

Enlarging the Map of Scottish Literary Influence:
José Martí and the Cuban Reception

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Abstract

This study examines the Scottish component in Cuban literary culture, almost totally unknown in both countries. Specifically, it seeks to trace, document and interpret “Scoto-Cuban” literary transmission across the nineteenth-century. Archival and bibliographic study is complemented by a transmission studies methodology centred on the role of key Cuban intellectuals in receiving, translating, promoting and re-working Scottish literature in the Caribbean. We first establish the historic and literary context that gave rise to Cuba’s reception of Scottish writing, before analysing the specific effect of key figures including Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott, and tracing the “hidden” presence of Scottish influence in canonical Cuban texts. Evidence is presented of the active role of Cuban receptors in promoting Scottish literary production by means of critical works, translations, correspondence and creative writing. Attention is focused on Cuban receptors’ perception of Scottish writers and their work, and the onward transmission of ideas of Scottish nationality and identity in Cuba. José Martí emerges as the most outstanding Scottish-literature receptor in this regard, a Cuban national hero with a special affinity for Scottish writers and cultural iconography. This project remedies a clear oversight in transatlantic literary studies and in the study of Scotland’s international literary heritage. This thesis argues for the inclusion of Cuba on the map of Scotland’s international literary influence, and for the recognition of Scottish writers and Cuban receptors who took part in the Scoto-Cuban literary phenomenon.

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Dedication

To “the beauty of Scotland, which is my kind of people.” (José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 7, 396.)

To the memory of José Martí, José María Heredia, José de la Luz y Caballero, Domingo del Monte, Cirilo Villaverde, Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces and the rest of the Cuban intellectuals who made possible a Scottish-literature reception in Cuba.

To the memory of Edward Bannerman Ramsay, Samuel Smiles, Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, who attained as immense as unknown fortunes on the Caribbean island.

To Bob, Eibhlin, Michael and Ruairi, my family in The Borders.

To my wee bro Duncan, my Bulgarian kids and all the former and current officials of the Embassy.

To the sisters and brothers of the Stirling Baptist Church.

To my wonderful Falkirk neighbours, Tam, Justine, Donna and Mark.

To the enthusiastic and caring team of Love Falkirk.

To my extended family of Oscar’s, especially my wee weans and bairns.

To my extended family and friends back in Cuba, in Scotland, The States, Canada, Spain, Ireland and elsewhere but on Mars.

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Introduction

*'Set ev'ry stitch of canvas to woo the fresh'ning wind,
Oar bowsprit points to Cuba, the coast lies far behind;
Fill'd to the hatches full, my boys, across the seas we go,
There's twice five hundred niggers in the stifling hold below.'*¹

Angus Bethune Reach (Inverness, 1821- Camberwell Green, 1856)

The Scottish component in Cuban culture, almost totally unknown in both Cuba and Scotland, is addressed for the first time in this thesis. Specifically, this project seeks to trace, document and interpret “Scoto-Cuban” literary transmission across the nineteenth-century, a term I have developed to mark and describe this domain of influence. In tracing these connections, I have built on the work of others while addressing omissions in the existing scholarship. Most of the transatlantic literary studies conducted in recent years adhere to early paradigms of geographical range and chronological scope: they seldom cover the second half of the nineteenth century and mainly focus on the northern area of the American continent while overlooking the rest of the Americas, especially the Caribbean region.

Recent scholarly collections, such as *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader* (2007),² edited by Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, and *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830* (2012),³ edited by Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning, scarcely mention that geographical area. Nevertheless, these works offer valuable critical lenses and suggestive starting-points for more localised studies. Introducing the former volume, Manning and Taylor define transatlantic literary studies as “the sub-field [of American literary studies] that concerns itself explicitly with transatlantic texts and comparisons,”⁴ with its origins in an exceptionalist discipline of American Studies emerging after the Second World War. First emerging as a field “that seemed to underwrite the politics of Cold War America,” in

¹. Angus Bethune Reach, “The Slave Chase,” National Library of Scotland, accessed 9 July 2020, <https://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads/archive/74895898?mode=transcription>.

². Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *Transatlantic Literary Studies. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

³. Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning, eds., *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

⁴. Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *ibid*, 4.

which “literary texts [were] deployed to shore up and enforce a national self-image,” we would not expect the cultural history of Cuba – a key and defining foil of post-war Americanism – to be sensitively or adequately illuminated from this direction.⁵ But, they continue, “with the passing of the rigidities and binary oppositions of the Cold War, scholars began to read the Americas through different frameworks,” including multicultural and postcolonial critique, resulting “in more fluid forms of comparative criticism” emphasising “borders permeable to the reciprocal flow of cultures.”⁶ This “focus on reciprocal cultural exchange opens up the assumptions upon which national identity, and the critical paradigms it has fostered, are founded,”⁷ and opens a path to the reassessment of nineteenth-century literary and cultural encounters which pre-date the borders and alignments of the field’s inception.

In her “Transatlantic Engagements,” Fiona Robertson shows that during the last three decades, transatlanticism “has become more relational and more inclusive, suggesting links (economic, intellectual, intercultural) *between* rather than *across*. It may be that this subtle shift reflects a movement in literary and historical scholarship.”⁸ This growing tendency to “de-centre” American national histories and identities invites closer attention to the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, and indeed Manning and Taylor claim that “the literatures of the Caribbean, Canada and California have all been shown to benefit from a transatlantic approach.”⁹ The present study, involving a Hispanic national literature of the Caribbean, might serve as an example of that eclecticism and take part in the movement suggested by Robertson: it seeks to delineate a strong and yet unexamined Scottish component in the shaping of the Cuban nation, highlighting the extent and importance of literary relations between the two countries. It thus aims to make a specific contribution to “rethink[ing] the ways that national identity has been formulated” on both sides of the transmission, conceiving the writing of Cuban and Scottish literary history as both national and transnational endeavours.

⁵. Manning and Taylor, *ibid.*, 1.

⁶. Manning and Taylor, *ibid.*, 2.

⁷. *Ibid.*

⁸. Robertson, Fiona (2018) “Transatlantic engagements,” in *The Oxford handbook of British Romanticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 725.

⁹. *Ibid.*, 8.

Introducing the 2007 *Reader*, Manning and Taylor regret that “comparative practice in transatlantic literary studies has to date been relatively unreflective about its methods and assumptions.”¹⁰ In addressing this oversight, their collection posits “a model for the kinds of plurality instantiated in transatlantic literature itself,” and sets forth “how theoretical paradigms drawn from comparative literature, postcolonial studies and travel and translation studies are able to contribute interpretative possibilities to the field.” The resulting survey is organised under six headings, naming key frameworks which have shaped transatlantic literary studies: “The Nation and Cosmopolitanism,” “Theories and Practice of Comparative Literature,” “Imperialism and the Postcolonial,” “Translation,” “Style and Genre,” and “Travel.”¹¹ The study of a complex phenomenon such as the historic reception of Scottish literature in Cuba draws on each of these areas, without gliding easily into the field’s master tropes of fluidity and exchange. Clearly, it is closely aligned with Comparative Literature and its concern with reception, influence and impact; however, addressing the Scoto-Cuban phenomenon also requires attention to the historical transatlantic context in which it took place, one marked by the violent conquest and colonization of territories, and the imposition of slavery and imperial dominance. Translation is a key transmission bridge that made possible the literary reception at issue, but which also hinders critical awareness of these connections. Also relevant is the diversity of styles and genres in which Scoto-Cuban writing is constituted (correspondence, literary criticism, journalism, creative writing), and the importance of travel experiences such as Luz’s visit to Abbotsford. Engaging various tools and themes of transatlantic literary studies, we can locate the present study within that sub-field which “tends towards comparative cultural history that analyses texts in terms of context or situation;”¹² bearing in mind the priority, in the Scoto-Cuban case, of establishing the evidential base and textual corpus of the phenomenon, to enable further research and scholarship.

The present study also aims to address the relative neglect of Hispanic cultural and literary history in the field. In “Between Empires: Frances Calderón de

¹⁰. Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *ibid.*, 1.

