

MISCEGENATION, THE WHITE AESTHETIC AND THE CUBAN ANTISLAVERY NOVEL

Late in the nineteenth century the scientific jury in Cuba was still out in the question of the fitness of the product of interracial unions. What was not in doubt was that for the mixture to be judged successful, the so-called black element had to disappear. The devaluated black element could contribute nothing of benefit to the final product—it either remained a factor, in which case it caused irreparable damage to the offspring, or it ceded ground to the white element, thereby increasing the offspring's chances for success. The desired outcome, therefore, was the elimination of blackness, the immediate or progressive whitening of the progeny of interracial relationships.

The views about miscegenation (*mestizaje*) expressed by members of the scientific community reflected to a great extent conventional societal prejudices, and given the growing authority and legitimacy of science in the nineteenth century, such prejudices were reinforced. The prevailing attitudes regarding miscegenation, while expressed clearly and directly by the scientific community which had taken up its study, were not exclusive to science. Indeed, Cuban writers took up the question in a series of novels, albeit in a more circuitous way. These works, which have mulatto characters as central figures, offer the careful reader a broad critique of the results of miscegenation.

In this essay I wish to outline the attitudes of the scientific and literary communities on race mixing, a fair bell weather of the positions of white elites in general. This essay will highlight first and briefly the general thrust of research on miscegenation conducted in the scientific community. The scientific discourse on race is important because racist language had become more "scientific," and often provided the foundation for the racialist opinions of non-scientists. It is often difficult to distinguish scientists from non-scientists in this period as disciplinary specialization occurred relatively late in Spanish America. In many cases, what we have are the pronouncements of learned men whose instruction often encompassed a dizzying variety of fields.¹ Consequently, this section will focus its attention on the writings and declarations of those leading intellectuals conversant with contemporary theory of miscegenation. The studies and discussions which took place in the scientific community will help to provide a comparative context for the second part of this essay which will examine the depiction of the mulatto in the Cuban antislavery novel.

¹ José Antonio Saco, for example, studied law and philosophy, wrote often about education, agriculture, and slavery, but also occupied the Chair of Physical Sciences at the Seminario de San Carlos, studied chemistry at the Sorbonne in 1835, and wrote articles of a scientific nature. He was also named honorary Academician of the Real Academia de Ciencias Médicas, Físicas y Naturales de La Habana.

Concern over the racial composition of Cuba was pervasive in the nineteenth century, and tied throughout to the imperatives and needs of the sugar industry. As greater and greater quantities of blacks were introduced early in the nineteenth century to meet the labor requirements of the sugar plantations, which were experiencing phenomenal growth, white Cubans began to fear that Cuba might suffer the same fate as Saint Domingue-Haiti. On the one hand, they feared the loss of their property and possibly their lives in a race war; on the other hand, they were concerned about Cuba's prospects for progress with a racially heterogeneous population. *Blanqueamiento*, or whitening, then became the goal. The whitening of the populace could occur in three fundamental ways, or through their combination: blacks could be deported; white immigration could be fostered, and the immigration of blacks discouraged or made illegal; and finally, biological whitening could take place over time. It must be added, however, that miscegenation was not only debated for its putative relative merits or demerits as a solution to the existence in the same territory of two races viewed as dissimilar and incompatible, but because it was a *fait accompli*, however incomplete: race mixing had become a reality in Cuba, and the mulatto as a physical presence had to be accommodated in the Cuban imaginary.

Cuban scientists became keenly aware of this reality and took up the issue of *mestizaje*—as well as that of race—with an urgency and disquiet characteristic of questions of “national” importance. On October 7, 1877, the Anthropological Society of the Island of Cuba was founded. *Mestizaje*, along with the examination of specific racial differences, constituted two fundamental motives for its creation. Both were subjects of deep interest to anthropological societies everywhere, but of immediate interest to white Cubans because of the racial composition of the island, as Felipe Poey, arguably Cuba's most esteemed scientist, remarked in his Presidential address at the inauguration of the Anthropological Society in 1877:

Nuestra posición social y política nos permite estudiar cumplidamente, bajo el aspecto físico, moral e intelectual, dos razas humanas, la africana y la mongólica, y además, los numerosos mestizos que provienen de los cruzamientos de ambos con la raza blanca [...] que la naciente Sociedad debe fijar su principal y casi exclusiva atención en los problemas antropológicos locales.²

Enrique José Varona, cognizant of the function of the society and the wonderful laboratory for study that Cuba represented, could not help but lament the inherent social evil represented by both the coexistence of whites and blacks in the same territory, and their mixture:

² Felipe Poey y Aloy, “Presidential Address to Anthropological Society at its inauguration-1877,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Antropológica de la Isla de Cuba*, 1 (1877), 7-9; p.8.

[...] haciendo así fructuoso para la ciencia un hecho tan lamentable en la esfera social. Que hartos sabidas eran por los ilustrados miembros de la Sociedad las diversas teorías que aún están en pugna con motivo del cruzamiento; teorías de importancia suma, como que miran nada menos que a resolver el grave problema del contacto de las razas y la ascensión de las inferiores en la escala de la cultura.³

Cuba was a laboratory, and its non-white inhabitants were the focus of study, and since racial mixing was indeed taking place, it became imperative to determine whether or not such mixing should be encouraged or discouraged. Theorists of corrective *mestizaje*—crossbreeding in which the white element prevails in the mixture—saw biological amalgamation as a long-term solution to the presence of blacks on the island. Francisco de Arango y Parreño, the owner of the island's largest sugar plantation, believed that blacks could be made white over time, given that “el color negro cede al blanco, y que desaparece si se repiten las mezclas de ambas razas.”⁴ He proposed the establishment of a breeding colony composed “por mitad, de labradores traídos en derecho de Europa, y de gente de color honradas, cuidando de que todas las hembras fuesen de la última especie, y estableciendo de hecho la mayor igualdad en los colonos.”⁵ José Antonio Saco, early disciple of Arango y Parreño, proposed interracial marriage as a solution to the “color” problem:

El gran mal de la isla de Cuba consiste en la inmovilidad de la raza negra que conservando siempre su color y origen primitivo, se mantiene separada de la blanca por una barrera impenetrable; pero póngasela en marcha, crúcesela con la otra raza; déjesela proseguir su movimiento y entonces aquella barrera se irá rompiendo por grados, hasta que al fin desaparezca.⁶

Most theorists, however, deprecated such intermixing as utterly prejudicial to the offspring, and by extension to Cuban society. *Mestizaje*, according to J.R. Montalvo, should be avoided, he writes, because “no constituye nunca un evidente bien público.”⁷ Arístides Mestre, for his part, asserted that superior

³ Enrique José Varona, *Boletín de la Sociedad Antropológica de la Isla de Cuba*, 1 (1879), 98-102; p.101.

