Women on the Move: Traveling Nations and Discourses in 19th Century Latin American Female Travel Narratives

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Abstract

This dissertation looks at female perspectives of major discourses of the 19th century, such as national identity, modernization, religion, and education and dismantles the preconceptions that feminine writing contains itself in the private sphere and on topics of domesticity. It addresses the travel narratives of female writers from three Latin American countries: Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. Their works show the multiple ways female travelers appropriated the literary genre and created authority and legitimacy for themselves.

In Chapter one, I explore the discourse of modernity and analyze the Argentine writer Eduarda Mansilla's travel book *Recuerdos de viaje* and compare it to her contemporary countryman Domingo F. Sarmiento's *Viajes por Europa, Africa i América 1845-1847*. They were two public figures that traveled to the United States a decade apart from each other and took two distinct approaches to their observations and analysis of modernization and democracy. In the second Chapter, I consider *Viajes a varias partes de Europa* by Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar into the national corpus and analyze the multiple representations of Mexico and national identity that occur in their narrative. I highlight their use of modern and romantic discourses to create two images of Mexico. Lastly, in Chapter three, I examine the importance of religious discourse in *Mis impresiones y mis vicisitudes en mi viaje a Europa pasando por el estrecho de Magallanes y en mi escursión a Buenos Aires pasando por la cordillera de los Andes* by the Chilean Maipina de la Barra. I discuss how she strategically uses religion for authority to represent herself as a pilgrim,

her journeys as pilgrimages, her travel book as a moral guidebook, and finally how it is used to advocate female education.

In sum, I demonstrate the complex relationships women had with the nation and writing by examining how they destabilized these concepts and strategies they used to legitimize their participation and knowledge in a male dominated genre and at the same time maintain their acceptable feminine authority. The study of their travel books will give insight on women as creative writers in a versatile genre and as historical subjects.

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Por último, dedico mi tesis al nuevo amor de mi vida, Paloma. Viaja y explora el mundo.

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Introduction

Is it sufficient that a well-educated man
know only his compatriots,
or does it matter
that he know men in general?
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Of Voyages

This work analyzes travel writings written by Latin American women during the 19th century; more specifically, my study looks at the female perspectives on major discourses of the time period; such as national identity, modernization, and education, and dismantles the preconceptions that feminine writing contained itself in the private sphere and on topics of domesticity. It was common for female travelers to include ethnographic studies on foreign women. However, it is important to note that it was not their only topic of interest or the main topic of the narrative, but instead one of many. Given the appropriate subject matter, the access to domestic spaces, and individual curiosity of women's roles in foreign societies, topics of domesticity are popular in their writings. How do the women in this study's corpus view domestic life? On the one hand, you have Eduarda Mansilla that traveled as a wife and mother while Maipina de la Barra traveled as a widow and mother. Both viewed the woman's role as an educator in both private and public spaces. Education, work, marriage/divorce, and independence were topics that were questioned and modified into the domestic sphere. Latin American travelers witnessed more education and freedom abroad, which led to their support for change at home. On the other hand, Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar traveled as daughters and adolescents so their view of domestic life was not as focused on the

topics mentioned above. They did not pay particular attention to education, professions of women or their daily activities. Instead they provided a traditional tourist guidebook and personal observations on cities visited. Also, they let their curiosity and imagination wander during their travels and narrated their imagined encounters with armies in European fortresses or bandidos on the road in Mexico. In the romantic melodramas they inserted in their travel narrative, domestic life was a space the self-sacrificing mother-protagonist had to escape in order to save her child's life.

I will further study the ways female travelers appropriated the literary genre and created authority for themselves. Men have dominated this genre for centuries, yet there are examples worth reading and analyzing of women's travel writings throughout history. The 19th century is the first period when a surge of women traveled and published their accounts, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Of the 19th century female travelers, some were known writers while others were publishing for the very first time. Due to this and other factors, the same strategies for establishing authority did not work for all female writers. I will examine how female travelers constructed their criticism or accepted and/or supported the hegemonic discourses. In addition, the study will demonstrate how travel and exposure to other cultures and locals influenced these travelers. Travel and travel literature became a tool or a stage for 19th century women to speak, to participate in contemporary discourses, and to re-invent themselves. It was an active role that opened up a public space for women, and not to mention it expanded female roles and expectations. Travel was an opportunity that the confinement of domestic space

might not have given them and for this reason, it will be interesting to look at how mobility and new spaces influenced them as well. As Susan Basnett argues, travel gave women the space to be assertive, inquisitive and adventurous. This study analyzes women from three Latin American countries, who traveled, wrote, and published their travel narratives during the second half of the 19th century. The travel writers are: the Argentine Eduarda Mansilla, the Mexicans Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar, and the Chilean Maipina de la Barra. The examination of these women as travelers and writers will demonstrate that there is as much diversity in female travel writing as there is in male travel writing. This introduction will begin with an overview of the genre of travel literature, the scholarship on male and female travel writing, this study's contributions to the field, and finally a summary of the main chapters.

The Genre of Travel Literature

Travel writing as a genre is a loosely defined body of literature due to its open flexible structure and variety of content and style. Travel writers cover a spectrum of geographical spaces, time periods, and literary genres. In the introduction to their anthology, *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2004), Glenn Hooper and Tom Youngs remark:

> One of the most persistent observations regarding travel writing, then, is its absorption of differing narrative styles and genres, the manner in which it effortlessly shape-shifts and blends any number of imaginative encounters, and its potential for interaction with a broad range of historical periods, disciplines, and perspectives. In much the same way that travel itself can be

> seen as somewhat fluid experience, so too can travel writing be regarded as a relatively open-ended and versatile form, notwithstanding the closure that occurs in some of its more rigidly conventional examples. (3)

Some examples of literary genres frequently used by travel writers are: the letter, the autobiographical diary, the narrative, and the essay. Each discipline and genre brings unique and useful traits to travel literature. For example, the letter and autobiography add intimate tones and also allow for an open structure which is opposite of the strict chronological order of the travelogue. In Percy Adams' *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983), the critic explores the connections and contributions travel literature had on the novel. He states, "prose fiction and the travel account have evolved together, are heavily indebted to each other, and are often similar in both content and technique" (279). Adams argues that both genres had the same literary tools and formulas at their disposable at the time the authors create their accounts. Works of travel had been exclusively the property of historians, anthropologists, and geographers until literary scholars discovered that they were more than simple first-person journals.[1] In terms of narrative styles, travel narratives use first-person narrators to third-person narrators who can or not be the same character as the author. The variety of types of travelers also influences the content, structure and style of the narratives. For instance, explorers, traders, missionaries, ambassadors, tourists, etc. are classes of travelers that had access to different literary genres and styles of writing; and at different time periods

[1] Roberto González Echevarría's *Myth and Archive* (1990) also argues that the study of travel literature has gone ignored too long and shows the influences science and anthropology from travel literature had on the Latin American novel.

they created tendencies in travel literature. The texts in this study's corpus will reflect this variety as seen in their choices of literary genres, style, structure, and tone.

In addition, Hooper and Youngs point out that travel works cannot be assumed to be written in the first-person nor factual accounts and provide the popular medieval example of *The Travels of Sir Mandeville* (1356). Mandeville's account was widely read and accepted by the public because he confirmed the myths and rumors that were already circulating even though his travel account was filled with inaccuracies and inconsistencies.[2] Accounts like Mandeville's complicate the travel writer's authority based on testimony and observation. It created obstacles for writers to defend themselves against accusations of fiction or plagiarism. Furthermore, it has caused a recurring anxiety and has led male and female travel writers to employ similar strategies of authority such as expressions of humility, self-deprecating humor or citing previous travelers. Stephen Greenblatt observes that texts like Mandeville's demonstrate that they can be unstable, open-ended and collective productions.[3] There are just as many formats for travel narratives as there are motives to travel. Men and women may travel for pleasure, curiosity, business, adventure, altruism, health, scientific research, and exile or a combination of reasons. Their journeys may follow an established pattern, as in the

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[2] See Percy G. Adams' *Travelers and Travel Liars 1600-1800* (1980) for his analysis on travel liars and how they capitalized on selling information to audiences and scholars searching for evidence.

[3] See Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1992) for his study of how Europeans represented non-Europeans in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Also, he explores the effects of wonder and the strategies of colonial possession and appropriation in the New World.

case of religious pilgrimages, or they may simply wander. Not to mention, travelers had multiple roles such as the women who also traveled as wives and/or mothers, daughters, tutors, nannies, servants, etc.

Travel literature is known as a male dominated genre and to add to this perception the scholarship in different academic fields has focused on male-authored texts. Early travel accounts tended to be written by males because of the aspect of exploration and adventure since they had the freedom to move though public spaces freely. Interestingly, a Spanish female pilgrim named Egeria or Etheria who traveled to the Holy Land around 385 and wrote in Vulgar Latin *Itinerarium* the first travel account known. [4] There are other early accounts like Catalina de Erauso who left the nunnery at age 13 and disguised herself as a male soldier for the Spanish crown to travel to South America. In her memoirs, *Historia de la monja alférez* (Lieutenant nun) (1625), she reports her battles in the Spanish military against the Indians in Chile. Women did travel although not to the extent of their male counterparts. As a result, they did not have a significant presence in the genre until the 19th century when a boom in female travel literature emerged due to the development of technology in transportation. Amanda Gilroy points out that the activities of travel and travel writing were limited to an elite that had the economic means, leisure and education. For some travelers, money was not an issue in their travels, but for others it was an important factor that dictated their itinerary or influenced their travel perspective. The steam engine in the 19th century cut travel

[4] Egeria was a cultured and wealthy noblewoman and abbess from Galicia. She traveled with company to Constantinople and spent three-years in Jerusalem from 381 to 384. She traveled extensively throughout the Holy Land and to Egypt. In 384, she began her return, but her account is incomplete and it is not known when or if she arrived in Spain.

time for inland journeys and sea voyages. As travel became more comfortable and affordable there was an increase of activity from the bourgeoisie and from women. In short, the advancements in technology closed gender and social gaps of travelers. The new means of transportation opened up the gates to mass tourism that some travelers intentionally tried to distance themselves in order to appear socially superior. Technology also influenced the way travelers experienced their journey. Studies like Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (1979) or Michael Matthews' article "*De Viaje*: Elite Views of Modernity and the Porfirian Railway Boom" (2010), show the effects modernization had on the modes of travel and on travelers. Sidonie Smith's *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Writing* (2001) also looks at the effect of new technologies and how women narrate their identity and gender in motion. In Chapter 2, I discuss how the type of transportation influenced the Larrainzar sisters' views of the Mexican landscape and people. Regarding the female travelers in this study, they belonged to the elite class; they ranged from diplomat's wife, exiled ambassador's daughters to a widow in search of a new home.

The scholarship on travel writing has been produced mainly from European and United States critics. Ángel Tuninetti points out that in the 90s, it was the surge of cultural, colonial and post-colonial studies that revitalized the criticism of travel literature with its emphasis in non-canonical discourses and interdisciplinary perspectives (19). These studies expanded and diversified the scholarship of travel literature. Tuninetti lists examples of perspectives one can approach travel literature such as literary, autobiographical, anthropological, historical, scientific,

etc. Post-colonial and feminist investigations have also redirected attention to female travelers. In *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, Deepika Bahri comments:

> Feminist theory and postcolonial theory are occupied with similar questions of representation, voice, marginalization, and the relation between politics and literature. Given that both critical projections employ multidisciplinary perspectives, they are each attentive, at least in principle, to historical context and the geopolitical co-ordinates of the subject in question. ("Feminism in/and postcolonial" 201)

Bahri explains, on the one hand, both theories can overlap and be interactive with each other in a study. On the other hand, they can also be in conflict if one theory becomes too narrow and does not consider adequately the issues of the other theory. The following section will show the contributions of the newer scholarship.

Female Travel Literature

Feminist scholarship initiated the research into female travel writers by analyzing non-canonical genres like letters, life journals, travel literature, etc. Studying women's participation, it looks at women as observers and as objects of observation. For example, Jean Franco's *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico* (1989) analyzes women's interpretive struggle in major master narratives like Religion, nationalism and modernization. Susan Kirkpatrick in *Las Románticas: Women Writers and Subjectivity in Spain 1835-1850* (1989) studies how Spanish women in the 18th and 19th centuries became producers of print culture when the

changes in subjectivity allowed them to assert themselves as writers. These early feminist studies highlighted the importance of non-canonical genres in history and literature and soon after a surge of investigations focused on travel literature emerged. A question that frequently arises for feminist critics is if a specific female travel literature exists? As mentioned previously, male writers dominate the genre and researchers have focused on them as well. Consequently, the discursive and authorial strategies have been labeled masculine and women by default have been excluded.

Some of the initial studies emphasized the differences between male and female travel writers or they treated female travelers as "exceptions" in history. "As one might expect, feminist criticism emphasizes the significance of gender issues in history, politics, and culture. Inherently interdisciplinary, feminism examines the relationships between men and women and the consequences of power differentials for the economic, social, and cultural status of women (and men) in different locations and periods of history" (Bahri 200). As a result, these theorists typically concluded that a separate female travel literature did exist. For instance, anthologies like Mary Morris' *The Virago Book of Women Travellers* (1994) consider the women as extraordinary-eccentric. Sidonie Smith points out the problem in viewing their texts as extraordinary. She asks, "What precisely would it signify for a women's life and her narrative to be "representative" of a period? Since more commonly women have been labeled "exceptional" rather than "representative" (8). Jane Robinson's *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers* (1994) and Sara Mills' *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*

(1991) point out the attention to detail and popular topics such as social relationships and domestic spaces in women's writing. Robinson analyzes style while Mills looks at authoritative voices. Sara Mills explains that the pressures women faced as writers did not allow them to adopt as authoritative voices in their writings as their male counterparts. Specifically, Mills provides the example of the struggle to adopt the imperialist voice, therefore the female voice tended to be more tentative by describing people as individuals and not as a whole race. These initial studies in women's travel literature started the discussion. Although they generalized the body of literature, they pointed out popular themes and styles used by women. The texts in my corpus include some of the common traits and at the same time demonstrate its diversity.

Susan Bassnett argues that these initial studies in feminist scholarship of travel literature essentialize women's writing by seeing women as one category of "woman" and contrasting their characteristics to their male counterparts.[5] Bassnett explains that women's travel writing is too diverse to place in a simplified category. Although, one can observe trends and patterns in women's writing such as the use of the epistolary and autobiography, it is important to remember that these are common elements in male travel writing as well. For this reason, female and male writing has been separated by its oversimplification and generalization. The historian Angela Pérez-Mejía adds to Bassnett's critique and notes that the social expectations of gender did not affect all women the same way. Gender interacts with multiple factors such as race, age, class, education, political ideas and historical

[5] See Bassnett, Susan. "Travel Writing and Gender," *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* Ed.Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. 2002. 225-241.

period, and it is these factors that contribute to the different gender roles in each context.[6] Some post-colonial studies considered male and female travelers together. As is the case in Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (1992) that looks at the ways the metropolis represented the periphery and in turn how the periphery re-appropriated those representations. She analyzes interactions between two cultures in what she calls "contact zones" and outlines types of travelers like the female "sociale exploratrices." Other examples are Inderpal Grewal's *Home and Harem*, that studies travel discourses in national cultures by Indian and British travelers in contact zones or Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995) that looks at gender power and its important role in maintaining the imperial enterprise.

Shirley Foster in *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and their Writings* (1990) questions the possibility of a new distinctly female genre of travel literature that emerged in the 19th century in terms of common characteristics. Foster argues as women traveled more widely and independently "they had to adopt a position of gender ambiguity, taking on the 'masculine' virtues of strength, initiative and decisiveness while retaining the less aggressive qualities considered appropriate to their own sex" (11). She explains that the ambiguity is seen in the female's travel accounts and also is the reason women stressed their femininity throughout their accounts even while engaging in dangerous adventures. In addition, because they were subject to literary conventions of "female literature" these travelers treated common topics and subjects in their writings. In their

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[6] See Pérez-Mejía, Angela. *A Geography of Hard Times: Narratives about Travel to South America, 1780-1849*. SUNY Press, New York: 2004.

travels, women had to position themselves in popular discourses and find their own voice. Foster concludes that the shared traits of female travel writers show a common ground of approach to the genre, but it is harder to argue the existence of a distinctively female tradition of travel writing.

Another area of research that has been changing is the relationship between gender and space. Space has been regulated for men and women and consequently has created "appropriate" behavior for each gender. Previous theorists focused on women's confinement and restrictions in space and movement. Then Gillian Rose took an opposing approach to the subject and shifted her focus to examine the possibilities women could exploit in the space and power/knowledge model. Rose in *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (1993) discusses the difference between private and public spaces for women and utilizes feminist theory that insists on a difference between Woman and women. She goes beyond the sense of confinement and demonstrates there are other ways to understand women in space. Previous feminist scholarship placed women writers against their male counterparts to find differences and categorize them. Later studies moved away from that approach to broaden their perspective on female traveler writers.

Latin American Travel Literature

When researching travel literature, there is a variety of scholarship one can find on the genre. The most common studies are anthologies with excerpts of multiple travel accounts and collections of diverse critical essays. One type of study is the anthology that includes fragments of travel narratives, includes biographical information, and is organized by geographical regions. Another form of anthology is

one that gives a general outline of travel literature for a specific geographical region and organized chronologically. Then there are studies that analyze travel literature as primary resources for historical, cultural and literary topics. Some historians like June E. Hahner look at travel accounts as historical recordings of events. Hanher, in her introduction to *Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts* (1998) comments,

> These firsthand accounts shed light on questions of gender difference, family life, religion, and women's labor and education. They help reveal attitudes, customs, practices, and interrelationships between men and women within the structure of Latin American societies as well as cross-cultural relations between Latin Americans and foreign visitors. (*xxiii*)

Some studies will strictly have a corpus of non-fictional travelers to examine the historical and cultural aspects while others will focus on the literary side and combine fictional and non-fictional works.[7] The recurring gap with the scholarship on travel literature has been the perception that it is mainly masculine therefore majority of anthologies do not make reference to female travelers or include a limited few.

Specifically looking at Latin American travel literature there are three main groups of investigation: Latin American travelers to Europe or the United States, European travelers to Latin America, or Latin American travelers traveling in America. The problem with current scholarship is that European and North

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[7] See *Women and the Journey: The Female Travel Experience.* Ed. by Bonnie Frederick & Susan H. McLeod (1993) for an anthology that compiles both fiction and non-fiction to demonstrate a diverse group of female travel accounts.

American travelers who traveled throughout Latin American are far better known and recognized than Latin American travelers who also participated in similar journeys and discourses. More recent anthologies and studies like *Strange Pilgrimages: Exile, Travel, and National Identity in Latin America, 1800-1900s.* Ed. By Ingrid E. Fey and Karen Racine (2000) attempt to expose more Latin American travelers and show them as active participants in travel literature. To have a more complete view the national literary corpuses need to be more open and inclusive of national and foreign travelers instead of keeping them separate. Adriana Méndez Rodenas highlights a problem that occurs with some female writers like Fanny Calderón de la Barca in England and Mexico and Condesa de Merlin in France and Cuba that faced barriers to be incorporated into their respective European and Latin American literary canons.[8] This was one of many obstacles that some female travel writers encountered as they were not claimed due to the language it was written in or the multiple nationalities of the writers. They were left forgotten until scholars revived interest in them and re-published their original editions. However, that was not the case for traveler Flora Tristán who had multiple national identities and wrote her travel text in French. In her case, her travel book was translated to Spanish and embraced and reclaimed by Peru at the beginning of the 20th century. Her French identity was re-affirmed to defend her critiques of Peruvian society. Tristán's multiple nationalities helped create authority in her Latin American travels. Was it problematic to have multiple identities or speak multiple languages? For many 19th century upper-class women it was more of an advantage during their

[8] See Méndez Rodenas, Adriana. *Transatlantic Travels in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: European Women Pilgrims*. Bucknell University Press, Maryland: 2014.

travels as it affirmed their cultural authority. For female travelers that did not have the problem of language or nationality, their obstacle was more the prejudices of the time period that ignored their writings. In Chapter 2, we will see an example of this bias from the Mexican scholar Ignacio M. Altamirano who leaves out travel texts by females publishing at the same time he was calling for more Mexican writers to travel and write.

Study Overview

This project joins the newer scholarship in travel literature as a cross-cultural study that explores the discursive processes of nation formation, self-representation, and authorization. It looks at three different regions to add diversity to the corpus and point out unique traits of each female traveler. Julio Ramos notes,

> A su vez, la literatura de viajes-convenientemente publicada por entregas en forma de "cartas" a los periódicos de la época- constituía uno de los modelos retóricos y narrativos fundamentales de las proliferantes reflexiones sobre las nuevas naciones. Más allá de la curiosidad turística, ya a mediados de siglo el relato de viajes era una de las formas privilegiadas de los discursos sobre la modernidad en América Latina. (145)

Ramos goes on to explain that travel gave the writers a privileged perspective because they were able to displace themselves from present space to a future space when discussing Latin America. All three travelers in this study in their own way entered the discourse of modernization. They reflected different tones, authority and perspectives. A major question of this study is how the nation is represented by these female travelers and what rhetorical tools do they use to participate in this

discourse? Following Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), he claims that many created the nation and national identity. Anderson provides examples of how language, print, museums, maps, etc. contributed to the formation of an imagined community. Doris Sommer adds to Anderson's idea in her *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (1991), which argues that the 19th century novel was a way for criollo projects to narrate the nation. In these romantic novels women were used as symbols for nationality and identity. They connect domestic happiness with national prosperity and project an ideal future for the nation. The critics show how different forms of literature had the capacity to construct the nation. Multiple critics like Mary Louise Pratt and Julio Ramos build on Anderson's ideas and demonstrate that it is not a one way flow of ideas, but rather a two-way exchange from center to periphery. In addition, transnational to national travelers wrote inside and outside their countries and foreign travelers participated as well.[9] Travel literature and feminist scholarship have also shown that Anderson's idea was not a construction by a limited elite inside the nation, but actually formed by a more complex network of male and female voices, inside and outside the nation with exchanges and negotiations. The travel narratives in this corpus will show how women's writings were equally as concerned with nation formation and identity as were men's.

Also, looking at the travel writers' participation in these discourses, I will be highlighting their discursive constraints and how they negotiated them to write

[9] See Postcolonial critics like Gayatri Spivak (2010), Edward Said (1995), and Homi Bhabha (1994) and others address the ways in discourse a subject position is constructed, rather than assume it is pre-existing.

about what they desired. What was their relationship to these constraints? Sara Mills, in *Discourses of Difference*, claims that there were certain subjects women travelers were not suppose to know about or write about, such as sex, science, geography and statistical information on countries, etc. Mills is too quick to dismiss women's authoritative voices. Each of the travelers in this study's corpus participates in "appropriate feminine topics" as well as "serious" topics, which Mills claims to be masculine. Gilroy points out that many women learned to operate in the public sphere of travel writing and maintain their association with the private sphere by "editing masculine interests and authorities to the footnotes…or authorize their political commentary in terms of acceptable feminine sensibility" (6). This study will show how they approach the same topics differently and demonstrate the diversity in female travel writing. Each chapter's focus changes according to the different problems encountered in each text.

In chapter one, I analyze the Argentine writer and traveler Eduarda Mansilla and compare her 19th century travel book *Recuerdos de viaje* (1882) to her contemporary countryman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and his *Viajes por Europa, Africa i América 1845-1847* (1849). They were two public figures that traveled to the United States a decade apart from each other and took two distinct approaches to their observations and analysis of modernization and democracy. They are interesting to look at together because of their different upbringings and the two opposing political factions they represented in Argentine history.[10] The United

[10] E. Mansilla came from a well-known *federalista* family. Her father was a General from the Independence period and her uncle was the president Juan Manuel de Rosas. On the other hand, D.F.

States became a popular destination for 19th century foreign travelers due to the intrigue of the new concept of democracy and the rapid economic-technological development of a relatively young nation. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento continued the well-known discussions of civilización/barbarie occurring in their native Argentina and placed it within the context of the United States with a shift to tradition/modernity. My study will demonstrate how E. Mansilla participates in the popular discourse of modernization and dialogues with her predecessor. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento approach the genre similarly in that they utilize the flexibility of the genre to have a loose structure and cover a broad range of topics. Their examination of "modernity" in the United States is at times contradictory and opposing. It is their approach to the genre and the purpose of their travel writing that made their texts stand out. Sarmiento represents himself on a voyage of acquisition as a student-observer with the goal to find the next modern utopia to model in Argentina. And he shows the process of enlightenment that occurs during travel. On the other hand, E. Mansilla is not on a journey of learning, but rather is a Latin American aristocrat in temporary diplomatic residence where she continues her roles as a wife and mother and participates in leisurely travel. Whereas Sarmiento is taking a U.S. tour to survey and absorb as much information as he can, E. Mansilla reflects on the daily customs, habits and culture that she has witnessed over a long period of time as a foreign resident. Both travelers observe some of the same qualities of the North American people and agree that they are hard working, technologically advanced and efficient. Sarmiento creates a modern utopia in his representation of the United

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Sarmiento was a self-educated and self-made man who represented the opposing faction of the *unitarios*.

States and spends his time describing and praising the country to persuade his public to adopt it as a model. E. Mansilla is not searching for a modern utopia and for this reason has a more critical eye in her observations of the United States and portrays modernity as barbaric. She includes information that represents the country as hypocritical or uncivilized, which Sarmiento excludes in his descriptions. She approaches the discourse of modernization with irony and satire to debacle the utopia and push readers to be more critical.

In chapter two, I examine an extensive four-volume travel book written by Mexican twin sisters Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar who created an encyclopedia type series for their travel narrative *Viaje a varias partes de Europa* (1880-1882). The sister-authors are a unique case as twin sisters, young adolescent travelers, and children of the first Mexican family of diplomats sent to Russia in 1866. A common characteristic in travel narratives is the recreation of the moment of travel due to authors writing and publishing years after their trip. In this case, the sister-authors portray a childish-tone to recreate their experiences, impressions, and reactions as adolescent travelers. The Mexican travelers take on an ambitious investigational project and provide detailed statistics on each national and foreign city visited. Also, there are two fiction melodramas interweaved into the travel narrative and used as a strategy to alleviate the dense readings and at the same time an opportunity for artistic creativity. This was not a characteristic E. Mansilla or M. de la Barra implemented because their travel descriptions were not seriously researched nor sources cited. In this chapter I consider the Larrainzar sisters' travel book into the national Mexican corpus as they hoped to be added. They tried to

create something new by composing an extensive volume so the Mexican public could learn about numerous countries in one book. I look at the multiple representations of Mexico and national identity that occur throughout their narrative. I discuss the changes in the representation of Mexico from their departure to their arrival 8 years later and the two images they create of Mexico using a romantic discourse for one and a modern discourse for the other. The young travelers became mini-ambassadors of Mexico and had to correct foreign representations of Mexico and its people that they encountered in Russia or at the 1867 World's Fair in Paris. Also, I look at how they build their authority by using multiple male figures and their strategic use of their age that gave them access to more topics some women writers might not have entered.

