Convenient Quadrilaterals and Imagined Indians. An Introduction to "El pabellón colonial: Revisiting Cuba and the Philippines"

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It's Paris, 1889. The Invalides, a sprawling former military complex in the shadow of the colossal brand-new Eiffel Tower, is decorated by pavilions filled with massive machinery and halls recently erected in the form of Italian villas, Mozarab Spanish palaces, and Tlahuica Mexican buildings. These represent each country's contributions to a universal pursuit of progress. The streets are bustling, "the largest gatherings of people, war or peace, of

all time" (Greenhalgh 1). Two colonial writers peruse the national pavilions, awestruck by the achievements of modern technology, like rapid printing presses and automatic brick-making machines. Additionally, both writers are disillusioned by the exhibits on display of their own colonies. These writers are Aurelia Castillo de González, the Cuban writer who covered the Exposition for a Havana newspaper, *El País*, and Antonio Luna, the Filipino pharmacologist, journalist, and eventual military general, who covered the Exposition for *La Solidaridad*, a Philippine fortnightly journal out of Barcelona.

These writers' views are in part informed by the fact that, throughout the nineteenth century, Cuba and the Philippines—alongside Puerto Rico and Guam—were Spain's last remaining overseas colonies. The regions and their peoples represented multiple challenges for an empire that, facing its own disintegration, sought to recover economic and military prowess through exploitation and bullheaded rule of these distant island territories. Likewise, writers from both Cuba and the Philippines looked warily in the direction of the U.S., correctly suspecting imperialist and neoimperialist incursions into their territories in the coming years. The prolonged colonial condition of these territories, with respect to the rest of the former Spanish colonies, and the potential for a new colonial regime to take over, took on an exceptional character that would transcend mere political and economic discourses. Even today these nations constitute a challenge for cultural and literary studies since they defy the chronological categories ("the colony"; "the nineteenth century"; "the contemporary period") that have structured most programs of study and research.

In her chronicles about the 1889 Exposition, Castillo de González narrates the ground-level experience of the exposition for her readers back home so they could see it through her eyes, condemning the representations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, in the process. With three dry words Castillo describes these colonial pavilions: "Muy mal todas" ["Very bad, all of

them"] (46). The Philippines' display is miserly, Puerto Rico's is forgettable, and Cuba's, too rustic. Luna, on the other hand, offers critiques of the same Exposition on two levels. The meager display of the Philippines is illustrative of Spanish imperial inefficiency; they sent enough money for a proper display, but they sent it too late, and it got to the Philippines too slowly. How can an empire rule its colony well with such logistical and infrastructural limitations? And secondly, while he does not mention Cuba or Puerto Rico, Luna's gaze, like Castillo de González's, is explicitly intercolonial as he notes how the Philippine pavilion is immediately adjacent to the display of the French colony in Indochina, which focused on the educational structures of Governor General Paul Bert and literacy rates. This juxtaposition reveals that in three decades the French had taught their subjects literacy in a much more effective way than the Spanish had in three and a half centuries in the Philippines.

These anticolonial texts and intercolonial gazes by writers from Spain's last remaining imperial holdings demand sustained analysis, the impetus for this dossier for *Periphērica* fittingly entitled "El pabellón colonial." This title inhabits the ambiguity of the Spanish noun "pabellón," used to refer to both a space and an object, pavilions for display on the one hand and national flags on the other. The people of Cuba and the Philippines had complex and intersecting national desires, frustrated by prolonged colonialism. These frustrations were on display not only in the colonial pavilions at Universal Expositions like the one in Paris, but also in the literature, journalism, urban planning, visual art, and anticolonial activism of the time.

These forms of anticolonial cultural production are fascinatingly complex, dialoguing with but also challenging established notions about nineteenth-century Latin American literature like Doris Sommer's "foundational fictions," Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities," and Julio Ramos's "divergent modernities." Encompassed in this understudied corpus are unresolved debates about the merits of reform versus revolution, attempts at decolonization from

within the colony, reflections on national identity outside the framework of the nation-state, questioning the contours of modernity despite persistent claims that they were "pre-modern" peoples, unfit for self-rule.

