

GERTRUDIS GÓMEZ DE AVELLANEDA'S *SAB*: A CUBAN NOVEL IN A LATIN AMERICAN CONTEXT¹

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Since Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (1814-1873) was just eight-
 Seen when she left her native Cuba for Spain, works she subse-
 quently wrote are considered by many to be part of the Spanish
 literary canon. She is included in otherwise good-quality liter-
 ary histories and studies that short-change a palpable Caribbean
 flavor in her writing.² Beyond that there is a thematic orientation
 toward the Americas and toward her island of birth which informs
 her oeuvre, especially in two novels *Guatimozín* and *Sab*, the latter
 being Cuba's most famous antislavery novel. What I would like to
 do in the present study is analyze this second romance within a
 Latin American context to show its affinity to fiction written on this
 side of the Atlantic, and within the context of the Caribbean slave
 system, two characteristics of her work which do not necessarily
 deny its kinship to the European literary tradition.³

We begin by looking at the inverse relationship between nature
 and society which has long been a theme in Western literature, the
 pastoral serving as an antidote to the commercialism of the city.
 Horace, Virgil and Ovid, paradigmatic authors, established the
 notions of *beatissimus ille* and *locus amoenus* as important motifs. During
 the Renaissance, the topos was introduced into Hispanic letters by
 Garcilaso de la Vega, Fray Luis de León, Jorge de Montemayor and
 Miguel de Cervantes. It has persisted through the centuries, with
 each author or movement adding his, her or its own individual
 slant. The Romantic noble savage, in spite of its nonunderstanding
 of the "other," was an outgrowth of this Renaissance neoclassical
 tendency. For Naturalism, conversely, nature could be cruel and
 civil society imperilled when controlled by it. As we will see in this
 essay, for several South American novels of the nineteenth century,
 it is the relationship between the soul and nature that confronts the

corruption of civilization. Of these, *Sab* is first and foremost in its condemnation of Western modes of being.

During the nineteenth century, two broad perspectives developed from which human behavior could be understood. One accepts nature as a governing force; the other does not. The first describes the human condition in Darwinian or Spencerian terms, individual conduct being understood as a process of "survival of the fittest."⁴ While morals are not disavowed, primal instincts can and do define behavioral patterns. The second—elaborated a little later and perhaps a response to the pessimism of the first—is Prince Kropotkin's notion of "mutual aid,"⁵ which informs Kropotkin's vision of civil society as ethical, civilized, and based on a collective support system that inhibits any natural disposition toward naturally selective behaviors.

Neither tendency is exclusive of the other and both are the energizing forces of modernity, orienting it in a multitude of different directions, making it a difficult task indeed to sort out its constituent elements. Camille Paglia, in spite of the controversies surrounding her work,⁶ offers a fresh view on the relationship between nature and civil norms. Like Kropotkin, she inverts the classical motif, viewing society, not nature, as a positive element. Her position departs from the premise that "aggression comes from nature."⁷ Such a destructive thrust must be attenuated. Civility is the response. She concludes, "society is an artificial construction, a defense against nature's power."⁸ It is not hard to substantiate such a position. Whether it be an earthquake, a flood, a tornado, or fire, we find representative aspects of Western civilization such as the Red Cross, Church groups, Fire and Police departments, even the National Guard, working to protect against nature's wrath. From such a vantage point, Paglia asserts that reciprocal assistance serves as a remedy for nature's violence. Yet human communities sometimes forget their lofty ideals and revert back to naturally selective behaviors. Even given this retrograde reality, Paglia maintains that "society is not the criminal but the force which keeps crime in check."⁹ It is the above-mentioned remedy.

One way to consider the relationship between civilization and nature is to probe the dynamic between men and women. In suggesting this, I do not mean to imply that the association between them can comprehensively define the larger relationship between society and nature. While the latter is of a constant character, the

former mutates incessantly in a never ending shifting of relations due to gender, class, ethnicity and nature. As Carlos J. Alonso cautions, the dynamic of a diverse society is "a complex dialogic negotiation among parties in a multilayered relationship of constant and mutual reaccommodation."¹⁰ Given life's intricacies, gender correlation reflects only one, albeit important, element of the macrocosm created when humanity interacts with nature. However, male-female interaction, arguably, is the one factor which intersects with all others—from race, class, customs, to nature. It is to it we now turn our attention.

Generalizations can lead to oversimplifications. However two clarifying tendencies, not mutually exclusive, can be perceived when men and women are compared. The former can be associated with society and the later with nature. Both Susan Griffin in her *Women and Nature*¹¹ and Paglia in her *Sexual Personae* have identified this relationship. Women are different from men because they are connected to the cycles of the moon in ways that men cannot imagine. Both menstrual cycles and pregnancy are experiences that are beyond the realm of masculinity. Not surprisingly, then, Paglia reminds us that "the identification of woman with nature was universal in prehistory."¹² On the other hand, "men, bonding together, invented culture as a defense against female nature."¹³ What this theorist does not say is that if men "invented" civilization, they also did so to check their own primitive urges, especially in matters of intimacy and sex. Marriage is a good example of an attempt to curb basic instincts. These bipolar causal agents (society-nature, man-woman) create an evolving basis for interpersonal relationships. It is a tale of creation and appropriation. Again we turn to Paglia:

Hence the sexes are caught in a comedy of historical indebtedness. Man, repelled by his debt to a physical mother, created an alternate reality, a heterocosm to give him the illusion of freedom. Woman, at first content to accept man's projections but not inflamed with desire for her own illusory freedom, invades man's systems and suppresses her indebtedness to him as she steals them.¹⁴

Of course, women had not gone very far in their embrace of patriarchal culture during the nineteenth century. Few could imagine *senoritas* on the military front lines or even in politics. The century that saw the abolition of slavery very clearly associated

femininity and nature, both of which are differentiated from that aspect of Western civilization defined by men and wealth.

How can this phenomenon be studied? Gender roles in society are mirrored in literature. This theory is not new; it derives from Plato. By means of mimesis, we can read what one author has seen or perceived. For example, contemporary novelist Isabel Allende reveals that most of what she writes has a basis in reality.¹⁵ If we embrace such a proposition, we can expect that several Latin American novels of the nineteenth century would reflect the maleness of that civilization. They do. Three such novels are Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841), Jorge Isaacs' *María* (1867), and Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* (1889). In Avellaneda's Cuban novel, the thrust for monetary gain is embodied in the men of the Otway family. As Isaacs's Colombian love story unfolds, we find that Efraín's medical career is more important to his parents than his fondness for María. Matto's Peruvian narrative, for its part, presents the wives as a front, more unified than the husbands, against the "civilized" economic system of the *mita* and the *reparto*. Juxtaposed against male norms, the women in all three works find themselves much closer to nature.

