

There are not enough words for me to adequately thank my English professors at Cal State LA, who were my first mentors. Andrew Knighton's theory seminar was so challenging that it was almost too intimidating for me, but the way he took me seriously as a scholar and thinker marked a real turning point in my academic journey. Without his guidance, I never would have even applied to Ph.D. programs. Maria Karafilis introduced me to Poe, Wharton, and Thoreau as an undergraduate, and even then, her lectures pushed me to the limits of my thinking. I've been hooked on the nineteenth century ever since. Special appreciation goes out to fellow

UCLA English alumna Linda Greenberg. I first encountered the Latinx nineteenth century in her Chicana Feminisms seminar, where she assigned *The Squatter and the Don*. Thank you, all, for your guidance and teaching. I can hardly believe I'm returning to campus as your colleague.

Thank you to my father, Tito Valenzuela, for sharing his love of literature and history with me as a child. His unwavering love provided me with the courage to ask a million questions at every turn and to keep learning about anything and everything. My niece, Abigail, has been a rock in more ways than she knows. Thank you, Abby, for inspiring me with your courage.

And finally, I thank Amanda Kong and Carlos Cabrera. Amanda, my best friend, and favorite collaborator is a model scholar and teacher. Thank you, Amanda, for being my chosen family. I truly could not have gone through this process without you. Gabmanda forever! Carlos, thank you for everything: from paying for parking during our days in community college to taking over my half of the household chores so I could dedicate an extra hour to writing. You have read every single draft of every seminar essay, conference paper, cover letter, and dissertation chapter, and you have held me through my highest and lowest moments over the last fourteen years. You, Kimmy, and Brucie keep me going. Thank you for your love, friendship, and for our little family.

VITA

Education

2020 | C.Phil. University of California, Los Angeles. Department of English.

2015 | M.A. California State University of California, Los Angeles. Department of English.

2012 | B.A. California State University of California, Los Angeles. Department of English.

Publications

Valenzuela, Gabriela. "*Centro América* in San Francisco: The U.S. Central American Experience at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century." *Latinx Literary Modernities, 1898-1992* (*Latinx Literature in Translation Vol.* 2), Eds. John Alba Cutler and Marissa K. López. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (forthcoming)

Select Conference Presentations

2022 | "19th-Century Centroamérica and its Contemporary U.S. Diasporas: Archives of Blanqueamiento and Nationalisms." Latina/o Studies Association. Bloomington, Indiana.

2019 | "Writing the Isthmus: Nineteenth-Century U.S.-Central American Literary Entanglements." American Studies Association. Honolulu, Hawaii.

2018 | "Imagining Empire in Central America: Dime Novels and Nineteenth-Century US Literary Landscapes," C19. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Honors and Fellowships

2020-2021 | English Department Dissertation Support Fellowship, UCLA

2019-2020 | Eugene V. Cota Robles Fellowship, UCLA

2018 | Graduate Division Summer Research Mentorship Award, UCLA

Introduction

El placer para mí se acabó,
mi alma canta tristezas y amarguras
pues ya sí culpo también mi cabeza
que del mundo se dejó engañar.
Yo luché para romper las cadenas,
mi impotencia no lo pudo hacer,
yo me asomaba la reja si veía
y a lo libre gozan del placer
—Fabían Graciano, "Recuerdo," published in *Diario del Salvador* February 17, 1913[1]

The night before his execution for the murder of Salvadoran President Manuel Enrique Araujo, Fabían Graciano wrote the verse above for family and friends. A somber mood hangs over the poem, in which the speaker expresses sadness over his life coming to an end, as well as anger towards himself for allowing the world to deceive him. "I fought to break these chains," the speaker laments, "but I was too powerless" (1). Alongside Virgilio Mulatillo and Fermin Pérez, Graciano was sentenced to death by the Salvadoran National Guard on February 17, 1913. A thorough investigation was never conducted by officials, but Mulatillo, Pérez, and Graciano insisted that they were coerced into killing the unsuspecting Araujo, who two weeks earlier had been enjoying a musical performance in San Salvador's Parque Bolívar when the three farmworkers assaulted him. Though the details of the murder's orchestration are lost to us now,[2]

[1] There is no more pleasure for me,
my soul sings a sad and bitter song
since, yes, I do blame myself
for letting the world deceive me.

I fought to break these chains,
but I was too powerless,
I looked out to the fence
And they freely enjoy the pleasure

[2] According to Hector Lindo-Fuentes, U.S. diplomats strongly suspected Guatemalan dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera was responsible for Araujo's assassination (98).

Graciano's words of resistance, published in *Diario del Salvador*, remain with us in archives as "un recuerdo para siempre" (1).

Until I came across "Recuerdo" in the archives of Róman Mayorga Rivas, *Diario*'s founding editor, Graciano's story was just family lore to me. As my grandmother understands it, her uncle, Fabían, was harassed relentlessly by a stranger for months until he agreed to take a machete to an unknown man. Graciano finally succumbed to the stranger's threats after he began to intimidate his family, but little did Graciano know that his victim was Araujo, who was elected as El Salvador's president in 1911. Weeks after the execution, Salvadoran military hassled Graciano's family for answers they did not have, forcing my grandmother's father into hiding. An archival fragment, "Recuerdo" is a text that wavers between archives in San Francisco, California, where Rivas filed articles of incorporation for his newspaper, and Central America. It is a literary text that is part of the long nineteenth century's transisthmus,[3] a social imaginary that encompasses the complex literatures of Central America across transhistorical and transnational contexts, and it emblematizes the kinds of diverse, fugitive texts[4] in which this dissertation is interested.

In *Reading Centroamericanismo*, I push the timeline of U.S. Central American literary studies back to the nineteenth century to problematize scholarship that frames Central Americans as new arrivals to the United States. The hypervisibility of Anglo-American nation-building

---

[3] Ana Patricia Rodríguez contends that the isthmus is a site that connects the various Central American nations across different periods, demanding a transhistorical and transnational methodology by which to read its literary and cultural productions. She coins the term "transisthmus" to describe "an imaginary yet material space" from which scholars can read the complex contexts of Central American literatures (2).

[4] Here, I draw from Fred Moten and Raúl Coronado. In *Stolen Life* (2003), Moten describes "fugitivity" as "a desire for and a spirit of escape and transgression of the proper and the proposed. It's a desire for the outside, for a playing or being outside, an outlaw edge proper to the now always already improper voice or instrument" (131). Meanwhile, Coronado insists that scholars of Latina/o literary history must grapple with nineteenth-century Latina/o textuality embedded in oral and visual culture, manuscripts, epistolary forms, revolutionary pamphlets, broadsides, etc. (54).

novels and analyses of mid-twentieth-century mass Central American migrations, I argue, render invisible nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literatures. Following Lisa Lowe's call to read intimately, across national histories, I build on scholarship in American, Latinx, and Central American studies to bring into view Central Americans who journeyed to the U.S. in the nineteenth century in the years between 1870 and 1921. The Liberal reforms that swept Central America beginning around 1870, the rise of coffee and banana industries, and the construction of the Panama Canal at the turn of the century generated transnational Central American migrations to U.S. cities such as San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, and Washington D.C. In each of the four chapters, I examine how rigid definitions of genre and literariness obscure nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literary and cultural production, and argue for the reading of heterogeneous, fugitive texts that generate a much clearer and radically different vision of Central American diasporas in the U.S.

This project really began for me at the end of my first year in graduate school, when I read Frank Norris's *McTeague* (1899) and became captivated by Maria Miranda Macapa, the naturalist novel's only Latina character. The careless neglect with which the novel alternates between "Mexican" (17), "Spanish American" (21), and "greaser" (38) to describe Macapa's nationality, coupled with the narrator's frequent references to her wealthy childhood in Central America, were clarifying in two ways. First, it dawned on me that of course Central Americans lived in the U.S. since at least the late nineteenth century—long before civil wars in the 1980s displaced thousands of isthmians from their homes and to the U.S. Second, *McTeague* illustrated that Anglo-American texts have lumped Central Americans with other Latinx groups for well over a century.

Soon after, I participated in *Other Languages, Other Americas*, the Summer Seminar in the History of the Book in American culture led by Kirsten Silva Gruesz and Anna Brickhouse at the American Antiquarian Society. The course introduced me to critical methodologies in multilingual, hemispheric American studies and studies in book history, and gave me the opportunity to examine political pamphlets, penny novels, and congressional speeches about nineteenth-century U.S. imperialism in Central America. At AAS, I also browsed multiple histories of William Walker's mid-century invasion of Nicaragua, and a first-edition copy of Richard Harding Davis's *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* (1896), which, to my surprise, was published only a year before his historical romance, *Soldiers of Fortune* (1896). The archives at AAS had even more Anglo-American texts about Central America for me to browse, but having just read about Macapa in *McTeague*, I wondered: where are the writings of actual nineteenth-century U.S. Central Americans?

The timeline of U.S. Central American studies, as constituted by Arturo Arias, Leisy Ábrego, and Yajaira M. Padilla links U.S. Central American subjectivity with the diasporas that emerged from mass Central American migrations of the 1980s and 90s.[5] I build on these critics' important work, but I also intervene in extant scholarly conversations about Central Americans in the United States by pushing back the timeline of U.S. Central American studies to the nineteenth century, and I include figures such as Nicaraguan diplomat, journalist, and poet Román Mayorga Rivas in a diasporic Central American genealogy. My goal in doing so is not to conflate oligarchs like Rivas with Central Americans who fled U.S.-funded civil wars in the mid

[5] Central American mass migrations to the United States emerged from U.S. foreign intervention in the 1980s. The Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations justified intervention in Central America as a safeguard against the expansion of communism in the region and to protect U.S.-centered, white American ideologies. See the introduction to *U.S. Central Americans: Reconstructing Memories, Struggles, and Communities of Resistance* (2017).

twentieth century. Rather, I recast U.S. Central American subjectivity to lay bare a Central American fugitive narrative textuality, a migrant archive,[6] that vacillates between the records of late-nineteenth-century U.S. imperialism, Central American nationalism, and latinidad. As I show, Central American nationalists, such as Rivas in *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York* and Guatemalan poet and diplomat José Rodríguez Cerna in *Centro América*, resist the Anglo-American view that casts Central Americans as primitive, and simultaneously extend the exclusions of Central American liberal nationalism out of the isthmus and through the hemisphere.

Central American nationalists, like Rivas and Cerna, were arbiters not only what, but also of who belonged in late-nineteenth-century Central America. Widening the parameters of U.S. Central American studies enables me to trace a link between the centroamericanismo Rivas invokes in *La Revista*, and the Unionismo Cerna champions in *Centro América*, and, in doing so, to re-evaluate the dominant narrative of non-belonging that frames Central American migrations to the U.S. today. In *La Revista* and *Centro América*, Rivas and Cerna transform centroamericanismo into literary form to write against Anglo narratives and to forge an image of Central America as a modern space; however, the nationalisms they uphold, rooted in blanqueamiento (or social whitening) and cultural hegemony, exclude indigenous, black, Asian, and other racialized Central Americans, rendering the diasporas that emerge from these groups as always already "doubly-marginalized" and obscured when mid-twentieth-century mass

[6] Rodrigo Lazo reminds us that archives and the nation-state provide each other with credibility: the archive's documents legitimize the nation, and the nation elevates archives (36). Migrant archives, however, "reside in obscurity and are always on the edge of annihilation. They are the texts of the past that have not been written into official spaces of archivization, even though they weave in and out of the buildings that house documents" (Lazo, 37-38).

migrations reintroduce Central Americans to the U.S. national imaginary (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 186).

In this dissertation, I include Rivas, Cerna, and other elite Central Americans in discussions of U.S. Central American subjectivity and latinidad to not only expand the historical points of Latinx origins, but also to foster what Marissa López describes as "potentiality in productive tension" (*Racial Immanence* 7). "Latinidad," López maintains, "rests on a set of social expectations that must be upended if latinidad is to be anything other than an ethnic performance dictated by an Anglo-dominant majority" (*Racial Immanence* 11). In other words, the work of Latinx studies should not be to read for representation, or to rely on fixed categories to render knowable the peoples, cultures, and histories that constitute latinidad (López, *Racial Immanence* 4). Such a goal risks the homogenization of a heterogeneous group, and raises the question, in whose service is it to make Latinx peoples knowable, or palatable?

The endeavor to read representationally, following López, excludes U.S. Central Americans in Latinx studies. As Claudia Milian explains, U.S. Central Americans represent a knotty point in Latinx studies because they trouble configurations of latinidad as a fixed identity with established parameters. Milian encourages scholars to embrace U.S. Central American subjectivity as a hermeneutic opening through which we can interrogate latinidad and therefore engage "numerous and unsteady Souths" (*Latining America* 126). My objective with nationalists like Rivas, Cerna, or Rubén Darío is not to ascribe a synecdochic use to them and their transnational literary productions to argue for the existence of Central Americans in nineteenth-century Latinx print communities, but rather quite the opposite. Rivas's, Cerna's, and Darío's transnational works were part of nineteenth-century Central American nationalists' project to regulate Central American identity—a task Anglo-American literature simultaneously pursued.

In this intersection of nationalisms, the term “Central American-American” denotes a contradiction because it is a “disfigured projection” that emerges from the collision of narrative fictions deployed to determine Central Americans as legible.

To include the transnational writings of Central American letrados in the U.S. in nineteenth-century Latinx studies, then, means embracing the “productive tensions” and contradictions an analysis of late-nineteenth-century Central American nationalism raises about U.S. Central American subjectivity and latinidad. What does it mean, for instance, for U.S. Central American literary flashpoints such as *La Revista* and *Centro América* to exist on the margins of the U.S. public imaginary nearly half a century before mass migrations displaced thousands of Central American migrants to the same cities where these texts were published? What tensions emerge if we read Rivas’s centroamericanismo alongside hemispheric latinoamericanismo (Cutler, “Latinx Modernism” 71) in *La Revista Ilustrada*, a text scholars deem a Pan-American text?

Centroamericanismo, Teresa García Giráldez reminds us, worked in concert with panamericanismo, the project to forge fraternity among Latin American nations (“Imperialismo-antiimperialismo” 168). To examine Rivas’s work, then, entails paying attention to how blanqueamiento shapes the centroamericanismo he embeds in *La Revista*. It also involves analyzing what the imbrication of an assimilationist Central American nationalism within a framework of latinoamericanismo elucidates about the ideologies on which *La Revista* rests. In other words, expanding the parameters of nineteenth-century Latinx and U.S. Central American studies troubles “what we already think we know” about Central Americans, and their place in latinidad (López, *Racial Immanence* 4)

The nineteenth century remains elusive in analyses of U.S. Central American literary and cultural productions. Latinx studies has only recently begun to grapple with the presence of U.S. Central Americans within frameworks of latinidad, but scholarship in this discipline about Central Americans does not always resist "the affect of sympathetic pity" (Gruesz, "The Errant Latino" 23). The migrations that have come out of Central America since the 1980s are the predominant point of entry in most discussions about this region's diasporas, illustrating how the U.S. national imaginary necessitates crises to render these peoples visible, albeit temporarily. To continue to center overdetermined narratives of migration in scholarship about Central Americans recalls López's assertion that "reading for representation" limits our collective knowledge of Latinxs to the stories with which we are already familiar (*Racial Immanence* 4).

As an alternative to reading for representation, then, Gruesz proposes errancy as an organizing principle by which to examine migrations that cannot be neatly folded into teleological narratives that conjure sympathy. A figure such as nineteenth-century Guatemalan writer Antonio José de Irisarri,[7] contends Gruesz, troubles the purposefulness with which we associate Central American migration. Even though Irisarri lived in the U.S. during the final nearly-two decades of his life, and even though he published various literary texts in that time, Gruesz writes that scholars have yet to include him in an U.S. Latinx literary genealogy. This scholarly neglect stems from Irisarri's status as a "stateless author" who never sought U.S. citizenship, and who left no "obvious signs of a Latino or Central American-American identity"

[7] Irisarri was born to a wealthy family in 1786 in Guatemala City. He is considered a founding figure in Chilean, Colombian, Ecuadorian, and Curaçaoan cultural histories, and is best remembered for establishing newspapers throughout Latin America. In 1825, Irisarri was named Guatemala's defense minister, and battled against Francisco Morazán and his Liberal followers who were trying to hold together the failing Central American federation. Morazán defeated and imprisoned Irisarri in El Salvador, which he escaped in 1830 for Chile. He eventually settled in Brooklyn, New York, where he lived during the eighteen years of his life. As Gruesz notes, Irisarri went to prison because he opposed a Central American state, but the repatriation of his body to Guatemala after his death cemented his status as a symbol of centroamericanismo (35).

(Gruesz, “The Errant Latino” 22). Building on Nicolás Kanellos’s categorization of U.S. Latinxs and their writings, Gruesz writes that Irisarri is neither a “native,” an “immigrant,” nor an “exile” (Gruesz, “The Errant Latino” 36). Still, to omit Irisarri and his U.S.-based literary production from U.S. literary genealogies because of his errancy portends to perpetuate “moral judgements about what the subject intended to do” as the measure by which to determine what constitutes U.S. Latinx writing (Gruesz, “The Errant Latino” 37).

Central American oligarchs and other elites who lived in the U.S. at the turn of the century, however, are at odds with Arturo Arias’s definition of “Central American-American.” Central American-Americans are “doubly marginalized and thereby invisibilized” both in the Anglo-American imaginary and latinidad (*Taking Their Word* 186). Undeniably, the nineteenth-century migrations of coffee elites, political exiles, and ambassadors to cities such as San Francisco in the late nineteenth century were not forced upon them, unlike displaced Central Americans who arrived in the U.S. half a century later. Yet, alongside isthmian laborers who migrated to the Bay Area after the Panama Canal’s completion, Central American elites gesture to the “murky origins” of early, heterogeneous Central American diasporas (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 186). To overlook oligarchs’ nineteenth-century transnational movement and cultural production re-inscribes the teleological migration narrative Gruesz warns against, and continues to obscure “a lost, a past” U.S. Central American literary history that predates twentieth-and-twenty-first-century Central American diasporas (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 185).

The waywardness that underpins the transnationalism of a figure like Rivas, moreover, can bring to the fore “nontraditional cultural producers” like Graciano, whose narratives are otherwise concealed by fixed periodization and categories of transnational centroamericanidad. The visibility of Rivas’s cultural, literary, and political legacy facilitates the location of his work

across archives of nineteenth-century Anglo-American, Latina/o, and Central American histories. Reading intimately across these archives, in turn, destabilizes the conventional literary history of Central Americans in the U.S.—both within frameworks of latinidad and Anglo-American subjectivity.

The U.S. Central American literary and cultural productions about which I write in this dissertation are emblematic of what Carmen Lamas terms the "Latina/o continuum," which is "a sort of identity that simultaneously occupies multiple spatialities while inhabiting and crossing diverse temporal movements" (Lamas, "Raimundo Cabrera" 212). Wealth and elite status enabled Central American oligarchs to travel and live in San Francisco, Washington D.C., New York, and New Orleans, which today are homes to diasporic Central Americans who settled there in the aftermath of twentieth-century civil wars. Unlike isthmian oligarchs, however, U.S. Central Americans in these cities today can trace their dislocations to U.S.-Central American collusions, which I date back to the nineteenth century in this project, in which elites like Rivas and Cerna were complicit. I push against rigid historical scopes and classifications of U.S. Central American subjectivity and bring neglected, errant narratives like Rivas's in *La Revista* and Cerna's in *Centro América*, as well as Graciano's in *Diario del Salvador*. In doing so, my analyses transcend tropes of Central Americans as migrants of crises, and extends late-nineteenth-century centroamericanismo to the U.S. and places now home to diverse Central American communities.

In addition to pushing against fixed U.S. Central American subjectivity, periodization, and narrative teleology, reading nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literatures involves shifting our understanding of genre. The genres American studies employs to understand nineteenth-century literature can make it difficult to read the writing that falls outside of these

standardizations, but which were very much a part of nineteenth-century literary landscapes. Definitions of what constitutes literature are unstable, as Sandra M. Gustafson reminds us. Although critics understand nineteenth-century U.S. literature that expressed a "uniquely 'American spirit' through form and content" as literary, the U.S. book market was much more "regional and heterogeneous until after the Civil War" ("Literature" 158). The U.S. book market was also multilingual and dominated by reprints until the passing of international copyright law in 1891 (Gustafson, "Introduction" 158). Similarly, Michael Cohen reminds us that "poetry," as a literary genre, is a retroactive invention of the twentieth century. Nineteenth-century poems often reflect a "vexed" relationship with literariness, but they nevertheless reveal the understudied social relations that emerge from them (Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems* 11).

My project, too, challenges what constitutes genre and literariness, as most primary sources I engage are disparate texts from Anglo and Latinx periodicals. Though the texts of the Latinx nineteenth century come to us in pieces, they allow us to glimpse at the concerns of nineteenth-century Latinx peoples all the same (Lazo, "Historical Latinidades" 1). I heed Rául Coronado's call to "think creatively through and with the archive" throughout this dissertation's chapters to shed light on unconventional cultural producers like Abel Romero, a Salvadoran laborer who, as revealed by archival records, arrived in San Francisco in 1918 with his wife and two children. In 1921, *Centro América* published a letter to the editor in which he demanded the periodical make known the Salvadoran government's corruption. In turn, Romero's letter led to a discussion with the Comité Unionista de San Francisco over the economic precarity working-class Central Americans in the city faced. Thinking with and against archives, as Coronado suggests, and renegotiating categorizations of Central American diaspora and U.S. Central

American literature offers us rare moments like this one, in which we can see and understand figures like Romero if we use the tools of literary analysis and think creatively about text.

If we read against the grain, we can really see U.S. Central Americans in the long nineteenth century, and the literary genres to which they gesture. A remarkable text of early diasporic Central American literary activity,[8] Romero's note is one of several letters to the editor that I encountered while writing this dissertation. For instance, on August 1, 1857, the Los Angeles-based *El Clamor Público* published a letter to the editor by Ángel Mora, a Salvadoran miner who journeyed to California during the 1848 Gold Rush. In the letter, Mora gestures to the deep bond he shares with his surrounding Latinx community, describing its members as "fellow countrymen." At the same time, Mora expresses disappointment with his experience in California, and a desire to return to Central America—which, in 1857, was under attack by William Walker.[9] Like Romero's letter after him, Mora's text illustrates the literary activity of a Central American migrant who cultivated relationships in his Latinx communities at the same time as he maintained affective ties to Central America.

Elsewhere, Honduran Julio Cesar Valle's name appears regularly in *The New York Times*' "Letters to the Editor" section in the 1920s. On February 29, 1921, Valle even goes as far as writing a letter to the editor of *The Times* on behalf of the Comité Unionista Centroamericano

---

[8] In *Forgotten Readers* (2002), Elizabeth McHenry coins the term "literary activity" to theorize the reading practices of free African Americans in the antebellum north. McHenry argues that assumptions over African Americans and illiteracy, as well as the emphasis African American literary studies places on oral and vernacular culture, obscure the long, complex history of African American literary engagement (4). Examining nineteenth-century literary societies, McHenry emphasizes "literary activity" over genre to recover nineteenth-century Black American readers. Newspapers such as *Freedom's Journal* and *The Colored American* partnered with African American literary societies to sponsor events that exalted literacy as a tenet of citizenship. In turn, Black communities, according to McHenry, learned to value communal power over "the power of formal or individualized literacy" (5). Put another way, McHenry makes a case for the communal and civic relations literacy generated in Black communities, which includes members who could not read.

[9] To be sure, *El Clamor* published "Un Rasgo de Walker," a report on the latest updates surrounding Walker's activity in Central America next to Mora's letter.

de Nueva York to reproach Anglo newspapers' scant coverage of Central American affairs (XX3). Read together, I argue that these letters to editors constitute a unique genre of nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literature. Minoritized texts such as letters to the editor "yield different narratives of belonging" that emerge alongside imaginative genres of literature like the novel and the short play, which Coronado argues American studies fetishizes ("Historicizing" 54).

According to Maritza Cárdenas, nineteenth-century Central American migrations to the U.S. were "contained" and usually composed of migrants who were either members of the isthmus' elite class or employed by fruit companies (*Constituting Central American-Americans* 83). Population surveys like the Census, historical documents, and passenger arrival lists alone cannot tell us the exact number of Central Americans who lived transnationally between the U.S. and Central America, or the exact number of Central Americans who arrived in one U.S. city temporarily on their way to another. In other words, the texts that are available to us, and which we recognize as authoritative, are designed to conceal the presence of nineteenth-century U.S. Central Americans in a way that echoes Davis's and Norris's nation-building novels. In this dissertation, however, I read these texts in tandem with archival fragments like letters to the editor, and visual texts like the images of Guatemalan women held in the University of California, Davis' Panama Pacific International Exposition Collection. In doing so, I bring to the fore a dynamic nineteenth-century U.S. Central American narrative textuality to create space for new subjects and new literary histories.

My dissertation engages archival traces to imagine the Central American migrants who participated in nineteenth-century, U.S. Latinx communities while they also retained allegiance to the isthmus as the United States' influence loomed over the region. The migrants I study span

from Central American writers, poets, and editors and their works in Spanish-language U.S. Latinx publications, to Central American laborers in San Francisco at the end of the long nineteenth century. I also examine how nineteenth-century Anglo-American nation-building literatures imagined Central America and Central Americans to think about how these texts invigorate the study of contemporary U.S. Central Americans. The disparate pieces of print I gather forge a nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literary history that is simultaneously enmeshed in and distinct from Anglo-American and Latinx cultural productions.

Central Americans in the Latino Nineteenth Century

Chapter 1 examines Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) and Frank Norris's *McTeague* (1899) to trace Central American non-belonging[10] back to nineteenth century Anglo-American nation-building literatures. The portrayal of Madame Alvarez, Olancho's first lady in Davis's historical romance, and Maria Macapa, the sole Latina character in Norris's naturalist novel, as "Spanish American" women, I argue, racialize and flatten latinidad into an indistinguishable, monolithic bloc.

In *Soldiers of Fortune*, Davis draws from mid-nineteenth-century texts in the Anglo press that depict Olancho, Honduras as a place of rich natural resources inhabited by primitive peoples to stage his fictional retelling of Walker's filibustering. Burying the real Olancho, *Soldiers of Fortune* depicts its fictional counterpart as an amalgam of Latin American republics to establish Central and Latin America as places of the past. As I show, Davis's novel undermines historical romance genre convention by refusing to endorse a symbolic union between the U.S. and Olancho through a marriage between Clay, the embodiment of Anglo-Saxon, U.S. American

[10] Yajaira M. Padilla theorizes "non-belonging" as a concept that indexes "both the ways in which US Central Americans (immigrants and subsequent generations alike) have been constituted as Others who don't belong on a symbolic and material level, and the related means by which US Central Americans and others affirm, unsettle, and counteract this exclusionary condition" (5).

masculinity, and "Spanish American" Alvarez, the novel's symbol of outdated, colonial womanhood. Instead, the novel exiles Alvarez and pairs Clay with U.S. American Hope Langham, signaling that the U.S. future is strictly Anglo-Saxon.

Just as Walker's Central American invasions and the coverage of Olancho in the mid-century Anglo press frame Davis's historical romance, Norris's *McTeague* forges a narrative around Macapa that is rooted in the population of Central American oligarchs in late-nineteenth-century San Francisco. The careless way the narrator oscillates between "Spanish American" and "Mexican" depicts Macapa, and Latina/os by extension, as homogeneous and racially inferior to Anglo-Saxon, U.S. Americans. However, the use of terms such as "diseased," "barbaric," "insurrectionist," and "revolutionary" draw attention to a specific vocabulary deployed by the mid-century Anglo press to portray Central America as a corrupt space, thereby troubling the naturalist novel's suggestion that Central Americans are indistinguishable from other Latinx groups. Moreover, the narrator's repeated references to the Central American coffee plantation of Macapa's childhood indicates that Norris really should have known about coffee oligarchs and other Central American elites in San Francisco, many of whom attended the University of California with him.

I contend that, read together, *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* are literary texts from which we can glimpse how Anglo-American nationalist writers framed the perceived threat they believed non-white peoples posed to the United States in the late nineteenth century. An analysis of Alvarez and Macapa as "Spanish American" women challenges our understanding of two of the late-nineteenth century's most popular Anglo-American works of fiction, and reorients our attention to the racialization of Central Americans in the white American imaginary.

Chapter 2 considers the role of Central Americans as cultural producers and curators in late-nineteenth-century latinidad through Nicaraguan journalist, diplomat, poet, and editor Román Mayorga Rivas. Through the turn of the century, Rivas held multiple diplomatic positions in the U.S. on behalf of Nicaragua and El Salvador, making him one of the most visible Central Americans in U.S. archives. In 1890, Rivas moved to Washington D.C. to head the Nicaraguan embassy; that same year, he assumed the role of co-editor for *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, a U.S. Latina/o periodical designed to promote Latin American culture. His editorial choices, poems, literary and artistic reviews, and essays on ideal womanhood in *La Revista* suggest that he employed the magazine as a cultural text through which to enact blanqueamiento to promote an articulation of Central America as a modern space. As such, I contend that *La Revista Ilustrada* is an early flashpoint in U.S. Central American literary studies, and maintain that his editorship of a U.S.-based periodical sheds light on a nineteenth-century U.S. Central American subjectivity in the making.

I also trace Rivas's presence in the archives of San Francisco's late-nineteenth-century Anglo press, which suggest that Central American elites were subjects of interests in the city's social world. In 1912 and 1913, *The San Francisco Call* and *The San Francisco Examiner* chronicle Rivas's extended visits to the city, and reveal that two of his sons, Román Jr. and Alexander, were students at Hitchcock Military Academy and University of California alongside other young Central American men from wealthy isthmian families. Reading the accounts of Central American oligarchs in Anglo newspapers in tandem with *McTeague* is instructive, I contend, for illustrating how embedded Central America and Central Americans already were in San Francisco's historical memory by the turn of the century.

Chapter 3 relies on visual texts and archival fragments to speculate on the lives of U.S. Central American women in 1915 San Francisco. I use the University of California, Davis' Panama Pacific International Exposition Collection as a point of departure, and model a reading practice that brings U.S. Central American women to the fore. This repository contains glass negatives of the 1915 world's fair held in San Francisco to celebrate the Panama Canal's completion, as well as 14 striking images of various Guatemalan women: Luisa Linares, Marta Castillo, Mercedes Padilla, Victoria Flamenco, and Julia Asturias Godoy and her daughter Julia "Julita" Godoy. I read these photographs as visual texts, alongside an assortment of archival fragments, such as society columns, biographical sketches, dedication essays, and obituaries, to see these women as prominent members of San Francisco's early-twentieth-century colonia centroamericana, and to speculate about what and how they saw the world and their places in it.

Nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literary history, I argue, is composed of heterogeneous, often-partial texts embedded in disparate archives. To read the expansive, diverse narratives of transnational centroamericanidad, we must take seriously the literariness of archival fragments, which I contend are a literary form of U.S. Central American literature. The allegorical portrayals of women I discuss in Chapters 1 and 2 rely on racist, colonial tropes of the Central American diaspora, but in this chapter, I engage in an interdisciplinary textual analysis to conjure a sense of the actual women upon whom these national allegories are built. Embracing fugitive texts like archival fragments enables another reading of U.S. Central American women's stories. I think of literary objects contained in disparate collections as archival fragments, or as "remnants, detached pieces," that bring into view "small picture[s]" of a "lost or destroyed" transnational, feminine isthmian literary history ("fragment, n." "scrap, n. 1").

I argue that reading these visual texts alongside archival fragments about the Godoys brings into view an alternative narrative about U.S. Central American women that renders them cultural producers, or "seers in their own right" (López, "Picturing" 266). A miscellany of texts published in *Hispano América* and *San Francisco Examiner* reveal that Asturias Godoy joined other centroamericanas in San Francisco to support reconstruction efforts in Guatemala after a series of earthquakes devastated Guatemala City from December 1917 to January 1918. The earthquake's aftermath embittered the Guatemalan public against Estrada Cabrera, and historians write that this moment reinvigorated support for the Partido Unionista Centroamericano (PUCA). The traces left behind in archives indicate that the disaster galvanized reform movements and created a bigger social role for U.S. Central American women, which in turn presented them more visibility in San Francisco's press.

Chapter 4 focuses on the U.S. Central American experience at the end of the long nineteenth century, as reflected in *Centro América*, a periodical established by the Comité Unionista Centroamericano de San Francisco in support of the final, formal effort to establish an isthmian nation in 1921. I argue that *Centro América* is a rare literary text that offers a cultural account about Central American peoples in a historical moment traditionally studied by critics through an economic or political lens.

The poems, literary reviews, exclusive interviews with prominent Central American businessmen and political figures, and letters to the editor, I contend, indicate that *Centro América* was tasked with cohering San Francisco's disparate Central American communities that had nothing in common other than their nationalities. After only six months, the periodical's run came to an end in August 1921, a month before Central America's centennial of independence and five months before the newly-established Central American Federation dissolved. In several

ways, *Centro América* is a literary text about failure and a U.S. Central American "world not to come."[11] For both Central American oligarchs and laborers, "Central America" was no longer easy to define in 1921 San Francisco, and in this chapter, I argue that together, these disparate groups constitute an emerging Central American diaspora. Literary analysis, I show, enables us to understand how, together and apart, elite-and- working-class Central Americans forged "conflictive if not contradictory accounts" of diasporic centroamericanidad in *Centro América*, highlighting diasporic genealogies in San Francisco's historical memory that predate isthmian communities of the mid twentieth century.

The expansive categories of literary activity and production I theorize in my chapters make visible conflicts of race, class, and gender internal to U.S. Central American communities. These intricacies, indeed the very existence of these communities, are lost in the current Latinx and Central American studies scholarly emphasis on the mid-twentieth-and- twenty-first century. My dissertation demonstrates that nineteenth-century U.S. Central American cultural production is composed of a complex network of individuals and literary forms. I begin with the assertion that Central Americans not only lived in the United States during the nineteenth century, but produced culture and literature that influenced their respective Latinx communities. However, as each of my chapters show, nineteenth-century U.S. Central American cultural production is not homogeneous. I examine how tropes in nation-building novels about Central America continue to shape the U.S.'s Anglo-American imagination. In turn, I interrogate how Central American elites instilled nationalism in nineteenth-century U.S. Latinx newspapers and periodicals to counter Anglo narratives, and end with a contemplation of the failed attempts to cohere disparate Central American communities that constitute San Francisco's emerging isthmian diaspora in the

[11] See Raúl Coronado's *A World Not to Come* (2013).

early twentieth century. The writing I examine encompasses discussions of imperialism, nationalism, class, gender, race, latinidad, labor and culture, and print networks. I bring together nineteenth-century American studies, Latinx studies, and Central American studies to recover the heterogeneous cultural productions of nineteenth-century Central American migrants that canonical genres render invisible.

The Racialization of the Nineteenth-Century "Spanish-American" Woman in *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) and *McTeague* (1899)

In 1899, Guatemalan writer Máximo Soto Hall published the futuristic *El problema*—which critics often hail as Latin America's first anti-imperialist novel.[12] Set on the eve of Costa Rican annexation to the United States in 1928, the novel hinges centroamericanismo's preservation on the potential union between Julio and his cousin Emma, the half-Costa Rican, half-U.S. American heroine. However, she helps to secure Americanization in Costa Rica when she chooses instead to marry Mr. Chrissey, a Yankee businessman. *El problema*'s ending raises a dilemma about the isthmus at the turn of the century: its conclusion is only plausible if readers imagine Emma as always already white, and therefore able to advance either Central American liberal nationalism or U.S. imperialism. The racial porousness with which Soto Hall and other nationalist writers imbue ideal mujeres centroamericanas like Emma prompts me to ask in this chapter, how did contemporaneous Anglo-American authors respond? What threat did the model mujer centroamericana pose to Anglo-Americans' imagined, exclusive claims to whiteness and modernity at the end of the long nineteenth century? This liminality is what I want to dwell on in Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) and Frank Norris's *McTeague* (1899), two popular Anglo-American novels published at the turn of the century, and two examples of white

[12] *El problema*'s status as Latin America's first anti-imperialist novel remains a subject of debate in Central American literary studies. For instance, Iván Molina Jiménez insists that Seymour Menton's reading of the novel as a text that explicitly rejects U.S. intervention reflects an anachronistic misinterpretation of the novel that elides Soto Hall's roles in various Central American regimes at the turn of the century, including Manuel Estrada Cabrera's in Guatemala. Soto Hall had family ties to U.S. mining endeavors and to the government in Honduras. He was also affiliated with Costa Rica's Olimpo, and he served as a Pan American diplomat in Washington D.C. Though he later reinvented himself as an anti-imperialist writer in the 1920s, Jiménez writes that Soto Hall wrote *El problema* during his tenure with Estrada Cabrera's dictatorship. Building on Jiménez's ambivalence, Ana Patricia Rodríguez argues that, at best, Soto Hall's novel illustrates a "compromised discourse" on U.S. intervention in Central America (*Dividing the Isthmus* 40). She contends that the novel exemplifies Soto Hall's "neocolonial ambivalence," a term Rodríguez coins to describe isthmian liberals' simultaneous attraction to Anglo-American culture and repulsion for U.S. intervention in Central America (40).

American texts that, as I argue, rely on the figure of the "Spanish American" woman to racialize latinidad as an inscrutable, monolithic bloc.

I contend that to be a part of Central American diasporas in the United States today means living with the afterlives of nineteenth-century Central American and U.S. nationalisms—movements which obscured non-white peoples to advance liberalism and colonialism. Following Lisa Lowe's call to read intimately and across national histories,[13] I begin my dissertation on nineteenth-century U.S. Central American literature with a chapter on white American novels because I argue that isthmian and U.S. nationalisms rely on women's bodies, and these women's bodies are repositories of nationalisms' failures and contradictions, haunting both la patria grande centroamericana and the Anglo-American imaginary. According to Brigitte Fielder, to read genre as a genealogy of race "is consistent with theories of races' construction through social narrative" (ch.1), and in *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune*, the portrayals of Maria Macapa and Madame Alvarez gesture to the way Central American and Anglo-American writers deployed women as floating signifiers to construct competing, shifting nationalisms.

For most of the nineteenth century,[14] isthmian oligarchs benefitted from economic partnerships with U.S. capital, using the profit from these alliances to subsidize personal business endeavors and national projects. For instance, in 1871, the Costa Rican government conceded

[13] In *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (2015), Lowe reads across early-nineteenth-century European, African, Asian, and American national histories. To study these archives together, Lowe contends, brings to the surface the imbrication of colonialism, slavery, imperial trades, and Western liberalism.

[14] Arguably, the connection between Central America and the United States dates as far back as the isthmus' independence. According to Maritza Cárdenas, San Salvador joined Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua to endorse Guatemala's 1821 declaration of independence from Spain, but it resisted Guatemala's decision to join Mexico. To intercept Mexican annexation, San Salvador declared itself a protectorate of the United States in December 1822 (Cárdenas 44). Salvadoran criollos, explains Cárdenas, favored U.S. annexation because they did not view a Mexican-Central American union as beneficial for the isthmus: Mexico, too, was newly-independent and racially heterogeneous, and therefore the union would be endogamous. The United States, meanwhile, was racially coded as "Anglo-Saxon" and ideologically positioned as "modern" (Cárdenas 44).

nearly one-eighth of the country's territory to the Keith family in exchange for the construction of a railroad, establishing the foundation for the United Fruit Company's[15] emergence (Rodríguez, *Dividing the Isthmus* 47). Later, in 1904, Manuel Estrada Cabrera granted the United Fruit Company land grants and tax exemptions in exchange for the completion of a railroad that spanned from Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City. By the early twentieth century, the U.S. exerted control of Panama and Nicaragua, [16] illustrating how the collusions between Central American oligarchs and U.S. capital in the nineteenth century rendered the isthmus vulnerable to U.S. encroachment. Historians write that the fallout from Central American-U.S. economic and political relations occurred exclusively on Central American oil, but *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* gesture to Central America's place in the Anglo-American national imaginary at the turn of the century, and to U.S. Central American populations in cities like San Francisco—long before U.S.-funded civil wars displaced thousands of Central Americans from their homes, and reintroduced the region as a place of crisis to the U.S. public in the 1980s.

Published at the turn of the century, *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* cast Alvarez and Macapa as "Spanish American" women to map the parameters of whiteness and modernity in the Anglo-American imaginary at the turn of the century. On the one hand, *Soldiers of Fortune* undermines the historical romance genre's convention: Mining engineer and mercenary Robert clay restores democracy in Olancho, and secures the U.S.'s economic control over the imaginary

[15] As Rodríguez writes, Minor Keith began to produce bananas for export to finance the railroad project. He amassed large holdings on Atlantic coastal lands through land concessions granted by the Costa Rican government, and eventually opened the first large-scale banana plantations in the country (Rodríguez, *Dividing the Isthmus* 48). By 1913, Keith's company exported more than 11 million banana bunches annually as the newly incorporated United Fruit Company (48).