⁴ Francisco de Arango y Parreño, *Obras*, Havana: Howson y Heinen, 1888, vol. 2; p.376.

⁵ Francisco Arango y Parreño, *ibid*; p. 654. Arango's motives, however, have been characterized as less than humanitarian: His interest was to engineer a low-cost proletariat of white and black workers which required that the stigma of slavery and black inferiority be eliminated; because of fears of a slave revolt, to create a larger mulatto class which would ally itself with whites against black slaves. For this analysis, see chapter 6 of Manuel Moreno Fraginal's master work, *El ingenio: complejo económico social cubano del azúcar*, 3 vols. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978; and the chapter 10 of Raúl Cepero Bonilla's *Azúcar y Abolición*, Ed. Fernando Rico Galán, Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1971.

⁶ José Antonio Saco, *Carta de un cubano a un amigo suyo*, Sevilla, Imprenta de J. Gómez, 1847; pp 39-40.

⁷ José R. Montalvo, “El problema de la inmigración en Cuba”, *Revista Cubana*, 8 (1888), 524-536; p. 526.

races would generate when in contact with inferior races, and following the example of Herbert Spencer, cited Mexico and South America as examples where this had taken place: "por el contacto de las razas inferiores, retroceden las superiores. En Méjico, según dice Letourneau, en la América del Sur y en las islas Fidji, los europeos han vuelto a un estado salvaje."⁸ That unlike races could not mix fruitfully was very apparent to the journalists Conte and Capmany: "pero, tratándose como se trata de caucásicos y etiípicos, la mezcla es imposible, puesto que ni aun por medio del cruzamiento continuado y científico, puede lograrse la desaparición total de una de las dos razas en provecho de la otra."⁹

So while mixing with blacks was generally viewed with disfavor on a theoretical level—white purity, after all, was the preferred circumstance—, in Cuba, given such widespread race mixture, a biological and demographic fact, the overriding social and political concern was to control the damage, and most importantly, to dilute the prejudicial black element. In a country that could allege a pure racial lineage, things might have been different. So while, generally speaking, miscegenation was not viewed positively, there was, nevertheless, a tendency on the part of some thinkers to discount or mitigate those theories which were more absolute in their apocalyptic censure of the crossing of races. Thus, whitening through mixing, as we earlier saw in the cases of Arango y Parreño and Saco, became one important strategy—"hope" might be more appropriate, since these relationships could not be mandated—for controlling and ultimately "eliminating" the black element. A second strategy was an immigration policy which prohibited black immigration and encouraged white immigration, a policy with a long tradition of support which dated back to the early reform movements. Enrique José Varona had described the crossing of diverse races as "a lamentable fact in the social sphere," yet however lamentable, it did not prevent him from characterizing Count Arthur de Gobineau's—author of *The Inequality of the Races* (1853-1854)—more categorical pessimism about race mixing according to which "todo cruzamiento es funesto a la raza superior, sin que por ello sea provechoso a la inferior," as "doctrina exagerada."¹⁰ Varona countered with his own opinion which assured that "la mezcla de dos razas desiguales tiende a eliminar la inferior, trayendo poco a poco sus descendientes a la masa común de la superior."¹¹ Gustavo Enrique Mustelier, author of a short book entitled *La extinción del negro*, also maintained that whites demonstrated greater ethnic resistance in a union of black and white.

⁸ Aristides Mestre, "La política moderna y la ciencia antropológica", *Revista Cubana* 6, (1887), 289-303; p. 303.

⁹ Rafael Conte and José M. Capmany, *Guerra de razas: negros contra blancos en Cuba*, Habana, Imprenta Militar de Antonio Pérez, 1912; p. 9.

¹⁰ Enrique José Varona, *op. cit.*; p. 101.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Rather than producing a degraded offspring, the union would merely eliminate the black element. Since the races in Cuba do not avoid interracial sexual relations, he concluded hopefully that “de un modo inconsciente se propende así a la extinción del negro.”¹² Within a century, he assured his readers, the black race will have disappeared “por acción natural biológica y social, de nuestro ambiente. Quedará relegada a lo legendario y se hablará del negro como de una cosa que ya fue, inactual y extinguida.”¹³ Mustelier, like so many others towards the end of the century, was a firm devotee of social Darwinism.

The so-called scientific discourse, laden with anxiety about the black element, clearly reveals the underlying racist biases of the social environment. An index of the unease with which the dominant culture marked out a space for non-whites can be readily observed in the curious anthropological study conducted in 1899 by a commission composed of three of Cuba's most prominent anthropologists (José R. Montalvo, Carlos de la Torre, Luis Montané) of the skull of Antonio Maceo, mulatto hero of the Cuban wars of Independence from Spain.¹⁴

Antonio Maceo was a historical figure whose place in Cuban history clearly troubled elite whites. On the one hand, Maceo had achieved near legendary stature as an incorruptible, peerless general and soldier in the independence struggles. His historical contribution, therefore, could not be overlooked. On the other hand, he was a mulatto in a country riddled with radical division which was undergoing a continual and increasingly more determined process of self-analysis in its quest for a foundation for national identity.

In the study of Maceo's skull, the Commission set out to determine his race, or more precisely, the greater or lesser influence in Maceo of the white and black element. The investigators did not limit themselves to the skull of Maceo, as they measured many of the bones in his body, and the proportions of some to others. Based primarily on the bodily measurements—excluding the skull—the Commission reached the preliminary conclusion that Maceo belonged to the black race. However, the various measurements of the head yielded numbers which placed Maceo, in some instances, well beyond the white averages. The Commission's final conclusion contains something of a hedge on race, a veiled allusion to the battlefield as a limiting arena, followed by a resounding endorsement of the capacities of Antonio Maceo as an individual: “Que dada la raza a que pertenecía, y el medio en el cual se ejercitó y desarrolló sus

¹² Gustavo Enrique Mustelier, *La extinción del negro*, Havana, Imprenta de Rambla, Bouza y Ca., 1912; p. 63.