Avellaneda's *Sab*, the primary focus of our study, departs from the Classical pastoral model, which was aristocratic. It speaks to what Raymond Williams has termed the "neo-pastoral," removed from the court and set "in its new location, the country house and its estate."¹⁶ The neo-pastoral reflects a new social reality, "that of a developing agrarian capitalism."¹⁷ Of course, Williams is referring to the English Renaissance. Yet the relationship between Great Britain, Cuba and colonialism is not so far fetched. In *Sab*, we observe nineteenth-century Cuba, the neo-pastoral milieu that the English Otways come to dominate. As they acquire land, the father and son come to symbolize British neocolonialism, which provides a model for "development" on the world stage.¹⁸ Conversely, as we read the novel, we see that four other characters do not fit into the Western notion of progress, necessarily understood as an attempt to exploit nature for profit. Three of these are women; the fourth is a mulatto bondsman.

The first woman, Carlota, shares the role of protagonist with the slave Sab. There is a palpable relationship between her and nature. The narrator, referring to it, informs us that, in effect, there is "cierta armonía entre aquella naturaleza y aquella mujer, ambas tan

jóvenes y tan hermosas."¹⁹ The second, Teresa, takes a drastic step toward the end of the novel to separate herself finally from male culture. The apparent relationship between women and nature also surfaces with the minor character of Martina, the medicine woman. She narrates stories of vampires and apparitions, and seems to be in direct contact with the soul of Camaügey, the fallen Taíno chief.²⁰

Women in *Sab* are not so different from female characters in Isaac's *María*. In her important work, *Foundational Fictions*, Doris Sommer finds that "María lacked 'manly' dignity and self control," two facets of civilized behavior. Sommer goes on to theorize that María's feminine behavioral traits "slip dangerously on a closer reading into the 'barbarity' of uncontrolled femaleness."²¹ What Sommer is referring to here is María and her constant weeping, her going barefoot, her flirting and her unbridled passion.²² All of this links her to nature. Another commentator, Sharon Magnarelli, also notes that the narrator, Efraín, a male character created by a male author, describes María "in terms of both nature and motherhood." However, Magnarelli distances herself from a mimetic theory of literature, viewing Efraín as artificially imposing María on nature. Yet, she deems Jewish María's "Christianization" as a civilizing process,²³ one that could, in fact, be termed a Paglian appropriation of culture. Further on, looking at two naturalist novels, *Doña Bárbara* and *La vorágine*, Magnarelli sees the depiction of women and nature as malevolent and connected. These two twentieth-century determinist works, however, do not reflect a nature which allows for a soul, as in the literature of Romanticism. If I differ with Magnarelli on how María came closer to nature—*i.e.*, biological and cultural tendencies vs. male manipulation—we both agree that, in fact, she is identified with it. Of course the passive María (created by a male author) and *Sab*'s active Carlota (developed by a female author) are two very different creatures. What matters is that both of them share a certain proximity to nature, making Isaacs' representation of "woman" socially contextual.

The same association of women and nature also presents itself in Clorinda Matto's *Aves sin nido*, an early naturalist novel, not completely liberated from a romantic notion of life. In this work, "...la mujer, por regla general, es un diamante en bruto, y al hombre y la educación les toca convertirlo en brillante...."²⁴ This idea is not a mere nineteenth-century construct; it anticipates Rosario Castellanos who, one hundred years later, would also use the diamond as a symbol on at least two occasions. Both would appear in book form

posthumously. One occurs in her *El uso de la palabra* (1974), which contains one of her essays on Mexican feminism, "La liberación del amor." Castellanos writes of a fourteen-year-old girl, a "diamante en bruto," who becomes, upon polishing, an "objeto de lujo."²⁵ This would be a criticism of the proverbial pedestal which men create for women. A more traditional usage appears in a short poem, "Valium 10," from her *Poesía no eres tú* (1972). Here the Mexican poet longs for the polished and cut diamond which represents beauty and order, absent from the chaos of her supermom world in which a husband is nonexistent.²⁶ It takes education and male presence to polish the gem, tame nature, and bring women closer to men. This is the same theme represented in *Aves sin nido*, where the nature-society dynamic defines male-female relations. Paglia herself could have expressed this idea, developed by a female author who was close enough to a nature-based culture to address General Cáceres' troops in Quechua during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883).²⁷ Later, in exile in Argentina, Matto would translate the Gospels into the language of the Incas.

In *Aves sin nido*, it was these "raw diamonds," close to the equality of nature, who compelled liberal men to emancipate the indigenous peoples from the hierarchical *mita* and *reparto*,²⁸ appropriated and defined as a part of Occidental culture in Peru. Yet the plot of the novel does not just reflect the association of women and nature. This tendency is somewhat at odds with another, one that also shows a tension between the city and the country. This other thread derives from Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and his doctrine of civilization and barbarism.²⁹ Here not only are men and women set apart, but—as Cornejo Polar points out—the urban Marín couple is differentiated from the barbarity of the rural *sierra*.³⁰ While both ideological strands of the romance's fabric are important to its understanding, it is the former which concerns us here. For the nineteenth-century *beatus ille* mind, being close to nature was a positive attribute, providing an elevated basis to guide life. This was the case with both *María* and *Aves sin nido*. The first idealizes love, the second justice, yet both from a pro-nature perspective. Both, written in two distinct cultures (Jewish and the Andes) and literary movements (romanticism and naturalism), provide differing points of comparison for *Sab*, reflecting a very different nineteenth-century society, one defined by the institution of slavery.

Any reading of *Sab* must be understood within the framework of nature, Caribbean civilization and the slave system. For Cuba the

nineteenth century was a monumental turning point in its history; it could be understood in its entirety as a campaign to weaken Spain's colonial jaws and to abolish slavery. This struggle was a multicultural one as the island became progressively aware of and accepting of its black population. As Jean Stubbs so poignantly writes: "It would take plots, conspiracies, insurrection and ultimately war throughout the nineteenth century to break the 'criollismo' which defined only whites as Cuban."³¹ The heinous foundation of slavery was the "gang-system" in which people in bondage were kept apart from white populations. There were large numbers of blacks in Cuba, Franklin Knight calculating that in 1840—one year before *Sab's* publication—slaves made up some 43 percent of the island's population, free blacks contributing another 15 percent to that figure.³² In real numbers, Jan Rogoziski determines that some 700,000 unfortunate souls were imported between 1761 and 1870, 480,000 surviving to be counted in the 1877 census.³³ Key to understanding this reality is to remember, as Knight does, that the blacks who worked in the gangs were "segregated" from the whites.³⁴ As a separate people they built replicas of African villages, their homes being constructed of materials which were familiar to them, straw, mud, guinea grass, cane tops, and palmettos.³⁵ Even a superficial observer could have seen that these Africans lived a life close to nature, both in their residences and in the fields where they worked.