[16] In 1903, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty between Panama and the United States granted the U.S. the rights to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama in exchange for protection to the newly established Panama republic. Later, the United States occupied Nicaragua from 1912 to 1933.

Latin American republic. However, Davis refuses to endorse a symbolic union between the U.S. and Olancho through a marriage between Clay, the novel's embodiment of Anglo-Saxon masculinity, and Madame Alvarez, Olancho's "Spanish American" first lady, and the novel's symbol of outdated, colonial womanhood. Instead, the novel banishes Alvarez and pairs Clay with U.S. American Hope Langham, signaling that the U.S.'s future is strictly Anglo-Saxon.

On the other hand, *McTeague* is set in late-nineteenth-century San Francisco and relates the titular protagonist's descent into poverty. Macapa is the naturalist novel's only Latina character, and she functions as a narrative vehicle whom inhabits different spaces to set the plot in motion. At the same time, Norris struggles to minimize Macapa's significance to the novel, describing her as "Spanish-American" (*McTeague* 21), "Mexican" (38), "greaser" (39), and from "Central America" (39) to racialize and dismiss her. The careless neglect with which the narrator flattens diverse Latina/o cultures signals to readers that there is "absolutely nothing" to know about Macapa "further than she was "Spanish-American" (21). Still, Macapa is present in nearly every chapter of the novel because she is important to *McTeague*. Moreover, the narrator's comment that there was a "legend […] that Maria's people had been at one time immensely wealthy in Central America" betrays the novel's attempt to depict Latina/os as indiscernible by drawing attention to San Francisco's growing, turn-of-the-century Central American coffee elite (21).

Read together, the portrayal of Macapa and Alvarez as "Spanish American" women in *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* suggest U.S. and Central American nationalisms were in dialogue with one another in the long nineteenth century. Recalling Fielder, nineteenth-century Anglo-American novels illustrate that white women were at the center of racial anxieties in the United States (Ch.1). In the 1890s, the historical romance and naturalist novel champion a

nostalgic past, and endorse scientific objectivism and determinism. As such, I interpret the denial of Macapa's importance in *McTeague*, along with Alvarez's exile in *Soldiers of Fortune*, as responses to Central American literatures' reliance on women to amplify the isthmus's Spanish and other European heritage. Building on Fielder's theorization of race and genre, I contend that the work of the historical romance in *Soldiers of Fortune* is to establish Central and Latin America as places of the past, while naturalism's in *McTeague* is to depict Latina/os as homogeneous and racially inferior to Anglo-Saxon, U.S. Americans. Both forms reflect Anglo-American anxiety at the turn of the century over non-white peoples' potential to destabilize U.S. national identity predicated on Anglo-American women.

In the sections that follow, I discuss the complicated, long entwinement between Central America and the United States. As Robert D. Aguirre explains, Central America was a place of "passing elsewhere" in the Anglo-American imaginary until the mid-nineteenth century (*Mobility and Modernity* 5). The 1848 California Gold Rush brought thousands of U.S. Americans and Europeans through the isthmus, generating a body of Anglo literatures that began to portray Central America as a transitory place. Later, the shift in U.S. empire from continental to overseas in the 1890s altered the uses of Central America in the Anglo-American national imaginary. Building on mid-century texts that tropicalized the region as an archaic place, nationalistic novels such as *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* imagined Central America as a new site in which Anglo-American men could prove their masculinity and national allegiance.

However, proposing Central America as an alternative space in which to enact U.S. masculinity portended to facilitate intimate contact between Anglo-American men and Central American women. Though isthmian writers like Soto Hall could and did imagine Central American men in competition with Anglo-American men for Central American women, Anglo-

American men told a different story: They rejected the European heritage with which isthmian writers imbued ideal mujeres centroamericanas to assert that "Spanish American" whiteness was incompatible with U.S. American, Anglo-Saxon whiteness, thereby precluding Central American access to modernity through interracial, Central American-U.S. marriages. Building on Toni Morrison's configuration of race as a metaphor in Anglo-American literature,[17] I understand *McTeague*'s and *Soldiers of Fortune*'s emphasis on ideals of white American femininity as a strategy that forges an articulation of U.S., Anglo-Saxon identity as "modern," and in opposition to "archaic," "Spanish American" Central American identity. The expression of U.S. Anglo-Saxon whiteness as modern, and Central America's as outdated, enables Anglo-American writers to racialize Central American women as "unusual, underdeveloped 'things'" (Milian, *Latining America* 124), which in turn veils U.S. intervention in the isthmus as paternalistic benevolence.

Imbricated Nationalisms: La América Central, Las Mujeres Centroamericanas, and the United States

To briefly return to *El problema*, Soto Hall's description of Emma's complexion as nearly translucent (73) draws attention to the way isthmian nationalists historically viewed whiteness as tantamount to Central America's progress in the nineteenth century. As Teresa García Giráldez explains, in the absence of a warlike independence movement, figures such as José Cecilio del Valle[18] proposed to cultivate fraternity among Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua by framing these provinces as part of a single Patria

[17] In *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992), Toni Morrison examines the work of Blackness in the Anglo-American literary canon. She argues that Anglo-American writers forge articulations of whiteness against depictions of Black identity.

[18] José Cecilio del Valle (b.1777-d.1834) was a writer, politician, journalist, and one of Central America's foundational figures. In 1820, Valle assumed the editorship of *El Amigo de la Patria*, a periodical which would become one of the most important forums for political and constitutional debate in the isthmus. Valle was a rival of Manuel José Arce and Francisco Morazán, receiving more presidential votes than Arce in 1825, and more than Morazán in 1834. Eventually, Valle retired from politics and dedicated himself to writing. In the early twentieth century, Unionistas would build from Valle's writings to champion a Central American nationalism that rejected militarism. See *Arzú Casaús et al.* (2005).

Grande Centroamericana, or grand Central American nation (23). In the years following the isthmus' independence from Spain, nationalists invoked a centroamericanismo which encouraged the belief that tone could not belong to a respective patria chica without simultaneously belonging to la Patria Centroamericana. The ethnic differences among diverse indigenous, black, ladino, and criollo peoples, in Valle's vision, would eventually disappear; instead, these populations would embrace a shared supranational cultural identity rooted in loyalty to la Patria Centroamericana (Giráldez, 27). However, this integrative Central American identity rested on blanqueamiento, or social whitening, since Valle maintained that it had to represent Spanish heritage (Giráldez, 34). The Central American Federation collapsed in 1840, but Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua continued to develop their own nationalisms to be coterminous with la patria grande—a Spanish-speaking, and predominantly European and mestizo space.

Around 1870, a wave of liberal reforms swept Central America, generating the development of an export-based economy, primarily on the cultivation of coffee (Taracena Arriola 167). The overhaul of the region's economy, alongside blanqueamiento, were central to liberal oligarchs' promise to bring progress and modernity to Central America.[19] Attuned to Anglo-American texts that racialized the isthmus as primitive, liberal nationalists believed changes to Central America's economic systems, along with reforms to the region's educational, intellectual, and transportation infrastructures would socially whiten and modernize the isthmus, and ward off U.S. intervention. Isthmian oligarchs continued to collude with U.S. capital to subsidize modernization campaigns, and as they struggled to reconcile their complicity with U.S.

[19] Arturo Taracena Arriola explains that mestizaje was at the center of this period's society. As liberal nationalists attempted to construct a more "modern" image of Central America, they began to identify indigenous peoples as "peones" to subordinate them to land-owning criollos in order to forge a more homogeneous isthmian nation through the erasure of "indigenous" as a racial category (Taracena Arriola 167).

imperialism, the transnational print culture from this period illustrates that Central American writers turned to mujeres centroamericanas—portrayed as white, fashionable, educated, and committed to their husbands, children, and patria—to preserve centroamericanidad.

Where Central American writers hinged centroamericanismo on women, however, Anglo-American writers viewed Central American women as a liability and a source of anxiety. Anglo-American writers were wary of the racial porousness with which writers imbued depictions of Central American women, as well as Central American efforts to enact blanqueamiento. To recognize Central American women like *El problema*'s Emma as white would trouble the paternalistic U.S.-Central American narrative that Anglo-American writers crafted in the nineteenth century. We see as much in the third volume of *History of Central America* (1887), in which Hubert Howe Bancroft describes Salvadoran mestiza's desire to "have children by white [U.S. American] men promotes looseness" (600). Even when Bancroft concedes that Central America's ruling class is composed of primarily white creoles, he stressed that Central Americans are not Anglo-Saxons, and attributes the region's failures to its racial inferiority.

Beyond Bancroft's histories, the Anglo-American press regularly published articles that catalogued Central American women and debated their potentiality for assimilation into Anglo-American culture at the turn of the century. One such article is "Central America's Most Beautiful Women" (1909) in *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican* about a Central American beauty contest. The *Herald-Republican* describes the Central American "señoritas" as "Spanish girls who bear the stamp of new world vigor and chic" whom bear a nearly-identical resemblance to Anglo-American women ("Central America's" 1).[20] In fact, the *Herald-Republican* continues,

[20] The reprint of *Páginas Ilustradas*' article in the *Herald-Republican* is a generative case study of Central American-U.S. literary and cultural exchange in the long nineteenth century. The original piece, "Concurso de

young Anglo-American men at work on the Panama Canal "could not be blamed if they remained after the period of labor is over, and those who return home will be pardoned if they bring brides with them" (1). At the same time as the *Herald-Republican* grapples with centroamericanas' likeness to Anglo-American women, it employs tropes of Central American insurrection and corruption to racialize the beauty pageant contestants. In turn, these tropes undermine Central American women's assimilative potential, and re-inscribes Central America and Central Americans as incompatible with Anglo-American constructions of whiteness, progress, and modernity.

Still, the elastic quality that underpinned isthmian nationalists' portrayals of ideal Central American women continued to threaten nineteenth-century Anglo-Americans' imagined, sole claims to modernity and progress in the United States. The racialized portrayals of Macapa and Alvarez rely on tropes about Central America and Central Americans that circulated in the nineteenth-century U.S. public imaginary. Central American and Anglo-American literatures from this period indicate that these regions' nationalisms were in dialogue with one another, and I contend, then, that we cannot understands articulations of U.S. Anglo-American whiteness without Central American configurations of race. Extending the timeline of U.S. Central American Studies to the nineteenth century, my dissertation offers a transnational history of centroamericanismo as a process of blanqueamiento, or social whitening, as told through the lens of print culture. In the literature review that follows, I reflect on the elision of Central America in scholarly conversations surrounding *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune*. I view the "Spanish

Belleza Centroamericana," reveals that a beauty contest sponsored by *The Chicago Tribune* inspired *Páginas* to sponsor its own pageant in Central America, gesturing to the transnational print network in which both periodicals circulated. Moreover, the *Herald-Republican* altered the original article's layout by adding an illustration of a young woman's profile in the style of the Gibson Girl. Though the *Herald-Republican* relies on tropes about Central America to racialize the "Spanish-American beauties," the inclusion of the turn-of-the-century New Woman ideal here bolsters assertions that Central American women could be "taken for a girl from the United States" (1).

American" woman in these novels as an entry point into larger discussions of nineteenth-century Central American and U.S. discourses of race and genre that enable me to analyze where these literatures overlap.

Situating the Isthmus in *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune*

The frontier's closure at the turn of the century, and a marked increase in immigration, bolstered racist national discourse in the United States. During this period, literatures, scientific discussions of race, and foreign policy constructed a "hierarchy of plural and scientifically determined white races" that elevated Anglo-Saxon and Nordic peoples at the top (Frye Jacobson 8). My chapter brings into view turn-of-the-century Anglo-American literatures' deployment of the Spanish American woman to obscure Central Americans from the U.S. national imaginary. Before I turn to this figure, however, I examine the scholarly conversations around *Soldiers of Fortune* and *McTeague*. I discuss how an emphasis on masculinity and Anglo-Saxonism corresponds to the work of the 1890s' naturalist novel and historical romance—genres which coalesce discussions of race, gender, and empire in literary form.

The popularity of both the naturalist novel and historical romance in the 1890s attests to the anxiety the Anglo-American public felt over foreign peoples' potential to destabilize U.S. national identity rooted in whiteness. In 1897, Richard Harding Davis published the jingoistic *Soldiers of Fortune*, which recounts Robert Clay's adventures in the fictional Olancho, "one of those little republics" (56) in Latin America, and which quickly became that year's third-best selling work (Murphy 59). Two years later, Frank Norris published *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco*, a naturalist novel that traces the demise of its titular protagonist, an Irish American self-taught dentist, and his wife, Trina, a German-Swiss toy maker. In tandem, scholars anchor

critical conversations around these novels in discussions of form, late-nineteenth-century U.S. empire, and analyses of Anglo-Saxon masculinity.

In one of the most influential discussions of late-nineteenth-century U.S. empire and Anglo-Saxon masculinity, Amy Kaplan's "Romancing the Empire" examines the 1890s' historical romance's use of overseas territories as imaginative spaces. The frontier's closure, according to Kaplan, prompted Anglo-American writers to portray Latin America as an alternative site in which U.S. American men could perform militant masculinity. In *Soldiers of Fortune*, Davis imagines the fictional Olancho as a tumultuous, corrupt nation to which Robert Clay restores democracy after an attempted coup (106). By choosing to marry Hope Langham instead of assuming direct political power in Olancho, Clay becomes the Anglo-American, Anglo-Saxon masculine ideal (106). The marriage to Langham, an upper-class, Anglo-Saxon woman, in lieu of Olancho's Spanish American Madame Alvarez, reinforces Clay's unwavering commitment to the United States and illustrates Kaplan's assertion that *Soldiers of Fortune* defines the U.S. Anglo-Saxon masculine ideal as a contained vessel of U.S. nationalism.

Though they build on Kaplan's analysis of U.S. Anglo-Saxon masculinity in *Soldiers of Fortune*, Gretchen Murphy and Beatriz Urraca shift their focus to the novel's treatment of Latin America. Murphy situates the historical romance in turn-of-the-century debates surrounding the Monroe Doctrine, arguing that Davis's writings shaped U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. She contends that the concept of professionalism troubles Kaplan's argument that Davis relies on Olancho as an imaginative site through which to redefine U.S. masculinity. Clay's role as an "engineering expert" is key to Murphy's reading of the novel: "The rejuvenation engineered by Clay," she writes, "escapes the revolutionary threats of labor and Latin American 'barbarism' through his mastery of modern, professional rationality" (62). Davis rejected outdated traditions,

argues Murphy, who points to the way Clay refuses to appoint himself Olancho's new dictator and instead embraces "forward-looking, heroic" modern professionalism that aligns with the U.S.'s turn to industrialization and global capitalism at the turn of the century.

Further, Murphy rejects scholars' assumption that Davis wrote the novel to garner support for the Spanish-American War, proposing that the 1895 Venezuelan border crisis had a greater impact on Davis and his writing. According to Murphy, the application of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine was a subject of debate in the late nineteenth century, especially the document's assertion that "by the free and independent status that they have assumed and maintain, the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for further European colonization" (62). Questions about Cuba's, Puerto Rico's, and the Philippines' right to declare independence from Spain generated discussions in the U.S. about whether the Monroe Doctrine was a command to protect existing Latin American democracies, or to actively intervene in the liberation of American people from European rule (Murphy 46).

Davis inserted himself in these debates in 1895—two years before he traveled to Cuba—with the publication of an article in *Harper's New Monthly*, in which he writes about the Monroe Doctrine in relation to a 50-year-old Venezuela-British Guiana border conflict. According to Murphy, the article overlapped with Grover Cleveland's presidential message on the matter: Davis anticipated Cleveland's speech when he urgently insisted the U.S. had an obligation to monitor its "English cousins more closely and announce her Monroe Doctrine more vigorously than in this international boundary dispute" (48). The article transformed Davis into a Doctrine expert in the U.S. public imaginary. In turn, Murphy argues, Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* influenced turn-of-the-century U.S. foreign policy in Latin America.

Echoing Murphy's attention to Davis's influence in late-nineteenth-century U.S.'s reception of Latin America, Urraca attends to *Soldiers of Fortune* "textbook Americanism." Expansion, along with economic and political interests, resulted in increased attention to Anglo-Latin American cultural contact. Relying on early-and- mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-American literary tropes, Davis's rendition of the fictional Olancho in *Soldiers of Fortune* frames Latin America as one, indistinguishable mass to the U.S. public (Urraca 26). Urraca contends that, in turn, Davis's depiction of Olancho advances President Theodore Roosevelt's concept of "Americanism," or a construction of the United States as a virile, unified nation in direct opposition to Latin America (26). Within this framework of Americanism, then, Urraca understands *Soldiers of Fortune*'s ending less as Clay's rejection of direct political power and more as his refusal to assimilate into outdated Latin American culture.

Though turn-of-the-century U.S.-Latin American relations shape scholarship surrounding masculinity and Anglo-Saxonism in *Soldiers of Fortune*, critical conversations around *McTeague* examine how ethnic and racial assimilation influence Anglo-American masculinity and femininity. According to Kaplan, Norris's works endorsed a "historically changing construction of masculinity as no change at all but to return to a mythical origin" (98). The end of continental expansion in the United States troubled Norris, for whom the frontier represented a critical space in which young Anglo-American men could relieve themselves of destructive energy. The pursuit of "more distant frontiers, either westward or in the eastern Crusades" as an alternative appealed to Norris, but he also worried that the absence of Anglo-American men could render the United States more vulnerable to immigrant influence (Kaplan 98).

As Gina M. Rossetti observes, the rising number of immigrants in the U.S. at the turn of the century, along with their lack of desire to assimilate into Anglo-American culture, concerned

Norris. According to Rossetti, Norris evokes the figure of the primitive in *McTeague* to portray immigrants as diseased, obtuse, and criminal (52). San Francisco's historical status as a major global port city, Rossetti observes, cultivated Norris's fear that immigrants would out-number Anglo-Americans in the area, and therefore threaten the nation's racial integrity. His works of prose fiction, such as the short story "Cosmopolitan San Francisco: The Remarkable Confusion of Races in the City's Quarter" (1897), along with *McTeague*, underscore the number of newly-arrived immigrants in the city and the various ways they transformed San Francisco into a "confusion of nations" that produced lawlessness, penury, and promiscuity (Rossetti 53). San Francisco's status as a global city dates as far back as the early nineteenth century, but Norris's desire to use the figure of the primitive to relegate immigrants to the margins of the national imaginary in the late nineteenth century gestures to the limits of Davis's strategy to contain imperialism abroad: In *Soldiers of Fortune*, the narrator can and does prevent Madame Alvarez from migrating to the United States at the end of the novel by banishing her, but, as Norris's fiction submits, immigrants of diverse backgrounds were nevertheless changing the racial and ethnic landscape of U.S. cities like San Francisco.

For Norris, the deployment of the brute illustrates the way he imagined San Francisco's changing racial and ethnic landscape to pose a threat to middle-class, U.S. Anglo-Saxon culture by way of assimilation. Echoing Murphy, Rossetti links professionalism to late-nineteenth-century U.S. Anglo-Saxon masculinity. Whereas Davis imagines Clay's ability to transform his mercenary skills into a corporate engineering position as a means to solidify his status as a late-nineteenth-century model U.S. Anglo-Saxon man, Norris's narrator points to McTeague's auto-didacticism as a testament to non-Anglo-Saxon peoples' inherent brutishness. In the novel, McTeague extracts teeth with his enormous fingers in lieu of dental forceps, which serves to

alarm “middle-class readers’’ sensibilities when [the narrator] reveals that McTeague’s base ethnic qualities emerge in his care of patients” (Rossetti 55). Professionalism is a late-nineteenth-century that, according to Rossetti, functions as a “means of reifying knowledge, training, and habits,” and, I would argue, race (55). The horror in *McTeague* rests not in the careless way McTeague treats patients but rather, in the idea that a non-Anglo-Saxon man could assume a profession and benefit economically from adjacency to whiteness.

Outside of analyses surrounding race, ethnicity, and masculinity in *McTeague*, scholars examine the work of naturalism in the novel. According to Donald Pizer, Norris formulates naturalism as the combination of realism and romance, the blend of which results in a uniquely U.S. Anglo-American form that illustrates “detailed accuracy and philosophical depth” (122). The novel’s real tragedy, contends Pizer, is that despite his initial upward trajectory, McTeague “becomes a victim of Trina’s avarice” and fails to reach his potential (“90-91). Rossetti, though, rejects Pizer’s reading of the novel as a tale of thwarted social mobility, arguing that its original title, *The People of Polk Street*, suggests that *McTeague*’s tragic elements stem from the characters’ ethnic and racial backgrounds (55).

As literary criticism illustrates, *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* negotiate shifting definitions of U.S. national identity and masculinity that are foregrounded by U.S. empire at the turn of the century. However, these novels are also texts from which we can glimpse how Anglo-American writers framed the perceived threat they believed non-white peoples posed to the United States. Scholarship surrounding Davis’s and Norris’s novels largely cast Alvarez and Macapa as minor characters, but an analysis of these “Spanish American” women challenges our understanding of two of the late-nineteenth century’s most popular Anglo-American works of fiction, and reorients our attention to the racialization of Central Americans in the white

American imaginary. This is the narrative I excavate from *Soldiers of Fortune* and *McTeague* to stage analyses in the chapters that follow, in which I explore the literary responses of Central American nationalists in the U.S.

Central America in the Nineteenth-Century Anglo Imagination

This chapter examines Davis's and Norris's reliance on the figure of the Spanish American woman to racialize Latin Americans and Latina/os as monolithic and primitive peoples at the dawn of the twentieth century. Here, I argue that Davis and Norris heavily borrow from a nineteenth-century Anglo genre that enacts tropicalization to construct a decidedly paternalistic association with Central America. To tropicalize a region mans to "trope, to imbue a particular space, geography, group, or nation with a set of traits, images, and values" (Aparicio, Chávez-Silverman, 8), and in the nineteenth century, works like John Lloyd Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841) imagine the isthmus as a place from a "by-gone era" (*Informal Empire* 66). In the nineteenth century, Anglo writers admonished Spanish American society for its "backwardness, indolence, and above all, the 'failure' to exploit the resources surrounding it," explains Mary Louise Pratt (161). Thinking alongside Pratt, Aguirre also builds on Anne McClintock's theorization of "anachronistic space," in which Western observers and their native subjects exist in "allochronic temporalities," to explain the role Anglo-American literature performed in the establishment of authoritarian U.S. policies in Central America (*Informal Empire* 11). Within this framework, Anglo writers depicted the United States as modern and technologically advanced, and Central America as primitive, backward, and most importantly, as fixed. The tropicalized image of Central America as a fixed, primitive place extends into our present, and continues to inform Anglo-American narratives that facilitate the U.S.'s economic control over the isthmus.

As Aguirre reminds us, the Gold Rush introduced Central America and its potential to make Anglo America extremely wealthy. The tropicalization of Central America as primitive and corrupt in the Anglo-American imaginary facilitates U.S. intervention by concealing imperialism as benevolence. As Soto Hall feared, the United States established its hold over Central America within ten years of *El problema*'s publication, reaching its peak in the mid twentieth century. The construction of the Panama Canal is perhaps the best-known example of U.S. intervention in early-twentieth-century Central America, but the United States government also protected U.S. banana industries in the region, and employed the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary[21] to justify multiple isthmian invasions.

The narrative strategies upon which late-nineteenth-century Anglo-American writers hinged justifications of U.S. invasions in Central America, such as textbook Americanism, resulted in the erasure of the isthmus from the U.S. national imaginary. An analysis of the terms Davis and Norris use to describe Alvarez and Macapa, and their nations of origin, illustrate that by the turn of the century, Central America was already an antiquated, indistinguishable place in the U.S. national imaginary. As a result, the transnational relationship Central America and the United States shared in the nineteenth century, along with the literary and cultural productions that emerged from it, get lost between narratives of U.S. imperialism in Central America and contemporary U.S. Central American literatures.

[21] The Roosevelt Corollary stated that the U.S. would, as a last resort, intervene in the affairs of other nations in the Western Hemisphere to ensure debt fulfillment to international creditors. The U.S. increasingly relied on the Corollary to justify military force in Latin America, citing Roosevelt's declaration that the nation could "exercise international police power in 'flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence" (Roosevelt, 33). In practice, the Roosevelt Corollary had little to do with the Western Hemisphere or Europe. U.S. Marines landed in Nicaragua at least seven times since Roosevelt's decree, and spent a total of 21 years occupying the region to protect U.S. fruit, mining, and transportation interests. The official reasons listed for these reasons included restoring peace in Nicaragua, impeding revolution, and protecting U.S. interests.

For instance, scholarly debates surrounding the inspiration behind *Soldiers of Fortune*'s fictional Olancho largely overlook that Olancho is a real place in Central America. In her work, Kaplan simply describes Olancho as a "Latin American dictatorship." Urraca, meanwhile, waffles between Central America and Cuba as possible sites of inspiration for Davis's Olancho. Murphy challenges the assumption that Olancho represents a nation on the northwest coast of South America that stands for Cuba, suggesting instead that Olancho is a fictionalized Venezuela. Elsewhere, Brady Harrison, editor of the Broadview Press edition of *Soldiers of Fortune*, asserts that Olancho is a fictionalized version of a South American republic. Certainly, critics inability to ascertain the specific Latin American nation after which he modeled Olancho would have pleased Davis, but Central America's significance to the novel is more noteworthy than critics have considered.

As scholars concede, Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* is a re-telling of William Walker's[22] mid-nineteenth-century invasion of Central America. In his historical romance, Davis fashions Clay as a late-nineteenth-century version of Walker who is adventurous, patriotic, and a mercenary—but who rejects direct political power in Latin America. In a scene in which he recounts his childhood, Clay remembers his father as a filibuster whom "was shot, against a wall" (Davis, *Soldiers* 131), recalling Walker's infamous execution in 1860. In other words, Davis alludes that Clay's father was Walker himself. The parallels between Walker's mid-century filibustering and *Soldiers of Fortune*'s plot lend themselves to a reading that views Central America as a contender for the fictional Olancho's inspiration, but, as Urraca observes,

[22] William Walker was an Anglo-American filibuster who infamously raised a private army and usurped the Nicaraguan presidency from 1856 to 1857. A coalition of Central American armies forced him out of the region, but Walker returned in 1860. Honduran firing squads executed him on September 12 of that same year. Walker inspired several of Davis's works, including *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) and *Captain Macklin* (1902); as well, Walker was the explicit subject of Davis's "William Walker" and "The King of Filibusters" from Davis's 1906 *Real Soldiers of Fortune.*

Davis's staggered publication timeline enables the erasure of the isthmus from these conversations (26). The 1896 publication of Davis's travelogue *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela*, for example, and the subsequent publication of *Soldiers of fortune* in 1897, suggest that *Three Gringos* influenced Davis's approach to the historical romance. Yet Davis confessed to writing *Soldiers of Fortune* before his travels to Central America in 1895 (Davis 143). Read together, Davis's historical romance and travelogue cultivate the idea that Davis's fiction drew on real-life experience (Urraca 127), and that his depiction of Olancho as an indistinguishable Latin American mass, then, was emblematic of the experiences he describes in the travelogue.

We can never know whether Davis modeled the fictional Olancho after Venezuela or Cuba, but we also cannot dismiss the possibility that the actual Olancho[23] in Honduras inspired Davis's work. In Honduras, Olancho has a notorious history for its uprisings, and Davis's description of the fictional Olancho resemble the accounts published in Anglo-American newspapers such as *The New York Times* surrounding the region's corruption and political instability. Whether Honduras's Olancho inspired Davis or not makes no substantial difference to *Soldiers of Fortune*'s plot, but it does illuminate the long history of Anglo-American literatures' articulation of Central America as a primitive place. Combined with tropes of other Latin American regions, the tropicalized portrayal of Central America in Anglo-American literatures established a foundation for the U.S. public's continuing struggle in the twenty-first century to differentiate Central America and its peoples from other Latin American nations.

[23] Olancho is the largest of Honduras' 18 departments. The region experienced multiple political uprisings in the years between 1864-65 and 1868. The conflict was a result of a power struggle for control of Olancho's and Honduras' economy. Mid-century Anglo-American newspapers regularly covered Honduran conflicts and Anglo-American settlement in Honduras. If Davis did not read specifically about Olancho's struggles in newspapers, he would have at least known about the considerable number of Anglo-American immigrants whom settled in Honduras in the late 1860s and known about Olancho that way.

The Spanish American Woman at the Dawn of a New Century

Certainly, Central American nationalists articulated the mujer centroamericana in transnational print culture as the embodiment of ideal centroamericanismo, but Norris's and Davis's portrayals of Macapa and Alvarez as racialized, unknowable "Spanish American" women reject isthmian attempts to enact blanqueamiento. Refusing Central American claims to whiteness, Davis's and Norris's novels establish U.S. Anglo-Saxonism at the top of a racial hierarchy by depicting "Spanish American" whiteness in Alvarez and Macapa as garish, outdated, and self-interested. For instance, the emphasis *Soldiers of Fortune* places on Alvarez's Spanish origins highlights her incompatibility with Clay. Early on, Macwilliams and Teddy Langham visit Clay's office in Olancho's capital. On his office's plain walls was "A gaudily colored portrait of Madame la Presidenta, the noble and beautiful woman whom Alvarez, the President of Olancho, had lately married in Spain" (Davis, *Soldiers* 65). Here, the novel intimates a connection between Alvarez's Spanish heritage and antiquity before readers even meet her. Whereas Clay carries a photograph—or a modern image—of Hope Langham in his suitcase, the novel introduces Alvarez as a portrait, a panting—or an old-fashioned image—and fixes her to the past. Both Urraca and Murphy insist that Alvarez represents European monarchy in Latin America, and Urraca adds that Alvarez's forced exile at the end of the novel represents the symbolic end of Europe's power in the Americas (39).

For President Alvarez, his wife's connections to the Spanish empire follow the logic of blanqueamiento that then elevate his status in Olancho, but the novel draws from Madame Alvarez's European heritage to confirm her incompatibility with "the modern," and by extension, with Clay. In *Soldiers of Fortune*, Madame Alvarez embodies Old-World whiteness against which the narrator depicts U.S. Anglo-Saxon femininity as modern. According to Kaplan,

Anglo-American writers prioritized the preservation of the U.S.'s imagined image of itself as an Anglo-Saxon nation. Mid-nineteenth-century writers of the domestic genre championed U.S. imperialism at the same time as they held women responsible for the protection of Anglo-American men abroad form the "allure and threat of foreign domains" (Kaplan 46). Late-nineteenth-century Anglo-American literatures extended this logic and cast the New woman—an independent, self-reliant, adventurous, and Anglo-Saxon model of femininity—as men's partners in imperial conquests abroad.

In other words, late-nineteenth-century Anglo-American literatures portray the ideal Anglo-American woman as an active participant in the expansion of U.S. empire. Though Madame Alvarez herself is an independent and adventurous woman, she departs from the novel's model of ideal Anglo-American femininity because she is self-interested and invested in the restoration of Spanish monarchy in Olancho. Davis's portrayal of Alvarez underscores her conflict with the framework of model femininity that the New Woman represents. Notably, the novel juxtaposes Clay's fondness for Alvarez with Olanchoans' distrust of her. Consul Weimer, an Englishman, explains to Clay the rumors of revolt that surround Madame Alvarez:

> Madame Alvarez, you know, was the Countess Manueleta Hernandez before her marriage. She belongs to one of the oldest families in Spain. Alvarez married in Madrid, when he was Minister there, and when he returned to run for President, she came with him. She's a tremendously ambitious woman, and they do say she wants to convert the republic into a monarchy, and make her husband a King, or, more properly speaking, make herself Queen. Of course that's absurd, but she is supposed to be plotting to turn Olancho into a sort of dependency of Spain, as it was long ago, and that's why she's so unpopular. (Davis, *Soldiers* 110)

Her ties to the Spanish monarchy raise suspicion because the novel casts Madame Alvarez as more loyal to the Spanish crown than to her husband. Instead of supporting her husband's efforts to establish democracy in Olancho, the novel portrays Madame Alvarez as interested in making "herself Queen." Her Spanish origin, the novel intimates, makes Madame Alvarez susceptible to

the Royalist cause, an antiquated form of rule which contradicts Davis's vision of the U.S.'s modern future.

Juxtaposed against Madame Alvarez, Hope Langham embodies *Soldiers of Fortune*'s ideal of late-nineteenth-century U.S. femininity that advances Davis's vision of the U.S. modern future. At the turn of the century, Anglo-American historical romances created new roles out of the old (Kaplan 103), and in Davis's novel, the characterization of Madame Alvarez as a "Spanish American" woman represents an iteration of outdated femininity that hearkens to Victorian ideals of the Angel in the House. Hope, meanwhile, embodies a model of femininity that emerges at the end of the nineteenth century, and which, alongside the ideal Anglo-American man, will carry the nation into the modern twentieth century. Whereas Madame Alvarez seeks to make herself Queen of Olancho, Hope eagerly joins Clay's efforts to restore democracy in the region (Davis, *Soldiers* 91). "Hope felt selfishly and wickedly happy," observes the narrator (91). For Hope, the project of U.S. intervention energizes and fulfills her in a manner that mirror's Clay's pride in his profession, making her Clay's ideal partner.

In contrast, Madame Alvarez sinks into a state of depression after her failed attempt to reinstate monarchy instigates a coup that results in her banishment from Olancho. An intimate scene towards the end of the novel describes Madame Alvarez and Hope sitting together in the back of a carriage. Distraught over "the ambitions she had held," Madame Alvarez finds herself comforted by Hope. Alvarez asks, "Why are you so good to me? I am a wicked, vin woman, I have brought a nation to war and I have killed the only man I ever trusted" (Davis, *Soldiers* 191). Hope and Alvarez are foils, and I interpret Alvarez's understanding of herself in this moment to supplement an implied description of Hope as virtuous, humble, and a patriotic woman. Moreover, Hope's response to Alvarez highlights that, as the novel's New Woman, she is also a

champion of U.S. empire: “Hope touched her gently with her hand and felt guiltily how selfish she herself must feel to not feel the woman’s grief, but she could not. She only saw in it a contrast to her own happiness, a black background before which the figure of Clay and his solitude for her shone out” (191). This exchange between the two women, along with the access the novel grants readers to Hope’s inner dialogue, recalls Kaplan’s assertion that the ideal New Woman “feminizes the colonial subject and masculinizes American women” (109). In this way, Hope becomes a contained vessel of U.S. nationalism, like Clay. The novel can only forge this image of Hope, however, in direct contrast with Madame Alvarez.

The deployment of Madame Alvarez as a vehicle through which to foreclose an Olancho-U.S. union, as well to elevate Hope as the model New Anglo-Saxon Woman, parallels Norris’s reliance on Maria Macapa as a frame narrative in *McTeague*. Although *McTeague* does not rely on an imaginary republic to portray Latin America as a homogeneous region, the naturalist novel’s careless oscillation between “Mexican” “Spanish American” and “greaser” to dismiss Maria Macapa’s heritage illustrates how critical the process of naming was to the racialization of Latina/os at the turn of the century. In its second chapter, the novel introduces Macapa as a “greaser” (Norris, *McTeague* 21). Elsewhere, the narrator describes Macapa as “the Mexican woman who took care of the lodger’s rooms” (21). Norris extends this pattern to the rest of the novel, and the implication, then, is that “Mexican,” “Spanish American,” and “greaser” are appropriate interchangeable terms to identify Latina/os whom are indistinguishable from one another. *McTeague* never wavers in its citation of Central America as Macapa’s place of origin, but coupled with the use of “Mexican,” “Spanish American,” and “greaser,” the isthmus, too, is undifferentiated.

However, the deployment of Central America in *McTeague* also provides Norris with access to specific tropes about the region's political instability that allow him to dismiss Macapa, and all Latina/os by extension. The novel reveals little about Macapa's background, or the reasons for her arrival to Polk Street. Yet the narrator's explanation that "there was a legend to the effect that [Maria's] people had been at one time immensely wealthy in Central America" betrays the novel's attempt to conflate Latin American nations because it taps into the Central American population that traveled to and lived in San Francisco since at least the mid nineteenth century. As I discuss in greater detail in this dissertation's last chapter, San Francisco's status as a major global port city attracted many Central American elites to the city.[24] Local Anglophone newspapers, such as *The San Francisco Chronicle* (for which Norris briefly wrote), maintained interest in Central American arrivals, especially in cases when political turmoil prompted their exit from the isthmus.

Just as Walker's history in Central America frame Davis's historical romance, Norris draws a narrative rooted in the population of Central American political elites who lived in San Francisco to construct Macapa's backstory. *McTeague*'s narrator explains that Macapa was already a "fixture […] as a maid-of-all-work" by the time Miss Baker, Polk Street's oldest resident, moves in (Norris, *McTeague* 21). A "fixture" is "A person or thing permanently confined to or established din a particular place or position" or "anything made firm, stable, or immobile" ("fixture, n."). The narrator's description of Maria as a Spanish American woman,

[24] In Chapter 2, I write about the transnational literary and cultural production of Nicaraguan editor, journalist, and poet Román Mayorga Rivas. In the November 12, 1912 issue of his *Diario del Salvador*, Rivas announced, in Spanish and English, that he submitted articles of incorporation for the newspaper in San Francisco. Rivas traveled to San Francisco quite regularly, and his name appears regularly in the city's Anglophone papers' society columns. San Francisco was also home to Central American political exiles, such as former Salvadoran president Francisco Dueñas. A coup overthrew Dueñas, and after he faced a trial that drove him to exile, he arrived in San Francisco in 1872. The death of Guatemalan president Justo Rufino Barrios in 1885 prompted Francisca Aparicio de Barrios to leave Guatemala with her seven children for San Francisco.

along with the brief glimpse of her Central American past, suggest that there is nothing more to know about her. She is already "made firm, stable, or immobile." As such, the novel consigns her to the plot's background, and invites readers to understand her as an accessory to McTeague and Trina's storylines. A legal definition, however, defines the term as, "Things of an accessory character annexed to houses or lands, which become immediately on annexation, part of the reality itself" ("fixture, n."). Maria, then, is fixed and inseparable from the other characters and plots in *McTeague*. The novel struggles to reduce Macapa to the plot's margins, but she remains because she is foundational—just as Central Americans were to turn-of-the-century San Francisco.

Notably, *McTeague* never offers a physical description of Macapa, and relies instead on recurrent references to tropes of Central American revolution and garishness to racialize her as non-white and out of place in San Francisco. Macapa is obsessed with a gold dinner service from her childhood that she claims her parents owned in Central America. Her Polk Street continually express doubt over its existence, and at one point, the narrator asks,

> Did that wonderful service of gold plate ever exist outside of her diseased imagination? Was Maria actually remembering some reality of a childhood of a barbaric luxury? Were her parents at one point possessed of an incalculable fortune derived from some Central American coffee plantation, a fortune long since confiscated by armies of insurrectionists, or squandered in the support of revolutionary governments? (Norris, *McTeague* 41)

These questions are, for Norris, obviously rhetorical because the answer to them all is "no." The terms "diseased," "barbaric," "insurrectionist," and "revolutionary" reflect a vocabulary around Central America in the nineteenth-century Anglo-American imaginary that forges an image of the region as uncivilized and archaic. In turn, so is Macapa.

Initially, the novel arranges a possible romantic storyline between Marcus and Trina, but the couple's interaction with Macapa in McTeague's dentist parlor sets up Trina's introduction to

her future husband; as well, Trina purchases the lottery ticket that changes her life from Macapa. While they wait for McTeague, Marcus points out Macapa to Trina, "She ai'nt regular crazy, but *I* don't know, she's queer. Y'out to hear her go on about a gold dinner service she says her folks used to own. Ask her what her name is and see what she'll say" (Norris, *McTeague* 20). When Trina asks her name, Macapa responds, "Name is Maria—Miranda—Macapa. Had a flying squirrel an' let him go" (20). The narrator notes that Macapa introduces herself in the same manner every time she meets someone new. Within the novel's assertion that there was "absolutely nothing" to know about Macapa "further than she was Spanish-American" (21), Macapa's introduction of herself emphasizes how little the people on Polk Street know about her, and how little they care to find out about her beyond her name and the queer story she repeats.

The alliterative quality to Macapa's name, the hyphens that connect her utterances, and the repetition of the gold dinner service story result in a reliable, or fixed, frame narrative in *McTeague*. Macapa might be queer and unassuming, as the novel encourages us to read her. Yet her role in the novel is critical. After Macapa finishes her work in the parlor, she walks over to Trina and urges her to buy a lottery ticket. "Try your luck," insists Macapa (Norris, *McTeague* 21). Two events transpire concurrently in this scene: Trina meets McTeague and they marry soon after. More importantly, Trina wins $5,000 from the lottery ticket she purchases from Macapa. Marcus might have formally introduced Trina and McTeague, but Maria was there as well, and her interaction with Trina sets up the lottery plot—the novel's most important storyline.