In the final and third chapter, I consider a different type of traveler from the previous two chapters, a Chilean mother-widow who uses travel to gain freedom and economic opportunities. Maipina de la Barra writes and publishes *Mis impresiones y mis vicisitudes en mi viaje a Europa pasando por el estrecho de Magallanes y en mi escursión a Buenos Aires pasando por la cordillera de los Andes*, in Buenos Aires in 1878. Her travel narrative is divided into two sections that narrate very distinct journeys. The first part describes her transatlantic voyage to Europe with her daughter and the second part follows her dangerous solo land travel to Argentina. De la Barra takes on a much more intimate tone than the other female travelers in the corpus and directs her text to a specific female reading public. In this chapter I analyze the importance of religious discourse and how the author utilized it to justify her travels, represent herself as a pilgrim and her journeys as

pilgrimages. In addition, the religious discourse is also used to turn her travel book into a moral guidebook for young women and for mother-daughter relationships. De la Barra represents herself and her daughter as orphans, and as such, her journey mimics a pilgrimage in search of refuge outside of Chile and follows the spiritual and moral dialogues between the mother-daughter protagonists. The financial struggles of the author and the observation of independent working women in other cities pushed De la Barra to be a strong advocate for women's issues. Not all female travel writers fall into this category. There is a broad spectrum and in my corpus, E. Mansilla and the Larrainzar sisters lean toward the conservative side when it comes to women's issues while De la Barra is more outspoken in her text and not only reveals the problems women face, but also proposes changes that need to take place in order to fix them and modernize Latin America. She focuses on female education and incorporates the popular contemporary discourse of "la madre republicana" that was supported by men and women of the time period. The 19th century was evolutionary for newly independent nations and the women of these nations made their mark.

Chapter One: Eduarda Mansilla's Journeys of Modernity and Aesthetics in Yankeeland

Además, quien a Yankeeland se encamina,
tiene por fuerza que democratizar su pensamiento.
–E. Mansilla

As most women writers of the 19th century, Eduarda Mansilla was a forgotten figure in Argentina's literature. The first literary history written in the beginning of the 20th century by Ricardo Rojas included minimal information on female Argentine writers in comparison to their male counterparts and all but one was criticized.[11] In time, Argentina's increasing feminist scholarship on literature and history questioned and revised the canon. Contemporary scholars have focused on a popular trio: Eduarda Mansilla, Juana Manso, and Juana Manuela Gorriti. This attraction is owed to their vast publications during the 19th century and their well-known presence in literary circles, newspaper periodicals, and journals. Examples of these studies are: Bonnie Frederick's *Wily Modesty: Argentine Women Writers, 1860-1910* (1998), Francine Masiello's *Between Civilization and Barbarism: Women, Nation & Literary Culture in Modern Argentina* (1992), Graciela Batticuore's *La mujer romántica: Lectoras, autoras, y escritoras en Argentina, 1830-1870* (2005), and Lea Fletcher's *Mujeres y cultura en la Argentina del siglo XIX* (1994). These investigations demonstrate that women were neither silent nor invisible figures in literature, but rather participants in their country's master narratives. In other words, they were producers and consumers of 19th century print culture and recognized figures in

[11] Although Rojas dedicated a separate chapter to women writers, some only received a mention and not an analysis. Eduarda Mansilla was the only female writer not criticized in the anthology. She was dedicated a page of analysis while her brother Lucio V. Mansilla received a discussion of 12 pages (Frederick, *Wily Modesty* 144).

literary circles. Manso and Gorriti belonged to an older generation and their texts appeared during the first half of the 19th century, while E. Mansilla's works emerged in the second half of the century.

Eduarda Mansilla's novels have received most of the critics' attention and make up the majority of the scholarship on her. Her travel book, *Recuerdos de viaje* (1882), has made its way into recent studies that have focused on her role as an interpreter, her female consciousness, and conservatism. In addition, the previous investigations have discussed the polar structure of the travel text and her participation in controversial debates. Another popular historical, political, and literary figure that cannot be overlooked in comparison to E. Mansilla's North American travels is Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. He likewise traveled to the United States and published his travel writings in 1849 (*Viajes por Europa, Africa i América 1845-1847)*. They were contemporary public figures that traveled to the United States for different purposes, in different conditions, and for different lengths of time, which can be seen in their approach to the travel narrative. Not to mention, Sarmiento and E. Mansilla were two 19th century authors that came from distinct upbringings and in particular, the Mansilla family represented the despotism that Sarmiento fought against. Eva-Lynn Jagoe sums their background as, "Unlike the Mansillas, his family was not influential and he was an autodidact, a self-made man who taught himself the languages and literatures of Europe and North America" (508). Jagoe goes on to ask, what Sarmiento would have made of the Mansilla family with their connections to Rosas, the Argentine oligarchy and Europe. Regardless of Sarmiento's personal feelings towards the Mansilla family, Lucio and Eduarda

Mansilla remained public figures after the Rosas' dictatorship and maintained an amicable public relationship with Sarmiento. My analysis will be a comparative examination of E. Mansilla and Sarmiento's travels to the United States, the type of travel narratives they constructed, rhetorical strategies, and their discourses on the United States. In particular, I'll be looking at the ways these two contemporary authors shifted their discussions of civilización/barbarie to tradition/modernity for the context of North America and their overall representation of the "modern and democratic" nation.

Historical Background

E. Mansilla was born in Buenos Aires in 1838 and was surrounded by prominent family members.[12] She was the daughter of Agustina Ortiz de Rosas and General Lucio Norberto Mansilla, her brother was Lucio Victorio Mansilla, and notably she was the niece of Juan Manuel de Rosas.[13] In 1855, at the young age of 16, she married the prominent lawyer and diplomat Manuel Rafael García. In the newspapers, their engagement was compared to Romeo and Juliet because of their family's oppositional political party support; she came from a public *federalista* family and he came from a *unitario* family (Newton 41). Due to her husband's diplomatic missions, she spent long residences in Europe and the United States and was abroad for a total of 18 years before she returned to Argentina and published her travel book. Although her adult life consisted of transatlantic travel, she

[12] E. Mansilla's birth year varies in documents and in critical texts, but this year (1838) appears to be the most precise (Mizraje 140).

[13] E. Mansilla's father was a General from the Independence period, her brother was recognized for his military and literary careers, her uncle's dictatorship (1829-1852) occurred during her early childhood and adolescent years, and her mother was known as the beautiful youngest sister of Rosas.

consistently sent her writings to Argentine publishers and newspapers except for one novel written in French that she originally published in the Parisian newspaper *L'Artiste* during her residence in France. In spite of her family ties to major political figures that consequently made her a public figure, she worked to establish her own professional identity.

Like many writers of her era, E. Mansilla used a pseudonym at the beginning of her literary career. Male and female writers utilized it as well as other tactics such as initials or anonymity to hide their identity. Mansilla decided on a male pseudonym and chose "Daniel," her first son's name for her novels and journal articles. She contributed to a variety of newspapers, some mainstream and others feminine, as well as wrote on a diverse group of topics.[14] For instance, she published in *El Nacional* and *La Ondina del Plata,* she wrote about theatre in *La Flor del Aire*, fashion in *El Plata Ilustrado*, critiqued Opera and composed music in *El Alba* and *La Gaceta Musical* (Scatena Franco 1076). In addition, prior to 1882, her first novel *El médico de San Luis,* had been translated to German and English. Her brother Lucio Mansilla translated her novel written in French, *Pablo, ou la vie dans les Pampas,* to Spanish in the Argentine newspaper *La Tribuna.* The author had a shifting identity if one looks at her multiple signatures; for example E. Mansilla started her literary career as "Daniel," was "Alvar" for some single publications in newspapers, from 1879 she signed her full name "Eduarda Mansilla de García" and at the end of her career she was simply "Eduarda." Frederick views the use of a pseudonym as a mere formality for women writers given that in literary circles everyone knew the

[14] By feminine newspapers I mean newspapers and journals produced specifically for a female audience.

identities of the pseudonyms. On the other hand, Batticuore regards her transition from various authorial names as strategic and flawless. Both critics consider pseudonyms and anonymity as part of a process writers performed to enter the literary world and test their reception. Whether her reading public knew her pseudonyms or not, E. Mansilla eventually became nationally and internationally recognized as a writer.[15] Furthermore, she reached a certain level of recognition and success that made her feel confident enough to sign with only her first name at the end of her career. Her literary career consisted of countless newspaper articles, four novels, several short stories, three plays, a travel book, piano compositions, and a compilation of children's stories.

As the title reflects, *Recuerdos de viaje*, is a recollection of memories from the author's residences abroad and travel experiences. She wrote and traveled during two different stages of her life. At the moment of her first voyage to the United States, she was a young newlywed who had just begun forming a family. Later, when she wrote her travel book, she had spent 18 years outside Argentina living in various foreign cities and had returned to Buenos Aires without her children and separated from her husband. The travel book narrates her first trip to the United States from 1861 to 1863 and the author ends her book with a promise to recount the second residence (1868-1873) in a following volume, yet this second volume never appeared. The second voyage did not emerge by E. Mansilla's pen; but rather by her son Daniel García Mansilla. He wrote an autobiography about his childhood and early adult life where he commented on his mother's travel book and included

[15] The extent of her recognition is harder to gauge; however what is certain is that she evoked biographical articles and books reviews in national and international newspapers during her lifetime.

personal information about both family residences in the United States. His memoir titled, *Visto, oído y recordado: Apuntes de un diplomático argentine,*[16] provides portraits of the García-Mansilla family's time in the Old World and the New World. Interestingly, his book, presents images of their life in Europe and scenarios in the United States that his mother E. Mansilla did not include in her travel book.

The Genre of Travel Literature

In Argentina, E. Mansilla is one of the earlier known female travelers to have published a travel book in Argentina. There were other 19th century female writers before Eduarda Mansilla who experimented with a form of travel narrative, but she is one of the firsts to publish a non-fictional book. For example, Mariquita Sanchez wrote letters to her daughter about her exile that were later compiled and published (*Recuerdos del Buenos Ayres virreynal,* (1953)) and Juana Manuela Gorriti wrote fictional short stories about travel (*Peregrinaciones de una alma triste* 1876, *Panoramas de la vida* 1876, *Misceláneas* (1878)). Although Maipina de la Barra (she will be discussed in Chapter 3) was Chilean, her book *Mis impresiones y mis vicisitudes en mi viaje a Europa pasando por el estrecho de Magallanes y en mi escursión a Buenos Aires pasando por la cordillera de los Andes*, was published in Buenos Aires in 1878. Sarmiento wrote the first travel narrative about the United States in *Viajes por Europa, África, i América 1845-1847* (1849). What approach does the author take on the genre and how does she compare and/or differ to Sarmiento?

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[16] Daniel García Mansilla. *Visto, oído y recordado: Apuntes de un diplomático argentino.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillermo Kraft Limitada, 1950. He recounts second-hand the first family residence in the United States (1861-1863) as he was not born yet, but was present for the second residence (1868-1873).

Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs discuss the multiple definitions of travel writing in the introduction to their anthology *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2004). They note that, "One of the most persistent observations regarding travel writing is its absorption of differing narrative styles and genres…Travel itself can be seen as a somewhat fluid experience, so too can travel writing be regarded as an open-ended versatile form" (3). E. Mansilla and Sarmiento play on the openness of the genre and use a flexible structure to create an informative travel book for their Argentine public and increase their choice of topics. The fluidity of the genre allowed the travelers to address the discussion of modernity on their own terms. Julio Ramos observes, "Más allá de la curiosidad turística, ya a mediados de siglo [XIX] el relato de viajes era una de las formas privilegiadas de los discursos sobre la modernidad en América Latina" (145). Also, these two writers were the first for their home country to publish about the U.S., which added to their privileged position. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento approached the genre similarly to an extent; however their different levels of authority affected their writing style and examination of "modernity" that at times resulted in contradictory images. It is their approach to the genre and the purpose of their travel writing that made their texts stand out.

Both authors chose flexible formats that gave them the freedom of expression. Of the various formats available for the travel narrative, E. Mansilla decided on multiple genres that were between the autobiographical narrative and the essay, which made chapters easily readable independently and out of chronological order. Her narrative is divided into twenty chapters and each is based on selected experiences and topics ranging from cultural observations to

contemporary historical and political debates. The author gave her readership permission to skip certain chapters due to their topic content and reassured them that it would not affect their understanding of her travel impressions. Her original publication in *folletín* (serialized fiction publication), could have been a contributing factor to its heterogeneity and open structure. The *folletín* gave writers flexibility to choose and modify their topics or storyline as they wrote their weekly submissions.[17] It also encouraged them to use different strategies of engagement to maintain their readers' subscription. She first published *Recuerdos de viaje* as a *folletín* in 1880 in the newspaper *La Gaceta Musical* where she was a writer and editor. Two years later, in 1882, she published it as a complete book. Like E. Mansilla and common for the time period, Sarmiento first published his travel narrative through weekly journal submissions and after as a complete book. It contributed to both travel texts' characteristic spontaneity and heterogeneity in structure and content. This textual organization differs greatly from the other female travelers in my corpus. The Larrainzar sisters and De la Barra structured their narratives following the more conventional model of the itinerant travelogue. This model was organized chronologically and typically included encyclopedic information on the cities traveled to, detailed descriptions of the route, tourist attractions, recommendations, and personal anecdotes. As a result, these travelogues became useful tourist guides and maps. Following this structure, some travel writers produced very extensive texts that were rigorous to read and required geographical and historical research in order to provide the information

[17] For more on the *folletín* see: Stephen M. Hart's "Some Notes on Literary Print Culture in Spanish America: 1880-1920," *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea* 23.1-2 (1998): 165-180.

expected of every city visited in the itinerary. Nevertheless, the travelers found ways to lighten up their narratives such as the Larrainzars juxtapose two fictional melodramas and De la Barra inserts multiple dialogues. The different motives and approaches to the genre can be seen in their structure where E. Mansilla composed twenty short chapters versus the Larrainzar sisters' four extensive volumes.

Another characteristic of E. Mansilla's structure and organization pointed out by multiple critics is the binary format of the travel text. She starts her prologue, titled "Preliminar," by taking her readers on an imaginary voyeuristic ride. In this preliminary chapter, she shows her readers the two modes of transatlantic travel via two European commercial lines. E. Mansilla outlines and compares the British ship line to the French one and gives her public a glimpse of the travel experience on each commercial line. For instance, she emphasizes, "Hacer la travesía desde el Havre a Nueva York en la Compañía Transatlántica Francesa, ó embarcarse en un vapor del *Cunard Line,* en Liverpool, no es exactamente lo mismo…" (Mansilla 7). The ship lines were analogous to the respective country's stereotyped culture. The British line had bad English cuisine, no wine, no contact with ship officials, predominantly English passengers and on Sundays they respected the rest day of the Sabbath which was an inconvenience to non-Protestant passengers. In contrast, the French line had good food and service, wine, camaraderie with ship officials, cosmopolitan passengers, and upheld French costumes. As critics have pointed out, the author from the preliminary chapter sets the structure of the text and uses the oppositional binaries to describe the United States. She began with the opposition France/England during the voyeuristic ride and after she arrived she shifted it to

France/United States and Latin America/United States to make her descriptions of the United States easily relatable to her public.

As two South American travelers who wrote their experiences and impressions of North America, their legitimacy might have been questioned. E. Mansilla did not raise this concern in her writing, given that she wrote from a space of privilege and displayed herself as a confident cultural critic on modernity, culture, and leisure. The opposite can be said about Sarmiento, who reflected insecurity of his authority as an author and in the prologue listed the multiple disadvantages the Latin American travel writer faced. His prologue can be described as an introductory essay of his authorial self-reflection. According to Sarmiento, the popularity of travel literature produced obstacles for contemporary travel writers that wanted to be novel and unique. He referred to "el viaje escrito" as "material muy manoseada" and warned that many before them had duplicated the same natural scenery of the journey. "La descripción carece, pues, de novedad…la prensa diaria lo revela todo; y no es raro que un hombre estudioso sin salir de su gabinete, deje parado al viajero sobre las cosas mismas que él creía conocer bien por la inspección personal" (Sarmiento 4). Not only were travel narratives easily accessible because of the vast circulation, but they also had undermined the authority gained by the traveler through first-person observation. Furthermore, Sarmiento claims that Latin American writers had another disadvantage of inferior education coming from a less modern nation. He affirms:

> …si el viajero sale de las sociedades menos adelantadas, para darse cuenta de otras que lo son más. Entonces se siente la incapacidad de observar…Nuestra

> percepción está aun embotada, mal despejado el juicio, rudo el sentimiento de lo bello, e incompletas nuestras nociones sobre la historia, la política, la filosofía y bellas letras de aquellos pueblos, que van a mostrarnos en sus hábitos, sus preocupaciones, y las ideas que en un momento dado los ocupan, el resultado de todos aquellos ramos combinados de su existencia moral y física. (4)

The author's humbleness in the prologue masks his effort to establish his authority with his Latin American public. Julio Ramos argues that Sarmiento's position of mediation between less advanced nations to more advanced nations gave him "autoridad social" and a "perspectiva privilegiada" (147). He strategically uses false modesty by presenting himself as a learner and showing the process of enlightenment that occurs during travel and thus reaffirming his authority by his own model.

Additionally, in the prologue, Sarmiento notes that famous European writers have set the standard and taste for travel literature. "Sobre el mérito puramente artístico y literario de estas páginas, no se me aparta nunca de la mente que Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Dumas, Jaquemont, han escrito viajes, y han formado el gusto público" (Sarmiento 7). He is aware of the literary tradition and how the readership sets expectations, and therefore decides to keep his travel narrative outside a limiting category. The author claims, "He escrito, pues, *lo que he escrito*, porque no sabría cómo clasificarlo de otro modo, obedeciendo a instintos y a impulsos que vienen de adentro, y que a veces la razón misma no es parte a refrenar" (4-5). Kelly Austin points out that, "Sarmiento not only asserts a personal

style, but, bases his choice of form, his authority, on a double gesture of ignorance and uniqueness" (110). Not to mention, he utilized the literary genre of the letter to maintain a personal tone and avoid limitation on topics or stylistics. Sarmiento explains, "Desde luego las cartas son de suyo género literario tan dúctil y elástico, que se presta a todas las formas y admite todos los asuntos." (5). In this way, the structure did not limit Sarmiento nor E. Mansilla on the topics they could address to their public and how they would represent the United States. They both explored topics regarding history, politics, modernity, and women.

E. Mansilla recognized the previous literature on the United States and occasionally cited sources to defend or refute her observations. Like many Latin American travel writers, E. Mansilla as well as Sarmiento, used the European library to support their authority as writers and fill in the gaps if they were unable to see everything. Her authority on content was also established by her social class and travel experiences. In her preliminary chapter, she writes:

> Pero, en mi calidad de viajera, que escribe con la mirada honrada de dar luz a los que no la tienen, creo de mi deber consignar en estas páginas, lo que he oído repetir a tantos famosos *touristes.* Pues en ciertas materias, forzoso es contar los votos, por más amigo que uno sea de pesarlos. (4-5)

E. Mansilla was not only a traveler but also a resident in foreign countries, which added to her authority in travel writing. The author presents her authority through her knowledge as an experienced traveler, her long-term residence, and her Old World customs. She was not the itinerary traveler on a time constraint or on a tourist journey, but rather a temporary resident. In contrast, Sarmiento had less

authority to write given that his U.S. trip was a short span of six weeks where he passed through twenty-one states. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento wrote from different spaces and utilized different strategies. In other words, they built different identities as "traveler" and as "author" which contributed to the type of information included in their travel narratives and their self-representations.

Sarmiento explains that he was sent on an investigational trip to study the educational institutions abroad to then implement in Latin America. On the one hand, he spent over a year in Europe observing the educational institutions and had researched before the trip to give the reader a thorough account. On the other hand, his impromptu 6-week trip to the United States at the end of his 2-year journey, limited his observations to an idealized impressionist account of North America, U.S. democracy, and the education system. Sarmiento had to make up for his lack of authority on the U.S. It will be seen later in the chapter that Sarmiento omitted information that most readers familiar with his works would assume he would have included. His intent was to elevate the representations of the U.S. due to the failure of Europe to live up to its model. The critiques ignored by Sarmiento, appear in E. Mansilla's text because she traveled in a privileged space that allowed her to comment freely on travel, leisure, culture, society, etc.

Representations of Latin American Travelers

What type of travel writers were they? How did they represent themselves en route? By default the travelers became representatives of their native countries. Many scholars characterize E. Mansilla's travel writer role as an "interpreter." Batticuore calls her "intérprete cultural," "escritora intérprete," "permanent

interpreter" and Maria Rosa Lojo refers to her as "traductora cultural" and "traductora rebelde" while David Viñas describes her as a "cronista social." She translated Argentina to Europe in *El médico de San Luis* and in *Pablo ou la vie dans les Pampas,* she explained European customs to Argentines in *Lucía Miranda,* and finally she showed U.S. culture to Argentines in *Recuerdos de viaje* (Batticuore, *La mujer romántica* 238). Critics are accurate that translating was an important characteristic of her travel identity and professional identity. Her writings are full of vocabulary and phrases in different languages. Specifically, in *Recuerdos de viaje*, she quotes in Latin and in French and uses terminology in English, French and Italian. Eduarda Mansilla from her arrival in New York creates her cultural authority as she declares that her "diplomatic" passport gave her privileges. Ironically, the author did not describe Europe to her Argentine readers but she did describe Paris to the French. In her narrative, she represented herself as the "storyteller of France" during her conversations with noble French exiles in diplomatic soirees. E. Mansilla narrates:

> Muchas veces el Conde de París se me acercaba y me decía: *No bailemos esta polka, conversémosla; Ud. me contará a París.* Y yo le hablaba de los teatros, de los bulevares, de los Campos Elíseos, del bosque de Boulogne, y él me escuchaba *ravi* (encantado), según su expresión…El Conde no perdía una sola de mis palabras, y parecía oírlas con sumo placer, á pesar de la penosa impresión, que el desterrado del palacio de sus abuelos, debía indudablemente experimentar, al relato de tales fiestas. (93-94)

The image of her as a storyteller and the French nobles as her attentive listeners portrayed her in an authoritative position on Europe and fine culture. E. Mansilla created an image of Europe without it being neither the subject nor the destination of her travel book. As Batticuore points out, "Paris appeared in the descriptions of analogies and oppositions to the United States" ("Itinerarios culturales" 172). It was through the polar structure of her book where she used Europe as the base of comparison and cultural authority that the text indirectly constructed images of Europe.

Even with cultural authority or superiority, the traveler encountered moments of misunderstanding through language barriers or foreign customs. E. Mansilla is surprised by her vulnerability as a traveler confronting language blocks. She re-enacts a dramatic scene at her arrival in New York where her language skills failed the well-known "interpreter."[18] The traveler describes the scenario as follows:

> *Diverse lingue orribili favelle.* Recordé al Dante, sin poderlo remediar…me encontré delante un muro humano, que vociferaba palabras desconocidas, como una legión de condenados. Eran seres groseros, feos, mal entrazados, con enormes látigos sobre las indefensas cabezas de los viajeros… (10)

She transforms the port in New York into Dante's inferno and the port officials directing travelers into grotesque monsters. Although she admits embarrassment of her English skills and apologizes to her English tutor, the traveler shifts the blame on the English accent and calls it "mal entrazado y lacónico expresivo empleado." E.

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[18] "(Eduarda) …aprendió rápidamente idiomas, y, según se ha contado repetidamente, había actuado siendo aún una niña como traductora e intermediaria entre el gobernador y el Conde Walewski, enviado de Francia" (Lojo 17).

Mansilla does not allow herself to be the fool, but rather depicts the others as vulgar figures in scenarios of misunderstandings. The language barriers are also seen in Sarmiento's travels and the traveler shifts from spectator to spectacle.[19] Perhaps the language barrier was not as big of a hindrance to E. Mansilla, who spent two long residences in country compared to Sarmiento's 6-week trip. Sarmiento's episodes are comical and have him making a scene in public. Although not all travelers include episodes of humiliation, comedy is essential to the genre of travel writing, given that travelers would inevitably encounter misunderstandings. To illustrate, Sarmiento narrates a misunderstanding on the train over a reserved seat. He explains:

> Imagínese Ud., amigo, mi situación en aquella postura incongruente, expuesto a la vergüenza pública, hecho el objeto del ridículo de aquella turbamulta…Yo hice algo mejor. Bájeme en efecto, dirígeme rápidamente a una luz que estaba por ahí, y poniéndome en lugar donde los rayos me iluminasen perfectamente la cara, con voz llena y estridente, con semblante contenido pero severo, dije…Si hay entre vosotros alguno que entienda español o francés, hágame la gracia de manifestarse, porque necesito explicarme, dar y pedir inmediatamente una satisfacción! Un profundo silencio se había hecho en el intertanto. (453)

In this situation, Sarmiento made his presence central in the crowd to prove he was not an uncultured and uneducated traveler that did not understand the

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[19] For more on spectator turned spectacle, see: Chard, Chloe. "Women who transmute into tourist attractions: spectator and spectacle on the Grand Tour." *Romantic geographies,* Ed. Amanda Gilroy. New York: Manchester University Press, 2000. 109-126.

transportation system. He became the main attraction in an effort to validate his mistake. This was not the only episode Sarmiento needed an interpreter to communicate. He had another incident in a hotel trying to reach his travel companion who had the funds to pay for his hotel. Another interpreter helped decipher Sarmiento's message and send a telegram to find his companion.

Eduarda Mansilla created two professional identities in her narrative: as a writer she was a fiction author and as a traveler she was a diplomat's wife and both contributed to her status and authority. In her narrative, prestigious foreigners recognized her as a writer of different genres. She re-counts an encounter with the historian John Motley who said to her, "Señora Ud., me favorece, más fácil es escribir una Buena historia que una Buena novela y Ud. ha escrito *El Médico de San Luis.* Hay horas dulces para los pobres autores" (118). Another example is a professional praise she receives from the Conde de Paris, she writes, "Aquí, en el Plata, no hace mucho, he recibido una carta suya muy expresiva sobre mis CUENTOS" (58). Not only do others identify her as an author, but also she identifies herself as one. In one episode, E. Mansilla introduces her ability of a novelist before starting a satirical description of her neighbor at the dinner table, she strategically inserts, "…que, a fuer de novelista de estos tiempos descriptivos, voy a dame el gusto de detallar minuciosamente…" (100). In her representations of social gatherings and diplomatic reunions, her husband was absent from the narrative and she became the central figure that represented Argentina. To illustrate, in a reception hosted by President Lincoln and the first lady, E. Mansilla writes, "Les visité en la Casa Blanca, sin más título que el de *extranjera distinguida,*…" (50). Also, to avoid her husband's long

diplomatic title, she preferred to use, "<<Señora García, de Sud América>>" as her title for introductions. The wives of diplomat's didn't have "official" positions, but were not closed off from all spaces of politics and business either. Historical scholarship on 19th century diplomats has shown the wives as influencing figures and used as strategic tools by their governments by unofficially participating in politics through social gatherings in public events and in foreign diplomats' private homes.[20] E. Mansilla was not an "official" diplomat of Argentina but self-represented herself as one. She inserts herself in the intellectual and political realm of Argentina by including episodes that compared her to Sarmiento and references to her mother the "sister of Rosas."