Before getting to the social condition of Sab and the women in Avellaneda's novel, a word about the literary representation of nature is necessary. Since the Conquest there have been attempts to represent nature literarily, both to catalogue its elements and to describe the newly conquered lands. These attempts have been due in part to the increasing interest during the Renaissance in classical texts and, in particular, in Pliny—that is to say, Caius Plinius Secundus (AD 23-79), who wrote a *Natural History* of some thirty-seven volumes. The first and most important endeavor in this tradition is Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (1535), which is nothing less than a catalogue of the flora and fauna of the *Orbe Novo*.³⁶ There were many other writers who, throughout four-hundred years of colonialism, dedicated themselves to this task wholly or in part. Gómez de Avellaneda was one of them, adhering to this same tradition, not to depict a new world but to describe her home island to European readers. This aspect of the novel has been studied by José Servera in a recent Spanish edition of it. Servera finds descriptions of birds, plants, mountains

and the whole gamut of elements that make up a tropical landscape which provides a back drop for the romance's action.³⁷ It is interesting that Fernández de Oviedo's *Sumario* found its way into print again, after being out of print for three centuries (ten years after *Sab's* publication, during 1851-1855) suggesting a renewed interest in New-World flora and fauna. This observation is very important because Gómez de Avellaneda's pride in the natural luxuriousness of her home island highlights the Cubanness of her work, both in its nature, and in its preparing the way to discuss the slave condition.

Any black and white analysis would limit our understanding of Avellaneda's text. Even a superficial reading of it reveals that both women and men are linked to nature. While the former are very connected to it, the latter's condition could be closer or further from it. The slave Sab feels the connection while businessman Enrique Otway does not. The relationship between nature and slave is clearly established, as Susan Kirkpatrick has observed, during the storm scene in which Enrique falls off his horse.³⁸ This accident occurs because he did not heed nature's warnings. Conversely, Sab is aware of his association with nature, which becomes problematic. For him, God may have willed a conflict between his connection to it and his social destiny as a bondsman:

Y si ha sido su voluntad que yo sufriese esta terrible lucha entre mi naturaleza y mi destino...³⁹

Without a doubt, his "nature" must be equated with his soul, the conduit through which love must pass. This equation is not so strange; again we can find a parallel in Isaacs' *María*:

Las grandes bellezas de la creación no pueden a un tiempo ser vistas y cantadas; es necesario que vuelvan al alma, empalidecidas por la memoria infiel.⁴⁰

In this informative passage, we see that nature, to be appreciated, must return to the soul, its point of comprehension, its partner in harmonious lushness. In similar fashion, the conductivity of nature is expounded upon in *Sab* in a manner that allows for a spiritual link between two souls:

Hay en los afectos de las almas ardientes y apasionadas como una fuerza magnética, que conmueve y domina cuanto se les acerca. Así una alma vulgar se siente a veces elevada sobre sí misma, a la altura de aquella con quien está en contacto, por decirlo así, y sólo cuando

vuelve a caer, cuando se halla sola y en su propio lugar, puede conocer que era extraño el impulso que la movía y prestaba la fuerza que la animaba.⁴¹

The idea of the soul as a "magnetic force" is common during this period. In José Mármol's *Amalia* (1851), another romantic novel, this one from Argentina, the narrator speaks of a certain "influencia magnética y voluptuosa que postra el alma bajo el imperio de un encantamiento indefinible y misterioso..."⁴² At another moment *Amalia* emits magnetic glances transmitting "los fluidos secretos de la vida entre las organizaciones que se armonizan."⁴³ The author's mysterious enchainment echoes Avellaneda's, where burning and impassioned souls are like a magnetic force, capable of creating a natural notion of society which is subaltern. Although a soul could still be affected by such ordinary emotions such as jealousy,⁴⁴ it is ennobled when inflamed with love, allowing for an elevated sense of right and wrong. Sab becomes the paradigm. When he is accompanying Enrique to town during the above-mentioned storm, the merchant is knocked to the ground and left in a dazed state. At this point Sab contemplates killing his competitor:

Una voluntad le reduciría a la nada, y esa voluntad es la mía...¡la mía, pobre esclavo de quien él no sospecha que tenga un alma superior a la suya...capaz de amar, capaz de aborrecer...un alma que supiera ser grande y virtuosa y que ahora puede ser criminal! ¡He aquí tendido a ese hombre que no debe levantarse más!⁴⁵

Yet Sab cannot kill Enrique. On the contrary, because of his special soul, he ends up nursing him back to health.

His competitor, conversely, lacks inner fortitude. He himself admits it to Carlota: "Mi alma acaso no es bastante grande para encerrar el amor que te debo."⁴⁶ Since both men love Carlota, it makes perfect sense to compare them, especially regarding matters of the heart. Carlota, perhaps blinded by her deep-felt affection, is not able to distinguish between her two admirers' unequal moral development. In a conversation with Enrique, she compares Sab's soul to his: "su alma era tan noble, tan elevada como la tuya, como todas las almas nobles y elevadas."⁴⁷ Upon hearing this, Enrique feels uncomfortable and falters "un tanto...como si su conciencia le hiciese penosa una comparación que sabía bien no era merecida."⁴⁸ We are confronted with the question, then, as to why the white man would have a less substantial soul than Sab, a fact understood by

both of them. The answer lies in the relationship between "nature" and civil standing in the characters. The black man, being closer to his roots, has preserved a more developed life-force.