There have been very few investigations into the intersections, collaborations, and rivalries between Filipino and Caribbean writers of this era. Koichi Hagimoto has one of the few book-length investigations into the Caribbean and Philippine anticolonial literature. In the fourth chapter of his book, *Between Empires*, Hagimoto provides the most in-depth exploration of late nineteenth-century correspondence between Philippine and Cuban writers and activists, starting around the year 1897. This correspondence explicitly frames a fraternity between the colonized peoples, which Hagimoto interprets as the culmination of an "intercolonial alliance" rooted in the discursive frameworks of Cuban José Martí's and Filipino José Rizal's writings. In this dossier, we interrogate the idea of an "intercolonial alliance," bringing to the foreground other bodies, material exchanges, texts, and ideas of nineteenth-century Cubans and Filipinos in order to examine the different ways in which they reflect the challenges posed by the continuity of the colonial order.

Before that, however, let us set the scene by examining the cultural milieu of the nineteenth century for Spain and its last colonial possessions, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. We will use the object and concept of "album" to retrace the contours of a century marked by transition and stagnation.

Can Imperial Collapse Fit Between Two Albums?

In Spain, Latin America, and the Philippines of the nineteenth century, the album was an ornate textual object and space where the subject could present itself as a consumer of what was considered exuberant and/or picturesque. Some were ornate, yet empty folios, where you could keep notes by friends or relatives, sheets of music or poems reverberating the romantic spirit that

floated over the most generalized taste during almost the entire century. Others represented attempts to generate a narrative that is testimonial and a sort of history in present tense aimed to suture the fragmented political environments. In the following section, we will explore two nineteenth-century albums, one from the Philippines and one from Cuba, which point to certain discrepancies and divergences that were endemic to the times.

In 1847, the Spanish empire had already been in a process of disintegration for two decades since the continental Spanish-American territories were detached from the trunk of the "Mother Country." As a result, those legendary "West Indies" had been reduced to Cuba and Puerto Rico; on the Pacific side, the Philippines and Guam were the two other points over which Spain could claim ownership; the empire that had emerged at the time of the Catholic Monarchs in 1492 now faced an uncertain future. Since 1822, England had begun a gradual process of official recognition of the new republics born out of the former Spanish territories in the Americas. It was the second great territorial redistribution of the Western Hemisphere, this time determined by the desire for independence of many of the wealthy Creoles, but there was also the concern to resolve old disputes and the silent acrimony that had been generated among European empires since the first territorial distribution (1492–1525). Beyond the European nations and their old frictions, a new force appeared: the United States with an ambitious projection of dominion over territories and oceans spelled out in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, and its own continental expansion through the first half of the nineteenth century. As if that were not enough, a new way of conceiving imperial character emerged: the old conception of land ownership and territorial domination was not left behind completely, but rather to it new forms of control and domination that diverted much of the attention to economic output as a way of generating new and effective dependencies were imposed to the earlier colonial practices.

Figure 1

Figure 2

In the midst of this international context of political calamity, a curious artifact appeared in the Philippines, *Album: Vistas de las yslas Filipinas y trages de sus abitantes*. It was a hardbound manuscript album created on the initiative of Gervasio Gironella, author of the written texts, and with the inclusion of watercolor illustrations by José Honorato Lozano (1821–1885), one of the most renowned Filipino painters of his time. (Fig. 1)

This textual assemblage, which takes on the title of album, a genre much in vogue at the time, is a collection of short, handwritten texts that accompany the visual information, something that reveals not the improvisation of a traditional album, but a preconceived idea for a coherent result that brings this album closer to the textual condition of a "book," a manuscript, however, without traditional organizing structures like pagination or chapters. It is equally relevant that the themes of the texts and illustrations appear to be in proximity to variants of verbal and visual discourses from different moments in the historical evolution of the colonial territories of the Spanish empire.

The reader's first impression of this album is a view of Manila from the sea, as if it were a narrative of conquest or the memoirs of a traveler (fig. 2). Later come the squares and churches that elicit memories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, texts and images elaborated after days of festivities in which the great triumph of the city was a visual demonstration of political and ideological imperial power. Furthermore, the reader finds an imaginary of local characters named according to different manners: the labor they perform, the social position they held, and/or their ethnicity according to the gaze of the observer. In other words, the Philippine album could not depict the inhabitants without a reference to class and ethnicity—approaching our modern conception of "race"—exactly as had been the case for centuries throughout the old Spanish colonial system of "castas."