In social interactions E. Mansilla depicted herself in a reserved and diplomatic manner. She chose not to argue or disagree in controversial encounters. There were multiple uncomfortable situations between women and men that E. Mansilla managed to end peacefully. For example, a friend made an offensive comment about Catholicism and she responded:

> Fuerza es reconocer que la dama protestante carecía de lógica; pero su intención era buena. Yo me guardé bien de decírselo y por lo contrario le contesté: You are right (tiene ud. razón); que en cuestiones religiosas la discusión es por lo menos inútil y la buena crianza nos enseña a respetar todas las creencias. (83)

[20] See Wood, Molly M. "A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico: Creating Professional Political, and National Identities in the Early Twentieth Century." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 25.3 (2004): 104-133.

In another debate she took credit for making peace and attributed it to her "savoir faire diplomático" for changing the subject of the discussion to a more pleasant one. She handled the situations by avoiding confrontation through agreement or silence. Her modesty and silence are part of Bonnie Frederick's "rhetoric of femininity" that she defines as tactics female writers practiced to demonstrate acceptable feminine authority and to protect themselves from male criticism. E. Mansilla was more reserved and modest in her self-representations in social interactions, yet more vocal and controversial in her political and historical discussions. On the one hand, for topics such as Native Americans, the U.S.-Mexican War, and the Civil War she did not hold back her critiques nor hide her sympathy and support for the Southern Confederacy. On the other hand, on topics that dealt with the domestic sphere she was more cautious. She mentioned issues of marriage, divorce, and abortion in her narrative but refused to expand on them and give her own opinion. For instance, after observing the social freedom given to women in the United States and their resource of divorce, she foresees that the family unit will pass through inevitable changes; however, she places the solution on those in power. "La familia tal cual hoy existe, habrá de pasar a mi sentir, por grandes modificaciones que encaminen y dirijan el espíritu de los futuros legisladores, para cortar este moderno nudo gordiano" (Mansilla 86). In the same way the author was strategic with her multiple use of authorial names, she also was in her topic selection. She does not directly discuss women's suffrage or abolitionism and makes sure to show her conservatism. Instead, she includes her opinions on safer political topics that would not be as

controversial for a female writer. Her content selection, self-representations and tactics encompass the rhetoric of femininity.

Her travel identity granted spaces and topics E. Mansilla could write about that not all travelers could do. Being a temporary resident as a diplomat's wife allowed the author to study the daily life of the North Americans. In addition, her social status and husband's occupation gave her exclusive access to high society social functions and political events. She includes episodes of soirees in the White House, foreign diplomats' residences, banquets in hotels, theatres, etc. Her relationships with women opened up public and private spaces of men, women and children. For example, it gave her the opportunity to attend a children's dance school and witness one of their receptions and pageants. Also, she writes about her experiences and observations in private homes, such as her description of the typical luxurious home's layout and decor in New York and goes as far as to criticize their use of bed linens. Sarmiento was limited on time and money and did not have access to the high society events or private spaces that E. Mansilla did. He kept his observations mostly in the public realm and studied how North American society functioned by explaining how elections worked or how the municipal government functioned, while Mansilla studied the daily customs and habits of the population which led her to public and private spaces.

It was in E. Mansilla's uncomfortable interactions where her diplomatic manners shined. Strikingly, she inserts unpleasant experiences with "senadores y diplomáticos" that she describes as "cómicamente tristes." She maintains a reserved

position while showing the ignorance of male diplomats. This particular anecdote is interesting because there are two different versions. E. Mansilla's version:

> Pero, no quiero, ya que de él me ocupo, echar en olvido una pregunta algo cándida que me dirigió en mi salón de Washington algunos años después. < <¿Supongo querida señora que allá en el Plata Ud. y Mr. Sarmiento son excepciones? >> Mi respuesta no viene aquí al caso; hay cosas que deben decirse fuera de la patria, y callarse en ella. (119)

Her anecdote reflects the preconceived ideas foreigners continued to have of Latin America; her home country had not yet legitimized itself as a modern nation. Her position is placed at the same level as Sarmiento highlighting her level of authority and prestige. The author is reserved in her confrontations and maintains it in this interaction by omitting her reaction and allowing the reader to fill in the gap. The author did not want to risk her feminine image of modesty and self-control. It is interesting that her son Daniel incorporates the same scene in his memoirs; however she is not as reserved when he provides a different version of the encounter. Daniel García explains that his mother was discrete in her narration of the event and given that this discreteness appears in multiple representations, it was an essential part of her self-representation as a reserved and diplomatic *lady*. Daniel García does not represent his mother as submissive or silent in confrontations, instead he depicts her as a more aggressive and assertive woman. He writes:

> Preguntóle el senador Morton a mi madre: Supongo, señora que en su país, personas como usted, como Mr. Sarmiento y su esposo, representarán

> notables excepciones…Se equivoca usted-le respondió-porque el señor Sarmiento pasa por loco y yo por fea. En sus *Recuerdos de viaje* mi madre refiere la anécdota en más discreción. (89-90)

Daniel García made a point to add his father to the exceptions list while E. Mansilla's version left him out of her travel narrative. That was not the only example D. García provided of his mother as an assertive woman. More examples are an incident that provoked his mother to escort a diplomat out of her home in Paris or when she corrected Edouard Rene de Laboulaye's translation and received an apology from the French writer for his disagreement with her. The outspoken and self-assertive qualities were similar to the ways other female travelers represented themselves such as Flora Tristán who presented herself in social interactions as confident and opinionated. Unlike E. Mansilla who maintained her modesty and decorum consistently, Flora Tristán boldly represented herself in multiple debates with male figures. These women utilized opposing strategies and had very different reasons for travel. Maintaining the rhetoric of femininity of a female traveler, E. Mansilla followed social decorum for a woman in her social class and preserved this appearance throughout her narrative. Tristán took advantage of the freedom and privilege she attained by switching her identity when beneficial to "European" or to "Peruvian" and had moments when she stayed in appropriate feminine behavior and moments when she did not. On the other hand, reservation was not a strategy only utilized by women; Sarmiento also used an aspect of reservation in his self-representations as a traveler. He painted his travel companion as an over-aggressive traveler who jumped into any conversation or debate occurring around him.

Sarmiento stayed outside of the debates to observe, listen, and then make a judgment and share it with his audience. This added to Sarmiento's construction of a journey of acquisition and image of a student-traveler.

Old World vs. New World: Visions of the United States

After spending 18 years in Europe and the United States, why did Eduarda Mansilla decide to write about her travels to the United States and not Europe? What was the allure of re-telling her journey to the U.S.? Despite not writing about her residence in Europe, she used Paris as the base of her ideal urban city and cultural knowledge to draw from when trying to understand and describe the United States to her readers. It is interesting that she probably had more than enough topics to discuss and anecdotes to narrate about Europe, yet Mansilla decided to write about the United States. According to the information Daniel García provided in his memoir, her time in the Old World can be seen as a "periodo europeo en el que la personalidad de Eduarda encontró campo para brillar, no solo como la mujer de un diplomático, sino en la música y la literatura" (Sosa de Newton, "Eduarda Mansilla de García" 88). He presented their time in Europe to be comparatively active and privileged to their time in the United States. Similar to the anecdotes about the social functions in the White House and the banquets hosted by international ambassadors in *Recuerdos de viaje,* she had comparable stories to tell about Europe. In *Visto, oído y recordado*, D. García describes his parents' social life as, "Acostumbraban asimismo mis padres a frecuentar los círculos artísticos, cosa que daba al París de entonces un tono de novedad y buen gusto, así como de refinada cultura moderna. Entre sus relaciones, figuraba, pues, Rossini, el célebre

autor de 'El barbero de Sevilla'…" (65). To create a picture of their social life he included anecdotes of his parents hosting tertulias with prominent European and Latin American figures, frequent visits to ex-Queen Isabel II's apartment in Paris, and his mother's encounters with European writers such as Alejandro Dumas, Victor Hugo, Edouard de Laboulaye, etc. In his memoirs, D. García constructed an image of a well-connected family and respected figures in European society. The same European writers Sarmiento referenced and elevated in his prologue were the ones E. Mansilla was connecting with in Paris. To put it another way, D. García's writings demonstrated that his mother had plenty of interesting experiences to narrate, but perhaps it was her familiarity and preference for European culture that pushed her away from writing about her life in Paris.

What were the disadvantages of writing about Europe? It was possible that by the end of the 19th century, the Old World was not "exotic" or "foreign" for a travel book, but instead too "familiar" for E. Mansilla and her Argentine reading public. Sarmiento describes the North American country as a new creation; "No es aquel cuerpo social un ser deforme, monstruo de las especies conocidas, sino como un animal Nuevo producido por la creación política, extraño como aquellos megaterios cuyos huesos se presentan aun sobre la superficie de la tierra" (Sarmiento 333-334). Some critics like Monica Szurmuk and Eva-Lynn Jagoe see her identification with Europe as the reason to not write about it. Along with the author's familiarity with Europe, her reading public also could have been sufficiently knowledgeable on the subject and for this reason desired a more foreign place or in other words a place they knew less about. There already existed an extensive

literature on Europe made up of personal travel books, tourist guides, and Grand Tour writings. Correspondingly, Sarmiento discussed this problem of novelty and monotony for contemporary travel writers in his prologue as mentioned earlier. He noted several problems the Latin American travel writer confronted when writing about travels and a major one was being unique. Even though E. Mansilla could have certainly established authority to write about Europe through language competence, cultural understanding and social connections, it would have been harder to find her own personal voice in such a popular topic. María Rosa Lojo considers, "Quizá lo hace precisamente porque el nudo de conflicto que entraña su experiencia norteamericana despierta en ella un mayor interés polémico y literario" ("Eduarda Mansilla: entre la barbarie *yankee*" 15). Choosing the United States, gave the author the opportunity to enter in the discussion of tradition-modernity and contest the modern utopia Sarmiento had created. Viñas and Ramos' descriptions of *escritores finiseculares* resemble E. Mansilla's discourse on the United States in regards to her discussion on modernity. Both critics argue that these end of century writers had the same type of nostalgic attitude for tradition when encountered by modernity and placed values of "aesthetics, humanity, and spirituality" in Latin American culture in opposition to modernization, capitalism, technology, etc. Eduarda Mansilla's aesthetic discourses dealt with the categories of art, beauty, sublimity and taste. Shirley Foster and Sara Mills explain, "This aestheticizing discourse often marked out a particular class position for women, indicating their education and the leisure necessary for acquiring their knowledge of the vocabulary of the aesthetic; it also signified that they were tourists rather than missionaries or explorers" (93).

Discourses, languages, vocabulary, references, etc. employed in a traveler's writing were traits that reflected their social class and education.

It was E. Mansilla's knowledge of Europe that she used to understand the foreignness of the United States. In fact, in her voyage she departed from France and not from Argentina. The origins of the routes and experiences on route affected travelers' reactions and impressions to their destinations and were usually set up for comparison. The effects of the space of departure can be seen in Sarmiento's travel narrative as well but in an opposite way. Although Sarmiento like E. Mansilla departed from Europe to U.S., the disillusionment he suffered in Europe prior to his North American trip influenced the intensity and vigor in his discourse on United States democracy. The United States was his last chance to find a model for his countrymen in Argentina. Sarmiento starts the first letter of his trip as follows,

> Salgo de los Estados Unidos, mi estimado amigo, en aquel estado de excitación que causa el espectáculo de un drama nuevo…Quiero decirle que salgo triste, pensativo, complacido y abismado; la mitad de mis ilusiones rotas o ajadas, mientras que otras luchan con el raciocinio para decorar de Nuevo aquel panorama imaginario en que encerramos siempre las ideas cuando se refieren a objetos que no hemos visto… (333)

Disenchanted with Europe, Sarmiento starts his North American journey with high hopes of finding his modern utopia. Another example is the case of the Larrainzar sisters; they traveled from their native Mexico City to New York and experienced decreased amazement in Europe due to its later destination on the itinerary. These Mexican travelers explored the U.S. and saw some of the same places E. Mansilla

wrote about, yet their impressions were quite the opposite. They observed splendor and grandiosity in the architecture and urban development where E. Mansilla expressed disappoint. The Larrainzars refer to their surprised moderate impressions upon their arrival to London:

> Si de México hubiéramos sido transportadas a Londres, no puede dudarse que la impresión habría sido inmensa y demasiado fuerte para nosotras; pero antes habíamos pasado ya por Nueva York, que no se puede negar que es una gran ciudad, de modo que no fue tan viva nuestra sorpresa. (2: 20)

The different examples of travelers demonstrate how the route and place of departure influenced each traveler's impressions differently to new destinations.

What were the advantages and attractions for choosing the United States? The United States in the 19th century was a relatively new republic that Latin American nations could relate to during an era of post-independence and modernization. For example, Sarmiento's objective of travel was to observe and learn from the progressive institutions abroad and implement them in Latin America. Although, Mansilla did not take the same type of journey as Sarmiento's "viaje de aprendizaje," as Viñas describes it, she was still aware of Argentina's status of development and included some beneficial observations for her home country. It was precisely the United States' model of democracy that appealed to the foreign gaze. As a nation that had a different evolution compared to the European model, it had in a relatively short period of time made itself stand out as a competitor. Therefore, the U.S. inspired different interests in travelers and readers than the Old World did. Europe attracted travelers to witness history, literature, and art, which

were the foundations of their education. On the other hand, the U.S. as a young nation intrigued travelers to see their moral and social principles and democratic government manifest in everyday life. Miguel Cabañas describes it as, "Nineteenth-century travel writing, written from both sides of the North/South divide, contains complex attitudes toward modernity, with its utopian notions of progress, economic and technological advancement, and liberation from European stagnation" (2). Travelers wanted to witness the results of democracy, its effectiveness, and how it affected society and culture.

What discourses could the authors enter that would not have emerged in Europe? E. Mansilla and Sarmiento participated in multiple discourses on history, politics and contemporary issues. Since landscape descriptions had been exhausted in travel literature, Sarmiento argued that contemporary topics were the most intriguing to the reader.

> Ni es ya la fisonomía exterior de las naciones, ni el aspecto físico de los países, sujeto propio de observación, que los libros nos tienen harto familiarizados con sus detalles. Materia más vasta, si bien menos fácil de apreciar, ofrecen el espíritu que agita a las naciones, las instituciones que retardan o impulsan sus progresos, y aquellas preocupaciones del momento, que dan a la narración toda su oportunidad, y el tinte peculiar de la época. (5)

Although Sarmiento stated that contemporary topics were the most interesting, he intentionally omitted controversial issues occurring in the United States during his travels to preserve his utopian discourse. The United States gave writers another opportunity to reenter the discussion of "civilización/barbarie" that they had

already participated in prior texts, yet shifted to the binary tradition/modernization for its context and set up for comparison with Europe.[21] The previous debate of civilización/barbarie was not exclusive to male authors, as seen in E. Mansilla's novels, *El médico de San Luis* (1860) and *Pablo ou vie las Pampas* (1869).[22] Both novels take place in the provinces of Argentina. *El médico* followed a provincial family and the first person narrator, Dr. Wilson (Scottish foreigner), who voiced his views on a variety of topics such as education, race, and progress. The narrator reflected the contemporary Argentine liberal agenda. *Pablo* was a novel in the third person that narrated the tragic death of a young gaucho. The novel presented barbarism but also cosmopolitan ignorance of the interior of the country. Critics like Stella Franco and Maria Rosa Lojo, argue that the author's choice to write her travel book on the United States was a polemical tool that gave her the freedom to participate in multiple political discourses.

Whereas the "civilización/barbarie" discussion dealt with native populations in combination with the organization of cities, the tradition/modernity debate left the native populations out of the discussion. Tradition symbolized pre-revolution society, monarchies and European aristocracy, while modernity represented technology, democracy, class equality and individual freedom. The argument dealt with the United States as a modern nation in terms of technology, economy,

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[21] For more on the paradigms of culture/nature, modernity/tradition, and civilization/barbarism, see: Cabañas, Miguel A. *The Cultural "Other" in Nineteenth-Century Travel Narratives: How the United States and Latin America Described Each Other*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.

[22] "While *El médico* has more in common with Sarmiento's ideology in *Pablo* Eduarda's federalist family background comes to bear and her novel takes a dim view of many of the policies of Sarmiento's government. However, she accuses both political factions of their failures to educate and engage the gaucho as well as for their disregard of women's situations" (Jagoe 515-6).

government, territory and the Anglo-Saxons as the centered population. The Argentine authors did not extensively elaborate the controversial issues occurring in the United States during their travels. Sarmiento for the most part avoided the topics, while E. Mansilla did not go into a deep debate or diatribe on the issues, but did insert harsh critical remarks to demonstrate the hypocrisies of a "democracy" and provide concrete examples of its flaws. Their approaches reflect their feelings towards the North American nation and the image they intended to create for the reader. Sarmiento's purpose was to represent his newly discovered utopian model, convince his public at home to embrace the model, and more importantly persuade the intellectual and political elite that would be making decisions for the country; E. Mansilla, on the other hand did not see the utopia Sarmiento created and instead informed her reading public on what to expect on travel, leisure, and culture if they traveled to the U.S. Many of her observations were written in the third-person with an impersonal subject, such as "el viajero," "el touriste," etc. to address the reader. She changed to the personal first-person to narrate anecdotes or to express disapprovals or excitement. The indigenous only appeared in political discussions by the authors; while Black Americans were background figures in descriptions of banquets, dining halls, hotels, carriages, etc.

According to Mansilla, civilization was based on Old World knowledge, customs, and education, which made the United States incomplete in comparison. Through her lens, the United States was a modern nation advancing politically, economically, and technologically but uncivilized in their unrefined tastes and customs which the author represented as vulgar and theatrical. As Beatriz Urraca

explains, “North American democracy was seen as the culprit…it gets in the way of refinement and comfort” (8). At the same time E. Mansilla is constructing U.S. images of modernity, she is reflecting her values and identity. She is clear that she supports tradition and wants to maintain class separation and aristocratic comfort. Unlike Sarmiento who presents a modern utopia, she exposes the hypocrisies of the democratic nation and the drawbacks of their philosophy of equality. Where Sarmiento drew a blind eye, E. Mansilla did not hold back criticism. For example, she comments on their desire of noble titles, observes fake crests on carriages, obsession with foreign titles, etc. that demonstrated an esteem for European aristocracy and did not reflect a classless society. Sarmiento claimed in regards to dress one could not distinguish a farmer from a doctor but E. Mansilla saw the separation. To illustrate government hypocrisy, Mansilla points out the corrupt handling of indigenous populations. She states:

> Dolorosa es la historia, que llamaré privada, de los Estados Unidos, en contacto con esas tribus salvajes…Así que el Yankee tuvo una existencia política asegurada, no se contentó ya con comprar, como en otro tiempo, tierras a los indígenas, decidió destruir la raza por todos los medios a su alcance. Muerte, traición y rapiña, han sido las armas…” (53-54).

She unmasks the violent tactics and demonstrates to her Argentine public that the government was not democratic when it came to all its communities.

Although E. Mansilla presented the binary Old World-New World throughout her travel narrative, she did find traits of the Old World in the South. In Chapter 6 of *Recuerdos*, E. Mansilla discusses the American Civil War that had started at her

arrival. Even though the author recognizes the errors of the Southern Confederacy and knows they lost, she expresses a degree of sympathy for the South, supports their desire for secession and suffers nostalgia for its disappearance. She writes:

> Representaba el Sud la aristocracia, que de otra suerte no puede llamarse, ese grupo de opulentos plantadores, dueños de aquel suelo. Vivían éstos en muelle ociosidad, explotando exclusivamente el trabajo de sus esclavos, para el cultivo del algodón, del café, y del azúcar, las primordiales riquezas de los estados esclavistas. Esos soberbios dueños de la tierra, cuyos riquísimos ingenios contenían millares de negros…representaban en la Union el lujo señorial, la elegancia de maneras hereditarias, y esa cultural del espíritu, que tan bien se hermana, con el ocio y las riquezas…Pobre Sud! A pesar de sus faltas, del látigo cruento con que azotaba las espaldas de sus negros, era simpático. Lo compadezco y le dedico aquí un latido de mi corazón femenino. (39)

In the final chapter, E. Mansilla once again defends her feelings for the South against the criticism of a friend. She states that the South represented elegance, refinement and culture and she regretted their demise. Perhaps her feelings reflected a fear of more possible loss of Old World culture and refinement in an era of modernization.

Images of the United States

What type of images did the authors create for their readers? How did they represent the United States? Although these travelers shared some common descriptions, they gave their readers two very different overall visions of a "modern" nation. E. Mansilla began her description by comparing the United States

to England that is by putting it in a more familiar framework for her public. As mentioned earlier, she starts the narrative with a comparison of a British ship line versus a French one. After the imaginary voyage she starts her real voyage at her arrival in New York and writes:

> Si en vez de llegar a Nueva York de día claro…me hubieran desembarcado dormida y encerrada, como las princesas de *Mil y una noches*, en misterioso palaquín, al despertar, de seguro habría exclamado: <<Estoy en Lóndres!>> Identica arquitectura, igual fisonomía en las calles, en las tiendas, en los transeúntes, que parecen todos apurados, y lo están en realidad. (13)

She observed the English character in the appearance of the North American city, as well as in the culture and customs. "En sus hábitos, en sus ideas, en sus preocupaciones, el Norte Americano es el Inglés, pues de todas las razas…la que hasta hoy le ha impreso más profundamente su sello, es la del Reino Unido" (32). However, she also observes the effects of democracy on culture and language that she views as negative. She continues her disapproval of British culture with North American culture and observes the same cold and materialistic character.

The capital city of Washington D.C. was a focal point in both travel narratives. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento described Washington D.C. in a similar way but with two opposing visions in different temporal spaces. E. Mansilla's first impressions of the city reflected her overall vision. She expresses, "Al llegar a la Capital de la Union, a esa ciudad principal del Distrito de Colombia, a la cual dio su nombre Jorge Washington, la impresión es ingratísima; se siente un gran vacío" (44). She was accustomed to visiting capital cities in metropolitan areas. Instead, "Se construyó un

edificio portentoso, de un lujo babilónico con la cumbre en el cielo, rodeado de casuchas sucias y enterrado en el lodo" (Mansilla 46). The capital city was underdeveloped and according to the author it lacked commercial traffic, modes of transportation, monuments, theatres, etc. For elites used to an active social life in an urban space, Washington DC was a disappointment. The author goes as far as to state cows and pigs were "citizens" that roamed the streets in complete freedom. Due to these conditions one night a diplomat friend of hers broke his leg tripping over a cow that slept in the street in front of the door of the Argentine embassy.

On the other hand, Sarmiento recognized the preconceived idea of what a capital city should be and saw past that by maintaining an idealized vision of the U.S. He reflects:

> En los Estados-Unidos no hay capital propiamente dicha, o, mas bien, según la acepción latina que damos nosotros a esta palabra. Descúbrese esto al contemplar la comparativa soledad de aquel monumento, arrojado como por acaso en el centro de una villa, que no es centro de nada, ni del país, ni de la inteligencia, ni de la riqueza, ni de la cultura, ni de las vías comerciales. (396-7)

Unlike E. Mansilla, Sarmiento saw potential for the capital city, in other words he visualized it in terms of a future space. He argues:

> Washington, la capital nominal de la Union, aprovechará sin duda en un porvenir próximo de estas disposiciones del espíritu nacional, si el Capitolio, el Museo de Inventos y el monumento elevado a Washington, hubiesen de ser acompañados por otras atracciones que hiciesen al fin de la capital un centro

> de espectáculos que muevan la curiosidad de los viajeros y despierten el nacionalismo. (411)

Sarmiento saw the development of the capital city as inevitable, given that the government resided there, yet it was in need of attractions for culture and leisure to transform it into a metropolitan area. In addition, he observed and admired a new type of art he termed "national art." His change of views occurred during his travels. As Jaime Pellicer observes, his letters from Europe exalted their artwork, but once he reaches the United States he rejects his old ideas and embraces new ones. Pellicer cites examples of Sarmiento's enthusiasm looking at European artwork, yet in North America, he criticizes that same artwork and gives authority to new artwork. He rejected mimicking European art and considered it traditional. For example, according to the author, Europe placed an overabundance of monuments in their cities and the United States was creating a new trend of national symbolism seen through a simple and strong spirited monument. Connected to this modern utopia was his idea of a "modern national art." Contrary to Sarmiento's taste, E. Mansilla did not appreciate North American art and labeled it as distasteful and poorly mimicked to the European. She especially frowned upon performances of Blackface and the Barnum Museum that she interpreted as representative of North American character and culture.[23]

Connected to the image of the democratic nation was the idea of efficiency and movement. An image the two authors shared in their representations of the

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[23] The Larrainzar sisters visited the Barnum Museum and had a similar reaction of wonder and amazement as E. Mansilla's young children did. See Chapter XIII, Volume I of *Viajes a varias partes de Europa*.