Significantly, Sab is not the only figure in the novel who can boast an exalted soul. Carlota's is so elevated that Enrique fears she can sense his thoughts from afar: "¿esa alma tan apasionada sentirá un presentimiento que la anuncie que en este momento su Enrique piensa en el modo de abandonarla...?"⁴⁹ A soul with this level of power is immanent in nature. In fact, it could be God [her]self that he dreads in this instant; Carlota that could feel his wavering between reason and nature, wealth and love, is a woman with a very finely honed competency indeed. These powers do not go unnoticed by Carlota's cousin Teresa, who explicitly links her soul with the Everlasting:

Tú has poseído sin conocerla una de esas almas grandes, ardientes, nacidas para los sublimes sacrificios, una de aquellas almas excepcionales que pasan como exhalaciones de Dios sobre la tierra.⁵⁰

It is not just the white female and the black male souls that can achieve higher spiritual awareness. Not surprisingly, Native Americans also have this capacity. As a point of comparison, we can turn again to Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido*. Even the Spanish term the Peruvian author employs to describe them, *los naturales*, suggests a closer link to nature. This usage has been part of Latin American literary language since Cortés wrote his *Cartas de relación*.⁵¹ Over the centuries, the meaning has been preserved. In Matto's novel, such usage distances them, absolutely, from the class-conscious civilization represented by the aristocracy. This reading of *Aves* provides a context for *Sab*, where the psyche of the assassinated Taíno chief Camagüey falls into the same category as Matto's *naturales*. Like pre-Hispanic cultures in the Andes, the native Cubans held sentiments which were very closely associated with nature.⁵² Ortiz goes on at length about how their ceremonial practices were centered on tobacco-worship.⁵³ Furthermore, Hultkrantz finds that they believed that each tree had its own spirit and that when felled, its immaterial life force had to be appeased.⁵⁴ Not surprisingly, the same is true for humans. If we consider the case of Camagüey, who as Las Casas relates was burned at the stake at the hands of a Christian friar,⁵⁵ it was believed that his spirit survived his death. In Avellaneda's

novel, Camagüey's ethereal force is so omnipotent that it takes the form of visible energy:

el alma del desventurado cacique viene todas las noches
a la loma fatal, en forma de una luz, a anunciar a los
descendientes de sus bárbaros asesinos la venganza del
cielo que tarde o temprano caerá sobre ellos.⁵⁶

It is this powerful millenary psyche, in the form of twinkling lights, which the Bellavista delegation sees on their trip to Cubitas.

We conclude here that the culture embodied in both the nonwhite races and women produced souls more lofty than those generally held by men of European stock. Consequently, it should not surprise us that Carlota, being a woman, and closer to nature in a Paglian sense, would dream of being with her Enrique not as a white couple, but a copper one. Thus, her man could build her a Palm hut, where they could enjoy a life of love, innocence and liberty.⁵⁷ This theme of a simpler rustic existence in nature was common during the period. It also appears in Isaacs' *María* when Efraín detours his principal novelistic material to tell the love story of the Africans Nay and Sinar.⁵⁸ This *mise en abîme*, a tale within a tale, parallels the exterior narrative of María and Efraín who also experience a true-without-bounds love, possible only outside the norms of "civilization" as defined by his family. The same restrictions define relationships in *Sab* whose pure love for Carlota is prohibited within the framework of nineteenth-century Cuban "civil" society. Conversely, Carlota not only praises the Romantic "noble savage," she desires to be one, so that she can love in unfettered fashion.

It is possible that Gómez de Avellaneda created both Sab and Carlota in her own image. Being a woman and seeing her subordinate condition even as an adult female, she could sympathize with the subservience suffered by blacks and indigenous peoples. Solidarity with the former is codified in *Sab*, and with the latter, in her fourth novel, *Guatimozín, el último emperador de México*. Yet it is a nineteenth-century solidarity that she represents. In the case of *Sab*, we are reading a piece of Romantic literature.⁵⁹ Being a white woman, the author cannot possibly understand the subtleties of being a black man. Consequently, she defines the mulatto Sab through an upper class conceptualization of the "other," a privileged position that leads her to call black culture "savage" on more than one occasion. Not unexpectedly, Gómez de Avellaneda does not differ from other writers of her time. Many used the term to describe people

from the African continent. Jorge Isaacs does the same in his *María* where Efraín describes Nay's "ira salvaje."⁶⁰ Such language was not only used to denote those of African heritage, it could also refer to criollos. In José Mármol's *Amalia*, for example, the label has a political usage. The dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas is described as having "furor salvaje." One of his soldiers demonstrates "alegría salvaje."⁶¹ Of course this was all Unitarian posturing, calling the other political camp savage. We find the same on the Federalist side. From most of the literature of the period, we remember their slogan describing the opposition as "salvajes unitarios."⁶² Finally, we come full circle, for being a "savage" can imply proximity to nature, which in *Amalia*, was also described as "salvaje."⁶³

In general, attitudes toward subaltern cultures in the nineteenth century resulted from notions of civilization that were developing. After Auguste Comte (France 1798-1857), the study of these peoples became generally known as sociology. Our postmodern sociological understanding of race and gender and its implications for Avellaneda's work have also been evolving. During the sixties, Helena Percas Ponseti proclaimed that the novel: "empezó siendo novela contra la esclavitud, terminó siendo una novela psicológica de tono romántico."⁶⁴ Twenty years later, Lucía Guerra argues convincingly that the novel's abolitionism is only a strategic paradigm that nurtures a feminist value system which, given the values of the age, could not be elaborated explicitly.⁶⁵ Beth Miller concurs when she asserts that Avellaneda followed "a natural progression from the idea of racial to that of sexual equality."⁶⁶ In spite of evolving critical perspectives, very clearly there is a parallel between the two forms of oppression. In Sab's own words,

¡Oh, las mujeres! ¡pobres y ciegas víctimas! Como los esclavos, ellas arrastran pacientemente su cadena y bajan la cabeza bajo el yugo de las leyes humanas.⁶⁷

The two central women share a very special condition with Sab and the slave class. As Kirkpatrick points out, "By the end of the novel, Sab, Teresa, and Carlota form a grouping unified not by rivalry for a love object, as in the conventional triangle, but rather by shared values and a common experience of powerlessness within the social structure."⁶⁸ Of course this edifice of oppression is none other than that designed by white men as a buffer between them and nature. Such a mediator becomes an all-powerful method of subordination

that defines the black man and the two women. Let's turn now to look at the white male.

According to Paglia's theory, men have created civilization, and hence are removed from nature. In *Sab*, commerce is what defines society. It is at this juncture that we return to the literary theme mentioned in our first paragraph. Remember that Horace's notion of *beatus ille*, inserted into the Hispanic canon by Fray Luis, comes from *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, meaning "lucky the one who is far from business."⁶⁹ When we look at Enrique, we find he represents a capitalist way of life, a template defined by his being "educado según las reglas de la codicia y especulación..."⁷⁰ His father Jorge works in cahoots with the financial network, money lending only one of his business dealings. When such arrangements fail, he has enough connection to the system to then borrow money.⁷¹ The English Otways would have done well to heed Horace's poem on *Beatus ille*. But the ever-conniving father and son do not seem to have time to read it. Commerce for Enrique is a rational, not a literary enterprise. Before Sab informs him that Carlota has "won" the lottery, he feels impotent because his fondness for Carlota (nature) weakens his resolve to follow the paternal will of his father (civil hierarchy).⁷² It is this conflict that defines the younger Otway's character, whose motivation—unlike that of Sab, Teresa, or Carlota—does not come from within. As Kirkpatrick advises, his "behavior and indeed his emotions are determined from outside—by his father's demand that he abandon Carlota or by the information that Carlota has won a lottery."⁷³ The exteriorization of will in Enrique's character associates European culture with avarice, while distancing both women and black men from an obsession with monetary gain. While such a one-dimensional model is naïve—*i.e.*, both white women and black men can also be greedy when they appropriate moneymaking culture—it does present a generalized framework helpful for understanding the complex Antillean world into which Avellaneda was born. Its various elements comprised the land-owning class (the aristocracy), the merchants (the petit bourgeoisie), and the slaves (feudal peons). Those sectors interacted in ways that still beg to be understood. Of course Avellaneda wanted to paint these different landscapes and the interaction between them, creating Don Carlos, the kindhearted landowner, as an antidote to the romantic cult of oversimplification. Yet most characters in the work tend to represent "good" or "evil," nature or Western civilization. In order to make a statement, the

