Dreams and Realities: Selected Fiction of Juana Manuela Gorriti

JUANA MANUELA GORRITI

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

DREAMS AND REALITIES

LIBRARY OF LATIN AMERICA

OXFORD

DREAMS AND REALITIES

selected fiction of
Juana Manuela Gorriti

Juana Manuela Gorriti

Translated from the Spanish by
Sergio Waisman

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by
Francine Masiello

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
2003

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford New York
Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires Cape Town Chennai
Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
São Paulo Shanghai Taipei Tokyo Toronto

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

www.oup.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Gorriti, Juana Manuela, 1816–1892.
Prose works. English. Selections
Dreams and realities : selected fiction
of Juana Manuela Gorriti / Juana Manuela Gorriti;
translated from the Spanish by Sergio Waisman;
edited, with an introduction and notes, by Francine Masiello.
p. cm. — (Library of Latin America)
0195117379 (cl) 0195117387 (pbk)
1. Short stories, Argentine—Translations into English.
2. Gorriti, Juana Manuela, 1816–1892.
I. Waisman, Sergio Gabriel. II. Masiello, Francine. III. Title. IV. Series.
PQ7797.G6A27 2003 863/.5 21

2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Contents

This page intentionally left blank

Series Editors' General Introduction

The Library of Latin America series makes available in translation major nineteenth-century authors whose work has been neglected in the English-speaking world. The titles for the translations from the Spanish and Portuguese were suggested by an editorial committee that included Jean Franco (general editor responsible for works in Spanish), Richard Graham (series editor responsible for works in Portuguese), Tulio Halperín Donghi (at the University of California, Berkeley), Iván Jaksić (at the University of Notre Dame), Naomi Lindstrom (at the University of Texas at Austin), Eduardo Lozano of the Library at the University of Pittsburgh, and Francine Masiello (at the University of California, Berkeley). The late Antonio Cornejo Polar of the University of California, Berkeley, was also one of the founding members of the committee. The translations have been funded thanks to the generosity of the Lampadia Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

During the period of national formation between 1810 and into the early years of the twentieth century, the new nations of Latin America fashioned their identities, drew up constitutions, engaged in bitter struggles over territory, and debated questions of education,

government, ethnicity, and culture. This was a unique period unlike the process of nation formation in Europe and one that should be more familiar than it is to students of comparative politics, history, and literature.

The image of the nation was envisioned by the lettered classes—a minority in countries in which indigenous, mestizo, black, or mulatto peasants and slaves predominated—although there were also alternative nationalisms at the grassroots level. The cultural elite were well educated in European thought and letters, but as statesmen, journalists, poets, and academics, they confronted the problem of the racial and linguistic heterogeneity of the continent and the difficulties of integrating the population into a modern nation-state. Some of the writers whose works will be translated in the Library of Latin America series played leading roles in politics. Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, a friar who translated Rousseau's *The Social Contract* and was one of the most colorful characters of the independence period, was faced with imprisonment and expulsion from Mexico for his heterodox beliefs; on his return, after independence, he was elected to the congress. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, exiled from his native Argentina under the dictatorship of Rosas, wrote *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie,* a stinging denunciation of that government. He returned after Rosas' overthrow and was elected president in 1868. Andrés Bello was born in Venezuela, lived in London, where he published poetry during the independence period, settled in Chile, where he founded the University, wrote his grammar of the Spanish language, and drew up the country's legal code.

These post-independence intellectuals were not simply dreaming castles in the air, but vitally contributed to the founding of nations and the shaping of culture. The advantage of hindsight may make us aware of problems they themselves did not foresee, but this should not affect our assessment of their truly astonishing energies and achievements. Although there is a recent translation of Sarmiento's celebrated *Facundo,* there is no translation of his memoirs, *Recuerdos de provincia (Provincial Recollections).* The predominance of memoirs in the

Library of Latin America series is no accident—many of these offer entertaining insights into a vast and complex continent.

Nor have we neglected the novel. The series includes new translations of the outstanding Brazilian writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis' work, including *Dom Casmurro* and *The Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas.* There is no reason why other novels and writers who are not so well known outside Latin America—the Peruvian novelist Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido,* Nataniel Aguirre's *Juan de la Rosa*, José de Alencar's *Iracema,* Juana Manuela Gorriti's short stories—should not be read with as much interest as the political novels of Anthony Trollope.

A series on nineteenth-century Latin America cannot, however, be limited to literary genres such as the novel, the poem, and the short story. The literature of independent Latin America was eclectic and strongly influenced by the periodical press newly liberated from scrutiny by colonial authorities and the Inquisition. Newspapers were miscellanies of fiction, essays, poems, and translations from all manner of European writing. The novels written on the eve of Mexican Independence by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi included disquisitions on secular education and law and denunciations of the evils of gaming and idleness. Other works, such as a well-known poem by Andrés Bello, "Ode to Tropical Agriculture," and novels such as *Amalia* by José Mármol and the Bolivian Nataniel Aguirre's *Juan de la Rosa*, were openly partisan. By the end of the century, sophisticated scholars were beginning to address the history of their countries, as did João Capistrano de Abreu in his *Capítulos de história colonial.*

It is often in memoirs such as those by Fray Servando Teresa de Mier or Sarmiento that we find the descriptions of everyday life that in Europe were incorporated into the realist novel. Latin American literature at this time was seen largely as a pedagogical tool, a "light" alternative to speeches, sermons, and philosophical tracts—though, in fact, especially in the early part of the century, even the readership for novels was quite small because of the high rate of illiteracy. Nevertheless, the vigorous orally transmitted culture of the

gaucho and the urban underclasses became the linguistic repertoire of some of the most interesting nineteenth-century writers—most notably José Hernández, author of the "gauchesque" poem "Martín Fierro," which enjoyed an unparalleled popularity. But for many writers the task was not to appropriate popular language but to civilize, and their literary works were strongly influenced by the high style of political oratory.