¹³ Gustavo Enrique Mustelier, *ibid.*; pp. 63-64.

¹⁴ José R. Montalvo, Carlos de la Torre and Luis Montané, “El cráneo de Antonio Maceo (Estudio antropológico),” *Revista de medicina y cirugía de La Habana*, 20 (1897-1899), 390-401. As ethnography gave way to anthropology, so mere observation gave way to body measurements, and particularly, measurements of the brain and skull, which had become a popular means of quantifying differences between the races.

actividades, Antonio Maceo, puede con perfecto derecho ser considerado como *un hombre realmente superior*.”¹⁵ This conclusion had already been previewed on the third page of this document which lays out the contingent consequences of race mixture:

Recordemos en fin como preludio, que Antonio Maceo era un mestizo; que el cruzamiento del blanco y del negro, crea un grupo ventajoso, cuando la influencia del primero predomina; pero un grupo inferior cuando las dos influencias se equilibran, y con mayor razón cuando la negra lleva en ello ventaja.¹⁶

Clearly, Maceo was judged a worthy hero precisely because the white element was found to predominate in his make-up.

This preoccupation with miscegenation and its consequences which was patent in the pronouncements of Cuba's economic and intellectual elites, and which was one of the principal lines of research of Cuban anthropologists, could not and did not escape the attention of Cuba's novelists. The novel in Cuba was born at a time when Cuban reformists had begun to criticize, albeit timidly, the slave trade and the institution of slavery. Cuba's first novels, therefore, were antislavery works, almost all of which issued, directly or indirectly, from the literary group organized and hosted by Domingo del Monte y Aponte. Del Monte is known primarily for his role as promoter of an incipient "Cuban" literature and mentor to many of the island's young writers. His home in Havana became a center for reformist intellectuals from 1833 to 1843; there Del Monte promoted and encouraged the writing of antislavery literature. The novel *Francisco*, written by Ansemo Suárez y Romero, was written at the request of Del Monte, as was the *Autobiografía* of the slave poet Juan Francisco Manzano.

Since this literature had as its focal point a particularly "Cuban" reality, these novels possess documentary and "costumbrista" features; the mulatto, a real, physical presence in Cuba, became a literary presence. And while miscegenation is not, strictly speaking, the thematic center or focus in these novels as it was in the writings of the scientific community which specifically targeted its study, it becomes a weighty presence if we follow the symbolic treatment of the principal mulatto protagonists in these antislavery novels.

The mulatto character was troubling to these authors, and difficult to stage in their works. The clear distinctions which inhered in racial typologies became difficult to maintain with the irruption of intermediate and indeterminate figures. These novels, in my estimation, offer an unconscious critique of miscegenation. The gaze of the writer is like that of the anthropologist, as it separates out the contributing elements. If the scientific community judged the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; p. 401.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; p.391.

product of miscegenation to be hampered to the degree that the contribution of the "black" element was visible or present, so too do these novels limit the mulatto because of a traceable "blackness." To the extent that "black" markers are discovered in the mulatto, his or her disadvantage is not merely the result of this negative perception by whites, but rather a disadvantage which is treated novelistically as an essentialized limiting blackness. With an advanced white aesthetic at work, "blackness" is devalued. It is in the description of our mulatto protagonists that we will see revealed the respective contributions of the "white" and "black" elements, and the textual derision of the latter's contribution to the mixture. And this is true in spite of the largely humanitarian and propagandistic aims of these novels. Even if we accept the notion that these novels do indeed denounce slavery, one should not equate a denunciation of slavery with a concomitant belief in social and racial equality. The basis of the distinctions which will adhere in the women mulatto protagonists is aesthetic. They are split apart, and their beauty and allure reconstructed: to the sexual, raw, primitive "black" body is added the phenotype and color which is conventionally associated with "white" women, so that these women are at one and the same time beautiful and destructively attractive and bewitching. This compound is not judged to be healthy. In the descriptions there will always be some aspect of this beauty which gives them away. Also, by creating a space of privilege for these protagonists based on these racial distinctions, these novels illustrate the great extent to which whites believed in the fixedness of racial characteristics and distinctions. The lone mulatto male protagonist—Sab—, for his part, receives somewhat different treatment. While aesthetic distinctions are also present in this novel, in the description of the protagonist the terms are concerned less with beauty and allure, than with other negative imagery. Given the important fact that all of these novels deal with interracial relationships, or in the case of Sab his desire for a white woman, it is not surprising that the description does not focus on beauty if one considers the traditional censure of relationships between black men and white women. The fascination with this character, which is implicit in the description, is however, very evident.

In this exploration of the symbolic significance of the mulatto literary protagonist I will examine the major novels of the antislavery genre: *Petrona y Rosalía* (1838), by Félix Tanco y Bosmeniel, *Francisco* (1839), by Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *El negro Francisco* (1873), by Antonio Zambrana, *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), by Cirilio Villaverde, and *Sab* (1841), by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda.¹⁷

¹⁷ Félix Tanco y Bosmeniel, *Petrona y Rosalía*, Havana, Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1980. Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco: el ingenio o las delicias del campo*, Havana, Instituto del libro, 1970. Antonio Zambrana, *El negro Francisco: novela de costumbres cubanas*, Ed. and prolog., Juan J. Remos, Havana, Imp. P. Fernández, 1953. Cirilio Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés: o la loma del ángel*, New York, Imp. De "El Espejo," 1882. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, Introd. Carmen Bravo-Villasante, Salamanca, Eds. Anaya, 1970.

In all the novels to be studied at least one of the main characters is mulatto. With the exception of Sab, the character in the novel by the same name, the main mulatto protagonists are women. Consequently, I will treat these novels as a group sharing similar characteristics. After analysing the mulatto women figures (*mulatas*). I will turn to Sab.