This emphasis reminds us of the historical moment of the eighteenth century in which the famous series of casta paintings produced in New Spain

Figure 3

Figure 4

provoked "race" to enter as a pictorial subject in the art of painting. These casta paintings, about which Ilona Katzew, Magalí Carrera, and María Elena Martínez have written extensively, organize and categorize different caste mixings of three general racial groups, Españoles [Spaniards], Indios [Indians], and Negros [Blacks], employing pseudoscientific logic, as well as symbolic, prejudicial, and non-idiomatic racial nomenclature, to express visually their emerging ideas about race in the terms of the possibilities and perils of miscegenation or *mestizaje* (Katzew 39–40).

The subjects of this album present the university students, types of clergymen and military, the mestizos, up to the ethnic groups at the base of the productive system of the colonial society, which are two main ethnicities: "Chinese" and "Indians." According to the author of the texts, "el mayor

contraste que se observa en Manila, es el que presentan la actividad y carácter de la población china con la incuria y pereza de la indígena; el deseo de ganar dinero de la primera, y la indiferencia de la segunda," ["the greatest contrast that is observed in Manila, is the one presented by the activity and character of the Chinese population with the neglect and laziness of the Indians; the desire to earn money of the former, and the indifference of the latter"] (n.p.; our trans.). Out of the Chinese group, the "chanchaulero," the "comerciante," and the "corredor" appear as distinct social types.

The representation of the indigenous people (*indios*, as they are called) is a more complex classification subdivided into two groups: the first is made up of those who are considered lacking in civilized norms and are therefore simply represented in close relation to nudity as a mark of their alleged savagery. Let us dwell for a moment on the reference made in the text to the plates of the Igorots or Igorrotes of Mayoyao. The term "Igorrote," which refers in general to indigenous peoples of the mountain range of northern Luzon, does not come from a language spoken in that region, but rather is a Hispanization of a Tagalog term, "i-golot" or "person from the mountain" (Scott, "The Word" 235). About these Igorots, the text reads: "Después de tres siglos y medio de poseer los Españoles las Islas Filipinas, sorprende verdaderamente por de pronto el que exista todavía tan gran número de indios salvages é idólatras, hasta á la vista misma de la Capital" ["After three and a half centuries of Spanish possession of the Philippine Islands, it is truly surprising that such a large number of savage and idolatrous Indians still exist, even within sight of the Capital"] (n.p.; our trans.), and soon justifies the persistence of this unforgivable reality by stating that "fácil hubiera sido destruirlos si hubiese población bastante para ocular los montes y bosques que habitan, a fin de que no volviesen a ellos" ["it would have been easy to destroy them if there were enough people to watch over the mountains and forests they inhabit, so that they would not return to them"] (n.p.; our trans.). In this geography

Figure 5

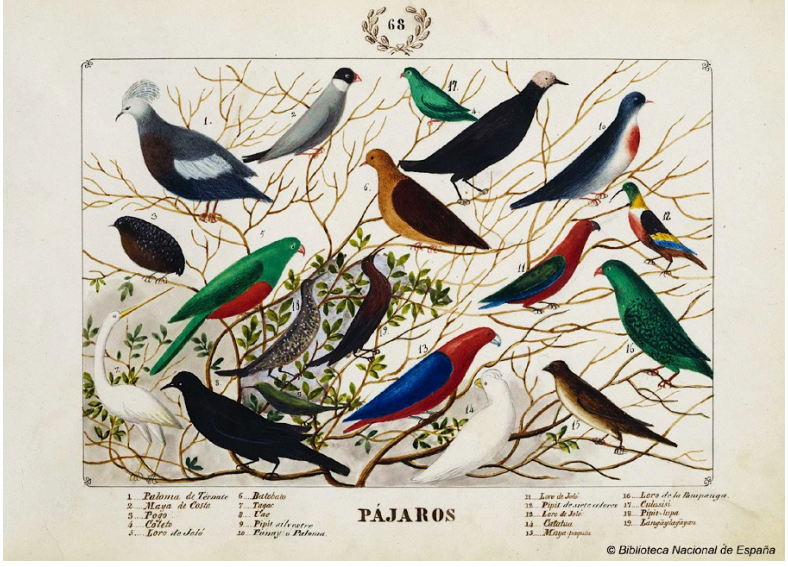

Figure 6

of savagery, the author elaborates a dissection of the types of indigenous populations considered savages, describing their physiognomy, habits, greater or lesser level of bellicosity, and the areas they inhabit.