Elsewhere, Macapa remains a part of daily life on Polk Street, even if the novel suggests she is not necessarily in it. For instance, Macapa's character sets up the Baker-Grannis subplot. Miss Baker and Old Grannis are elderly neighbors who develop feelings for each other, stealing

glances in the stairway. They act with "great embarrassment" and with "the timidity of a second childhood around each other" (Norris, *McTeague* 16). As the flat's maid, Macapa has access to everyone's home, and she is privy to her neighbors' inner lives and secrets. Her description of the Baker-Grannis love affair as Macapa's "great discovery" indicates that Macapa derives great satisfaction from knowledge she acquires. Through Macapa, readers witness Polk Street's residents' most intimate moments. The novel, meanwhile, describes her as a gossip at the same time as it deploys her as a liaison. Macapa spreads news of the budding Baker-Grannis romance "from room to room, from floor to floor" (17). Polk Street residents intrude into each other's lives constantly, but Macapa often forges their connections.

The novel's portrayal of Macapa as an intrusive, gossipy, and repetitive Spanish American woman minimizes her role in the novel and shifts attention to the other characters in *McTeague*; however, the very qualities upon which Norris develops Macapa's character evoke the New Woman, a figure with which Norris had a complicated relationship. In her analysis of *McTeague*, Maria F. Brandt writes about the representational difficulties the figure of the New Woman posed for Norris in connection to excess and repetition. The independence the New Woman symbolized, according to Brandt, threatened the fantasy of fixed masculinity Norris embraced, but, at the same time, he recognized within this model of femininity a potential to advance U.S. national identity as Anglo-Saxon (9). For Norris, the ideal New Woman was autonomous and aligned with mid-century notions of middle-class femininity. More importantly for Norris, the ideal New Woman was Anglo-Saxon, and in *McTeague*, Brandt contends, he grapples with the potential assimilability this figure offers non-Anglo-Saxon women.

According to Brandt, out of all the racialized characters in *McTeague*, Trina resembles most an Anglo-Saxon, U.S. American. The emphasis on Trina's androgynous appearance in the

novel's introduction of her character conjures the New Woman: Dressed modestly, plainly, and in all black, Trina was "almost like a boy, frank, candid, unreserved," and a "little bourgeoisie" (Norris, *McTeague* 22). Brandt writes that the introduction of Trina's character as embodying the qualities of the New Woman set up Norris's argument that her proximity to Anglo-Saxon whiteness is dangerous. As Brandt observes, a desire to enact upward-mobility overcomes McTeague soon after he marries Trina (127). Trina's assimilation into the role of a New Woman is problematic, then, because "she also appears well-quipped to extend the properties of this resemblance to her brutish husband" (Brandt 11). Brandt's assertion that Trina facilitates McTeague's assimilation into Anglo-Saxon culture parallels Rossetti's argument that, above all, Norris feared racialized peoples' potential to inhabit Anglo-American, middle-class culture, which, in turn, would unravel imagined U.S. Anglo-Saxon national identity.

McTeague largely relies on the tropicalization of Macapa's Central American heritage to portray her as unassimilable into Anglo-Saxon, middle-class culture, but, I argue, to distance her as well from the model of New Womanhood. Like a New Woman, Macapa is independent. Her work as a maid, as I have discussed, allows her to move in and out of spaces as she pleases. She also supplements her income selling lottery tickets and collecting junk, such as "bits of iron, stone jugs, glass bottles, old sacks, and cast-off garments" (Norris, *McTeague* 53). In turn, Macapa uses her earnings to purchase clothes she hopes will help her to emulate local shop girls, whom she envies because "they were in the world, they were elegant, they were debonair, they had their 'young men'" (31). Macapa yearns for new attire because she understands clothing to be a vehicle for assimilation that can grant her access to the local shop girls' modern world. Macapa's tattered clothes and her obsession with the gold dinner service tale, contends Sara quay, highlight her ethnic difference (213). I would add that the novel's repeated references to

Macapa's childhood in Central America, along with her obsession with the gold dinner service and her outdated clothes, function to fix her to the past and preclude her assimilation into modern Anglo-American culture that fashion, and, by extension, the figure of the New Woman offer.

In *Soldiers of Fortune*, clothes are also critical to the preclusion of Madame Alvarez's transition from a Spanish-American woman to a New Woman. About Madame Alvarez, Hope concludes, "She was very well dressed for a Spanish woman. But everything she had on was just a year behind the fashions, or twelve steamer days behind" (Davis, *Soldiers* 98). Madame Alvarez's nearly-fashionable attire perpetuates a stereotype of which Davis was especially fond: as a region, Latin America and its people are perpetually behind the times, never quite reaching the United States and Europe. On the other hand, Anglo-American illustrator Charles Dana Gibson portrays Hope to resemble the fashionable, modern Gibson Girl in two of the novel's illustrations. She wears long, long-and-puffed-sleeved dresses, and her hair is arranged in a low chignon with loose girls. The narrator does not describe Madame Alvarez's dresses in details, and all readers know is that she is "behind the fashions." Like Macapa, clothing renders Madame Alvarez unsuitable with configurations of modern, Anglo-Saxon New Womanhood, and excludes her from turn-of-the-century Anglo-American culture.

The emphasis the novel places on Madame Alvarez's clothes to render her incompatible with configurations of modern, Anglo-Saxon New Womanhood, however, illustrates that the model of mid-century femininity Alice Langham represents is outdated, too. Hope's clothing choices and the enthusiasm the possibility of joining Clay's adventures evokes for her underscore a crucial component of Davis's ideal U.S. Anglo-Saxon womanhood: it evolves alongside U.S. empire. In fact, we can trace a trajectory of colonial women through Madame Alvarez, Alice Langham, and Hope Langham. Clay never displays any romantic interest in

Madame Alvarez, the novel's obvious representation of monarchical colonial power. Yet Clay does form a romantic attachment to Alice Langham before the novel even takes place.

In the novel's opening chapter, Clay confesses to first reading about Alice in a newspaper account of her debutante ball years ago. The account's accompanying photograph of Alice compelled Clay to request a copy, which he carried with him during his adventures through Texas, Mexico, and, now, Olancho: "The face in the watch was that of a young girl in the dress of a fashion of several years ago. It was a lovely, frank face, looking out into the world kindly and questioningly, and without fear" (Davis, *Soldiers* 52). Alice's photograph recalls Kaplan's discussion of mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-American literatures' deployment of ideal Anglo-Saxon femininity. According to Kaplan, the ideal Anglo woman in mid-nineteenth-century literatures "forges the bonds of internal unity and pushes the nation outward to encompass the globe" (30). In *Soldiers of Fortune*, Alice embodies mid-century model Anglo-American femininity. Her photograph tethers Clay to the United States during his travels around the world, thus protecting him from "the allure and threat of foreign domains" (Kaplan 30). Still, the novel's sketch of her as a "young girl in the dress of a fashion of several years ago" gestures to an admission about the model of femininity Alice represents: it, too, is outdated.

The novel never explicitly declares Alice incompatible with the vision of turn-of-the-century U.S. Anglo-Saxon national identity it endorses, but Clay's eventual disillusionment with her implies as much. In Olancho, Clay's work in the Valencia mines appears to bore her, which he interprets as a reflection of her feelings for him. Alice clarifies that while she respects Clay's work as a mining engineer, she envisions her husband as someone whose career entails "something bigger and more wide-reaching and more lasting" (Davis, *Soldiers* 115). Clay retorts that he would rather be valued by what he does and not by who he "happen[s] to be" (115). Alice

represents a more current model of ideal colonial femininity than Madame Alvarez, but her failure to appreciate Clay's filibustering shows that mid-century Anglo-American femininity is not modern enough either. The novel then struggles to reconcile Alice's femininity, and Davis draws attention to her heritage and class position instead. Hope deems her sister "the noblest example of the modern gentlewoman" (125), and Macwilliams describes Alice as "thoroughbred and [..] the most beautiful woman to look at" (119). Alice embodies a beautiful image. If we pay close enough attention to these moments in which Davis grapples with the work of the mid-century Anglo-American ideal she represents, we can see that, in many ways, Alice resembles Madame Alvarez more than she does her younger sister. Both Madame Alvarez and Alice are from upper-class backgrounds and appear to embody Victorian ideals of femininity. Davis, however, distinguishes the two women by aligning Madame Alvarez with the backwardness, corruption, and instability he associates with Latin America.

Read together, *Soldiers of Fortune* and *McTeague* illustrate how tenuous definitions of Anglo-American whiteness are in the nineteenth century, and how critical these definitions are to the preservation of U.S. empire at the turn of the century. Fielder asserts that the figure of the Anglo-American woman captivates the United States' imagination and produces racial anxiety around her ability to (re)produce whiteness. Whiteness, however, is conditional, and which woman classifies as white—and when—can change (Fielder ch. 2). In my close readings of Madame Alvarez and Maria Macapa, I show that Davis's and Norris's definitions of ideal womanhood are rooted in Anglo-Saxonism. The strategy to distinguish Anglo-Saxonism as the pinnacle of whiteness, in turn, rejects Central American racial logics like blanqueamiento to foreclose the possibility of interracial unions at the turn of the century. Davis and Norris rely on portrayals of Madame Alvarez and Maria Macapa as "Spanish American" women to flatten

diverse Latin American and Latina/os cultures, and to racialize Latin Americans and Latina/os as archaic peoples who are incompatible with *Soldiers of Fortune*'s and *McTeague*'s articulation of U.S. Anglo-Saxon national identity. Even so, Davis and Norris fail to neatly obfuscate Madame Alvarez and Madame Alvarez, illustrating the representational challenges Latin American and Latinas pose for the Anglo-American imaginary.

In her study of Central American literature, Ana Patricia Rodríguez invites us to view Central America as a "transisthmus," or an imaginary yet material space where multiple transnational and transhistorical narratives transcend (*Dividing the Isthmus* 2). While Anglo-American writers grappled with the perceived threat they believed Latinas posed to their definitions of Anglo-Saxon whiteness, Central American liberals relied on women to enact blanqueamiento and to circulate an articulation of the isthmus as modern in print. Central American liberal intellectuals promoted centroamericanismo—the myth that Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua shared a common history, and, therefore, a common future—to ward off U.S. encroachment. At the same time, nationalists continued to participate in economic partnerships with U.S. government and capital, and sponsoring reforms to the region's institutions with the profit from U.S.-Central American collusions. I do not endeavor to provide a comprehensive literary history of U.S. imperialism in Central America. Instead, I am interested in one specific narrative of the transisthmus, in which the transnational relationship between Central America and the United States in the nineteenth century continues to impact the contemporary U.S. Central America diaspora.

Today, Cárdenas notes that diasporic Central Americans in the United States often replicate nineteenth-century elite criollos' racial fantasy when they, too, invoke Central America as one grand nation bound by shared culture, politics, and history. In doing so, the U.S. Central

American diaspora champions a foundational fiction that excludes Panama and Belize, and indigenous, black, and other racialized peoples. She calls on scholars to interrogate centroamericanismo, as constituted and deployed by nineteenth-century Central American nationalists, to consider whom the term leaves behind (Cárdenas 8). In the rest of my dissertation, I build on Cárdenas' work and offer a genealogy of centroamericanismo and its exclusions, arguing ultimately that these historical exclusions are still with us and have an impact on all aspects of twenty-first-century social, cultural, and political life.

I open the chapter with a scene from Maxímo Soto Hall's *El problema* (1999) to underscore the importance Central American writers placed on nineteenth-century centroamericanas, to whom the novel attributes the responsibility to reproduce centroamericanismo. In my next chapter, I turn my attention to Nicaraguan writer Román Mayorga Rivas's 1890 work as co-editor in *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, a U.S. Latina/o periodical. Rivas is a foundational figure in the Central American literary canon, but he remains largely absent in scholarship about nineteenth-century Latina/o literary production. I contend that *La Revista* is an early U.S. Central American literary flashpoint, and I ask, what does an emphasis on Rivas's role as *La Revista*'s co-editor, along with his writings, bring to view about centroamericanismo within nineteenth-century latinidad? I am interested as well in Rivas' deployment of ideal Central American womanhood in *La Revista*, and where his vision of model Central American femininity intersects with model Anglo-American femininity.

Finding La Patria Grande: Román Mayorga Rivas's Transnational Centroamericanismo in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Periodical Press

Neocolonial ambivalence[25] underpinned Central American-U.S. relations in the late nineteenth century: The nation-building literatures from this period reflect Central American Liberals' efforts to assume an anti-imperialist stance and a simultaneous desire to forge an assimilative, and, therefore, modern image of Central America that would appeal to Anglo markets. In this chapter, I demonstrate that turn-of-the-century centroamericanismo, rooted in blanqueamiento and femininity, is a transnational construct. We see as much in the archival trajectory of Román Mayorga Rivas, a Nicaraguan diplomat, journalist, and poet who lived transnationally between El Salvador and the United States at the turn of the century. Rivas is a foundational figure in the nineteenth-century Central American literary canon, but his transnational work remains understudied. However, in 1890, Rivas began a year-long tenure as the co-editor of *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, an U.S. Latina/o periodical designed to promote latinoamericanismo. Rivas's editorial choices, poems, literary and artistic reviews, and essays on ideal womanhood in *La Revista* suggest that he employed the magazine as a cultural text through which to enact blanqueamiento to promote an articulation of Central America as a modern space. As such, I contend that *La Revista Ilustrada* is an early flashpoint in U.S. Central American literary studies, and I ask, how do Rivas and his editorship of a U.S.-based periodical help us to understand a nineteenth-century U.S. Central American subjectivity in the making?

In my previous chapter, I argue that turn-of-the-century Anglo-American literatures rely on the figure of the "Spanish American" woman to flatten diverse Latin American peoples into

[25] Ana Patricia Rodríguez uses the term "neocolonial ambivalence" to describe Central American Liberal elites who were ardent nationalists and simultaneous U.S. partners and allies (*Dividing the Isthmus* 37). Rodríguez echoes Teresa García Giráldez's assertion that Central American Liberals struggled to reconcile anti-imperialist stances with a desire to cultivate closer ties to the United States (*Redes intelectuales*66).

an archaic, monolithic group. This narrative strategy, in turn, results in a lingering effect in the U.S. public's inability to distinguish Central Americans from other Latina/o peoples. For instance, in *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), Richard Harding Davis undermines the romance genre's conventional ending: He refuses to endorse a symbolic U.S.-Olancho union through a marriage between Anglo-American protagonist Robert Clay and Madame Alvarez, the fictional Latin American republic's first lady. Repeated gestures to her outdated fashions, Spanish background, and self-interested political ambitions indicate that the model of Latin American womanhood rooted in colonial power Alvarez symbolizes is incompatible with Davis' vision of the United States' future. Similarly, in *McTeague* (1899), Frank Norris conflates heterogeneous Latina/o cultures in his depiction of Maria Miranda Macapa, the naturalist novel's Spanish American woman and sole Latina/o character. The narrator describes Macapa as "Spanish American," "Mexican," and "greaser" from Central America; echoing *Soldiers of Fortune*, Norris' novel also points to Macapa's obsolete fashion as evidence of her peculiarity to exclude her assimilation into life on Polk Street. Here, I show that turn-of-the-century Central American literature relies on representation of ideal womanhood in more or less the same way, except these depictions are embedded in the isthmus' intracommunal conflicts as well as a centroamericanismo that is ambivalent about the U.S.

In this chapter, I use Rivas's literary and cultural work in *La Revista* as a case study to examine turn-of-the-century centroamericanismo through a transnational lens. I begin with a summary of Rivas's prolific literary career in the isthmus to contextualize his place in Central American literary history. Next, I shift my attention to Rivas's lengthy career as a diplomat for the governments of El Salvador and Nicaragua, and discuss the visibility these ambassadorial appointments grant him in U.S. periodical archives. Searches for Rivas yield results in the

archives of nineteenth-century newspapers based in U.S. cities such as Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. for extended periods of time. These cities are Central American hubs now, and, as Rivas's trajectory illustrates, they were home to Central Americans in the nineteenth century, too. In particular, Rivas draws attention to the population of Central American oligarchs who lived in San Francisco at the turn of the century. As I discuss, San Francisco was an important city for transnational Central American-U.S. economic relations; in 1912, Rivas filed paperwork to patent his Salvadoran newspaper, *Diario del Salvador*, in San Francisco, further illustrating the way transnationalism shaped Rivas's work.

In the final two sections of this chapter, I analyze Rivas's writing and editorial choices in *La Revista Ilustrada*. I close read the January 1890 issue of *La Revista*, which introduces Rivas as co-editor, to model a reading practice that brings into view Central Americans in the Latina/o nineteenth century. Specifically, I attend to "El Incendio de un Palacio" (Fire at a Palace), "Notas Bibliográficas" (Bibliographic Notes), and "Una mujer salvadoreña" (A Salvadoran woman). Attention to Central American history, literature and culture, and definitions of ideal womanhood in these writings nuance analyses of La Revista as a Pan-Latin American text in two ways: First, it highlights the Central American nationalism with which Rivas imbues *La Revista*, illustrating, then, Central Americans engaging in shared notions of nineteenth-century latinidad. Second, the centroamericanismo in the January 1890 issue of *La Revista* renders the magazine a Central American-American text, widening the parameters of what constitutes US Central American literature.

Lastly, I examine Rivas's contributions in the rest of *La Revista*'s 1890 run, focusing on the attention he pays to European literature and constructions of ideal Latin American femininity. Scholarship on *La Revista* highlight the contributions of Cuban José Martí and Nicaraguan

Rubén Darío,[26] whom critics consider at the forefront of the literary genre of modernismo,[27] but neglect Rivas – even though he published 73 pieces in *La Revista*, more than any other single contributor (Chamberlin and Schulman 26). Central Americanists such as Julio Valle-Castillo recognize Rivas as an advocate for modernity and a promoter of modernismo. To overlook Rivas's influential role in *La Revista* sustains narratives that invisibilize Central Americans, and which inhibit our ability to view these peoples as cultural and literary producers in the Latina/o nineteenth century. Moreover, highlighting his influence on *La Revista*'s articulation of ideal Latin American womanhood, literature, and culture reorients our understanding of the magazine's latinoamericanismo as an ideology imbued with the blanqueamiento that underlines Rivas's centroamericanismo.

Rivas's Nineteenth-Century U.S. Central American Cultural Productions

Born to one of Central America's most influential political families in 1862, Rivas was the grandson of Nicaraguan president Patricio Rivas and the son of Cleto Mayorga,[28] a prominent lawyer and politician. He arrived in Guatemala at the age of twelve to study at the

[26] José Martí (1853-1895) was a Cuban poet, essayist, journalist, and nationalist, whose life and work were dedicated to fighting for Cuban independence. Martí spent most of his life in exile in Latin America and the United States, and is considered one of the most prominent turn-of-the-century Latin American thinkers.
Rubén Darío (1867-1916) was a Nicaraguan poet, journalist, and diplomat best-known as the father of modernismo. After the publication of his poetry collection *Azul* (1888), Darío lived in and traveled throughout Latin America, Europe, and the United States.

[27] Laura Lomas writes that modernismo was "a literary revolution that originated in exchanges between Martí, Darío, and other Latin American contemporaries." The genre reworks "European, and especially French, symbolist, pre-Raphaelite poetics from a peripheral perspective, in order to generate a new literary aesthetic" (193).

[28] Justin Wolfe writes that whereas Cleto's half-cousin Mateo represented the Diaz de Mayorga family's elite, "legitimate Spanish" side of the family, Cleto represented the family's "illegitimate black side" (189). In the segregated barrio of San Felipe in Léon, Nicaragua, Cleto Mayorga joined other Liberal Afro-Nicaraguans who challenged Nicaragua's Conservative oligarchy in the mid nineteenth century, and who initially commissioned William Walker's journey to Nicaragua (Wolfe 189). Notably, Mayorga's father-in-law, Patricio Rivas, was Nicaragua's president at this time.

Instituto Nacional Central para Varones under the tutelage of Hildebrando Martí.[29] Best remembered for founding *Diario del Salvador*, Rivas' literary career in Central America was expansive. Before *Diario*, Rivas founded *Diario del Cometa* (1878), *Diario del Comercio*, and *El Estudiante* in Nicaragua. His body of work includes two poetry collections entitled *Ramillete para Leonor* (1903) and *Viejo y Nuevo* (1915), the drama *Los misterios de un hogar* (1883) (which he co-authored with Salvadoran writer Francisco Gavidia), and *Guirnalda salvadoreña*—an anthology of nineteenth-century Salvadoran national poets and their works, which was published from 1884 to 1886. As well, Rivas, who was a polyglot, published *La esfinge* (1892), a Spanish-language translation of Oscar Wilde's "The Sphinx Without a Secret." Rivas' literary career in Central America was prolific, but scholars have yet to grapple with his transnational literary and cultural productions, and the influence his time in the United States had on Rivas' vision of centroamericanismo.

The multiple diplomatic appointments Rivas held in the U.S. on behalf of El Salvador and Nicaragua make him, arguably, one of the most visible Central Americans in the archives of the Latina/o nineteenth century. Searches for his name in *San Francisco Call*, *San Francisco Examiner* and *The Washington Post* show that, between 1889 to 1915, Rivas resided in the U.S. for periods lasting anywhere from six months to four years. As his relationship with *La Revista* illustrates, these ambassadorial engagements often expanded Rivas' U.S. Latina/o literary networks. For instance, Kelley Kreitz notes that in 1887, *La Revista* reprinted a review from Rivas' Nicaraguan-based newspaper *El Independiente*, in which he praised the magazine for its printing quality (685). Kreitz writes that Rivas' compliment "recognizes one of the primary

[29] The older brother of Cuban nationalist and writer José Martí, Hildebrando was an educator who taught Spanish at Columbia University in 1860 before becoming the director of Instituto Nacional, a private preparatory school for boys in Guatemala.

means by which *La Revista* distinguished itself from its peers: by emphasizing the familiarity with the latest print technologies made possible in New York City" (685). Two years later, Rivas moved to Washington D.C. to head the Nicaraguan embassy. It was then that he joined *La Revista*, as a contributor in 1889 and as co-editor in 1890. An 1892 volume of *The National Corporation Reporter* shows that Rivas collaborated with Nicanor Bolet Peraza, *La Revista*'s principal editor, on *El Americano*,[30] a new monthly magazine sponsored by Anglo-American businessman Lincoln Valentine, of Valentine Brothers Produce Exchange, to encourage trade and friendly relations between the United States and Latin America. *The Reporter* also lists Cuban writer José Martí as a contributor for *el Americano*, with whom Rivas also worked on *La Revista*. Rivas returned to El Salvador in 1894, and he drew from the knowledge he gained from U.S. Latina/o literary communities on the latest print technologies in cities like Washington D.C., New York, Boston, and San Francisco to establish his own *Diario del Salvador* as the most modern Central American newspaper of its time.

Just as I consider *La Revista* to be a flashpoint in U.S. Central America literary studies, I consider *Diario del Salvador* to be a lynchpin that illuminates nineteenth-century Central American transnationalism. During its first six months, the Salvadoran government economically supported *Diario*, enabling Rivas to equip the paper with the most modern print technology imported from the United States. By the early twentieth century, however, the political climate in El Salvador grew increasingly hostile towards newspapers, and on November 23, 1912, Rivas announced in *Diario*—in Spanish and in English—that he submitted articles of incorporation for the paper in San Francisco (*Diario del Salvador*, "Organización de la Empresa del Diario del

[30] Nicolás Kanellos writes that *El Americano*'s mission was hemispheric integration. He writes, "*El Americano* was for the Monroe Doctrine, but very much in favor of immigration from the rest of the world to further the progress in all fields to make of the Americas the most prosperous and enlightened continents in the world" (64). The journal was edited by Cuban poet Enrique Nattes, and featured some of Latin America's most prominent writers.

Salvador," p.9). Rivas does not outwardly state the motivation behind the move to file *Diario* as an U.S. establishment, but the critiques of Salvadoran authorities he embeds in the announcement imply he wanted to remove the paper from the purview of the Salvadoran government's censorship. Rivas does cite his belief in the freedom of the press, but the list of shareholders *Diario* prints alongside the announcement in *Diario* prints alongside the announcement includes Rivas' son, Román Mayorga Rivas Jr., suggesting that the choice to file paperwork in San Francisco was motivated, in part, by his familial ties to the city as well as the region's substantial Central American community.

As I discuss at length in my dissertation's last chapter, San Francisco was a hub for Central American coffee elites in the late nineteenth century,[31] and in 1912, the city was also home to two of Rivas' sons, Román Jr. and Alexander. In May of that year, Rivas told a reporter from *The San Francisco Examiner* that his eldest son, Román, was a student at the University of California at Berkeley,[32] while his younger son Alexander attended the Hitchcock Military Academy in Marin County – from which Rivas Jr. graduated just a few years prior ("May 8" 6). Rivas insisted El Salvador held the United States in high regard, and encouraged readers of *The San Francisco Examiner* to take his sons' enrollment in Anglo schools as "proof of this" (6). I do

[31] San Francisco's historic position as a global port city facilitated Anglo-Central American commercial ties since at least the mid nineteenth century, which in turn facilitated Central American migration to the Northern California region. When coffee became Central America's primary export beginning around 1870, isthmian coffee elite established partnerships with many Anglo coffee companies based in San Francisco, such as Folger's and Hills Brothers. These relationships also resulted in new, transnational Anglo-Central American social networks based in San Francisco, which brought coffee oligarchs and other Central American elites to the California city.

[32] Rivas Jr. later transferred to the University of Pennsylvania from University of California. He trained as a dentist at Philadelphia Dental College. A 1915 yearbook description of Rivas Jr. reads: "This gay Lothario tripped into life in the midst of the diplomatic corps at Washington D.C. Educated in Paris, he studied art, dancing and other things. His training at Hitchcock Military Academy gave him his love for uniforms and parades…He holds the distinction of being the most stylish man in the class, a lovely dancer and the only one able to get pressure anesthesia with arsenic. Member of Psi Omega and Garretsonian Society." Rivas eventually moved to New York City, where he socialized with the city's elite. His name comes up in several Anglo newspapers' society columns, including *The New York Times*, which reported on a charity costume ball Rivas Jr. attended at the Waldorf-Astoria in 1924.

view the enrollment of Rivas' two sons in U.S. educational institutions as evidence of his admiration for the U.S., and as corroboration of his wealthy status.

The Hitchcock Military Academy was a preparatory school for boys, and was one of several private institutions in Northern California that catered to wealthy Anglos and Latinos[33] at the turn of the century. The Academy promoted itself as a school that provided young men with a well-rounded education that prioritized physical and academic instruction, and which was supplemented with military training to inspire "a wholesome discipline and obedience that [could] never be attained under home influences" (*Marin County Tocsin*, April 11, 1911). Private schools in the area like Hitchcock Academy often depicted themselves as pipeline institutions for the University of California, and attendance was costly.[34] At the time Rivas spoke to *The San Francisco Examiner*, his younger son Alexander was likely the classmate of Alberto Guirola, a member of one of El Salvador's Catorce Familias (Fourteen Families),[35] who graduated from Hitchcock and later enrolled at the University of California in 1913.[36] Other young men from wealthy Central American families were probably students of Hitchcock Academy as well because the increased exportation of coffee at the turn of the century resulted in not just new Anglo-Central American economic partnerships based in San Francisco; they also resulted in

[33] See Gerald McKevitt's "Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo, 1857-1884." In this article, McKevitt writes about Santa Clara College, a private Catholic school for young men who wanted to enroll at University of California. McKevitt writes that these private institutions had a history of recruiting upper-class Californios and other Latinos. The price of tuition for this institution was $350 a year.

[34] For comparison, the cost to attend Santa Clara College, a mid-nineteenth-century private Catholic school for boys, was $350 a year in 1867.

[35] El Salvador's Catorce Familias was a term used to describe the coffee oligarchy which controlled most of the country's land and wealth between 1871 and 1927.

[36] Like Rivas Jr. before him, Guirola enrolled in the University of California at Berkeley after graduating from Hitchcock Academy. He studied in the College of Agriculture, which proved useful for the advancement of his family's coffee business in El Salvador.

new, transnational Anglo-Central American social networks, which brought coffee oligarchs and other Central American elites to the California city.

Like Rivas Jr. and Guirola, Norris himself attended the University of California in the late nineteenth century, and really should have known, then, about coffee oligarchs and other Central American elites in San Francisco. Or, maybe he did know, and the description of Maria Macapa's Central American past as enigmatic in *McTeague* simply reflects Norris' xenophobia. However, even if Norris was oblivious, the late-nineteenth-century Anglo press in San Francisco was not, and newspapers such as *The San Francisco Call* and *The San Francisco Examiner* suggest that Central American elites like Rivas and his family were subjects of interest in the city's upper-class social circles.

For instance, Rivas traveled to San Francisco in May 1913 with his daughter Eleanor, and the month-long visit prompted four reports in *The Call* and *The Examiner*. On May 13, *The Call* runs an article entitled "San Salvador Belle Arrives With Father" in its society section. The report describes Eleanor as an accomplished, "beautiful girl of San Salvador, who will be the Central American republic's belle at the [Panama-Pacific International] exposition (*The San Francisco Call*, May 13, 1913, p. 4). Later, on May 26, *The Examiner* publishes "Salvadoran Editor and Daughter Here: Miss Eleanor Mayorga-Rivas Arrives on Way to School in the East." Readers are told that Rivas and his daughter are on their way to the East coast, where they planned to research women's colleges in Boston and Philadelphia ("May 26" 6). Echoing *The Call*, the paper tells readers that Eleanor is fluent in Spanish, French, and English, and that she is also an accomplished musician ("May 26" 6). That same day, *The Call* reported on a luncheon hosted by a Miss Katherine Coombs in honor of Rivas' visit to the city ("May 26" 6). In *McTeague*, Norris dismisses Macapa, describing her as a "strange woman of mixed race," whom

we know is unusual because she fixates on an improbable memory from her "childhood of barbaric luxury" in the isthmus (*McTeague* 59). The novel depicts Macapa's inability to assimilate and be "in the world" of *McTeague*, but, within the context of late-nineteenth-century San Francisco print culture, we can understand that Norris knew about prominent Central Americans but chose to depict them as outsiders.

Undeniably, unlike displaced Central Americans who arrived in San Francisco and other U.S. cities half a century after him, Rivas's nineteenth-century migrations were not forced upon him; however, he and other Central American elites still reflect the "murky origins" of heterogeneous Central American diasporas (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 186). In this chapter, I examine Rivas's transnational movement and cultural productions through a U.S. Central American lens to glimpse "a lost, a past" nineteenth-century transnational Central American literary history that predates mid-twentieth-century diasporic Central American arrival to the U.S. (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 186). In Kirsten Silva Gruesz's work, errancy enables a shift away from frameworks that rely on purposeful migration to read U.S. Central American subjectivity as a construct which evokes paternalistic sympathy. Errancy illuminates instead different "persons, works, and circuits of communication *in their moment*," and can elucidate Central American narrative textualities that are dynamic, and rife with contradictions (Gruesz 36). Rivas both is and is not an errant figure. He embraced centroamericanismo, and much of his literary and cultural work aligns with the telos of nineteenth-century Central American literary history – but his movement between the U.S. and Central America in the nineteenth century, and the transnationalism that informs his work in and out of the isthmus, renders him an errant actor in U.S. Central American literary history.

In the section that follows, I contextualize Rivas and his work within the history of late-nineteenth-century Central American Liberal reforms, and in critical conversations in U.S. Central American and Latinx Studies about U.S. Central Americans within frameworks of latinidad. Attempts to secure political consolidation between Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua that swept the region since the collapse of the Central American federation in 1838 and through the early twentieth century often cited modernization and progress as catalysts for reunion. As critics of U.S. Central American and Central American studies discuss, modernization and progress were often euphemisms for blanqueamiento.

Arguably, the social whitening campaigns of late-nineteenth-century Central American Liberalism reified exclusionary social and racial hierarchies upon which centroamericanismo was designed. Since the first mass migrations that brought Central Americans to the U.S. did not occur until the mid-twentieth century, scholars of U.S. Central American studies engage the late-nineteenth-century Liberal period, and the transnationalism that underpins it, as distant and removed from the circumstances that shape diasporic Central Americans' lives today. In recent years, however, both U.S. Central American and Latinx studies have called on critics to expand what Raúl Coronado calls the "history of Latino textuality" to include multiple temporalities, genealogies, and forms ("Historicizing" 54). I contend that Rivas' transnationalism, as well as the literary traces he left behind in nineteenth-century Anglo and Latina/o texts, nuance and expand the parameters of U.S. Central American literary history.

Nineteenth-Century Central American Liberalism, and Contemporary U.S. Central American and Latinx Studies

The uneven waves of Liberal reforms that reverberated through Central America after 1870 resulted in the region's increased reliance on export agriculture and US capital. Nationalists faced the predicament of constructing a strong, homogeneous Central American identity to reject

further U.S. imperialism while simultaneously forging an image that coded Central America as a modern space. Like many of his peers, Rivas worked in various capacities to elevate Central American culture; his role as a Central American diplomat,[37] his writings, and his extensive travels to and stays in the U.S. show how entwined with the U.S. republic and Anglo-American culture Rivas imagined Central American modernity to be. The paradoxical beliefs that shape Rivas's turn-of-the-century transnational writings are several of the many contradictions from which contemporary U.S. Central American subjectivity emerges.

Building on Arturo Arias's concept of "narrative textuality," Ana Patricia Rodríguez emphasizes that Central American literature must be read in transhistorical and transnational contexts because the isthmus is an imaginative site through which the various Central American nations connect across different periods. The transisthmus, as Rodríguez describes this imaginative yet material place, holds the region's many complex contexts of Central American literary and cultural texts (*Dividing the Isthmus* 2). One of Rodriguez's examples is turn-of-the-century Costa Rican, nation-and empire-building literature. As one of the first Central American countries to produce coffee for export, Costa Rica came to symbolize modernity and progress to the rest of the isthmus (Rodríguez, *Dividing the Isthmus* 14). Costa Rica's cohort of intellectuals, El Olimpo, were associated with Costa Rica's oligarchy through family, education, professions, and economic, political, and cultural networks. Rodríguez notes that the Olimpo

[37] For instance, en route to the 1906 Pan-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Rivas predicted that "dream of Central America," the reunification of the former Central American federation, was within a decade's reach. Rivas expressed hope that the US would help to facilitate reunion efforts, emphasizing Central America's desire to emulate in every way the institutions of the US—a model nation for which the isthmus had "the greatest respect and regard" (*The Washington Post*, 4). Elsewhere, on May 8, 1912, *The San Francisco Examiner* reports Rivas' arrival to San Francisco. The paper writes that the purpose of Rivas' trip to the city was to select a site the planned Salvadoran exhibit at the upcoming 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition. Rivas states that the exhibit is an opportunity for the world to see El Salvador in a favorable light ("May 8"). Rivas worked in official capacities for both the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran governments at different points in his life. Though Rivas made the remarks that appear in *The San Francisco Examiner* in 1912 as a Salvadoran representative, it is worth noting that the US occupation of Nicaragua, his country of origin, also began in 1912 and lasted until 1933.

wrote for an elite audience: an estimated 69 percent of the Costa Rican population was non-literate in 1892 (19). The Olimpo, as members of Costa Rica's caficultura (coffee elite), performed critical roles in the production of nation-building literatures that upheld an image of the nation as an idyllic coffee republic that was also modern.

Rodríguez writes that the literatures of Carlos Gagini and Guatemalan émigré Máximo Soto Hall reflected the caficultura's economic, political, and social values, as well as their cultural anxieties at the end of the nineteenth century (*Dividing the Isthmus* 20). On the eve of the Panama Canal's construction, Liberals across Central America sought economic, political, and cultural leverage. In Costa Rica, the articulation of the nation as modern yet ideally pastoral required the construction of monuments, institutions, and traditions, as well as the publication of an array of literary texts like magazines, periodicals, newspapers, and artwork that forged a singular history, mythology, and culture (Rodríguez, *Dividing the Isthmus* 21). The creation of an ideal Costa Rica necessitated, too, a mediation of what constituted model citizenry, and as in most of Central America, the Costa Rica caficultura relegated its indigenous, black, and migrant populations to mountainous highlands and Atlantic coastlands. In turn, Olimpos deployed literary aesthetics such as costumbrismo[38] to romanticize for Anglo markets the material exploitation of coffee production on which an idyllic vision of Costa Rica hinged (Rodríguez, *Dividing the Isthmus* 22).[39]

---

[38] Costumbrismo is the literary or pictorial interpretation of local everyday life, mannerisms, and customs in nineteenth-century Latin America. Patricia Arroyo Calderón explains that Central American writers who engaged this genre at the end of the nineteenth century produced two types of costumbrista texts: "tradiciones," which highlight popular sayings whose origins can be traced back to an anecdotal history, and "cuadros," which describe in detail scenes from contemporary society ("José Milla" 5).

[39] Central American governments also commissioned illustrated accounts of national modernization efforts from Anglo-American writers, such as Marie Robinson Wright's *Salvador* (1893).

The literature Central American Liberals produced in the late nineteenth century forged an image of the isthmus that would appeal to foreign investors, and depicted an imagined national history that was crucial to forging a strong national identity. Yet, as Maritza Cárdenas asserts in her work, nation-building texts and their exclusions continue to inform how U.S. Central Americans relate to one another today—within a nationalist framework of common origins (Cárdenas 4). For instance, the patria grande nationalism Rivas propagates promotes the idea that as patrias chicas of the former Central American federation, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua share a common history, culture, and language. Cárdenas writes that this framework forges a "delimited view of this space—one that sees it as primarily Spanish and mestiza/o" (26). This Central American foundational fiction omits Belize and Panama, as well as the region's black and indigenous, and Asian populations. Cárdenas contends that to embrace patria grande nationalism in contemporary diasporic contexts to form Central American identification in the U.S. reproduces the historical exclusions from Central America in the nineteenth century.

In *La Revista*, Rivas both participates in the magazine's latinoamericanismo and transforms it into a cultural text of centroamericanismo, enabling us to trace how this exclusionary nationalism circulates the U.S. national imaginary nearly a century before the Central American migrations of the 1980s. His transnational work as co-editor and writer in *La Revista* cannot be neatly folded into genres of U.S. Central American, Central American, or U.S. Latinx literatures. They instead constitute what Rodrigo Lazo terms a migrant archive, or "texts of the past that have not been written into official spaces of archivization, even though they weave in and out of the buildings that house documents" ("Migrant Archives" 37-38). An analysis of Rivas' transnational work, or fugitive textualities, in *La Revista* heeds US Central

Americanists call to expand historical reference points of latinidad to include Central Americans, and broadens the history of Latino textuality (Coronado 47).

La Patria Grande in *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*

First published in 1886 in lower Manhattan, owner Elías de Losada and principal editor Nicanor Bolet Peraza imagined *La Revista* to be a unifying vehicle that could support the growth of democracy in Latin America. Throughout its run, *La Revista* enlisted a roster of prominent letrados,[40] or lettered men, to further its mission to "servir a la causa del progreso de las naciones hispano-americanas" ("serve the cause of Spanish American nation's progress") (de Losada, "Nuevo" 4). In January 1890, Losada informed readers that Peraza had recently accepted a diplomatic position as Representative of Venezuela, which Losada invites readers to think of as synonymous with Peraza's editorship because now, more than ever, América and its destinies must coalesce, and both roles demand patriotism, honor, dignity, and "americanismo" (de Losada, "Nuevo" 4). To assist Peraza and the magazine to uphold its commitment to Americanismo, Losada announces that he has enlisted Nicaraguan-born Román Mayorga Rivas to serve as co-editor.

Rivas' extensive resume suggests that his recruitment was significant for *La Revista*. He is far from the first or only Central American writer featured in the periodical,[41] but Rivas, who

[40] In *Divergent Modernitites: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (2001), Julio Ramos nuances Ángel Rama's theorization of "letrados," or Latin American men of letters who turned to writing to imagine the nation into existence, to examine the relationship between latinomericanismo and modernismo at the end of the nineteenth century. Ramos pays special attention to Martí's experience as an exile in New York between the years of 1880 and 1895. During this period, Marti was a correspondent for various Latin American periodicals, placing him at the intersection of an emerging literary market dependent on journalism and Latin America's growing wariness over the U.S. imperialist endeavors. Late-nineteenth-century writers like Martí, Darío, and Rivas viewed crónicas, which combined journalism with literature, as a way to subsidize writing they considered more literary, such as poetry.