Tanco's *Patrona y Rosalía* is a work which illustrates the cruelty and sexual exploitation that often occurred under slavery, a theme which, with the exception of Villaverde's novel, is repeated in the other works. The sexual terrorization of the slave protagonists is repeated in successive generations as Rosalía—the mulatto slave offspring of the relations between Petrona, her mother, and don Antonio, her white master—is forced to re-enact her mother's story as she submits to her own young master. At the end of this short novel which underscores the moral corruption and cruelty of the white planter class, Petrona dies on the plantation, followed shortly after by Rosalía who dies along with her son while giving birth to him.

In Anselmo Suárez y Romero's *Francisco*, the *mulata* domestic slave Dorotea, who is in love with the African slave Francisco, and with whom she has a child, is forced to give in to Ricardo, her young master, in order to save Francisco who is being systematically tortured by Ricardo. The novel ends in tragedy as Francisco commits suicide. Dorotea, for her part, wastes away and dies a few years later.

In Zambrana's *El negro Francisco*, whose plot mirrors that Suárez y Romero's work, the mulatto domestic slave Camila who wishes to marry the African slave Francisco, is forced to have sexual relations with Carlos, her master's son. Carlos has Francisco whipped in order to force Camila's submission. This novel ends, like its predecessor, with Francisco's suicide. Camila, the narrator tells us, went crazy and died.

Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* is not centered around the plight of slave protagonists. Cecilia Valdés is a free mulatta who wishes to improve her social standing, and consequently wishes to marry a white man. She pursues a relationship with Leonardo Gamboa, the wealthy Creole son of a Spanish slave trader and sugar plantation owner, who, for his part [Leonardo's], is passionately interested in Cecilia. The relationship is exploitative as Leonardo has no intention of marrying Cecilia. This novel too ends in tragedy: during his wedding to a wealthy white woman, Leonardo is murdered by José Dolores, a jealous mulatto suitor of Cecilia; and Cecilia is sentenced to one year of confinement in the Hospital de Paula.

As has been noted, all of these women characters are mulatto. These novels insist upon racial description. The characters do not only have names; they are of a particular color or race, with distinctive phenotypes, all gestures intended to provide meaning. The significance, for instance, of a high forehead or "regular" features, is that within the aesthetic code of the time they were

signs of beauty, and such signs were also encoded racially. A high forehead and regular features were typically associated with a "white" phenotype. So what, if any, is the significance of these *mulatas*, that is to say, these biological hybrids of black and white, as objects of sexual desire of their white masters or suitor?

The *mulata* figure in Cuba had become highly eroticized and fetishized in the nineteenth century. "Cuban novelists," Vera Kutzinski asserts in *Sugar's Secrets: Race and Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*, "were particularly fascinated by women of ambiguous racial origin," –yet in contrast to U.S. fiction where the "tragic-*mulatta* possessed none of the lasciviousness associated in the popular imagination with her race, some Cuban writers, including Villaverde, created a rather different female type."¹⁸

Before beginning the analysis of the novels, it would be instructive here to briefly describe a poem by Francisco Muñoz del Monte entitled "La mulata," because it provides one major example of the kind of eroticisation that the *mulata* figure received in nineteenth century Cuban popular culture and literature. Kutzinski comments on this poem, and compares the descriptive imagery of the poem's *mulata* with the imagery found in the description of the Cecilia Valdés in Villaverde's novel. In Muñoz del Monte's poem, the poet presents the reader with a nameless, generic *mulata*. This generic *mulata* is caricatured, and as Kutzinski argues, Muñoz "draws liberally on all the 'filthy materiality' and unbridled feminine sexuality archetypically associated with witches, freaks, prostitutes, and, since the early nineteenth century, with black women."¹⁹ The *mulata* is portrayed as perversely irresistible, a diabolical man-eater, absolutely aware of her charms. In the *mulata*, in her very makeup, are the conflicting forces of barbarism and civilization. "White women, that is, those of *known* 'purity of blood and hence of social standing,'" Kutzinski reminds us, "were, almost by definition, exempt from such sexualization."²⁰ Nevertheless, while it is true that the materiality, the sexuality of the *mulatta*, comes from her "blackness," she is not black, although this of course is the limiting feature, the element which poisons the mixture for any social good. This social good, the possibility that this hybrid could contribute to Cuba's progress and prosperity, is precluded for biological reasons: The perfect *mulata*, or even the quadroon, is fatefully flawed, and it is the trace of blackness which is always present, in one way or another, to rear its ugly head and frustrate his or her chances for success, and by extension those of Cuba. And to the degree that the hybrid is

¹⁸ Vera Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*, Charlottesville, UP of Virginia, 1993; pp. 21-22. Chapter one of Kutzinski's book, to my mind, is the most interesting study to date of the fetishization of the "mulatta" body. In addition to Muñoz's poem, Kutzinski analyzes Villaverde's in: *Cecilia Valdés*. I rely heavily on the notion of "filthy materiality" which was projected onto the body of the *mulatta*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; p. 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; p.30.

found wanting, we have a condemnation of miscegenation.

The mulatta is a new construct, a new "species," if you will. The mulatta is white, and her "beauty" resides here, in her "non-blackness"; yet she is also black, and it is the gross materiality associated with this half, which makes her sexually irresistible. This kind of split representation is perceptible to a greater or lesser extent in all of the novels to be examined. Proceeding in chronological order, this divided representation will trace a crescendo, becoming more pronounced in the later works, perhaps in sync with science as more and more of the social world comes under the scrutiny of science and its growing epistemological authority; race science also grew increasingly more racist as slavery began to decay as a viable institution, with abolition decreed in Cuba finally in 1886.

In *Petrona y Rosalía* (1838), when Rosalía is born, the narrator tells us that Petrona "dio a la luz una niña, una niña no, sino una mulatica."²¹ The narrator's act of self-correction is curious. While it would be perhaps excessive to infer that the implication is that Rosalía somehow is not a child, or that echoing the etymology of the word mulatto—and as some early naturalists who considered "races" to be similar to distinct species—, the white and black "races" or "species" could only produce this odd, perhaps even sterile offspring, one must, nevertheless, note the sense of strangeness, an uncertainty or incongruity attached to the offspring. This incongruity notwithstanding, what is equally worthy of note is the impulse to underscore racial distinctions. Several pages later, the reader is reminded about Rosalía's racial identity: "Nació esta pobre niña, o esta mulatica."²² These racial distinctions adhere throughout as Petrona, for her part, is always described as *la negra*.