The editorial committee has not attempted to limit its selection to the better-known writers such as Machado de Assis; it has also selected many works that have never appeared in translation or writers whose work has not been translated recently. The series now makes these works available to the English-speaking public.

Because of the preferences of funding organizations, the series initially focuses on writing from Brazil, the Southern Cone, the Andean region, and Mexico. Each of our editions will have an introduction that places the work in its appropriate context and includes explanatory notes.

We owe special thanks to the late Robert Glynn of the Lampadia Foundation, whose initiative gave the project a jump start, and to Richard Ekman of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which also generously supported the project. We also thank the Rockefeller Foundation for funding the 1996 symposium "Culture and Nation in Iberoamerica," organized by the editorial board of the Library of Latin America. We received substantial institutional support and personal encouragement from the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin. The support of Edward Barry of Oxford University Press has been crucial, as has the advice and help of Ellen Chodosh of Oxford University Press. The first volumes of the series were published after the untimely death, on July 3, 1997, of Maria C. Bulle, who, as an associate of the Lampadia Foundation, supported the idea from its beginning.

—Jean Franco
—Richard Graham

Chronology of Juana Manuela Gorriti

1818	June 15. Juana Manuela Gorriti is born in Horcones, in the province of Salta, bordering Tucumán.
1823	The Gorriti family moves to the city of Salta.
1831	November 13. The Gorriti family flees Argentina, escaping the forces of Facundo Quiroga. They settle in Tarija, Bolivia.
1833	April 20. Juana Manuela marries Manuel Isidoro Belzú.
1841–42	She secretly returns to Salta, disguised as a man.
1847	June 4. Belzú stages an uprising against his superiors and fails. He leaves with his family for Arequipa, Peru. Juana Manuela travels alone to Lima.
1848	Belzú stages a successful coup d'état in Bolivia and assumes power.
1850	Juana Manuela remains in Lima and opens a school for girls.
1851	Gorriti's first work of fiction, "The *Quena,*" is published first in La Paz and then in Lima. Gorriti's daughters leave

Peru to live with Belzú, who is inaugurated as legitimately elected president of Bolivia.

1852 Gorriti writes "The Black Glove."

1861 Gorriti publishes "If You Do Wrong, Expect No Good" in *Revista de Lima.*

1863 Gorriti publishes "The *Mazorquero*'s Daughter" in *Revista de Lima.*

1864 Gorriti travels to La Paz and opens a school for girls.

1865 *Sueños y realidades* is published in Buenos Aires. Belzú is murdered on March 27, and Juana Manuela speaks at his funeral. She then returns to Lima.

1866 During a Spanish naval attack on Peru, Juana Manuela volunteers in nursing brigades of field hospitals in Lima. She continues to work as a volunteer nurse during yellow fever outbreaks in Lima.

1868 *Biografía del General Don Dionisio de Puch* is published in Paris.

1871 Gorriti publishes the first article in newly inaugurated Argentine newspaper, *La nación.*

1874 She founds and directs *La alborada* with Numa Pompillo Llona.

1875 Gorriti is named member of the "Literary Club" of Lima. She travels to Argentina in order to secure a monthly pension for descendants of patriots of the independence wars against Spain. The First Lady of Argentina, wife of President Nicolás de Avellaneda, assists Gorriti in this project. Once relocated in Buenos Aires, Gorriti collaborates in *La ondina del Plata.* Argentine intellectuals award her a *Palma literaria,* or festschrift, in her honor. After eight months in Buenos Aires, she returns to Lima and reopens her primary school.

1876 The Peruvian government honors Gorriti for her volunteer work on the war front in 1866. She inaugurates her literary salon. In Buenos Aires, her *Panoramas de la vida* appears.

1877 Gorriti makes her second journey to Buenos Aires. She travels this time with her son, Julio Sandoval. In Buenos Aires, she prepares the cultural journal, *La alborada del Plata.* She is awarded an honorary membership by the Scientific and Literary Circle of Buenos Aires. Later that year, she initiates a literary salon in Buenos Aires.

1878 After nine issues, *La alborada del Plata* closes. She travels to the north of Argentina and later returns to the Argentine capital. After her *Misceláneas* is published in Buenos Aires, she petitions for permission to leave Argentina for two years and returns to Lima.

1879 Her daughter Mercedes dies. With the outbreak of the War of the Pacific, Gorriti is unable to return to Buenos Aires and asks that Lola Larrosa de Ansaldo direct the second run of *La alborada del Plata,* which she had planned from Lima.

1881 She embarks for Buenos Aires.

1883 She attempts to open a dialogue with Eduarda Mansilla de García, apparently without a warm response from the senior Argentine author whose family's political allegiances to Rosas were in marked opposition to the Gorriti's Unitarian projects.

1885 She returns to stay definitively in Buenos Aires.

1886 She travels to Salta where she publishes *El mundo de los recuerdos.*

1888 She publishes *Oasis en la vida.*

1889 *La tierra natal* appears.

1890 *Cocina ecléctica* appears.