author reduces to outline form the society that is her referent. This is, of course, why Enrique appears to be so superficial.

Being close to the Occident and existing in a state removed from nature, Enrique cannot have a superior soul. So how can his essence be characterized?

...hay almas superiores sobre la tierra, privilegiadas para el sentimiento y desconocidas de las almas vulgares: almas ricas de afectos, ricas de emociones...para las cuales están reservadas las pasiones terribles, las grandes virtudes, los inmensos pesares y [...] el alma de Enrique no era una de ellas.⁷⁴

Why are Enrique's spiritual capabilities so limited? Given that there is an Erasmist "equidad de la madre común," we can only assume that equality has been violated by society.⁷⁵ This view has been common since the Renaissance, when bondage, for example, came to be seen as a social phenomenon by thinkers as diverse as Sir Thomas More and Bartolomé de las Casas.⁷⁶ As Sab himself writes to Teresa:

He visto siempre que el fuerte oprimía al débil, que el sabio engañaba al ignorante, y que el rico despreciaba al pobre. No he podido encontrar entre los hombres la gran armonía que Dios ha establecido en la naturaleza.⁷⁷

Consequently, he suffers from his terrible struggle between nature and his social destiny.⁷⁸ It is precisely under "survival of the fittest" norms that the injustice of slavery developed. This form of social architecture does not respect the equality of nature, which Erasmus, in his *Praise of Folly* (1510), postulated during the Renaissance.⁷⁹ In fact, when the Erasmist precept that Nature equalizes everything is not appreciated, an abyss is created between the souls of Enrique and Sab. The irony here is that the latter, whose body is limited by bondage, has a venerable soul, while the former, whose body is that of a free man, has a vital force worthy only of pity. The only plausible explanation here is that Enrique's spirit has been corrupted by commerce, reducing his connection to nature. This argument is strengthened when we look at Carlota's father, Don Carlos, where the inverse is true. Although an aristocrat, he has not been sullied by business. Accordingly, his lands do not provide such profit as they once did. Not being tainted by an overzealous entrepreneurial attitude, he is characterized as benevolent, and even egalitarian

(when Sab sits at his table), although we are not provided insight into his inner self.

If voraciousness putrefies Enrique's soul, Sab's retains a direct link with nature. As a matter of fact, this connection is so cogent that at the exact moment when Enrique and Carlota exchange wedding vows—which is to say, at the precise instant that their union becomes sanctioned by Western civilization—Sab's agonizing struggle against death fails and he perishes.⁸⁰ As Percas Ponseti theorizes, the bondsman's perfection is so superhuman, that to achieve it, he has to die.⁸¹ When Enrique and Carlota modify their "Civil" state, and become part of "Civilization," Sab's rejected immaterial essence abandons his body and returns to nature where it belongs.

After the newlyweds integrate themselves into the structure of capitalism, she discovers herself living a very mundane existence, devoid of any spirituality. In the end, her animating force, powered by enthusiasm and illusions, finds itself alone between Jorge and his son Enrique, two men stuck to the earth, not in a natural sense, but for profit.⁸² Carlota, because her love is so great, cannot see until it is too late. She is forcibly detached from her neo-pastoral *locus amoenus* and obliged to confront what Raymond Williams has described as part of the capitalization process, "the utilitarian reduction of all social relationships to a crude moneyed order."⁸³ Carlota's life path, then, represents the passage from a simple rural condition defined by a warmhearted family to an agrarian capitalism in which morals are reduced to the accumulation of wealth. Her elevated soul cannot understand a materialistic life-style such as her husband's. She is not allowed to turn the tide on society, injecting heart and soul into an impersonal civil establishment. Teresa understands Carlota's situation. With empathy, she puts her cousin's feelings into words: she [now] detests the world and men.⁸⁴ This feminist design is not so unique in a New-World reality where colonial and neocolonial mechanisms have been the driving forces.

In *Aves sin nido*, for example, in spite of such positive male models as Juan Yupanqui and Fernando Marín, the three women who open the novel, Marcela Yupanqui, Lucía Marín and Petronila Hinojosa, work against the colonial model for civilization, represented by the cleric and the governor, in favor of a more human proto-Christian model.⁸⁵ Their lofty actions challenge the framework for the naturalist novel, evoking earlier works of romanticism. Yet their ultimate failure is in keeping with European prescriptions for

the genre. These active figures in the Peruvian setting differ from Avellaneda's Teresa, who chooses to retreat away from the battle, and from Carlota who was alone and therefore weak.

Teresa, painted as quite cold-hearted until her secret meeting with Sab at the riverside, finds spiritual happiness within the confines of the "female" convent.⁸⁶ It is here that her virtue becomes stronger, as she resigns herself to her fate.⁸⁷ The resolution of her destiny varies from Carlota's predicament at the end of the novel. Carlota is trapped by a "male" civilization in which Jorge and Enrique Otway manage the Bellavista Cane Farm, usurping the third and fifth parts of her father's estate. They do not allow her to participate in financial matters.⁸⁸ When she rebels against this injustice committed against her younger sisters Enrique sees her as infantile.⁸⁹ The male speculative investors cannot understand her, a natural entity with a compassionate soul.

Both Carlota and her cousin would have both been happier had they been able to live in a luscious nature, on virgin soil, under a magnificent sky, surrounded by all the great works of God, learning to know and love Him.⁹⁰ Teresa's spiritual path, which puts her closer to nature, is a model for Sab. In his letter to her, he thanks her for her generosity, her selflessness and her heroism. He tells her that she is a sublime woman and worthy of imitation.⁹¹ From the slave's perspective, one that parallels closely a woman's, Sab can see a way out. Yet he is not strong enough to leave the island. (Again, because, like the two cousins, he works alone?)