On the one hand, there are the so-called "negritos" or "aetas" with their different subgroups, and on the other, the Igorots that are described in a better light, perhaps because "they are more civilized than the negritos." But nonetheless, the plate that accompanies the Igorots belonging to the Mayoyao tribe, showing their supposed fame for "matando y cortando la cabeza a los Europeos o indios que pueden alcanzar, y que llevan después en triunfo. Dícese que para casarse y agradar a la novia, le consiguen con mayor facilidad, según el mayor o menor número de cabezas que han cortado, y especialmente si son de Europeos" ["killing and cutting off the heads of the Europeans or Indians that they can reach, and that they carry later in triumph. It is said that to get married and please the bride, they achieve it with greater ease, according to the greater number of heads they have cut off, and especially if they are of Europeans"] (n.p.; our trans.). The ferocity with which the Igorots defended their territory, which William H. Scott refers to in detail in his article "Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims: 1576–1896" is transformed into a trait that evidences a lack of human reason. This demonization was not new, as it had been practiced before with the same objective of trapping in the text those who could not be defeated in the field. The insistence on disqualifying the indigenous people seems to reflect the global tendency of the discourses that justified the conquest and colonization. (Figs. 3 and 4). The second indigenous group is constituted by those who are integrated to social work. Thus, instead of nakedness, they are presented according to the social work they perform: the "Indian fisherman," the "laborer," the "carpenter of the arsenal," the "sacatero," the "mananguetero," the "piladores de arroz," and those who carry the hammocks to transport subjects.

This album from the Philippines also displays examples of flora, fruits, and

fauna; in all the cases the elements that are represented in the watercolor have been perfectly organized in a quadrilateral with their corresponding classifications. Like the Universal Exhibitions mentioned above, these convenient quadrilaterals highlight how the album broadly aims to organize and classify the unknown for a Western audience, and in the process, like with the depictions of indigenous peoples, the effort results in an enclosure and containment of the unknown, a domestication that transforms epistemological challenges and violent defiance into neat, organized, and visually pleasing decoration.

Figure 7

These images evoke the observation, investigation, and classification of the natural world, the task of modern naturalists of the Enlightenment who travelled around the world. In the case of the fruits, the reader encounters that the representation of tropical and subtropical fruits seem to be inserted within the nineteenth-century scientific gaze and the Linnaean exercises of separation, classification, organization, and publication. A similar encyclopedic impulse infuses the taxonomies of shells and snails, birds, and even reptiles (Figs. 5 and 6). It is the natural universe conveniently ordered and classified so that the reader, who must also feel the scientific curiosity of the time, could easily access the knowledge of each of these specimens. These samples of the natural environment are added to the musical notations of popular tunes, whose inclusion is also surprising because they seem to point to a quasi-anthropological intention of collecting examples of traditional music.

Among the variety of visual images, the watercolor entitled "Yglesia parroquial de Quiapo" (fig. 7) stands out because more than the temple itself, it brings us closer to the theatrical dimension acquired by Catholic rituals in the Philippines. Here a social vision of religious practice is on display: at the center of the artwork, the procession of the patron saint of the town, popularly called the "Black Nazarene" due to the skin color of the sculpted image of Christ. The statue, which had been made in Mexico, arrived in the Philippines in 1606. Despite the limitations of the watercolor technique and the small size of the support of the work, this representation makes the essential elements of this procession perfectly recognizable: the sculpture of a falling Jesus wearing the red vestment on golden platforms; the white canopy trimmed with red bangs that symbolically protects the highest representatives of the diocese; the crowd in which the women in black cloaks and the men with red crosses on their backs stand out; the perfectly uniformed military music band; the standard bearer; and the three crosses of Golgotha that precede the image of Christ. Finishing the representation, the crowds that confirm

this procession as one of the most important religious events in the lengthy Spanish colonial period in the Philippines. This watercolor takes us back to the moment in which the baroque life of the Counter-Reformation had exploded in the cities of the Americas and as far away as the Philippines in popular crowded religious festivities; that is to say, this piece echoes a theme that had already become outmoded because the Hispanic imperial Catholic universe had mostly crumbled, and the priorities of representation indicated other lines to follow. Although it is almost impossible to ascertain whether José Honorato Lozano knew of the seventeenth-century canvases that show the celebration of Corpus Christi in Cuzco, for instance, this watercolor establishes its own syntony with those earlier Hispanic American artistic productions, announcing and celebrating the triumph of church and crown over their possessions.