Certainly, to note external markers like skin color and other distinguishing traits is not, in and of itself, necessarily problematic. In nineteenth-century Cuba, however, these external markers were signs which signified a racial content. Although there is little description of Petrona, as a generic *negra*, she is described as having the natural strength of her race: "La natural fortaleza de Petrona, como la de todos los de su raza, le hizo triunfar de los trabajos."²³ Rosalía, for her part, "se crió sana y con cierta robustez natural."²⁴ The use of "cierta" suggests that while she inherits the natural robustness associated with the black "race," it is mitigated somewhat, for she is not a product exclusively of black parents. What she does possess are certain traits which are attributed to her "class," her race, which here means mulatta, not black: "Una gracia particular a las de su clase se advirtió en ella a los seis años, principalmente

²¹ Félix Tanco y Bosmeniel, *op. cit.*; p. 10.

²² *Ibid.*; p. 17.

²³ *Ibid.*; p. 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; p.17.

en sus ojos negros y largas pestañas llenos de una viveza seductora [...]”²⁵ This seductiveness is natural, involuntary: “ninguna coquetería ni desenvoltura en sus movimientos fáciles y seductores [...] todo en ella era obra de la naturaleza.”²⁶ Rosalía is seductive, but it is a seductiveness of which she is not the agent. She is not a seductress. It is a purely natural phenomenon which is associated with her “class,” her *mulatez*. This is a leitmotif in all of these works. Our *mulatas* share a natural, physical, earthly allure which they can accentuate, but which they cannot attenuate. Against her will, she will become the victim of white male desire. The mulatta was, however, as a biological hybrid, often endowed with what could be described as “white” beauty—that is to say, features conventionally associated with white women—yet animated by an essence, a materality that could be described as originating in the black mother, and which acts as a drag on the final product, in the sense that this rawness or elementality cannot receive social approval. The mulatta’s biology predetermines her social position. However beautiful, she is not white, and it is the imputation of this fateful attractiveness, this excess, which prescribes her limits and seals her fate. One must note also that she is not black either, and for that reason she has this privileged aesthetic position. But again, as a commentary on miscegenation, these mulattas, while neither black nor white, or conversely, both black and white, should be seen as representing a poor result because of the proportional weight assigned to each element in the mix. This is not merely question of generations of crossing, because even the quadroon (Camila)—although perhaps more beautiful still—is similarly marked and disabled by the black element. Then there is the purely aesthetic question which needs to be addressed, and that is that to the degree that the standard for “beauty” is white, blackness, at least aesthetically, is devalued.

Like Rosalía, Suárez y Romero’s Dorotea is not a conscious agent in her own downfall. Of Dorotea, Lorna Williams writes: “[She] embodies the black woman whose sexual allure places her outside the boundaries of social legitimacy.”²⁷ This is true. Dorotea, however, if she is a hybrid, an intermediate figure, both socially and biologically, then it seems more appropriate to emphasize the expression of hybridity. Dorotea is a mulatta; as such, she was a suitable figure to inspire both the passion of her social superior, Ricardo, and her social inferior, Francisco. The narrator always refers to Dorotea as “la mulata,” and tells us her origin: “Había en la casa una mulata criolla, hija de la negra que diera de mamar a Ricardo, que a causa de su peregrina hermosura...”²⁸ Her beauty is peculiar, not associable with either of the traditional

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*; p. 21.

²⁷ Lorna Williams, “From Dusky Venus to Mater Dolorosa: The Female Protagonist in the Cuban Antislavery Novel”, *Woman as Myth and Metaphor in Latin American Literature*, eds Carmelo Virgilio and Naomi Lindstrom, Columbia, U of Missouri P, 1985; 121-135; p. 128.

²⁸ Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *op. cit.*; p. 45.

racial poles. She is Ricardo's "hermana de leche," and through this suggestion of the incest taboo, the impurity of their relations takes on a significance that goes beyond Ricardo's willful abuse of power. Still, there is little of the detailed physical description of Dorotea that is to be seen in Zambrana's rendering of Camila in his rewriting of Suárez y Romero's novel, or in Villaverde's portrait of Cecilia Valdés.

Antonio Zambrana's Camila, while conforming much like Dorotea to the standards of nineteenth-century womanhood, is nevertheless fatefully bound by the way her uniquely mulatta body is perceived by white males. Camila, for her part, when first presented, is described as being "de sorprendente hermosura." She is seated at the feet of her mistress, in a way that a cat would imitate. This "delicado producto de la civilización" is counterposed to Francisco, "esa extraña creación de la selva."²⁹ Zambrana describes the "type": "la mulata hija de blanco es, como tipo físico, una maravilla que trae a la memoria las sirenas de la leyenda; la mujer en que se encarna bien posee un don superior [...] Camila poesía la mayor pompa y el mayor encanto que son dables en el tipo."³⁰ What is striking about this "type," it may be presumed, is that it is neither white nor black. This "sirena," this fascinatingly seductive creature, is nevertheless innocent, a virgin. Then, Zambrana begins a descriptive litany, which while not as prosaic or obvious as Muñoz del Monte's description of the type, contains a similar dependence on the kind of gross materiality, the seductive physicality of this particular mulatta who we have already been told is the most complete embodiment of the mulata type. There is a disjunction between Camila's "soul" and her corporeal presence. I will transcribe most of the passage because it is instructive:

Con un alma semejante, Camila debió tener otro género de belleza. Su cuerpo parecía una hechicera equivocación del destino. Quien hubiera conocido sólo su pensamiento hubiera sospechado que era una de esas suaves, casi etéreas, casi transparentes bellidades del norte, cuyo pálido semblante está preparado para el éxtasis, y cuyos ojos copian, no sólo el color sino la vaguedad y la serenidad de los cielos.

¡Qué tipo tan distinto era el suyo! Había en ella no lo que causa la suave embriaguez de su alma, sino lo que enciende la delirante embriaguez de los sentidos. La morbidez de sus formas, la felina gracia de sus movimientos, su palpitante seno, sus labios hechos para el beso más que para la palabra, su voz en cuyos tonos se adivinaba esa dulce flexibilidad que hace tan ardientes las caricias del lenguaje; su profusa y ondulante cabellera, su talle, que tenía el imprevisto repliegue de la serpiente, y sobre todo sus ojos, sus negros, húmedos y lánguidos ojos, que parecían contener apasionadas y misteriosas promesas: todo hacía de ella la Venus radiante y espléndida de quien se enamora la materia y no la psiquis, entrevista más bien que contemplada, de que se enamora el espíritu.