¹¹. Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *ibid.*

¹². Manning and Taylor, *ibid.*, 10.

la Barca's Life in Mexico," the authors, Amy Kaplan and Nina Gerassi-Navarro, lament that "the Spanish empire and early Spanish American republics have not figured as centrally into these new transnational configurations (...) The Atlantic seems to end at the Caribbean – with Cuba at the farthest reach."¹³ We need both to expand the linguistic and historical scope of literary "transatlanticism," and to specify the local historical conditions of transmission between small nations. Here Kaplan and Gerassi-Navarro provide an inviting model, addressing "the fraught relationship between Mexico and the USA through the writing of a woman who was neither Mexican nor American, but was born in Scotland, and made her home in both new world nations."¹⁴ Given the propensity of transatlantic studies to focus on European-USA relations and to overlook other geographic and linguistic exchange, the authors propose a triangular model which resonates with a Scoto-Cuban influence study included in this thesis, involving an American children's school reader, a book written by José Martí, and key icons of Scotland's cultural heritage.

Notwithstanding, there is a growing scholarly interest in the relationship between Scotland and the Caribbean, which has generated a considerable body of research. Works such as Michael Morris's *Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740–1833*,¹⁵ and Douglas J. Hamilton's *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820*,¹⁶ among others, mainly focus on colonial relationships emphasising the Scottish participation in slavery and abolition. Other works, such as the collected essays of *Caribbean-Scottish Relations*, edited by Giovanna Covi et al.,¹⁷ and Richard B. Sheridan's "The Role of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies,"¹⁸ address historic, economic and socio-cultural issues, namely the impact of Scottish settlers and itinerants in the shaping and development of the British West Indies. Even though none of the works named above make any references to the

¹³. Amy Kaplan and Nina Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires: Frances Calderón de la Barca's Life in Mexico," in Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *ibid.*, 59.

¹⁴. *Ibid.*

¹⁵. Michael Morris, *Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740–1833: Atlantic Archipelagos*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

¹⁶. Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

¹⁷. Giovanna Covi et al., *Caribbean-Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature*. London: Mango Publishing, 2007.

¹⁸. Richard B. Sheridan, "The Role of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies," in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, no. 292 (June 1977): 94-106.

Spanish West Indies or even conceive of a literary relationship between Scotland and Caribbean Spanish-speaking countries such as Cuba, these works provide the frame to address the context in which the reception of Scottish literature took place on the island, thus serving as reference point to conduct subsequent studies aiming at filling the gap left by those who failed to address embarrassing transatlantic issues, a silencing strategy that not only affected literature and history but also altered cultural memory, the absence reflected in the gaps of scholarly endeavours.

Other studies on the transnational reception of Scottish literature, featuring a great number of authors and involving quite an extended geography, explicitly focus on Europe; *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*,¹⁹ the second volume of a comprehensive compilation edited by Susan Manning and Ian Brown, devotes one chapter to explore “The International Reception and Literary Impact of Scottish Literature of the Period.” Even though the chapter “concentrates on reception in non-English-speaking areas,” the emphasis also falls upon Europe and, consequently, almost no attention is paid from a transatlantic perspective to the Spanish-speaking Caribbean territories including Cuba, the largest island of the Greater Antilles. However, given the international character of the chapter, it provides a start point to address the reception of Scottish authors in a transatlantic context as is the case of Lord Byron and Walter Scott whose reception in Cuba is examined for the first time in this thesis. Two important works on the lives and works of these authors, also contained in *The Edinburgh History*, contribute to this study: Alan Rawes’s “Lord Byron,” instrumental for his approach to Byron’s Scottishness, and Fiona Robertson’s “Walter Scott.”

Given the history of Spanish colonisation and conquest of the island, and the dispersion of records, few scholars on either side of the Atlantic would stop to consider the existence of a historic, economic and cultural connection between Scotland and Cuba. Most of the constituent elements of this relationship remain dispersed and unattended. Among the scattered information, pieces date back to the times when the legendary Scottish buccaneer Peter Wallace prowled the waters of

¹⁹. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, “The International Reception and Literary Impact of Scottish Literature of the Period,” in *The Edinburgh history of Scottish literature: Vol. 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707-1918)*, eds. Susan Manning and Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 33-44.