1892 She publishes *Perfiles,* and completes her autobiographical account, *Lo íntimo,* twelve days before her death. She dies on November 6, 1892. Soon after her death, her son, Julio Sandoval, sees to the publication of her *Veladas literarias de Lima.*

Introduction

The most important woman writer in nineteenth-century Argentina, Juana Manuela Gorriti (1818–1892) draws her fiction from themes of time and remembrance, fortune and political crisis. In the process, she helps us understand Spanish America's emergence from the shadow of the Spanish Crown and its debut on the stage of modernity. Her fiction covers more than half a century of rapid social change and registers both a nostalgia for the narrative heroics of the wars for independence and an ongoing desire to accelerate progress toward a cosmopolitan, urban future. A towering presence who dramatized the dilemmas of the displaced intellectual and nomad, Gorriti straddles two worlds: She longs for the solace of home while insisting on travel to points unknown. This dual desire runs through the landscape of the Americas as Gorriti draws upon legends from the preconquest Incas to the forty-niners of California's gold rush. The narrative movement of this writing allows today's reader a glimpse into cultures on the verge of monumental change.

In *Lo íntimo,* a memoir completed shortly before her death, Gorriti reflects on the negative aspects of this exciting time. She describes her condition as a person in exile, an existence marked by constant

displacement and economic distress, a life seized by the violent transformations of Spanish America as it moved from colony to independent state. Her text begins this way:

> Horcones! Paternal home, now a mound of ruins inhabited only by jackals and snakes. What remains of your former splendor? Your walls have decayed, the pillars of your arches have crumbled as if once erected upon an abyss. The sinuous roots of the fig tree and the golden trunk of the citrus barely signal the site of your gardens. Silence and loneliness have settled upon your once festive days. Now your paths are abandoned and the herb of oblivion grows over your forsaken thresholds.[1]

True to the romantic spirit of her times, Gorriti begs us to notice the construction of memory as it rises from ruins. A common trope of her generation, the ruins allow her to reminisce about a past inhabited by illustrious men; the present moment, by contrast, is devoid of people and voices. Only nature offers a point of contact between the past and the present. Though the roots of the fig and citrus extend back in history to touch a once splendid garden, the herbs of forgetfulness reverse that flow; moving toward the future, they proliferate beyond control. Memory advances through time—it is contained in branches and fallen stone; in the final instance, we might even claim that memory acquires a body.

For its scenes of decay, this text also recalls the first page of Domingo F. Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1845), perhaps the most canonized text of nineteenth-century Latin America. Writing in the abandoned baths, etching graffiti on the walls of those spaces once reserved for cleansing, Sarmiento contrasts the fragility of the body with the perseverance of abstract thought: "You can murder men, but not their ideas," he tells us, recalling the words of Enlightenment thinkers in order to explain the savagery of the present. This gesture claims the continuity of intellectual work in the face of tyranny and oppression. Gorriti, however, stages a reversal of this position. If Sarmiento strives to create a legend in which ideas prevail over bodies, Gorriti instead sustains corporeality as the basis of legend itself. In fact, she

tells us time and again that ideas persist because edifice and body prevail, because the materiality of the vessel survives. Gorriti will constantly ride the disorder between body and ideas, experience and representation. Her work is a recitation of this central conflict. Not only does she return in her writing to these same references and quotations, but she also carries an obsession with origins as if, with each visit to her lost home, a new turn on the truths of history and the human body might be revealed to both herself and the reader. In fact, the passage cited above appears many times in Gorriti's earlier works. It introduces several stories and novellas and makes a final textual appearance in *Lo íntimo* to convey the illusion of autobiographical truth. The reference indicates, more importantly, the persistence of a problem—the author's obsession with bringing the relationship between past and present into alignment, the disordered flow of memory, and the seemingly linear advance of history. In the process, Gorriti reveals herself as a subject in need of reinvention, a restless yet weary traveler wanting repose but driven to take her inquiries across a vast, transnational landscape.

To progress, Sarmiento sought to rehabilitate his enemies and then to destroy them once and for all with words, but Gorriti needs to leave her phantoms indefinitely alive, rushing their images circuitously through past and present. In her fiction, she insists on these dual markers. Her writing is also complicated by mismatched fates, ambiguous crossings of voices and names, and the elision of significant moments in history. In her historically based narratives, for example, legendary men still alive in Gorriti's time are represented as fallen soldiers: Living heroes are portrayed as ghosts. Other historical figures are positioned in cities that, in real life, they had long since abandoned. This intentional anachronism is used to lament the reversals of national destiny, to show how the once glorious plans for progress were later thwarted by civil strife. At the same time, people travel under pseudonyms, women are disguised as men, and characters roam in a masked adventure through which they balance mystery and revelation. This prolonged play with contradictory forms of representation, the stock of melodrama, is in Gorriti's case utterly seri-

ous insofar as it articulates a concern for memory and history and for the individual's role as citizen in a modern Spanish-American state.

Gorriti's fiction is organized around multiple sites of focus: Some directly evoke scenes of the past—the home, the garden, the lost grandeur of the colonial period, the battlefields of the independence wars, and others trace the course of characters in a slowly emerging modern world. Here, the path of return itself becomes the object of Gorriti's interest, allowing her to track the networks of composition that move memories through space and time. Perhaps this dualism is required of all second beginnings (and here I'm borrowing from Edward Said), a disposition that emerges from conflicts between the familiar and the new, between faith in the historical past and doubt in its founding precepts. If it is true that each society reinvents itself after crucial historical moments, it does so by drawing upon a double system of representations, taking the reader in two directions at once. José Joaquín de Olmedo's "Victory of Junín" (1825) and Andrés Bello's "Ode to Agriculture in the Torrid Zone" (1826) give evidence of the way in which literature, following Spanish America's independence from Spain, works through these horizons, simultaneously mapping a historical past for the new republics and signaling a course for the future. These texts sustain their energy from contradictory forces of accumulation and uncertainty, order and transgression, stasis and dispersal, all taken from a given body of American landscape and from the complex liberal fantasies for its elaboration and change. For later readers, these fundamental texts have come to serve as cues to evoke *la patria,* a recitation of the conflicts between visible reality and national desire.