El traje no encubría ninguno de esos peligrosos hechizos. El velo que sobre ellos echaba servía sólo para irritar el deseo de descubrirlos.

²⁹ Antonio Zambrana; *op. cit.*; p. 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; p. 20.

En la atmósfera de aquella mujer había una electricidad venenosa. El más austero no podía mirarla impunemente. ¡Y qué horrible angustia la del que vive en la severa abstención de todo lo que no sea una emoción purísima y tropieza con una de esas hermosuras ante las cuales sentimos arder en nuestras venas la llama de la sensación y non el divino calor del sentimiento!

Pero para Camila el tormento era más duro. Hubiera querido ser el ángel de las inspiraciones inmaculadas, y era el demonio de los ensueños culpables; hubiera querido ser la imagen de la castidad, y era la estatua de la tentación. Lo era a su pesar, y sin poder evitarlo, y cuando quería imprimir a su rostro la expresión de la pureza y a su cuerpo la actitud de la inocencia, había tal resplandor en la dulzura de su mirada y tal lujo de formas, tal vigor escultural en los contornos, que en vez de ser una ninfa era una bacante; y su gesto, pensando para no producir sino piadosa ternura, se convertía en una emboscada hecha para sorprender a las almas en torno suyo y precipitarlas en la convulsión del apetito.³¹

Camila is the victim of her *mulatez*. Camila's beauty is white, her sexual magnetism is black. This is the disjunction. Her body becomes the site of male carnal fantasies. She is an involuntary temptress of men. Note the biblical and classical references—the serpent and poison, the siren, Venus, etc. Zambrana directly contrasted this type to the “beldad del norte,” the type which corresponded to Camila's purity of spirit, but she is betrayed by her inescapable materiality, a materiality which eludes white women because they represent the legal, productive channeling of bourgeoisie love. There is a little concrete difference in the vague description of “white” beauty and the type which Camila incarnates, except the ineffable sexual magnetism which this type possesses. Camila's otherwise classical beauty is invested with a content which conforms more to the “substance” or “materiality” associated with “blackness” and barbarism. Zambrana promotes a sense of the inevitability of the rape and he implicates himself by using the first-person plural; he feels the overwhelming magnetism of Camila-like “hermosuras ante las cuales sentimos arder en nuestras venas la llama de la sensación,” and laments its dominion over “el divino calor del sentimiento.” In this way, Zambrana mitigates the culpability of Carlos in the rape that will ensue. The mulatta, given her essentialization, the attribution of concrete characteristics which inspire concrete responses, is perforce victimized. In addition, the suggestion of incest is present from the very beginning of the novel. Camila's mother, like her, was a mulatta. Carlos may be Camila's brother: “Su padre fue blanco; pero ninguna otra noticia tuvo ella acerca de él, ¿quién sabe? Acaso era hermana de Carlos.”³² The fact that Camila's mother was a mulatta suggest that Camila herself might be still whiter, which would make the “biological” distance from blackness greater, and increase the potencial for the kinds of social confusions which intermediate figures represent. That would also explain the classic beauty. Nevertheless, she is disabled by the black element.

³¹ *Ibid.*; pp. 47-48.

³² *Ibid.*; p.19.

There is little question that the novel considers the institution of slavery to be, in large measure, responsible for such anonymous paternities. Nevertheless, these women are more than victimized slaves. By essentializing the attractiveness of the mulatta, she is not permitted what could be called "mainstream" sexuality, and is relegated, because of her racial origin, to a place of exceptionality. It is this quality which sets in motion the "criminal" desires which lead to tragedy. Her body is an "equivocación del destino"; her biology betrays her will.

In *Cecilia Valdés* the characters are described with great detail, and the details are indexed to race. Or, more to the point, there is an attempt to pinpoint the racial composition of the characters. This kind of description reflects the author's desire to demonstrate the importance of color and phenotype to social classification. Nevertheless, in spite of the realist pretensions of the novel, such pervasive description, because it is not always ironic or denunciatory, also reflects the author's assimilation of racial stereotypes, both aesthetic and psychological. Cecilia, the mulatta protagonist, like her mulatta forerunners, is of breathtaking beauty. Her beauty too must be thought of as "white." The narrator describes Cecilia at between eleven or twelve years of age:

Era su tipo el de las vírgenes de los más célebres pintores. Porque a una frente alta, coronada de cabellos negros y copiosos, naturalmente ondeados, unía facciones muy regulares, nariz recta que arrancaba desde el entrecejo y por quedarse algo corta alzaba un si es no es el labio superior, como para dejar ver dos sartas de dientes menudos y blancos. Sus cejas describían un arco y daban mayor sombra a los ojos negros y rasgados, los cuales eran como movilidad y fuego. La boca la tenía chica y los labios llenos, indicando más voluptuosidad que firmeza de carácter. Las mejillas llenas y redondas y un hoyuelo en medio de la barba, formaban un conjunto bello, que para ser perfecto, sólo faltaba que la expresión fuese menos maliciosa, si no maligna.³³

Based on the description, the reader is presented with someone of extraordinary beauty. Her "tipo" was remindful of virgins of famous artists. The visible characteristics of her beauty which predominate are the features conventionally associated with whites. The most obvious of these features are the "frente alta," "facciones muy regulares" and "nariz recta." The reader begins to rule out blacks. While it is perhaps superfluous to add, the conventions of beauty are not objective; they are absolutely conditioned by history and culture. The characteristics with which Villaverde begins are clearly associable in the mind of the reader with classical—white beauty, and made explicit by reference to the "vírgenes" of the "célebres pintores." Also, these features are unambiguously positive. Also, it seems appropriate, given Cecilia's age, that the connection be made to the purity and modesty associated with virginity.

Suddenly, however, the description takes another direction, shifting to her

³³ Cirilo Villaverde, *op. cit.*; p.7.