Sab and Teresa are linked to nature in another way. They are both illegitimate children. In Spanish this can be expressed as *hijos naturales*. As such, they are cut out of the patriarchal system and left closer to nature. This linguistic usage coincides with Matto's *naturales* who work the land. Both the slave and the nun are able to find solutions (his ultimate death, her religious vocation), an area in which Carlota fails. Therefore, Sab's adoption by the Earth Mother Martina is especially poignant. As Sommer theorizes, this space that he establishes with Martina "allows him to construct a different 'artificial' order that can recognize his natural legitimacy."⁹² Yet it cannot protect him from the pain of unrequited love.

The novel's message becomes clear as we realize that the more aroused the soul, the closer the communion with nature, yet the lower in social rank the individual becomes.⁹³ As the *élan vital* becomes developed (a process we can observe in Teresa), there is an inverse

movement down the social ladder. It is the superior soul that causes the women and the black man to be exiled to what Garfield calls an "uncivilized space."⁹⁴ Yet the novel is not proposing a binary opposition here. There is also a white man with a superior soul, Don Carlos, Carlota's father. Although we do not come to know him as well as we do our trio of heroes, he is upheld as an ideal figure. His death, when nature claims him from civilization, prohibits his positive force from further protecting his daughters. However, without his death, subsequent events would not unravel.

Again it must be cautioned that Sab's "uncivilized space" described by Garfield is a romantic oversimplification. In history, there is always some form of resistance. Recent research has indicated that there was much feminist activity during Avellaneda's century.⁹⁵ The same can be affirmed for *naturales* and slaves.⁹⁶ Such resistance is a process of adapting and surviving, even if some cultural attributes are lost through transculturation. However, in the novel, these tactics are attenuated by love, a process not so shocking, given the narration's connection to the Romantic Movement. Sab, Teresa and Carlota do not make any Paglian attempt to annex or adapt Western money civilization. Unquestionably, resistance during that time was much more clandestine than today during the postmodern era. In *Sab* it is so covert that it becomes submerged, allowing the novelist to create total victims, necessary for her social criticism. It is the reader's empathy with these victims that creates a sense of outrage that could, in turn, inspire future rebellion. This brings us back to the social theories expressed in the work.

The inverse relationship between soul and social station explains the corruption that surrounds the Otway family and the institution of racial slavery. This is because civil society in *Sab's* novelistic space is based on the pseudo-Darwinist acquisition of wealth, not on "mutual aid." Such a survival-of-the-fittest economic system, a throwback to precivilized peoples, rejects morality, and orients society toward a nonsentient, mechanized process (from whence it came). Human organization based on a social contract is negated. Therefore, the civilization that Avellaneda evokes opposes the one that Paglia offers, where "society is not the criminal but the force which keeps crime in check."⁹⁷ This textual tension is not resolved because if the Otways represent "moral crime," a transgression eschewed by "civilization," the precepts of mutual-aid would require that they be punished. Yet if this were the case, the reader would not be so outraged and the story would not hold meaning.

We must see the two interlopers as they are, so that we may despise them. The father and son get away with impunity, in a manner not unlike the sugar or tobacco *patrón*,⁹⁸ himself historically originating as a newcomer to a strange land. We surmise, therefore, that Avellaneda, a product of nineteenth-century, presuffrage, slave society, arrived at a conclusion much more pessimistic than the one at which Paglia would later reach. Yet this gloomy view does leave an opening, as we do not come to know with certainty the final fate of our heroine, Carlota. The parameters at the novel's end only imply, not certify, that she, not finding a solution, remains trapped. It also behooves us to remember that Sab and Teresa did succeed in finding noble ways out of the cybernetic machine created by the money-hungry British life-style depicted in the novel.

The theme of love, common in the neo-pastoral⁹⁹ is central to the narrative. Sadly, Enrique is never able to free his inner self from a monetary mentality. Furthermore, both Carlota and Sab suffer the pain of unrequited love, a heartache which, for Garfield, reinserts both women and slaves into Hispanic discourse.¹⁰⁰ This theme of forbidden love is common in nineteenth century literature organizing the narrative material of works such as *Cumandá*,¹⁰¹ *Clemencia*,¹⁰² *María* and *Aves sin nido*. In this last one, for example, Manuel and Margarita cannot marry because, in a perverse *anagnórisis*, they find out that they share a father in common. Social norms prohibit incest and they cannot be together. Yet, like Avellaneda's novel, the prohibited relationship in *Aves* represents a criticism of an unjust society. If in *Aves* it shows priestly lasciviousness, not completely unrelated to the theme of avarice among the upper classes, in *Sab* it foregrounds monetary greed.

Finally, it must be argued, that the "nobleness" of Sab, which causes him to die, and the "sadness" of Carlota who cannot love in such a wicked environment, represent a positive model for nation building, the thesis of Sommer's book.¹⁰³ Of course, both Sab and Carlota fail in their idealist quests, he in his death and she in her inability to free herself from a moneymaking culture. Yet both represent a beginning. The spark of interracial love is a very moving and positive milestone. The idea of an elevated soul provides a basis for tolerance, a necessary attribute for a slave society that would later be called multicultural. We see the same ideas in both Isaacs and Matto de Turner. The romantic notion of nature is a pure one, one that characterizes feminine doting in *María*, and the rapture of innocence in *Aves sin nido*, which also, not coincidentally, is interracial.

In *Sab*, the natural soul is a necessary trait that, paradoxically, moves those characters away from their naturally selective roots and closer to a social structure based on mutual aid. Carlota, Teresa and Sab all help each other. Avellaneda's white men, it seems, could learn from them all. It could be argued, therefore, that Avellaneda's book is not so much a general criticism of male culture as it is a rejection of Spanish colonial and British neocolonial practices while at the same time it praises *beatus-ille* nature and mutual aid. Of course the solutions that *Sab* offered were so radical that the novel was banned. Later in 1869, Avellaneda omitted it from her *Complete Works*, not for quality control—as Anthony Castagnaro would have it—¹⁰⁴ but because she knew it was too controversial in colonialist Spain. We could say the work was too "Cuban" for Spanish readers, who at that time were hearing about continued attempts to overthrow both the island's slave and colonial establishments. Yet, in spite of the novel's infrequent publication (it was just printed in Spanish again in 1999, after a lengthy period of being unavailable),¹⁰⁵ the work continues to hypothesize an intriguing difference between nature and civilization.