United States was manifested through the slogan "Time is money." They both described the nation as always in motion seen in their communication, transportation, commerce, and daily lifestyle. "*Time is money;* y el *bar room* en el cual se encuentra a mano, comida y bebida, *sin sentarse*, es preferible a todo, cuando el tiempo precioso escasea y hay que economizarlo" (Mansilla 25). E. Mansilla points out that it is not only men in service jobs that eat while standing but also important politicians, lawyers, merchants, etc. It can also be observed in the living space, as seen in hotels transformed into homes. Hotels represent movement, displacement, commerce, etc. and reflect the lifestyle in motion. Mansilla notes, "La vida de hotel en Estados Unidos, no se parece a la de ningún otro país; hay holgura, facilidades, y ventajas, que constituyen una de las especialidades de la Union…familias enteras que toda su vida han vivido de hotel en hotel" (21). Perhaps living in hotels reflected convenience for a society on the move. Both authors observed in the general population and institutions, the characteristic of efficiency as a core value. On a train to Canada, Sarmiento took time to reflect on the sublimity of Niagara Falls. He noticed his traditional concept of beauty was quite different from the United States' concept. He writes:

> Un Yankee que me escuchaba con la plácida frialdad que distingue a este tipo de hombre, me mostró la cascada bajo un punto de vista Nuevo. *Beautiful! Beautiful!* Decía, y para explicarme su manera de sentir la belleza, añadía: esta cascada vale millones! … ¡Se imagina Ud., me decía, que pueden usarse motores de agua de la fuerza de cuarenta mil caballos si se necesita?... *Beautiful! Beautiful!* Añadía extasiado en la aplicación útil de aquella mole

> enorme de agua que hoy solo sirve para mostrar el poder de la naturaleza. Yo creo que los yankees están celosos de la cascada y que la han de ocupar, como ocupan y pueblan los bosques. (379-380)

Sarmiento discovered beauty meant utility and ended up admiring what he considered to be resourcefulness of the United States. In Latin America he had the dilemma of how to "llenar el vacío" and found that the United States had a model to follow. He saw how modernity in the United States did not have limits, which he observed in its grand and extravagant buildings, territory expansion, and new city development. He witnessed how interconnected the cities were through diverse modes of transportation and telecommunications. And he looked at their strategies for populating the open territory of the West. In Sarmiento's study of North America, he saw the stability of civilization, a promising future, and finally a solution for Latin America. Although E. Mansilla used a sarcastic tone when describing and representing "Time is money," she did admit an appreciation for their efficiency in services.

Another interesting image both authors depicted was that of the U.S. as a religiously tolerant country. They both admired the religious tolerance they observed because it contributed to the individual citizen's freedom; however, E. Mansilla was not as welcoming to Protestantism as was Sarmiento. He comments with enthusiasm the evangelist fanaticism and attributed the advancement of modern U.S. society to religion. William Katra explains, "…era la presencia de una *intelligentsia* que pudiera guiar al pueblo…Vemos aquí la sutileza de Sarmiento en justificar ante el lector el papel de una elite educada-sea religiosa, sea laica- para

<<conducir>> al pueblo hacia la soñada civilización" (*Sarmiento de frente y perfil* 175-6). As Katra states, the main idea was that any type of educated elite would have a positive effect on the masses and direct them to civilization and advancement; and in the case of the United States Sarmiento identified it as the evangelists. The opposite was said for Canada's case, given that Sarmiento faults Catholicism for their lack of modernity. Not all religious-fanaticism helped the nation reach civilization, and it was more about an educated group of elite. Sarmiento provides an interesting and hard to believe explanation of how the evangelists performed their missionary work in the countryside to civilize the frontiers. He starts by explaining that first the pastors went through training then they fulfilled their requirement to serve in the countryside. He describes the spiritual work of the pastors, as presenting the concept of God to the countrymen and women and thus stimulating their intellect. He writes:

> Los resultados de esta curación moral son extraños e inexplicables. Las mujeres entran en delirio, se tuercen y revolcan por el suelo, echando espumarajos; lloran los hombres y apretan los puños, hasta que al fin un himno religioso entonado en coro empieza lentamente a dulcificar aquellas santas amarguras; la razón recobra su imperio, la conciencia se aquieta y tranquiliza, y una profunda melancolía se pinta en los semblantes, mezclas con síntomas de bondad moral… (346)

After this sort of spiritual exorcism, the simple-minded countrymen and women received the capacity to understand religion, its morals, and lastly accept the benefits of civilization.

Overall, Sarmiento idealized democracy and the motto all men are created equal. Regarding U.S. society, he states, "No tienen reyes, ni nobles, ni clases privilegiadas, ni hombres nacidos para mandar, ni maquinas humanas nacidas para obedecer" (314). He claimed everyone looked similar and he could not distinguish class or occupation by his or her dress and it even applied in the frontier where new towns were rising. Sarmiento examines:

> Hacia el Oeste, donde la civilización declina, y en el Farwest, donde casi se extingue…el aspecto cambia sin duda, el bienestar se reduce a lo estrictamente necesario, y la casa se convierte en el log-house…pero aun en estas remotas plantaciones, hay igualdad perfecto de aspecto en la población, en el vestido, en los modales, y aun en la inteligencia; el comerciante, el doctor, el sheriff, el cultivador, todos tienen el mismo aspecto. (300)

To add to his support of the U.S. model, he strategically includes a series of debates he had with Mr. Johnson, "un sujeto de cuarenta años, hijo de un general de la independencia del mismo nombre, culto de modales e instruido, cual correspondía al director de un diario transcendental" (400). Mr. Johnson was disillusioned with the leading political party and attacked the United States' system of government, while Sarmiento defended its democracy. Mr. Johnson tried to caution Sarmiento on using the U.S. as a model for his home country, yet he did not understand the disparity in foreign nations and for that reason Sarmiento maintained his support. It is an example of what Ramos called "perspectiva privilegiada" of Sarmiento's intermediary position between advanced and less advanced nations. Sarmiento

used the dialogue to elevate his position and authority on the topic and show that democracy was a model to follow.

Representations of Yankee Women

As a supporter of tradition, another dominant discourse E. Mansilla utilizes to represent the United States to her reader is the use of aesthetic discourses. She uses it to represent the sublimity and picturesque of nature as was common for travel writers, but also to depict the women and high society culture in caricaturesque form. Similar to Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), her descriptions and details focus on culture and day-to-day activities. In addition, it is through aesthetic discourse that E. Mansilla positions her authority and knowledge as a travel writer. She uses various labels for herself, such as "viajera distinguida," "lady," "high life," etc. to describe her social status and it is in her aesthetic discourse where she inserts herself in relation to the objects observed. E. Mansilla addresses the women of the United States through beauty and taste and in particular her discourse portrays the women in an ironic way, which added an element of humor to her travel narrative and reinforced the gap between her and North American women. At the same time the author praises the beauty of the women, she describes them partaking in vulgar activity. A recurring image in the travel narrative is that of a beautiful North American glutton at the dinner table. To illustrate, she recounts the scene, "Nunca podré olvidar el asombro que me causó en mi primera comida…ver devorar a una elegante muchacha de 18 años, la mitad de

una langosta, chupando hasta las antenas, con una delicia…" (23).[24] In other scenes of bad manners, the women slurp their soup or sit on the floor during a reception. Her reflections at first evoke laughter and then are followed by pity. She writes:

> Causa dolor ver a esas rubias, trasparentes, poéticas Yankees, vestidas de encajes; verlas digo, sentadas prosaicamente en esa actitud femenina que permite apoyar un gran plato sopero sobre las rodillas…Solo el realismo de Zola, puede dar acabada idea del espectáculo… (24)

In her observations of the women and hotels, there is a particular interest in the gastronomy and hygiene, which were popular topics for the time period. Just as the male gaze turned women into objects and spectacles, E. Mansilla's female gaze also transformed the United States women into spectacles. The author establishes her authority as an aesthetic perceiver by positioning herself at a superior level of Old World refinement in relation to North American boorish culture. Samuel Monder poses an interesting question regarding the multiple vulgar depictions of U.S. women; how long can these "Yankee women" remain beautiful? Mansilla creates a display of images of U.S. women and in these descriptions her humor and irony shined.

The women were not only portrayed as ill-mannered beauties, they also appeared in feminotopias.[25] It was not uncommon for female travelers to portray foreign countries as liberating spaces for women. For instance, the traveler Flora

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[24] There was a fascination with the North American diet in 19th century travel writing. For more examples, see: Foster, Shirely. *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and their Writings.* New York: Harbester Wheatsheaf, 1990.

[25] Mary Louise Pratt defined "feminotopia" as idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment and pleasure.

Tristán constructed a feminotopia in Lima in regard to the social freedom in the streets the native dress of the saya and manto gave women. Peruvian women gained individual freedom in public spaces because the traditional dress granted them anonymity. In the U.S., E. Mansilla represented autonomy and empowerment through women's freedom to choose their spouse, walk unaccompanied in public spaces, and their opportunities to work as serious and respected journalists. The author begins Chapter 12 with the statement, "La mujer americana practica la libertad individual como ninguna otra en el mundo y parece poseer gran dosis de 'self reliance' (confianza en sí mismo)" (70). To demonstrate, she points out two ways women influenced society; they influenced in the journalist profession and in the family unit. She explains, "El en periodismo…Mujeres son las encargadas de los artículos de los Domingos, de esa literatura sencilla y sana que debe servir de alimento intelectual…Son ellas también las que, por lo general, traducen del alemán, del italiano y aun del francés…" (72). She describes the profession as an "honorable and intellectual" career for women that freed them from the "evil needle." She also, represents women as the head of the family and notes, "Es ahí que debe buscarse y estudiarse la influencia femenina y no en sueños de emancipación política. Qué ganarían las Americanas con emanciparse? Las mujeres influyen en la cosa pública por medios que llamaré psicológicos e indirectos" (72). The author was cautious in her discussions and more conservative when dealing with topics of the family,[26] yet more vocal and controversial on education and politics. Furthermore, Mansilla's

[26] By 1880 E. Mansilla lived in an apartment in Paris while her husband took a diplomatic assignment in Vienna. Her son Daniel García Mansilla explains in his memoirs that the separation was due to health reasons, but most likely was a separation since divorce was not an option in Argentina.

emphasis of women in her travel narrative placed them as central figures of the nation in indirect ways and in private spaces.

Although Sarmiento did not focus his discourses or descriptions on women as E. Mansilla did, he did include some observations that pertained to women. Sarmiento did not mock the women like E. Mansilla but shared some of the same descriptions of the feminotopia. Sarmiento while describing the uniqueness of American culture, states:

> Los norte-americanos se han creado costumbres que no tienen ejemplos ni antecedente en la tierra. La mujer soltera, o el hombre de sexo femenino, es libre como las mariposas hasta el momento de encerrarse en el capullo doméstico, para llenar con el matrimonio sus funciones sociales. Antes de esta época viaja sola, vaga por las calles de las ciudades y mantiene amoríos castos a la par que desenvueltos a la luz del público, bajo el ojo indiferente de sus padres. (303)

He witnesses the same self-reliance, independence and moral trust given to women as E. Mansilla does. The two authors agreed that the modern democratic nation gave advantages to women and saw benefits in implementing them back in Argentina.

In conclusion, the United States became a travel destination that took travelers on a journey of modernization and to a future space. Sarmiento and E. Mansilla demonstrate the range of reactions to this new model of modernity. Sarmiento had an ideal vision of the republic before arriving and continued to see what he wanted to see during his travels. He was on a specific journey of enlightenment to find solutions for Latin America. And the United States became the

answer and model for the writer. He marveled at the rapid development and expansion of a relatively new nation. Also, democracy and the foundation of equality appealed to a self-made man. On the other hand, Eduarda Mansilla was a representative of the Old World and this new modern nation made her nostalgic for refinement and comfort. She embraced tradition, which seemed vulnerable with its distortion in the United States. E. Mansilla added another layer to Sarmiento's idealized representation by showing flaws and hypocrisies of the democratic society. The two Argentine travelers visited the United States in different conditions and for different motivations that influenced their perception of the foreign society and how they constructed their travel narratives. Combining their perspectives provides a broader view of the United States during the 19th century and the preoccupations of their male and female contemporaries and reading public.

Chapter Two: The Larrainzar Sisters' National Trajectories through Mexico

Los mexicanos viajan poco,
y los que viajan no escriben,
ni publican sus impresiones o sus recuerdos.
Miguel Ignacio Altamirano, Introduction to *Viaje a Oriente*

The Genre of Travel Literature in Mexico

Miguel Ignacio Altamirano's introduction to Luis Malanco's *Viaje a Oriente* was not only a presentation of the literary work, but also a commentary on the genre of travel writing and a promotional call to Mexican authors to write more travel narratives especially about national travels. He begins with a controversial first statement to catch the reader's attention: "Los mexicanos viajan poco, y los que viajan no escriben, ni publican sus impresiones o sus recuerdos. Esta es una verdad tan notoria en México, que no necesita demostrarse" (xi). Altamirano dedicates a large part of his introduction to the history of Mexican mobility and the advancement of transportation. In this history, he lists the reasons he believed his countrymen did not travel enough and outlines a historical overview of their tendencies to explain how different factors throughout Mexican history decreased and increased the activity of travel and travel writing. Additionally, the author uses popular racial theories in his historical explanation of the trajectory of Mexican travelers. To illustrate, Altamirano explains, "Lo que puede llamarse la sociedad Mexicana moderna, es hija de dos razas esencialmente móviles y atrevidas, muy dadas a los viajes y apasionadas de las aventuras, como fueron la raza española del siglo XVI y la raza azteca" (xiii). He describes both races as starting off very mobile

and adventurous, yet the conquest put a hold on their mobility for different reasons. He elaborates:

> Después, terminada la conquista, se extinguió también el hábito de locomoción en el pueblo conquistado y éste permaneció como en estancamiento durante tres siglos, lo mismo que su vencedor, sólo que en él semejante quietud no era el signo de la codicia satisfecha, sino la necesidad del trabajo sedentario de la degradación y de la servidumbre. (xvii)

The European race stopped after the satisfaction of its conquests meanwhile the indigenous race was enslaved into labor. According to Altamirano, it was not until the Mexican Revolution that their inherent character of travel and bravery was reawakened. After the recovery of the Mexican people's desire for adventure and travel, they encountered more obstacles.

Altamirano complains that Mexico was behind its counterparts in the Americas. He expected to be behind the United States, yet seemed disturbed that Central and South America had a stronger presence abroad with its travelers. As a strong nationalist, he wanted Mexican identity and history to be constructed by its own people since foreign travelers had created a large corpus on Mexico. One barrier Mexicans faced to travel nationally in the 19th century was logistics. Altamirano did not blame his compatriots for not traveling within Mexico because it was dangerous and exhaustive.[27] Technology sped the modes of communication and

[27] After independence, thousands of people displaced by the war roamed in the countryside as bandits. Horror stories of holdups were commonplace in the conversations of wealthy men and women (Wasserman 10). The Larrainzar sisters in *Viaje a varias partes de Europa*, volume 1, chapter 1, confirm the country highways are safe now but they secretly fantasized that bandidos were after their caravan when a group of hunters fired shots nearby.

of travel, which consequently increased the numbers of travelers within Mexico and abroad. He exalts:

> ¡Oh! ¡Las Diligencias! Ellas fueron en el tiempo de su venida a México, el objeto de la admiración pública…orgullosos de contar ya en la República con este modo de comunicación que permitía al viajero ir de México a Puebla en un día, de México a Guadalajara en ocho días en tiempo de secas y en quince en tiempo de aguas… (xx)

The stagecoaches made travel possible and more comfortable until "la civilización contemporánea" arrived to build railways. The technology of the railway and the steamboat revolutionized travel and increased the opportunity to travel. Mark Wasserman notes, "Prior to the *Porfiriato*, the only extensive railroad ran from the capital to Veracruz; there were approximately 400 miles of track in the entire country in 1876. By 1910, there were more than 15,000 miles of railroad" (171). Regardless of the advances in technology, in the introduction, Altamirano still condemns Mexicans for not writing enough on their own country and included an inadequate bibliography of 10 Mexican male travel writers to cause a reaction from his readers. He sees travel literature as essential to the corpus of national literature as it contributes to Mexican history and identity. Thus, his intent was to persuade his readers into action and for this reason, he exaggerates the insubstantial bibliography and persuades his readers to write by arguing that the pedagogy of the travel book allowed travelers to write freely without limitations. In other words, they could not be criticized and their opinions should be respected unless the reader had taken the journey with him/her. A reader could only "apreciar el espíritu con

que se ha hecho el viaje y hablar del estilo" (xxvii). He attempted to erase any anxieties a future travel writer might have before taking on a project of this type, by giving the writer ultimate authority.

The previous chapter on Eduarda Mansilla addressed some of the anxieties Latin American travel writers faced entering a European dominated genre. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento discussed the issue of originality and the problems Latin American writers struggled with to write about places that had already been described in multiple texts. These were anxieties that Latin Americans battled but also any foreign travel writer after the boom of travel literature. Here, the Mexican writer raises a different apprehension to the genre, which is the problem of veracity and if the public will question the traveler's text. This is a point Sarmiento and Altamirano do not agree on. Sarmiento claimed that a travel writer did not gain authority by the act of travel because non-travelers were knowledgeable on foreign countries from the numerous publications in travel literature. In contrast, Altamirano told his readers that the status of first-person observer established authority and the public could not question it unless they had been by the side of the traveler. To summarize, Altamirano wanted his country to be described by Mexicans and his introduction promoted the genre of travel literature by providing a history of Mexican travelers, highlighting the influences, acknowledging the advances, and finally calling Mexicans into action.

How do Mexican writers use the genre? Critic Thea Pitman argues, in her book *Mexican Travel Writing* (2008), that Mexican writers appropriated the genre of travel literature for nationalistic purposes. Her study looks at the trends of the

genre during the 19th and early 20th century and observes that the travel book was used as a rhetorical tool for the creation of a new identity post-Independence. Previous critics have noted that Alexander Von Humboldt's works became foundations for future foreign travel writers and for Latin American writers as well. Specifically in the case of Mexico, Humboldt's travel books provided a comprehensive overview of the country; they highlighted landscapes, revived interest, and increased appreciation for the pre-Colombian civilizations of Mexico. In addition to type of content to include in travel books, he also proposed an aesthetic model to follow in the genre of travel literature. Jason Wilson credits Humboldt with having popularized a model in Europe that combined the strictly scientific with the literary and/or the popular, observation and enquiry with personal impressions and experiences of the traveler (Pitman 16). The genre of travel writing was associated with imperialist desires and colonialist expansion as seen in the common tropes and chronotropes, and consequently presented problems to writers from postcolonial nations (Pitman 31). The critic outlines how Mexican writers' relationship to the genre changed over time, from emulation and adulation to ironic appropriation and political critique. Pitman explains, that 19th century Mexican travel writing followed the conventional features of the European tradition of travel writing and utilized it as a "vehicle" to develop a national identity. For example, the main characteristics were the sense of purpose (the creation of an identity), accompanied with detailed descriptions of everything "Mexican" (local fauna, customs, natives), and the formal features of the genre (goal-orientated structure, chronologically organized, 1st-person authoritative narrator) (37). On the other hand, the critic goes on to

demonstrate by the mid-19th century, the relationship with travel writing changed due to politics, content, purpose and narrative style. The focus from the rural provinces changed to the metropolis of Mexico City and the narrative's features of the traditional travel book did not fit with the influence of *Modernismo*. Pitman concludes that the genre of travel writing in Mexico was appropriated in the 19th century and went through a process of "creolization," but was reinvented in the 20th century by going through "transculturation."[28]

Pitman's study is one of a few investigations that explore travel writing by Mexican authors. In terms of corpus, *Mexican Travel Writing* examines Mexican writers traveling within their native country and is restricted to male travelers. Following the same concept of travel writing being used for national discourse, critic Edgar Mejía outlines the transformation he observes of the genre in 19th century Mexico. Mejía defines the beginning of the century, as *viaje de exploración,* by mid-century the writers are continuing to explore and assign images and emblems to represent the nation, and finally at the end of century he sees the genre inserting itself into the Pofirian project to portray the country as accessible, transit-able, and open to the world (19). This chapter hopes to add to the field of Mexican travel writing by considering two Mexican female writers into the national corpus. How did female authors contribute to the genre? Did they utilize the genre for

[28] Pitman defines "creolization" as the importation of a European cultural model or custom, that is reproduced in the New World with little consideration for the way in which its meaning, purpose or politics might be different or nonsensical in the new context…"transculturation" substantially and consciously changes the form of the genre at the level of the chronotope in order to enable it to address fully its new context and to contest the imperialist tendencies of the original genre (82).

nationalistic purposes as well? Did they follow the 19th century tendencies of the genre?

The Larrainzar Sisters

The sister-authors, Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar are a peculiar case in regards to female traveler writers. They were twin sisters, young adolescent travelers, and were the children of the first Mexican family of diplomats in Russia in 1866. They returned as adults 8 years later and co-authored and co-published their 4-volume travel book titled *Viaje a varias partes de Europa* (1880-1882). There is limited bibliographical information on the authors; however their father Manuel Larrainzar's biography provides some information on the family and their various foreign residences. The Larrainzars were a prominent family and Manuel Larrainzar (diplomat, lawyer, and historian) occupied multiple public offices abroad during his professional career. The sister-authors Enriqueta and Ernestina were born abroad in 1854 during a diplomatic mission in Italy.[29] The Larrainzar sisters were adolescent girls when their father was commissioned to Russia. Their Russian residence lasted about a year and a half; however, it was cut short when the emperor Maximilian was ousted in 1867 and the family as a representative of the fallen government had to leave. The Larrainzars lived in exile throughout Europe and Central America until returning home to Mexico in 1873 after the death of President Benito Juárez.

[29] The elder sister, Elena L. de Gálvez, contributed her own travel narrative published separately and independently as a complementary addition. It was titled *Apédice sobre Italia, Suiza y los Bordes del Rhin*; she explains that she added descriptions of these countries because Enriqueta and Ernestina "estaban recién nacidas" and were not old enough to remember this specific residence abroad.

The sister-authors had a combined identity in their writings, by which I mean they published all their literary texts together and wrote in the first person plural. Prior publications to their travel book were: *Horas serias en la vida. Reflexiones escritas* (1879) and *Misterios del corazón* (1881) and after their travel narrative they wrote *Sonrisas y lágrimas* (1883).[30] Their writings were consistent with 19th century romantic themes and moralizing tones. *Horas serias* is an essay about the human passions while *Sonrisas y lágrimas* is a two-volume novel consisting of 4 independent narratives tied by the theme of female honor. The sister-authors also incorporated their romantic fictional writing into their travel narrative by inserting two separate melodramatic novels into their travels as an entertainment tool for the heavily encyclopedic sections of the narrative.

Enriqueta and Ernestina Larrainzar published an extensive travel book organized into 4 volumes and accompanied by an independent 5th addition written by their older sister Elena Gálvez. The Larrainzar sisters followed the basic conventions of 19th century Mexican travel writers. From the formal characteristics that Pitman outlines of 19th century writers, the Larrainzar sisters continued the structure of the goal-orientated journey and chronologically organized with a 1st person plural narrator. They included objective descriptions of cities' geographies, institutions, demographics, etc. and subjective personal descriptions as well. Their travel book was published 32-pages weekly and distributed to their subscribers for

[30] According to Cecilia Olivares Mansuy, the titles of their first two publications appear in the *Enciclopedia de México*, but she has not been able to find the texts so she can only speculate of their possible themes of religion and decorum or if they are fictional/non-fictional works (322).

1 real in Mexico City and 1 ½ reales outside the city from 1880 to 1882.[31] The first volume recounts their travels leaving Mexico, journey through the United States, and ends with their arrival in England. The second volume consists of their European travels from England to Russia. The third, narrates their yearlong residence in Russia and the final and fourth volume retells their departure, their 6-year exile, and return trip to Mexico. As mentioned earlier, the sister-travelers mixed reality with fiction in their travel narrative by interweaving two melodramatic novels throughout their 4-volume narrative. During their sea voyage, the Larrainzar sisters meet a travel companion named Marta; a single mother escaping an abusive husband who narrates her tragic story during her conversations with the sisters on ship. Following Marta's departure from the travel route the first melodrama ends and then the sisters find a manuscript in a cemetery in Brooklyn and read the second melodrama to their audience. That story line is about an orphaned boy abandoned by his mother for his protection and who suffers a series of misfortunes in his love life. Utilizing the techniques of the popular *folletín* (serialized fiction publication), the authors juxtaposed the novels with the travel journal leaving the readers in suspense for next week's reading.

Establishing Authority

The sister-authors are transparent in the writing and publication process. They admit to their readers the difficulty of publishing for writers and also provide

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[31] A "new commercial phenomenon" around the 1840s occurred with serial novels in pamphlet type installments were published and delivered to subscribers' homes. For more on the folletín-serial novel see: Acree, William G. and Juan Carlos González Espitia, eds. *Building Nineteenth-Century Latin America: Re-rooted Cultures, Identities, and Nations*. Nashville: Vanderbilt Univeristy Press, 2009.

an insider view of the writing process of their travel narrative. Moreover, the sisters utilize multiple strategies to establish their authority as travel writers and some of these strategies are used in other publications as well. The Larrainzar sisters open up in the prologue of the 4th volume and confess to difficulties they encountered publishing their travel narrative. Part of this prologue is used to justify the publication of the entire travel book and particularly the 4th volume because a travel book would be incomplete without the narration of the return journey. After defending their reason to finish their book they express their frustrations, "Todas estas consideraciones nos han decidido a publicar en este último tomo nuestro viaje de regreso, a pesar de los sacrificios y disgustos que siempre proporciona una publicación entre nosotros" (4: 777). Publishing was a difficult endeavor for male and female writers alike. Further in the prologue the sister-authors place part of the blame for this difficulty on the audience. They note:

> …grandes han sido los sacrificios y quebrantos que hemos tenido que hacer para concluirla. En México desgraciadamente, quizás poco extendido aun el gusto por la lectura, no se costean las impresiones y el que escribe, se ve sujeto a muchos contrariedades y disgustos. (4: 889-890)

They repeat throughout the last volume of their work that writing and publishing are not easy endeavors. For the writer to adhere to the reading public's taste creates multiple obstacles especially if the writer is attempting to publish less popular topics or genres. In the case of the Larrainzar sisters, their travel narrative had sections of dense encyclopedic information of cities visited that required extensive scholarship. To balance their travel book, the sister-authors used the popular 19th

century literary device of *lo útil y lo dulce*. It would have been hard to sell a heavy reading that consisted of 4 volumes and 2 years of weekly subscriptions. In addition to providing instruction they needed to also entertain their public and that is where they mix fiction and reality.

In addition to stylistic approaches the Larrainzar sisters utilize multiple strategies to overcome the obstacles and establish their authority in the genre. The authors inserted multiple male authorial figures to provide legitimacy to the creation of their text and the finished product. The first male figure to appear in the travel text is in the introductory preface. The editor, Filomeno Mata presents the book as,

> La relación de un viaje a regiones remotas, la descripción de grandes y bellas capitales, el estudio aunque ligero de la historia y costumbres de diversos pueblos, los datos geográficos de las poblaciones, y los curiosos incidentes que se presentan a la vista del viajero, materias son que excitan siempre nuestro interés, y nos hacen grata y apetecible la lectura. (1: 1-2)

The editor starts with a general introduction to the travel narrative and the type of information the reader will find. He then transitions to outline the more specific itinerary of the authors and the unique traits of their work. Mata promotes their work to the audience and demonstrates the variety of traits that would interest every type of reader. On the one hand, he uses popular adjectives of the time period as "ameno," "ligero," and "simple" to describe the sisters' work. Although the sister-authors try to minimize the seriousness of their work and re-use rhetoric of humility when referring to their narrative, the editor Mata highlights the abundance

of information and the usefulness for the scholarly reader. Mata states, "No es solo una obra de imaginación; sino de serio estudio y escrupuloso trabajo…También el hombre de negocios y de letras, encontrará noticias muy útiles e interesantes" (1: 4). The editor also points out the useful scholarship in the travel narrative that tourists, academic readers, and/or business professionals could benefit from.