It was perhaps the overarching challenge of thinkers at an early moment of postcolonial freedom to narrate what had not been told before, to find a venue for previously untellable tales, to advance a claim for originality despite a proclaimed necessity for philosophical quotation that would take Latin American intellectuals back to a masterly European source. More than an effort to insert their autobiographies as part of the founding fictions of the nation (and this, of course, was always the passion of romantic writers), their challenge

was to draw upon the elements of a refractory, disassembled past to sketch a plan for the future. The materiality of space—the pristine countryside, the decayed architectural structures that defined the once great estates—often upheld this fabric of narration, as we saw in the inaugural citation from Gorriti's memoir. But the images to explain this transition were also found in economic models, in a transformation of systems of exchange that signaled a move from colonial agrarianism to urban modernization.

In *La tierra natal,* Gorriti wrote, "I contemplated the village, which showed me the steps toward progress where earlier I had sought only a trail of remembrance."[2] Gorriti invites us to rethink the operations of memory that dominated nineteenth-century texts, especially the inverse relationship between nostalgia and progress. This process is sustained by images of a once verdant forest now in decline, joined with descriptions of a metallic glow that awakens a desire for money. Memory is thus pulled between an ongoing longing for the family estate at Horcones and a fear of thieves and swindlers who threaten the New World. These visions fill the gap between nature and culture, but they also allow her to track past experience as she faces an uncertain future. Finally, it is impossible to read Gorriti without thinking about where autobiography intersects fiction.

The Intolerable "I"

In *Lo íntimo,* Gorriti writes of her determination to "flee the intolerable 'I',"[3] suppressing the emphasis on personal events and affections, erasing the texture of any intimate encounter with others. This claim not withstanding, her writing reveals an autobiography rich in the details of privilege accorded one of Latin America's exceptional families. She constantly returns to this source, to the life that that notable lineage often supplied to its progeny. Juana Manuela Gorriti was born in Horcones, in northern Argentina, to an illustrious family of landowners, military officers, and clerics whose wealth and prestige had been assured by the advantages of the late colonial order. Their power was rooted in the countryside and the control that they exer-

cised over the rural economy and commerce with adjacent regions. Her father, José Ignacio Gorriti, was trained in the law and later earned distinction in the Spanish-American War, fighting alongside military leader Manuel Belgrano and acting in the decisive Congress of Tucumán (1816), in which River Plate independence was proclaimed. He subsequently became an officer under General Martín Güemes in Salta and then served as governor of that province from 1822 to 1824 and again from 1827 to 1829. His appointment prompted one of many shifts in domicile for the family, obliging the Gorritis to move from the tranquil Horcones estate to the budding city of Salta. More disruption was to follow for the young girl. After independence, when political disarray resulted in years of civil strife, roughly defining an ideological competition between Federalists and Unitarians, the Gorriti family challenged Federalist strongman Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829–1832 and 1835–1852).[4] Since part of the Federalist program was to rein in the powerful northern provinces, such as Salta, an inevitable conflict arose, leading to Gorriti's loss of prestige, financial ruin, and exile. In defense of his threatened estate, Gorriti joined the forces of Rudecindo Alvarado, fighting against the *montonera* troops led by Facundo Quiroga, who stood at that time for the powers of Rosas. Quiroga's triumph at La Ciudadela in November of 1831 inflicted heavy losses on the *salteños,* an event recorded by Gorriti in her story "The Deadman's Fiancée" (included in this volume). Acknowledging the power of the Federalists over local elites, the family decided to leave Argentina for the duration of the Rosas regime.

The Gorritis abandoned their notable estate in Salta and headed for Bolivia, first traveling to Tarija and then settling in Chuquisaca (later renamed Sucre), an intellectual center and destination for many émigrés from Argentina. Although her father was to live out his remaining years in poverty and exile there, Juana Manuela met the man who would become her spouse and bring her into the theater of politics once more. In La Paz, she married Manuel Isidoro Belzú in 1833. Of humble Arabic origin, Belzú (1808–1865) rose from the rank of military captain, at the time of his first encounter with Juana

Manuela, to become president of Bolivia (from 1848 to 1851). His rapid ascent, his successful coup d'état, and his later election as president have left behind an image of Belzú as both populist hero and dictatorial strongman. Some regard him as the "Bolivian Mohammed" or the "Apostle of the Indians," while others claim his public service career was notable for scandal and outlandish ideas.[5] An authoritarian figure who, for a while, had secured an extremely enthusiastic backing from the Bolivian people, Belzú left a conflicted legacy and was considered by some a demagogue and by others a revolutionary socialist *avant la lettre*.[6] His tumultuous career included leading repeated uprisings and making an attempt at sedition. After a failed uprising within military ranks, Belzú was driven from Bolivia in 1847 only to return the following year to seize presidential power through a coup. He was elected president in 1851 and enjoyed a vast popular following. Years of political strife followed, culminating in his betrayal and assassination in 1865 by the forces of General Melgarejo. Juana Manuela spoke at his funeral, announcing a commitment to adopting her husband's popular causes, although she soon departed for Lima where she reopened a school for girls that she had established during her first extended visit there.