[41] *La Revista* was quite popular in the isthmus, and featured many Central Americans, albeit Rivas was its only isthmian editor. In the January 1890 issue alone, in which Rivas makes his debut, 9 out of the 30 listed Agentes de *La Revista de Nueva York* are Central American.

was a grandson of a former Nicaraguan president and close friend of Martí and Darío, was particularly well-connected. Rivas was dedicated to the elevation of Central American literature and culture, and like Peraza, held a diplomatic position in Washington for his patria chica. Losada celebrates Rivas' addition to the editorial team with a photograph of him that, notably, is the same size as Peraza's. He describes Rivas as an imaginative man with bright ideas, and most importantly, as in love with and dedicated to América" (de Losada "Nuevo" 5). In *La Revista*, Rivas wrote on a wide range of topics, including literature, art, and ideal womanhood, advancing Losada's vision to employ his periodical as vehicle through which to educate Latin American readers. In this section, then, I close read the January 1890 issue of *La Revista* to argue that Rivas imbues it with patria grande nationalism, making the periodical a text of nineteenth-century centroamericanismo.

To begin, Rivas selects Antonia Navarro Huezo, the first Central American woman to receive a doctorate, as a model of ideal womanhood in "Una mujer salvadoreña." In and of itself, Rivas' profile of Huezo is not extraordinary, and exemplifies the emphasis *La Revista* places on women in the late nineteenth century to embody Latin American modernity. Of the region's changing views on gender roles Rivas writes, "y al favor del espíritu de la época, entra la mujer por esos gloriosos caminos, al lado del hombre piensa, siente, lucha y trabaja, y completa como su genio y sus esfuerzos el triunfo de la humanidad sobre la naturaleza y la historia" (In line with the spirit of the times, woman joins these glorious roads, and alongside man, she thinks, feels, and works, and with her intellect and her efforts achieves humanity's triumph over nature and beauty) ("Rivas, "Una mujer" 23). Rivas wrote a second essay about ideal Latin American womanhood during his 1890 run as co-editor of *La Revista*, suggesting Navarro was a deliberate choice for his debut.

Navarro was just nineteen years old when she earned her doctoral degree in Engineering in 1889 from Universidad de El Salvador, and her academic achievement soon transformed her into a symbol of Central American pride and liberal propaganda. For instance, President Francisco Menéndez congratulated Navarro personally, and held a public celebration in her honor, signaling Navarro as evidence of the success of liberal reforms. Despite her success, la Universidad did not permit Navarro to teach at the institution. Instead, Navarro was hired to teach young girls at the Instituto Normal de Señoritas.[42] Still, Salvadoran newspapers framed her as a model of modern femininity, and her intellect as exemplary of her virtue.

Rivas echoes Salvadoran newspapers' narrative of Navarro in *La Revista*, where he recounts the day of her thesis defense. As he does with Gavidia in "Notas Bibliográficas," Rivas immediately discloses to readers that he knows Navarro personally. He recalls meeting Navarro when she was just eight years old, at her father's funeral. Since that time, writes Rivas, Navarro appeared to have inherited her father's talent, penchant for analysis, and focus for "cosas serias y provechosas" (serious and profitable things) (Rivas, "Una mujer" 23). Navarro, according to Rivas' description, is industrious, studios, and, especially, virtuous. This exemplifies Carlos Cañas-Dinarte's description of Salvadoran male intellectuals' endorsement of women's education in the late nineteenth century: they believed women's roles in nation-building were to be saviors of the Salvadoran patria and educators of its citizens (73). For Rivas, women were the perpetual saviors of democratic nations, and in *La Revista* and elsewhere, Rivas praised women's educational achievements (Cañas-Dinarte 73). Rivas praises Navarro's outstanding achievement as the first mujer centroamericana with a doctorate, yet depicts her as doing nothing more than studying in her home.

[42] Navarro died of tuberculosis just two years later, in December 22, 1891.

For all of Rivas' talk of the century's new horizons ("Una Mujer" 23), "Una mujer salvadoreña" suggests that Navarro's choice to pursue higher education was important not so much because it reflected women's progress, but rather, because it was a testament of El Salvador's modernization. Rivas' attention to Navarro's virtue, moreover, hearkens to late-nineteenth-century Latin American ideal of femininity, el ángel del hogar.[43] Latin American liberal intellectuals of this period, according to Nancy LaGreca, struggled to reconcile education with their articulation of el ángel del hogar, proposing that the value of education for women extended only to their roles as mothers, or as teachers of the nation's future citizens (11). Elsewhere, Patricia Arroyo Calderón builds on LaGreca's assertion and adds that in the context of Central America's late-nineteenth-century period of Liberal reforms, women's education was tied to modernization efforts. In the 1880s and 1890s, literatures of political economies aimed at young men emerged alongside domestic manuals aimed at young women; together, these texts instructed Central America's future citizens how to create wealth as well as how to civilize the region (Arroyo Calderón, *Cada uno en su sitio* 56).

To that end, Rivas ends the piece in Navarro's home, in her mother's embrace. Navarro's thesis defense infamously lasted thirteen hours, and Rivas writes that friends and admirers

---

[43] Originating form English writer Coventry Patmore's popular 1854 poem, the Angel in the House emerged as the symbol of ideal womanhood in mid-nineteenth-century Victorian culture. The model angel-woman was virtuous, submissive, chaste, as well as selflessly devoted to her husband and children. Following the publication of Patmore's poem, the Angel in the House became the widespread feminine ideal in novels, short stories, and periodicals aimed at elite readers across Europe and the Americas. In Spanish America, Patmore's influence is most obvious in the title of Spanish writer María del Pilar Sinués de Marco's 1859 domestic conduct manual *El ángel del hogar*, which was one of the most re-printed texts through the end of the nineteenth century. Like her Victorian predecessor, Sinués de Marco's ángel del hogar was a mother first, and the embodiment of piousness and domesticity. As Nancy LaGreca observes in *Rewriting Womanhood: Feminism, Subjectivity, and the Angel of the House in the Latin American Novel, 1887-1903*, "Sinués de Marco's influence in the Hispanic world was strong. Her articles appeared in the most respected periodicals of her day, in Spain and in the Americas…There is little doubt that the ideal put forth in Sinués de Marco's writings concerning women's mission in life was known by literate women of the bourgeoisie across Latin America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century." Though education is a pillar of the Latin American angel-woman ideal, LaGreca contends that liberal intellectuals struggled to contain women's education within the domestic sphere at the turn of the century (10-11).

escorted her home afterwards: “La acompañaron hasta los alones de su hogar, y entre el regocijo de su madre y los acordes del piano que Antonia sabe hacer vibrar con maestría, se pasaron gratas las horas, ostentando la victoriosa joven” (They escorted her home, and between her mother’s joy and Antonia’s masterful piano-playing, the hours passed, everyone showing off the victorious young woman) (“Una mujer” 23). The idyllic image Rivas portrays here is noteworthy: friends usher Navarro home to celebrate and protect her. Navarro returns to her mother’s arms, implying that this is a moment to celebrate Navarro as much as it is a recognition of her mother’s ability to rear a model “mujer salvadoreña,” who, in turn, will rear her own children and ensure El Salvador’s progress. Within the context of Arroyo Calderón’s analysis of Central American domestic manuals and femininity, and Cañas-Dinarte’s reflection on Central American male intellectual’s endorsement of women’s education, Navarro’s academic achievement deserves praise because she fulfilled her moral obligation to la patria salvadoreña.

In “Una mujer salvadoreña” Rivas celebrates Navarro’s accomplishment because he can subsequently exhibit her as an example of a modern Central American woman in *La Revista*. The essay’s domestic scene depicts a celebration that lasts through the evening, with friends and family showing off a triumphant Navarro (Rivas, “Una mujer” 23). Notably, Rivas uses the verb “ostentar” in this scene, which in this context means to display—like an object—but also to flaunt and hold. In Chapter 1, I contend that the portrayal of the figure of the “Spanish American” woman in late-nineteenth-century Anglo-American novels suggests that writers such as Davis were attuned to the Central American literatures’ reliance on representations of ideal womanhood. In *Soldiers of Fortune*, for instance, readers learn that Madame Alvarez belongs to one of Spain’s oldest families; Alvarez marries her in Madrid while there for a diplomatic appointment. Upon their return, Alvarez runs for President of Olancho, suggesting that he

viewed his wife's European heritage as a vehicle through which to socially whiten his image and secure the presidency (Davis, *Soldiers* 63). Admittedly, Rivas' profile of Navarro can be folded into discussions of *La Revista's* focus on women readers, but it also evocative of the transnational discourse around the deployment of femininity in turn-of-the-century Anglo and Latin American nationalisms. In Central America, Liberals like Rivas viewed education as critical to formulations of ideal femininity that worked in tandem with reforms that they hoped would modernize the region enough to resist U.S. encroachment.

Alongside articulations of model womanhood, loyalty to la patria grande Centroamericana was also critical to Liberal reforms, and in "El Incendio de un Palacio," Rivas writes an allegory of centroamericanismo. On the surface, the essay is a brief account of the November 1889 burning of the Palacio Nacional in San Salvador, El Salvador. However, the text is replete with patria grande centroamericana iconography—including volcanos and Francisco Morazán[44] -- meant to conjure affective attachments in *La Revista*'s Central American subscribers. The Palacio Nacional, one of President Gerardo Barrios' several modern infrastructure projects, was built from 1866 to 1870. Barrios,[45] who is best remembered for introducing coffee production to El Salvador, supported reuniting the former Central American federation.

El Salvador's geographic features are the first symbols of patria grande iconography in "El Incendio." According to Rivas, Salvadorans are perpetually embattled with nature, and of all the Central American capital cities, San Salvador has, by far, the most extensive history of

[44] Morazán was the last president of the Central American Federation.

[45] Barrios deeply admired the United States and Europe, and modeled the modernization of the Salvadoran government after these two regions. He also transformed Salvadoran militias into a modern national academy model after France's. In his youth, Barrios enlisted in the Salvadoran army and served under the orders of Francisco Morazán, whose remains he repatriated and buried in El Salvador. See Emiliano Cortés' *Biografía del capitán general Gerardo Barrios* (1965).

natural disasters. He then personifies nature as an erratic woman, whose actions can only be explained as regret for bestowing all her beauty onto El Salvador:

> Los habitantes de aquella comarca espléndida viven en lucha continua con la Naturaleza la cual, como si se hubiese arrepentido de derrochar en ella todos los tesoros de su vida y hermosura, se vuelve airada, llena de despecho, contra su propia obra, cuando hace rugir y quemarse sus volcanes, estremecerse sus cimientos, rasgarse sus colimas, abatirse sus selvas y caer por los suelos, en polvo convertido, todo lo que el hombre fabrica en aquel paraíso, enamorado de sus encantos y maravillas. (Rivas, "El Incendio" 53)
>
> (That splendid region's peoples live in continuous struggle with Nature, which, as if she has resented squandering all the treasures of her life and beauty on it, becomes angry and spiteful, when she makes her volcanos roar and burn, to shake her foundations, to tear her hills, to knock down her jungles and let them fall to the ground, everything man made in that paradise, in love with her charms and wonders, turned to dust.)

The image Rivas recreates here invites further analysis. Whereas Navarro withstands a thirteen-hour thesis defense, and then selflessly entertains her guests at home on the piano for hours, Nature's femininity here is marked by unrelenting wrath and selfish resentment. Salvadorans nevertheless remain persistent, according to Rivas: in response to Nature's reckless fury, they dedicate their efforts to the rebuilding of their country. Within the context of Rivas' contemporary moment, access to higher education enables women to participate in reformation efforts and in attempts to contain Nature, resulting, then, in a more beautiful iteration of the Salvadoran nation.

We can identify other echoes of the relationship between femininity and nationalists' articulation of centroamericanismo in Rivas' reference to volcanos. In her analysis of the Central American Federation's coat of arms, Cárdenas discusses the construction of the volcano as a gendered iconic symbol in the Central American imaginary. In the coat of arms, an equilateral triangle encases five volcanoes, which stand beneath a Phrygian cap. Cárdenas notes that the Phrygian cap was a prominent symbol of the French Revolution used to cover the head of goddesses Liberty and Nation, but which in this context serves to feminize Central America's landscape "and repurposing it as a space of the nation" (60). This gendered image of Central America, according to Cárdenas, legitimizes Central American elites because it frames them as cultivators of the land and builders of the Central American nation (60). The symbolism also subtly reinforces who belongs in Central America since, as Cárdenas explains, the Central American volcanoes are mostly found on the region's Pacific coast; in privileging the Pacific region of Central America, then, the Atlantic coast that historically homed African-descended communities and indigenous subjects are erased from the nation (60). Here, Rivas invokes the volcano in a similar manner. The image of founding fathers repurposing Central American land to build the nation parallels the liberal reforms of the late nineteenth century. The "heróico hijos," as Rivas describes Salvadorans, are once again altering the landscape to modernize El Salvador, despite Nature's volatility.

Rivas reinforces the parallel between liberal reforms and early-nineteenth-century nation-building efforts with a catalogue of new buildings constructed in San Salvador after an 1873 natural disaster once again devastated the capital city. These new structures transform San Salvador into a modern space in which "el espíritu de aquel pueblo enérgico y simpático siguió alegre entre el ruido del trabajo" (the spirit of those energetic and friendly peoples remained

merry amid the noise of work) (Rivas, "El Incendio" 53). The buildings ranged from mansions to hospitals:

> Nuevas mansiones se alzaron gallardas en seguida; religión y arte holgárnosle en más amplía catedral y más bello coliseo; la beneficencia pública tuvo mejores asilos para el enfermo y el huérfano; el Estado más hermosos edificios para la universidad y el instituto, y más apropiadas construcciones para los cuarteles y las cárceles; el Ayuntamiento no tenía antes palacio, y construyó uno elegante; mercados, cementerio, plazas públicas, parques, jardines, estatuas, todo esto surgió como por encanto de entre las ruinas. (Rivas, "El Incendio" 53)
>
> (New mansions rose gallantly at once; religion and art dallied in the widest cathedral and the most beautiful coliseum; public welfare had better asylums for the sick and the orphaned; the State more beautiful buildings for university and better construction for military barracks and prisons; the town council did not have a palace before so an elegant one was built; markets, cemeteries, public plazas, parks, gardens, statues, all of this emerged as if by enchantment from among the ruins.)

The expansiveness of Rivas' catalogue illustrates the extent to which liberal reforms transformed San Salvador into a new, modern city; simultaneously, the extended list serves to heighten readers' dismay when Rivas next reveals that natural disaster strikes the city again, burning down the Palacio this time.

As Rivas portrays it, the burning of El Palacio is tragic because it was a symbol of la patria grande Centroamericana as constituted in la vision Morazanica. On a clear, calm night in December, writes Rivas, fire alarms went off in the city, and San Salvador's people flocked to the Parque Central only to watch flames engulf the Palacio Nacional. Despite the people's best

efforts, there was nothing left but ashes of the building that housed the republic's legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Gone, too was the Archivo Federal, in which, Rivas writes, "se hallaban [...] los documentos en que estamparon su firma los conquistadores, hace más de tres siglos, hasta aquellos en que escribió su luminoso nombre, al espirar de la patria centro Americana, el general Morazán" (there were documents on which conquerors stamped their signature, more than three centuries ago, and even those in which General Morazán wrote his radiant name when he exhaled the Central American nation) ("El Incendio" 11). Francisco Morazán was the last president of the Central American Federation. After his death, Morazán's name became synonymous with the belief that Central America is one nation whose people's "principal dream in this vision is to achieve the realization of a full Central Americanness" (Cárdenas 49).

In their review of *La Revista Ilustrada*, Chamberlin and Schulman declare "El Incendio" emblematic of Rivas' talent, citing his visceral response and detailed description; in the context of the Liberal reforms the essay catalogues, I read Rivas' emotional response as exemplary of his loyalty to la patria grande Centroamericana, as constituted in la vision Morazanica. In other words, "El Incendio" is a cultural text of centroamericanismo published in *La Revista Ilustrada*. As Cárdenas asserts, Central American patria grande iconography served to encourage Central Americans to "imagine themselves seeing, feeling, and experiencing" their nation (61). To forge affective ties between Central Americans and la patria grande, nationalists rewrote Independence-era events to assemble fictive national histories (Cárdenas 61). Therefore, the likelihood of the Archivo housing documents dating back to the Spanish colonial period and Morazán's documents is unlikely, and is instead indicative of the fictions about which Cárdenas writes. Nevertheless, the idea of the documents themselves invoke a sense of shared loss among

Central Americans who, according to patria grande foundational fictions, share the same Spanish, Morazanica history.

Rivas transforms patria grande iconography into literary form in "El Incendio," but the January 1890 issue of *La Revista* features, too, Salvadoran Francisco Gavidia and Nicaraguan Rubén Darío in the January 1890 issue of *La Revista*. Gavidia and Darío were two of Rivas' most prominent literary collaborators and fellow nation-building writers, and together with Rivas, these three men are key figures in Central American modernismo. Before I expand on Gavidia's and Darío's contributions to *La Revista*, it would be helpful to first triangulate these men's literary relationship.

In San Salvador, President Rafael Zaldívar's liberal reforms between the years of 1876 and 1885 modernized the capital city and gave rise to an elite class who adopted and equated European cultural ideals with prestige and social hegemony (Vázquez 334). Institutions such as Universidad de El Salvador, Biblioteca Nacional, and Academia Salvadoreña transformed San Salvador into a literary hub in which multiple collectives comprised of young intellectuals embraced French literature at the end of the nineteenth century. Rivas and Gavidia were members of "La Juventud,"[46] a literary collective which also published a magazine by the same name. When a fifteen-year-old Rubén Darío visited El Salvador for the first time in 1882, he befriended Gavidia and Rivas, and joined La Juventud. It was there that Francisco Gavidia, a prominent figure in Salvadoran letters, introduced Darío—and Rivas—to Victor Hugo's poetry[47]

[46] José Martí, who also wrote for *La Revista*, participated in La Juventud. Though it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to analyze Martí's involvement in Central American literary collectives and political circles, it is notable that Martí published in *Repertorio Salvadoreño* and other Central American literary magazines. Moreover, Martí's liberal agenda was deeply influenced by Guatemalan President Justo Rufino Barrios, who executed one of the most aggressive modernization and social whitening campaigns in Central America.

[47] Darío acknowledged Gavidia's influence on his work in his *Autobiografía*: "Fue con Gavidia, la primera vez que estuve en aquella tierra salvadoreña, con quien penetré, en iniciación ferviente, en la armoniosa floresta de Víctor Hugo; y de la lectura mutual de los alejandrinos del gran francés, que Gavidia, el primero seguramente, ensayara en

and to the alexandrine verse that would later become characteristic in Darío's groundbreaking *Azul* (1888). Miguel Ángel Feria Vázquez writes that Darío, Gavidia, and Rivas also published in *Repertorio Salvadoreño* (1888-1892), which he notes was crucial to the genesis of Central American modernismo (334). Gavidia and Darío drifted apart shortly after 1884, but Rivas continued to collaborate with both men. He was especially close with Darío,[48] with whom he became lifelong friends. Like Gavidia and Darío, Rivas, too, wrote poetry, but the principal role he performed in Central American modernismo was as a promoter of the genre, and of Central American literature and culture more broadly. I interpret, then, the presence of Gavidia and Darío in the January 1890 issue of *La Revista* as Rivas' bid to promote Central American literature and to establish himself as a literary critic

For instance, in "Notas Bibliográficas," Rivas reviews eight literary texts, but pays special attention to the October 1889 publication of Gavidia's *Júpite*r in *Repertorio Salvadoreño*. *Júpiter* is a Salvadoran national drama that retells the events leading to the 1811 uprising commonly known as "the first cry for independence" in Central America, and is one of the first Central American texts to feature a black enslaved person as the main character. The drama also features Santiago Celis, José Matías Delgado, and Manuel José Arce, three Central American founding fathers, as characters. Rivas does not hesitate to boast about his personal relationship to Gavidia to the readers of *La Revista*: "antiguo compañero nuestro, cuyas facultades admirables para esta clase de trabajos literarios conocemos íntimamente, pues con la colaboración suya

castellano, surgió en mi la idea de renovación métrica, que debía ampliar y realizar más tarde" (47) (It was with Gavidia, the first time I was in that Salvadoran land, with whom I entered, in fervent initiation, Victor Hugo's harmonious forest; and from reading the alexandrine [verses] of the great French, which Gavidia, the first surely, would rehearse in Spanish, the idea to renew the metric arose in me).

[48] In 1906, Rivas traveled to the Pan-American conference in Rio de Janeiro as a representative of El Salvador while Darío attended as a representative of Nicaragua. Rivas shared a picture of his young daughter, Leonor, with Darío and several of the other representatives, which prompted Darío to write a poem entitled "Ante un retrato de Leonorcita Mayorga Rivas."

escribimos seis largos años hace, una obra dramática, cuando apenas formaban el teatro nacional centro-americano" (old colleague of ours, whose talents for these types of literary works we know intimately, since we collaborated six long years ago, on a dramatic play, when they were just building the Central American national theatre) ("Notas" 9). The disclosure shows readers how entrenched Rivas is in the Central American literary world and corroborates the quality of Gavidia's work.

Moreover, the nationalist theme of *Júpiter* appears to be especially important for Rivas. Gavidia believed Salvadorans were not sufficiently knowledgeable of the nation's history and of their origins, and as a result, his works often feature Salvadoran themes and national heroes. He, too, was a supporter of centroamericanismo. Rivas writes that *Júpiter*'s protagonist symbolizes centroamérica, describing him as "heroico, simpático y grande en más de una ocasión" (heroic, friendly, and brave on more than one occasion) ("Notas" 8). *Júpiter* is philosophical, patriotic, republican inspiration, and a wise work of art precisely because it sets out to outline centroamérica's history, according to Rivas (8). In fact, despite opening with an assertion of Gavidia's talent, Rivas declares *Júpiter* Gavidia's best recent work. In the last few years, he writes, "había perdido mucho de fuerza y que sus últimas producciones ya no corrían parejas con las primeras que tan luminoso camino le abrieron en el campo de la literatura centro-americana" (his writing had lost a lot of its strength and his latest productions were not on par with his early work, which so brightly opened the field of Central American literature for him) (8). In "El Incendio," the loss of the Palacio Nacional provokes a visceral, emotional reaction in Rivas, illustrating the affective ties he shares with his patria. The implication here is similar: patriotism inspires Gavidia so deeply that it restores his literary skill.

In "El incendio," and "Una mujer salvadoreña," Rivas draws attention to the way Liberal reforms have modernized El Salvador's infrastructure and ideals of womanhood; the review of *Júpiter* similarly highlights new, exciting Central American literature within *La Revista*, which gestures to the thriving literary culture in San Salvador from which the drama emerges and which the Liberal government sponsored. *Júpiter*'s nationalist theme alone lends itself to this kind of interpretation: Rivas, as a Central American nationalist, features another Central American writer's patriotic literary work.

Meanwhile, Rivas does not refer to his friendship or past collaborations with Darío to legitimize himself as a critic, nor does he contextualize the publication of "Lieder" in *La Revista* because, in 1890, Darío does not need an introduction. The 1888 publication of *Azul* transformed Darío into one of the most influential poets of his time. Contemporary literary scholarship usually describes him and Martí as the preeminent figures of Latin American modernismo, but whereas critics can also write about Martí and his work as a Cuban nationalist, the same can hardly be said about Darío in relation to centroamericanismo. Yet Darío spent a considerable amount of his ambassadorial and literary life advocating for "la causa de la Unión Centroamericana" before and after *Azul*; "Lieder," within the context of *La Revista*, does not obviously invite analysis through a lens of centroamericanismo, but the poem and Darío's modernismo are arguably borne out of a Central American context and print culture, too.

Upon his arrival to San Salvador in 1882 Guatemalan poet Joaquín Mendez took a fifteen-year-old Darío under his wing and introduced him to President Zaldívar, who admired the young poet and offered his support.[49] A year later, Darío met Gavidia, and as I mentioned in my

---

[49] In his autobiography, Darío recalls meeting Zaldívar for the first time. Darío told the President that what he wanted was "una buena posición social" (a good social position), which amused Zaldívar (54). Later, Zaldívar dispatched the city's police chief to the hotel where Darío was staying to gift him five-hundred silver pesos, much to the young poet's delight. Darío burned through the money, but the same police chief appeared before him again: this

discussion of La Juventud, he introduced Darío to the poetry of Victor Hugo and the alexandrine verse – the resonances of which appear in *Azul*.[50] Though illness and financial trouble prompted Darío to leave San Salvador in 1883 for Nicaragua before he eventually traveled to Chile in 1886, he returned to the capital city: From 1889 to 1890, the same years Rivas was associated with *La Revista*, Darío founded and edited *La Union*, a newspaper for centroamericanismo.

San Salvador's intellectual class enthusiastically approved of Darío's venture with *La Union* and his return to the city because the cultural capital he earned with *Azul* stood to elevate the region's reputation by extension (Olivera 259).[51] We can never be certain, but the publication of Darío's "Lieder" in *La Revista* was likely the editorial choice of Rivas, Darío's close friend, collaborator, and fellow Central American liberal nationalist. If it was not, "Lieder," alongside Rivas' writings on Gavidia, Navarro, and the Palacio Nacional, nevertheless highlight the centroamericanismo that runs through *La Revista*. Admittedly, the liberal values in which *La Revista* is rooted parallel in many ways Central American liberal patria grande nationalism, but, recalling Giráldez's assertion, panamericanismo gained traction in conjunction with other nineteenth-century nationalisms such as centroamericanismo. To elide Rivas' influence on *La Revista*, and to exclude Darío from a Central American literary framework, disregard U.S. Central Americanists' call to expand historical reference points of latinidad to meaningfully include Central Americans. Scholars of Central American literature have long analyzed Darío's

---

time, Zaldívar arranged for Darío to teach at a local school. In exchange for the President's support, Darío wrote an ode for the upcoming celebrations in honor of Simón Bolívar's centennial, which he read at the Primer Teatro Nacional de San Salvador (Darío, *Autobiografía* 54).

[50] Darío was introduced to other Salvadoran cultural figures such as composers Giovanni Aberle and Rafael Olmedo, as well.

[51] Guatemalan intellectual elite received Darío with similar enthusiasm in July 1890, when the death of President Francisco Menéndez prompted him to leave San Salvador. In Guatemala, Darío edited *El correo de la tarde* until 1891.

modernismo and centroamericanismo in tandem,[52] but the presence of "Lieder" in *La Revista* illustrates that Darío's relationship to Central American nationalism is not restricted only to isthmian publications. In other words, Darío, is both the preeminent figure of Latin American modernismo, and a symbol of centroamericanismo – in the isthmus and abroad.

Moreover, Darío, as a symbol of transnational centroamericanismo, brings to the fore the blanqueamiento upon which late-nineteenth-century Central American literary culture hinges, especially in San Salvador. Central American intellectuals embraced Darío because the acclaim *Azul* garnered legitimized, in part, the European influence they viewed as critical to the intellectual, cultural, and educational reforms that, alongside overhauls to infrastructure and national economies, Liberals insisted would modernize Central America. In his classic essay,[53] E. Bradford Burns explains that Salvadoran literati imported Anglo forms that undergird the capital city's literary collectives in the 1880s because to them "progress meant the adoption of North Atlantic models so that El Salvador would more closely resemble some combination of the France, Great Britain, and United States they so greatly admired" ("The Intellectual" 58). Extending Burns' assertions, Marta Elena Casaús Arzú contends that the emphasis Central American liberal intellectuals placed on European culture was critical to their coal to construct a homogeneous national identity, one which was predicated on "blanquear la nación" (whitening the nation) (83). These European influences are apparent elsewhere in Rivas' editorship and writings in *La Revista*.

[52] For instance, in "La gran causa nuestra: Unionismo y modernismo centroamericano," Margarita Rojas González and Flora Ovares argue that Darío's modernist literature "concretized the political idea of unity through the notion of universal harmony" in the late nineteenth century. Darío's journalistic work and literary practice reflect his commitment to Central American unionism and peace, and his writings, then, cannot be separated from his status as his generation's key literary figure.

[53] "La infraestructura intellectual de la modernización en El Salvador, 1870-1900" (1989).

As I have demonstrated in this section, the January 1890 issue of *La Revista Ilustrada* exemplifies Rivas' use of the periodical as a vehicle through which to circulate centroamericanismo transnationally; in the last section of this chapter, I analyze the rest of *La Revista*'s 1890 run to examine the broader work of blanqueamiento in Rivas' editorship and writing, concentrating on Rivas' original and translated poems, literary reviews, and essays on womanhood. Echoing Vázquez, Ángela Hurtado analyzes the European influence in turn-of-the-century Central American fashion. She argues that periodicals like *La Revista* aided liberal elites' goal to generate social hegemony in the isthmus, returning our attention to centroamericanismo's reliance on women. I ask, how does Rivas' articulation of centroamericanismo, as a process of blanqueamiento, influence *La Revista*?

Centroamericanismo as a Process of Literary Blanqueamiento in *La Revista Ilustrada*

According to Kelley Kreitz, *La Revista* was undoubtedly an elite publication designed by mostly "white, male, and privileged" writers for a similarly exclusive readership. Still, she maintains, the periodical's most imaginative contributors "aspired—however imperfectly—to open up access to cultural production to a broader community of creators" (Kreitz 679). At stake for *La Revista* was Latin America's literary reputation, which Rivas took very seriously as co-editor:

> Verdaderamente, escriben con desacierto aquellos críticos que, como el señor Barrantes, ven con lástima y menosprecio la labor literaria de los descendientes de España en las Antillas, en México y en Sur y Centro América, como si sus obras no fuesen el resultado de una inspiración nacida al calor de un mismo espíritu y una misma raza. Por fortuna, pocos, muy pocos son los que tales despropósitos dicen, porque ya en España se estudian, se leen y en mucho aprecio se tienen las producciones literarias de nuestros pueblos,

> porque ellas no solo son una reproducción simpática de la literatura castellana, sino que enriquecen con nueva vida, la esmaltan de más vivos colores y la impregnan de un perfume Nuevo y de un espíritu más en armonía con los ideales del porvenir. ("Zig-Zags," p. 14, *La Revista Ilustrada*, October 1890)

> (Truly, those critics who, like Mr. Barrantes, view with pity and contempt the literary work of the descendants of Spain in the Antilles, in Mexico and in South and Central America, write incorrectly, as if their works were not the result of an inspiration borne from the warmth of the same spirit and same race. Fortunately, few, very few are those who say such nonsense, because already in Spain the literary productions of our peoples are studied, read and highly appreciated, because they are not only a reproduction of Castilian literature, but that enrich it with new life, varnish it with more vivid colors and impregnate it with a new perfume and a spirit more in harmony with the ideals of the future.)

In October 1890, Rivas writes in defense of Latin American literatures against Spanish writer Vicente Barrantes. Rivas insists that the literatures of Mexico, and Central and South America are more modern than Spain's, and are therefore better suited for the ideals of the future. Yet, his assertion that these works are, in part, "una reproducción simpática de la literatura castellana" reinforces Spain as an arbiter of literary value. The influence of European literary and cultural ideals is most evident in the poems and essays about literature Rivas published throughout the 1890 run of *La Revista*, suggesting that he considered a reliance on European forms key to "nueva vida" Rivas insists Latin American literature breathes into Castilian form.

Rivas' reliance on European forms to modernize literature originates from his participation in Salvadoran literary collectives, which, in the late nineteenth century, favored the Romantic tradition. Burns writes that, for most of the nineteenth century, the preferred poetic forms of Salvadoran intellectuals were lyricism and neoclassicism ("The Intellectual" 67). Although Salvadoran poets such as Isaac Ruíz Araujo had introduced Romanticism to the region through their poems, the arrival of Spanish poet and pedagogue Fernando Velarde to San Salvador in 1872 catalyzed El Salvador's Romantic Movement (67). The swift shift in preference from lyricism and neoclassicism to Romanticism, for Burns, illustrates how Salvadoran literary collectives relied on European literatures to overhaul and therefore modernize the region's literary and intellectual cultures (67). "For the young generation of poets," writes Burns, "Romanticism constituted a liberating force, a significant break with the past" (67). Rivas, of course, was an active participant in San Salvador's literary collectives during the 1880s.

I infer, then, the influx of translated European poems in *La Revista*'s 1890 run as Rivas' strategy to blanquear, or socially whiten, the literary content of the periodical in response to accusations by writers like Barrantes. During his tenure as co-editor, Rivas published three translations of poems written by European writers: Austrian statistician Franz Juraschek's "Ahora no más!" (February 890), French poet Théophile Gautier's "Les colombes" (August 1890), and Scottish writer Peter Buchan's "El nombre suyo" (October 1890). Certainly, Rivas' propensity to engage European literature in *La Revista* is hardly unique to him. Kreitz observes that *La Revista* belonged to a "distinguished class" of a Spanish-language periodical culture that featured a mix of U.S. and European poetry, prose, and cultural developments (681). Elsewhere, Gruesz reminds us that late-nineteenth-century Latino writers pursued a liberal goal to "distribute the cultural capital of European-style high art by 'Americanizing' it and by promoting

institutional progress that would spread both basic and specialized literacies in the dominant national language" (17). However, attention to Rivas' centroamericanismo, and the blanqueamiento that undergirds its, allows us to see how formative isthmian liberal literary values are to *La Revista*'s agenda in 1890, the year Losada describes as full of "grandezas de pensamiento" (greatness of thought) ("Nuevo" 4).

Moreover, attention to Rivas' isthmian literary values also illustrate the way he helped to advance *La Revista*'s goal to appeal to Latin American women readers. The publication of most of Rivas' translation poems appears random, except for Juraschek's "Ahora no más," which is published in February 1890 – a few pages after "Despedida Fraternal," in which Losada congratulates Rivas on his upcoming marriage. In "Ahora no más," the poetic speaker implores a young girl to reciprocate his love:

> Ámame, niña Hermosa de mi alma,
> Un instante siquiera,
> Lo que tarada en abril la nube blanca
> En el azul del cielo;
> Lo que dura en los días estivales
> El rocío en el suelo. –
> Ámame ahora, aunque tu afecto pase
> Como el tímido beso que mi labio
> Posa en tu labio esquivo. —
> Más allá de los tiempos y el espacio
> Nos llevará ese instante
> De éxtasis en alas, por un mundo
> Armonioso y brillante…
>
> (Love me, Beautiful girl of my soul,
> Even for an instant,
> What the white cloud brings in April
> In the blue of the sky;
> For however long summer days last
> The dew on the ground.
> Love me now, even if your love is fleeting
> Like the shy kiss that my lip
> Places on your elusive lip.
> Beyond time and space

That moment will take us
Of ecstasy on wings, for a world
Harmonious and bright…) (Rivas, “Ahora” 6).

The poem is an impassioned plea on behalf of the speaker to his beloved to reciprocate his affections for even a fleeting moment, which is just enough time to transport them to a place “Más allá de los tiempos y el espacio” (Beyond time and space) (6). The vivid nature imagery establishes a parallel between love and the sublime, which, in turn, frames the speaker’s affection for his beloved as transcendent. Placed with Rivas’ wedding announcement, “Ahora no más” reads like a celebration of women and marriage. Chamberlin and Schulman write that Losada believed that the future of Latin American culture “rested upon feminine influence and looked forward to the proper recognition of women’s role in the family and society” (6). Wishing Rivas well, Losada tells readers that Rivas has left for Nicaragua “á cumplir uno de los más grandes actos de la vida, á completar su ser, uniéndose a la angelical criatura que su corazón eligió y que el cielo se complace en darle como gaje de su acendrado cariño y de sus nobles aspiraciones” (To fulfill one of the greatest acts of life, to complete his being, joining the angelic creature that his heart chose and that heaven is pleased to give him as a result of his steely affection and noble aspirations) (“Despedida Fraternal” 4). “Despedida Fraternal” celebrates Rivas’ marriage and his future wife, whom Losada describes as “la angelical criatura,” hearkening to Sinúes de Marco’s articulation of model femininity – angel women who were wives, mothers, and teachers of the nation’s future citizens.

Rivas’ writings on femininity and womanhood in *La Revista* uphold Losada’s goal to highlight the influence women yielded on the family and society, but they show, too, that he revised the magazine’s articulation of ideal womanhood to outline a model that emphasized women’s intellectual achievements. In “La Mujer Hispano-Americana,” which appears a few

pages after "Despedida Fraternal," Rivas unveils *La Revista's* plan to collaborate with women writers by way of introducing Peruvian poet Amalia Puga. Born in 1866, Puga began to publish poems at a young age, and in 1887, she joined Club Literario de Lima. The literary collective published Puga's "La felicidad," which she subsequently sent to *La Revista* in 1889, when Rivas was a contributor for the magazine (Chamberlin and Schulman 53). Notably, Rivas acknowledged Puga's poem in September 1889's "Escritoras hispano americanas," but *La Revista* refrained from publishing "La felicidad" until Rivas introduced her as the magazine's newest collaborator in February 1890.

Praising Puga as "de las que enaltecen en América de nuestras mujeres" (dignify the name of our women in America), Rivas uses her introduction to reiterate that Latin America's progress hinges on women, and stresses that their contributions must be celebrated outside of domestic or feminine contexts ("La Mujer Hispano-Americana" 15). Within the framework of the February 1890 issue of *La Revista*, Rivas' essay stands out against Losada's more conventional appreciation of women and marriage, and the essay on women's fashion that follows "La Mujer Hispano-Americana" on the next page. In "Una mujer salvadoreña," Navarro Huezo's academic feat makes her an obvious choice for Rivas to display as an example of ideal Salvadoran womanhood because her achievement validates the success of isthmian liberal reforms, or efforts to rebuild a more beautiful, modern nation.

Here, I contend that Rivas drew from isthmian reform values to modernize *La Revista*'s ideal feminine paradigm. Attuned to foreign criticism, Rivas writes, "Más de una vez hemos leído con indignación en periódicos extranjeros, que la mujer de nuestra América vive apartada del todo de la vida intelectual, que en la ignorancia vegeta y en el estéril misticismo se consume" (More than once, we have read in foreign newspapers that the woman of our America lives

completely separated from intellectual life, that she vegetates in ignorance and is consumed in sterile mysticism ("La Mujer Hispano-Americana" 15). As his defense of Latin American literature echoes, Rivas sought to reject portrayals of Central and Latin America as backwards, especially those predicated on women, literature, and culture.

Puga's inclusion in *La Revista*'s roster of contributors, alongside Rivas' remarks, then, illustrate how Rivas extended the isthmian belief that the nation must be continually rebuilt and updated to the rest of Latin America. Alongside Rivas' "La Mujer Hispano-Americana," *La Revista*'s February 1890 issue featured Puga's "La felicidad," and elsewhere, "Moisés" and "La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York." Read together, the publication of Puga's poems with Rivas' translation of Juraschek's "Ahora no más" and Darío's "La ninfa," depict women's writing as an important component of Latin America's modernista writing – even if most modernista men were not inclusive of women writers.[54] Rivas writes, "[…] y ya se verá como saben presentarse ante el mundo las americanas, para figurar digna y altivamente en la escogida legión de los que viven del pensamiento y del espíritu y van alumbrando a la humanidad con sus luces" (and they will see that American women know how to present themselves to the world, to navigate with dignity and pride as members of the chosen legion of those who live by thought and spirit, and who illuminate humanity with their intellect) ("La Mujer Hispano-Americana" 15). This strategy, in which women's and men's writing appear co-constitutive, was crucial to Rivas' editorial agenda to modernize Latin American women's image, and Latin America's reputation overall.

---

[54] In her own work on women and modernismo, Sarah Moody explains that male writers largely excluded women from spaces of modernismo, and that poets such as Darío "fetishized the feminine as an image, as an aesthetic trope, and as a discourse" at the same time as they doubted women's poetic abilities (59). Puga wrote about the criticism to which she and other women writers were subjected in "La literatura en la mujer," a speech she wrote when she joined the exclusive Peruvian literary magazine *Ateneo de Lima*. Moody notes that Puga's speech links progress and modernity to spaces that welcomed women writers (58), such as *La Revista*.

In “Moisés” and “La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York,” Puga upholds Rivas’ goal to modernize and defend Latin America’s reputation by writing poems that reflect “estilo” and “frase[s] galana[s] y correctisima[s]” (style, with gallant and very correct form) (Rivas, “La Mujer Hispano-Americana” 15). Both poems are written as Italian sonnets, whose structure consists of first an octave and then a sestet; “Moisés” follows an ABBA ABBA CDE CDE rhyme scheme, while “La Revista Ilustrada” reflects an ABBA ABBA CDC EDE pattern. As Moody explains, the sonnet form demands mastery from the poet because its rigid structure imposes tight limits (62). The sonnet’s contained form, moreover, conventionally reflects upon a single idea that then concludes with clarification in its final lines. In both poems, Puga appears to subvert the sonnet form by writing within established discourses of femininity that, on a superficial level, highlight the feminine influence on the family and society, but which appear to invoke a long history of women in literature’s past and future.