Album: Vistas de las yslas Filipinas y trages de sus abitantes interests us for two main reasons: First, by bringing together different discourses that had been developing within the territories of the Spanish empire at different historical moments, the album generates an archaeological polyphony that seems to validate the Spanishness of the Philippines, the Asian archipelago as a thriving Spanish territory. Secondly, the somehow disregarded colonial territory of the far east emerges in the album in all its splendor, overcoming both its peripheral status and the many decades of crises within the collapsed Spanish empire to which it still belongs.

Years later, in 1872, another remarkable colonial album was published, this time in Havana: It is the *Álbum histórico fotográfico de la guerra de Cuba, desde su principio hasta el reinado de Amadeo I*, with texts by Gil Gelpí y Ferro and photographs taken by Varela y Suárez. Less than three decades had elapsed between the album on the Philippine Islands and this one on the war in Cuba, yet the differences in nature and purpose of these two artifacts attest to the political mutability of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, not only had Spain lost most of its colonial territories, but the ongoing war of independence in

Figure 8

Cuba made it unfeasible to mask the precariousness of the future of the Spanish empire overseas. This artifact attempts to generate a testimonial-historical narrative intent on suturing the fragmented political environment inside Cuba. However, the author fails to camouflage the political unrest palpable after the events of the Villanueva Theater in Havana, on January 22, 1869, over three months after Carlos Manuel de Céspedes had begun the uprising against Spanish rule in the east of the island.

The first of the photographs included in this album is one of the most interesting elements: a staged group representing a symbolic victory which includes an imagined indigenous young woman, an allegory of the island, ascending a promontory where the Spanish matriarch reigns atop a tamed lion; the younger female figure, whose arm is held, symbolically contained, by the matriarch's left hand, appears to be a geopolitical daughter who defends both the strong mother, Spain, as well as the flag, the "pabellón nacional," (fig. 8), thus confirming the Spanishness of the island referenced in the title: "Cuba siempre Española" ["Cuba always Spanish"] (our trans.). Below, the dead men left by this war and the victorious soldiers—one of them with his knee on the ground—saluting the victory resulting from the alliance between the matriarchal figure and the indigenous character, who together prevail despite the daring of those who came to threaten the status quo. The defeated, faceless group disappears in the background of the image into the stormy dark clouds and the fog of historical silence. It is an idealized narrative of the triumph that the author hoped for, but it was far from "historical" as the title claims, because such alliance and such victory had not happened, and it was not about to happen. Probably this marked celebratory tone is the only feature that connects this text with the traditional album.

A second photograph of interest (fig. 9) captioned "Defensores de la integridad nacional" ["Defenders of National Integrity"], also staged, seems to foretell an imaginary victory of those defenders who have apparently

Defensores de la Integridad Nacional.

Figure 9

prevailed on an imaginary battlefield littered with bombs and cannons. The racial combination is particularly interesting, and it echoes the inter-ethnic alliance of the earlier allegorical sketch: a white soldier, a white sailor, and a white peasant (Spanish or Creole) and a single black subject, possibly Creole and freedman. The absence of a mulatto figure is a curious omission at a time in which many mixed-race afro descendants were integrated into the battalions of *pardos* and *morenos*. Could it be that the *mulatto* ethnicity was consciously avoided or eliminated? May it be that the *mulatto* body had come to represent a racialized visualization of the insurgent enemy?

The author of this album calls Cuba "los valiosos restos del Grande Imperio que fundaron nuestros antepasados en América" ["the valuable remains of the Great Empire founded by our ancestors in America"], situating the album within the sphere of proud Spanish creole authorship (247). However, what triggers this publication seems to be the political precariousness of these colonial remnants in relation to Spain, as some of the following ideas that the text subtly underlines attest: 1) The negligence or, at least, the apathy of the colonial administration of the island: the anticolonial revolt at the Villanueva Theater, for instance, is used by the author to denounce the slow action of the Spanish authorities; 2) The complicity of a wide part of the population with pro-independence ideas and the elaborated manners in which independentist discourse surface in the everyday life of the Cuban territory; 3) The dissemination of the anticolonial feeling in the Cuban population as a reality that crossed all the socioeconomic strata, from the wealthiest—the main example in Havana is Miguel Aldama, one of the wealthiest members of the *sacarocracy*, as Manuel Moreno Fraginals labeled the local aristocracy created by sugar production—all the way to the plethora of anonymous subjects; 4) The loss of fear of punishment observed in the urban population, particularly in Havana where people shouted slogans in favor of Céspedes and against the repressive forces of the Spanish political power on the Island; 5) The annexationist tendency

extended within a large part of the Cuban population that rejected Spain and favored integration with the United States.