the Caribbean then ruled by corsairs and pirates who, for more than three-hundred years established a supply base on the Isle of Pines, the Cuban island believed to have inspired Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. It is known, however, that the British troops who took part in the siege of Havana in 1762,²⁰ were not only English. The attacking force was also formed by units such as the 1st Royal Scots, the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment of Foot, the 77th Montgomery's Highlanders, and the 48th Dunbar's Regiment of Foot.²¹ The fact that there was a Dragoon Regiment of Edinburgh on the Spanish side²² strongly suggests that the confrontation may have also had a fratricidal character. With all probabilities, participant ships such as *Stirling Castle* and *Glasgow* might have transported some of the troops, being the Scottish involvement highlighted by Cuban historian René Lufriú on asserting that "the attack on Havana was planned and resolved in advance. In the late 17th century, the Scotsman William Patterson, in a letter to King William III, recommended the urgent conquest."²³ It is also known that "during the months of the British occupation alone, between 3,000 and 4,000 blacks were brought to Cuba (...), a higher number compared to the 200 slaves imported annually during the Spanish colonial period until 1762."²⁴ Nevertheless, several sources contain information about Scots David

²⁰. "It was much more than a simple episode of imperial rivalry. The siege and occupation of Havana was also an event in the history of the African Diaspora and racial slavery in the Atlantic world. Approximately half of Havana's population in the mid-18th century was composed of people of African descent. Over the course of the six-week siege, the city became largely black, as many Spaniards and Creoles were able to escape to safe havens, while at the same time people of colour were arriving, or were sent, from other parts of the island to fight in the defence of the city. The British expeditionary force, in turn, included some 500 free black soldiers from Jamaica; 100 enslaved Africans from Martinique; 500 from Antigua and St Kitts; and 1,845 from Jamaica. Since the slave trade routes to Cuba in the 18th century passed mostly through Jamaica, this means that during the invasion of Havana, there were people of African descent lined up on both sides of the conflict, individuals who were possibly acquaintances or relatives or even fellow Atlantic voyagers brought from Africa on the same British slave ships. In Elena Schneider, "Esclavitud y libertad en tiempos de guerra: Respuestas de los negros al sitio británico de La Habana (1762-63)," *Revista de Indias*, LXXIX/275 (Madrid, 2019): 143 *Revista de Indias*, LXXIX/275, Madrid, 2019, 143. (Translated by the author)

²¹. *Kronoskaf*, "1762 –British expedition against Havana – Preparations and Arrival," accessed January 2021, https://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=1762_-_British_expedition_against_Havana_%E2%80%93Preparations_and_Arrival

²². BritishBattles.com, accessed January 2021, <https://www.britishbattles.com/frederick-the-great-wars/seven-years-war/capture-of-havana/>.

²³. René Lufriú, *El impulso inicial: estudio histórico de los tiempos modernos de Cuba*, La Habana: El Siglo XX, 1930, 45.

²⁴. Nikolaus Böttcher, "Comerciantes británicos y el comercio interior de Cuba, 1762-1808," in *Redes y negocios globales en el mundo ibérico, siglos XVI-XVIII*, Orlando, FL: Iberoamericana Vervuert Publishing Corp., 2011, 212-213.

Turnbull who, after travelling in Cuba between 1838 and 1839, was eventually appointed British consul to the island in 1840, from which position he keenly championed abolitionism.²⁵ Because of his activism, he was accused under the charge of inciting slave revolts, and expelled from Cuba in 1842. Following the Conspiracy of La Escalera, a notorious event given the subsequent executions and punishments inflicted by the Spanish regime, he was convicted *in absentia* for being the main instigator. Cuban intellectuals such as Luz y Caballero and Domingo del Monte, whom subsequent reference is made given their participation in the reception of Scottish literature, were involved in the conspiracy. However, “slave ownership and trade in slave-produced goods from places like the USA, Cuba and Brazil involved Scots right up until the 1880s.”²⁶

Despite the scarcity of information, there is also clear evidence of historic links between Scotland and Cuba involving commerce and industry in colonial times. In his *El ingenio*, Moreno Friginals refers to the famous “pailas de carrón”²⁷ (Carron cauldrons) cast at Carron Iron Works,²⁸ Falkirk, and used in Cuba as of 1791 to boil cane juice in slave-operated sugar mills. The sugar manufacture on the island at that time was also favoured with the supply of other milling equipment. The University of Glasgow Library Blog accounts for the fact that “Mirrlees & Tait were not only trading with the post-emancipation colonies, they also sent sugar machines to Cuba (...), where slavery was still legal until late in the 19th century.”²⁹ Scholar Curry-Machado accounts for the presence in Cuba of Scottish engineers and itinerant

²⁵. Manuel Llorca-Jaña, “Turnbull, David (1793? – 1851),” *The Hispanic-Anglosphere*, accessed February, 2021, <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/individuals/turnbull-david-1793-1851>.