A retelling of the Finding of Moses, “Moisés” reads as a retelling of a biblical story and as an ode to maternal love. The speaker highlights two selfless mothers: Jocabel, who leaves her child on the bank of the Nile to save him from the Egyptian Pharaoh, and the Pharaoh’s daughter, who rescues the child from the river and takes him as her own son:

> Por conservar de la existencia el hilo
> Al hijo de su amor idolatrado
> Contra el decreto de Monarca airado,
> La infeliz Jocabel busca un asilo.
> No está su tierno corazón tranquilo
> Con guardarle entre sombras a su lado;
> Y en un cesto de miembros encerrado,
> A las aguas confíale del Nilo
> Llega allí la magnífica princesa;
> Descubre al niño, tómale, le abraza
> “Hijo!” le llama, y con pasión le besa…
> Así se salva de temprana muerte
> El Salvador futuro de su raza.
> ¡Oh poder misterioso de la suerte! (*La Revista Ilustrada*, p.4, February 1890)

To preserve the existence of the line
For the son of her idolized love
Against the decree of an angry Monarch
The sorrowful Jocabel looks for an asylum.
Her tender heart is not content
With keeping him in the shadows at her side;
And in a basket,
She trusted him to the waters of the Nile
There the magnificent princess arrives;
She discovers the child, takes him, hugs him,
"Son!" she calls him, and affectionately kisses him…
The future Savior of his race.
O mysterious power of luck!

Together, the poem emphasizes, these women save Moses, "El Salvador futuro de su raza" (The future Savior of his race) (Puga 4). "Moisés" displays Puga's literary talents at the same time as it celebrates women because, as mothers, they influence the future by selflessly devoting themselves to a son. However, the poem also raises Jocabel and the Pharaoh's daughter as important historical figures whose tenderness saves Moses and makes the poem possible.

Similarly, in "La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York," Puga's poem invokes selflessness to highlight Latin America's future and reputation.

Si presa alguno de delirio insano
Se atravesé a negar por un momento
La ilustración, las glorias o el talento
Del gran pueblo latino-americano,

Yo en el acto, cogido de la mano,
Llena el alma de orgullo y de contento,
Le mostrara el periódico-portento,
De nuestra joven prensa soberano.

"Ven! conoce a los genios – le diría –
Que con áureas guirnaldas en la frente,
El lábaro sostiene del Progreso;

¡Ven! Y a la clara luz de hermoso día,
Inclínate, al mirarlos, reverente:
¡Ellos conservan nuestro nombre ileso!"

(If someone delirious and insane
Dares to deny for a moment
The illustration, the glories or the talent
Of the great Latin American people

Instantly, holding it in my hand,
My soul filled with pride and happiness,
I will show you the portent newspaper
From our young sovereign press.

"Come! Meet the geniuses," I would tell him –
That with golden garlands on the cover,
The labarum of Progress they uphold

Come! And in the clear light of a beautiful day,
Bow down reverently when you look at them:
They preserve our name unscathed!")

The passion with which the speaker of "La Revista Ilustrada" defends Latin American literary culture echoes Rivas' multiple rebuttals against critics of the region's reputation, illustrating that Puga is attuned to the same critiques. The poem's speaker points to *La Revista* as evidence of the best Latin America's press offers, and insists that the periodical confirms the region's intellectual and literary progress. Thematically, "La Revista" is a display of selflessness – framed, this time, as a woman writer's participation in the periodical's "causa del progreso." Still, the poem is written by Puga, a woman, arguably for other women readers of the magazine. Put another way, in "La Revista," Puga frames poetry as a form that emanates from women for other women, making space for feminine voices within literary traditions.

Still, for all his support of Puga and women writers, Rivas clarifies that that, ultimately, the value of the ideal Latin American woman at the end of the nineteenth century is not within literary traditions, but in the home. Hearkening to the domestic scene that culminates "Una mujer salvadoreña," Rivas maintains, "los sagrados intereses de la patria y la sociedad, porque estos se basan en el hogar, donde la mujer impera como diosa, y en la familia, de la cual es ella santa y

ordenadora Providencia" (the sacred union of fatherland and society, a union based on the solidity of the home, where woman presides like a goddess, and in the family, of which she is holy and ordaining Providence) (15). By February 1890, Puga's literary reputation was already burgeoning, and in "La Mujer Hispano-Americana," Rivas relies on her growing fame to assert that she will destabilize tropes that portray Latin American women as ignorant and antiquated. In this way, Rivas' allusions to the home and family connect the worth of Puga's poetic skills to the reputation of *La Revista*, and, by extension, the Latin American nation.

As Ángela Hurtado writes, *La Revista* was particularly popular with Central American readers, who looked to the magazine as a didactic text through which to elevate performances of womanhood. Rivas, in his capacity as co-editor, helped to shape an articulation of model Latin American womanhood in *La Revista* that hearkened to ideals of femininity he voiced years earlier in *La Guirnalda Salvadoreña*. In *Guirnalda*, Rivas affirmed his commitment to women's intellectual, literary, and cultural achievements he believed mujeres salvadoreñas should serve a "full social role at the side of men in the pursuit of modernity at the end of the nineteenth century (quoted in Barnes, 79). He expresses similar sentiments about womanhood in "La Mujer Hispano-Americana," and "Una mujer salvadoreña." In my next two chapters, I turn to turn-of-the-century Central American fashion magazines, periodicals, photographs, and advertisements to analyze Central American writers' reliance on women to symbolize centroamericanismo in communities both in the isthmus and in the United States.

At the turn of the century, Central American liberals in the US remained connected to Central American consolidation efforts, all the while, as Rivas shows, cultivating Latina/o and Latin American unity. In this chapter, I include Rivas and his transnational writings within *La Revista* in an U.S. Central American literary genealogy to extend the timeline of U.S. Central

American Studies. In doing so, I trouble dominant narratives that cast Central Americans as recent migrants to the United States, and as Gruesz writes, rely on a sympathetic image "to attract white sympathy for immigration reform" (47). The U.S. Central American communities reflected in nineteenth century archives mostly comprise privileged isthmians like Rivas, who were active in both Latina/o and Anglo social networks. These Central American figures do not conjure the kind of sympathy Gruesz writes against; to ignore them and their contributions to the Latina/o nineteenth century extends, I contend, the tropicalizations of Central America and Central Americans in nineteenth-century Anglo American literatures to our present day.

Fragments of Femininity: La Mujer Centroamericana in the Archives of the Transnational Nineteenth Century

Anglo-American and Isthmian literatures of the long nineteenth century rely on allegorical depictions of women to forge competing, shifting nationalisms without telling us much about actual centroamericanas. In this chapter, I use the University of California, Davis' Panama Pacific International Exposition Collection as a point of departure, and I model a reading practice that brings U.S. Central American women to the fore. This repository contains glass negatives of the 1915 world's fair held in San Francisco to celebrate the Panama Canal's completion,[55] as well as 14 striking images of various Guatemalan women—Luisa Linares, Martha Castillo, Mercedes Padilla, Victoria Flamenco, and Julia Asturias Godoy and her daughter, Julia "Julita" Godoy—wearing matching jeweled headpieces, chiffon shawls, and corsages.[56] These photographs alone cannot tell us who these women are, or why they are included in the PPIE Collection. However, reading together an assortment of archival fragments such as society columns, biographical sketches, dedication essays, and obituaries, enables us to see them as prominent members of San Francisco's early-twentieth-century colonia

[55] San Francisco hosted the Panama-Pacific International Exposition from February to December 1915 to commemorate the Panama Canal's completion. Sarah J. Moore argues that the Exposition embodied early-twentieth-century U.S. imperialist fantasies. See *Empire on Display: San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (2013). According to Robert D. Aguirre, in the Anglo-American national imaginary, the Panama Canal was a "compelling testament to U.S. ingenuity, and imperial power" that symbolized "the promise of new markets, more rapid forms of mobility and movement" (*Mobility and Modernity* 148). See *Mobility and Modernity: Panama in the Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Imagination* (2018).

[56] In "Five woman from Guatemala," Julia Asturias Godoy is the only woman wearing a darker-colored dress and a visible wedding band. Her daughter, Julita, is pictured sitting in front.
"Flormica from Guatemala" and "Miss Filammico" show Valentina Flamenco, the daughter of Guatemalan Commissioner General José Flamenco: https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8dj5gz0/ & https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8h996hw/.
Mercedes Padilla was the daughter of Juan Padilla, Consul General of Guatemala. Mercedes in "Miss Pidillo from Guatemala": https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8p270fw/.
Luisa Linares, daughter to Guatemalan ambassador José Linares, in "Miss Padillo and Lineres" https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8cj8fs5/.

centroamericana, and gives us an opportunity to speculate about what and how they saw the world and their places in it. The method I use in this chapter is analogous to the larger argument I make in my dissertation: If we look closely, we can see Central Americans on the margins of mainstream U.S. narratives, and if we push back against the coloniality of genre and really embrace fugitive textuality,[57] a much clearer and radically different vision of Central American diaspora comes into focus.

The textuality of nineteenth-century U.S. Central Americans is composed of heterogeneous, and often-partial texts contained in disparate archives. To read the expansive, diverse narratives of transnational centroamericanidad, we must take seriously the literariness embedded in archival fragments, which I argue constitute a form that is inextricable from U.S. Central American literary history. Searches for Linares, Castillo, Padilla, and Flamenco show that these young women were the daughters of Guatemalan ambassadors who, on behalf of Manuel Estrada Cabrera, erected a pavilion at the Exposition and organized lavish displays.[58] Photographs of Flamenco, Linares, and Castillo frame reports in *San Francisco Chronicle* that detail Guatemala Coffee Day and Guatemala Independence Day celebrations at the Exposition, suggesting that these women's likeness functioned as feminine allegories of centroamericanismo.

---

[57] In his own work, Rául Coronado heeds scholars of nineteenth-century latinidad to refuse rigid periodization and to embrace alternative, minoritized texts "that yield different narratives of belonging" (51). He insists literary historians should not "seek to reduce the plurality of textuality to the fetishized aesthetic polished forms of literature (e.g., the novel, the short play, the poem, the play)" (Coronado 54). In doing so, we remain unable to see the diverse forms that constitute nineteenth-century Latina/o textuality: oral and visual culture, manuscripts, epistolary forms, revolutionary pamphlets and broadsides, journalism, poetry, and "novels that sought to sought to sustain and establish its own sense of presence of being, a desire to achieve transcendence and belonging in the world" (Coronado 54).

[58] Guatemala was among the 22 foreign countries to construct a pavilion on the Avenue of Nations at the Exposition. Throughout the Exposition's duration, Guatemala officials organized the most extensive coffee exhibition on fair grounds, several luncheons, an open house, and Central American Independence Day celebrations (*Official Guide).*

Read alongside texts about the Godoys, however, an alternative narrative about these women comes into view that renders them cultural producers, or "seers in their own right" (López, "Picturing" 266). Shortly after her husband's death, Julia Asturias Godoy arrived in San Francisco in 1915 with her eight children, and until her return to Guatemala in 1922, a miscellany of texts published in *Hispano América* and *San Francisco Examiner* illustrate that she cultivated relationships in her surrounding Latina/o society at the same time as she maintained transnational ties to Central America. Her daughter Julita, meanwhile, was similarly popular among San Francisco's wealthy Latina/o youth, and her archival traces gesture to how U.S. Centroamericanas redefined and modernized ideal femininity for themselves in the early twentieth century. I therefore anchor my discussion in analyses of the Godoys, moving between the PPIE and transnational Central American current events.

In previous chapters, I used depictions of women to push back against racist, colonial tropes of the Central American diaspora. The depictions of Madame Alvarez and Maria Macapa as "Spanish American" women in *Soldiers of Fortune* (1899) and *McTeague* (1899), I contend in Chapter 1, racialize latinidad as a monolithic bloc, and in turn refute the claims to whiteness the 1899 Costa Rican novel *El problema* makes through Emma, the half-Central American, half-US American heroine. Similarly, in Chapter 2, I show that "Una mujer salvadoreña" in *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York* is less a recognition of Antonia Navarro Huezo, the first Central American woman to earn a doctorate, and more a promotion of El Salvador's liberal modernization campaign. The novels of Richard Harding Davis, Frank Norris, and Máximo Soto Hall, in tandem with the editorship and writings of Román Mayorga Rivas, uphold genres we read as literary, and which rely on women's bodies to forge delimited articulations of Anglo America and la patria grande Centroamericana.

Here, I push the bounds of "literary" analysis even further, engaging in an interdisciplinary textual analysis to conjure a sense of the actual women upon whom these national allegories are built in order to show not just that national literatures are colonial and racist, but that "literature" has historically been deployed to racist and sexist ends. My feminist, anti-racist, anti-colonial reading practice means embracing fugitive texts, imagining the elusive subjects they outline, and reading that all in relation to create space for new subjects, new genres, new literary histories, and new futures. Archival fragments enable another reading of U.S. Central American women's stories: Thinking about literary objects contained in disparate collections as archival fragments, or as "remnants, detached pieces," enables me to read and see "small picture[s]" of a "lost or destroyed" transnational, feminine isthmian literary history ("Fragment"). Reading over a miscellany of texts about and by U.S. Central American women, I propose to dwell on, or linger over, the vignettes that emerge from them.

I begin this chapter by engaging critical conversations by Raúl Coronado, Jesse Alemán, John Alba Cutler, and Rodrigo Lazo, who propose alternative reading practices to engage meaningfully the partial textual remains of nineteenth-century latinidad. The Latina/o nineteenth century, argues Alemán, is not of the same "tradition, movement, or aesthetic" as its New England-based, Anglophone counterpart (viii). He heeds scholars of nineteenth-century latinidad to employ multiple approaches to grapple with the traces through which we can "map the movements of bodies, lives, texts, and communities that struggled to survive in the belly of the beast" (ix). Adopting multiple methodological approaches enables me to read Central American non-belonging, the paradigm through which the U.S. public imaginary sees Central Americans. Despite the U.S. public's historic inability to distinguish Central Americans from other groups, crises have always rendered a select group of Central Americans hyper-visible in the national

imaginary. Less obvious, argues Yajaira M. Padilla, are the U.S. Central American literary and cultural productions that defy dominant paradigms of citizenship and integration (*Threatening Guerillas* 24), and, I add, their nineteenth-century antecedents.

Next, I review Central American women's literary, cultural, and political history in the period between the Liberal Reform Era and Unionismo. Central Americanists such as Patricia Arroyo Calderón and Hector Lindo-Fuentes assert that the absence of women from historical records, in tandem with the emphasis critics place on the aesthetic qualities of modernista works written by Central American men, result in a dearth of scholarship on nineteenth-century Central American women's literary and cultural productions.[59] Though I am ultimately interested in the stories archival fragments bring into view about U.S. centroamericanidad at the end of the long nineteenth century, I would be remiss to ignore the work of these scholars, and the transnational and hemispheric Central American feminine networks to which they gesture. As Calderón argues in her work, archival absence and limited access to collections, in conjunction with fragmentation, contribute to the exclusion of Central American women from analyses of nineteenth-century Latin American women's textuality ("Pioneras" 51). However, reading together the textuality of Central American women in the U.S. and Central America in a "transisthmus," we can read "across national divides, drawing connections between them while producing other transisthmian and transnational cultural and literary spaces" (Rodríguez, 2).

Then, I return to UC Davis' PPIE collections, and UC Berkeley's Edward A. Roger's collection of PPIE photographs. Exposition officials commissioned the Cardinell-Vincent

[59] See Calderón's "Pioneras de la literatura en Guatemala: Mujeres intelectuales, mercados globales y consume femenino" (2021).

Company[60] to supply a daily team of photographers, and photo-and- postcard booths to help make real "the authenticity of exaggerated claims" about the imperial future the Canal represented and the Exposition celebrated (Watts 218). The Roger's collection features photographs of Guatemala's and Honduras' pavilions, Honduras Day and Guatemala Coffee Day celebrations, and lavish Guatemalan banquets and balls. Read alongside the images of Guatemalan women in the PPIE Collection, these photographs gesture to the displays of centroamericanismo that transpired at the Exposition against the backdrop of U.S. imperialism. I discuss Guatemala's aggressive booster campaign at the fair, which aimed to forge a modern, progressive image of the Central American nation to attract Anglo economic partners.

After I review Guatemala's booster campaign, I examine the images in the PPIE Collection. The likeness of Linares, Castillo, Padilla, Flamenco, and the Godoys in the photographs I examine evoke the ideal of the New Woman—the early-twentieth-century model of femininity that portrayed ideal women as independent, stylish, and athletic. The image of the New Woman, explains Abigail M. Markwyn, was widespread at the Exposition, entwining this emerging model of modern femininity with the imperialism on which the fair rested. Above all else, though, the New Woman was white (Markwyn 51). The modern styles reflected in the Guatemalan women's photographs troubles the New Woman paradigm by drawing attention to its assimilative capacity, and suggesting that the New Woman trope was a transnational phenomenon.

[60] The San Francisco-based Cardinell-Vincent Co. were the Exposition's official photographers. At the Cardinell-Vincent studio on fair grounds, visitors could find and purchase "a complete line of Exposition photographs in all sizes and styles, also cameras and supplies, film developing and printing, lantern slides and transparencies. Pictures of conventions, banquets and special events made and placed on sale within an hour" (*Official guide of the Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco 1915* 105).

Lastly, I narrow my analysis to the photographs of Julia Asturias Godoy and Julita Godoy. Poems, news articles, letters to editors, biographical sketches, and society columns in *Hispano América* and *San Francisco Examiner* gesture to the elite Latina/o world in which these women were rooted, and their prominent places in it. They show, too, the concerted efforts made by centroamericanas in San Francisco to support reconstruction efforts in Guatemala after a series of earthquakes devastated Guatemala City from December 1917 to January 1918. Central American historians largely consider the 1917-1918 earthquakes a watershed moment: The earthquake's aftermath, along with the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, embittered the Guatemalan public against Estrada Cabrera, and reinvigorated support for the Partido Unionista Centroamericano (PUCA). The charity events in San Francisco add a transnational dimension to this isthmian historical flashpoint, but they also shed light on the dynamic lives of U.S. Central American women -- a demographic rendered all but invisible by the legacies of competing nationalisms.

The Textual Forms and Partial Narratives of the Latinx Nineteenth Century

The partial forms of the literary objects I read do not immediately conjure literariness, but, throughout this dissertation, I have used archival fragments to lay bare stories of nineteenth-century U.S. centroamericanidad that texts American studies traditionally deems U.S. literature otherwise conceal. In *Soldiers of Fortune*, Olancho is an amalgam of Latin American nations that scholars continue to describe as a "fictional" republic,[61] but Olancho is a real place in Honduras with a unique history that hearkens to Davis's rendition. In archives, I have encountered book reviews, news bulletins, op-eds, and photographs published in *The New York Times*, *The Daily*

[61] For example, the marketing site for Broadview Press' edition of *Soldiers of Fortune* describes Olancho as "a fictional Latin American republic" ("Soldiers of Fortune" 2022).

Colusa Sun, *Inyo Independent*, and *Daily Alta California* that reveal the real Olancho became a site of interest for the white American public in the mid nineteenth century, when gold was discovered in the region. The plot of Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* mirrors closely "Important from Nicaragua" (1855), "Honduras: Explorations and Adventures" (1857), "Life in Honduras" (1888), and "Easy Life in Nicaragua" (1900),[62] and we can hear the resonances of the tropes deployed in these texts to describe Central Americans as backwards and lazy in the novel.

---

[62] Published in *The New York Times* on August 1, 1857, "Honduras: Explorations and Adventures," is a review of William V. Well's travelogue, *Explorations in Honduras: Comprising Sketches of Travel in the Gold Regions of Olancho, and a Review of the History and General Resources of Central America, with original maps and numerous illustrations*. The review's description of Olancho and its economic potential parallels Davis's description of the fictional Olancho: "a gold region (Olancho) celebrated in Spanish chronicles, and spoken of by recent explorer in terms of extravagant praises, and which is second only to California in productiveness; that the land and forests of Olancho, grazed at present by herds of cattle, like the savannas of Venezuela, offer every inducement for settlement and cultivation; and, finally, that this beautiful region, lying under the eye and grasp of the American miner, is thinly inhabited, and capable of sustaining and enriching a mining population as large as that of California—we experience a strong sensation of pity for those unfortunate men who, in seeking such regions and such climates as that of Olancho, where they could enrich themselves with legitimate labor, sluicing and washing the auriferous earth, have been led away, by false report and mistaken advice, to perish in the feverish and filthy shores of the Lake of Nicaragua. Has any man the ambition of establishing a little empire of white men and natives, Olancho offers itself as a region apt for enterprise" ("Honduras: Explorations" 2). A news bulletin published in *Daily Alta California* in 1855 also hearkens to *Soldiers of Fortune*'s plot: "Valuable gold mines and placers have been discovered recently, in the Department of Olancho, Honduras, on the head waters of the Guayape river, flowing in the Caribbean Sea. The exclusive right to work them for 20 years has been secured by a California Company, from the Supreme Government of Honduras. The company will be reorganized shortly in New York" ("Summary of the Fortnight's News" 111).

On September 8, 1888, *Inyo Independent* published "Life in Honduras: Primitive People Who Believe in Throwing Off Work and Worry": "I do not need to tell you what an enormous difference there is between San Francisco and all its gayety and a place like this, where we live in a brush hut and eat corn-cakes (tortillas) and brown beans. Our camp is in the village of San Martin. Evidently there has been no chance in the people's way of living since the time of—well, let us say Columbus, to be on the safe side…Neither the men nor the women are good looking, but I understand that in some of the other departments, for instance Olancho, the race stands higher both physically and intellectually" ("Life in Honduras" 1).

Lastly, *Colusa Sun Daily* reprinted "Easy Life in Nicaragua" from *New Orleans Times-Democrat* on February 19, 1900. An unnamed Anglo miner shares his experiences in Central America, where he "had an opportunity of seeing how the lazy natives tap nature's till when they need some small change." The narrator takes issue with the way the people of Olancho misuse the region's gold, writing, "There are hundreds of native families who live in exactly that manner in Olancho. Sometimes the woman will be lucky enough to strike a rich pocket that will yield a dollar or more a pan, but they never dream of washing it out at once and getting a stake. It simply means that they can secure their usual amount with less work" ("Easy Life" #).

As I write in Chapter 1, *Soldiers of Fortune* is an Anglophone novel written by an Anglo-American man that erases the presence of Central Americans from U.S. literary history. Relying exclusively on Anglo-American novels to reimagine a literary past extends this erasure into our present day. In other words, we can only detect the echoes of tropes used in newspapers to describe Central Americans in Davis's novel if we engage the diversity of forms that illustrate the way the actual Olancho underpins depictions of its fictional counterpart. To grapple with a nineteenth-century Latina/o textuality that 'inhabited a more capacious world" than definitions that designate "literature" to mean "an autonomous, imaginative, aesthetic sphere of writing largely independent of other genres of writing," argues Raúl Coronado, entails "deconstruct[ing] the category of the literary" ("Historicizing" 52). Archival fragments undermine the myth that Central America and Central Americans are new arrivals to the U.S. national imaginary. They illuminate that Anglo-American writers were attuned to the isthmus' presence throughout the nineteenth century, and that they drew from the vocabulary that circulated in the Anglo press to describe the region in their own words to flatten latinidad and to racialize Latinx peoples.

By insisting on the literariness of archival fragments, we can see the delimited view of nineteenth-century U.S. literary history forged in Anglo-American novels, and we can trouble overdetermined narratives of migrations that similarly invisibilize Central Americans within Latinx studies. I illustrate this in my previous chapter where, building on Kirsten Silva Gruesz's theorization of errancy, I use contemporary newspaper reports to chart the privileged migrations of Nicaraguan editor, journalist, and poet Román Mayorga Rivas, during which he enjoyed the company of San Francisco's Anglo and Central American coffee elite. These reports textually push back the timeline of U.S. Central American studies to the nineteenth century, and offer an alternative point of entry into analyses of the isthmus' diasporas outside of the Central American

migrations beginning in the 1980s. Rivas's migrations were not forced upon him, and as a prominent diplomat from one of Nicaragua's most powerful political families, he is at odds with Arturo Arias's definition of "Central American-American." Still he and the other Central American elites that archives highlight reflect "the murky origins" of heterogeneous Central American diasporas in the U.S. (Arias, *Taking Their Word* 186). The newspaper reports that chronicle the waywardness of Rivas's transnationalism are literary texts because they enable us to chart new, dynamic stories that trouble "what we already think we know" about U.S. Central Americans (López, "Picturing" 4).

In the preface and introduction to the edited collection *The Latino Nineteenth Century* (2016), Alemán and Lazo begin with the premise that latinidad is a "central literary, historical, and analytical category" in nineteenth-century American culture (Alemán vii). Latinidad is not an anachronistic term in the nineteenth century, and the "partial, sometimes fragmented, and regularly dispersed textual remains" have the potential to illustrate how different Spanish-speaking communities related to one another (Lazo, "Introduction" 3) Both Alemán and Lazo insist on the legibility of Spanish-language texts to lay bare the way American literary studies "reproduces the national imaginary's impulse to subsume difference into a homogenizing narrative about Anglophone America" (Alemán viii). The people who constituted the Latinx nineteenth century, they write, inhabited a Hispanophone world, and we should therefore view them through the Spanish-language texts they left behind.

For the most part, I heed Alemán's and Lazo's call to center Spanish-language texts in this chapter, but engaging both Spanish-and- English-language newspapers generates a wider range of stories about nineteenth-century U.S. Central American women. Figures like Francisca

Aparicio de Barrios[63] were widely reported on by Latina/o and Anglo-American newspapers, and reading these texts in tandem is instructive for thinking about the differences in portrayals of Central American women in Hispanophone and Anglophone periodicals. For instance, the lavish costume ball Barrios held in her Fifth Avenue home in February 1891 garnered the attention of *Las Novedades* and *Frank Leslie's*, two New York-based periodicals.[64] The article in *Las Novedades*, titled "El baile de la Sra. de Barrios" deemed the masquerade "the most brilliant social event of the season," describing it as "the most elegant, distinguished, and cultured of New York society and the Hispanic colony" (71).

Meanwhile, *Frank Leslie's* coverage of the costume ball is much more extensive, and implies that Barrios' fondness for masquerades is emblematic of her racial identity. The March 7, 1891 issue of *Frank Leslie's* pairs "Madame de Barrios Fancy Dress-Ball" with "A Notable New York Society Event," a one-page spread of photos and illustrations of Barrios's guests in costume. Whereas *Las Novedades* described the event as "elegant, distinguished, and cultured," *Frank Leslie's* uses the masquerade as occasion to highlight Barrios's foreignness: "A full appreciation of the delight and glory impersonating in gar the imposing or picturesque characters of history or fiction seems to require the Latin love of color, the peculiar Latin imagination, and the Latin fondness of masquerade" (10). The way *Frank Leslie's* forges a link between masquerade and "the peculiar Latin imagination" echoes Norris's reliance on clothing in their

[63] Francisca Aparicio de Barrios (b.1858-d.1943) was the former first lady of Guatemala. She married Justo Rufino Barrios in 1874, and after her husband's death in 1885, she and her seven children left for San Francisco, California. She remained in San Francisco for a short while before moving to New York City. Aparicio de Barrios was a fixture of New York City's upper-class Latina/o society, and English-and- Spanish-language newspapers frequently reported on her.

[64] *Las Novedades: España y Los Pueblos Hispano-Americanos* (1876-1918) "served the interests of all Spanish-Speaking groups, including the Spanish, Cubans and Puerto Ricans—even while Cuba and Puerto Rico were waging wars of independence from Spain (Kanellos and Martell, 6).
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (1855-1922) was an Anglophone pictorial newspaper founded by Frank Leslie.

racialization of Alvarez and Macapa. In *McTeague*, the narrator describes Macapa as "sick with envy" for buying "shirtwaists and dotted-blue neckties, trying to dress like the girls who tended the soda-water fountain" (Norris, 31). In other words, fashion, clothes, and costumes are indicative of mental fitness, which in *Frank Leslie's* is also tied to "Latin" identity.

Reading depictions of nineteenth-century Central American women in Anglophone newspapers alongside nationalistic novels like *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* illuminates how various Anglo-American forms circulated the national imaginary simultaneously, together forging concealing the visibility of Central American women. Newspaper society columns do not index genres we immediately register as literary; they are not poems, novels, nor are they fiction—at least not entirely. They do, however, build from vocabulary that circulates nineteenth-century Anglo-American print culture to flatten and racialize Latinx peoples, and are generative in illustrating the murky division between nationalistic fiction and Anglophone journalism about Latin American in the U.S. As "Madame de Barrios Fancy Dress-Ball" illustrates, society columns also show the arbitrary mutability and mobility of the parameters that constitute ideal femininity, and are therefore literary texts.

Put another way, society columns emerge alongside the imaginative genres of writing Coronado pushes against, and elsewhere, archival fragments also let us see flashes of other literary genres that are unique to nineteenth-century Latinx literary history. Cutler tells us as much in his own work on reading nineteenth-century Latina/o short fiction, the naming of which he writes points to a fugitive archive. The Spanish-language print culture that begins to flourish in the 1880s, Cutler tells us, highlight genres such as the cuadro de costumbres, "a mishmash of ethnographic description, reportage, and first-person narrative" ("Toward" 128). "A reading of nineteenth-century Latina/o short fiction," contends Cutler, "must grapple with heterogeneity as

its central fact" ("Toward" 126). To refer to nineteenth-century Latina/o short fiction, "to this fragmentary archive," writes Cutler, "might be misnaming it" because the short stories that emerge from late-nineteenth-century Spanish-language print culture do not formally align with the parameters of their Anglophone counterparts.

In the next section, I review Central American women's literary, cultural, and political history in the late nineteenth century. As Calderón and Lindo-Fuentes maintain, rigid demarcations of modernity, genre, along with access to archives and fragmentation, conceal women from nineteenth-century Latin American and Latina/o histories. Still, the turn of the century was a transformative period for Central American women, who grappled with questions of modernity, ideal femininity, and a shift towards an export-based economy.

Centroamericanas in La Patria Grande

Before I discuss centroamericanismo in San Francisco and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, I offer a brief history of Central American women's literary, cultural, political contributions and movements at the turn of the century. María del Pilar Sinués de Marco's domestic novel-conduct manual *El ángel del hogar* (1859) popularized the angel-woman model as the domestic ideal in Latin America in the mid nineteenth century. The angel-woman was the chaste, maternal guardian of her home, and the caretaker of her children's and husband's happiness (LaGreca 8). The Liberal Reform Era in late-nineteenth-century Central America, however, marked a period of drastic change in the region's infrastructure, educational institutions, and economy, which in turn altered the paradigm of ideal Central American womanhood. Intellectual reforms resulted in the construction of new educational institutions, generating debates over women possibly entering higher education, and women's economic roles.

For many male intellectuals, the success of isthmian liberal modernization campaigns rested on women's education. Through the mid nineteenth century, Central American women had few educational opportunities, but beginning around 1880, nationalists began to equate women's intellectual training with the isthmian nation's success. In El Salvador, for instance, women's education presented an opportunity to portray the nation as enlightened. In 1879, president Rafael Zandívar's administration heralded itself as a champion of civilization and progress in the local press. According to E. Bradford Burns, Zandívar's government outlined its plan to educate Salvadoran women "on as large a scale as possible," emphasizing that "by no means should that education be limited to sewing and religion" (Burns, "The Intellectual" 79). In that same year, Zandívar invited French educator Agustina Charvin to direct the Colegio Normal de Señoritas.

Salvadoran liberals quickly elevated the Colegio Normal as an emblem of women's educational success. In December 1895, for instance, *El porvenir de Centro América*[65] included a photograph titled "Grupo de Profesoras del Colegio Normal de Señoritas" in its first issue. The photograph features eight young women: Cordelia Guirola,[66] Luz Lemus, Antonia Mendoza,

---

[65] *The Inland Printer* described *El Porvenir de Centro América* as a sixteen-page weekly that was directed by Guillermo J. Dawson and published by Dawson's own G.J. Dawson & Co., San Salvador. The magazine, which was only published for a single year, emphasized literature and the arts, and it also featured photographs of prominent Central American women alongside short biographical sketches ("Newspaper Gossip" 85).

[66] The Guirolas were a part of the Catorce Familias (Fourteen Families) in El Salvador. In Chapter 2, I write briefly about Cordelia's nephew, Carlos Alberto, who was an undergraduate student at the University of California in 1913. The Guirolas made most of their fortune from coffee, and by the early twentieth century, many members of the family considered San Francisco, California a second home. In 1915, *The San Francisco Call* published "Wealthy Woman of San Salvador May Come Here to Live" about Cordelia Guirola's decision to build a home in San Francisco: "Mrs. Cordelia Guirola said to be the richest woman in Central America, is now on board the Pacific Mail liner New port, en route to her home in San Salvador, after spending several months in San Francisco visiting the Exposition. Before leaving, Mrs. Guirola said that the exposition was not the only thing that attracted her to the city and that she expected to return here to make San Francisco her home, as she was greatly attracted by the improved resilience parks west of Twin Peaks. It is said that Mrs. Guirola instructed a San Francisco architect to work out plans for a $75,000 residence to be built west of the parks." A few decades later, Guirola appeared in the California Anglo press again alongside her daughter, Margarita. In November 1935, Margarita filed for an annulment from her husband, Bernard Travis Ragsdale, whom she charged of fraud for promising "to maintain her according to her station in life and to rear a family" ("Clerk Loses"). In turn, Ragsdale filed for divorce on cruelty

Sara López, Carmen Villacorta, Joaquina Olmedo, Nela Aplícano, and María Alarcia. Staring directly at the camera, the young women are all wearing their hair in chignons with soft curls at the front, and dresses with simple silhouettes that reflected the New Woman aesthetic of the 1890s. In a profile titled "Profesoras del Colegio Normal de Maestras" that accompanies the photograph, *El porvenir* praises the Colegio's young teachers as embodiments of "la virtud, la inteligencia y la belleza" (virtue, intelligence, and beauty) (20). Noting their dedication, the profile congratulates the young women's willingness to sacrifice their youth and beauty in order to become teachers; their hard work, according to *El porvenir,* is done in the name of their patria (20). The Colegio helped to make teaching the primary medium through which Salvadoran women joined the urban labor force, and throughout the 1880s, the Salvadoran government established other "colegios de señoritas" (Lindo-Fuentes 38).

Besides teaching, Central American women joined the urban labor force as secretaries, telegraph operators, typists, domestic economists, and nurses (Rodríguez Sáenz, 4). The push to educate young girls was part of the liberal campaign to modernize the Central American family "under the conjugal and nuclear model, with the wife as mother and the husband as primary breadwinner" (Rodríguez Sáenz, 4). Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz explains that women were expected to exalt the ideal of "scientific motherhood," which tasked women to rear educated children for the Central American nation (4). Nationalists such as Pedro García called for the expansion of women's public participation and access to education in 1881, but within the confines of a "gender-appropriate" model that still hearkened to the angel-woman paradigm

---

grounds, alleging his wife humiliated and abused him in public spaces" (*"Clerk Loses"*). Ragsdale also sued his mother-in-law, Cordelia, "for alienation of affections," and asked for $100,000 in damages. The divorce proceedings caused quite a scandal through the end of 1935. *The Los Angeles Times* chronicled the divorce as well, and in December 1935 featured a photograph of Cordelia and her daughter in Palm Springs next to a summary of the marital scandal ("Margherita").

(Lindo-Fuentes 38). In Chapter 2, I close read Román Mayorga Rivas's celebration of Antonia Navarro Huezo, the first Central American woman to earn a doctorate, in his essay, "Una mujer salvadoreña" (23). There, Rivas celebrates Navarro Huezo's academic accomplishment, and raises Navarro Huezo as an example of the heights Central American women could reach as a result of liberal reforms that encouraged women's education. On the surface, Rivas's essay reflects a progressive stance on women, but, at the same time, he imbues "Una mujer salvadoreña" with a slant that emphasizes domesticity, echoing the "gender-appropriate" model of modern womanhood García and other Central American liberals championed.

Still, middle-and- upper-class Central American women took advantage of educational expansion, and in the 1880s and 90s, there was a flourish of women's literary and cultural productions. In Guatemala, like their male counterparts, women, too, grappled with the ways reliance on capitalistic, global markets transformed Central American society at the end of the nineteenth century. According to Calderón, Guatemalan women actively modernized definitions of Central American femininity: They produced a vast amount of literary and cultural texts, such as domestic and economic manuals, essays, and periodicals, in which they re-assessed their economic roles within the domestic realm and the public sphere (59). Cohorts of women writers, teachers, and educators, such as Vicenta Laparra de la Cerda, Rafaela del Águila, Adelaida J. Chéves, Pilar Lavarre de Castellanos, Carmen P. de Silva, and Sara María García Salas de Moreno cultivated a print culture in Guatemala in which they criticized the "disastrous consequences caused by the overabundance of imported goods in Central American societies that were quickly opening to global markets" (Calderón, *Cada uno en su sitio* 48). These networks had a transnational reach, as evidenced by *La Revista Ilustrada*'s publication of Chéves's economic manual *Llave de oro* in 1887 (48).

The late-nineteenth-century educational reforms, in tandem with the flourish of women's literary and cultural productions, paved the way for early Central American feminism, and by the early twentieth century, social and political movements like Unionismo enabled women to speak out for their right to vote. Newspapers such as Rivas's *Diario del Salvador* published protofeminist essays by writers like Spanish author Carmen de Burgos Seguí, Cuban Aurelia Castillo de González, as well as news reports that chronicled the activity of London's and New York's suffragettes (Lindo-Fuentes 41). Lindo-Fuentes theorizes that the wave of news depicting US and European women's calls for voting rights inspired El Salvador's women readers to organize their own movements (38). In the 1910s, a few labor and mutual aid societies organized by women for women began to appear throughout El Salvador, and in 1921, *Diario* published La Sociedad Femenil's (Feminine Society) manifesto, "El Porvenir de la Mujer" (Woman's Future) (49). As for the rest of Central America, Lindo-Fuentes writes that women took advantage of the Partido Unionista Centroamericano's new-found momentum in the period between 1918 and 1922. (49). Campaigning for Central American reunion, women supported Unionismo at the same time as they advocated for their own rights.

The literary histories Lindo-Fuentes and Calderón write about gesture to the way US and isthmian communities exchanged ideas surrounding women's education and suffrage at the turn of the century, but I do not read the accounts I analyze in this chapter as emblematic of Central American women's history. For literary historians of the Latina/o nineteenth century, contends Coronado, "the challenge is to write a non-teleological history that does not set out to arrange the literary archive only to reaffirm the long history of Latina/o resistance and triumph of nationally imagined communities" (52). In other words, I do not seek to plug in US-based figures and stories into a genealogy of Central American women's social movement to assemble a stable,

transnational through line that yokes together Central American women's communities with those of Central American-American women's. Central American symbols of feminine resistance, like Prudencia Ayala,[67] for example, are absent from early-twentieth-century US Latina/o newspapers; her name appears but once in the San Francisco-based *Hispano América*, which enjoyed a significant Central American readership.[68] The Central American coffee heiresses who inhabited San Francisco in 1918 may have been aware of Ayala, but, beyond common national origins, they likely had no connections to her.

U.S. Central American Women in Early-Twentieth-Century San Francisco

San Francisco became the lead processing center of Central American coffee in the late nineteenth century, animating small waves of transnational migrations from the isthmus to the city. It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that a significant number of Central Americans began to settle in the Bay Area, lending these peoples more visibility in archives. We know, for instance, that elites like Román Mayorga Rivas enrolled their children in local schools, such as the Hitchcock Academy, that served as pipeline institutions for the University of California in the 1910s. As well, in 1915, Guatemalan letrado Juan Anino[69] became the editor of *La Crónica* before Julio G. Arce took over editorial duties in 1916.

---

[67] Prudencia Ayala (1885-1936) was a working-class, Indigenous Salvadoran writer and social activist, and the first woman to run for president in El Salvador in 1930. Ayala protested the US occupation of Nicaragua (1912-1933), and was active in anti-imperialist and feminist social movements, and in Unionismo. She began to publish opinion pieces in 1913 in the Salvadoran press, and in 1919, she published *Escrible. Adventures of A trip to Guatemala*, a chronicle of her voyage to Guatemala during the last months of Manuel Estrada Cabrera's dictatorship. Ayala gained notoriety when she announced she was clairvoyant, earning her the nickname "la sibila santaneca" in Salvadoran newspapers.