“labios llenos,” which signal “voluptuousness” and weakness of character. These full lips are the feature that leads the reader to a set of different associations. “Full lips” are a feature conventionally associated with blacks. For the narrator, these lips are not neutral signs. They indicate a sensuality which is in opposition to the idea of the virgin, and represents as turning change given the age of the person depicted. This opposition underscores the negativity of the representation. What we have, then, is a sign of “blackness” which destabilizes or perturbs the harmony of the portrait of Cecilia. Moreover, the static “white” characteristics which presented no psychological dimension, give way to this new feature which expresses or suggests sensual delights and gratification.

The narrator continues the description, and after the subtle, initial irruption of “blackness,” the reader is presented with a resolution, the doubt is removed, and an explanation of the incongruence or disharmony of the portrait is provided:

La complexión podía pasar por saludable, la encarnación viva, hablando en el sentido en que los pintores toman esta palabra, aunque a poco que se fijaba la atención, se advertía en el color del rostro, que sin dejar de ser sanguíneo, había demasiado ocre en su composición, y no resultaba diáfano ni libre. ¿A qué raza, pues, pertenecía esta muchacha? Difícil es decirlo. Sin embargo, a un ojo conocedor no podía esconderse, que sus labios rojos tenían un borde o filete oscuro y que la iluminación del rostro terminaba en una especie de penumbra hacia el nacimiento del cabello. Su sangre no era pura y bien podía asegurarse que allá en la tercera o cuarta generación estaba mezclada con la etíope.³⁴

The author suggests the difficulty of classifying Cecilia racially, but ultimately asserts that she is not white. The standard for comparison is white, and Cecilia is measured against this standard. If one reads closely or looks carefully at the portrait, the terms which describe her complexion are negative. Cecilia's complexion could pass for healthy, a fleshy color, but with a little bit of concentration it becomes clear that there is too much ochre in the composition of her color, causing it to lose its clarity. Her blood was not pure, and the impurity derives from the mixture with Ethiopian—black—blood. Her physical distance—features and color—from whites corresponds with her natural voluptuousness, and touch of malice. Indeed, it is that portion of “blackness” that causes her to exceed the limits of “whiteness.” She becomes the “Venus de la raza híbrida etiópico-caucásica.”³⁵

The notion of an intermediate race, and its impurity, or the idea of a contaminated amalgam, is reinforced by its causal connection to the act of incest which occurs. Leonardo is Cecilia's half-brother. Punishment is meted out as a result of Cecilia's attempt to transgress her social station. Her in-betweenness

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*; 20.

was a threat to the social order, and the kind of clarity that color and phenotype could guarantee, and this even in a fourth-generation cross. Cecilia inspires in Leonardo a passion that will not find social sanction. Recognizing the transgressive nature of his feelings for Cecilia, Leonardo says: “me trae siempre loco, me ha hecho cometer más de una locura y todavía me hará cometer muchas más [...] es toda pasión y fuego, es mi tentadora, un diablito en figura de mujer [...]”³⁶ Cecilia, because of her very nature, is the source of Leonardo’s demise, and her own.

In all four novels then, the mulatta is the principal object of male desire. There is a white aesthetic at work here which privileges a white standard and grafts onto a beautiful “white” form, a corruptive sensuality and materiality. With the essentializing of mulatta beauty, there was no corresponding social legitimization. The mulatta characters are innately flawed, they suffer because of the contribution of the black element to their make-up.

The privileging of a white aesthetic can also be noted in Gómez de Avellaneda’s *Sab*. This novel tells a romantic story of the unrequited love of the mulatto slave, Sab, for his white mistress, Carlota. Sab is the *mayoral*—overseer—of the Buenavista plantation, and is treated almost as a member of the family. He was raised in the same house as Carlota, who feels a sibling’s affection for Sab. He is, nevertheless, a slave.

Sab is described as being nearly white, almost able to pass for white. The description of Sab occurs at the beginning of the novel when a young Englishman, Enrique Otway, to whom Carlota is engaged, judges Sab from a distance as he approaches the family home. The omniscient narrator sets up the scene, and the confusion, by calling Sab a *campesino*, then calling attention to his distinctness, and indeterminacy:

Era el recién llegado un joven de alta estatura y regulares proporciones, pero de una fisonomía particular. No parecía un criollo blanco, tampoco era negro ni podía creérsele descendiente de los primeros habitantes de las Antillas. Su rostro presentaba un compuesto singular en que se descubría el cruzamiento de dos razas diversas, y en que se amalgamaban, por decirlo así, los rasgos de la casta africana con los de la europea, sin ser no obstante un mulato perfecto.³⁷

Sab’s singularity, or particularity, is a result of the fact that he doesn’t fit the traditional racial categories of white and black. He defies easy description. His face is a compound, a blend of white and black. The contribution, however, of each race is not equal. Sab is not a “mulatto perfecto,” and the ensuing portrait sets out to make that clear:

Era su color de un blanco amarillento con cierto fondo oscuro; su ancha frente se veía cubierta con mechones desiguales de un pelo negro y lustroso como las alas del

³⁶ *Ibid*; p. 240.

³⁷ Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *op. cit.*; pp. 41-42.

cuervo; su nariz era aguileña pero sus labios gruesos y amoratados denotaban su procedencia africana, tenía la barba un poco prominente y triangular, los ojos negros, grandes, rasgados, bajo cejas horizontales, brillando en ellos el fuego de la primera juventud, no obstante que surcaban su rostro ligeras arrugas. El conjunto de estos rasgos formaba una fisonomía, una característica, una de aquellas fisonomías que fijan las miradas a primera vista y que jamás se olvidan cuando se han visto una vez.³⁸

The point of departure are the "white" characteristics overlaid with "black" ones. Like Cecilia, Sab's hair is not kinky, it is not "bad." There is a kind of background darkness to his yellowish-white skin, which hints at the possibility that he is not white, although it is not explicitly stated. Then, prefaced by "pero," as if it were a contradictory or excessive feature, we have the fullness and color of his lips which denoted his African ancestry. So too did his chin which was a little prominent. Yet, unlike the mulattas of the other novels, Sab is not an eroticized figure, nor is he the object of anyone's desire. Sab is, however, a figure who is clearly presented as defying instant categorization, although he too will be treated as neither white nor black, or rather, as having characteristics of both. Once Sab has been introduced in the novel, the narrator thereafter insistently refers to Sab as the *mulato*, and after focusing on his near whiteness, Sab is differentiated from the black slaves in other ways. In a dialogue between Enrique and Carlota which lacks irony and can be attributed to Avellaneda, Enrique says of Sab: "No tiene nada de la abyección y grosería que es común en gentes de su especie; por el contrario, tiene aire y modales muy finos y aun me atrevería a decir nobles."³⁹ Carlota responds: "Sab no ha estado nunca confundido con los otros esclavos [...]; se ha criado conmigo como un hermano, tiene una suma afición a la lectura y su talento natural es admirable."⁴⁰ Sab's biological distinctiveness is matched by social distinctions. Sab should not be confused with the other slaves who are presumably black.