²⁶. Lisa Williams, “Scotland and Slavery,” *National Galleries Scotland*, accessed February 2020, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/features/remaking-our-histories-scotland-slavery-and-empire>.

²⁷. Manuel Moreno Friginals, *El Ingenio*, accessed 20 July 2021, http://www.iunma.edu.ar/doc/MB/lic_historia_mat_bibliografico/Historia%20Latinoamericana%20II/Unidad%203/Manuel-Moreno-Fraginals-El-Ingenio.pdf.

²⁸. This Falkirk-based foundry is also known for assisting James Watts in casting parts for his steam engine, for its renowned Carronade cannons, and for not allowing entrance to visitor Robert Burns whose interest in the factory is still unknown.

²⁹. *University of Glasgow Library Blog*, accessed 22 July 20, <https://universityofglasgowlibrary.wordpress.com/2021/06/09/sugar-machines-how-archives-in-glasgow-hold-pieces-of-caribbean-history/>.

mechanics assisting the sugar manufacture by mid-nineteenth century.³⁰ Some of them, as pointed out by Curry-Machado, remained on the island, which statement points at a Scottish migration process not yet examined but intuitively perceived as one of the reasons why Scottish surnames³¹ abound so much on the island, where “Finlay” is well known after Carlos Juan Finlay (1833-1915),³² the epidemiologist who discovered that yellow fever was transmitted through mosquitoes *Aedes aegypti*. A more refreshing supply must have been the beer Scottish Brewers were exporting to the Caribbean by 1860. According to graphic testimonies held in the Archives & Special Collections at Glasgow, Tennents, then the main exporters of bottled beers around the world, were supplying Pale Ale and Stout to Cuba, where there was a Tennents despatch office. The beer was produced at the Glasgow Tennents Wellpark Brewery. As frequently happens, new findings lead to more questions than explanations. Such is the case of a Cityside Glasgow brick made between 1878 and 1883 and found in a slave cemetery of the old *Mi Rosa* sugar mill. The same archaeological source reports the findings of Carron tripods and boilers in other old slave-operated sugar mills.³³ Early in the twentieth century, the Stewart sugar factory was inaugurated on the central side of the island, and became third in importance given its milling capacity. The whole machinery had been built by Duncan Stewart & Co., based in Glasgow.³⁴ For many decades, the town surrounding the factory was called Stewart after the name of the company and the surname of its Scottish founder. Since 2002, and perhaps without much consciousness of the bounds between the two nations throughout history, Havana and Glasgow became sister cities, the highpoint in the connection being the celebrated Havana-Glasgow Film Festival.

³⁰. Jonathan Curry-Machado, “Running from Albion: Migration to Cuba from the British Isles in the 19th Century,” School of Advanced Study, University of London, accessed 15 February 2021, <https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/3090/>.

³¹. Smith, Brown, Wilson, Stewart, Robertson, Campbell, Thomson, Morris, Anderson, Macdonald, Murray, Taylor, Hunter, Clark, Ross, Young, Walker, Robinson, Watson, Morrison, Fraser, Paterson, Scott, Wood, Stevenson, Douglas, Fenton, Mackenzie, Mackay, Dewar, Bell, Duncan, etc.

³². This Finlay was the son of Scottish-born Edward Finlay, a Scottish surgeon who had fought alongside Simón Bolívar and migrated to Cuba early in the nineteenth century.

³³. Historia y arqueología, Proyecto arqueológico La Jaima (Cuba), accessed 15 September 2021, <http://www.historiayarqueologia.com/2020/10/proyecto-arqueologico-la-jaima-cuba.html>.

³⁴. Historia de Cuba, Central Stewart – Centrales de Cuba, accessed 29 September 2021, <https://historiacuba.wordpress.com/2016/09/04/central-stewart-centrales-de-cuba/>.