[68] Una Adivina Salvadoreña," published December 3, 1918, describes Ayala as a "profetisa" (clairvoyant) from Santa Ana, El Salvador but does not provide more information about her.

[69] Juan Anino (b.1878- 1941) was a Guatemalan ambassador, businessman, journalist, and poet. Records show that he first arrived in San Francisco in 1900, and, according to *The San Francisco Call*, he became a U.S. citizen in 1902. In 1914, Anino was one of the founding contributors of *La Crónica* (later *Hispano América*). That same year, he published *Fruta Prohibida*, a novel. He later assumed the role of editor for the newspaper in 1915, holding the position for eight months before he resigned ("El Sr. Juan Anino"). He continued to publish essays, editorials, and poems in *La Crónica*, and in the Texas-based *La Prensa*.

In 1915, a significant portion of San Francisco's Central American population attended the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. In the Anglo-American imaginary, the Canal "was a compelling testament to U.S. ingenuity and imperial power" that symbolized "the promise of new markets and increased trade, the vision of a radically collapsed world that would produce new, more rapid forms of mobility and movement" (Aguirre, *Mobility and Modernity* 148). Over the course of nine months, Guatemala and Honduras were among the thirty-one foreign nations that gathered in San Francisco to uphold the fantastical image of what the transoceanic passageway represented. For these two Central American nations, the fair offered them an opportunity to display the success of liberal reforms on a global stage. Both nations constructed pavilions on the Avenue of Nations: Guatemala, the first foreign nation to accept an invitation to participate in the fair, organized the most extensive coffee exhibit on the grounds. Honduras, the first foreign nation to build a pavilion, filled its rooms with displays of national timber and mineral resources, precious stones, fruits, medicinal plants, wines, coffee, rubber, and sarsaparilla (*Official Guide* 15). These displays of centroamericanismo, set against the backdrop of U.S. imperialism, were captured in images by Exposition photographers, as well as San Francisco's Spanish-and- English-language press.

In this section, I show how I use the Exposition, a nationalistic flashpoint, as a catalyst from which I begin to gather literary objects from different archives to highlight U.S. Central American women's stories in early-twentieth-century San Francisco. I begin with the collections of Cardinell-Vincent Company's work stored in University of California at Berkeley and Davis. The Edward A. Rogers collection at Berkeley's Bancroft Library contains photographs of Guatemala's and Honduras's Pavilions and exhibitions: U.S. vice president Thomas R. Marshall (b. 1824-d.1925) stands in front of Honduras' Pavilion in one image, and in others, photographs

capture the large crowds that were present at Guatemala's Coffee Day celebration and the firework displays on Guatemala Day.[70] The Panama-Pacific International Exposition Collection held in UC Davis' Special Collections contains such similar photographs of, but the 14 images of Linares, Castillo, Padilla, Flamenco, and the Godoys offer a window into a narrative about U.S. Central American women at the intersection of competing nationalisms.

These photographs, read together with snippets from periodicals, generate partial but illuminating stories of women who cultivated transnational networks across California and Central America at the same time as they actively participated in the social world of elite Latina/os in San Francisco. I heed Marissa López's call to "turn to words in conjunction with images" to see what these U.S. Central American women see ("Picturing" 272). In her own work on Mexican California, López discusses the compulsion to view nineteenth-century Latinxs as either "romanticized figures in a Spanish fantasy heritage tableau" or as "resistant subjects" (265). *McTeague* and *Soldiers of Fortune* certainly invite us to see Latinxs as the former, but juxtaposing these texts against photographs of U.S. Central American women does not necessarily yield models of the latter, nor should we want them to. Photographs, as López maintains, are manipulations that are formed by an assortment of contexts, decisions, and conventions "that occlude as much as [they] reveal" (265). Photos and periodical fragments are

[70] "Guatemala Coffee Day" depicts a man standing in front of the Guatemalan Pavilion, speaking to a crowd of people. In "Guatemala Celebrates Today," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that the event was held on Saturday, November 20 by the Association of Coffee Planters of Guatemala in honor of Manuel Estrada Cabrera (9). Guatemalan coffee was awarded as the "Premier Coffee of the World" by the Exposition, which Guatemala's Exhibition Commissioner, José Flamenco, celebrated by planting a ceiba tree brought from Guatemala (*Official Guide*).

A second photograph titled "Guatemala Day" shows Flamenco delivering a speech to a crowd in front of the Guatemala Pavilion. According to the *Chronicle*, Flamenco praised Estrada Cabrera for fostering educational development in Guatemala, and noted that the president "had established the American school system in his country, believing it to be the most democratic and meritorious" ("Natal Day"). A third photograph titled "Guatemala Day fireworks" depicts a sign of lights that spell "President Cabrera," and fireworks going off in the background.

not documents that can "convey racialized experiences" that are unknowable to us (266). If instead we treat them as literary objects that, read together, enable us to see U.S. Central American women as "seers in their own right," then we can "understand the way they see themselves" and the ways that is "at odds with how they are being pictured" (266).

Within the context of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, we can imagine that one of the ways Central American women were pictured at the fair was as allegories of centroamericanismo who upheld Guatemala's modernization claims. The Honduran government, too, used the Exposition as an opportunity to showcase its national resources,[71] but its efforts paled in comparison to Guatemala's aggressive booster campaign. Along with Guatemala Coffee Day celebrations, the great lengths Estrada Cabrera's administration went to in order to forge a modern, progressive image of Guatemala included a partnership with *Hispano América*. For the duration of the Exposition, the fair praised Estrada Cabrera's progressive vision:

> El Presidente [...] ha consagrado los mejores años de su administración, á labrar el bienestar y la prosperidad de su patria y mejorando escuelas públicas, promoviendo concursos que traigan ventajas á la educación de las masas; protegiendo decididamente la Agricultura, y muy en especial el cultivo del Café. [...] Para todos hay protección y apoyo en las esferas oficiales, ayudándoles con sabias disposiciones que tienden al mejoramiento de esas industrias agrícolas." ("Mas sobre").

[71] The Honduran government hired *Hispano América* (then *La Crónica*) to chronicle the Central American country's presence at the Exposition. In March 1915, Honduran Exhibition Commissioner Antonio Ramírez Fontecha presided over the Honduras Pavilion opening ceremonies, for which San Francisco Mayor James Rolph was in attendance ("Honduras en la Exposición"). A few months later, on September 11, Fontecha invited *Hispano América* to join him, the Exposition board of directors, and other distinguished guests to a luncheon in honor of Honduras's Independence Day. The luncheon was followed by a reception and ball on September 28 ("Honduras Celebra la Independencia"). On December 4, Timoteo Miralda, a Honduran Consul, presided over Honduras Day celebrations, which included a ball at the Palace Hotel ("De Todo un Poco").

> (The president has dedicated his administration's best years to working for his country's welfare and prosperity, improving public schools, promoting contests that make education accessible to the masses; resolutely protecting Agriculture, and especially the cultivation of coffee.)

Moreover, in September of 1915, *Hispano América* published an exclusive English-language section to advertise Guatemala to potential Anglo merchants.[72] Coupled with photographs of the banquets and balls held at the Guatemala Pavilion,[73] *Hispano América* aided Estrada Cabrera's efforts to depict Guatemala as an opulent, and therefore modern, nation that was ready to welcome Anglo investors.

Alongside lavish balls and banquets, the composition of the images of Guatemalan women in the PPIE Collection suggests that isthmian femininity, too, upheld the Guatemalan Exposition committee's vision of modernity. According to historian Abigail M. Markwyn, the Exposition relied on women's bodies to solidify the imperialism upon which the fair was predicated (72). As Aguirre reminds us, the Panama Canal was a symbol of the United States' future as a global power (*Mobility and Modernity* 148), and at the PPIE, Markwyn argues that "economic interests and changing gender ideals intertwined to expand white women's public presence while simultaneously celebrating American expansionism" (72). The Exposition's board of directors drew on the popular iconography of the New Woman -- the model of

[72] In "Our English Section," *Hispano América* (then *La Crónica*) explained its English-language issue: "We never publish news in English. It's useless! But on this particular occasion, we thought it advisable to change our policy for once. We desire to bring before the American public a few facts about one of the richest countries in the Western hemisphere, one that is almost unknown, one that deserves to bring the attention of the world to its opportunities and underdeveloped resources: GUATEMALA."

[73] The "Charles C. Moore Albums of Panama Pacific International Exposition views, v. 3" collection at Berkeley's Bancroft Library includes two photograph of the reception and ball held on Guatemala Day (https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb096nb0z7/?order=154&brand=oac4 & https://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/z7/hb096nb0z7/files/hb096nb0z7-FID724.jpg).

femininity that depicted women as independent, educated, and athletic -- to emphasize “female fertility, beauty, and physical health to create an image of a typical western woman and to domesticate the state’s masculine reputation and labor conflicts” (Markwyn 72). The ideal of the New Woman the Exposition promoted was an articulation of white womanhood, notes Markwyn; the displays of the New Woman that the Exposition promulgated, in other words, also reaffirmed racial hierarchies that designated white women as the most modern, most ideal embodiments of femininity (51).

The cohort of young Guatemalan women in the PPIE Collection, however, trouble the racial logic of the New Woman’s image at the Exposition because they, too, conjure this feminine ideal. In “Miss Rinares,”[74] Luisa Linares is pictured wearing an outfit that reflects the popular fashions of the 1910s-- a long-sleeved, sailor-collared blouse, a high-waisted skirt, and Edwardian lace-up boots. In a second paragraph, Linares poses with Mercedes Padilla, and here, both women wear matching shawls and corsages.[75] Elsewhere, Valentina Flamenco[76] wears the same shawl, and a jewel-encrusted headband we see on Marta Castillo[77] and Julita Godoy.[78] Notably, the composition of these images resemble portraits that, alongside the jeweled headpieces, accessories, and contemporary clothes and shoes forge the likeness of fashionable, modern women -- an image that was attuned to Guatemalan booster campaign underway at the Exposition.

[74] “Miss Rinares”:https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8n29z8p/.

[75] “Miss Lianares and Pidillo from Guatemala”:https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8j967q5/

[76] “Miss Filammico”: https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c8h996hw/

[77] “Miss Marta Casdillo from Guatemala”:https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c85140hn/

[78] “Miss Godoy from Guatemala. Second Image.”: https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/c87s7q2v/

It is impossible to know, but these young women likely had their photographs taken for a Guatemalan event at the Exposition. The Cardinell-Vincent Co. operated daily photo booths at the fair, and they also had a team of photographers available for special events, banquets, and conventions (*Official Guide* 105). Over the course of the Exposition's duration, the Guatemalan committee organized an open house, luncheons, and performances in addition to Guatemala Coffee Day and Independence Day celebrations. Photographs and reports from the Anglo and Latina/o press indicate that these events were lavish affairs: They included performances by the Hurtado Brothers Royal Marimba Band, luncheons, reception dinners and balls held in the Exposition's California building, and fireworks ("Solemne Inauguración"). Estrada Cabrera's envoys, in other words, forged an image of Guatemala as a "flourishing Central American country" at the Exposition through displays of excess ("Guatemala Celebrates"). About Guatemala Coffee Day, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that as a gesture of appreciation, every visitor left with "souvenir boxes and packages" of coffee generously gifted by the Guatemalan government ("Guatemala Celebrates"). Flamenco and Stahl, along with the rest of the Guatemalan Commission committee, were earnest to impress upon San Francisco an image of Guatemala and its people as "distinguished by European culture and refinement, as well as by its Latin ideals" ("Guatemala Celebrates").

In this vein, we can imagine that the stylish dresses and accessories worn by Linares, Padilla, and others evokes that "they are pictured" as allegories of centroamericanismo that validate Estrada Cabrera's efforts (López, "Picturing" 266). Read in this way, photographs of Guatemalan women at the Exposition, with the press coverage of Guatemalan events, are useful for thinking about the genres of centroamericanismo that emerge at the fair against the backdrop of U.S. imperialism, but such a reading renders women passive actors in a larger narrative about

nationalisms. Texts published in *Hispano América* show that these women were active participants in San Francisco's Latina/o social world.

According to archival records, Julia Asturias de Godoy migrated to San Francisco from Central America with her eight children in 1915, shortly after her husband's death. Godoy was known as a devoted mother: *Hispano América* reports that she journeyed to California for the educational opportunities the state had to offer her children. Her sons, Ricard and Joaquin Jr., graduated from Mount Tamalpais Military Academy[79] in San Rafael, and her daughter, Julita, graduated from Munson's[80] in 1921 ("Una Aclaración"). In September 1922, Godoy returned to Guatemala with her two eldest sons, but she died soon after in December of that year. A January 1923 piece titled "Detalles De Una Tragedia" informed readers that a distraught Godoy jumped off a bridge that overlooked Río de las Vacas in Guatemala City after she received news that the steamer "Newport" was in a collision she believed was fatal. Margarita, Enrique, and Marta, Godoy's youngest children, were aboard the steamer, on their way to Guatemala from San Francisco to reunite with their mother. Overcome with grief, Godoy headed to las Vacas just days before her children arrived safely in Guatemala ("Detalles").

As for Julita, the archives forge an image of a vibrant, social young woman who was popular among San Francisco's cohort of wealthy Central American and Latina/o youth. At the time her photo was taken at the Exposition, she would have been 13 years-old: "Miss Godoy from Guatemala" shows a young girl of diminutive stature with wide-set eyes and a short, modern haircut. In the years between 1920 and 1922, Julita belonged to several academic and

---

[79] Mount Tamalpais Academy was founded in 1890 by Arthur Crosby. The board was composed of San Rafael's most prominent figures, including William Babcoc, Arthur W. Foster, and Robert. Trumbull ("The Barracks of the Mt. Tamalpais Military Academy in San Rafael, California, circa 1902").

[80] Lucile Smith founded Munson's School for Private Secretaries in San Francisco in 1907, later developing the institution into a leading business in the city ("Munson School").

social organizations such as Club Social Latinoamericano and Club Alegria, which held weekly dances and dinners at members' homes or venues like the Fairmont Hotel ("El Club 'Alegria' Celebra Su Segunda Reunión"). In February 1921, Gerardo Jaspee dedicated to her "Crónica de Año Nuevo a Julita Godoy" in *Hispano América* to celebrate the new year, and in 1922, Enrique Zelaya Solorsano writes "Hoja de Album," a brief dedication essay, for her birthday. In December 1921, Julita finished her secretarial studies at Munson's, about which *Hispano América* reported ("Distinguida Señorita Centro-Americana Obtiene Un Triunfo"). After her mother's death, Julita remained in San Francisco. She married in Burton Garner Young in 1928, and records show that she continued to travel between San Francisco and Guatemala City through her life before she passed away in San Joaquin, California in 1991.

Archival holdings do not suggest that Julia and Julita Godoy authored any texts, but they were nevertheless cultural producers that allow us to glimpse early-twentieth-century U.S. Central American life in San Francisco, and to speculate how they saw their places in it. As Guatemala's campaign at the PPIE shows, San Francisco was crucial to Central American coffee commerce's success. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Bay Area emerged as the leading port in the world for Central American coffee (Summers Sandoval 88). In turn, San Francisco-Isthmian economic partnerships generated transnational social connections that brought oligarchs like Godoy and her children to California. The migrations of Central American elite were soon followed by waves of isthmian laborers in the early twentieth century, who began to arrive in San Francisco on United Fruit Company boats every week (Summers Sandoval 90). These women's presence in the archive proffer a lens through which to read a U.S. Central American past predominantly invisiblized by hyper-visible political and economic histories.

For instance, tracing Julia Godoy's trajectory in the archives draws attention to the affective ties Central Americans in San Francisco held to the isthmus, and the material consequences of those connections. Historians have written extensively about Estrada Cabrera's presidential resignation in 1920, and the Unionism that underpinned his surrender. The series of earthquakes that nearly destroyed Guatemala City from late December 1917 to January 1918 catalyzed Estrada Cabrera's demise: His apathetic response, observes Wade Kit, frustrated the public, leaving Guatemalans "ready to bring about reform with or without the consent of the President" (112). We know little about the way Central Americans abroad reacted to the 1917 earthquakes, but traces left behind in archives indicate that the disaster galvanized reform movements and created a bigger social role for women. Relief efforts, in turn, presented centroamericanas in San Francisco more visibility in the press and the archives.

In the days following the earthquake, the *Chronicle* reported confirmation of the severe damage caused to Guatemala City by the tremors. The earthquake displaced thousands of Guatemalans from their homes, and on January 2, 1918, the *Chronicle* announced that Felix Calderón Ávila, the Guatemalan consulate in San Francisco, planned to petition for economic support from local merchants ("Guatemala President Confirms Disaster"). Elsewhere, the *Chronicle* also reported that Central American musicians and social clubs immediately began to plan an assortment of fundraising events to raise money for the Guatemalan peoples. As for Godoy, she joined Auxilios Para Guatemala, which on January 1, 1918 called on all Central Americans in San Francisco to come together to raise money for relief efforts ("Quake Victims to be Given Aid").

Alongside Frances McIntire and Francisco de Leon Perez, Godoy partnered with the Red Cross Society to raise funds for Guatemalan earthquake relief. In March, Auxilios Para

Guatemala hosted a benefit concert whose program included performances by an eight-piece orchestra and popular opera singers from “the Latin Quarter company,” and short speeches by McIntire, Godoy, and other prominent Central American women like Ávila’s wife. In March, Auxilios organized a second benefit concert that was equally successful (“S.F. Artists to Give Help to Guatemala”). According to the *Chronicle*, Auxilios Para Guatemala raised over $500 dollars from these gatherings, which they “turned over to the San Francisco Chapter of the American Red Cross [...] for the relief of the sufferers of the last Guatemalan earthquake” (“Red Cross Given Coin To Aid Guatemalans”). Read together, the *Chronicle*’s various bulletins gesture to gendered contours of transnational Central American networks and emerging U.S. Central American feminine subjectivities. Textual analysis, in turn, reassembles them into a translational context that elucidates the context to which diasporic communities have always been critical to the formation of a Central American imaginary. Reading these fragments as literary texts also draws attention to what, according to women like Godoy, U.S. Central American femininity looked like in the early twentieth century.

A few years after the Guatemala earthquake, *Hispano América* published a profile of Godoy that praised her charity work. Titled “Damas Hispano-Americanas Distinguidas,” the piece extols Godoy “por su actividad siempre despierta para hacer el bien, por el celo infatigable que manifiesta en todo lo que puede ser prestigio y honra para los hispanoamericanos y por sus altas cualidades sociales” (for her contributions, for always willing to do good, for the relentless zeal with which she approaches everything that can bring prestige and honor to Hispanic-Americans, and for her high social qualities). As *Hispano América*’s tribute attests, Godoy was committed to uplifting her surrounding Latina/o community, which, in her vision, also entailed cultivating transnational ties to Central America alongside other isthmian women in the city.

Besides her earthquake relief efforts, *Hispano América* illustrates that Godoy attended Central American Independence festivities throughout her stay in San Francisco. In 1921, she took it upon herself to organize a Central American independence centennial celebration that included a Catholic thanksgiving prayer service, and a dance at Fairmont Hotel ("Centenario De La Independencia de Centro-América). Recalling Calderón's claim that women in the isthmus redefined and modernized the ideal of Central American femininity at the end of the long nineteenth century, I add that so did their counterparts in the U.S.

The Central American women I write about in this chapter, then, raise an occasion to reimagine text and analysis. We must, I contend, be iconoclastic in method if we are to do anything other than reproduce the dominant narratives of U.S. Central Americans that do little more than shore up white supremacy and capitalistic exploitation. A real diversity of fugitive texts helps us see these women, but the texts also give us an opportunity to speculate about what and how they saw the world and their places in it. In the next chapter, I close read *Centro América*, an English-and Spanish-language newspaper published in San Francisco over the course of nine months in 1921. Directed by Guatemalan journalist and poet José Rodríguez Cerna, *Centro América* attempted to cohere San Francisco's economically and politically heterogeneous colonias centroamericanas to gather transnational support for the realization of a Central American nation. As I will discuss, Cerna and his editors, Gabry Rivas and Timoteo Miralda, struggled to forge communion between elite Central Americans and impoverished isthmian laborers who struggled to find employment in the Bay Area. The dissonance between upper-class Central Americans like Godoy and working-class laborers, I argue, draws attention to the limits of centroamericanismo rooted solely in common national origins, and highlights the

way Central America is redefined in multiple diasporic communities at the close of the long nineteenth century.

Centro América in San Francisco: The Makings of an Isthmian Diaspora at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century

In my dissertation's last chapter, I am interested in the U.S. Central American experience as reflected in *Centro América*, a Spanish-and -English-language newspaper established by the Comité Unionista[81] Centroamericano de San Francisco in support of the final, formal effort to consolidate la patria grande Centroamericana. Established by future Salvadoran president Arturo Araujo,[82] and directed by the Guatemalan diplomat and writer José Rodríguez Cerna, *Centro América* provides unique insight into an early isthmian "trade diaspora"[83] in San Francisco. The newspaper's essays, editorials, society columns, advertisements, and costumbrista sketches point to heterogeneous Central American peoples who remained committed to the isthmus's progress at the same time as they cultivated relationships within San Francisco's Latina/o communities. I ask, what does Central America represent to various diasporic communities in San Francisco at the end of the long nineteenth century? What role did print culture perform in the construction of transnational Central American networks?

[81] Margarita Silva explains that Unionismo emerged from Guatemala in 1899, when university student collectives began to move away from the ideals of centroamericanismo championed by liberal nationalists. Alongside his peers at Universidad de San Carlos, Nicaraguan-born Salvador Mendieta founded the Partido Unionista Centroamericano (PUCA) in 1904 to promote the establishment of a Central American nation rooted in the following ideals: the right to property, a free market, intellectual freedom, and freedom of the press. Unionistas believed education, law, and order were critical to the Central American peoples' prosperity, and they upheld frugality, strong work ethic, hygiene, and temperance as key virtues (Silva 125).

[82] Arturo Araujo (1878-1976) was El Salvador's president from March 1931 until December 1931, when a military coup forced him to flee to Guatemala. Araujo was a member of a land-owning oligarchy family, and his father, Dr. Eugenio Araujo, was Finance Minister in the Francisco Menéndez administration (1887-1890). Araujo became involved with Labour Party politics as a student in England. In 1919, he made an unsuccessful bid for the Salvadoran presidency, and in 1922, Araujo tried, but failed, to invade El Salvador from Honduras. Finally, in 1931, Araujo became President of El Salvador, but he was soon forced out by a military coup (Guidos Véjar).

[83] Historian Tomás F. Summers Sandoval Jr. borrows the term "trade diaspora" from Philip D. Curtin to describe the unique transnational condition of Latin American elites who arrived in San Francisco in the late nineteenth century, "Whether in business, politics, or social life, wealthier Latin Americans maintained deep ties to their countries of origin as they simultaneously created settled lives in San Francisco" (Summers Sandoval 55).

Centro América is a newspaper by and about U.S. Central Americans at the end of the long nineteenth century, reflecting the complexities and contradictions that shape the transnational lives of Central American communities in San Francisco on the eve of the isthmian centennial. *Centro América*, I contend, evokes what Yajaira M. Padilla terms a "Central American transnational imaginary," or an imagined site that encompasses Central Americans in and out of the isthmus "in which hegemonic structures are reaffirmed and reproduced, but also challenged, and identities and strategies of selfhood are claimed and redefined at both the individual and communal level" ("The Central American" 151). To say otherwise overlooks a rare literary text that gives us a cultural account of Central American peoples in a historical moment conventionally analyzed by critics through an economic or political lens. I am interested in the ambivalence that emerges in *Centro América* when elite isthmians in San Francisco are confronted with the precarity that burdens their countrymen, from whom they ask and largely receive support in the "civic crusade to awaken the conscience of the Central American people" to the goals and ideals of unity (Mendieta, qtd. in Evans 70). Together with poetry, literary reviews, exclusive interviews with prominent Central American businessmen and political figures, the newspaper publishes U.S. Central Americans' demands to the Partido Unionista. What happens to them, diasporic Central Americans ask, if and when the Central American federation is established? Where do Central Americans in the U.S. fit in the vision of democratic progress upon which Unionismo hinges?

Scholars have written extensively about the Unionismo that galvanized the final formal effort to unite the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua in 1921, but the large body of economic, intellectual, and political histories largely overlook the print campaigns launched by transnational branches of the Partido Unionista in the U.S. In places

like New York, the local Comité Unionista Centroamericano began to voice its support for isthmian unity in newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *La Prensa*, which was one of the most prominent and widely-read Spanish-language dailies from that period.[84] Attuned to the way the United States' influence loomed over the future of Central America, the Comité de Nueva York exploited its proximity to the U.S. government to depict an optimistic image of ongoing discussions over Central American unity. New York Unionistas also relied on U.S. newspapers to publicly entreat Costa Rica and Nicaragua, which were reluctant to join a proposed isthmian federation and which were involved in a disagreement over U.S. expansion in Central America.

In San Francisco, members of the local Comité Unionista Centroamericano similarly coaxed Costa Rica and Nicaragua to support isthmian consolidation, at the same time as they attempted to garner support from Anglo merchants, elite and working-class Latina/os, and all factions of Central Americans in the city. As I briefly discuss in Chapters 1 and 2, San Francisco's historical status as a major mercantile center animated waves of transnational Central American migrations since the California gold rush, when the isthmus was a site of overland connections between the East Coast and West Coast.[85] In the late nineteenth century, the

---

[84] Nikolás Kanellos writes that *La Prensa*'s founder, Ignacio E. Lozano, and editor Teodoro Torres, relied on a "vast distribution system that included newsstand sales, home delivery and mail" to reach thousands of readers in San Antonio, the Southwest, Midwest, and Northern Mexico. Unlike most Spanish-language newspaper publishers of the time, Lozano sought to serve Mexican American populations. Kanellos explains that Lozano and his team "sought to bring Mexican Americans within the 'México de afuera' ideology,'" or the belief that Mexican Americans in the US still very much felt and were a part of the Mexican nation (37).

On December 15, 1920, *La Prensa* published a telegram sent to them by the Comité Unionista Centroamericano de Nueva York, which described itself as "una organización compuesta de unos mil ciudadanos que viven en Nueva York y están trabajando en favor de la unión de los cinco pequeños Estados en una República" (an organization of about a thousand Central Americans living in New York who are working towards the union of five small states into a Republic). The Comité dispels rumors that the proposed Central American union would threaten US relations, but confirms intentions to request the exit of US Marines from Nicaragua (1). Elsewhere, Honduran Julio Cesar Valle was a frequent contributor to the "Letters to the Editor" section in *The New York Times*. On February 27, 1921, for instance, Valle writes to *The Times* on behalf of the Comité to reproach Anglo newspapers' scant coverage of Central American affairs (XX3).

[85] For instance, in an 1857 letter to the editor of the Los Angeles-based newspaper *El Clamor Público*, Salvadoran miner Ángel Mora writes that the gold rush initially motivated his journey to California a decade earlier. In "A Gold

population of Central Americans in San Francisco increased after the liberal reforms I discuss in Chapter 2 established coffee as Central America's most important export. Companies based in the Bay Area such as Folger's, Hill Brothers, and MJB established economic partnerships in El Salvador and Guatemala, making San Francisco the primary processing center for coffee export (Godfrey 46). These economic partnerships resulted in new Anglo-Central American relationships, which in turn generated a new wave of transnational migrations between the isthmus that was, at first, constituted mostly of coffee oligarchs and other elites (46).

San Francisco's Anglo press and Frank Norris's naturalist novel *McTeague* (1899), I maintain in Chapters 1 and 2, offer us glimpses of these late-nineteenth-century isthmian elites' transnational migrations. In Chapter 1, I write about Maria Macapa in *McTeague*, arguing that turn-of-the-century Anglo-American novels rely on the figure of the "Spanish American" woman to racialize and flatten Latina/o peoples in the white American imaginary. Despite efforts to portray Latina/os as homogeneous in *McTeague*, I propose that repeated references to Macapa's childhood of "barbaric luxury" in a Central American coffee plantation suggest that Norris was likely aware of the isthmian elite population in San Francisco.

If, however, Norris was somehow oblivious to Central Americans around him, in Chapter 2, I show that newspapers such as *The San Francisco Call* and *The San Francisco Examiner* certainly were not. These papers' society columns chronicled Nicaraguan diplomat, journalist, and poet Román Mayorga Rivas' visits to the city at the turn of the century, and direct us to other prominent Central Americans in San Francisco. Elsewhere, San Francisco's Anglo press reported

---

Rush Salvadoran in California's Latino World, 1857" (2009), David E. Hayes-Bautista et. al use Mora's letter as a case study to theorize the opportunities that drew Central Americans to the California gold rush.

on Central American political exiles[86] since at least the 1880s. Although Norris takes great efforts to portray Macapa as an outside in *McTeague*, *The Call*, *The Examiner*, and other Anglo newspapers belie Norris's strategy and illustrate instead that Central American elites were embedded in the fabric of San Francisco's social world.

Elite status allows us to more easily detect the presence of wealthy Central Americans in San Francisco's social world; less obvious in archives, however, are Central American laborers who journeyed to the city in the early twentieth century. The same liberal reforms that further enriched land-holding oligarchies in the late nineteenth century also intensified economic disparity in the isthmus, leading many Central Americans to pack up for the Panama Canal Zone in 1904 to join other working men from Barbados, Grenada, Martinique, and Jamaica in pursuit of employment.[87] After the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, Central American workers joined local shipping corporations, which in turn brought them to San Francisco (Godfrey 46). Once in the city, this new demographic of the Central American trade diaspora worked primarily as manual laborers near the San Francisco waterfront, where coffee businesses, canneries, agricultural refineries, and industrial plants were based (46).

---

[86] For example, Francisca Aparicio de Barrios, the widow of President Justo Rufino Barrios, spoke with the *Daily Alta California* on April 24, 1885 about her exit from Guatemala. Aparicio de Barrios dismissed claims that, fearing revolution, she escaped Central America shortly after her husband's death, and insisted that Barrios himself expressed a desire for her and their seven children to leave to the United States "in the event of an accident to himself" ("The Traitor Zaldivar"). Aparicio de Barrios eventually settled in New York City, where she was a fixture in both Anglo and Latina/o newspapers' society columns. Elsewhere, *The San Francisco Call* published "Latin President's Wife, With Relatives and Friends, Arrives for Exposition" about the arrival of Sara de Meléndez, El Salvador's First Lady, and her sister Leonor Meléndez Ramirez de Quiñonez, wife of El Salvador's Vice President, to San Francisco on June 30, 1915. Much has been written about the Meléndez-Quiñónez "dynasty," which controlled the Salvadoran Presidency from 1913 to 1927, but *The San Francisco Call* shows that a member of these families, Mercedes Meléndez Wright, lived in San Francisco in the late nineteenth century, and moved transnationally between the Bay Area and El Salvador until her death in 1906. Her son, George Melendez Wright, designed and led the first scientific survey of flora and fauna for the National Parks Service (NPS). Melendez Wright's surveys urged NPS to pay special attention to rare and endangered species, which in turn ushered in wildlife conservation and resource management in the Park Service for the first time. Biographical accounts mention his mother, Mercedes, and her powerful political family in passing.

[87] See Julie Greene's *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire* (2009) for a comprehensive history of the Panama Canal's construction.

In what follows, I begin this chapter with a brief overview of Central American political affairs to contextualize the Unionismo that underpinned reunion efforts in 1921. Though Salvador Mendieta founded the Partido Unionista Centroamericano (PUCA) in 1904, Unionismo remained a small, albeit popular movement until 1917. The Corte de Justicia Centroamericana's dissolution in 1917, along with the isthmus's upcoming centennial, helped PUCA gain traction. By the 1920s, the Partido Unionista's successful campaign to force dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera's resignation from the Guatemalan presidency elevated Unionismo's popularity to a new level, and for the next year and a half, Unionistas campaigned for the establishment of a new República Federal de Centroamérica.

Next, I engage critical conversations in U.S. Central American and Latina/o literary studies by scholars such as Padilla, Raúl Coronado, and Ana Patricia Rodríguez about Latina/o textuality, literariness, and San Francisco's place in transnational Central American history. San Francisco shares a rich history with Central America that dates as far back as the mid nineteenth century: Thinking with and against archives, as Coronado proposes, enables scholars of U.S. Central American studies to engage with multiple diasporic genealogies embedded in the city's historical memory that predate Central American communities of the 1960s and 80s. Using *Centro América* as a case study, I show that the Central American communities in early-twentieth-century San Francisco constitute emerging isthmian diasporas.

Lastly, I close read *Centro América*'s six-month run. I begin by close reading *Centro América*'s mission statement and *Hispano América*'s introduction of the paper to analyze how audience shapes its content. Despite its name and focus on Central American political affairs, *Centro América* states that it seeks to serve San Francisco's Latina/o, Anglo, and Central American population, an ambitious goal that suggests the newspaper struggled to identify a

target subscription audience. Then, I analyze "Nuestros Propósitos," in which Cerna, Miralda, and Rivas outline a plan to include English lessons in *Centro América* for its working-class readers for whom language hindered employment opportunities in San Francisco. Within the context of Unionista's emphasis on education, I interpret "Nuestros Propósitos" as an example of the way Cerna imagined *Centro America* as a pedagogical, regenerative text. This pedagogic stance illustrates the way Cerna and his editors planned to fashion *Centro América* as a public space where disparate Central American communities could come together.

However, *Centro América* reifies the social and racial hierarchies it seeks to destabilize by privileging elite isthmian voices on its pages. As I discuss next, the publication of a letter written by Salvadoran laborer Abel Romero is one of the rare instances in which *Centro América* amplifies a member of the working-class isthmian bracket it claims to include. Notably, Romero motivates the Comité Unionista to adopt a strategy that shifts attention away from individual struggling isthmian workers to the responsibilities of Central American states. This is a pivotal moment for the newspaper that highlights the limits of a nationalist movement which seeks to cohere diverse Central American peoples through identity; Central American consuls and Central American elite in the city are indifferent to the economic precarity men like Romero face. Finally, I close read "Un hombre y nada más," an allegory of Unionismo written by Timoteo Miralda. In this work, Miralda invokes an ideal united Central American past to guilt Central Americans into working towards national unity, but as I discuss, this patriotic strategy is rooted in a fictive past.

Mendieta's Unionismo in the Early Twentieth Century

In the years following the period of liberal reforms, university student collectives began to imagine new forms of representation that would lead to the eventual unity of Central American states. With his peers at Universidad de San Carlos in Guatemala, Nicaraguan writer

Salvadoran Mendieta founded the Partido Unionista Centroamericano (PUCA) in 1904 to support the establishment of a Central American nation. Moving away from the ideals of centroamericanismo championed by nineteenth-century liberals, Unionistas criticized the leadership of Justo Rufino Barrios, Manuel Estrada Cabrera, and even Francisco Morazán (Giráldez, "Imperialismo" 174) because these political figures' efforts to unify Central America relied on militarism.[88] The Partido Unionista promoted their vision of la patria grande as a symbol of Central America's most noble aspirations; they were firmly anti-oligarchy and anti-military, and sought to call an end to both dictatorships and U.S. economic and political intervention in the region (Giráldez, "Imperialismo" 174). Unionistas insisted that intellectual freedom and expression, along with the people's political participation, would produce a strong, democratic Central American union defined by peace, social justice, and the advancement of culture and modernization.

The future, according to Unionistas, rejected military tactics in favor of public spaces that fostered dialogue and inclusivity to generate a nation constituted by heterogeneous people who were united in their devotion to Central American union. Framing their movement as inclusive of all peoples and ideas, Unionistas understood that diversity -- whether racial, political, ideological or intellectual -- should not be an obstacle to their shared goal (Giráldez, "Imperialismo" 175). In this way, the Partido Unionista's vision of la patria grande Centroamericana appeared more inclusive than previous paradigms of the ideal Central American nation, but nevertheless their

[88] Justo Rufino Barrios was president of Guatemala from 1873 to 1885. Remembered as Central America's Liberal strongman from that period, Barrios was a staunch supporter of centroamericanismo, and he led campaigns to unite the Central American states through his presidential tenure's entirety. Barrios also carried out liberal reforms to Guatemala's infrastructure and education.
Manuel Estrada Cabrera was the dictatorial president of Guatemala from 1898 to 1920. Estrada infamously modernized Guatemala's infrastructure by granting concessions to United Fruit Company (UFC).
Francisco Morazán was the last president of the Central American Union, and he became a symbol of centroamericanismo after his death.

articulation of the Central American nation hinged on the formation of a singular supranational Central American cultural identity. In other words, Unionismo was, in theory, welcoming of all Central American people from different social classes, races, political beliefs, but the goal was to, eventually, form an isthmian nation that corresponded with a homogeneous Central American cultural identity.

The formation of a homogeneous Central American cultural identity along with isthmian unity, however, was not necessarily everyone's goal, and in Costa Rica, especially, political leaders were divided over the possibility of a Central American federation. For instance, former Costa Rican president Ricardo Jiménez Oreamuno[89] rejected any talk of regional unity, arguing that an isthmian federation would trouble Costa Rica's economic, political, and social progress (Fumero 3). Most other former Costa Rican presidents disagreed with Oreamuno and allied themselves with prominent figures in Costa Rica to voice their support of union in the newspaper *La Prensa*. Costa Rican politicians who supported the Partido Unionista believed the formation of a Central American federation was the only viable avenue through which to defend the region from foreign interests, intervention, and intraregional political conflicts (3). The division among Central American political leaders continued well into the 1920s, and eventually became a major obstacle to union discussions in 1921.

Still, after 1917, the collapse of the Corte de Justicia Centroamericana made the Partido Unionista's goal of Central American unity even more appealing to Costa Ricans and to other Central Americans. That year, Nicaragua's refusal to abide by the court's ruling on the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty[90] amplified the isthmus' lack of regional cohesion (Fumero 3). The

---

[89] Oreamuno was elected President of Costa Rica three times: 1910-1914, 1924-1928, 1932-1936.

[90] The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was an agreement between the US and Nicaragua, which granted the United States the right to construct a canal across Nicaragua, an option to build a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, and long-term

disappointment that swept over the Central American peoples in this moment, in concert with the region's approaching independence centennial, provided Unionistas the perfect opportunity to incite the reunification discussion. Central Americans were responsive, and in just a few years, Unionismo's resurgence was apparent in the region's political landscape: In 1920, Costa Rica elected its first Unionista president, Julio Acosta, and in April of that same year, Estrada Cabrera succumbed to Unionista pressure and resigned from the Guatemalan presidency. The peaceful campaign that led to the Partido Unionista's political success in 1920 further heightened unionist momentum, and won over ambivalent liberals across Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

Encouraged by Unionismo's recent success, and exasperated by the region's historical accretion of seemingly unsolvable problems, the governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua finally agreed to convene and begin formal discussions of Central American union. Between December 4, 1920 and January 19, 1921, a representative from each country debated the proposed terms of the Pacto de Union de Centro América at the Conferencia de San José in Costa Rica, but, as Patricia Fumero writes the conference was long and contentious. On the one hand, figures such as Honduran delegate Mariano Vázquez publicly pledged his commitment to the realization of a Central American union in the Costa Rican newspaper *La Prensa*; on the other hand, former Costa Rican president Francisco Aguilar Barquero (1919-1920) told *La Prensa* that the uneven economic, social, and political development in the other Central American nations informed his decision to reject the possibility of an isthmian union (Fumero 12). Aguilar Barquero pointed to the lack of infrastructure and

---

control on the Corn Islands in the Caribbean. Nicaragua's neighboring nations protested the treaty, claiming it endangered the region's security. The Central American Court of Justice upheld the validity of these nations' claim, but Nicaragua and the US refused to abide by the court's ruling. The refusal to honor the court's ruling destroyed its influence, and in March 191, the court formally dissolved.

proper education in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and accused these countries of fostering lawlessness (12).

The Chamorro-Treaty was another point of contention at the conference. Eager to protect its partnerships with U.S. capital, Nicaragua demanded that the pact include explicit validation of the treaty to guarantee adherence to its stipulations. After much acrimonious debate, Nicaragua's delegate left the conference, and only four of the five original nations at the conference signed the Pacto de Unión de Centro América on January 19, 1921. A month later, despite President Acosta's efforts, the proposed union also lost Costa Rica's support after the country's Congress refused to sign the pact, leading Costa Rica to resume its anti-unionism stance.