Gorriti's biography of Belzú, published in *Panoramas de la vida* (1876), overlooks the sordid details of his regime and instead focuses on his compassionate intelligence; she also omits the details of the troubled marriage they endured, although this aspect has intrigued recent biographers and creative writers.[7] For example, in a fictionalized biography, Analía Efrón records the extramarital betrayals of both husband and wife: President Belzú with his paramours, and Gorriti in trysts with Belzú's acknowledged political rival, General José Ballivián. Efrón writes, "Belzú failed to make her happy, but their cloudy marriage allowed Gorriti to become the person she was."[8] She goes on to say that the affair between Ballivián and Gorriti was simply the product of gossip, although the scandal circulating among high society drove Gorriti to leave Bolivia for Peru. By contrast, Bolivian biographers and defenders of Belzú explain the couple's marital conflict as having resulted from Juana Manuela's envy of

her brilliant spouse, and voracious Ballivián's grand seduction of her. "The fact is that Gorriti always felt like a satellite of that giant star," Fausto Reinaga writes.[9] Taking revenge against Ballivián and as a challenge to his privileged position, Belzú staged a coup d'état in 1848 with the support of the indigenous masses. Other versions of the couple's marriage exist. For example, in *Juanamanuela mucha mujer* (1980), a resoundingly successful novel that reintroduced the figure of Gorriti to the modern reading public, Marta Mercader represented the couple as deeply loyal to one another despite their separations.[10] The truth about the dynamics of the pair may never be known, but it is certain that the couple brought two children into the world—Edelmira and Mercedes. The couple took exile in Arequipa, Peru, when Bolivian politics forced them to leave; when Belzú subsequently returned to Bolivia, Gorriti remained in Lima, though she visited Bolivia often. In 1847 Gorriti once again went to Arequipa, traveling with her two daughters and leaving Belzú behind. She journeyed to Lima in 1848, initiating a series of separations and tenuous reconciliations with her husband that continued until his death.

Their rocky marriage acquired characteristics of what might be called a modern relationship, with each partner pursuing separate lives, but remaining intellectually loyal to the other in a camaraderie unusual even today. After Belzú called for his daughters to return to Bolivia, Juana Manuela struck forth on her own, establishing a primary school for girls in Peru. To be closer to her children, she returned to Bolivia for a while, teaching in Bolivian schools until 1855 and then traveling to Lima. During her years in Peru, Gorriti also bore two children, Clorinda and Julio, presumably through a relationship in the 1850s with local merchant Julián Sandoval.[11] She returned again to Bolivia in 1864, following the election in Peru of Juan Antonio Pezet, a declared enemy of Belzú.

From the time that she became directly involved in the transformative events of the nineteenth century, Gorriti expressed a clear disdain for political life. In *Perfiles,* a text published the year she died, Gorriti reflected on the tedium of politics:

> Destiny, for its capriciousness, determined, from the cradle and during the best years of my youth, that an absorbing, bitter, destructive force would surround me—politics. . . . And when I could, at last, leave that dark world, I felt the sweetness of light, peace, and well-being to which Dante aspired when he left the dwelling of the reprobates.[12]

This double helix of desire for both politics and repose characterized Gorriti's life, supplied the fundamental nutrients for her fiction, and set her on a course through South America. Despite her proclaimed disdain for the political arena, Gorriti found herself attracted to public issues and recorded this in her writing. Her literature is steeped in legends of the Rosas regime, in which known political figures frequently make an entrance. Even in her final work of fiction, *Oasis en la vida* (1888), Sarmiento and Bartolomé Mitre briefly appear as characters to applaud the happy nuptials of the young protagonists of the novel![13] As a journalist and one engaged in cultural debate, Gorriti never strayed from politics, despite her abhorrence of civil strife and the toll it took on her family; similarly, politics was never far removed from her literary creations.

Juana Manuela did not begin to publish, to assume a public identity as an author, until she moved to Peru. However, her preparation for the world of writing dates to her childhood years in Salta, where she benefited from her family's extensive library, considered the most significant in northern Argentina during the early years of independence.[14] As prominent intellectuals in the postcolonial order (her uncle, Juan Ignacio Gorriti, authored significant treatises on colonial law and stood along with Mariano Moreno as one of the principal intellectuals in the so-called Revolution of May that began the independence wars against Spain; a maternal uncle, Facundo Zuviría, was devoted to journalism and jurisprudence), the Gorritis offered the female children of the clan the kind of private instruction and religious education typical of elites. Fables told by indigenous members of the household retinue complemented Juana Manuela's readings in

European literature and the classics and undoubtedly provided her with material regarding the many local traditions that weave their way through her work. Among these traditional tales, the quest for lost Inca treasures, a motif that filled the imagination of the Gorriti children from their days at the Horcones estate, left a forceful impression on the aspiring writer. Although her autobiography records her father's attempt to distract his workers from the ongoing excavations for gold that were taking place on his land, Gorriti embraces this fantasy of riches as the basis of numerous stories. Her earliest works of fiction thus follow tales about the lost Incan wealth that lay hidden in the Andean highlands and trace legends told by native women who took a stand against Spanish greed. "The *Quena*" and "The Treasure of the Incas" capture this spirit of adventure and mystery by delving into the white man's search for indigenous fortune and the Incas' resistance to invasion. The early phase of her writing also recuperates a family anxiety about the tyranny of Rosas and the power that this leader wielded over the population. "The Black Glove" and "The *Mazorquero*'s Daughter," for example, are remarkable fictional treatments of the injustices that Rosas and his henchmen delivered upon Argentine citizens. Along with "The Deadman's Fiancée," they emphasize the damage wreaked by politics on family ties. "Gubi Amaya," meanwhile, records Gorriti's real-life journey in 1841 when, dressed as a man, she returned incognito to visit her native Salta. Under the pretext of narrating the adventures of highway robber Gubi Amaya, Gorriti defended her father's interests and protested the assaults by Federalist raiders who besieged the family estate. With few exceptions, these stories, written during Gorriti's exile, appeared in print following Rosas's defeat at Caseros. The dates of Gorriti's earliest publications continue to be debated: Some suggest that "The *Quena*" was written between 1841 and 1842, although it was first published in 1851 in *El comercio* of Lima; others cite 1850 as the year in which the first chapter of "Gubi Amaya" was written; "The Black Glove" followed in 1852 and "Una apuesta" ("A Bet") in 1855.[15] These early stories were to be gathered in her first collection of