The second male figure that appears is the sisters' father. The sisters credit their father Manuel Larrainzar for the idea to write a travel book and who encouraged them at their departure to take notes during their journey. In the prologue of the first volume, the authors comment on the origin of the book and the encouragement from their father to write. They explain,

> Hace algunos años que instigadas y animadas por nuestro querido padre, concebimos la idea de escribir nuestras impresiones de viaje para conservar siempre vivo el recuerdo de ellas; tomada esta resolución, comenzamos desde que salimos de México a formar apuntes. Niñas entonces, no podíamos realizar nuestro intento, y los años trascurrieron sin que lo llevásemos á cabo; pero ya de regreso á nuestra patria, pensamos seriamente en ejecutarlo, y emprendimos la ardua tarea de dar á conocer lo que más había llamado nuestra atención y llenado de sensaciones nuestro corazón. (1: 6-7)

The sister-authors followed in their father's footsteps as he also published a book on America after their travels. Manuel Larrainzar wrote *Estudios sobre la historia de America, sus ruinas y antigüedades, comparadas con lo más notable que se conoce del otro continente en los tiempos mas remotos y sobre el orígen de sus habitantes* (1875-1878) a multi-volume socio-historical study that covers ancient civilization,

architecture, ruins, sculptures, etc. His purpose was to bring all the studies together in one place for his audience. Similar to the Larrainzar sisters who also highlighted to their readers the benefit of their extensive travel book that was an all-inclusive encyclopedia of countries they could read about in one place. Manuel Larrainzar knew the advantages of their foreign travels and in the end father and daughters published from them.

The support does not stop there for the sister-authors. Additional male figures appear at the end of their 4th volume in two letters of appreciation.[32] Contemporary male writers supported their female counterparts by writing prologues, letters of support, or literary reviews on their works. The Larrainzars include two letters from José Maria Vigil and José Sebastián Segura, who applaud their recent publication and praise their artistic ability. Vigil writes:

> Satisfactorio me ha sido observar que en la presente obra se descubre un verdadero adelanto en el arte de escribir de sus apreciables autoras. Difícil es interesar en los libros, cuando en ellos se trata de acontecimientos individuales, o apreciaciones personales acerca de países extranjeros, y sin embargo, la sencillez de la narración, la verdad que en ella campea, el buen sentido que domina desde el principio hasta el fin, atraen de tal manera que el lector que ha recorrido las primeras páginas, no puede menos de seguir hasta concluir identificándose con las simpáticas viajeras. (4: 893-4)

He highlights the accessibility of their work and the identification of the readership with the travelers. Like the editor Mata, Vigil uses descriptions as, "facilidad del

[32] They used the same strategy in other publications For example, in their first production, *Horas serias* they included letters written by Vigil, Peza and Altamirano.

estilo," "naturalidad de las descripciones," and "delicadeza de los detalles" to describe the text's approachability. While Vigil focuses on travel descriptions, Segura emphasizes the fiction writing. Segura observes, "La historia de Marta es bellísima y está sembrada de preciosas lecciones morales. La imaginación de nuestras viajeras es fecunda y animada y su corazón tierno, apasionado y bondadoso" (4: 898). He gives the same praise to the second melodrama. "Esta fiel y patética pintura, nos da una idea del talento de las Señoritas Larrainzar. La cartera que se encontraron en el sepulcro de Matilde, encierra la historia de Genaro. Aquí lucen las galas del ingenio de nuestras viajeras" (4: 907). The two authors, like the editor, touch on the various characteristics of the travel book such as reality vs. fiction and *lo útil vs. lo dulce*. The literary reviews from Vigil and Segura were used as a tool to professionally evaluate and promote the sister-authors and increase their authority at the same time. It was a tactic they utilized for multiple publications.

Male foreign travelers also had a role in the construction of authority for the Larrainzars. Jennifer Jenkins Wood points out, "One way authors sought to enhance their authority and credibility was to associate themselves with famous travelers…They could present themselves as following in their footsteps, or by making references to an earlier travel text, writers could add an inter-textual component that helped legitimize their own work" (35). The sister-authors utilized previous travel accounts to confirm their descriptions and to fill in gaps. For instance, in Russia they overcame obstacles in their writing by using second-hand accounts by their family members (for events they did not witness first-hand) or

other travel accounts to aide them in their writing. They explain, “Hemos hablado ya de las noches de verano pero como nuestra humilde pluma es incapaz de bosquejar tan sublimes, queremos hacer conocer a nuestros lectores un fragmento de Alejandro Dumas, en que habla de ellas y las describe” (3: 457-8). The authors avoid describing the sublime and in this case they insert a passage from a known writer and traveler to make up for any shortcomings. Citations were another way male figures appeared and were strategically utilized in the sister-authors’ travel narrative.

The insertion of male figures was not the only way the Larrainzar sisters affirmed their authority. They followed the traditional structure of the travelogue and utilized an abundance of primary resources such as atlases, encyclopedias, travel books, etc. for the information on cities’ history, geography, demography, customs, etc. They provided encyclopedic information on every national and international city visited along with their personal impressions and anecdotes. In addition to the abundance of information, the authors’ identity contributed to their authority. In the travel narrative they are identified as young authors from high society. In the preface, the editor Mata praises:

> Tiene por otra parte, la originalidad de ser una obra nacional, y escrita por Señoritas de nuestra buena sociedad. La feliz acogida, que han tenido otras producciones de las jóvenes autoras, nos hace esperar que está tendrá el mismo éxito, y nos apresuramos a presentarla al público no dudando que será bien acogida. (1: 4)

Mata references previous published works from the sisters, which highlights their identity as authors and points out their social status. Being from high society gave the Larrainzar sisters authority based on the moral and educational standards they were expected to follow. By following appropriate feminine traits then they consequently became female role models in representation of the nation and female Mexican travelers. Regarding their self-representations, critics Cecilia Olivares Mansuy and Nara Araújo observe the decorum and conservatism of the female authors throughout their travels. Araujo argues that the Larrainzar sisters maintain 19th century expectations for female writers in regards to respecting the genre of travel literature and patriarchal conservative ideology of the time period. The sister-authors stay within the conventions of the genre and do not try to acknowledge gender inequalities in national and foreign societies. Both Aruajo and Olivares Mansuy also observe their conservatism in the fiction novels inserted in the travel narrative. Araujo asserts that the authors create stereotypical female roles in the novels and highlight the value of the woman as her virtue ("Aceptar y escaper" 14).[33] Correspondingly, Olivares Mansuy claims the sister-authors continue with female stereotypes in their novels as seen, "Son éstas, relatos repletos de sentimentalismo, en las cuales el destino del héroe o heroína se halla en manos de la providencia y a quienes solo su incuestionable rectitud moral permite finalmente salir bien parados" (334). The two critics assign the Larrainzar sisters into a group of conservative Mexican female authors that did not question their patriarchal society.

[33] La apoteosis melodramática de la maternidad puede responder a la circulación en México del marianismo victoriano a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX (Aruajo, "Escapar y aceptar" 17).

A unique characteristic of their identity as female travelers is their young age. As mentioned earlier, the sister-authors were 12 years old when they departed from Mexico City. They tried to recreate their writing from the moment of travel and preserve a young childish tone to the narrative voice. Olivares Mansuy notes,

> Lo que más extraña en su texto es que no hayan reflexionado o no hayan incluido en el texto sus reflexiones en el momento de escribir. Sin embargo, el propósito era relatar hechos y sentimientos con la misma frescura y espontaneidad con la que los habían anotado en sus apuntes. Tanto sus recuerdos como sus prejuicios se mantuvieron intactos. (333)

Another traveler from my corpus, Eduarda Mansilla also wrote many years after her travels, but she wrote in a state of reflection while the Larrainzar sisters strived to recreate the time, tone and character during their journey. Adolescence is associated with innocence, curiosity, and playfulness and the authors used it to their advantage because it allowed them to enter spaces and conversations that would not be appropriate for adult women. For example, during their departure the caravan of stagecoaches pass through a forest called "Río-Frío" known for robbers and bandits. The sister-authors take the opportunity to let their imaginations and fears run wild in the forest until a real episode unfolds that provides them entertainment and laughter. They write, "Detrás de la diligencia que nos conducía, venían otras dos; los pasajeros que ellas traían, al oír los primeros tiros, sin duda creyeron que tenían ya a los bandidos a diez varas de distancia, porque se oyeron gritos destemplados y fervientes plegarias…Esto, como hemos dicho, nos

proporcionó un rato de hilaridad…" (1: 22-23). In the end, they discover the shots came from a group of hunters.

The Larrainzar sisters show curiosity and playfulness during their travels. To illustrate, in Russia they take a family excursion to a fortress and want to contemplate what war would be like. They narrate,

> Llenas pues, de entusiasmo, subíamos a las partes más culminantes de la fortificación, y descendíamos a los lugares secretos de las maniobras; asomábamos la cabeza por las claraboyas en que estaba colocadas las bocas de los cañones…la familia y los amigos se reían de nuestro contento, y gozaban con nuestra admiración. (3: 389)

Another example of their playfulness and mischievousness is in Germany when the two sisters hide behind a door to overhear a verbal fight a family is having in a different room. These types of episodes are the ones that remind the audience of the travelers' young age. In addition, the Larrainzar sisters used age to their advantage in other ways. For example, during their transatlantic voyage the travelers became close to the ship's captain. They explain,

> En las mañanas apenas nos veía [el capitán] sobre cubierta, se venía hacia nosotras con los brazos abiertos (éramos unas niñas, lo saben ya nuestros lectores) después de abrazarnos afectuosamente nos tomaba de la mano, y nos llevaba con él a recorrer el buque… Un día se propuso llevarnos a conocer la maquina de vapor… (1: 513-4)

The intimate relationship between the captain and the sisters is appropriate because of their age. It also provided the opportunity to see the "maquina de vapor"

(steam engine) that they otherwise would not have been able to personally tour and describe its function in their narrative. Technology was a topic some women avoided since it was associated with masculine interests, industry, science, etc. and/or pure disinterest. For instance, Spanish traveler, Emilia Pardo Bazán's travel letters covered a variety of topics at the World Fair, but "does maintain the stereotypical, or prescribed, feminine attitude of ignorance and non-involvement with respect to industry and technology" (Vallejo 460). However, one must keep in mind that young age also had its limitations. To demonstrate, there are multiple scenarios where the young adolescent travelers face roadblocks, such as their encounter with Marta, the protagonist of the first fictional melodrama. The sisters were intrigued by this mysterious travel companion but knew it was not prudent to ask personal and private questions to an adult woman. The solution resulted in their aunt initiating conversation with Marta and that is how the protagonist of the melodrama began narrating her personal story to her fellow travel companions. Their age also resulted in a big obstacle in their time in Russia. They recount,

> …nuestra edad era muy corta cuando estábamos en San Petersburgo, de modo que era imposible que pudiéramos ir a las funciones de gala que había...Cuando la familia llegaba a casa después de estas fiestas y reuniones, lo primero que hacíamos era preguntar minuciosamente por todo. ¿Quiénes habían concurrido? ¿Cómo se hallaban vestidas? ¿Cuál era el traje y adorno que había llamado más la atención? ¿con quiénes había bailado nuestra hermana?… (3: 659-660)

The sister-authors go on to explain that they always wrote notes of everything their family members described after the galas in Russia so they could give an accurate account to their readers. Similar to class or gender being factors that open up spaces for travelers, the Larrainzar sisters demonstrate that age can have advantages and disadvantages.

A change in their tone and self-representations occurs during their time of exile in America and return journey to Mexico. The travelers are adolescents during their departure from Mexico and time in Europe. They represent themselves as two young girls full of imagination, curiosity, and amazement of these foreign lands. After they leave Russia, the Larrainzars live in exile in Guatemala and the travelers appear to mature with age. Their tone and discourse changes for their descriptions of America to one that is more humble and empathetic. The travelers do not include episodes of mischief or child's play; instead they are young adults eager and appreciative to be returning home after six years of exile. For example, they describe Guatemala as,

> Guatemala a primera vista no causa buena impresión, sobre todo cuando como nosotras llegábamos de Europa…Sin embargo, después de vivir algún tiempo en ella, la ciudad ya no desagradaba, hay ciertas sencilleces en su construcción, cierta armonía que atrae; la vida allí se desliza tranquila, hay naturalidad en las costumbres, sinceridad en los afectos y mucha hospitalidad para el extranjero. (4: 570-1)

This discourse and sentiment of America continues as they travel back to Mexico and describe their inland journey from southern Mexico to Mexico City. Instead of

sensationalizing the image of the bandit in Mexico as they did in the departure, on the return journey the sister-travelers reassure their audience that it is a false belief and the roads are safe for travelers. In Russia, they visit a fortress and make war to be a spectacle; however in Mexico they sympathize with soldiers as they overhear their conversations and songs. Next, there will be a more detailed comparison of the descriptions of Mexico from departure to arrival.

Departure: Images of the Nation

The Larrainzar sisters satisfied both of Altamirano's desires for Mexicans to travel within country and abroad. As previously stated, Altamirano's introduction is a call to action directed at Mexican writers. He wants the corpus of travel literature about Mexico to have a stronger presence of Mexican travel writers, and also have a presence abroad so they can represent their nation. Given the situation of exile of the Larrainzar family, the authors had the opportunity to describe Mexico's transformations after almost a decade. Altamirano wanted Mexicans to participate in a national "home-tour" by traveling inland and discovering their own country, and that is what the Larrainzar sisters did. The sister-authors' departure journeyed through Mexico City to Veracruz and their return from Oaxaca City to Mexico City. In addition, the Larrainzar family was the first Mexican family of ambassadors in Russia. In other words, they were the first representatives, which fulfills Altamirano's second desire to have Mexico represented abroad by its travelers. The construction and re-construction of national identity took place in an international context.

The mode of transportation is an important factor in the travelers' descriptions of the country. The Larrainzar family traveled before the railway connecting Mexico City and Veracruz was built and therefore on February 2, 1866 they departed from Mexico City in stagecoach. It was not the most convenient mode of transportation, as is narrated by the sisters, who describe the discomforts of the bumpy ride, the exhaustion from heat, the large amounts of dust that entered the stagecoach, and the frequent stops to move animals blocking the roads. The first view from their stagecoach of the outskirts of Mexico City was a disappointment. They write, "No se veían en él esos campos cuidadosamente cultivados; ni se notaba esa naturaleza exuberante de vida, que tanto deleita y halaga la vista; por el contrario, era árido, despoblado y sin atractivo…" (1: 18-19). They were surprised to see desert and emptiness in the countryside and after a while it became a monotonous sight. Another recurring sight outside their stagecoach was the poverty of the indigenous populations. "Algunas cosas, miserables habitaciones de los hijos del país, de los pobres indios, se encontraban muy a menudo esparcidas en el camino; están formadas con hojas secas y se veían dentro de ellas las indias, haciendo sus tortillas y el resto de la familia comiendo" (1: 50). Not all the sights were a disappointment. Discussed further will be the romantic passages and tropes utilized by the sisters throughout the journey from Oaxaca to Mexico City.

The panoramas of the countryside and the occasional indigenous hut were the most common views they described until they reached Veracruz. Here they noticed a major change in the development of the city due to the railway. They comment:

> La llegada del tren de Veracruz nos sacó de nuestra contemplación, por un instante se animó aquel lugar desierto; los pasajeros iban y venían, las gentes corrían en todas direcciones, bajaban los equipajes, se cruzaban los cargadores, y en fin en aquel momento, todo en aquel lugar era vida, movimiento, animación. ¡Extrañas metamorfosis, a que están sujetas siempre las estaciones! Una hora después todo era en aquel sitio otra vez silencio y soledad. (1: 63)

The infrastructure of tourism created modes of transportation, hotels, restaurants, stores, and a flow of Mexicans and foreigners into the cities. The travelers describe how technology and modes of transportation completely transformed quiet towns into loud and bustling spaces. Technology and transportation are linked to the authors' discourse of modernity. It changed the accessibility of travel and how travelers saw the world. This discourse will be more prevalent in their descriptions of their return to Mexico City.

The images the sister-authors constructed of Mexico depended on the territory and technology during their departure and return journeys. There's a double narrative on Mexico, a romantic discourse and a modern discourse. Their inland travels led to the opportunity to contribute to the national discourses of their time. The romantic discourse was used to describe the cities and towns outside the metropolis and the modern discourse was used for Mexico City. Continuing the traits of foreign travelers to the Americas, there was an abundance of romantic picturesque passages such as panoramas of mountain ranges, sunrises, and sunsets, etc. In these passages they also inserted indigenous people into the scenery without

giving them a face or voice, which also followed traits of foreign travel books. The indigenous became part of the romantic scenery. During the departure the Larrainzars did not interact with the natives, which contributed to their role as background figures. As will be seen further in the chapter, the opposite occurs in the descriptions of the natives during the return journey due to the traveler's intimate interactions with them. Finally, it would not have been a romantic description without the popular encounters with the sublime and the authors' exclamations of their inability to write what they saw:

> ¡Oh! ¡Hay cosas verdaderamente que no se pueden describir! Sería inútil hacer correr nuestra pluma en la ponderación de este sitio; nunca podríamos hacer dignamente una pintura de él. Rafael y Murillo no hubieran logrado con sus pinceles inspirados, más que hacer un ligero bosquejo, ¡es imposible imitar a la naturaleza de sus producciones, con todo el encanto y esplendor de las obras de un Dios Creador! (1: 42)

Many romantic travelers experienced overstimulation of Mother Nature without being able to put in on paper for their readers. The inability of description evoked the effect of grandiosity to the sublime. The sister authors utilized many of the common romantic tropes of travel literature and by including them they followed the conventions of the genre that contributed to their authority and femininity.

Another popular trope for national and foreign travel writers in Mexico was the reference of its indigenous past. It was used for a variety of reasons. For some it was to allude to the passages of Hernán Cortez or Bernal Díaz de la Castilla in order to add to their authority. Others searched for images of "authenticity" and

romanticism reconstructed images of the past to replace the present ones. For other travelers participating in the national discourses of Mexico as the Larrainzar sisters did, they were inserting the ideals of *proto-indigenismo* into their national discourse. The sister-authors observed the indigenous populations and digressed into a discussion on their current condition and their infamous romantic past. They write:

> Recordemos sino los tiempos de su esplendor y grandeza, los actos heroicos de valor y magnanimidad de que dieron prueba sus soberanos; su riqueza, su industria, su política, etc. etc. …Sin embargo añadiremos que, si hubiese un poco de más interés y cuidado en mejorar la condición de los indios, y en cuidar de su educación y civilización, serían buenos ciudadanos, se desterrarían de ellos las preocupaciones que aun conservan, seguirían con rectitud nuestra santa, única, verdadera, e inmaculada religión, y el resentimiento se convertiría en gratitud hacia los que creen autores de todas sus desgracias. ¡Ojala se fijase un poco la atención en esta pobre raza hoy tan despreciada! (1: 73-74)

The Larrainzar sisters demonstrate the glorious past of the indigenous in an effort to connect them to the new nation state in Mexico. However, they have been left behind in the process of modernization and therefore their current state is one of poverty and sub-alterity. Not all travelers that referenced the infamous past included images of present-day situations. The indigenous past helped promote the Larrainzar sisters' paternalistic vision to integrate and assimilate the indigenous populations to mainstream Mexican society. It was an obstacle in the unification of the nation and the creation of a single identity for Mexico.

Mexico at the 1867 World Fair in Paris

On their journey home, the Larrainzar family stopped in Paris for the 1867 World Fair, which the sister-authors included a description of the international event in their travel narrative. They structured this section as a one-day event that provided a general impression of the event for a traveler who only had one day to see it all. Mexico had an exhibit at the exhibition and the sisters found another opportunity to correct a representation of Mexico for an international public.

The world fairs were showcases of modernity based on the view of history as linear and progressive. It put the world on display on one stage to be compared and measured within the context of Western nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and modernism. "The effect of such spectacle was to set the world up as a picture. They arranged it before an audience as an object on display-to be viewed, investigated, and experienced" (Mitchell 220). As a result, visitors became participant-observers. This interesting double-role of the visitor manifested, as they were able to observe from a distance and also experience the exhibits at the same time. Visitors could walk down streets in exhibits that recreated foreign cities as if they were actually traveling aboard. The exhibits contained actors dressed in traditional outfits and some imported national animals. For example, the Larrainzar sisters exclaim in excitement: "¿Queriase tomar el chocolate de España, el café en Turquía, y el té en China? En nuestra mano estaba el hacerlo! Penetrabase en sus respectivas restaurantes y allí se servía lo que se deseaba al estilo de cada país, y podiase al mismo tiempo conocer los tipos y los trajes nacionales…" (4: 371). It was not meant to only display nations, but also to allow visitors to experience them in one location.

It created a type of tourism, which contributed to the construction of the exhibits and national identities. Daniel Canogar states, "La mirada del público era el nuevo motor que activaba la sociedad. El espectador no era una figura marginal colocado en la periferia como mero observador de la realidad; era más bien un protagonista fundamental del crecimiento de las naciones occidentales" (21). He goes on to explain how the products in the technology exhibit started appearing in the homes of the visitors. The visitors became consumers that motivated the creation and production of new products and technology that were marketed at the fairs.

What was the larger objective for countries to participate? For countries of the New World, the pragmatic goal in joining international exhibitions was fundamentally the same-to offer raw materials and to publicize a modern image of the nation in order to attract immigrants and foreign investment (Tenorio-Trillo 37). How could Mexico end the impression and image of an unstable, insecure, and uncivilized country? Despite Mexico's potential wealth in precious metals and agriculture, it was not able to attract European immigrants as its counterparts in the Americas like Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. Mark Wasserman attributes Mexico's underdevelopment during the 19th century to its numerous foreign invasions and civil wars, lack of transportation and communication systems, and lack of institutional framework for a modern capitalist economy (61-62). Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo's *Mexico at the World's Fairs* (1996) examines the Mexican exhibits at multiple fairs and its creation of an ideal modern nation. The first part of his study explores Mexico's participation in international fairs under President Porfirio Díaz and focuses on the 1889 Paris World Fair, which was the largest and most expensive

display Mexico put on in the international exhibitions. The second part of his study contrasts the 1889 exhibition with two post-revolutionary fairs in Rio de Janeiro (1922) and Seville (1929). Investigating earlier fairs has been difficult for scholars because sources of Mexico's participation in European fairs from 1855 to 1867 is scarce and scattered. Mexico's presence in Paris 1855 launched the symbolic and propagandistic display that would become the main aspects of Mexico's presence in later international fairs: mining, agriculture, native peoples and products (Tenorio-Trillo 43). Although Mexico's participation in Paris 1867 is not clear, what has been documented is that French private interests constructed and exhibited the pre-Hispanic ruins of the temple Xochicalco.[34] With this in mind, the Larrainzar sisters provide a glimpse of the 1867 exhibition, Mexico's display, and their impressions.

The Larrainzar sisters express similar views to Western cosmopolitanism and modernism by supporting the universal exhibitions for their "utilidad" and "estimulo." Visitors are given the opportunity to take a retrospective view of their homeland, see the developments, and end their visit with possibilities for the future. The authors introduce the Exhibition to their readers as:

> No hay duda, las Exposiciones Universales son de grande utilidad para todos los pueblos; de este movimiento que arrastra las sociedades, resultan provechosas consecuencias y notorios adelantos...Las Exposiciones Universales son en la época en que vivimos una necesidad y forman parte al mismo tiempo de ese vasto progreso económico a que pertenecen las vías

[34] Napoleon III sent a French scientific commission to Mexico during the French intervention (1861-1867). The commission studied and copied the temple of Xochicalco and then constructed a model of the temple that was exhibited at the fair in 1867 (Tenorio-Trillo 44).

> férreas, el telégrafo, el vapor, la electricidad y todos los grandes trabajos públicos; ellas nos muestran claramente el estado de adelanto o atraso en que se hallan las naciones, aumentan por consiguientes el adelanto de los pueblos, sirven de estimulo a los descubrimientos de la ciencias y de la industria, y abre ancho campo a la civilización y al progreso. (4: 464-5)

The world stage promoted comparison and evaluation according to Western European standards. It became a platform for the Second Industrial Revolution, which helped advertise the new inventions and as mentioned earlier the visitors turned into consumers. By 1830 industrial and commercial capitalism prospered in Europe and around the world. Roy Bridges notes,

> Capitalist influence spread in three main ways. Emigration created markets. It continued on a large scale in this period although mainly in the form of the reinforcement of existing European communities overseas. Secondly, world trade vastly increased in volume because European industries required both raw materials and markets… Thirdly, there was investment in the wider world, principally in railways, telegraphs, and shipping services. (60)

The World Fairs became the platform for its evolution. The Larrainzars defend the benefits of a world stage that will lead to self- evaluation and eventually promote the same universal goal. They argue, "pues viéndose más de cerca y con frecuencia, cada uno reconocerá su superioridad o inferioridad, e iluminándose sobre su propio estado su fuerza y debilidad…el espíritu filosófico se ensancha abriendo ancho horizonte al adelanto al progreso y a la ilustración" (4: 365). Therefore the World Exhibition served as a platform and a tool towards universal progress.

The 1867 World Fair in Paris took place at *Palais du Champ de Mars,* which was the building that held the main exhibits and it was surrounded by a park that held the international exhibit. The park was covered in pavilions and each pavilion was constructed to represent a national architectural building for each participating country. The pavilions would either house personnel working the exhibits or visiting ambassadors, and consequently became stages for ethnographic presentations. The concept of the international pavilions began in the Exposition of 1867 and became a fundamental characteristic of future World Expositions. Interestingly, the international exhibit had more popularity than the main exhibits inside the palace. These pavilions created a mini-universe for visitors and were intended to be popular entertainment. On the other hand, the palace hosted the main exhibits of technology and commerce that were meant to be more educational. Commenting on the organization of the Exposition and the circular layout of the building, Victor Hugo writes: "Hacer un trayecto circular alrededor de este sitio es como recorrer el Ecuador y literalmente realizar una vuelta al mundo. Todas las culturas están aquí representadas; los enemigos viven en paz unos juntos a otros" (Canogar 40). This imaginary voyage around the world was not always a realistic and contemporary reflection of the countries. Generalized stereotypes of non-Western countries emphasized exoticism and primitivism. As James Buzard notes, tourism corrupted places to the extent that they became "inauthentic." To illustrate, in 1889 a group of Egyptian dignitaries visited the mosque in the Egyptian exhibit where they discovered it was only a façade of the building. They note, "Su forma externa como la de una mezquita es lo único que había. En cuanto al interior, se

había instalado un bar, en el que chicas egipcias bailaban con hombres jóvenes" (Canogar 49). In addition, the countries would be disproportionately represented in main exhibits, which reflected their advancement in industrialization and technology. These were standards of categorization that the Western world defined and imposed on the participating countries. Tenorio-Trillo points out, Latin American countries had to produce- industrially, commercially, artistically, and scientifically the image of a modern nation from zero, other countries like the Unites States in certain areas had to gain acknowledgement as a modern nation in culture, arts, and education (19). It is made clear that the purpose of the international pavilions was for entertainment and sensational effects. Yet in the main building of the fair the presentations did not help the image of the "exotic" or "primitive" countries as they were underrepresented. Inside the *Champ du Mars* where more educational galleries took place, the exhibits for machinery and technology were the main showcases that took up most of the center stages in the palace. Consequently, Westernized countries were the main attractions while non-Western countries stayed in the periphery of the exposition.