For the remainder of 1921, the Partido Unionista staged arguments in support of Central American unity in the press, calling upon the governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua to resume discussions with El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The Partido Unionista deployed newspapers as democratizing public spaces through which all Central American peoples could participate in isthmian political affairs, recalling Benedict Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined political community underpinned by horizontal comradeship (8). The same was true for Central American unionists in the United States. Searches in *The New York Times*, *La Prensa*, *Revista Mexicana*, *Cosmopolita*, and *Hispano América* gesture to a transnational network of U.S. Central Americans in New York, New Orleans, and Texas, for instance, who relied on Anglo and Latina/o newspapers to campaign for Central American unity, and to coax Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans to their commitment to la patria centroamericana. In San Francisco, the local Comité Unionista launched *Centro América* to enlist the support of isthmians in the city who could similarly pressure Costa Rica and Nicaragua. However, San Francisco's

emerging Central American diaspora was composed of disparate communities, and *Centro América* struggled to cohere the city's elite-and- working-class isthmian populations.

I contend that isthmian oligarch's vision of the Central American nation in San Francisco was rooted in nineteenth-century centroamericanismo, the ideological construct which elevated liberal elites and obscured racialized peoples. In Chapter 3, I write about Julia Asturias de Godoy, a wealthy Guatemalan woman who lived in San Francisco with her eight children from 1915 to 1922. Like Román Mayorga Rivas, her name appears frequently in the society columns of English-and Spanish-language newspapers such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Hispano América*. Archives show that Asturias de Godoy was a part of Guatemalan festivities at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, and that in 1918, she helped to raise money for Guatemala after an earthquake left thousands in Guatemala City homeless. Alongside other prominent Central American women, Asturias de Godoy frequently hosted parties that were attended by other Central American liberal elites, many of whom were a part of Estrada Cabrera's administration, and who moved freely between the isthmus and San Francisco.

In contrast, the labor migrations of Central Americans who arrived in San Francisco at the turn of the city were compelled by economic inequalities from which many oligarchs in the city benefitted. *Centro América* shows that several working-class Central Americans were members of the Comité Unionista de San Francisco, and that they largely supported isthmian union. Notably, the newspaper insinuates that isthmian laborers did not consider themselves to be in community with elite Central Americans. According to *Centro América*, Romero and his friends expressed ambivalence over the Comité's ability to successfully procure financial support for impoverished isthmians in the city from Central American consulates ("Comité Unionista Centroamericano"7). Citing previous fruitless attempts to contact representatives, isthmian

laborers expected their economic struggles to remain overlooked by the city's Central American elite.

Together and apart, elite-and- working-class Central Americans forged articulations of diasporic centroamericanidad in San Francisco at the end of the long nineteenth century that troubled Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined community that is limited by geographic boundaries and peoples. For both oligarchs and isthmian laborers, "Central America" was "no longer neat or easy to define, as they live[d] or interact[ed] with more than one spatial and cultural location" (Concannon et al. 5). As *Centro América* illustrates, these disparate groups proffered "conflictive if not contradictory accounts" of diasporic Central American cultural nationalism (Coronado, "Historicizing" 151). Elite-and- working-class Central Americans, in other words, negotiated which "essential marks" of the isthmus' spiritual, inner domain constituted diasporic Central American identity and belonging (Chatterjee 218). Literary analysis, as I will show, enables us to better understand the nuanced ways these heterogeneous isthmian groups' visions complemented and contradicted each other.

***Centro América*, San Francisco, and Diasporic Literariness**

Despite the long history between San Francisco and Central America, most scholarship on Central American migration largely overlooks the waves of isthmian migration that brought Central Americans to the Bay Area before the 1980s. For instance, Carlos B. Córdova acknowledges in passing that Salvadoran migration to San Francisco dates as far back as the late nineteenth century (7). Maritza E. Cárdenas, meanwhile, does not specify San Francisco, but does describe nineteenth-century Central American migrations to the U.S. as "contained," and as composed by migrants who were either members of the region's elite class or employed by fruit companies (83). Elsewhere, in her own work on San Francisco and Central American migration, Ana Patricia Rodríguez pushes back the timeline of isthmian migration to the city to the 1960s.

She encourages scholars in U.S. Central American studies to examine the narratives of Central American migrants who journeyed to San Francisco after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act,[91] writing that these isthmian peoples established an early Central American enclave in the Bay Area city (Rodríguez, *U.S. Central Americans* 45).

Admittedly, the number of Central American migrants living in San Francisco before the 1960s and 80s is small, and the information historical records offer us, as Córdovas's, Cárdenas's, and Rodríguez's work imply, is meager.[92] Population surveys like the Census do not clarify the exact number of isthmians who lived transnationally between San Francisco and Central America, or the exact number of elite Central American families who arrived in the city temporarily on their way to another US city. Historical documents are similarly unable to specify the exact number of isthmian workers who came in and out of San Francisco as they pursued employment at the waterfront with corporations like the United Fruit Company. Writing about nineteenth-century U.S. Central American laborers in San Francisco especially poses a challenge because, as Rodríguez contends, the "obfuscation and reification of [Central American] exploitable surplus labor" renders Central Americans invisible actors in the global economy (*U.S. Central Americans* 45). Put another way, the textuality of nineteenth-century U.S. Central American laborers is fugitive: Available texts we recognize as authoritative are constructed to deliberately erase and confuse, and as scholars, we are trained to read in ways that render whiteness hyper-visible and non-Anglos legible only as abject figures in relation to dominant white majority.

---

[91] The Immigration and Nationality Act, or the Hart-Celler Act eliminated the national origins quota system that was implemented through the National Origins Formula law in the 1920s.

[92] Historian Tomás Summers Sandoval Jr. writes that the 1920 census only lists 944 "Central Americans" living in San Francisco (93).

It is likely that more Central Americans lived in early-twentieth-century San Francisco than official records lead us to believe, and that this population was heterogeneous -- economically, socially, and racially. At least, before the publication of *Centro América*, prominent newspapers such as *La Crónica*, which later became *Hispano América*,[93] considered the number of isthmians living in the Bay Area significant enough to publish sections such as "Lo que pasa en Centro y Sud America," which offered Central and South Americans news updates on their home countries' state of affairs. How do we classify *Hispano América*'s Central American news section? Can we classify it as U.S. Central American literature?

Yes, absolutely, "Lo que pasa en Centro y Sud-America" constitutes a genre of U.S. Central American literature, as do the archival traces I write about in Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2, I argue that wealth and privilege allow us to more easily identify the names of Central American elites like Rivas within San Francisco's turn-of-the-century archives, and in turn, these figures gesture to other U.S. Central American peoples and experiences. Similarly, the nationalistic events upon which US empire and centroamericanismo hinge can point us to women like Godoy in archives, bringing to the fore dynamic stories about early U.S. Central American femininity. Stitched together, the Central American literary fragments embedded in archives of San Francisco's Anglo and Latina/o periodicals evoke a "narrative textuality" that allow us to glimpse at the concerns of Central American migrant communities in the city in a

---

[93] Julio G. Arce was a Mexican newspaper publisher. He founded numerous periodicals in Mexico, including *El Diario del Occidente*, which Arce established during the Mexican Revolution in Guadalajara to protect the free press from persecution. After he was imprisoned for two months in 1915, Arce and his family took exile in San Francisco. There, Arce (43) joined *La Crónica*, an immigrant newspaper published by Spaniard J.C. Castro, as a writer. Arce bought *La Crónica* in 1919 and renamed it *Hispano América*. Under Arce's ownership, *Hispano América* was the most important Latina/o periodical in the Bay Area, and like Ignacio E. Lozano, Arce aimed to serve immigrant communities. As Kanellos observes, *Hispano América*, Arce "sought to ease the separation from the old and the adjustment to the new" (44). José Rodríguez Cerna was associated with *Hispano América* when he lived in San Francisco, suggesting that Arce's paper served as a model for *Centro America*, which sought to deliver Central American news to San Francisco's Central American immigrant community.

way that historical records such as population surveys or steamship passenger lists alone cannot (Arias, *Taking Their Word* xiv). Along with New Orleans, New York, and Washington D.C., San Francisco is an important city to U.S. Central American history, and literary fragments offer scholars of U.S. Central American studies a means by which to excavate and chart other diasporas that are embedded in the city's historical memory before the 1960s and 80s.

To bring into view late-nineteenth-and- early-twentieth-century U.S. Central Americans in San Francisco, then, we must reassess what constitutes U.S. Central American literature. Literary historians of the Latina/o long nineteenth century must "think against the grain," "and think creatively through and with the archive," according to Raúl Coronado ("Historicizing" 51). Coronado urges us to refuse rigid periodization that associated the emergence of Latina/os strictly with the years 1848 or 1898, and to embrace "minoritized" documents that "yield different narratives of belonging" ("Historicizing" 51). Moreover, Coronado insists, literary historians of the Latina/o nineteenth century should not limit themselves to the production of literary histories that illustrate Latina/o resistance to Anglo subjugation; instead, he proposes, literary historians could write about "moments of failure, of dreams that failed to cohere, and offer contemplative histories of these moments" ("Historicizing" 52).

In several ways, *Centro América* is a literary text about failure. The hope for central American unity ended on January 29, 1922 with the dissolution of the Central American Federation three days before its scheduled official inauguration.[94] Yet *Centro América* was only able to chronicle half of this dream that "failed to cohere" because on August 12, 1921, the

[94] Unionistas were unable to convince Costa Rican and Nicaraguan governments to rejoin federation discussions, but Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras signed into effect a new Central American Federation on September 9, 1921 anyway. A military coup overthrew Unionista president Carlos Herrera from Guatemala and replaced him with José María Orellana, and soon after, on January 14, 1922, Orellana seceded Guatemala from the Federation. The Salvadoran and Nicaraguan administrations realized the impossibility of sustaining a union alone, signed to dissolve the Federation on January 29, 1922.

newspaper published its last issue after months of trying to collect economic support. We therefore cannot read what the reactions to the Federation's dissolution were in San Francisco, or whether the Comité Unionista was successful in its effort to obtain financial assistance for struggling laborers from Central American consulates.

Nevertheless, as Coronado asserts, an analysis of *Centro América*, of a "minoritized form," enables me to offer a contemplative literary history of this moment, and affirms Arturo Arias's argument that Central American literature is composed of many forms, or narrative textualities. The goal of Central American literary studies, argues Arias, should not be "so much the analysis of the formal aspects of given genre but the portrayal of every day cultural detail" (*Taking Their Word* xi). Like Rodríguez and Cárdenas, Arias gestures to the shadow the United States casts over the way we think and write about Central Americans. He proposes that literary analysis offers U.S. Central American studies dynamism that enables scholars to move away from Anglo-dominant narratives that tell us what and who Central Americans are supposed to be and to instead pay attention to "nontraditional cultural producers" (xi). The goal of literary analysis should not be to "systemize" Central Americans out of invisibility, writes Arias; rather, the analysis of poems, novels, testimonios, or archival fragments allow us to glimpse at Central Americans engaging "solidarity across linguistic, national, ethnic and cultural borders" (xi). Claudia Milian, Cárdenas, Rodríguez, and others build on Arias, refuse visibility as a goal, and encourage scholars in U.S. Central American studies to embrace nuance and contradictions.

I heed these scholars' call throughout my dissertation, but, in this chapter, I also insist on the usefulness of redefining the parameters of what constitutes Central American diasporas. Karina Alma, Alicia I. Estrada, and Ester E. Hernández associate the formation of Central American diasporas with U.S. interventionist histories in the isthmus. In the nineteenth century,

they remind us, U.S. capitalists came to Central America to build railroads and a canal, as well as to take over land, "which produced the twentieth-century golden crop--bananas and, later, coffee plantations" (Alma et al., "Introduction" 3). These nineteenth-century U.S. invasions laid the foundation for social upheaval in Central America in the 1980s that resulted in civil wars, and in civil war migrations from primarily Guatemala and El Salvador to the United States (5). U.S. Central American studies associates isthmian diasporas with these civil wars and the subsequent flows of Central American migrants that continue to arrive in the United States today.

A figure like Román Mayorga Rivas, whose nineteenth-century migrations were voluntary, does not fit Arias's definition of "Central American-American," nor would scholars consider him part of a Central American diaspora. I also would not argue that Rivas, or most of *Centro América*'s contributors, who, like Rivas, benefitted from US-Central American collusions, comprise an early Central American diaspora. Arturo Araujo, *Centro América*'s founding benefactor, belonged to a family of land-owning oligarchs in El Salvador, and his father was a part of Francisco Menéndez's administration (1887-1890). Araujo himself would go on to be, briefly, El Salvador's president in 1931. Similarly, Pío Romero Bosque Jr. is frequently mentioned in *Centro América*. He was the Salvadoran consulate in San Francisco, and his father was El Salvador's vice president from 1923 to 1927 and president from 1927 to 1931. Rivas, Araujo, and Bosque Jr. were Central American letrados: Even though their textuality is fugitive and hard to understand as literary in a U.S. context, they are actually legible in a broader, hemispheric and Latin American literary tradition.[95] Arguing that elite Central Americans in

[95] In fact, these men might even be hyper-visible in a Latin American literary tradition. In her own work on late-nineteenth-century Central American women's literary and cultural production, Patricia Arroyo Calderón contends that literary scholars pay disproportionate attention to the aesthetic qualities of modernismo, rendering male Central American writers such as Rubén Darío hyper-visible in discussions of nineteenth-century isthmian literature ("Pioneras" 50). Building on Arroyo Calderón's assertion, we can see how Central American letrados like Cerna, Araujo, and Bosque Jr. could, too, be read as hyper-visible.

early-twentieth-century San Francisco constitute an early “diaspora” would conjure a cursory articulation that relies on an understanding of the term as “dispersal and movement of a population [...] from one national or geographic location to other sites” (Gopinath 67), and which would ignore that elites’ transnational migrations were not forced upon them.

I do, however, argue that elite isthmians together with working-class Central Americans are indicative of an early-twentieth-century Central American diaspora in San Francisco. In *Centro América*, we see glimpses of elite isthmians living alongside working-class Central Americans in San Francisco, where they forged, together and separately, “complex transnational social relationships” that trouble the notion of “Central America” (Padilla, “The Central American” 154). Araujo, Bosque Jr., and Rivas moved in and out of San Francisco quite regularly, as did many unnamed Central American laborers who struggled to find employment in the city following a post-war recession. Their mobility does not tell much about U.S. Central American life in San Francisco in the early twentieth century.

Meanwhile, *Centro América* shows that the Comité Unionista Centroamericano de San Francisco was composed of men like Araujo as well as men like Romero,[96] a Salvadoran laborer who, as revealed in the archives of the *San Francisco Call*, was a husband and a father of two children. Romero, as I discuss later, demanded that *Centro América* make known the Salvadoran administration’s corruption, and discussed with the Comité job scarcity. Thinking creatively with and against archives, as Coronado suggests, and renegotiating definitions of Central American

[96] Romero’s name appears twice in *The San Francisco Call.* First, in “Births, Licenses, and Deaths” for the October 5, 1920 issue of *The Call* states, “ROMERO—In this city. October 1, 1920, to the wife of Abel Romero, a daughter” (17). Second, in “Fourth Victim of Fireworks Succumbs,” *The Call* chronicles the death of one of Romero’s children after a fireworks explosion during Fourth of July celebrations: “The present ordinance permits the sale of fireworks in San Francisco for use outside the city. The fourth death from fireworks was that of Frank Romero, aged 2, of Abel Romero of 1236 Mason street. The child died at the Children’s Hospital of poisoning due to eating an explosive known in the trade as ‘son of a gun’” (2).

diaspora and U.S. Central American literature can offer us rare moments like this one, where we can recognize "untraditional cultural producers" in a diasporic past typically obscured by economic and political histories. We can only see and understand figures like Romero using the tools of literary analysis and thinking creatively about text. We must read against the grain in order to really see U.S. Central Americans in the long nineteenth century, which entails, then, troubling rigid definitions of literariness, genre, and diaspora that are designed to invisibilize them.

Drawing on José Saldivar's theorization of a "transnational imaginary," Padilla argues that recent cultural production about and by U.S. Central Americans forge an emergent Central American transnational imaginary. Analyzing Silvio Sirias's novel *Bernardo and the Virgin* (2005), Evelyn Cortez-Davis's autobiographical account *December Sky* (2003), and Cary Joji Fukungaga's film *Sin Nombre* (2009), Padilla writes that these works "facilitate the transnational imaginings of Central Americans abroad and at home, and in doing so, also provide insight into the complexities of related processes shaped by this same transnational reality such as Central American immigrant formation and adaption to U.S. society" ("The Central American" 154). A Central American transnational imaginary, as Padilla describes it, is marked by "memories of war, settlement in the United States, and crossings through Mexico" (154). It is also an imaginary space wherein individual and communal Central American identities are continuously defining and renegotiating themselves. Although Padilla insists that her conceptualization of the Central American transnational imaginary pertains only to our current moment, I build from her work in what follows and contend that *Centro América* evokes an early iteration of Padilla's framework. By the early twentieth century, as I will show, transnationalism already shapes the lives of Central Americans in San Francisco. *Centro América* illustrates elite and working-class

isthmians defining and redefining, together and separately, what Central American identity in San Francisco means to them. An analysis of the newspaper shows early-twentieth-century Central American migrants forging complex transnational networks, through which they affirm a right to comment on the political, social, and cultural affairs of their home countries.

Unionismo and Ambivalence in *Centro América*

On February 20, 1921, *Centro América* introduced itself to Latina/o and Anglo readers in San Francisco. Sponsored by Araujo, the isthmian periodical listed Honduran lawyer and writer Timoteo Miralda and Nicaraguan journalist Gabry Rivas as editors and José Rodríguez Cerna as lead editor.[97] *Hispano América* describes *Centro América* as "una publicación semanaria, cuyo objeto principal es laborar por los intereses de las naciones que constituyen la América Central" (a weekly publication whose main goal is to work for the interests that constitute Central America) ("Nuevo Periodico"3).[98] However, in "Nuestros Propósitos," published in *Centro América*'s first issue, Cerna states that the newspaper seeks to serve the ideals and interests of Central America, Mexico, and the rest of Latin America, with special interest to these countries' relationships to the United States. Cerna also emphasizes that the paper is an independent

[97] Timoteo Miralda (1866-1955) was a Honduran lawyer, diplomat, and journalist. He served as a Honduran consulate in Mobile, Alabama, New Orleans, Louisiana, and San Francisco, California. In California, Miralda was a member of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and Honduras's Commissioner General to the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition.

Gabriel "Gabry" Rivas Novoa (1890-1969) was a Nicaraguan journalist, poet, diplomat, and actor. He founded several newspapers in Nicaragua, and published poems and essays in Chile. In 1927, he moved to Argentina as a Nicaraguan consul. Between 1929 to 1932, Rivas enjoyed a brief stint as an actor in Hollywood, California. He had minor roles in about ten movies.

José Rodríguez Cerna (1885-1952) was a Guatemalan novelist, poet, journalist, and diplomat. He is considered one of Guatemala's most prominent modernista writers, and his works include *El poema de la Antigua* (1915), *Tierra de sol y de montaña* (1930), and *Bajo las alas del águila* (1942). During his time as a Guatemalan ambassador in San Francisco, California, Cerna was also associated with *Hispano América.*

[98] Honduran writer Rafael Heliodoro Valle publicized *Centro América* in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* too little, too late in August 1921 – when *Centro América* published its last issue (Valle).

publication and not a vehicle for any political party, which contradicts *Hispano América* and the many essays *Centro América* publishes in support of the Partido Unionista's federation efforts. Meanwhile, directly beneath "Nuestros Propósitos," Cerna outlines *Centro América*'s mission to its Anglophone readers: to educate the Anglo public on Latin American history and culture in order to foster friendlier US-Latin America relations.

Centro América's content denotes Central Americans as their intended readership, but the contradictions that arise at the onset of the newspaper's run suggest that Cerna, Miralda, and Rivas had not yet identified a target subscriber audience. By 1921, Spanish-language newspapers in San Francisco had long been instrumental to forging communion among the city's Latina/o populations and to helping readers remain connected to their home countries. According to Summers Sandoval, the Spanish-language press in the late nineteenth century was particularly important for wealthier Latin Americans who began to settle in the city but remained connected to family, businesses, or politics in their countries of origin (54). Central American coffee elite and consulates who arrived in San Francisco in the 1880s and 90s, for instance, could read about daily life in San Francisco, and current events in Central America as well as Mexico and South America in newspapers such as *La República* (1881), *El Cronista* (1884), or *Hispano América* – for which Cerna wrote previously. Other newspapers published in San Francisco, such as *La Voz de Méjico* (1862), were aimed at a single nationality to forge a sense of transnationalism among the city's Mexican readers to garner support for commercial, culture, and political causes in Mexico (Summers Sandoval 54). *Centro América* more closely resembles *La Voz*'s format, but a small Central American population meant that Cerna, Miralda, and Rivas had to attempt to reach as expansive a subscriber audience as possible.

An expansive subscriber audience poised *Centro América* to take advantage of the transnational articulation of latinidad that underlined turn-of-the-century San Francisco's Spanish-language print culture. Since the 1980s' emergence of "Hispanic" as a census category, pan-latinidad denotes a broad label created for and imposed upon heterogeneous peoples of Latin American descent by the U.S. federal government (Mora 10). The manner in which the capaciousness of pan-latinidad often obscures Central Americans from our contemporary national imaginary is a key concern for scholars of diasporic centroamericanidad. In the late nineteenth century, however, Latinx pan-ethnicity enabled transnational solidarity, especially in heterogeneous, multiracial places like California.

As Marissa López explains, late-nineteenth-century Latina/o authors envisioned pan-latinidad as a hedge against U.S. colonialism: In *Recuerdos Históricos y Personales Tocante á la Alta California* (1875), for instance, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo affirms his commitment to his californio community at the same time as he "recognizes the need to develop a global perspective and establish empowering connections for californios" (*Chicano Nations* 61). Vallejo's transnational vision, López maintains, resembles that of Francisco Ramírez, who endorsed "an international definition of la raza latina" in his own Los Angeles-based newspaper *El Clamor Publico* (1855-59) (62). We must, then, think differently about pan-latinidad in the long nineteenth century as enabling the formation of U.S. Central American communities rather than erasing them: In newspapers, readers of different Latin American nationalities, including Central Americans, learned about current events in their home countries alongside news from other nations, forging a pan-ethnic Latina/o identity and solidarity.

Attuned to the important role of pan-latinidad in San Francisco's Spanish-language print culture, *Centro América* frames itself as an instructive text for Latina/os in the city struggling

with English. “Tareas Elementales Pero Necesarias” outlines a plan to launch an English-language program within the newspaper to help struggling laborers:

> Muchos de los latinoamericanos residentes en San Francisco no encuentran trabajo porque no poseen ni los más elementales conocimientos del inglés; y—aunque es verdad que existen centros escolares en donde exclusivamente se aprende este idioma, estamos en condiciones de asegurar que tales centros no son aprovechados por los latinoamericanos, a quienes les falta constancia para la concurrencia a las escuelas públicas.
>
> Nuestro semanario abrirá desde su próximo número una interesante clase de inglés, procurando condensar en pequeña lecciones las frases más corrientes y los términos más necesarios para hacerse entender.
>
> Con el objeto de llenar a conciencia esta sección que juzgamos de suma importancia, nos trazaremos un programa que gradualmente vaya llevando a nuestros lectores a la comprensión fácil del inglés, de cuyo aprendizaje depende muchas veces el logro de posición superior. (Tareas Elementales”)
>
> (Many of San Francisco’s Latin American residents cannot find employment they lack even the most basic understanding of the English language; and—though it’s true that language centers in which one can learn English exclusively, we are able to confirm that these centers are not used by Latin Americans, who lack proof of attendance in public schools.
>
> Our newspaper will introduce, beginning with its next issue, an interesting English class, doing our best to condense short lessons of common phrases and necessary words to know.
>
> With the goal to fully fill this section that we consider of the utmost importance, we will draw up a program for our readers that will gradually help our readers understand the English language, on whose learning better employment is often predicated.)

Throughout its run, *Centro América* regularly draws attention to the economic precarity Latina/o workers, especially Central Americans, encountered in San Francisco. We can interpret the newspaper’s offer to gradually guide Latina/o readers through the basics of the English language to help them secure better employment in several ways. First, *Centro América*’s proposal could simply reflect an attempt to benefit from the pan-ethnic solidarity emerging among Latina/os in this period, as English lessons would presumably encourage more people to subscribe to the paper.

Another way we can understand “Tareas Elementales pero Necesarias” is as a reflection of the Partido Unionista’s ideals and the limitations of those principles.[99] Mendieta and his followers posited that Central Americans’ basest character flaws--which they specified as laziness, lack of initiative, and moral cowardice--were mendable through education. They believed, too, that the cultural, intellectual, and economic condition of a nation shaped its citizens’ characters (Silva 16). Read in this context, “Tareas Elementales” suggests that Cerna, Rivas, and Miralda identified the English language as a barrier to economic prosperity for Central American and Latina/o workers in San Francisco, and subsequently imagined *Centro América* as a regenerative, educational site where readers could take the initiative to learn English and gain access to better employment.

However, *Centro América* never launched its proposed English-language program, and by April, Romero’s letter encouraged its editors to move away from policies that emphasize individual responsibility and towards collective action. In his letter, Romero introduces himself as “a lover of ideals in support for the reconstruction of the Central American nation,” and links his patriotism to his status as a Salvadoran citizen and laborer (“Comité Unionista Centroamericano” 7). Of the Comité, Romero asks that the society clarify its position on the recent authoritarianism and militarism sweeping El Salvador’s capital, and that it launch a protest in the isthmian press. Romero insists that Central American newspapers should, in the name of patriotism, condemn the Salvadoran government’s violence, and that *Centro América* should

[99] Written by Salvador Mendieta, *La enfermedad de Centro América* is the Partido Unionista’s ideological manifesto. Mendieta wrote it in three parts over the course of 22 years. The first part critiques Central American social and political systems, which Mendieta argues give rise to the Central American people’s corrupt, debased moral character. In the second part, Mendieta diagnoses Central America’s disease as a profound and chronic case of collective apathy. Lastly, in the final section, Mendieta builds on theosophy, and insists regeneration is central to the Partido Unionista’s political mission, listing education, hygiene, civic culture, and eugenics as pathways for Central American societal regeneration. See *Las redes intelectuales centroamericanas: un siglo de imaginarios nacionales (1820-1920)* by Marta Casaús and Teresa Giráldez.

publish all documents related to his demands—whether expansions, modifications, or debates (7). The Central American press, according to Romero, had failed to chronicle appropriately the corruption and violence enacted by the Meléndez-Quiñones "dynasty."

For Romero, his demands present the Comité and *Centro América* an opportunity to prove their Unionist commitment against violence, tyranny, and oligarchy. Upon receiving his letter, the Comité convened to discuss Romero's proposal, at which time he once again called on the Central American press to "scream its protest in the fiercest of tones to drown out the demeaning terms deployed by [El Salvador's] mercenary press" (7). According to Romero's the Comité's stance had to be firm to show to tyrants that Unionistas were joined by their goals to advance Central America's reputation and happiness, and to interrogate the root causes of oligarchy in the region (7). Romero's words suggest he believed the Comité had previously failed to uphold the Partido Unionista's ideals. By invoking Central American patriotism during the meeting and in his letter, Romero frames his motion as tantamount to the successful establishment of "la Patria Común," or a Central American nation rooted in justice. In the end, the Comité heeded Romero's request, expanding *Centro América*'s Salvadoran political coverage.

A remarkable text of early diasporic Central American literary activity,[100] Romero's letter draws attention to the way *Centro América* sustained social hierarchies despite editors' intent to

---

[100] In *Forgotten Readers* (2002), Elizabeth McHenry coins the term "literary activity" to theorize the reading practices of free African Americans in the antebellum north. McHenry argues that assumptions over African Americans and illiteracy, as well as the emphasis African American literary studies places on oral and vernacular culture, obscure the long, complex history of African American literary engagement (4). Examining nineteenth-century literary societies, McHenry emphasizes "literary activity" over genre to recover nineteenth-century Black American readers. Newspapers such as *Freedom's Journal* and *The Colored American* partnered with African American literary societies to sponsor events that exalted literacy as a tenet of citizenship. In turn, Black communities, according to McHenry, learned to value communal power over "the power of formal or individualized literacy" (5). Put another way, McHenry makes a case for the communal and civic relations literacy generated in Black communities, which includes members who could not read.

deploy the newspaper as an inclusive public space. For most of its run, *Centro América* published texts written by prominent isthmian figures on issues such as unionism, emerging labor movements, and transnational current events. The only working-class Central American voice highlighted in the newspaper is Romero's, and even so, we know little about him other than the glimpses archival fragments offer us.[101] Put another way, *Centro América* left little room for the kind of democratic engagement it sought to cultivate—despite editors' best intentions. Instead, the paper consistently privileged elite perspectives.

We can even hear echoes of elitism in editors' plan to publish English lessons within *Centro América* to improve laborers' employment: the scheme rests on the Unionist assumption that the job precarity with which working-class Central Americans and other Latina/os in San Francisco grappled stemmed from indolence and lack of motivation--character flaws the Partido Unionista believed were rectifiable through education. Yet Romero's participation in the Comité, in conjunction with his letter, dispel any supposition of idleness, alternatively illustrating that impoverished Salvadorans in San Francisco remained committed to Central America's reform -- even if, realistically, repatriation was not economically viable for them. It is not difficult to imagine that Romero's migration to San Francisco, and that of others like him, was spurred by

[101] In fact, Romero might have not even authored the letter published in *Centro América*. The 1920 Census indicates that he could read but not write, while the 1930 Census answers "yes" under "Able to read and write" (National Archives). According to a passenger and crew list for the San Jose steamer, Romero first arrived in San Francisco from the Panama Canal Zone on February 23, 1918. He was 32 years old, and he was listed as a fireman for the Pacific Mail Company. A couple of years earlier, Romero married Loja Ramirez in their hometown of Sonsonate, El Salvador. She arrived in San Francisco in May 1918, along with their newborn son, Edwin. A passenger list from April 18, 1918 indicates that Romero traveled back to El Salvador to accompany his sister, Eulogia, and his two-year-old son, Victor, on their journey to San Francisco (National Archives). Employed as a machinist by the Southern Pacific Transportation Company, Romero was a member of the International Association of Machinists, one of the oldest metal workers in the Bay Area ("Funeral Notices," *The San Francisco Examiner*). Remaining in San Francisco for the rest of his life, Romero lived with his wife and their nine children (National Archives). He passed away in 1959 at the age of 70.

the policies of the Meléndez-Quiñones administration,[102] considering his letter's denunciation of the Salvadoran government's corruption. Romero's letter notably generates discussions between San Francisco's disparate isthmian groups, presenting the Comité with an opportunity to meaningfully engage the city's working-class, Central American sector. Nevertheless, Cerna and his editors ultimately sideline Romero, and use his letter to expand *Centro América*'s political coverage.

We see as much in "Levantada Actitud del Comité Centroamericano de San Francisco," a letter published alongside Romero's in which the unionist committee resolved to propose a mutual aid clause to the Partido Unionista and to entreat isthmian consulates. According to *Centro América*, Romero and a man named Alvarado disclosed to the Comité that they had made several attempts to obtain economic aid from Central American consulates without any success. The Comité used *Centro América* to accuse consulates of failing to fulfill their obligation to their fellow countrymen who needed economic aid, or who wanted to return to their homes in the isthmus: The Comité's letter states that ambassadors "have national funds, but they care little about helping compatriots facing misfortune; and during this job crisis, many are in need and others want to return to their homes but are unable to get any support" ("Levantada Actitud del Comité Centroamericano de San Francisco" 7). The indifference shown by isthmian

[102] From 1913 to 1927, the two coffee-planting, land-owning families controlled the Salvadoran presidency, which resulted in a new era of increased authoritarianism and militarism that repressed both the urban middle class and the impoverished majority in El Salvador. During this era, the country became increasingly dependent on coffee production, and according to E. Bradford Burns, the coffee elite built new roads, railroads, and ports, and installed telegraphic and telephone communication networks (307). They also encouraged migration from Western Europe and the United States that represented both an influx of investment capital for the coffee industry and the blanqueamiento, or social whitening, of El Salvador's radial makeup. Coffee oligarchs believed that white migration, coupled with the construction of new infrastructure in this period, forged "an aura of progress around the plantation homes and the privileged areas of [El Salvador's] capital," but, as Burns observes, these changes worsened the quality of life for the nation's majority. Food shortages, high living costs, and low wages drove more Salvadorans to San Salvador and other cities in search of jobs "which either did not exist or for which they were unprepared" (Burns, 308).

representatives, as well as the overall neglect of Central Americans abroad on behalf of isthmian states, were antithetical to the Partido Unionista's vision of an ideal Central American union.

Notably, Romero and a man named Alvarado expressed wariness over the committee's plan to use *Centro América* to hold ambassadors accountable, but their objections were dismissed by Gabry Rivas. Citing *El Heraldo de Mexico*'s successful campaign to collect assistance for young Mexican men who struggled to find work in Los Angeles, Rivas dismisses Alvarado's description of the Comité's plan as "generosa; pero no práctica" (generous but impractical). With *Centro América*, Rivas insisted that Central Americans now had "un órgano de publicidad" (a vehicle for publicity) and "el apoyo de la prensa" (the support of the press) (7). The juxtaposition between Alvarado's hesitation and Rivas's confidence highlights the dissonance in the way the Central American working-class and Central American elite experienced life in San Francisco in 1921. Men like Rivas could afford the optimism behind his words because, as a former and future Nicaraguan consulate himself, he had the financial security Romero and Alvaro lacked. Meanwhile, men like Romero and Alvarado supported Unionismo efforts that promised to generate isthmian prosperity, while simultaneously not expecting to benefit from them.

Read together, the letters written by Romero and the Comité illustrate a rare instance in which *Centro América* functioned as a public space that fostered dialogue. However imperfectly, working-class-and- elite Central Americans affirmed their allegiance to the Central American nation at the same time as they "claimed and redefined" diasporic centroamericanidad "at both the individual and communal level" (Padilla, "The Central American" 151). These letters constitute a genre that brings into view *Centro América*'s potential to cultivate literary activity, which could have generated communal and civic relations between Central Americans in San

Francisco of differing socioeconomic, racial, and political backgrounds (McHenry 5). Ultimately, though, *Centro América*'s potentiality for literary activity between disparate Central American peoples was fleeting. The Comité's decision to lead a campaign designed to procure economic assistance for working-class Central Americans -- but for which Alvarado and Romero expressed misgivings -- upholds social hierarchies that obscure non-elite voices.

In the end, Romero and Alvarado were correct: only two Central American ambassadors acknowledged the Comité's letter. In his reply, Guatemalan consulate Gregorio Cardoza assured the Comité that while he deeply sympathized with his impoverished countrymen, he required government approval to distribute any funds ("Comité Unionista"1). Likewise, Bosque Jr. lamented that he could not do more for his fellow Salvadorans, but suggested that the Comité take advantage of the numerous "ciudadanos centroamericanos" in San Francisco to organize a fundraiser (1).[103] The Comité met a second time to discuss a follow-up letter in which they planned to urge ambassadors to assist in "the repatriation of some Central Americans in need and the creation of an employment agency" ("Se llevo"1). This time, Romero and Alvarado were absent from the conversation, and *Centro América* illustrates that the Comité believed isthmian representatives would eventually heed their call to prove "todo aquello que significa un verdadero centroamericanismo" (all that represents true centroamericanismo) (1). Consulates, however, ignore the Comité's second letter.

The consulates' silence, alongside Bosque's stark reminder of the many affluent Central Americans who lived in San Francisco, troubled the Partido Unionista's belief that identity could cohere people and ensure solidarity. Throughout its run, *Centro América* chronicled the trajectories of Central American oligarchs who moved in and out of the city in 1921, showing

[103] Bosque Jr. notably included $20 of his own money with his reply to the Comité as a symbol of good faith.

that the isthmian elite largely replicated the social hierarchies of their home countries. On March 19, for example, *Centro América* notes that the tumult caused by El Salvador's government drove members of political families to seek permanent exile in San Francisco ("El 'New Port' arribo ayer"1). On the same steamship as these political exiles, Sara, Mercedes, Isabel, and Leonor Meléndez--of the Meléndez-Quiñones dynasty--also reached the city (1). Elsewhere, *Centro América*'s "Notas Sociales" section chronicled the lavish parties hosted by and for elite members of la colonia centroamericana, which sometimes list Cerna, Miralda, and Rivas as guests ("Nota Social"). The sharp contrast between the ways coffee oligarchs, banana elite, and Central American ambassadors experienced life in the Bay Area in comparison to Central Americans who struggled to find employment at the city waterfront destabilized the notion of a united isthmian community.

In truth, *Centro América*'s editors were tasked with cohering disparate, heterogeneous Central Americans in San Francisco that had nothing in common other than their nationalities. The publication of Romero's letter and "Levantada Actitud" illustrate that Cerna and his editors occasionally attempted to deploy common nationality as a framework of cultural nationalism that they hoped would bind diverse isthmian communities in the city through *Centro América*. Most often, though, editors represented the newspaper as a site of imagined Unionist community to leverage transnational support in efforts to persuade Costa Rica and Nicaragua to sign the Pacto de Unión.

La Patria Centroamericana and the Long Nineteenth Century's End

In some ways, the struggle reflected in *Centro América* to cohere San Francisco's diverse Central American communities parallels the tenuous status of the newly-established Central American Federation. The congresses of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras ratified the

Pacto de Union to establish a new Central American state, hoping that Nicaragua and Costa Rica would eventually join the federation. Without Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Kitt explains that a "lasting and viable Federation […] appeared virtually impossible" (400).

We can hear the resonances of unionists' frustration throughout *Centro América*, especially in Miralda's allegorical essay, "Un hombre y nada más." In this text, Miralda's narrator contends with the upcoming centennial of independence and urges Central Americans across the hemisphere to support the Federation for the sake of the region's future. Published in *Centro América*'s literature section in March 1921, "Un hombre y nada más" condemns the model of masculinity rooted in militarism that the narrator argues is the root cause of Central America's problems.

Set on the eve of the isthmian centennial of independence, "Un hombre y nada más" is an allegory essay that recasts the ideal Central American patriarch as the tolerant, industrious, and secular embodiment of Unionist ideals. According to Giráldez, the Unionist platform was anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialism (135). The Partido Unionista criticized Francisco Morazán and Justo Rufino Barrios, who were symbols of nineteenth-century liberal centroamericanismo and who relied on militarism to carry out failed attempts to establish a Central American nation. In this passage, the narrator builds on the Unionist assertion that violent power structures are incompatible with a progressive isthmian future, and likens the liberalism of past leaders to "mediocre phraseology":

> Busco un hombre retumbante y grandioso como el Momotombo; flameante y altivo como el Yzalco, huracanado como las olas Atlánticas. Busco un hombre que represente en los pueblos istmeños la virilidad humana. Busco un hombre que haya pensado algo nuevo entre el monte fraseología mediocre por donde desahogan las almas viles sus

instintos y sus pasiones cobardes. Busco un hombre que haya dejado un rastro de luz en la conciencia el relámpago de un pensamiento, la antorcha de una idea. Busco un hombre que haya arado hondamente en las tierras vírgenes que alimentan pueblos jóvenes. Busco un hombre de bronce, con pecho de oro, con cerebro de acero, con una lengua tan Sonora y majestuoso como la voz del Sinaí, un hombre -- patricio. ("Un hombre y nada más")

(I search for a booming, grandiose man like Momotombo; flaring and proud like the Yzalco, as strong as the Atlantic's hurricane waves. I search for a man who can embody masculinity in the isthmus. I search for a man who has thought of something new amid the mediocre phraseology vile souls use to vent their cowardly passions. I search for a man who has left a ray of light in the consciousness, a lighting of a thought, a torch of an idea. I search for a man who has dived deep into virgin lands that feed young nations. I search for a bronze man, with a chest of gold, a brain of steel, with a tongue as sonorous and majestic as the voice of Sinai, a man -- a patriarch).

By invoking military masculinity, the narrator implies that nineteenth-century figures such as Morazán, Barrios, or Estrada Cabrera proffered liberal philosophy as self-serving "mediocre phraseology," or inadequate expressions, that relieved their "instintos y sus pasiones cobardes" (Miralda 2). Unionism was a social and political movement that hinged its vision of a Central American future on the belief in the individual's and society's potential for transformation, for which the Partido Unionista maintained tolerance, industriousness, and secularism were critical (Giráldez, 135). Only a man who upholds these liberal principles can bring Central America into the future because, the narrator suggests, he embodies modern isthmian masculinity.