fiction, *Sueños y realidades* (1865), published in Buenos Aires with the assistance of her friend, Vicente Quesada.

Her experience in cultural journals and reviews dates from the 1850s, when she established herself in literary circles in Lima. In the city where she was to spend nearly 40 years of her life, Gorriti began to publish in newspapers, periodicals, and journals such as *El liberal*, *El nacional*, and the *Revista de Lima*. Her writings later appeared in Chile, in the *Revista de Sud-América* (Valparaíso), and in Argentina, in the *Revista del Paraná*; she also published a biography of Belzú (1865) and another of Dionsio Puch (1869), the latter published in Paris.[16] Her having published in such a variety of places suggests that a transnational dialogue was important to Gorriti and fulfilled her need to exchange style and ideas with writers throughout the Americas and Europe. This cosmopolitan outlook is also evidenced through other aspects of her literary career, notably through her literary salon—reputed to have been the most dynamic site of intellectual exchange in South America in the nineteenth century, the numerous editorial projects that she sustained in Peru and Argentina, and her extensive network of interlocutors and admirers in literary culture.

When Gorriti settled in Lima at mid-century, she entered a major intellectual center recovering from colonial rule and moving toward modernization. The city bubbled with exciting possibilities in the areas of theater and literary culture, expressing the conflicts of a world undergoing rapid change. Mid-century in Lima also witnessed an explosion of literary journals, cultural circles, and salons. Gorriti quickly engaged the attention of cultural elites and usually was among the few women to participate in Peruvian literary publications. Her famed *veladas literarias*—by any name, a cultural salon—received the most prominent figures in Peruvian literary life, among them Ricardo Palma. A topic of newspaper commentary, the salon drew intellectuals, writers, musicians, and painters whose reputation had spread throughout the Andean region. Through agendas set by the hostess, salon members heard musical compositions and readings of poetry, prose fiction, and critical commentary. The interest in folk-

lore, so important to Gorriti in her earliest stories, was here represented to the public through demonstrations of indigenous music. The cultural circle also brought recognition of patriotic festivities along with Indian culture. Inca traditions and drama in Quechua were often presented at the meetings and gave evidence of Gorriti's long-standing commitment to native expression, a theme in her earliest stories and a topic in her literary journals.

Gorriti delivered the inaugural lecture of each meeting of the literary salon, reminding her audience of significant issues of the day and calling upon intellectuals to defend the cause of progress and the advancement of nations. From the start, she introduced a debate about the role and status of the intellectual in postindependence America and also inquired about the participation of women in shaping the agenda of national culture. Although prominent men such as Pastor Obligado and Ricardo Palma formed part of her literary salon, she reached out for a conversation with the accomplished women of her generation regardless of their national origin. Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, Teresa González de Fanning, Clorinda Matto de Turner, María Nieves y Bustamante, and Manuela Villarán de Plascencia, the principal women writing in Peru in the nineteenth century, were her constant interlocutors. In Lima, Gorriti also contributed to a number of journals and cultural reviews for women. With Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, she directed *El álbum* (1875); with Numa Pompillo Llona, she inaugurated *La alborada* (1875).

Peruvian women devoted themselves to a variety of genres from romantic novels to manuals of etiquette. Straddling a double field, between the constraints of a colonial and Catholic legacy that restricted women's role to the household, on the one hand, and training children for future roles as citizens of the republic, on the other, these women were not of a single political disposition nor were their successes uniformly made apparent. Though some took on the anticlerical cause, following the initiatives of Clorinda Matto de Turner,[17] others, such as Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, addressed the

impact of positivism in Peru and its consequences for the lives of women (a point she made repeatedly in her novel *Blanca Sol*); still others, such as Teresa González de Fanning, took up questions of curricular reform in order to advance the interests of Peruvian girls among the nation's students. In effect, women's limited access to formal education became a topic of constant concern.

Flora Tristán agreed with Gorriti and the women of the Peruvian elite when she observed that Lima had few public resources for the education of women: "Women in Lima have no access to learning; they don't read and [they] remain distant from everything that happens in the world."[18] In Gorriti's day, this was a matter of preoccupation for privileged women, who inevitably entwined their struggle for female emancipation with a critique of religious control over women's right to learn. The *Veladas* also captures some of Lima's newly found feminism. Some participants claimed that women needed a social education to alert them to the dangers of excessive consumerism and extravagant dress, and to warn them of the perils of reading provocative materials that might not be considered "respectable" knowledge.[19] Meanwhile, republican values were said to enable the expansion of a woman's mind and protect her soul. Finally, as Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera suggested, literature offers a moral solution for women's social woes.[20] Through these various strategies, Gorriti's collaborators made the image of women synonymous with republican virtue, inextricably linking the two to a concept of moral citizenship emerging in the Americas at that time.