NOTES

1. This is a revised and expanded version of an article, "Nature and Civilization in *Sab* and the Nineteenth-Century Novel in Latin America," *Hispanófila* 126 (May 1999), 25-40.
2. Among the many see Juan Luis Alborg, *Historia de la literatura Española*, Vol. 4, *El romanticismo* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980), 368-391 y John R. Rosenberg, *The Black Butterfly: Concepts of Spanish Romanticism* (University, MS: Romance Monographs, 1998), 51-63.
3. Alexander Rosello-Selimov, "La verdad vence apariencias: Hacia la ética de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda a través de su prosa," *Hispanic Review* 67.2 (1999), 215-41 and Alexander R. Selimov, *De la ilustración al modernismo: La poética de la cultura romántica en el discurso de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda* (Boulder, CO: Society of Spanish and Spanish-American Studies, 2003).
4. Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895). Multiple works by Herbert Spencer are also helpful in understanding the social implications of Darwinism, among them are *First Principles* (London, 1862) and *Principles of Sociology*, 3 vols (London: 1876-1896).

5. Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (Boston: Extending Horizons Books, n/d).
6. Thomas Ferraro, "A Pornographic Nun: An Interview with Camille Paglia," *Catholic Lives, Contemporary America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 238-258; Roberts, Nora Ruth, "Answering Camille Paglia: The Backlash against the Revolution," *Against the Current* 11:2 (May-June 1996), 43-44.
7. Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae, Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 2.
8. *Ibid.*, 1.
9. *Ibid.*, 2.
10. Carlos J. Alonso, "The Burden of Modernity," *Modern Language Quarterly* 57:2 (June 1996), 227-235; 229.
11. Susan Griffin, *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1978).
12. Paglia, *Sexual Personae*, 7.
13. *Ibid.*, 9.
14. *Ibid.*, 9.
15. Pilar Álvarez-Rubio, "Una conversación con Isabel Allende," *Revista Iberoamericana* 60 (Julio-Diciembre 1994), 1063-1071; 1064.
16. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 21-22.
17. *Ibid.*, 22.
18. The neocolonialist technique leaves intact local governments while at the same time mining a country's economic resources. See Jonathan R. Barton, *A Political Geography of Latin America* (London: Routledge, 1997), 2-3, 53, 56, 61-62.
19. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, ed. Mary Cruz (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973), 199. For readers not fluent in Spanish, English language translations will be included in the footnotes; "a certain harmony between the landscape and the woman, both so young and so beautiful," Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab* and *Autobiography*, trans. and ed. Nina M. Scott (Austin: University of Texas, 1993), 71.
20. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 202; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 72-73.
21. Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 199.
22. *Ibid.*, 199.
23. Sharon Magnarelli, *The Lost Rib: Female Characters in the Spanish-American Novel* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses [Bucknell University Press], 1985), 20-35.
24. Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido* (Lima: Peisa, 1988), 36; a "woman is in general a diamond in the rough, to be polished by man

- and a proper upbringing," Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Torn from the Nest*, tr. John Polt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32.
25. Rosario Castellanos, *El uso de la palabra*, Pro. José Emilio Pacheco (México: Ediciones de Excélsior-Crónicas, 1974), 63; "a diamond in the rough" and a "luxury object," translation mine.
 26. Rosario Castellanos, *Poesía no eres tú: Obra poética, 1948-1971* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972).
 27. Mary G. Berg, "Writing for her Life: The Essays of Clorinda Matto de Turner," *Reinterpreting the Spanish American Essay: Women Writers of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 81.
 28. *Mita* and *reparto* are forms of forced labor.
 29. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie*, ed. Susana Zanetti (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988).
 30. Antonio Cornejo Polar, *Escribir en el aire. Ensayo sobre la heterogeneidad socio-cultural en las literaturas andinas* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994), 131.
 31. Jean Stubbs, "Race, Gender, and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Cuba. Mariana Grajales and the Revolutionary Free Browns of Cuba," *Blacks, Coloureds and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, ed. Nancy Priscilla Naro (London: Institute of Latin American Studies/University of London, 2003), 102.
 32. Franklin W. Knight, "Slavery, Race, and Social Structure in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century," *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, ed. Robert Brent Toplin (New York: Greenwood Press, 1974), 206.
 33. Jan Rogoziski, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present* (New York: Plume, 1999), 144.
 34. Knight, "Slavery, Race, and Social Structure," 207.
 35. Rogoziski, *Brief History of the Caribbean*, 138.
 36. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*, ed. J. B. Avalle-Arce (Salamanca: Editorial Anaya, 1963).
 37. José Servera, "Introducción," *Sab*, by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, ed. José Servera (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), 80.
 38. Susan Kirkpatrick, *Las Románticas: Women Writers and Subjectivity in Spain, 1835-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 153.
 39. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 314; "And if it has been His will that I suffer the terrible conflict between my nature and my destiny...", *Sab and Autobiography*, 143.
 40. Jorge Isaacs, *María*, ed. Daniel Moreno (México: Porrúa, 1980), 6; "The great natural wonders cannot be seen and sung at the same time; they have been made pale by an unfaithful memory and must return to the soul," translation mine.

41. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 191; "In the emotions of spirited and fervent souls there is something akin to a magnetic force which moves and approaches them. In this way an ordinary soul can feel itself lifted up to the level of the superior one with which it has contact, and only when it recedes, when it finds itself alone and back in its accustomed place, can it comprehend that the strange force which moved it and gave it a vitalizing strength came from without," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 66.
42. José Mármol, *Amalia*, ed. Juan Carlos Ghiano (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1974), 102a; "a voluptuous and magnetic influence which subordinates the soul to an empire of indefinable and mysterious enchantment," translation mine.
43. Mármol, *Amalia*; 123a; "the secret fluids of life harmonize two organisms," translation mine.
44. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 269; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 114-115.
45. *Ibid.*, 168; "One act would reduce him to nothing, and that decision is mine... mine, that of the poor slave whom he does not suspect of possessing a soul superior to his own, capable of loving, capable of hating... a soul which might be great and virtuous and at this moment even criminal! Here is the inert body of a man who should never rise again!" *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 50-51.
46. *Ibid.*, 191; "My soul is perhaps not great enough to be filled with the love which I owe you," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 65.
47. *Ibid.*, 294; "his soul was as noble, as elevated as yours, as all noble and elevated souls," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 130.
48. *Ibid.*, 294; "wavered a little... as though his conscience made painful for him a comparison which he well knew was not deserved," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 130.
49. *Ibid.*, 270; "would that impassioned soul have a presentiment to warn her that at that very moment her Enrique was thinking about a way to leave her...," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 115.
50. *Ibid.*, 305; "you have possessed one of those great, ardent souls born for supreme sacrifices, one of those exceptional souls that pass by like God's breath upon the earth," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 138.
51. Hernán Cortés, *Las cartas de relación*, ed. Manuel Alcalá (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1983), 87b, 88b.
52. Ortiz shows how the original Cubans, the Paleolithic Siboneyes, were overcome by the Neolithic Taínos which whom they transculturated. Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, ed. Enrico Mario Santí (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), 256.
53. Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano* 296, 299, 314, 316, and beyond.
54. Ake Hulthkrantz, *The Religions of the American Indians*, trans. Monica Setterwall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 59.

55. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, ed. André Saint-Lu, tercera edición (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987), 92. As with other Renaissance chroniclers (Cortés, Díaz del Castillo), Las Casas doesn't get his spelling right, writing Camaguäy's name as Hatuey.
56. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 202; "and every night the soul of the unhappy chief returns to the fatal hill in the form of a light, to predict to the descendants of his savage murderers the vengeance which sooner or later Heaven will cause to fall upon them," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 73.
57. *Ibid.*, 203-204; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 74.
58. Isaacs, *María*, 92-101.
59. Alexander Selimov has shown a later trend toward a *modernisia* esthetic in the novelist. See his *De la ilustración al modernismo*.
60. Isaacs, *María*, 103a; "savage ire," translation mine.
61. Mármol, *Amalia*, 60b, 69b; "savage fury," "savage happiness," translations mine.
62. Mármol, *Amalia*, for example, 69a.
63. Mármol, *Amalia*, 45a.
64. Helena Percas Ponseti, "Sobre la Avellaneda y su novela *Sab*," *Revista Iberoamericana* 54 (Julio-Diciembre 1962), 347-357; "began being an antislavery novel and ended up being a psychological novel of romantic timbre," translation mine, the quote is from 352.
65. Lucía Guerra, "Estrategias femeninas en la elaboración del sujeto romántico en la obra de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda," *Revista Iberoamericana* 51 (1985), 707-722; see 708-709.
66. Beth Miller, "Gertrude the Great, Avellaneda, Nineteenth-Century Feminist," *Women in Hispanic Literature*, ed. Beth Miller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 209.
67. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 316; "Oh, women! Poor, blind victims! Like slaves, they patiently drag their chains and bow their heads under the yoke of human laws," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 144.
68. Kirkpatrick, *Las Románticas*, 147.
69. Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. Charles E. Bennett (New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, 1976), 165. I am indebted to Thomas McCreight, my colleague in Loyola's Classics Department, for his help in guiding me through Horace's Latin.
70. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 162; "Trained as he was in the ways of covetousness and speculation," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 47.
71. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 150; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 39.
72. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 268; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 113-114.
73. Kirkpatrick, *Las Románticas*, 148.

74. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 164; "that there are loftier souls on the earth who are endowed with feelings unrecognizable to more common ones, souls rich in sentiment, rich in emotions for which are reserved terrible passions, terrible virtues, immense sorrows... and that Enrique's soul was not one of these," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 48.
75. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 243; "equality of our common mother," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 97.
76. See Thomas Ward, "Toward a Concept of Unnatural Slavery during the Renaissance: A Review of Primary and Secondary Sources," *Inter-American Review of Bibliography* 42.2 (1992), 259-279.
77. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 310; "I have always observed that the strong man, oppressed the weak one, that the clever cheated the ignorant, and that the rich disdained the poor. Among men I have failed to find the great harmony that God has established in nature," *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 141.
78. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 314; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 143.
79. Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, ed. and trans. Clarence M. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 35.
80. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 287, 288; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 126.
81. Percas Ponseti, "Sobre la Avellaneda," 354.
82. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 304; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 137. The word that Avellaneda uses for "profit" here is positivism. I would tend to agree with Mary Cruz's assessment that she was not familiar with August Comte's positive philosophy. If she had heard of it, she did not appropriate its tenets as did other authors of her time.
83. Williams, *The Country and the City*, 35.
84. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 305; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 137.
85. Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido*, 14-37; *Torn from the Nest*, 12-25. The proto-Christianity which Matto de Turner presents here may have been derived from her association with Manuel Gonzalez Prada. For the latter's understanding of this concept, see Thomas Ward, *La anarquía inmanentista de Manuel González Prada* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 9-83.
86. The idea of a nun finding a space for personal fulfillment in a colonial world is a common one in Hispanic intellectual culture. A good place to begin to understand this phenomenon would be Marie-Cecile Benassy Berling's "Los conventos de mujeres en México," in her *Humanismo y religión en Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1983), 36-55.
87. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 301; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 135.
88. This theme continues to repeat itself in literature, appearing in our time in the work of Isabel Allende. In *Casa de los espíritus* (1982), we see Blanca's father work out a business arrangement with her husband

(in an arranged marriage) in which "ella no tenía nada que decir," Isabel Allende, *Casa de los espíritus* (New York: HarperLibros, 1995), 262. Blanca's husband, a count, explains that the family finances are "responsabilidades propiamente masculinas y que ella no tenía necesidad de llenar su cabecita de gorrión con problemas que no estaba en capacidad de comprender," Allende, *Casa de los espíritus*, 268. In reality the theme of nature and civilization, men and women, is fundamental to *Casa de los espíritus*. The native Chilean Pedro García can talk to ants (non-Western) and when businessman Esteban Trueba (Blanca's father) passes by, "huían los animales domésticos y las plantas se ponían mustias," Allende, *Casa de los espíritus*, 283. Perhaps this relationship in Allende can be studied more thoroughly at another opportunity.

89. Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, 303; *Sab* and *Autobiography*, 136-137.
90. *Ibid.*, *Sab*, 306; *Ibid.*, 138.
91. *Ibid.*, 308; *Ibid.*, 140.
92. Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*, 119.
93. See Kirkpatrick, *Las Románticas*, 149.
94. Evelyn Picon Garfield, *Poder y sexualidad: El discurso de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993), 62.
95. See Doris Meyer, ed., *Reinterpreting the Spanish American Essay: Women Writers of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).
96. On slave resistance see Franklin W. Knight, "The Disintegration of the Caribbean Slave Systems, 1772-1886," in Franklin W. Knight, ed., *General History of the Caribbean*, Vol. 3, *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean* (London: UNESCO, Macmillan 1997), 322-345.
97. Paglia, *Sexual Personae*, 2.
98. The best study of this system is still Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*.
99. Williams, *The Country and the City*, 20-26.
100. Evelyn Picon Garfield, "La historia recodificada en el discurso de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda," *INTI: Revista de Literatura Hispánica* 40-41 (Otoño 1994-Primavera 1995), 75-91; the quote is from 75.
101. Juan León Mera, *Cumandá*, ed. Ángel Esteban (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998).
102. Ignacio M. Altamirano, *Clemencia, Cuentos de invierno* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1991).
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