"Un hombre y nada más" posits that the model of masculinity the ideal isthmian patriarch embodies is also rooted in a historical tradition that praises Central America's natural landscape as a source of wisdom, knowledge, and national fraternity. The patriarch for whom the narrator searches is as grandiose and proud as the Momotombo and Izalco volcanoes of Nicaragua and El Salvador (Miralda 2). In her analysis of Central American iconography, Cárdenas writes that nationalists exalted volcanoes as synonymous with the isthmian nation, and by invoking volcanic imagery here, we can read Miralda's narrator as encouraging Central American "inhabitants to imagine themselves seeing, feeling, and experiencing their environment as if they were one and the same" (61). The narrator stipulates, too, that the ideal isthmian patriarch must be as strong as the hurricane waves of the isthmus' Atlantic shores (Miralda 2). By invoking the Atlantic coast as a symbol of the Central American nation, Miralda departs from nineteenth-century narratives that privileged the region's Pacific coast to obscure Black and Indigenous communities that historically resided in the Atlantic side (Cárdenas 61). Instead, Miralda portrays the Atlantic coast as a source of national strength alongside volcanic imagery, bringing Black and Indigenous peoples into the essay's articulation of centroamericanidad.

The inclusion of Black and Indigenous peoples in the essay's articulation of centroamericanidad recalls the Unionist claim that a democratic Central American nation hinged on a homogeneous cultural identity. Nineteenth-century liberal nationalists argued that racial, ethnic, class, cultural, and gender diversity was disruptive to society, but Unionistas were eager to reinsert minoritized groups into the Central American imaginary and to unite them under a supranational centroamericanismo (Giráldez, 131). They insisted that the people's political participation was critical to dismantle the oligarchic structures on which Central America rested,

and as the Atlantic coastal imagery in “Un hombre y nada más” illustrates, Unionists resolved to portray minoritized groups as crucial actors who enriched the region’s heritage (131). Read in this way, the narrator’s description of the model patriarch evokes racial connotations that demand analysis because “un hombre de bronce” is not a “white” man, and I interpret this description in two ways: First, it is a rejection of white American masculinity as ideal, reaffirming Unionistas’ stance against Yankee imperialism. Second, like the Atlantic coast iconography, “bronze man” naturalizes heterogeneity and expands nineteenth-century Central American cultural identity rooted in Spanish and mestiza/o heritage to include racialized peoples.

Along with the militarism and oligarchy upheld by nineteenth-century liberals, Unionistas argued that the nationalistic narratives from the previous century produced a delimited view of Central American identity that was not conducive to the region’s progress. The Partido Unionista advocated for the expansion of schooling, arguing that education was the key to overcoming the region’s seemingly insurmountable problems (Solano Muñoz 45). In the essay, heterogeneity is an important component of the “bronze” patriarch’s character, but arguably more important are his “brain of steel” and “sonorous and majestic” tongue (Miralda 2). The model Central American leader possesses the ability to bring the isthmus out of darkness because he can imagine “something new,” “a lightning of thought,” or “a torch of an idea” (Miralda 2). In turn, the model leader for whom the narrator searches also has a voice as “sonorous” as Sinai, emphasizing the transformative potential of knowledge and education. The simile alludes to Mount Sinai, the symbolic site of divine revelation in the Old Testament, where Moses received the Ten Commandments from God. Whereas previous leaders relied on “mediocre phraseology” to enact their “cowardly passions,” the ideal patriarch receives knowledge and uses it to generate a progressive future for all Central Americans.

Alas, the narrator asserts that passivity and the absence of an obvious leader impedes progress in Central America, a region he asserts is more impoverished in 1921 than in 1821. Shifting away from calling for an ideal national father, Miralda then stages an imaginary exchange between Central America and its independence centennial:

> Patria de Centro América": se oyen los pasos del Siglo que os interroga. Viene sereno y frío a formular preguntas de Justicia, a formular cargos, a pesar unánimemente, a discernir coronas de laurel y medallas de honor que se otorgan por los altos hechos a los grandes hombres, a los héroes y beneméritos, hijos preclaros de una Patria ilustre. Toca las puertas con puño y hierro el Siglo Juez. Centro América no responde. Avergonzada y cobarde se arrodilla a pedir perdón por sus pecados y crímenes. Donde esta vuestra Bandera, aquella Bandera del Escudo insigne, efigie de real soberanía, de Libertad y Orden? Señor: nuestra Bandera no existe, aquí tenéis cinco girones ensangrentados por cinco tiranías de vileza y oprobio ¿Y vuestra Patria, donde esta? Señor la Patria no existe. Apenas podemos ofrecer a vuestro juicio implacable cinco vergonzantes republiquillas, vestidas de andrajos, manchadas de sangre, cubiertas de llagas y lamparones, comidas de gusanos, infamadas por los mercados del descrédito, pidiendo una limosna por el amor de Dios" (Miralda 2).
>
> (Central American nation: You can hear the Century's footsteps on his way to interrogate you. He arrives serene and cool, ready to ask questions about Justice, to make demands, to make judgements, to discern who will receive laurel wreaths and medals of honor to reward great deeds from honorable men, worthy heroes, illustrious children of a renowned Nation. Judge Centennial knocks on the door with an iron fist. Central America does not respond. Cowering, Central America kneels and asks forgiveness for its sins and crimes. Where is your Flag, effigy of royal sovereignty, of Liberty and Order? Sir: that our Flag does not exist, here you have instead five bloody tatters representing five vile and disgraceful tyrannies. And your Nation, where is it? Sir, the Nation does not exist. We can hardly offer you five shameful little republics dressed in rags, stained in blood, covered in sores and licks, worm foods, infamous for their dishonor, and begging for charity.)

The upcoming anniversary of independence should be a festive occasion, but, for Miralda, it represents instead a time of reckoning in Central America. He imagines the shame with which Central America confesses to the personification of the region's past century that the isthmian federation is long gone. A successful nation would be composed of heroes, but, in Central America, the Centennial finds the isthmus' flag torn into five pieces that represent tyrannies. The

independence centennial, according to Miralda, is a moment of shame for the isthmus and its peoples.

Evidently, in “Un hombre y nada más,” Miralda conjures Central America’s past to rouse guilt and motivate *Centro América*’s readers to support efforts that will restore the isthmian nation in the nearest future; however, this patriotic strategy is rooted in a fictive past. The unifying narrative of Central American common origins is a myth, and so is the tale that designates September 21, 1821 as the day the isthmus declared its independence from the Spanish empire. The Central American region, Cárdenas reminds us, was “socio-politically and culturally fragmented” since its genesis (35). As early as 1811, a decade before the region’s official independence date, the provinces of San Salvador and Nicaragua organized small rebellions against the Spanish empire, and Guatemala declared its own independence on September 15, not September 21, 1821 (35). Even after the Central American Federation was officially established in 1824, divisions between its five states continued and the nation dissolved in 1838. The Partido Unionista’s efforts to unite heterogeneous Central American peoples and states under a single nation that hinged on a return to an ideal past were always already dead on arrival in 1921 in Central America and in San Francisco.

Put another way, *Centro América*’s mission would never materialize. Throughout its run, Cerna, Miralda, Rivas, and other contributors wrote for disparate Central American communities that never cohered, and without a material anchor in the world, *Centro América* just disappeared. By May 1921, *Centro América* began to unravel. Failure to attract a subscriber audience resulted in Miralda’s and Rivas’s resignations as editors, and on August 12, 1921, the newspaper published its final issue. Archival records reveal that Eduardo Diaz, a Mexican consulate in San Francisco, commissioned accounts of the city’s Mexican independence centennial festivities

from Cerna for a collaboration with the Los Angeles-based *La Prensa*.[104] A few months later, in December, *Hispano América* announced Cerna's departure from San Francisco, stating that he had accepted an editorial position with *El Universal*, a Mexican newspaper ("Salio Para Mexico El Sr. Jose Rodriguez Cerna").

Meanwhile, January 29, 1922 marked the official dissolution of the isthmian Federation, bringing the long Central American nineteenth century to an end. A coup d'état led by José Maria Orellana, Estrada Cabrera's former chief of staff, removed Unionist Carlos Herrera from the Guatemalan presidency in December 1921. Soon after, Orellana moved to secede Guatemala from the newly-established Central American republic, leading El Salvador and Honduras to resume their former sovereign status just days before planned inauguration ceremonies.

The Comité Unionista Centroamericano de San Francisco founded *Centro América* to garner transnational support for isthmian federation efforts of 1921, joining other unionists in places like New York and New Orleans. For six months, editors encouraged the idea that the establishment of a Central American nation was tantamount to loyalty and patriotism. At the same time, *Centro América* also gestures to other concerns with which Central Americans in San Francisco grappled—like economic precarity. The newspaper was site to a Central American transnational imaginary in early-twentieth-century San Francisco, however imperfectly. Together and apart, working-class-and- elite Central Americans affirmed their allegiance to the Central American nation at the same time as they "claimed and redefined" diasporic centroamericanidad "at both the individual and communal level" (Padilla, 151).

[104] *La Prensa* announced "Crónicas del centenario" as a limited series featuring reports of Mexican independence festivities in San Francisco on October 23, 1921. It ran from October to November 192.

After August 1921, *Centro América* was gone from San Francisco, but Central Americans certainly were not. Society columns, birth and wedding announcements, obituaries, and guild memberships published in Hispanophone and Anglophone newspapers offer us glimpses into the heterogeneous and transnational networks U.S. Central Americans cultivated in the first half of the twentieth century. Throughout the 1920s and 30s, political exiles, coffee elite, and laborers continued to migrate to San Francisco from the isthmus, where diverse Central American communities had already established the city as a diasporic space in the nineteenth century. Admittedly, the civil unrest that continued to plague Central America in the twentieth century obscured the emerging diasporas that settled in San Francisco, but if we look closely enough, we can see Central Americans negotiating what the isthmus meant to them. That process, as my chapter illustrates, was complicated and rife with contradictions.

Bibliography

Aguirre, Robert D. *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

---. *Mobility and Modernity: Panama in the Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Imagination*. The Ohio State University Press, 2017.

Alemán, Jesse. "Preface." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. vii-x.

Alma, Karina, et al., editors. *U.S. Central Americans: Reconstructing Memories, Struggles, and Communities of Resistance*. University of Arizona Press, 2017.

Alma, Karina, et al. "Introduction: U.S. Central American (Un)Belongings." *U.S. Central Americans: Reconstructing Memories, Struggles, and Communities of Resistance,* edited by Karina Alma, Alicia Ivonne Estrada, and Ester E. Hernández, University of Arizona Press, 2017, pp. 3-36.

Alvarenga, Patricia. *Cultura y ética de la violencia: El Salvador, 1880-1932*. EDUCA, 1996.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Verso, 1991.

Aparicio, Frances R. Susana Chávez-Silverman. *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad*. University Press of New England, 1997.

Arias, Arturo. "Central American-Americans? Re-mapping Latino/Latin American Subjectivities on Both Sides of the Great Divide." *Explicación De Textos Literarios*, vol. 28, no. 1-2, 1999, pp. 47-63.

---. *Taking Their Word: Literature and the Signs of Central America*. University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Arzú, Marta Elena Casaús. "El Mito Impensable del Mestizaje en América Central: ¿Una Falacia o un Deseo Frustrado de Las Élites Intelectuales?" *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos*, vol. 40, 2014, pp. 77-113.

Arroyo Calderón, Patricia. *Cada uno en su sitio y cada cosa en su lugar: Imaginarios de Desigualdad en América Central (1870-1900)*. 2015. Ohio State University, PhD Dissertation. *Ohio LINK Electronic Theses and Dissertations Center.*

---. "José Milla y el 'complejo exhibicionario' centroamericano: cuadros de costumbres, visualización del orden y formas de exclusión social en Guatemala (1870-1890)." *Estudios Digital 10–Año 4*, no. 10, 2016, pp. 1-13.

---. "Pioneras de la literatura en Guatemala: mujeres intelectuales, mercados globales y consumo femenino." *Lectora*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2021, pp. 47-70. doi.org/10.1344/Lectora2021.27.2.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, et al. *History of Central America.* History Company, 1886.

"Births, Licenses, Deaths." *The San Francisco Call*, 5 Oct. 1920, pp. 17. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19201005.2.227&srpos=172&e=------192-en--20-SFC-161-byDA-txt-txIN-births%2c+licenses%2c+deaths----1920---1.

Brandt, Maria F. "'For His Own Satisfaction': Eliminating the New Woman Figure in *McTeague*." *American Transcendental Quarterly*, 2004, pp. 5-23.

Burns, E. Bradford. "The Intellectual Infrastructure of Modernization in El Salvador, 1870-1900." *The Americas*, vol. 41, no. 3, 1985, pp. 57-82. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/1007100. Accessed 9 April 2022.

---. "The Modernization of Underdevelopment: El Salvador, 1858-1931." *The Journal of Developing Areas,* vol. 18, no. 3, 1984, pp. 293-316.

Candelario, Ginetta E.B. "Transnationalism." *Keywords for Latina/o Studies,* edited by Deborah

R. Vargas, Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, and Nancy Raquel Mirabal, New York University Press, 2017, pp. 236-239.

Cárdenas, Maritza E. *Constituting Central American-Americans: Transnational Identities and the Politics of Dislocation*. Rutgers University Press, 2018.

Casaús Arzú, Marta Elena. "El mito impensable en América Central: ¿Una falacia o un deseo frustrado de las élites intelectuales?" *Anuario De Estudios Centroamericanos*, vol. 40, 2014, pp. 77-113.

Casaús Arzú, Marta and Teresa García Giráldez. "La patria grande centroamericana: La patria elaboración del Proyecto nacional por las redes unionistas." *Las redes intelectuales centroamericanas: un siglo de imaginarios nacionales (1820-1920)*, F&G Editores, 2005.

"Central America's Most Beautiful Women." *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, 5 Dec. 1909, pp. 1. *Library of Congress*, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85058140/1909-12-05/ed-1/seq-35/.

Chamberlin, Vernon A., and Ivan A. Schulman, editors. *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York: History, Anthology, and Index of Literary Selections*. University of Missouri Press, 1976.

Chatterjee, Partha. "Whose Imagined Community?" Millennium, vol. 20, no. 3, Mar. 1991, pp. 521–525, doi:10.1177/03058298910200030601.

Chinchilla, Maya. "Central American American." *The Cha Cha Files: A Chapina Poética*, Kórima Press, 2014, pp. 25-27.

"Clerk Loses Rich Wife; Sues for Alienation." *Daily News (Los Angeles)*, 31 Jan. 1936, pp. 4. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DNLA19360131.1.4&srpos=2&e=-------en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Clerk+Loses+Rich+Wife%3b+Sues+for+Alienation-------1.

Cohen, Michael C. *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Concannon, K., F.A. Lomelí and M. Priewe, eds. 2009. Introduction. In Imagined Transnationalism: US Latino/a Literature, Culture, and Identity, 1–12. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Córdova, Carlos B. *The Salvadoran Americans*. Greenwood Press, 2005.

Coronado, Raúl. *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture*. Harvard University Press, 2013.

---. "Historicizing Nineteenth-Century Latina/o Textuality." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. 49-70.

Cortés, Emiliano. *Biografía del capitán general Gerardo Barrios*. El Salvador, Editorial Lea, 1965.

Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At San Francisco. Date unknown. NAI 4482913. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group 85. National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Cutler, John Alba. "Latinx Modernism and the Spirit of Latinoamericanismo." *American Literary History*, Volume 33, Issue 3, Fall 2021, pp. 571-587, https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajab048.

---. "Reading Nineteenth-Century Latina/o Short Fiction." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. 124-145.

Darío, Rubén. "La Moda." *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Feb. 1890, pp. 20-22.

---. "Lieder." *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York,* Jan. 1890, pp. 8.

Davis, Richard Harding. *Soldiers of Fortune*. Scribner, 1916.

---. *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela.* Fredonia Books, 2002.

Davis, Richard Harding, and Charles Dana Gibson. *Soldiers of Fortune; with illustrations by C.D. Gibson*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897.

de Losada, Elias. "Bienvenida." *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, May 1890, pp. 14.

---. "Despedida Fraternal." *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Feb. 1890, pp. 4.

---. "Nuevo Año y Nuevas Esperanzas." *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Jan. 1890, pp. 4-5.

"De Todo un Poco." *Hispano América (San Francisco)*, 4 Dec. 1915, pp. 3. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=HASF19151204.2.15&srpos=50&e=------191-en--20-HASF-41-byDA-txt-txIN-De+Todo+un+Poco----1915---1.

"Distinguida Señorita Centro-Americana Obtiene Un Triunfo." *Hispano America*, 31 Dec. 1921, pp. 1. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7B1F037095B00%402423055-11D477433332E348%400-12748BEA26798ECD%40Distinguida%2BSenorita%2BCentro-Americana%2BObtiene%2Bun%2BTriunfo. Accessed 21 July 2022.

"Easy Life in Nicaragua. When the Family is Broke, the Wife Digs a Little Gold." *Colusa Daily Sun*, 19 Feb. 1900. California Digital Newspaper Collection, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DCS19000219.2.8&srpos=1&e=-------en--20-DCS-1--txt-txIN-easy+life+in+nicaragua-------1

"El baile de la Sra. de Barrios." *Novedades*, 12 Feb. 1891, pp. 7. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11E3EC3F8CAE751A%40EANASP-11EACFF231D01340%40241177611EAC4E7D

3F1D1D8%406-124C0E63B7A5D49B%40El%2Bbaile%2Bde%2Bla%2BSra.%2Bde%2BBarrios. Accessed 6 June 2022.

"El Centenario De La Independencia Centro-Americana." *Hispano America*, 10 Sept. 1921, pp. 1. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7B0F962D43E98%402422943-11D477430419A308%400-12748B71F010534D%40El%2BCentenario%2BDe%2BLa%2BIndependencia%2BCentro-Americana. Accessed 21 July 2022.

Estudillo, Jesús María, and Gerald McKevitt. "Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo, 1857-1864." *California History*, vol. 69, no. 4, 1990, pp. 320–31. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/25462439. Accessed 22 Jul. 2022.

Evans, Sterling. "At Union's Brink: Ideals and Problems in Restoring the United Provinces of Central America, 1920-1922." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1997, pp. 69-87.

Fielder, Brigitte. *Relative Races: Genealogies of Interracial Kinship in Nineteenth-Century America.* Duke University Press, 2020.

"fixture, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/70840. Accessed 22 July 2022.

"Fourth Victim of Fireworks Succumbs." *The San Francisco Call*, 7 July 1921, pp. 2. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19210707.2.20&srpos=1&e=-------en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Fourth+Victim+of+Fireworks+Succumbs-------1.

"Fragment." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 2022, oed.com/view/Entry/74114?rskey=ec2arS&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid. Accessed 6 May 2022.

Frye Jacobson, Matthew. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Harvard University Press, 1999.

Fumero, Patricia. “El sueño de las Provincias Unidas de Centroamérica en la víspera del centenario de la Independencia: La Conferencia de San José, Costa Rica, diciembre de 1920 – enero de 1921.” *Revista Estudios,* vol. 31, no. 2, 2015, pp. 1-18.

“Funeral Notices.” *The San Francisco Examiner*, 3 Aug. 1959, pp. 47. *Newspapers.com*, sfexaminer.newspapers.com/image/458566078

Giráldez, Teresa García. “El concepto de unionismo y los significados compartidos entre los intelectuales centroamericanos (1880-1930).” *El lenguaje de los ismos: Algunos conceptos de la modernidad en América Latina*, edited by Marta Elena Casaús Arzú, F&G Editores, 2010, pp. 203-248.

---. “Imperialismo-antiimperialismo en el unionismo centroamericano, 1900-1930.” *Cuadernos Americanos*, no. 124, 2008, pp. 157-180.

Godfrey, Brian J. “Ethnic Identities and Ethnic Enclaves: The Morphogenesis of San Francisco’s Hispanic ‘Barrio.’’ *Yearbook (Conference of Latin American Geographers)*, vol. 11, 1985, pp. 45-53.

Gopinath, Gayatri. “Diaspora.” *Keywords for Gender and Sexuality Studies*, edited by Kyla Wazana Tompkins, Aren Aizura, Aimee Bahng, Karma R. Chávez, Mishuana Goeman, and Amber Jamilla Musser, New York University Press, 2021, pp. 67-73.

Gould, Jeffrey, and Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago. *To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920-1932*. Duke University Press, 2008.

Greene, Julie. *The Canal Builders: Making America’s Empire at the Panama Canal*. Penguin Press, 2009.

Gruesz, Kirsten Silva. "The Errant Latino: Irisarri, Central Americanness, and Migration's Intention." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. 20-48.

"Grupo de Profesoras del Colegio de Señoritas. -- San Salvador." *El porvenir de Centro América*. 23 Dec. 1895. Luis Lujan Munoz Collection, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. *Internet Archive*, archive.org/details/elporvenirdecent01guat/page/18/mode/2up.

"Guatemala Celebrates Today at Exposition." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 Nov. 1915, pp. 9. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14EB14D4244B6EBF%402420822-14EB125CE37D7440%408.

"Guatemala Coffee Day," Edward A. Rogers collection of Cardinell-Vincent Company and Panama-Pacific International Exposition Photographs. BANC PIC 2015.013. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

"Guatemala Coffee Day [or California Day]," Edward A. Rogers collection of Cardinell-Vincent Company and Panama-Pacific International Exposition Photographs. BANC PIC 2015.013. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

"Guatemala Day," Edward A. Rogers collection of Cardinell-Vincent Company and Panama-Pacific International Exposition Photographs. BANC PIC 2015.013. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

"Guatemala President Confirms Disaster" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 Jan. 1918, pp. 8. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX &docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14EC760A4DF07A9A%40

2421596-14EA6405AE6B823A%407-14EA6405AE6B823A%40. Accessed 21 July 2022.

Gudmundson, Lowell, and Justin Wolfe, editors. *Blacks and Blackness in Central America: Between Race and Place*. Duke University Press, 2010.

Guidos Véjar, Rafael. *El ascenso del militarismo en El Salvador*. Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1982.

Gustafson, Sandra M. "Literature." *Keywords for American Cultural Studies.* 2nd ed., edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler, New York University Press, 2014, pp. 158–181.

Hayes-Bautista, David E., et al. "A Gold Rush Salvadoran in California's Latino World, 1857." *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 91, no. 3, 2009, pp. 257-294. doi.org/10.2307/41172480.

"Honduras Celebra la Independencia." *Hispano América*, 11 Sept. 1915, pp. 1. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=HASF19150911.2.7&srpos=1&e=-------en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Honduras+Celebra+la+Independencia-------1.

"Honduras en la Exposición." *Hispano América*, 20 Mar. 1915, pp. 4. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=HASF19150320.2.33&srpos=3&e=-------en--20-HASF-1-byDA-txt-txIN-Honduras+en+la+Exposici%c3%b3n-------1.

"Honduras: Explorations and Adventures in Honduras, Comprising Sketches of Travel in the Gold Regions of Olancho, and Review of the History and General Resources of Central America, With Original Maps and Numerous Illustrations. By William V. Wells. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857" *New York Daily Times (1851-1857)*, 1 Aug. 1857, pp. 2. *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, proquest.com/historical-newspapers/honduras/docview/95914285/se-2.

Hooker, Juliet. "Race and Space of Citizenship: The Mosquito Coast and the Place of Blackness and Indigeneity in Nicaragua." *Blacks and Blackness in Central America: Between Race and Place*, edited by Lowell Gudmundson and Justin Wolfe, Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 246-277.

Hurtado, Ángela. "Figurines de moda y formación del gusto en las élites costarricenses a fines del siglo XIX (1889-1896)." *ESCENA Revista de las artes*, vol. 77, no. 1, 2017, pp. 5-30.

Kanellos, Nicolás, and Helvetia Martell. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*. Arte Público, 2000.

Kaplan, Amy. *Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture.* Harvard University Press, 2002.

Kit, Wade. "The Fall of Guatemalan Dictator, Manuel Estrada Cabrera: U.S. Pressure or National Opposition?" *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, vol. 15, no. 29, 1990, pp. 105-27. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/41799715.

Kreitz, Kelley. "American Alternatives: Participatory Futures of Print from New York City's Nineteenth-Century Spanish-Language Press." *American Literary History*, vol. 30, no. 4, 2018, pp. 677–702, doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajy032.

LaGreca, Nancy. *Rewriting Womanhood: Feminism, Subjectivity, and the Angel of the House in the Latin American Novel, 1887–1903*. Penn State University Press, 2015.

Lamas, Carmen E. "Raimundo Cabrera, the Latin American Archive, and the Latino/a Continuum." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. 210-229.

"Latin President's Wife, With Relatives and Friends, Arrives for Exposition." *The San Francisco Call*, 30 June 1915, pp. 1. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,*

cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150630.2.2&srpos=3&e=-------en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Latin+President%e2%80%99s+Wife%2c+With+Relatives+and+Friends%2c+Arrives+for+Exposition.-------1.

Lazo, Rodrigo. "Introduction: Historical Latinidades and Archival Encounters." *The Latino Nineteenth Century: Archival Encounters in American Literary History*, edited by Rodrigo Lazo and Jesse Alemán, New York University Press, 2016, pp. 1-19.

---. "Migrant Archives: New Routes in and out of American Studies." *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies*, edited by Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, University of North Carolina Press, 2009, pp. 36-54. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9780807895511_castronovo.6. Accessed 4 May 2020.

"Life in Honduras. Primitive People Who Believe in Throwing Off Work and Worry." *Inyo Independent*, 8 Sept. 1888. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=II18880908.2.5&srpos=3&e=------188-en--20-II-1--txt-txIN-life+in+honduras-------1.

Lindo-Fuentes, Héctor. *El Alborotador De Centroamérica: El Salvador Frente Al Imperio*. Universidad Centroamericana, 2019.

---. "Las salvadoreñas, las primeras latinoamericanas que votaron. 1921." *Realidad, Revista De Ciencias Sociales Y Humanidades*, no. 156, 2020, pp. 35-82, revistas.uca.edu.sv/index.php/realidad/article/view/5839.

"Lobby of the Munson School." *San Francisco Call,* 20 Aug. 1918. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19180820.2.98&srpos=4&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN-munson+school-------1

Lomas, Laura. *Translating Empire: José Martí, Migrant Latino Subjects, and American Modernities*. Duke University Press, 2009.

López Bernal, Carlos Gregorio. *Tradiciones inventadas y discursos nacionalistas: El imaginario nacional de la época liberal en el Salvador, 1776-1932*. Universidad de El Salvador, 2007.

López, Marissa K. *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican American Literature*. New York University Press, 2011.

---. "Introduction: Santa Anna's Wooden Leg and Other Things about the Chicanx Body; or, What Are We Really Talking about When We Talk about chicanx Literature?" *Racial Immanence: Chicanx Bodies Beyond Representation*. New York University Press, 2019, pp. 1-24.

---. "Picturing Mexican America in the Age of Realism." *American Literary Realism*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2017, pp. 263-282. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/10.5406/amerlitereal.49.3.0263.

Lowe, Lisa. The Intimacies of Four Continents. United States, Duke University Press, 2015.

"Margherita de Moran and her mother Cordelia Guirola de Moran at the Desert Inn, Palm Springs, circa 1935." Nov. 1935. Los Angeles Times Photographic Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library Special Collections, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA. calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/zz002h9sq9/.

Markwyn, Abigail M. "Queen of the Joy Zone Meets Hercules: Gendering Imperial California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition." *Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2016, pp. 51-72. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/26782582.

Martz, John D. *Justo Rufino Barrios and Central American Union.* University of Florida Press, 1963.

"Mas sobre la Fiesta del Café que habrá hoy en la Exposicón." *Hispano América*, 20 Nov. 1915.

California Digital Newspaper Collection, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=HASF19151120.2.5&srpos=4&e=------191-en--20-HASF-1--txt-txIN-cabrera----1915---1.

"May 8, 1912 (Page 6 of 18)." *The San Francisco Examiner (1902-2007)*, 8 May 1912, pp. 6 *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, proquest.com/historical-newspapers/may-8-1912-page-16-28/docview/2132476522/se-2?accountid=14512.

"May 26, 1913 (Page 6 of 18)." *The San Francisco Examiner (1902-2007)*, 26 May, 1913, pp. 6. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/may-26-1913-page-6-18/docview/2132711679/se-2?accountid=14512.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.* Routledge, 1995.

McHenry, Elizabeth. *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Reading Societies*. Duke University Press, 2002.

Menjívar, Jennifer Carolina Gómez. "Passing into Fictions: Blackness, Writing, and Power in the Captaincy General of Guatemala." *Chasqui*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2016, pp. 103-115. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/24810880.

Menton, Seymour. *Historia Crítica De La Novela Guatemalteca*. 2nd ed., Editorial Universitaria De Guatemala, 1985.

Milian, Claudia. *Latining America: Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latino/a Studies*. University of Georgia Press, 2013.

Molina Jiménez, Iván, and Steven Paul Palmer. *Héroes Al Gusto Y Libros De Moda: Sociedad Y Cambio Cultural En Costa Rica (1750-1900).* Editorial Porvenir, 1992.

Moody, Sarah T. "Radical Metrics and Feminist Modernism: Agustini Rewrites Darío's 'Prosas Profanas.'" *Chasqui*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2014, pp. 57-67. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/43589602.

Accessed 24 Apr. 2022.

Mora, Carolina. "Los Estados Unidos: Una imagen modelo para Costa Rica, 1880-1903." *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* vol. 18, no. 2, 1992, pp. 91-101.

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Vintage Books, 1993.

Moten, Fred. *Stolen Life*. Duke University Press, 2018.

Murphy, Gretchen. "Democracy, Development and the Monroe Doctrine in Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune*." *American Studies,* vol. 42, no. 2, 2001, pp. 45-66. journals.ku.edu/amsj/article/download/3081/3040/3411

"Natal Day of Guatemala is Celebrated." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 Sept. 1915, pp. 9. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14EC70EEF416E47D%402420757-14EB68C06FCA3042%402.

"Newspaper Gossip." *The Inland Printer*, Oct. 1895, pp. 85. *HathiTrust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.20045438&view=1up&seq=28&skin=2021.

Nisetich, Rebecca. "The Nature of the Beast: Scientific Theories of Race and Sexuality in *McTeague*." *Studies in American Naturalism*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2009, pp. 1-21. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.1353/san.0.0009.

Norris, Frank. *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism,* edited by Donald Pizer, W.W. Norton & Company, 1977.

---. *McTeague*. Signet Classics, 1964.

"Nuestros Propósitos." *Centro America*, 20 Feb. 1921, pp. 4. *Hispanic American Newspapers,* infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D3

64F1525FD7B0%40EANASP-11F8569788758ED0%402422741-11F7FE2B5F89C6B8%403.

"Nuevo Periodico." *Hispano America*, 26 Feb. 1921, pp. 3. *Hispanic American Newspapers,* infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7ADDE1FCEA788%402422747-11D47742A9C396E0%402.

Official Guide of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Illustrated with Photographs. United States, Wahlgreen Company, 1915.

Olivera, Oitto. "El Correo de la Tarde (1890-1891) de Ruben Dario." Revista iberoamericana 33.64 (1967): 259–. Print.

"Organizacíon de la Empressa del Diaro del Salvador," *Diario del Salvador,* 23 Nov. 1912, pp. 9

Padilla, Yajaira M. *Changing Women, Changing Nation: Female Agency, Nationhood, and Identity in Trans-Salvadoran Narratives*. State University of New York Press, 2012.

---. *From Threatening Guerillas to Forever Illegals: US Central Americans and the Cultural Politics of Non-Belonging*. University of Texas Press, 2022.

---. "The Central American Transnational Imaginary: Defining the Transnational and Gendered Contours of Central American Immigrant Experience." *Latino Studies*, vol. 11, 2013, pp. 150-166.

Panama-Pacific International Exposition 1915 Souvenir Guide: Natural Color Views, Half Tones and Descriptive Text, Portraying and Interpreting the Exposition Palaces, Courts, Art and Symbolism with Summary of Attractions on the Zone. United States, Souvenir Guide Publishers, 1915.

Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving At San Francisco, California. Date unknown. NAI 4498993.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group 85. National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

"People Met in Hotel Lobbies." The Washington Post (1877-1922), May 20, 1906, pp. 1. ProQuest, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/people-met-hotel lobbies/docview/144643620/se-2.

Pizer, Donald. *The Novels of Frank Norris*. Indiana University Press, 1996.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* 2nd ed., Routledge, 2008.

"Profesoras del Colegio Normal de Maestras." *El porvenir de Centro América.* 23 Dec. 1895. Luis Lujan Munoz Collection, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. *Internet Archive,* archive.org/details/elporvenirdecent01guat/page/18/mode/2up.

"Quake Victims to be Given Aid" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 Jan. 1918, pp. 5. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14EC760EDE5FFE7C%402421597-14EC6CEC0B2DD121%404-14EC6CEC0B2DD121%40. Accessed 21 July 2022.

Quay, Sara E. "American Imperialism and the Excess of Objects in *McTeague*." *American Literary Realism*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2001, pp. 209-234. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/27747029.

Ramos, Julio. *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Duke University Press, 2001.

"Recuerdo de Fabían Graciano." *Diario del Salvador*, 17 Feb. 1913.

"Red Cross Given Coin To Aid Guatemalans" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 May 1918, pp. 8. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14ECC4A4F887CA05%402421725-14EA60A070CF242C%407-14EA60A070CF242C%40. Accessed 21 July

2022.

Rivas, Román Mayorga, “Ahora no más! (De Juraschek).” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Feb. 1890, pp. 6.

---. “El Incendio de un Palacio.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Jan. 1890, pp. 11-12.

---. “El Poeta Whitman.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Jun. 1890, pp. 7.

---. *Guirnalda Salvadoreña*. 2nd ed., Dirección de Publiccaciones e Impresos, 1977.

---. “La mujer hispano-americana y *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Feb. 1890, pp. 15.

---. “Notas Bibliograficas.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Jan. 1890, pp. 8.

---. “Una mujer salvadoreña.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, Jan. 1890, pp. 23.

---. “Walt Whitman.” *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, May 1892, pp. 255-256.

Rodríguez, Ana Patricia. *Dividing the Isthmus: Central American Transnational Histories, Literatures, and Cultures*. University of Texas Press, 2009.

---. “Salvadoran Immigrant Acts and Migration to San Francisco (Circa 1960s and ‘70s).” *U.S. Central Americans: Reconstructing Memories, Struggles, and Communities of Resistance*. University of Arizona Press, 2017, pp. 125-144.

Rodríguez Sáenz, Eugenia. “Women in Central America since Independence.” *The Oxford Handbook of Central American History*, edited by Robert H. Holden, Oxford University Press, 2021.

Rojas Gonzalez, Margarita. “La gran causa nuestra: unionismo y modernismo centroamericano.” Anuario de estudios centroamericanos 46.1 (2020): 1–36. Web.

Rossetti, Gina M. “Out of the Gene Pool: Primitivism and Ethnicity in Frank Norris’*McTeague*.”

CLA Journal, vol. 48, no. 1, 2004, pp. 51-70. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/44325247. Accessed 27 Mar. 2021.

"Scrap." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 2022.

"S.F. Artists to Give Help to Guatemala." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 Feb. 1918, pp. 47. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc ?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A142051F45F422A02%40EANX-14EC84AC7225BE 9E%402421649-14EC843C314A9DD5%4046-14EC843C314A9DD5%40. Accessed 21 July 2022.

Silva, Margarita. "Salvador Mendieta y la unión centroamericana." *Pensar el Antiimperialismo: Ensayos de historia intellectual latinoamericana, 1900-1930*. El Colegio de Mexico, 2012, pp. 125-154.

Solano Muñoz, Edgar. "La República Centroamericana en la visión de Salvador Mendiet y el Partido Unionista." *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 141, 2009, pp. 39-52. J*STOR*, jstor.org/stable/41429917. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

"Soldiers of Fortune." *Broadview Press*, broadviewpress.com/product/soldiers-of-fortune/#tab-description. Accessed 21 July 2022.

"Solmne Inauguración." *Hispano América*, 13 Mar. 1915. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=HASF19150313.2.20&srpos=4&e=------191-en--20-HASF-1--txt-txIN-guatemala++solemne----1915---1.

Sommer, Doris. *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*. University of California Press, 1991.

Soto-Hall, Máximo. *El problema*. Editorial de la Universidad De Costa Rica, 1992.

"Steamship Peru Arrives." *The San Francisco Call*, 29 Oct. 1903, pp. 10. *California Digital*

Newspaper Collection, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19031029.2.134.1&srpos=15&e=------190-en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Steamship+Peru+Arrives----1903---1.

Stephens, John L. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* Dover Publications, 2013.

"Summary of the Fortnight's News." *Daily Alta California*, 1 May 1855. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DAC18550501.2.2&srpos=4&e=------185-en--20-DAC-1--txt-txIN-olancho-------1

Summers Sandoval Jr., Tomás. *Latinos at the Golden Gate: Creating Community and Identity in San Francisco*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Taracena Arriola, Arturo. "Liberalismo y poder politico en Centroamérica (1870-1929)." *Historia General de Centroamérica*. Edited by Víctor Hugo Acuña Ortega, vol. 4, FLACSO, 1994, pp. 167-254.

"Tareas Elementales Pero Necesarias." *Centro América*, 20 Feb. 1921, pp. 1. *Hispanic American Newspapers,* infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D364F1525FD7B0%40EANASP-11F8569788758ED0%402422741-11F7FE2B509767F0%400.

The Barracks of the Mt. Tamalpais Military Academy in San Rafael, California, circa 1902. Date unknown. Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library, California. *Calisphere,* calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt8b69s1rg/.

"The Traitor Zaldivar." *Daily Alta California*, 24 April 1885, pp. 1. *California Digital Newspaper Collection,* cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DAC18850424.2.13&srpos=2&e=-------en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-The+Traitor+Zaldivar-------*1.*

The National Corporation Reporter. United States Corporation Bureau, 1892.

Ticas, Sonia P. “Tradición y ruptura: Escritoras salvadoreñas de las décadas del veinte y treinta: Amparo Casamalhuapa, Prudencia Ayala, María Loucel y Claudia Lars.” *Antípodas: Journal of Hispanic and Galician Studies*, vol. 21, 2010.

“Una Aclaración.” *Hispano América*, 10 July 1920, pp. 4. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7AB6CC2321688%40242251611D47742468 1F C30%403-127489A8B364049E%40Una%2B%255BIllegible%255D.

"Una Adivina Salva Dorena." *Hispano America*, 3 Dec. 1918, pp. 2. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7606D3993CAB8%402421931-11D4744117314180%401-1274858286D2F35E%40Una%2BAdivina%2BSalva%2BDorena. Accessed 21 July 2022.

"Una [Illegible]." *Hispano America*, 10 July 1920, pp. 4. *Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers*, infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11D362F4E2344D8C%40EANASP-11D7AB6CC2321688%402422516-11D477424681FC30%403-127489A8B364049E%40Una%2B%255BIllegible%255D. Accessed 21 July 2022.

“Un hombre y nada más." *Centro América*, 26 March 1921, pp. 2. *Hispanic American Newspapers,* infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=Image/v2%3A11D364F1525FD7B0%40EANASP-11F856FBE97C54B0%402422775-11F7FE2B7B7BEF90% 401.

Urraca, Beatriz. "A Textbook of Americanism: Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune*." *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad,* edited by Frances Aparicio and Suzanne Chávez Silverman, University of New England Press, 1997, pp. 21-50.

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. "Notes on Mexico and Central America." *The Hispanic American Historical American Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1921, pp. 568-75.

Vázquez, Miguel Ángel Feria. "El Modernismo en El Salvador y la asimilación de la poesía francesa." *Anuario de Literaturas Hispánicas*, no. 5, 2017, pp. 333-345.

"Vice President Marshall [Thomas R. Marshall] at Honduras Building." Edward A. Rogers collection of Cardinell-Vincent Company and Panama-Pacific International Exposition Photographs. BANC PIC 2015.013. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

Watts, Jennifer. "Picture Taking in Paradise: Los Angeles and the Creation of Regional Identity, 1880-1920." *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, Routledge, 2004, pp. 218-232.

"Wealthy Woman of San Salvador May Come Here to Live." *The San Francisco Call,* 5 Aug. 1915, pp. 9. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150805.2.120&srpos=2&e=------191-en--20-SFC-1-byDA-txt-txIN-Wealthy+Woman+of+San+Salvador+May+Come+Here+to+Live-------1.

Whiting, Hilliard Rhea. "Madame De Barrios's Fancy - Dress Ball." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 7 March 1891, pp. 86. *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers,* link.gale.com/apps/doc/GT3012628529/NCNP?u=uclosangeles&sid=bookmark-NCNP&xid=431a7681.

Year: 1920; Census Place: San Francisco Assembly District 29, San Francisco, California; Roll:

T625_133; Page: 10A; Enumeration District: 44

Year: 1930; Census Place: San Francisco, San Francisco, California; Page: 20A; Enumeration District: 0063; FHL microfilm: 2339931

"1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition." *National Park Service*, 2016, nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/1915-panama-pacific-international-exposition.htm.