The first object the sister-authors encountered in the Mexican exhibit was the temple of Xochicalco and their reaction was unfavorable; they write, "Muy fuerte y desagradable fue la impresión que nos causó la vista de este templo, por lo mal representado que estaba allí nuestro hermoso país nada había que diera una idea siquiera de él" (4: 424). They go on to declare that the exhibit reflected "un estado completo de retroceso," and wished for a future World Exhibition where Mexico could represent itself as a modern and rich nation. According to the Larrainzars, the

exhibition was composed of antiquities, idols, minerals, agricultural products and national dress. What was chosen was not the best representation and they argued that Mexico had more to offer, such as, "nuestros productos agrícolas tan variados y notables, nuestros riquísimos minerales, nuestras preciosas maderas y algunos trabajos de nuestra industria, hubieran sin duda, llamado la atención" (4: 424). For the sisters, the presentation of Mexico at the Exposition was an utter disappointment. Inside the temple they encountered a spokesperson for the exhibit. They narrate,

> En la puerta se hallaba un joven pálido, de muy buenos ojos negros, cabellos del mismo color, facciones correctas, blanco y de muy buena estatura, vestido con el traje nacional mexicano, es decir de charro; con sombrero jarano ancho y buena toquilla de plata y calzoneras con botonadura del mismo metal, etc. ¿Qué no sentiría nuestro corazón en medio de aquel laberinto, al encontrarnos repentinamente con aquella visión trasportadas al suelo patrio? (4: 427)

The initial reaction of the travelers was excitement; nevertheless, when the sisters approached the young man they discovered the "Mexican charro" actually was a Spaniard in Mexican costume. According to the Spaniard, he was in charge of care and maintenance of the temple and he thought dressing in costume would give visitors a more authentic experience of Mexican culture and custom. This was another disappointment for the Larrainzar sisters. The juxtaposition of a charro in an indigenous temple is a distorted representation that the Mexican travelers aimed to correct.

Were the sisters' wishes fulfilled at future fairs? The 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris was the largest and most expensive participation Mexico did. By 1889, the Expositions became more accessible to the home public as well, given that countries started sending official journalists to visit and report on the event. For example, Emilia Pardo Bazán was asked to write for the Spanish public on the World Exhibitions taking place in Paris (1889 & 1900).[35] She became one of the first Hispanic women "authorized" to write as a journalist. In the case of Mexico, Amado Nervo was the first official representative to report on the Exhibition in Paris (1900). How did Mexico represent its modern day image at the Exposition? The Porfirian government commissioned an Aztec temple to be built for the Mexican pavilion. The architect aimed to be faithful to the real pre-Hispanic past and stated that in his project "there is no detail, symbol, or allegorical figure that has not been drawn from the true Mexican archaeology and with the only intent of bringing back to life a genuine national civilization" (Tenorillo-Trillo 73). A French designer who studied indigenous art designed the interior of the building, except the ornamentation and curtains he used displayed scenarios of orientalism rather than Aztec décor. It was not well received and criticized by Mexicans and foreigners alike. Imitating the past reaffirmed the European theory of evolution and did not present Mexico as modern, especially when compared to the popular structure of the Eiffel Tower. Mexico continued using indigenous representations that fed the European desire for exoticism.

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[35] For more on the World Fair and Emilia Pardo Bazán's role as a journalist see: Vallejo, Catharina. "Emilia Pardo Bazán, gender, modernity and nationalism at the Paris World Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 32.3 (2003): 453-473.

Returning Home to Mexico

The death of Emperor Maximilian brings an end to the French Intervention in Mexico and to the ambassadors aboard representing his court. After a year and a half in Russia, the Larrainzar family departs. In the travel narrative, the sister-authors described their residence in Russia in the 3rd volume and in the closing paragraph they describe their farewells and point out the effects of having a Mexican legation there. They state:

> Ninguna familia mexicana, antes que nosotras, había llegado a aquellas remotas regiones. El nombre de nuestro país era apenas conocido, por su posición geográfica, y todos nos creían sumergidos aun en la incivilización y en la barbarie. Así es que al vernos, al tratarnos, fueronse desvaneciendo esas ideas erróneas, y cambió el concepto que antes tenían de nuestra pobre patria. (3: 749-750)

The Larrainzar family was the first representative of Mexico in Russia and helped introduce Mexico to that region of the world. The travelers noticed that after their arrival, an interest by Russians in their home country increased. They observed small changes, such as, newspapers including international news on Mexico and locals' conversations about traveling to Mexico for its climate. Also, right before their departure, they recount that the city photographer asked for permission to reprint and sell their family portraiture due to the multiple requests from Russian families. The sisters succeed in constructing a positive modern image of Mexico to a foreign public. They break the image of uncivilized by having an aristocratic family

represent their country. The Larrainzar daughters had multiple opportunities to showcase their musical and artistic talents to the public in high society soirees.

The Larrainzar family departs from Russia and the sister-authors describe their travels back through Western Europe and exile in Guatemala. After seven years of absence and the end of the Juarez presidency, the Larrainzar family returned to Mexico. Did their views on Mexico change? How did their descriptions on the return journey alter? In the context of Argentina, David Viñas argues that Argentine travelers who traveled to Europe returned to Argentina with a Europeanized or Cosmopolitan perspective. While some travelers took advantage to list what their country lacked in comparison to Western Europe, the sister-authors did the opposite and demonstrated the unique national characteristics of their country and its future role. In addition, not being able to return home provoked a strong patriotic and nostalgic tone to the Larrainzars' descriptions. As mentioned in the section of the departure from Mexico, the authors created two discourses a romantic one and a modern one to describe Mexico. The return journey continued the two discourses, their tone intensified, and their descriptions became more intimate. Their departure from Europe set the tone for their return to the Americas. They write:

> …enviando un suspiro hacia nuestra patria y una mirada de ternura hacia la América cuyo fértil suelo íbamos de nuevo a pisar; en ella encontraríamos igualdad en las costumbres y en el idioma, e identidad en los sentimientos. En poblaciones, en placeres, en adelanto, la América no es ni un remedo de la Europa; la transición era terrible; pero en cuanto a sinceridad, a sencillez, a los tranquilos placeres del hogar, ganábamos; porque en América hay mas

> corazón que calculo, y no vivimos en esa atmosfera de humo, de halagos y de falsedad que embriagando la vanidad que por todas partes se encuentra, hace vivir sin conciencia de sí mismos, y oculta con su alfombra de flores y sus perfumes… (4: 551)

This summarizes their descriptions of Central America and southern Mexico. They highlight the fertility of the land, romanticize rural life, and praise the traits and morals of the native inhabitants. They recognize the advancements of Western societies but defend the superiority of culture and custom in the Americas because of its closeness to its origins. The Larrainzars employ a similar strategy as E. Mansilla who claims Latin American superiority over the U.S. in terms of culture and tradition. The praise occurs throughout their journey in-land in as the romantic discourse continues until it shifts to a modern one when they arrive in Mexico City.

The romantic discourse of Mexico began at their arrival and throughout their in-land travel until they reached their destination of Mexico City. In southern Mexico, they glorified the simplicity of rural communities and attributed traits of innocence, loyalty, and integrity to rural life.

> Nada complace tanto en la vida como aquello que nos presenta novedad; y ese almuerzo realmente campestre, sin cubiertos, sin comodidades, nos causó más ilusión que un gran banquete y nos sentíamos en aquel momento más contentas sentadas en el suelo al lado de los jaros y las cazuelas, que alrededor de una mesa cuidadosa y esmeradamente servida. (4: 697-8)

They make a point to declare that they would choose their native Mexico and the simplicity of rural life over the extravagant European lifestyle. The third volume of

the travel book depicted the luxurious lifestyle of the Russian royals and orientalist stereotypes of Russian culture. The sister-authors were in a state of wonder and amazement when it came to describing Russia. They go from an excessive and lavish lifestyle in the Russian court to rural life in the Americas. As the Larrainzar sisters mentioned in a quote above, the transition was harsh; however, they come to accept and enjoy rural life.

A reason for their romantic turn that was not seen in the departing journey through Mexico was the more intimate interaction of their journey inland. Scholars have noticed that the mode of travel affects the way travelers perceive their journey and consequently how they reconstruct it for their readers. The British traveler, Maria Graham, Lady Callcott, provides a visual representation of the distance between traveler and object in her travel book *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the year 1822* (1824). She includes a drawing of herself inside a mule-drawn carriage at the top of a hill looking out the window demonstrating a big distance between the observer and the land and people. At their departure the sisters were young adolescents and mostly experienced the journey from a distance in their stagecoach and train. Seven years later, at their return, they are young adults and they are coming from the west coast of the country, which did not have a railway like the eastern coastal city of Veracruz. The Larrainzar family had limited choices in transportation and therefore rode horseback to Oaxaca City. This journey on horseback provides a different and more intimate perspective of the travel conditions, landscape, and small towns they passed through than the view from

their stagecoach. They built camps at their stops and the sisters were active participants in the chores. They describe it as:

> Nos veíamos en él privadas de toda clase de comodidades, con nuestras propias manos condimentábamos nuestro alimento en los ranchos de las indias sobre un montón de leña y de ceniza: Muchas veces teníamos que encender fuego en lo alto de un monte o en la soledad del campo para calentar la comida...lo comíamos con placer lo que nosotras mismas habíamos preparado…Nuestra alimentación no podía ser mas sencilla y sin embargo nos parecía todo exquisito y un delicioso banquete; comíamos con tal gusto y apetito, como no recordamos haber comido nunca en las mesas más opulentas y bien servidas. Huevos, gallinas, tortillas y frijoles era lo único que se encontraba en esos pobres ranchos… (4: 710-711)

The travelers glorify their descriptions of rural life and its simplicities and only mention the discomfort of the mid-day heat of travel. Besides the heat, everything else is romanticized and exalted. Even sleeping on haystacks brings them joy. This jolliness and excitement of the sister-authors is different from their departure. As mentioned before, the departure was representative of two young girls leaving Mexico City for the first time. Their tone reflects innocence and curiosity of an adolescent and also boredom to the monotony of travel. The Larrainzar sisters returned as different travelers due to multiple factors, such as age, experience of exile, extensive travel, residence aboard, etc. During the return journey, their identities as travelers are elevated to adventurer status. They embrace the challenges and obstacles of the rustic and dangerous journey and depict themselves

enjoying the country life of Mexico. In contrast to the departure, in the return journey the indigenous are no longer faceless people as background scenery. The travelers humanize them and give them faces and voices in their travel narrative. Instead of being elevated and distant in the stagecoach, the sisters were on horseback and had the opportunity to share intimate spaces and have interactions with the locals. It was a benefit lost in the modes of transportation of the stagecoach and the railway.

Once the travelers entered Mexico City, their purpose changed to represent the most up-to-date picture of the capital and their discourse of modernity begins once again. As mentioned previously, the travelers were disappointed with the representation of Mexico in the World Fair and they now had the opportunity to vindicate their homeland at the end of their travel book by providing a contemporary representation of a modern nation. At their departure, Maximilian's French imposed empire (1864-1867) had initiated the transformation of Mexico City into a modern metropolis. It was achieved at their return during the Porfirio Diaz presidency.[36] The Larrainzar family arrived to the capital city on March 2, 1873. Debarking the train their immediate impression was:

> Cuando bajamos del tren notábase en la Estación gran movimiento y vida…Hoy esta Estación puede rivalizar con las de Europa; su hermosa fachada de piedra todavía en construcción, asemejase mucho a la del Norte en Viena, y en su interior, esa amplia galería cuya arquitectura se ve tan

[36] For more on the modernization process during the Porfiriato, see: Wakild, Emily. "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23.1 (2007): 101-123.

> airosa y elegante; ese rico techo de cristal y fierro…todo le presta cierto aspecto de grandeza y el extranjero que hace por ella su entrada a México, comprende desde luego que se halla en una Capital, y en uno de esos centro o focos de vida y movimiento. (4: 798)

The central train station is a key building to the city. Not only does the train station represent new and modern technology and mode of transportation, but also as the sister-authors write, it is the welcome point to foreigners and nationals from outside the city. Therefore, the newcomers into the metropolitan are greeted with a building that is grandiose and eloquent and it puts them in the mindset that they are entering a modern capital city. The authors described their return as "de sorpresa en sorpresa, y de impresión en impresión," given that the capital had gone through many changes since their departure. Before beginning their description, they notify their readers that they will not describe the whole city, but rather highlight contemporary news, statistics, and information that make it stand out. They provide a tourist guide of the city by visiting popular sights like the main streets, cathedrals, buildings, and museums so nationals or foreigners could have an overall representation of the city. The authors present a satisfied attitude towards the changes they observed in Mexico. The city had more schools, hospitals, prisons, etc. and more services for its citizens. The national government spent most of its discretionary funds in Mexico City. The capital city received eighty percent of the nation's outlays for streets, electricity, and sewer systems, as well as the lion's share spent on libraries and schools (Wasserman 198). They connected the development of the city to the progress abroad and depicted Mexico as advancing along the

trajectory of modernity defined by Western societies. Also, the authors do not include the indigenous like they did in rural Mexico or blacks in the makeup of the people in the city. These subaltern communities were fixed in the past space but were not represented in the present or future space.[37]

The authors ended their description on Mexico with a brief historical overview to give the reader a fuller picture of the city's evolution. They proudly boasted the epic past of the Aztecs and pointed out their strengths such as their institutions, establishments, infrastructure, etc. except for the topic of religion that is where the authors harshly condemned the ancient civilization. They end the pre-Colombian era with the conclusion, "una ciudad en fin, en la que concurren todas esa circunstancias, no hay duda que ocupa un lugar distinguido entre las que figuran en primera línea" (4: 883). Then they transition to modern-day Mexico City and its surroundings, they explain:

> Hay ya en México tanta vida y animación, y transita en sus calles tal número de gente especialmente en las del centro, siendo tanto también la afluencia de extranjeros que en cada vapor llegan; que al ver todo esto no puede uno menos calcular que su población debe ser de trescientas a cuatrocientas mil almas. Hallase ya además la Republica cruzada por el telégrafo y vías férreas que ponen en comunicación a muchos de los Estados con la Capital y respirarse cierta atmosfera de bienestar y prosperidad. ¡Este es México en la actualidad!... ¿Qué llegará a ser? ¡Ah! ¡Su porvenir es inmenso! (4: 884-5)

[37] Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's "Alboroto y motín" (1692) describes a multiracial Mexico City during an uprising that set fire to municipal buildings and destructed local establishments.

They continued with a long list of exclamations about the future of Mexico and the unlimited possibilities for development, industries, commerce, institutions and investments from other countries. The historical overview of the city demonstrates that it has entered modern civilization and has potential to be a competitor in the international realm. They invite the foreign public to migrate and invest. The travelers use multiple temporal-spaces to describe the capital city. They use the space of the past to support their claim that the city has been on a path of evolution when compared to its current state. Then they transition to a future space of what the city will become. They affirm:

> Grandes capitales que no encuentran ya en que ocuparse con bastante utilidad o que están del todo ociosos en Europa y los Estados Unidos del Norte, vendrán a México a iniciar y fomentar varios ramos de industria, y entonces comenzarán a operarse esos prodigios del ingenio y espíritu de empresa estimulados por el interés y el deseo de ensanchar los goces, y mejorar todas las condiciones de la vida; esto llegará a toda su plenitud cuando por las emigraciones y excursiones que se hagan a este país se conozca todo su valor y las ventajas que presenta. Aun sin haber llegado todavía este tiempo se ven ya germinar grandes proyectos. (4: 887)

The sisters participated in the *proyecto porfirista,* as Mejía categorizes the end of century Mexican travel writers' texts. They created a final image of Mexico as a nation open for investment, accessible, and stable.

The critical studies on Mexican travel writers have left female productions out of their analysis. They are a minority in the corpus of male travel writings but

participate in many of the same activities and discourses. Although their main goal was not a nationalistic one like the writers in Pitman and Mejía's investigations, it was a significant characteristic of their travel book. The sisters were well read and researched to provide their readers additional factual information on the cities they visited. The genre's flexibility and versatility allowed the travelers to experiment and use different authorial strategies that both men and women have used in the past. In their case, they utilized male figures, their female identity, and characteristics of the genre to insert themselves into travel literature with authority. Even with their privileges of high social status and network of connections, they still encountered obstacles. In the end, the sister-authors added to the national corpus by providing a young female perspective on their nation and the international community. They witnessed an almost decade long transformation of their country from departure to return and inserted their two images of the nation into its national discourse.

Chapter Three: Maipina de la Barra's Transatlantic and Continental Pilgrimages

¿Qué otra cosa puede ser sino
que en esos momentos un genio superior
toma posesión de nosotras para sacudirnos
del letargo de la indiferencia en que
generalmente vivimos darnos un impulse
para que conozcamos lo que tenemos
más allá de nuestra natural vista?
-Maipina de la Barra

The Chilean traveler and writer, Maipina de la Barra, embarked on two journeys one transatlantic and the second continental. Maipina de la Barra (1834-1904) is one of the earlier known Chilean female travelers that published a travel book about her travels to Europe and Latin America in the 19th century.[38] Her book titled, *Mis impresiones y mis vicisitudes en mi viaje a Europa pasando por el estrecho de Magallanes y en mi escursión a Buenos Aires pasando por la cordillera de los Andes*, was published in Buenos Aires in 1878.[39] De la Barra traveled in 1873 to Europe, returned to Chile, then immigrated to Argentina in 1877 and finally published her travel text the following year. Her case stands out from the other female travelers in my corpus for its travel situation. The author was a widow and single mother who traveled with her adolescent daughter Eva and used the travel genre in a unique way to write an educational and religious manual for women. The genre of travel literature is a versatile and flexible form, which De la Barra opens to insert

[38] More examples of female Chilean travelers: Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux (1860-1930), Luisa lynch (1864-1937), and Inés Echeverría (1868-1944).

[39] Since De la Barra published her travel book in Buenos Aires, her book has been placed in anthologies of female travelers from Chile and Argentina. She has been accepted into two national canons.

teachings, guidance, and education reform in her text. The educational effects of travel can be seen in their moral, historical, aesthetic, and spiritual experiences. It was a theme and justification for travel used by male and female travelers. For example, the famous Grand Tour in Europe was regarded as a final phase in the completion of a young man's education.

Who was her intended public? De la Barra wrote for a specifically female audience and tailored her narrative to address concerns of her female contemporaries. Her travel book shows the benefits of travel for women, the hardships of the physical journey, injustices women face, and life lessons for future generations. The author creates an intimate tone with her readership by addressing them in her narrative, by presenting private dialogues between mother and daughter, and using their journey to Europe as a personal model and example. The "Editor's Note" at the beginning of the text reinforces the moral educational value and purpose of the travel book by highlighting twice the following: "y aunque es un trabajo dedicado a las damas Argentinas en particular, debe estimarse como un *libro de moral y educación, dedicado a las Madres de familia en general*" (3). The editor points out that the value of the descriptions of foreign cities and its people are not superficial, but rather they focus on "su estado moral, intelectual y material" (4). In other words, the editor argues that this travel book will prove to be more insightful for female readers with its morale than texts that only include simple descriptions of places and people. Additionally, the editor includes two excerpts from the narrative to emphasize the topic of religion and personal spiritual reflection in *Mis*

impresiones. The first excerpt is part of a religious dialogue between the mother-daughter protagonists and the second is the author's self-reflection on spirituality.

The travel writer represents herself as a pilgrim, her journeys as pilgrimages, and strategically uses religious discourse throughout her narrative. One example is De la Barra's inner spiritual voices that guide her travels and encourage her to continue moving. However, there are moments when the author does not follow the guidance and misfortunes take place. For instance, after returning from Europe and waiting to finalize the inheritance of her mother-in-law she takes too long to leave Chile. As she waits on financial matters the widow writes, "Entre tanto la voz secreta que mi interior sentía no cesaba de repetirme: *actívate, actívate, porque si no te apresuras, sufrirás más* "(189). The readers follow the traveler's physical, personal and emotional journeys because the author not only writes for a female audience, but also integrates a moral and educational guidebook for young women and mother-daughter relationships into her travel text. During her immobility in Chile, De la Barra and her audience are surprised when her daughter marries without her consent. The mother writes,

> Por último, llegó el día aciago en que mi infortunio se manifestó de improviso en toda su magnitud: mi hija, aconsejada por aquellas amigas, dominada su voluntad por la de un pariente de ellas, y apoyada en la autoridad local, abandonó a su madre para unirse….al hombre *que el destino le había deparado.* (191)

The author anticipates the questions of her readers and addresses what might seem like a contradiction in her teachings, given that she has tried to create a guidebook

for women and failed with her own daughter. She acknowledges that readers will probably wonder why her daughter abandoned her mother when she had the best education possible. "<<Tú (me diréis)… ¿Cómo, pues esta hija tan bien educada, y por quién tú te has afanado y sufrido tanto, te abandonó?>>" (250). De la Barra responds to her readers,

> Me abandonó, no porque no fuera virtuosa, amable, discreta y obediente, ni porque no comprendiera el valor de mis sacrificios, sino porque, joven aún e inexperta, cedió a las sugestiones de quien la aconsejó. Pero, ¿quién nos dice que no se arrepentirá más tarde cuando conozca la falta de cordura con que obró?" (250)

She shifts the blame to her daughter's young age, bad friendships, and not living in Europe. Nevertheless, the mother anticipates her daughter's remorse and inserts an Appendix after the last chapter where she includes a letter she received from her daughter a year after her journey to Buenos Aires and which also brings closure to what would have been an open ending to her narrative. She expresses, "Mis esperanzas se han cumplido. La piadosa educación que di a mi amada hija ha producido, como era natural, óptimos frutos: ella acaba de escribirme una carta…" and concludes "sino a probar una vez más *los felices resultados de la Buena educación*" (253). Her daughter Eva apologizes for the rupture in their mother-daughter relationship and wishes to mend it and continue where they left off. The letter from Eva brings an end to her travel book and answers the questions readers would have had without it.

De la Barra's situation was distinct in certain aspects and similar in other aspects from the female travelers in my corpus. The Chilean had the most vulnerable travel status since she traveled alone. Although the 19th century had an increased visibility of female travelers it was still less common for a woman to travel unaccompanied. In Chapter 2, the Larrainzar sisters approach Marta out of curiosity because she is a young woman traveling alone with her daughter. They start a conversation with Marta by asking her if she travels alone, where she is going, and why she does not have male company. Then her mysterious story begins. While Eduarda Mansilla and the Larrainzar sisters traveled with male companions on diplomatic assignments, De la Barra had to find paternal figure(s) to fill in the gap. The female travel writers in my corpus created authority in different forms to justify writing and publishing their travels but the Argentine and Mexican travelers did not need to defend their reason for traveling only for writing about it. The opposite is the case for Maipina de la Barra, given that she traveled alone with her adolescent daughter. The author felt compelled to explain to the reader the purpose of the trip. Although there are travel accounts from women of lower classes like servants and nannies that accompanied wealthy families on their travels, the corpus is dominated by bourgeoisie and aristocratic classes. Also, De la Barra shared similar upbringings and social class to the other women. Her father, Miguel de la Barra, was a diplomat, writer, and academic.[40] Maipina de la Barra was born in Paris then moved to Chile when she was 4 years old and grew up in Santiago where the community of ruling

[40] Miguel de la Barra was a founding member of University of Chile's Department of Philosophy and Humanities. He also wrote two historical books titled: *Aniversario de Yungai. Recuerdos de la Campaña del Perú* (1846) and *Reseña histórica de la Campaña del Perú* (1851).

elite resided. Like E. Mansilla and the Larrainzars, De la Barra had the standard private education of an upper-class lady with many important family connections.[41] This education is reflected in their knowledge of multiple languages, musical and artistic talents, and literary and historical references in their writings. The connections are observed during her travels. To illustrate, Maipina brings along "cartas de recomendación" that help her connect with European and Latin American officials abroad. Eduarda Mansilla had a diplomatic passport that according to her had certain privileges. This form of authority has been a strategy used for centuries by travelers if one recalls the royal letters and decrees used by 15th and 16th century explorers and conquistadores to the letters 19th century bourgeoisie and aristocratic travelers carried to connect with social networks abroad. Another example of De la Barra's connections is in Paris, even with limited financial resources she manages to reside in one of the nicest neighborhoods and takes piano lessons with the famous Henri Hertz. De la Barra explains her relationship as, "Pues aunque él no daba lección alguna fuera del conservatorio, hizo conmigo una excepción, debida a que cuando Herz estuvo en Chile, mi padre le dispensó algunos servicios" (130).

There are few studies on Chilean travel writers. Some of these studies, such as *Chilenos en Alemania y Alemanes en Chile: Viaje y nación en el siglo XIX* (2006) by Carlos Sanhueza Cerda focus on the representations of nationhood by travelers in foreign countries. This particular study as the title indicates, looks at Germans in Chile and Chileans in Europe and how the experience of travel and distance affected their ideas of the nation. Sanhueza's book describes the traits and characteristics of

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41 For example, Miguel de la Barra listed Manuel Montt (at the time he was a candidate for presidency) as tutor and guardian of his children in his will.

19th century Chilean travel writers and the study is organized in six categories of the type of travel writing produced: viaje de formación, viaje de exilio, viaje de representación políticas y diplomáticas, viaje al interior del país y a países fronterizos, viaje de aventuras y viaje alrededor del mundo. The author provides examples of these travel writers (only 1 female) and explains how they fit in each category and how they are similar or different to their German contemporaries. Another study on Chilean travel writers is Lilianet Brintrup's *Viaje y escritura: Viajeros románticos chilenos* (1992). Her investigation analyzes two generations of 19th century Chilean travel writers between 1837 (generación romántica costumbrista) and 1857 (generación realista). Her corpus consists of seven male travelers that traveled to the United States, Europe, and around the world who were writers as well as professionals and politicians. She categorizes their writings into three groups: diarios, cartas, and recuerdos and looks at the narrative forms of their travel discourse and the strategies the authors used to construct the narrator. Both studies focus on the style and literary genres used by Chilean travel writers. Maipina de la Barra's travel book is relatively unknown except to a few historians; historians Antonio Dougnac (1994), Carlos Sanhueza Cerda (2005), and Norma Alloatti (2009) have written articles about her travel book and biography, and in addition historian Carla Ulloa Inostroza (2012) produced in 2013 the first re-edit and publication of *Mis impresiones* in Chile from the original edition.