Nevertheless, there is also a strong, yet unexplored, literary relationship between Scotland and Cuba. The most popular of all Cuban poems, best known as the lyric to the internationally famous song “Guantanamera,” mentions the “thistle” and “nettle” species, which do not grow in Cuba and therefore are unknown to the vast majority of Cubans. Cirilo Villaverde’s *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), widely considered the most emblematic Cuban novel, was consciously written after the model of Walter Scott. José Martí’s *La Edad de Oro* (1889), the most representative work in Cuban children’s literature, contains work by Scottish author Samuel Smiles while many other prominent nineteenth-century literary Cuban works reveal a heavy influence of Scottish literature. Numerous translations of Scottish authors were done by Cubans, including the first rendition of Walter Scott’s *Waverley* into Spanish. In addition, historical dramas with Scottish themes and arguments were written by Cuban playwrights while local magazines not only published Scottish literary pieces but also promoted favourable criticism of Scottish writers and their works. Some of the Cuban intellectuals engaged in this hitherto unexplored relationship were temporarily based in other countries where they contributed to the promotion of Scottish literature and authors, thus turning from receptors into re-transmitters of Scottish literary influence.

Through careful empirical study of nineteenth-century Cuban history and literature, including the life and work of key Cuban authors such as José Martí, and by examining the international reception and literary impact of Scottish literature across the nineteenth century, this project explores why numerous Scottish writers were given a warm and attentive reception by the most outstanding Cuban authors of the epoch. It shows that key Cuban intellectuals were strongly influenced by Scottish literary traditions and national iconography, and explains how they expanded and enriched their reception of Scottish writing through imitative creation, journalism, criticism and translation. José Martí (1853-1895) – the poet, philosopher, freedom-fighter and Cuban national hero – stands revealed as highest exponent of this reception. This approach aims to enlarge the map of Scotland’s transnational literary influence by establishing the key figures, texts and mechanisms of the Scoto-Cuban literary connection, addressing an important oversight in Eurocentric studies of Scotland’s international literary heritage. The findings and evidence-base

generated by this thesis provide a new cultural and geographical perspective for current studies in the fields already mentioned, especially Scotland's broader role in Caribbean history and cultural development. The positive influence exerted by Scottish literature on the emerging national literature of a non-English-speaking nation on the other side of the Atlantic constitutes a fresh addition to the many reasons "why Scottish literature matters,"³⁵ one that centres a complex and long-standing process of cultural transmission, citation and re-writing.

Despite the lack of previous scholarship on the Scoto-Cuban literary relationship, this thesis, as earlier mentioned, draws upon transatlantic literary studies and other historical studies on Scotland and the Caribbean, thus opening a new study area in these fields. Due to the fact that the thesis involves "the study of the interrelationship of the literatures of two [...] national cultures [...] of differing languages and especially of the influences of one upon the other,"³⁶ it is mainly positioned in the field of comparative literature, however, from the cultural and chronological viewpoints, and taking into consideration the Scottish writers addressed, this thesis is also related to studies of the Scottish Enlightenment, of Scottish Romanticism and of the Victorian period. The approach to the reception of Lord Byron and Walter Scott not only draw on studies of their international reception but constitute a new contribution to both study areas and therefore to the international reception and literary impact of Scottish literature. From a Cuban perspective, this thesis fits within the studies of Cuban Culture, studies of Cuban cultural identity, studies of Cuban literature, and studies of José Martí's life and work while introducing a new study area to those fields: the Scottish component, which also applies to the life and work of the main Cuban receptors. Some of the analyses conducted on Cuban works originated by the reception will provide a new perspective to appreciate them given their so far invisible Scottish element, which therefore applies to Cuban literature and culture in general.

³⁵. Carla Sassi, *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 2005).

³⁶. "Comparative literature." *Merriam-Webster*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/comparative%20literature>.

Among the Cuban authors involved in the literary connection, attention will be mainly centred on José Martí³⁷. Published for the first time in 1900, Martí's *Obras Completas*³⁸ (Collected Works, henceforth *O. C.*) contain his approach to over 20 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish writers who he mentioned, recommended, promoted, criticized or translated into Spanish. The list includes not only famous names such as Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Thomas Carlyle, Lord Byron, Robert Louis Stevenson, James Boswell and Francis Jeffrey but also others not so widely known such as John Logan and Stirlingshire-born authors James Bruce and Henry Drummond. It should already be evident that Martí felt an extraordinary affinity with Scottish writing and culture, and responded to it in his own work. The authors addressed by Martí lived between 1711, the date of Edward Bannerman Ramsay's birth, and 1919, the date of Andrew Carnegie's death. Martí's *O. C.* also include abundant references and texts related to Scotland, its people, history and culture. Since Martí died in 1895, this thesis covers the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but focuses mainly on the second half of the nineteenth century, coinciding with Martí's lifetime (1853-1895). Besides Scotland and Cuba, the geographical research context includes two more areas: the United States, where Martí stayed from 1880 to the year of his death and produced most of his works involving Scottish literature and authors, and Latin America, the main destination of his texts. Martí's approach to Scottish literature is related to his journalistic and literary works, his