This publication, like that of the Philippines analyzed earlier, appropriates the term "album." However, the very concept of the album as a cultural artifact so relevant to nineteenth-century social relations is undermined in both cases. The Cuban War album is an anti-album: It is a printed book that leaves no room for reader interaction. There's no space for personal notes nor the customary invitation to clip and reorder the materials. There are no writings of friends or relatives of its owner; no sheets of music or poems reverberating the soundscapes, the romantic spirit and taste that floated over the reading (re)public of letters during almost the entire century. In fact, the album has no owner as such, nor does it seem to be open to become the container of a personal affective universe. On the contrary, it is a monologic text to be read by others and, in the field of affections, only a political intent remains, voicing the intense anxiety felt by an author facing the clear quandary of an islander, an inhabitant of the most valued among the extant Spanish colonies. By grafting this narrative onto the generic denomination of the "album," this text allows itself to navigate between history and testimony, thus straddling the frontiers of objectivity and subjectivity.

The albums of the Philippines and Cuba textually and geographically frame this dossier dedicated to exploring the triangular connections between Spain and its territorial possessions in the Caribbean and Asia throughout the nineteenth century. Between these two albums there were three decades of rapid changes and transformations, yet in both cases clear efforts were made to avoid referring explicitly to the political instability of the moment. For instance, the album on the war in Cuba takes us to a dynamic political situation inside the island and broadcasts an imperial hegemony victory that is far from secure. However, this was not an isolated occurrence of pro-imperial propaganda with respect to Cuba. During most of the nineteenth century,

Cuba was the subject of intense debates and geopolitical formulations in places as far away from both the island and the Iberian Peninsula, such as Washington, D.C. On January 2, 1853, Pierre Soulé, Senator from Louisiana, stated the following on the floor of the US Senate:

> What are the late conquests of England in Eastern India, of the French in Africa, but marauding upon large scale? What has been the course of Britain within the last century, on the coast of Central America, but a continuous marauding? Why should Senators show themselves so supremely fastidious about marauding. When they admit themselves, while speaking of the vexed acquisition [of Cuba], that they but await for the ripening of the fruit? Will the plucking of it when ripe be less "marauding" than the plucking of it while still green? I had thought that honorable Senators would have recollected that at common law the taking of the fruit from the tree is but a trespass, while the taking of it after it has been separated from the parent stem is larceny. Let them beware lest the fruit rot while they await its ripening. (*Weekly National Intelligencer*, February 5, 1853, p. 2)

Two years later, on March 8, 1855, *The Washington Sentinel* published an official report directed to the Secretary of State William Learned Marcy, expressing the resulting debates of the Ostend Conference with the following words:

> We firmly believe that in the progress of human events, the time has arrived when the vital interests of Spain are as seriously involved in the sale as those of the United States in the purchase of the Island; and that the transaction will prove equally honorable to both nations.
>
> Under these circumstances we cannot anticipate a failure, unless possible through the malign influence of foreign powers who possess no right whatever to interfere in the matter.
>
> It must be clear to every reflecting mind, that from the peculiarity of its geographical position and the considerations attendant on it, Cuba is as

> necessary to the North American republic as any of its present members, and that it belongs naturally to that great family of States of which the Union is the providential nursery... Indeed, the Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security, as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries. (2)

For most of nineteenth century, discussions about the United States' "manifest" rights of ownership over Cuba were not a state secret nor was this possibility debated only in political circles. On the contrary, the political and journalistic sectors played an important indoctrinating role in the American public's knowledge of Cuba. The logic for the transfer of Cuba from Spanish to American hands became so ingrained in U.S. society as to make the debate over Cuba's ownership a frequent topic of conversation in social gatherings.