As mentioned previously, the travel book resembles a lessons book for young women and mothers that focuses on women's education. The mother-daughter duos are the protagonists for the transatlantic voyage to Europe. The readers get to see

Europe through the author's descriptions, but also observe as the mother tries to teach her daughter moral, religious, and cultural lessons along the way. Readers follow the physical transatlantic journey as well as the educational and spiritual journey of the mother-daughter protagonists. De la Barra advises her daughter Eva:

> Mis consejos, pues, son sinceros, y ningún interés sino el tuyo propio, me impulse a dártelos. Quisiera ahórrate con mi experiencia algunos trabajos, algunos sinsabores, algunas amarguras, que casi han hecho sucumbir cien veces a tu pobre madre…Toma ejemplo de mis desventuras para evitar las tuyas. (26)

The two protagonists Maipina and Eva as role models for the readers create an intimate and personal tone that attaches the audience to the characters.

A parent giving life lessons to their child(ren) as they travel through cities brings to mind José Fernández de Lizardi's *El Perriquillo Sarniento* (1816). Lizardi creates a fictional character and to make the autobiography style appear more realistic he inserts multiple prologues to introduce the text. One of the prologues is from the protagonist Perriquillo to his children and he writes:

> Cuando escribo mi vida, es solo con la sana intención de que mis hijos se instruyan en las materias sobre que les hablo…Si les manifiesto mis vicios no es por lisonjearme de haberlos conraído, sino por enseñarles a que los huyan pintándoles su deformidad; y del mismo modo, cuando les refiero tal o cual acción Buena que he practicado, no es por granjearme su aplauso, sino por enamorarlos de la virtud. (5)

Lizardi and De la Barra use the autobiography genre and with it construct an intimate and informal tone to their texts. Travel writing and the autobiography share the centrality of "I" and authority in the authenticity of the writing. It gave Lizardi's fictional character an aspect of reality and the model of a parent teaching life lessons to his/her children sets a level of authority. *El Perriquillo* can also be considered in the travel genre because the protagonist travels throughout Mexico, encounters a variety of people and occupations, criticizes social problems in Mexican society, and teaches moral and life lessons. Both texts contain elements of the autobiography, travelogue, digressions, and moralizing passages. As the protagonist tours the city, he/she provides life lessons learned from encounters with locals or visits to specific places/spaces or events. A principal difference between the two texts is the tone. *El Perriquillo* utilizes irony and satire throughout its narrative, as well as subaltern spaces and people. De la Barra's travel book could not include highly controversial topics due to her gender, social status, and authority she had to create and maintain as a woman traveling alone. Moreover, she chose a serious and religious tone for her text so her travel narrative could have the authority to provide moral guidance in general and advocate for female issues.

Female Pilgrims

Every female traveler in my corpus and beyond appropriates the genre of travel literature differently and in the case of De la Barra, she uses religious discourse. Setting the narrative in a religious framework gave her the authority to travel alone and to critically observe other cultures and the role of women in society. Religious discourse was available and acceptable for women to use

considering that the image of the female pilgrim is similar to that of the "angel of the house." Francesca Denegri states:

> Religion, the sacred, becomes a way to reflect on secular culture and politics in the new Republics. And, just as the humble, selfless pilgrim appears in these books transformed into a self-assertive and incisive traveller, the angel of the house steps out of her window and, taking control of her own life, becomes a critical spectator of the imperial thirst of nineteenth-century history. (362)

Denegri argues that women could use Religion as a lens to look at society and use its language to describe and/or critique it. At the beginning of her travel narrative, Maipina De la Barra represents herself as a humble pilgrim looking to escape her current situation and in need of guidance. As she uses her religious beliefs to create the authority to travel she begins to gain independence and self-assertiveness as a single woman and express critical opinions on women's issues in foreign societies and consequently compare them to her homeland of Chile. The historian Ulloa interprets the author's use of religious discourse as "auto-censura." She asserts that De la Barra uses religious rhetoric in her arguments to support more female education because the vocabulary and ideas are "permitidos y validados" for women. To illustrate, De la Barra defends her desire for more active female roles by arguing that it is God's will and for the well being of the nation as a whole. It is difficult to know to what extent a female writer censured herself when they also had feminine and conservative standards to adhere in order to get published. De la Barra's liberal views have limits as we see in her declaration for more education and

independence for women, but without disturbing the structure of social classes in society. Also, the reasons Ulloa makes about God's will and the nation were the main arguments for the popular discourse of "la madre republicana" that was used by men and women of the time period. Religious discourse played a more central role in *Mis impresiones* than critiques have claimed. More on this discourse will be further discussed in a later section.

Sanhueza Cerda describes De la Barra's motives for travel as "particularmente femeninas." He states that the two main reasons were to reunite with her mother and to educate her daughter abroad. He emphasizes the female roles,

> No sólo el motivo central gira en torno a la noción de madre (*su* madre en Italia, pero también *ella* en tanto madre) e hija (*ella* como hija y *su* propia hija), sino que además declara que fue la Virgen María quien le dio la inspiración y la fuerza para abandonar Chile e irse a Europa. ("El problema de mi vida" 339)

The text does have a strong feminine tone with female protagonists, mother-daughter dialogues, moral teachings directed to a female audience, but the motives for travel appear to be more about escape and survival. In addition, the author's reason for traveling to see her mother could be questioned, given that her mother Athenais Pereira de Lira had strained relationships with her children. The historian Antonio Dougnac did extensive biographical research on the family and discovered their private and public battles that centered on Athenais Pereira. To illustrate, a year after Miguel de la Barra's death, Athenais was involved in multiple legal

disputes over finances and inheritance with her son-in-law (and Maipina's husband) José Ignacio Cobo and her brother-in-law and legal guardian of her children Juan de la Barra. She also had problems with her youngest son who she gave over custody to relatives during her last few years in Chile. Athenais remarried then moved alone to Europe in 1853 two years after her first husband's death. With the family history in mind, it is possible that Maipina de la Barra used the reason of reuniting with her mother as an excuse to travel to Europe when her main intention was to move to Paris. She spent a few weeks with her mother in Italy as a tourist since she determined it was inappropriate to live with her mother who had remarried. Without delay De la Barra changed her itinerary and took route to Paris where she resided for 9 months until she was called back to Chile.

A well-known female traveler in the Latin American literary canon who also traveled alone and called her journeys pilgrimages is Flora Tristán and her travel book on Latin America is titled *Peregrinaciones de una paria* (1838). Although Tristán and De la Barra fall into distant places on the spectrum of feminism and social activism, they share some similarities in their strategies and use of religious discourse. Many scholars have noted that travels to Europe by Latin American travelers were a sort of secular pilgrimage to the center of culture and civilization similar to the Grand Tour. A different way to see the traveler's journey as a pilgrimage is not in the traditional sense of a journey made to a sacred place or religious shrine, but rather as an escape in search of help and refuge. Another way to interpret it is as Pérez-Mejía describes Tristán's pilgrimage, "a manner of traveling that implies that one has no fixed home to return to, but rather one travels from

place to place in pursuit of a goal" (122). Maipina de la Barra and Flora Tristán fall into this category and have multiple similarities in their motivation to travel. Both were single women and mothers; one escaped an abusive husband and the other was a widow, and both had limited financial resources. José Ignacio Cobo's death left Maipina in a difficult financial situation with debt and a small inheritance that did not allow her to continue a life of leisure, and ultimately forced her to work as a piano instructor. Their journeys had a survivalist trait to them. Francesca Denegri observes in Flora Tristán's and Juana Manuela Gorriti's travel narratives, "an act of survival, where by contrast the focus is on motive, on getting away (that is, on the point of departure)" (350). Denegri uses the romantic definition of *peregrination* of a voyage made to a foreign land with no specific itinerary and in a spirit of humbleness. The plural suggests a sense of wandering aimlessly from place to place, with no specific sense of route or purpose, other than the impulse to escape (349). The meaning of *peregrination* and the plural form used in the titles of their travel narratives is what leads the critic to categorize Tristán and Gorriti as female pilgrims.

The departure can be insightful on the motivation and situation of the traveler. In the case of De la Barra, at her departure or "escape" onboard the *Corcovado*, she describes a weight lifted off of her and a feeling of tranquility. She writes:

> Sin embargo, al embarcarme sentía un bienestar inexplicable; mi respiración era franca, expedita, grata; mi ánimo, tranquilo; hallábame, en una palabra,

contenta, no obstante que por momentos pensaba que a cada vuelta del hélice podíamos fracasar y quedar sepultadas en el fondo de los mares. (17)

The common fears of shipwreck or the unknown were not enough to disrupt her calmness and composure. The widow leaves a bad situation with hopes of a better future in Europe. On the other hand, her involuntarily return to Chile produced the opposite emotion. De la Barra reveals at her return, "Luego que el vapor rompió la marcha, fue tanto lo que me impresioné, tanto lo que me entristecí, que no pude reprimir el llanto, y lloré copiosamente" (176). Instead of excitement and relief, her departure from Europe is filled with distraught. She also attributes a storm during that voyage as a premonition to the trouble that awaited her in Chile. Tristán experiences a similar feeling of relief during her departure. As she waited to board the ship *el Mexicano,* her inner voice said, "<<En nombre del cielo, sálvame! Por piedad, lléveme lejos de aquí!>>" (Tristán 24). Her situation was desperate and she felt rejected by French society and for this reason when the ship departed she writes, "Este arranque me devolvió todo mi valor, me sentí más tranquila. A pesar mío, Dios había venido a habitar dentro de mí" (24). At the same time, travel became an escape and an opportunity for freedom for both of these female travelers.

Unfortunately De la Barra and Tristán also encountered obstacles in their transatlantic journeys that resulted in no financial help from their respective family members, and yet they found their travels to be a source of income and independence. Tristán's uncle Pío denies her inheritance and De la Barra's mother has remarried a younger man and cannot help her daughter. The author surprised at her mother's new marital status writes: "Muchos motivos tenía de sentimiento: por

una parte creía no serían tranquilos los últimos días de mamá, pues él se había casado por interés; por otra consideraba que yo no podía ya vivir con ella, pues no era prudente, no hallábase sola, como yo creía" (92). It is these obstacles during their journeys that force the travelers to change their route and take control of their destiny. Both women became active with more travels after their first transatlantic voyage, multiple publications, and participation in cultural-social activities.[42] To illustrate, it is De la Barra's departure from Italy when the widow shines in her journey because the "orphan" that was looking to escape becomes a self-assertive woman who takes control of her and her daughter's destiny. The author takes full advantage of her new form of empowerment during her residence in Paris. She studies and practices piano at a prestigious institute with the famous Henri Herz, attends high society social functions, and educates her daughter in Europe. After a 9-month residence in Paris, the traveler goes through her own social and educational transformation. By attending concerts and soirees De la Barra learns and adapts to European social customs and tastes. For example, at several functions she refers to herself as "ignorante" due to her lack of understanding of the choice of music or concert etiquette. In Chile she only knew to appreciate Italian music and the piano; afterwards the author discovers the value of classical music and the violin. Another example occurs at a dance where Chilean and French customs clashed. De la Barra describes the beginning of the reception:

> Un momento después sonó la orquesta, y los caballeros se pusieron a sacar. Uno de ellos se dirigió a mí; pero como la antigua y necia costumbre de Chile

[42] Flora Tristán participated in feminist and proletariat movements in Europe while Maipina de la Barra advocated for female education and became a member of the masons.

> prohíbe el bailar a la mujer casada, no accedí al principio. Luego que vi que todas las señoras, por mayores que fueran, bailaban, accedí bien persuadida de que no haciéndolo así, me hubieran tildado de incivil. (139)

Not only does she call the Chilean custom foolish, but also ancient. The author highlights the lack of evolution in Chile and allows herself to adopt the European customs she considers refined and civilized. De la Barra becomes accustomed to her life in Paris and it reaches a point to where she becomes a foreigner in her own home country. After her return to Chile, she writes, "¡Qué raras me parecían las costumbres, y sobre todo las malicias de las conversaciones! Me sentía inquieta…" (186). Travel has the potential to "defamiliarize" home for the traveler.

The religious discourse and construction of identity as a pilgrim starts at the very beginning of the narrative with the author's first representation as an orphan. De la Barra in multiple occasions refers to herself and her daughter as "huerfanas" in need of guidance, which she finds in religion and paternal figures to provide that direction. The author creates this identity to strengthen her use of religious discourse and her reason to leave Chile. Using the status of orphan caused by a desperate financial situation and being a single widowed mother, De la Barra looks for direction from her spirituality. That is when she is advised to travel to Europe during a moment of prayer and meditation. Both mother and daughter received the same divine message to leave. For the most part, Maipina receives what she considers spiritual guidance and protection throughout her journeys. Also, De la Barra finds paternal figures in male travel companions. For example, the author writes:

> Apenas alejados de la costa, quise posesionarme de los compañeros de viaje que fueran más cerca del término del mío…Mi idea era buscar una persona que nos indicara los incidentes que tienen lugar en la travesía. Fíjeme en un señor de edad avanzada que estaba sentado en cubierta cerca de mí, y me parecía estar algo enfermo, pues estaba solo, meditabundo y tosía con tenacidad. Llamábase señor Corradi. (18)

De la Barra starts a conversation with señor Corradi and discovers their destinations will allow them to be travel companions for most of their journeys. In exchange for his travel guidance, De la Barra will look after his health using her feminine knowledge of care and domestic medicine. She established a mutual and appropriate exchange of services that protected her relationship with a male companion against criticism. Corradi will act as her male travel guide with knowledge of routes, places, and people while she will provide "domestic" and "feminine" assistance as a caretaker. Another male figure she encounters during her travels is señor Negrón who takes over in Corradi's absence. The traveler explains that Corradi was unable to follow her route to Marseilles, therefore, "Para conocer minuciosamente el camino que íbamos a emprender, el señor Negrón me dio por escrito un itinerario, que me sirvió como si no fuera la primera vez que yo anduviera por aquellos lugares" (82). The author's travels are guided either by her spiritual messages she receives or by male figures encountered on route.

De la Barra's pilgrimage has similar traits to the autobiographies of nuns and to episodes of mysticism.[43] Santa Teresa de Jesús was a Spanish nun who was asked to write her autobiography titled *Libro de su vida* (1562) that describes her life story, her religious vocation, and her mystical experiences. Her book became a manual on how to live a pious life and a guidebook for other nuns experiencing the different levels of mysticism. De la Barra's travel book also became a manual for young women and mother-daughter relationships by using moral lectures and her personal experience as a learning model. *Libro de su vida* and *Mis impresiones* used aspects of the autobiography, travel literature, and also shared traits of manuals-guidebooks. In the case of De la Barra, there are several characteristics associated with mysticism and nuns' autobiographies. First, she receives a message to leave Chile and travel to Europe to save herself and her daughter, which can be seen as a pilgrimage. As mentioned earlier, both Maipina and Eva receive confirmation through divine messages in church to travel. Second, throughout her travels, De la Barra hears inner spiritual voices that guide her movements, actions, and itinerary. To illustrate, in Turin the traveler explains:

> Sentía yo en mi interior una voluntad superior a la mía que hacía eco en todo mi ser, que dirigía mis acciones, y que, aun cuando yo deseaba a veces permanecer más tiempo en alguna ciudad para conocerla, me decía con insistencia: *Paris, Paris: nada más por ahora.* (106)

[43] Mysticism searches for direct communication between man and divinity. It is a communication that is achieved through personal intuition and ecstasy. In Santa Teresa's *Vida* she outlines three levels of mystic visions: *visiones intelectuales, imaginarias,* and *corporales*. The ultimate goal is to have one's soul unite with God to achieve perfect spiritual unity and revelation.

When the traveler obeys her inner voices, her journeys go well in Europe and also on her second trip across the Andes mountain range. However, the voices also warn her of possible misfortunes that transpire when she does not follow the commands like in Chile when she loses her daughter to marriage. Third, she has episodes of ecstasy. In the Louvre, she describes a painting titled "El Calvario" by Proudhon that had a profound spiritual effect on her. She narrates:

> ¡Sublime concepción! …el cuadro iba tomando una pavorosa animación ante mis ojos: el sufrimiento que expresaban las figuras parecía real. Al fin no pude dominar mi emoción, y dejé correr el llanto, pues parecía que en ese momento espiraba el Salvador, y que la había oído el último suspiro; y sentía como una voz íntima que me decía: <<*contémplame y contempla a mi madre.*>> …Anonada por la fuerte impresión que recibí, quedé inmóvil e insensible; perdí la vista y no oía los ruegos de mi hija, y fue indispensable que ella me arrancara violentamente del sitio. (158-159)

De la Barra describes an example where she is physically and mentally taken out of her senses when told by an inner voice to contemplate a painting. Religious discourse had a more central role in the author's travel narrative than what other scholars give it credit. In sum, De la Barra connects the discourse to her identity, type of travel, reason for travel, style and content.

Women's Issues

The exposure travel provided and the difficult situation of De la Barra and Tristán created a stronger advocacy for women's issues. Their travel books compared to travel chronicles demonstrate to be premeditated with a social

function. Angela Pérez-Mejía notes that Tristán "Declaring herself a 'pariah' became a strategy for expressing her radical political position in defense of women and the oppressed" (103). Their personal stories justified their stances on more female rights. All the female travelers in my corpus pay special attention to the role of women in foreign cultures and are critical of the roles in their own country and/or foreign countries. These 19th century female travelers being a generation behind the 20th century suffrage movement fall all over the spectrum for female rights. Some 19th century women found themselves in hard financial situations with limited resources and solutions. Travel offered them opportunities to observe foreign societies, institutions, women, and possibilities for independence. Specifically in De la Barra's case she focuses on the woman's role of motherhood and education.

Before De la Barra's arrival to Europe she notes the roles of women in subaltern communities. Slavery was a popular topic in travel narratives by men and women who traveled to slavery practicing nations. The two most common tours were at plantations and slave auctions. She stops in Rio de Janeiro where she witnesses a society with slavery. Interestingly, she does not describe any male slaves or male free blacks, but rather dedicates her whole time observing the female black population. Her first observation of the black population is in the market where she witnesses the vendors from a distance. She explains the differences in their dress and notes, "Las negras esclavas andan con camisa descotada, manga y falda corta, pie desnudo y una especie de turbante turco a la cabeza. Las negras libres llevan vestidos blancos descotados, collares, pulseras, y van bien peinadas" (42). The traveler goes from general outside observation to particular inside

observation. She goes on an excursion to the countryside where she is able to observe a coffee plantation mostly labored by female slaves and takes a personal and intimate inspection of slavery. Brintrup explains travelers' tactics as,

> En el siglo XIX, el viajero trata de ponerse en contacto con el pueblo, con lo autóctono, con la gente nativa de un lugar. Para esto hace preguntas y pide informaciones abriendo posibilidades al acontecimiento imprevisto, a las reacciones originales e imprevisibles por parte del viajero romántico. ("El libro móvil" 59)

De la Barra starts a conversation with a female slave and gives her readership a private and trusted picture with unexpected reactions and emotions.

Foreign travelers used multiple strategies and entered the slavery debate differently. For example, going back to Tristán, her approach is bolder and confrontational. Tristán visits a sugar plantation in Peru and the landowner gives her a tour of his operations. Following the tour, Tristán and the landowner M. Lavalle engage in a 5-page debate on slavery. In the dialogue, Lavalle defends his belief that force and corporeal punishment is the only way to make black and even indigenous people productive workers. Tristan responds, "Creo con usted que el hombre blanco, rojo o negro, se resuelve difícilmente al trabajo cuando no ha sido educado en él. Pero la esclavitud corrompe al hombre y al hacerle odioso el trabajo, no podrá prepararlo para la civilización" (415). She ends the debate stating her support for abolition and its inevitable arrival to all nations with slavery. M. de la Barra approaches slavery in an intimate setting and tone by interviewing an adolescent female slave named Hortensia. Through her conversation, the author

provides private and personal information from a slave's perspective. For instance, Hortensia talks about her treatment on the plantation and the services the owner does and does not provide for the slaves. The author asks a series of personal questions about marriage, motherhood, education, and religious devotion. Through her questions, De la Barra demonstrates how slavery inhibits the females' basic roles of womanhood and motherhood. Instead of discussing the institution in general as Tristán's approach, the author highlights the female role or lack of one. Hortensia confirms that the slave owners do not teach slaves to read or write, they rarely take them to church or read scripture to them, and force them into arranged marriages in order to produce more slaves through their offspring. As slaves they are not able to fulfill their roles as mothers or Christians. De la Barra is surprised at Hortensia's sincere and astute responses and comments, "Esta sublime respuesta en boca de una pobre criatura que ni edad tenía para comprender la profundidad del pensamiento que encerraba, heló mi sangre y me impidió hablar por algunos instantes!" (49). Hortensia refuses to be a mother and still believes in God even with all the injustices she faces as a slave. Whether the conversation was real or fictional does not matter because the travel author is able to gain empathy without describing in detail inhumane treatment that might be uncomfortable for her female public. De la Barra achieves representing the humanity in the slaves and in particular the loss of motherhood. The author continues the intimate tone she has set for her travel narrative even in episodes that could be controversial.

When De la Barra arrives in Europe it is not until her 9-month residence in Paris that she has the opportunity to observe the women of Europe. Her journey

from Italy to France was fast and she only provided simple descriptions of cities and main attractions. In Paris, she describes the daily activities of the Parisians. The trait that stands out to De la Barra was the activity level of the people. She notes that everyone works and that includes men and women. She writes:

> Las mujeres del pueblo propiamente dicho, y aquellas que han sido mejor educadas, pero que no tienen medios de subsistencia, trabajan mucho, y por este motivo son más independientes. Unas se dedican al trabajo material de las industrias; otras, a la parte intelectual, y llevan la correspondencia o los libros de contabilidad de una casa de comercio, de un hotel o de cualquier otro establecimiento; otras, de posición más infeliz, se ven a todas horas por las calles con un carretoncito de mano vendiendo verduras, frutas y otros mil objetos de poco precio. (109)

De la Barra notes that everyone is a productive and working citizen in Europe and concludes that Europe is a model for Latin America to follow. The independence and productivity of women or lack of it was an important observation that most female travelers pointed out to their public. Like in Chapter 1, women's professions that she described as "serious" and "respectable" impressed Eduarda Mansilla. In particular the occupation of journalist since it was a harder field to enter for women writers. For De la Barra it becomes personal to her situation, given that she had to work and travel became a way to find opportunities abroad.

As mentioned earlier, De la Barra's pilgrimages were escapes from her situation in Chile. During her return voyage to Chile, the author asks a fellow traveler, a Polish doctor what she should do after her arrival considering her limited

funds and responsibility for finding an appropriate match for her daughter. His advice is to leave Chile as soon as possible. In Sanhueza Cerda's analysis of De la Barra, he notes "De vuelta en Chile ella cambió drásticamente. El viaje a Europa dejaba en evidencia que el mayor problema con el que debía enfrentarse no era su posición social sino su propia condición de mujer… El viaje le permitía problematizar su papel de género" (*Chilenos en Alemania* 127). De la Barra reflects:

> Mi anhelo era grande por saber qué era lo que me convenía hacer, qué traba debería emprender; pues, como ya os podréis figurar, mis lectoras, yo volvía escasa de recursos, y tenía que pensar como hombre de negocios. Pero me encontraba impotente bajo todos conceptos; el problema de mi vida se resumía en esta exclamación: ¡Soy Mujer! Y con esto explicaba mi difícil situación. (184)

The author becomes a piano and voice teacher during her time in Valparaiso, but the problem is the negative judgment of working women in Chile when she witnessed respect for the same scenario in Europe. She notes,

> Pero mi ánimo sufría mucho cuando algunas veces tenía que tratar con gentes de pocos alcances, que no comprendían mi abnegación en dejar a un lado las preocupaciones sociales, y dedicarme al noble trabajo de la enseñanza; porque ¡triste es decirlo! En América el trabajo de una señora es, en general, considerado con las ideas más mezquinas; y lo que en Europa es un honor, aquí casi es una deshonra. (187)

Sanhueza explains her situation as, "Allí (Europe), ella podía desplegar sus potencialidades, sus capacidades. Chile, por el contrario, la esperaba al interior de

cuatro paredes" ("El problema de mi vida" 344). The limited resources in Chile and losing her daughter to marriage encourage the author to take a second pilgrimage to Argentina. Her goal is female independence and the way to achieve that is through employment and education, which she emphasizes throughout her narrative and directs lessons to her daughter and readers.

A major theme that she dedicates a full chapter to is education. Many female travelers judged a country's level of civilization and advancement according to the education women in that society received. Thus, 19th century Latin American female travelers quickly realized the education in their home countries was inadequate after their transatlantic voyages. It led them to support education rights and to have a more active role in the political, intellectual, and labor spheres. From the beginning De la Barra directs her speech to Latin American mothers and tries to excite them to support change. The traveler writes:

> Permite, Señor, que al hablar de la educación, FUNDAMENTO DE TODO PROGRESO, pueda expresarme tal como mi pobre inteligencia me la hizo comprender; a fin de que las madres de familia no desdeñen prestarme su atención y traten con el mayor empeño de secundar mis miras, educando a sus hijos e ilustrando a las personas que tengan a su lado, de cualquier clase y condición que sean, pues que *enseñar al que no sabe es obra de misericordia*. (160)

De la Barra continues to use religious discourse and in the context of education it is a strategy to utilize female moral and spiritual authority. By inserting religious rhetoric when discussing social issues, women are able to enter the public sphere

with a level of authority. The author argues that in the Americas, in general, they do not understand the importance the role of woman-mother is to society and to man. Therefore, she highlights the role of the mother throughout the lifetime of man. She explains,

> Ella le da vida en su seno; lo recibe en sus brazos y lo alimenta de su propia sustancia apenas sale a la luz; lo cuida y lo inspira durante su infancia; lo anima y le da energía en su juventud; lo acompaña y le ayuda en el matrimonio; lo sostiene y lo consuela durante la vejez. (161-162)

The author argues that the woman-mother's entire life is dedicated to the well being of man. Women play an integral part in man's life and for this reason she deserves to be protected, treated with respect and especially educated. De la Barra demonstrates how women should have a new and more active role as mother of the nation because she is the educator of the future children that will make up the country's next generation of citizens. Gertrude Yeager maintains, "The involvement of women in modernization reflected an important shift in the role of woman in society and came an adaptation of the ideas of republican motherhood and the 'cult of true womanhood' to the Chilean context and to the Hispanic concept of honor and shame" (426).[44] Yeager's research looks at how religion was an instrument to insert women into the modernization process in mid-19th century Chile. The Church collaborated with the state when the state needed more people in the workforce and

[44] "'The cult of true womanhood' has not been extensively studied in the Latin American context because of the continued attractiveness of the marianismo or honor and shame paradigm. Marianismo however does suggest a private role whereas the 'cult of true womanhood' provided women with a social or public role" (Yeager 430).

did so by placing women into appropriate roles in education, social and health services.