³⁷. Born to Spanish parents in Havana in 1853, José Martí was the eldest brother to seven sisters. His parents, Leonor Pérez and Mariano Martí, were humble immigrants, and the family depended on the sporadic employment of the father, a volunteer in the Spanish army. In his early childhood, Martí became acquainted with the horrors of slavery and, being barely nine, he swore before the sight of a hanged black slave "to wash the crime with his own blood," as stated in his *Versos Sencillos*. At sixteen he was jailed, transferred to the Isle of Pines (the second largest island of the Cuban Archipelago) and eventually banished to Spain, where he wrote articles expressing outrage at the suffering of Cubans under Spanish rule, and enrolled in several University programs. After finishing his studies in 1874, Martí travelled to Madrid and then to Paris, where he spent two weeks. By the end of December, he travelled from Le Havre to Southampton, his only and short visit to Great Britain, the closest he physically got to Scotland. In January, he headed for New York and then to México, where he remained for two years. In 1877 he returned to Cuba under an assumed name. Not able to obtain employment on the Island at that time, he accepted a job as professor of history and literature in Guatemala City. In 1880, he moved to the United States, where he mobilized the Cuban community, especially in Tampa and Key West, Florida, to continue the struggle for Independence from Spain and thus oppose U.S. annexation of Cuba. In New York City, he was the primary planner of the 1895 War and founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party, besides serving as joint consul for Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Short after having disembarked in Cuba in order to start the war in that very year, he died in combat holding the rank of major general.

³⁸. José Martí, *Obras Completas*, (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1991).

criticism, translations, correspondence and speeches, as well as personal notes and excerpts posthumously gathered. However, no studies have yet been conducted on either the Scoto-Cuban literary connection or Martí's approach to Scottish authors, which might open a considerable number of enquiries. This thesis seeks to answer why there was a Scottish-literature reception in nineteenth-century Cuba, who were the best received Scottish authors and what was their influence and impact on Cuban literature. It explores who were the main Scottish-literature receptors, what was their role in the reception and how they perceived Scotland and Scottishness through the works of the relevant Scottish authors. Specifically, what was Martí's engagement in the reception and why did he become its most prominent figure, earning (I argue) a new and special place in the map of Scotland's international literary influence. The role played by translation in literary and cultural transmission is a key question considered in multiple contexts, and at times in very specific detail.

In order to find the answers to these questions, some theoretical and methodological considerations need to be set forth to shape and guide the relevant analyses. As previously stated, the fact that this thesis entails the approach to two national literatures in different languages, and the relationship of the corresponding texts with other arts and disciplines, makes it fall into the realm of what is commonly understood by "comparative literature," a term that, since its origin, has undergone innumerable attempts to delineate its meaning. After many decades of discussion, scholars are still engaged in defining what Comparative Literature is, fixing its objectives and determining its role, content, form, task and scope. In this regard, comparatist Touria Nakkouch inquires: "Is Comparative Literature a science? A subject? A field of study? A method of reading texts and other cultural forms of knowledge?"³⁹ More questions can be added to her concern since comparative literature has also been referred to as an "undisciplined discipline," an "amorphous quasi-discipline," etc., not to mention several diagnoses of the field's decline and crisis not relevant to this work. Nakkouch concludes that "scholars now agree that this human discipline resists systematic definition or conceptualization."⁴⁰ However,

³⁹. Touria Nakkouch, "Comparative Literature and the Question of Theory," A, last updated February 14, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/7856719/Comparative_Literature_and_the_Question_of_Theory.