Richard Jackson suggests that the rejection of the negroid type and the presentation of Sab as a mulatto represents an attempt by Avellaneda to make Sab "more acceptable to her own standards of beauty and those of the reading public of her time."⁴¹ That blackness was devalued is implicit in Sab's description of his mother. "A pesar de su color," he says, "era mi madre hermosa."⁴² Although "black" slaves are relatively absent in the novel, except as theoretical objects for the expression of compassion, there is one additional instance which supports the notion that Sab, as a mulatto, is presented as substantively

³⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 42.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; p. 68.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Richard Jackson, "False Tears for the Black Man: The White Aesthetic in the Nineteenth-Century Antislavery Novel in Cuba", *The Black Image in Latin American Literature*, Albuquerque, N. M., 1976, 22-35; p. 26.

⁴² Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *op. cit.*; p. 48.

different than other "blacks." Towards the end of the novel, as Sab begins his slow descent to death as a result of a broken heart, the narrator makes a rather stereotypical, however brief, comment about José, a black slave whose expressive gestures she associates with all blacks: "José los llamó hacia él, no con la voz sino con aquellos gestos llenos de expresión que se notan en la fisonomía de los negros."⁴³ Sab's gestures—clearly whitened—would never be confused with those of José. Sab's self-loathing in the novel is dramatic, and even when presented with what appears to be an opportunity to improve his lot, he does not.

What is perhaps different about Avellaneda's mulatto protagonist, however, is that, while blackness is clearly devalued in the novel, and Sab's social limitations are a result of the "visibility" of his "blackness," they are not portrayed as being essential; that is to say, he is limited because of the prejudices of white society. Sab is not black, and one might extend this thinking and suggest that with further crossing, Sab could have passed for white and ascended the social ladder. The question of blackness in Sab is its visibility, not its "biological" contribution to the mixture. Avellaneda, while referring to whites and blacks as belonging to different races, and, in my estimation, devaluing blackness—at least aesthetically—, might agree that the white element may prevail in the hybrid, thereby increasing the offspring's chances for success.

Richard Jackson has referred to the privileging of mulatto or "whitened" characters—*mestizaje*—whether physically or psychologically, as "ethnic lynching."⁴⁴ Given the devaluation of what is associated with "blackness," it is difficult to criticize this characterization. To the extent that a space, however tenuous, is created for "non-white" characters, and where the premise for belonging is founded on a positive valuation of what is perceived as "white," and a corresponding devaluation of what is perceived as "black," the new space does little to deconstruct the significance of "race." Indeed, it seems to follow the script of those racialist scientists and social scientists who placed their hopes for a prosperous future Cuba in the elimination of "blackness."

The point I have tried to make in this essay is that not only was there a white aesthetic perspective which constructed the racial imagery of these works—i.e., the beautiful *mulatas*, Sab's essential difference—, but that the mulattos, however privileged, continued to be hampered by their "blackness," although Sab's limitations are not biological.

The modern-day projection of *mulatez* or hybridity, as a kind of positive metaphor for Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean, or a somewhat broader but similar concepts such as "raza cósmica," all of which take as their points of departure the notion of the amalgamation of "heterogeneous" elements in a

⁴³ *Ibid.*; p. 176.

⁴⁴ Richard Jackson, "Mestizaje vs. Black identity: The Color Crisis in Latin America", *Black World*, 24, 9 (1975), 4-21.

specific geographic space, must avoid the pitfalls of claiming essential difference for this historical product. If these concepts do not remain liquid, if the poles which are amalgamated are not themselves called into question as fixed units, the danger which we face is, in many respects, the repetition of the nineteenth-century scientific approach to race and culture. That would create further occasions for "ethnic" lynching, by privileging this putative amalgam. This is equally true of cultural hybridity. Ultimately, the problem is to forget to bracket and problematize terms like "black" and "white," or to recognize identity without at the same time dismantling it. Anthony Appiah proposes a way out, if there is one: "live with fractured identities; engage in identity play, find solidarity, yes, but recognize contingency, and above all, practice irony."⁴⁵

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¹ José José Nieto. *Exposición de la vida de Calamar y recuerdos de la navegación 1772 a 1777*. T. I. León, Kungano, Imprenta de Rafael J. de Córdova, 1846. Nieto ya había publicado en 1829 su *Geografía Antidrica, estadística y local de la provincia de Cervera*, primera obra de una serie en un volumen y que sería fuente de consulta durante varias décadas para estudiosos de varias disciplinas. Durante su exilio publicó también *Los esclavos, novela de corte histórico sobre los negros en España*. En 1830 publicó por entregas en una revista de Cervera, *Novela o la grande en el mundo de Cervera*, novela autobiográfica.

² Ángel Rama presenta un profundo estudio de esta unión de letra y acción política en *Colombia en un libro: La ciudad letrada*. New Haven, Ediciones del Norte, 1984.

³ Esta novela se menciona como la primera novela publicada por un hispanista. La primera obra narrativa publicada en lo que se hoy es Colombia fue *El desierto prodigioso y prodigio del desierto*, de Pedro Solís y Valdeavellano del Mar en 1776. En 1801 la publicó María Dolores de José Joaquín Ortiz, que "más que ser una novela, es un poema lírico de unos asuntos sentimentales". Antonio Cicero Altamir. *Evolución de la novela en Colombia*. Bogotá, Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1996, p. 71.

⁴ Aunque no se menciona Calamar en ninguno de sus libros, desde una cosa, la novela de Nieto

⁴⁵ Anthony Appiah, "Race, Culture, Identity: Misunderstood Connections", *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race*, eds K. Anthony Appiah and Amy Gutman, Princeton, UP, 1996, 30-105; p. 104.