The advocacy for women's education along with religious rhetoric was part of the popular 19th century discourse of "la madre republicana." Female writers dispersed the discourse to their audiences to justify their own public activities and to expand women's public roles in general. As part of the discourse De la Barra highlights the importance of women's roles as mothers, and for that reason they need to be better prepared for their evolving national role. In other words, women should be integrated into the civilizing and modernizing national project. As Sanhueza Cerda argues, "…el ideal de <<madre republicana se asociaba con un papel de formador de hijos que fuesen Buenos republicanos, amantes de la libertad y la igualdad>>" ("El problema de mi vida" 334). The historian explains that the mother's role was more than teaching etiquette and good manners; it was about preparing children with morals, ethics and civic values to be good future citizens of the new republic. Scholars agree that the author does not intend to revolutionize or demolish gender roles in society, but rather modify and strengthen the traditional female role. The mother's instructional role goes hand in hand with informal education of man. De la Barra outlines the education in Europe:

> En Europa, la educación, así del hombre como de la mujer, principia en el hogar domestico, y concluye en los colegios: los profesores enseñan la ciencia, y la madre inspira los sentimientos; los profesores enseñan la grandeza de la Creación, las leyes de la Naturaleza, y la madre demuestra la existencia de Dios, sus infinitas perfecciones; los profesores enseñan las leyes

> de la material y sus relaciones entre sí, y la madre inspira las leyes del alma y sus celestiales armonías; los profesores enseñan a discurrir, y la madre enseña a amar; en una palabra: en los colegios se cultiva la inteligencia y la razón, en el hogar domestico se cultiva el sentimiento; y estas tres facultades del alma, unidas en perfecto consorcio… (162-163)

The author emphasizes that balanced education is made up of "facultades morales e intelectuales." In addition to the mother's role of educator throughout the lifespan of man, her role is also one that cannot be supplemented in formal education. In short, the author argues that the mother is the person who gives morals and virtues to man and without them man would destroy himself because knowledge and science can only take him so far. According to the De la Barra, an education solely based on science will create "al hombre presuntuoso, insolente, egoísta, injusto, y a veces hasta tirano y cruel, pasiones terrenales, que nos materializan, conduciéndonos a la incredulidad, y acaso al ateísmo" (164). Feminine morals and virtues control the passions that can overcome men if they are not exposed to a mother's education.

De la Barra following the discourse of the "madre republicana" presents the woman's role as essential for the nation and its progress. Throughout her travels she compares and contrasts Europe to America and uses the popular civilización vs. barbabie discourse along with the "madre republicana" to persuade her readers to embrace the habits of European societies that she considers superior. As the critics explain,

> Hacia mediados del siglo XIX la educación de la mujer es inadecuada. Mientras que en Europa y Estados Unidos también se lucha por la

> instauración de places de estudio eficaces para la mujer, en la América hispana la situación parece mucho más grave…La aseveración es confirmada por los viajeros a otras regiones del continente. De allí que el tema cobre tanta importancia en la prensa a cargo de las mujeres. (Arambel-Guiñazú & Martin 46-47)

Education became a central theme in many female writings and travel narratives. During De la Barra journey home, the travel writer provides an example of the transformation of a Latin American servant to demonstrate the power civilized countries can have on less educated people or countries. She was an advocate for sending Latin American youth abroad for an education. Not all Latin Americans were in favor of foreign education. For example, Juana Manuela Gorriti criticized this practice in her travel texts and argued that the youth should first travel and get to know their own country before going abroad. De la Barra finds herself with her old travel companion Sr. Corradi's daughter and their servant. She notes:

> Aquella sirvienta con la cual salió de Chile, y de quien yo no quise nunca hablar por temor de desagradar a mis lectoras, pues era repugnante su modo de vestir desaliñado, y sobre todo su desaseo. Pero ¡oh poder del ejemplo! Un año no cumplido de vivir en aquella atmósfera europea, bastó para trasformar aquella montaraz en una señora, bien vestida, con regulares maneras y hablando bastante bien el italiano. (177)

The example indicates that anyone regardless of social class or age can civilize and modernize if they are exposed to positive models. The Latin American servant is not

the only example the readers see. Also, as mentioned earlier, the two protagonists Maipina and Eva go through a transformation during their European voyage.

Interestingly, the author's unique name Maipina stems from Maipú where an important battle was won during Chile's war of Independence. Her father Miguel de la Barra participated in the Battle of Maipú against the Spanish army that produced critical advancements for the liberation movements. As mentioned previously in her biography, De la Barra came from a family that had connections in the independence movements and ruling class. The author tries to excite her female audience in recognizing their value as national mothers and request more from society. She concludes her chapter on education with a demand from her audience:

> Concluyo, mis queridas lectoras, este capítulo, exhortándoos a que trabajemos cuanto esté de nuestra parte por vencer nuestra natural apatía; y yo os aseguro con toda mi alma que habremos logrado una obra colosal: LA EDUCACION BIEN ENTENDIDA DE NUESTROS HIJOS, Y ESPECIALMENTE DE NUESTRAS HIJAS, para no volver jamás a ser pequeñas. Es verdad que tan ímprobo trabajo algunos esfuerzos nos ha de costar; pero siendo la obra grande, más meritoria y más satisfactoria será nuestra tarea. (171-2)

The author's call for action does not stop there. In the final chapter of her travel book she reaches out to her female audience once again and advises, "No lo dudéis ni por un instante: si algunas de vosotras os sentís animadas de los deseos que me dominan, y queréis poner mano a la obra, venid a verme, y os ayudaré con alma y vida…" (248). De la Barra demonstrates what they cannot overcome individually they can in a unified group. The author wraps up the chapter on education by

outlining her education reform: the first, is to provide schools for women to learn a profession in science, and the second, is to support the domestic education women provide in public school. De la Barra believes these changes will improve the quality of life for women, which will be demonstrated through the respect, and independence they gain in their societies. Her chapter on education is an important chapter to the author as Ulloa points out that the author intentionally submitted this chapter for advertisement in journal reviews.

Carla Ulloa argues in her dissertation that Maipina de la Barra used the genre of travel literature to enter into a more active and public role in female education. The excerpts published were sections of her chapter on education that the author submitted herself. Ulloa interprets this as a reflection of De la Barra's main intent to discuss female issues over informing her audience on her travels. In other words, publishing her travel book was a stepping-stone into her public role and demonstrates her text as premeditated. Ulloa states that Argentina was more liberal than Chile at the time and provided more opportunities for De la Barra. "Lo cierto es que Chile presentaba una política específicamente conservadora, ya que durante todo el siglo XIX las reformas liberales y las leyes laicas encontraron un sinnúmero de impedimentos…" (*Crítica social y gestión cultural* 35). Francine Masiello has written extensively on 19th century female Argentine writers and describes a generation of women that inserted themselves into contemporary national debate and participated in the national discourse of modernization. The differences between the countries can also be seen in their reception of De la Barra's travel book. In Argentina, immediately after the publication of her book, journals like "La

Familia" in Buenos Aires printed positive reviews of the work that included excerpts on education reform. On the other hand, in Chile the reviews were also positive, but more conservative. In the same year, Benjamín Vicuña MacKenna, a friend of De la Barra, published a review of her book in the newspaper "El Ferrocarril."[45] In the review the critic categorizes *Mis impresiones* as a "lectura para la diversión" and corrects a few "errors" of European landmarks like the measurements of the Lourve museum.[46] In Ulloa's dissertation, she focuses on De la Barra's social and cultural activities before and after her travel book. The historian is unable to find a public presence before *Mis impresiones* and instead finds an active public role after 1878. For example, in 1880 De la Barra starts to have a presence in the national and international press for her cultural activities associated with music. In addition, there are records of conferences Maipina attended in Spain and spoke on the issue of education for women. She also had a few more publications on education and translations of others' as well.[47] This activity adds another similarity to Flora Tristán. Although Tristán had a more liberal ideology, she also had a very active public role after her travels to Peru and the publication of her travel book.

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[45] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna was a writer, journalist, and politician. In 1875, he was defeated in the Chilean presidential elections.

[46] The action of "correcting" also occurred to another traveler in this corpus. Lucio Mansilla translated from French to Spanish his sister Eduarda Mansilla's novel *Pablo, ou la vie dans les Pampas* and included corrections to some of her definitions of indigenous terms.

[47] "Discurso sobre la instrucción de la mujer" (1897), translation "Textos de lectura para escuelas y colegios de ambos sexos" (1896), and translation "La ciencia oculta. Estudio sobre la doctrina esotérica" (1887) of Luis Dramand.

Trials through the Cordillera

After the transatlantic voyage, Maipina de la Barra goes on a second pilgrimage, but this journey is continental and a permanent move. The travel book is divided into two parts: the first is called "Mis impresiones" and narrates her transatlantic voyage and residence in Europe and the second part is titled "Mis vicisitudes" and covers the author's return to Chile and solo journey to Buenos Aires. A common trait in travel narratives of religious pilgrimages and mystic nuns' autobiographies was the mental and physical hardships of the pilgrim's physical and spiritual journey. The author refers to this second journey in her text as a "peregrinaje en la Tierra." She departs the 20th of March 1877 and arrives the 27th of June 1877. To cross into Buenos Aires from Chile the traveler had two options for her journey, either by water or land. She is advised not to travel through the mountain range but instead through the channel of Magallanes due to safety and length of journey. This second journey was also guided and initiated by her spiritual intuition to leave Chile. Her inner voices advise: "*Anda, anda, pasa pronto la Cordillera; si no te apresuras, ya no la pasarás este año, porque graves inconvenientes, que no estará en tu mano allanar, te lo impedirán"* (196). She feels the urgency and as a result, De la Barra decides to take the land journey on donkey through the cordillera in poor health, alone, and with a male guide. Her second journey also brings similarities to Flora Tristán as they both confronted threatening landscapes in their pilgrimages. Tristán has a series of physical obstacles: crossing the desert to Arequipa, her solitary road to Lima, and return trip to France without her inheritance. Vanesa Miseres observes that Flora Tristán represents herself as inept

when faced with a dangerous territory such as crossing the Peruvian desert. The critic interprets this rhetorical strategy as Tristan's way to balance her identity as a female traveler. In other words, she ensures she represents vulnerable moments as well as courageous moments in order to meet feminine expectations. Traits of the hero or explorer like physical strength, bravery, resilience, boldness, etc. were considered masculine and therefore female travelers had to find ways to maintain their femininity.

Like many male and female travelers that took physical and precarious journeys, De la Barra describes the exhaustive conditions and the necessary dress to travel through this type of territory. Of the two journeys De la Barra narrates in her book, this one across the Andes is the one she spends the most time elaborating and describing in detail. Like in Chapter 2 with the Larrainzar sisters, the mode of transportation influenced the traveler's descriptions and connection to the journey and landscape. The Larrainzars were the most connected and had the most interactions with the land and Mexican people when they traveled on horseback. To illustrate the differences, De la Barra describes her experience on a train in Europe and states:

> Nuestro viaje fue feliz; pero la velocidad del tren no nos permitía contemplar los sitios por que pasábamos. Entonces sentí haber tomado billete directo hasta Marsella, pues a pensarlo mejor, habría visitado algunas ciudades del tránsito. Sentía pena de no poder contemplar tan fecunda agricultura, pues es admirable el minucioso trabajo del agricultor francés. (82)

A stagecoach, train or ship adds distance to the traveler's perception and produces a feeling of detachment. In her European travels, the speed and distance of the train did not allow the author to contemplate the land. The opposite occurs in the examples of land journeys through Latin America such as M. de la Barra who travels on donkey across a mountain range or the case of the Larrainzars who traveled on horseback in southern Mexico. This mode of transportation brought travelers closer for a more intimate and detailed inspection and also provided the opportunities to meet fellow travelers and natives of the villages, towns or cities one stopped in. For example, De la Barra noticed changing details of the panoramas and notes "observando que hasta la luz se ve cambiar de tono, segun la forma del paisaje" (199). Or the example of the Larrainzar sisters that stopped in small villages where they cooked and ate alongside indigenous women.

The travel conditions to cross the Andes were more cumbersome on land than ship, which gave De la Barra more to explain to her readers. She warns,

> Para pasar la Cordillera usase de un antifaz que preserva cara, oídos y cuello, de unos anteojos que preservan la vista y de unos espesos guantes, porque las manos es lo primero que suele quemarse. Si por acaso se desprende alguna parte de esta rara vestidura, y nos da el aire, al momento quema el cutis, poniéndolo negro, o por lo menos del color de los indios. (198)

Even with the protective gear, the conditions are so severe that the traveler cautions one can still get sunburnt or cut. In addition to the dangers of the journey, she lists the type of tools that make up a cargo for this journey:

> En estos viajes hay que llevar todo lo necesario para la manutención, y aun los útiles para hacer la comida, pues nada se encuentra en el camino. Yo llevaba gallinas vivas, pues estaba a dieta, una regular bacteria de cocina, y bastante azúcar, arroz, té, pan y bizcochos; todo lo cual componía una carga. (203)

The author informs her female readership on how to travel through the mountain range and includes information of the equipment and food needed to make the journey and its physical hardships. This is not the typical journey of a lady and it is important to remember that she has a female public in mind and offers them many precautions. There are uneasy and stressful situations for male and female travelers and there are also scenarios that make women more conscious of their gender. To illustrate De la Barra confesses to some uncomfortable situations in her travels through a rugged territory. Such as staying in small inns or outdoor-shelters, and other occasions like sleeping outside where privacy and security were scarce. The author provides an example of one inn that lacked privacy and her strategies to overcome it. De la Barra placed her bed in the hallway of the inn so she would avoid sharing quarters with unfamiliar male travelers and she also dressed before sunrise because of fear that another guest would see her as she undressed in the hallway. After this episode, she warns, “Refiero todas estas particularidades, precisamente para que se conozcan todos los inconvenientes que este viaje de la Cordillera ofrece para las señoras” (229). The author spends more time describing her continental pilgrimage, as it would have been arduous for a male or a female traveler. The

amount of detail provided could prepare a reader from her audience to recreate the same journey.

The mental and physical hardships of her second journey evoked episodes of spirituality. For example, she encounters multiple physical hardships on her journey that arouse a variety of sentiments from fear and despair to peace and serenity. To illustrate, one dangerous climb on a mountain surprisingly brought composure to the traveler. She writes, "Una calma inexplicable llenó todo mi ser; y a fe mía que venía a tiempo, pues fuimos encerrándonos cada vez en mayores precipicios; por momentos era tan estrecho el camino, que casi no cabía la dócil bestia…" (207). This second journey was more emotional and spiritual for the widow due to her increased vulnerability and intimacy with nature. Maipina de la Barra expands the genre of travel literature in her text to be beneficial in multiple ways for her female audience. There is the popular motivation by travel writers to describe foreign cities, travel conditions and guidance. The author does more with her travel text by inviting the audience to join her physical journey but also her emotional journey. The audience witnesses the moral and religious teachings through the protagonists' dialogues and anecdotes. The author promotes more female education and uses her personal example as a learning model for Latin American women. She exposes the advances in female education in other countries and highlights the universal roles of all women and the role they play in nation building. These arguments are meant to encourage her readers to take action and advocate for higher educational standards in their home countries. De la Barra places all these messages and information within religious discourse. Her use of religious discourse is an integral part of the

travel narrative, given that it is used to create and represent the travelers, the journeys, the reason for travel, and to support female education.

Conclusion

No falta más sino que después de prohibírsele en España a la mujer del siglo XIX la entrada a los claustros universitarios, se prohíba también que busque en las fuentes de archivos y bibliotecas los datos necesarios para obras científicas o literarias.
Emilia Serrano, *América y sus mujeres*

The study of travel writing has turned into an interdisciplinary field with ties in literature, cultural studies, anthropology, geography, history, etc. The variety and complexity of the genre has proven insightful in multiple disciplines. To name a few examples, it has been a way to document and classify new discoveries such as travel routes, lands, flora, and fauna, perform ethnographic studies on foreign cultures, and record one's real or fictional autobiography or spiritual journey. Also, it is a source for gender relations, contemporary discourses, values and anxieties of the travelers and their societies, and accounts of their literary creativity. Women and men throughout history have participated in different trends of the genre and created new ones. In 19th century, it was a method for Latin American male and female writers to enter into national discourses through a public medium. Male and female travelers moved with their cultures and the multiple discourses they encountered on their journeys influenced the on-going formation of national identities. They were representative of their nation and also came across international representations of their nation by others. In this study, the travel narratives demonstrate how a variety of topics contributed to the traveler's creation of the nation like democracy, technology, education, women's roles, urbanization, etc. Although male travelers did observe the role of women and their positive

contributions to modern society, it was the female writers that emphasized its importance and necessity in order to create a modern society.

The heterogeneity of travel writing in its structure, style, and sub-genres promoted creativity with few barriers. 19th century women embraced a popular genre that gave them more freedom and flexibility than others. As we have seen, each female traveler in this project selected different structures, style, tone, and topics for their travel narratives. By looking at three distinct travel books from different Latin American countries, it shows us that women's travel writing should not be classified into a separate "feminine" category. Women's texts are as diverse as men's and use many of the same literary techniques and sub-genres. While topics of domesticity were highlighted and modified in E. Mansilla's and M. de la Barra's texts, they were not central in the Larrainzars'. In addition, the lens the male or female traveler observed through was affected by multiple factors like: gender, age, socioeconomic status, religion, etc. These factors were also used to construct the writer's identity as a traveler and authority in their writing. For example, in Chapter 2, the Larrainzar sisters traveled as young adolescents and their age became an important factor in the construction of their narrative voice and authority. They utilized a childish tone to recreate their original reactions and impressions of their journeys and it also contributed to their authority and appropriateness to enter "masculine" topics. Travel gave writers the opportunity to reinvent the self. Like we see in M. de la Barra's case, she was a pilgrim on her journeys, a foreigner in Chile, and a student in Paris. At the same time travelers observe and record others from foreign societies, they describe themselves. To illustrate, in Chapter 1, E. Mansilla's

descriptions of "Yankee" women and society reflected her Old World values and identity. Indirectly the reader can construct an image of the author-traveler without being the object of observation.

What arose my interest in this area was reading travel narratives by foreign travelers that recreated vivid scenes from different time periods and places for their contemporary readers. In particular, the European travelers that provided detailed descriptions of Latin American cities, recreated visual layouts of cities, and documented cultures and habits that would later disappear. Looking at travel literature in one geographical area it is possible to see the evolution of societies and their cities. An example is the transformation from Hernán Cortes' 16th century images of Tenochtitlan to 19th century images of Mexico City under the Porfiriato. Another fascinating example is from Lima Peru where travelers recorded the use of the female dress of the "tapadas."[48] It was a cultural practice that ended, but was documented in history by multiple travelers. Entering this body of literature I wondered what were female travelers' roles and in particular Latin American women. How were they using the literary genre? Where and why did they travel? Under what circumstances and what role did travel play?

The abundance of research on male travelers is the reason the corpus of this study is made up of Latin American female travelers from multiple countries. The motivation of the investigation is to add to the established scholarship and show women's participation and contributions. As discussed in the introduction, the open

[48] The dress of las tapadas consisted of a saya and manto that almost covered the full face except for the eyes. The image of las tapadas appear in 18th century texts by chroniclers, 19th century cuadros de costumbres and travel accounts.

and flexible genre of travel literature allowed women to add to the genre's complexity. They used it to express their opinions on an unlimited number of topics, to write their observations of national or foreign lands, peoples and societies, and enter debates occurring in their contemporary intellectual communities. Like men, they were witnesses to historical moments, visited private and public spaces, and interacted with local cultures. "Different from men, however, travel abroad for Spanish women could offer them more opportunities to acquire knowledge than were typically available to them at home due to the restrictions of their access to formal education, libraries, and other institutions" (Jenkins Wood 28). Travel opened entrance to museums, public institutions, technology, and first-hand observations of foreign societies. Some opportunities were to witness what they learned in their elite private education and other opportunities were exposure to information or institutions they would not have had access to at home. For example, in Chapter 3, De la Barra gives the readers a tour of the Louvre, provides a description and dimensions of the building, and highlights important art pieces. In Chapter 2, the Larrainzar sisters get a tour of the steam engine of the ship and learn how it functions. As noted in the epigraph, Emilia Serrano de Wilson criticizes the obstacles women faced in her home country of Spain. Travel was the path she discovered that allowed her to pursue her interest of science and conduct her own research. Also we see how female travelers became creative with their strategies to affirm their authority as travelers and as writers by utilizing similar strategies as their male counterparts and others only women could use. They used their connections aboard with letters of introduction, they highlighted their professional

status of "writers," referenced previous travelers, used travel guides or conducted their own research, and emphasized their "feminine" image. As Jennifer Jenkins Wood argues, "Women travelers had the choice to be 'complicit with' these gender norms, to transgress them, or 'negotiate' the two" (29). The situation determined what strategy to use such as if it was a private or public space, accompanied or unaccompanied female traveler or interactions with foreign men or women.

In Chapter 1 we saw how Eduarda Mansilla entered the discourse on modernity and democracy and dialogued with one of her Argentine contemporaries using the same literary genre of travel writing as Sarmiento did. It is another example of female writers not shying away from the popular discourses of their time period or from male intellectuals. Like many male and female Argentine writers, E. Mansilla applied and modified the civilización-barbarie binary for her travels through the United States. E. Mansilla and Sarmiento constructed two very different identities as travelers, which shaped their stance on the United States and on its modernization. On the one hand, Sarmiento embarks on a journey of enlightenment as a student and records the institutional operations and social custom of the United States and tries to persuade his audience that it is a good model for Latin America. On the other hand, E. Mansilla does not pretend to be a student or learner, but rather a foreign resident who constructs authority on her Old World knowledge and utilizes her Europeanized identity to be an avid observer and critic. She deconstructs the modern utopia Sarmiento created by highlighting the flaws and hypocrisies he ignored and uses irony and satire as tools of criticism and humor.

Then in Chapter 2, two young Mexican sisters take on an extensive investigational project of their travels to Russia, exile, and return home. These sister-writers incorporated a variety of techniques and talents. They researched extensively to provide statistical information on each city visited, played with their creativity in the two fiction melodramas that they blended into the travel narrative, and their participation in the construction of an evolving national identity. In addition to the encyclopedic information on foreign countries, these two travelers describe their inland travels through Mexico and contribute to the discourse on nationhood in national and international contexts. They depict two images of Mexico: the modern discourse creates a growing urban Capital and the romantic discourse paints a rural southern Mexico in picturesque country scenes with indigenous populations. They were given opportunities to represent Mexico abroad and correct representations by others. Like in their diplomatic mission as the first Mexican family in Russia or visiting the Mexican exhibition at the World Fair in Paris.

Finally in Chapter 3, we look at a female traveler that creates a very different type of traveler identity from the other women in this study. Maipina de la Barra uses religious discourse in her travel narrative, represents her journey as a pilgrimage and represents herself as an orphan-pilgrim. She starts her narrative as an orphan in need of financial resources for herself and her daughter and receives guidance through spiritual voices that direct her multiple travel itineraries. Her situation was very different from the other women in this study's corpus, given that she traveled without a male companion and was seeking opportunities outside her

country. In her particular case, travel became an escape and refuge from the controlling gaze of her "home" and local society. Also central to her travel narrative is a moral guidebook for young women and for mother-daughter relationships she created by placing her daughter and herself as protagonists and learning models, their dialogues and her monologues as moral lessons. She strongly advocates for more female education and continues her public promotion after the publication of her travel book.

The work done here demonstrates the importance of incorporating travel literature into national literary canons. The genre contributes to the canon through its representation of its time period (in this case the 19th century) and its diversity of female writing. Male travel writing provides a picture of the 19th century and women's expands that picture by affirming or contradicting the statements of their male contemporaries, inserting their stance on national discourses and providing detailed ethnographic studies on women around the world. We see how their studies of the everyday experiences in public and private spaces contributed to the construction of the nation. Consequently they realized the progress their native countries needed could only be achieved through the re-assessment of the woman's role in society. For many the first step was the expansion of education, which then led to greater independence and to the second step of an increased female workforce. Women disseminated information from abroad to their home audiences and helped expand their female roles outside the domestic sphere.

Continued research in women's travel writing can expose the amount of participation of women in this genre. As more studies organized by countries

emerge we can look into female writers' connections and networks. This special attention to women's issues and the women met during their travels raises the question of female networks. Studies like *Spanish Women Travelers at Home and Abroad, 1850-1920: From Tierra del Fuego to the Land of the Midnight Sun* (2014) and Mónica Szurmuk's *Mujeres en viaje* (2000) or *Women in Argentina: Early Travel Narratives* (2000), strive to familiarize readers with female travelers from specific countries. For example, *Spanish Women Travelers* has a corpus of eleven Spanish women: Emilia Pardo Bazán, Carmen de Burgos, Rosario de Acuña, Carolina Coronado, Emilia Serrano, Eva Canel, Fernán Caballero, Princesses Paz and Eulalia de Borbón, Sofía Casanova, and Mother María. One particular traveler, Emilia Serrano, Baronesa de Wilson (self-proclaimed "Cantora de las Américas"), formed a network throughout her travels in Latin America. She traveled in 1865 and a second trip from 1873 to 1888 with prolonged stays in Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, and Mexico. She wrote about her travels in three accounts: *América y sus mujeres* (1890), *América en el fin de siglo* (1897), and *Maravillas americanas* (1910).[49] Further investigations should look at the networks female travelers created during their journeys and residences in national and foreign countries. Serrano de Wilson includes the profiles of women writers she connected with during her travels in *América y sus mujeres* such as Juana Manuela Gorriti, Juana Manso, Eduarda Mansilla, Carolina Freire de Laimes, Mercedes Cabellos de la Carbonera and Clorinda Matto de Turner to name a few. Juana Manuela Gorriti organized a welcome

[49] Her published writings included: novels, poetry, treatises on education and other civic concerns, conduct manuals for young women, travel guides to Europe, translations of Spanish of several novels by Alexander Dumas, and numerous works devoted to her travels and study in virtually every nation of the Western Hemisphere (Leona Martin 29).

reception for Serrano de Wilson when she arrived in Peru and Serrano de Wilson attended multiple tertulias hosted by Gorriti. Serrano de Wilson expresses a transnational bond she felt with the Latin American women she met and it would be interesting to explore these transatlantic connections of Spanish American women. More work can be done with anthologies of 19th century Spanish American women travelers, which would help expand its critical scholarship, but it would first require an independent investigation to research and collect the travel writings.

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