Their persistence in these matters notwithstanding, these nineteenth-century thinkers often regarded with suspicion the more radical aspects of female emancipation. Female labor, civil rights, and the role of women in politics were topics that failed to make their way into Gorriti's forum. Instead, a domestic and bookish feminism gained favor in her salon, holding women's rights to the library and the pen as worthy of discussion. A poem by Manuela Villarán de Plascencia, a member of Gorriti's circle, observes the restrictions on the woman writer who is tethered to household obligations:

Bring pen and paper
And a bottle of ink;
It's time to write
A mosaic, I think.
But a knock on the door. Who can it be?
I drop my sheaf of papers to see...
It's a birdbrain who asks
If Don Fulano lives here.
I fly to my desk. And then a cry I hear
It's my youngest child who demands my care.
I run to calm her, a pen in my hand;
I return to my desk with a quartet in mind
I write two words and hear something unwind . . .
These are the good times used to distract;
I haven't yet told you of times that are black.[21]

Peruvian literature authored by women often inspired a negative reaction in avid Catholics and in those who saw a perilous challenge to prevailing social mores and traditional Christian values. Thus it is reported that when Clorinda Matto de Turner, as editor of the Peruvian weekly *El Perú ilustrado* (*Modern Peru*), published a story about a possible romance between Jesus and Mary Magdalene, so vehement was public protest against her that Matto was forced to resign her post.[22] For her continued anticlericalism and her support of liberal politicians, her figure was later burned in effigy and she was driven from Peru. The fate of women in the literary world is a concern apparent in Gorriti's publications; it also surfaced in the family of literary networks that she cultivated during her years in Lima and following her return to Argentina. For that reason, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera and Clorinda Matto de Turner, among others, were usually present in the pages of her journals, memoirs, and notations. Even when she traveled to Buenos Aires, she continued to include these women in her literary publications and to cite them in her essays.

Gorriti's time in Peru bore witness to many contradictions about the recognition and advancement of women in nineteenth-century

public life. Those years also represented a time of constant travel and upheaval as she regularly moved between Lima and Buenos Aires. In 1875, in pursuit of a pension owed to descendants of patriots of the independence wars, Gorriti returned to live in Buenos Aires. Her reputation preceded her. By the time she arrived in Buenos Aires, she had published in *La nación*, the important Buenos Aires newspaper founded by Bartolomé Mitre in 1871, and in the *Revista del Río de la Plata* (1873). The first lady of Argentina, wife of President Nicolás Avellaneda, facilitated Gorriti's arrival and guaranteed her a lifetime allowance of 200 pesos per month.[23] But recognition in the world of Argentine letters also awaited the author in the form of a *Palma literaria* (1875), a festschrift consisting of occasional texts written by friends, and a medal honoring her achievements. In 1876 the Peruvian government also bestowed an important prize upon Gorriti in recognition of her work as a volunteer in the medical brigades of the national army a decade earlier. She then returned to Argentina to welcome the publication of her second major collection of fiction and biography, *Panoramas de la vida* (1876), and to announce her plans to start a new cultural review, which saw the light in Buenos Aires in 1877 as *La alborada del Plata*. Through her many moves, and despite her economic misfortunes, Gorriti always managed to maintain an intense dialogue with elites, aware of the social and cultural transformations sweeping through the Americas. She stayed in touch with colleagues in both Argentina and Peru until 1885, when she established permanent residency in Buenos Aires and remained there until her death.

The Argentine Sisterhood

When Gorriti returned to Argentina in 1875, she immediately cultivated a relationship with female writers in her native country. Almost upon her arrival, she rushed to visit Juana Manso de Noronja (1819–1875), who lay upon her deathbed. Closely allied with a range of interests similar to Gorriti's anti-federalism and known for her extensive commitments to the world of fiction and literary journalism,

Juana Manso had earned a reputation that reached Juana Manuela in Peru and awakened her admiration. Manso's most important fiction, *Los misterios del Plata: episodios históricos de la época de Rosas* (1846), a novel written from exile and not published until years after her death, shared an aesthetic and political vision with the fictions penned by Gorriti. A melodrama about the difficulties of Argentine life under tyranny, Manso's novel worked from the conceits of masking and revelation that she claimed all citizens must master in order to survive. Though focused on urban life—unlike the rural adventures of Gorriti—Manso's novel pursued the double entendre to explain the doubleness required of individuals resisting oppression. Living the drama of exile principally in Brazil, Manso also took up the abolitionist cause, translated Beecher Stowe, and wrote antislavery fiction such as *La familia del comendador,* which linked the plight of African slaves with the oppression of white women. In Brazil, she also initiated an important feminist journal, *O jornal das senhoras* (1852), a project that she would continue, upon her return to Buenos Aires, in her *Album de señoritas* (1854), a publication that protested domestic abuse and women's lack of access to formal education while it also observed the expansion of technology and modernization and their effects on women. A teacher and defender of Unitarian values, she assumed an important post in the Ministry of Education under Sarmiento's direction and wrote history textbooks while continuing to write works of fiction that exposed the horrors of the past. Her enterprises in the post-Rosas years included a basic school text on Argentina as well as important cultural and pedagogical reviews such as the *Anales de la educación común* (1873). This towering figure was surely a model for Juana Manuela Gorriti, as she shared with Manso the experience of exile and a strong anti-Rosas sentiment.