On January 25, 1859, one more element was added to that conversation when the morning edition of *The New York Herald* published the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in favor of the appropriation of $30 million for the acquisition of Cuba. The purchase was not a new idea, neither was Spain's resistance to give away Cuba a new element in the discussion. Spain would eventually "sell" the Philippines to the U.S. for $20 million in 1898. This was the era of territorial purchases by the United States, which had already paid $15 million for Louisiana, in 1803, and $7.5 million for Alaska, in 1867, not to mention the invasion of Mexico and the 1846–48 Mexican American war, the ensuing Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty and the Gadsen Purchase ($10 million), all of which resulted in the ceding of Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona, among other territories, to the US. The information about the budgetary appropriation for the acquisition of Cuba and the stubborn refusal of Spain cemented the vision of Spain as an adversary nation in the public opinion. How was it possible to understand the refusal of Spain to sell a relatively small island territory if it was being offered an amount that doubled the price paid to France for the immense Louisiana territory earlier on? Spain's stubborn reticence could in no small part be read as a political opposition, that is to

say, an anti-American position. These open debates around the purchase of Cuba added a new layer to the already complex political situation in which the territories at the center of this dossier were engulfed during the nineteenth century.

Notes on the Articles

As we pointed out at the beginning, this dossier plays with two meanings of the Spanish term *pabellón* since both the structure built for an international exhibition and the national flag are key spaces of representation to the geopolitical transformations of the nineteenth century. The works presented in this dossier investigate some of the colonial territories that did not directly participate in the liberation process experienced by the rest of Spain's former possessions earlier in the century.

We have referred earlier to the complexities of the nineteenth century and José Martí is one of the subjects that stand out as an embodiment of that complexity: a poet, politician, journalist, translator, philosopher, educator, political agitator… Martí consistently moved in and out of different contexts, discourses, and geographies. This dossier includes two inquiries on Martí; two great contributions to deepening the studies of Cuba's national hero, the apostle of independence, as Martí is still called today in the nationalist rhetoric of post-revolutionary Cuba.

In the first work on the Cuban patriot, entitled "José Martí: la organización política y el problema de la raza en el preámbulo de la guerra de independencia cubana," Oleski Miranda (Emory and Henry College) examines one of the most uncomfortable aspects of the Cuban independence movement: the issue of race and the racialized discourses that engulfed the rebel movement seeking to limit the agency of darker-skinned subjects. This article explores Martí's actions between 1892 and 1894, some years after slavery had been abolished (1886); however, abolition had not made a dent in the practice of racial

prejudice. As new readings of Martí's approach to race continue to emerge, Miranda's timely study delves into Martí's thoughts about the legacies of racial intolerance permeating the Cuban imaginary. Overlapping racial conflicts arose from the urgency of unification of all parties involved in achieving the liberation of Cuba.

Race, however, is not a debate limited to the Caribbean and the American continent. Racialized rhetoric in Philippine literature is the focus of Sony Coráñez Bolton's contribution to this dossier. Coráñez Bolton (Amherst College) places Philippine and Mexican racial discourses in conversation through an intersectional reading of José Rizal, Pedro Paterno, and José Vasconcelos in order to grasp with greater clarity the discrepant ways in which Blackness, Indigeneity, and Asian identities are articulated in distinctly and distantly elaborated nation-building projects embedded within the ideologies of *mestizaje* and within what Bolton defines as the "mestizo archive."

The second contribution on Martí, presented by Ana María González Mafud (University of Havana) and Luis Álvarez Álvarez (University of Arts, Havana), revisits Martí's commitment to education. Martí's vocation as an educator resembled a form of priesthood and as such was presented in dissimilar contexts, from an epistle, such as the famous "Letter to María Mantilla," to newspaper articles and political speeches. González Mafud and Álvarez Álvarez investigate the act of reading and the agency it generated in readers as Martí understood them. Reading is for Martí a multifunctional tool, a sword of light that would clear all obscurities and would lead both to knowing about the world and to knowing about oneself.

Likewise, for the *ilustrados*, as the nineteenth-century educated elites of the Philippines are known, education was a key for reframing the archipelago's relationship with Spain. Education was also essential to redefining a place for the Philippines in the fast-paced global modernization of the end of the century. One of these *Ilustrados*, the chemist-turned-writer-turned-general,

Antonio Luna, mentioned above, is included in two of the articles featured here. Rocío Valderrey Martín (Université Paris, Nanterre) examines articles and speeches by Filipino *Ilustrados* who studied in Europe with a focus on 1) how they questioned their relationship with the metropolis, and 2) their call for "solidarity" between Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, despite their prevailing impression that Spain was treating Puerto Rico and Cuba more favorably than their homeland across the Pacific.

These *Ilustrados*, however, frequently envisioned national consciousness as a product of fraternizing between male patriots, as explored in Raquel A. G. Reyes's monograph *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882–1892*. Reyes' book highlights how among the many interesting aspects of the nineteenth century, the struggle of women for achieving equal status occupied a special place. The position of the female subject was transformed during the century in Hispanic America as in Spain, with the participation of middle- and upper-class women in intercontinental traveling and writing. In the work "'Un deleite lúgubre del alma, pero deleite al fin': Cuba en el discurso eugenésico hispanófilo de Concepción Gimeno en México," Antonio Pedrós-Gascón (Colorado State University) invites us to approach this incessant traveler who was born in peninsular Spain, but made Mexico her home and center of her intellectual activity. The movements of Gimeno de Flaquer disregard the political limitations of her national origin. Her global movements verify a perception of transatlantic, intercontinental space that resists the territorial compartmentalization of political borders. In this article, Pedrós-Gascón scrutinizes the encounter of female writers with eugenic discourses of their time.

Returning to Antonio Luna, William Arighi (Springfield College), explores how Spanish concepts of aesthetics and literature shaped Luna's ideas of authorship. Luna's focus, for example, on the haze of tobacco smoke in Madrid cafés draws attention to Spanish capitalistic imperialism through the Tobacco

Monopoly, which dictated the terms of who could do what labor within the colony, highlighting in turn Spanish critics' disgust before the product of the intellectual labor of a colonized subject. Arighi argues that Luna's short fiction about his stay in Europe offers a critique of aesthetic theory's reliance on autonomy by foregrounding the heteronomous forces that impinged on colonized Filipinos throughout the nineteenth century.

While Arighi focuses on aesthetics, Ninel Valderrama Negrón (University of Kansas) and Riya Mohan (Duke University) offer a critical look on transformations in hygiene and public health in the nineteenth century. Havana offered a particular case because despite being the most developed city in Cuba, its hygienic conditions during the first half of the nineteenth century were still precarious. In addition, its constantly and rapidly growing population and the large floating contingent of soldiers, sailors, and travelers brought a major stress onto the sanitary conditions of the city. Their work, entitled "The Impact of the 1833 Cholera Epidemic on Havana's Vulnerable Populations and Urban Landscape," investigates the often-overlooked interaction between an epidemic and the demographic sectors most directly impacted by it. Based on outstanding archival work, the authors define the case of the 1833 cholera in the Jesús María neighborhood, one of several areas outside the city walls rapidly populated by the excess population that the old colonial city could not contain. Valderrama Negrón and Mohan's approach to the cholera epidemic in Havana in 1833 contrasts it with the recent experience of Covid-19 to unveil the discursive practices that entangle social class, race, sex, and gender within the public health measures set in motion by a pandemic.

Finally, emphasizing notions of Mexican modernity and echoes of Asia, Paula Park's review of Laura Torres-Rodríguez's *Orientaciones transpacíficas: la modernidad mexicana y el espectro de Asia* (2019) invites us to look beyond Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines when considering the complexities of Transpacific intellectual collaborations and rivalries.

In his contribution to this dossier, Arighi asserts that "at the same time that the ocean serves as the handmaiden of imperial fantasy, it also serves as a barrier that locks colonials and their potential revolutionary energy in the 'cuartel' or 'cárcel' of the colony" (244). This shared, transoceanic frustration of Cubans and Filipinos was fully on display within the "pabellón colonial" at the 1889 Universal Exposition. While in other pavilions, other metropolitan centers utilized their colonial dominions to boast about their contributions to universal progress, the Spanish displays for Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines spectacularly recreated racialized discourses, imperial inefficiencies, and cultural obstacles to modernization and independence.

The contributions to this dossier, however, aim to understand more deeply the multifarious and interwoven causes and repercussions of these imperial prejudices, and their associated colonial frustrations. Not only do these articles ask how colonial subjects strived to contribute to the universal pursuit of progress, but they also question the role the narrative of "progress" played in the continued subjugation of these archipelagic communities. "El pabellón colonial" thus endeavors to enable contemporary readers to more efficiently understand and counteract these disconcertingly durable debates and discourses, and to possibly imagine themselves above and beyond the quadrilateral framings and borders broadcast in the archives of colonial history.

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