Upon her return, Gorriti also sought to establish a relationship with the other prominent woman writer who found her place in Argentine letters. She thus initiated contact with Eduarda Mansilla de García (1838–1892). This writer's cosmopolitan elegance, by contrast with Juana Manuela's simplicity, reflected the privilege she enjoyed because of her family's connection to Rosas and her long his-

tory of participation in diplomatic circles outside of Argentina. Long after Rosas's defeat at Caseros, she integrally defended his political world and the programs that benefited her family. Perhaps because of the politically dissonant camps that separated Gorriti from Mansilla de García, the budding exchange that Gorriti had hoped to pursue quickly wilted.[24] Nevertheless, Mansilla de García's literary legacy left its mark on Gorriti's imagination. Author of three important novels and the first travel book by an Argentine woman that covered the United States, Mansilla de García lived in Paris and Buenos Aires; she wrote elegantly in French in answer to the Unitarian Sarmiento, questioning his policies and projects for reform. Like Gorriti, Mansilla de García was also an avid traveler. Nevertheless, a curious contradiction emerges when we compare these two women: While Gorriti insisted on itinerancy as a theme in her fiction, Mansilla de García preferred country retreats and domestic repose. From her first novel, *El médico de San Luis* (*The Doctor from San Luis*) in 1860, she began exploring the idyllic country as she spoke of the value of a rural lifestyle to temper behavior and coordinate reason. But Federalist politics always assumed a place in Mansilla de García's fiction. In *Pablo ou la vie dans les pampas* (1868), she issued a rejoinder to Sarmiento in French to challenge the legitimacy of his presidential Unitarian projects. In that work, she explained the consequences of civil strife in the rural areas of the nation, the effective decimation of the countryside, the violent collapse of families, and the murder of women. The campaign against savagery, it would appear, held more complex ramifications than Sarmiento had suspected, for it took its toll on human life and disrupted domestic order. In a later work, *Lucía Miranda* (1884), Mansilla de García once again showed how war disrupted family life, but this time, she used the genre of the captivity novel—the white person held by the natives—to show that women's bodies were mediators between civilization and barbarism. Here, Mansilla de García returned to the period of the Conquest, the arrival of the Spaniards on the shores of the River Plate, to insist that the presence of women was essential to the first colonial encounter. Toward the end of her career, she also published a travelogue of her

voyage to the United States, *Recuerdos de viaje* (1882), a handsome notebook of sharp observations about a rapidly changing society with mores and cultural habits strangely different from those of Argentina and France. Mansilla de García observed that, as progress continued in the United States, women would have an opportunity for advancement unequaled in the Americas.

Gorriti entered the world of Argentine letters fully aware of these female writers and their works. With her return to her native country in the 1880s, she quickly moved to promote her own ideas about literature and culture through periodical literature of her own. In Argentina, following the publication of *Panoramas de la vida* (1876), she also issued *Misceláneas* (1878) and other books of fiction. In these works, she left behind the intrigues of the Rosas regime as a focus of her narrative art to explore other themes, ranging from gothic adventure set in the Andes to literary treatments of melancholia, inspired by her own displacement and loss. At the same time, she actively entered the world of Argentine journalism and the excitement of periodical publications that spread cultural news throughout Spanish America. She quickly linked up with the staff of *La ondina del Plata,* a cultural periodical directed by Luis Santos Telmo (1876–1879), which had a wide circulation in Argentina and Peru. After she founded *La alborada del Plata* (1877–1878), she set to work on its sequel, *La alborada literaria del Plata* (1880). These journals offered a valuable glimpse into the cultural debates of the late nineteenth century, revealing both a preoccupation with transnational cultural alliance as well as a program of literary education tied to the objectives of modernization. In *La alborada del Plata,* her desire to reach an international audience was made clear from the start: *"La alborada del Plata* will be an international publication destined to link our literature with that of other American republics and to propagate its rapid progress."[25] Progress, modernity, and cosmopolitanism informed Gorriti's thinking as Argentina swept into the final decades of the century, fresh with hope for liberal reform and progress. These ideals accompanied enthusiastic discussion of fashion, theater, and the arts, while literary culture occupied writers and readers. Argentine litera-

ture introduced Argentine readers to texts and authors from the Americas; in particular, it placed Gorriti's Peruvian colleagues in wider circulation and fostered an inter-American awareness unique for the times. One could say that Gorriti's years outside of Argentina helped her cultivate a network of contacts that she would later use to assist her in the composite work of a cultural review. But the project is wider still for, here, Gorriti insists on expanding the breadth of a national literature. Trying to define the parameters of good taste and aesthetic value, Gorriti proposed to link modernization with the advantages of a literary education as if to follow in the footsteps of many Enlightenment thinkers before her. Nevertheless, the innovation of her project lies in a commitment to American yearnings, awakening a consciousness of transnational linkage among writers throughout the Americas.

This scope is remarkably original for the time of publication. It anticipates by a decade the cosmopolitan impulses of the *modernista* literary movement; it accelerates the cross-exchange of ideas that was to characterize modernization in Latin America in the 1880s. In particular, the publication manages to *feminize* the move toward modernity, showing that women were an integral part of the intellectual progress of Latin America. Perhaps this is the great revelation of Gorriti's review, uncovering the gendered components of a transnational modernization as it emerged in the south. In *La alborada del Plata,* Gorriti published essays on the value of American literary and cultural independence from Spain, the need to establish an intellectual autonomy free of foreign ties, the advantages of bilingual study, and the merits of female participation in public life; along with the value of travel, she celebrated the dawn of an urban style. Moreover, she provided a strong reminder of the role of women in public action.

Her feminism, as has already been noted, is often contradictory. By contrast to Juana Manso de Noronja, who urged an ironic reversal of the rules that held women captive in the home, Gorriti sought to provoke a gendered revolution consistent with domestic reserve, a recognition of woman in the public arena, but consonant with the law. This domesticated version of feminist militancy was aimed at