⁴⁰. Ibid.

not all attempts have been unfruitful and starting points are always needed. Susan Bassnett, a translation theorist and comparative-literature scholar, states: “the simplest answer is that comparative literature involves the study of texts across cultures, that it is interdisciplinary and that it is concerned with patterns of connections in literatures across both time and space.”⁴¹ Her statement corroborates the positioning of this thesis but more needs to be said to relate this framing to the specificities of this study. One of the most quoted definitions of comparative literature is the one provided by Henry H. H. Remak in his “Comparative Literature, Its Definition and Function.” For him, it

is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country, and the study of the relationships between literature on the one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the arts (e.g., painting, sculpture, architecture, music), philosophy, history, the social sciences (e.g., politics, economics, sociology), the sciences, religion, etc., on the other. In brief, it is the comparison of one literature with another or others, and the comparison of literature with other spheres of human expression.⁴²

Even though the proposal of H. H. Remak dates back to 1961, it was in use at the ninth congress (1979) of the Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée/International Comparative Literature Association (AILC/ICLA), where the Belgian linguist Roland Mortier not only argued that it was “*la meilleure définition de la littérature comparée*” (the best definition of comparative literature), but also stated that “it continues to have validity.”⁴³ I agree and have adopted Remak’s model in this thesis since it entails a transatlantic approach to literature and appeals to the relationship of the relevant texts to almost all the areas of knowledge Remak cites. Otherwise, it would not be possible to interpret a literary phenomenon that started with music and dance in a peculiar historic context marked by slavery and abolition, as is the case of the Cuban reception of Scottish literature. An omnivorous multidisciplinary approach is required to explain why there are foreign

⁴¹. Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A critical introduction* (Oxford UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1993), 1.

⁴². Henry H. H. Remak, “Comparative Literature, Its Definition and Function,” in *Comparative Literature: Method and Perspective*, Horst Frenz and Newton P. eds., (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), 3.

⁴³. César Domínguez, Haun Saussy and Darío Villanueva, “Comparative Literature and the Future of Literary Studies,” in *Introducing Comparative Literature: New Trends and Applications* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 5.

plant species such as “thistle” and “nettle” in Martí’s most famous poem, or to understand his perception of Scotland and Scottishness via a wide range of texts featuring historical figures such as Mary Queen of Scots and the once-Scotland-based politician Marat (also addressed by Thomas Carlyle, an additional reason for comparison), the sculptor Brodie, the musician Eugen d’Albert, the explorer David Livingstone or the soldier Thomas Cochrane. Comparative literature provides the tools and the reasons to address such a wide and dissimilar range of contextual themes revealing the cross-cultural connection within which Martí’s reception of Scottish literature and his own literary production took place.

Other scholars have ventured more recent and encompassing definitions.

According to Tötösy de Zepetnek,

the discipline of Comparative Literature is *in toto* a method in the study of literature in at least two ways. First, Comparative Literature means the knowledge of more than one national language and literature, and/or it means the knowledge and application of other disciplines in and for the study of literature and second, Comparative Literature has an ideology of inclusion of the Other, be that a marginal literature in its several meanings of marginality, a genre, various text types, etc. ... Comparative Literature has intrinsically a content and form, which facilitate the cross-cultural and interdisciplinary study of literature and it has a history that substantiated this content and form. Predicated on the borrowing of methods from other disciplines and on the application of the appropriated method to areas of study that single-language literary study more often than not tends to neglect, the discipline is difficult to define because thus it is fragmented and pluralistic.⁴⁴

Avoiding the science-discipline-method-field-object discussion, Zepetnek offers an epistemological approach to the languages and literatures involved and the multidisciplinary character required to conduct their study while addressing the “ideology of inclusion of the Other,” conveyed, “intrinsically” too, by comparative literature. This tenet makes it viable to consider, discuss and eventually include the Scoto-Cuban literary phenomenon and its protagonists within current studies on the Caribbean-Scottish relations as well as the international reception and literary impact of Scottish Literature. Zepetnek’s emphasis on “genre” and “text types” underscores a key consideration for this project, given the broad spectrum of genres covered by

⁴⁴. Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, *Comparative Literature: Theory, Method, Application* (Amsterdam - Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi B.V.,1998), 13.

the Cuban writers engaged in the Scottish connection, and the resistance of many texts to generic classifications. Such is the case of Martí's journalistic works that have indistinctly been named "New York Letters," "New York Chronicles," or "North-American Scenes." On the other hand, not all texts casting light upon the interpretation of the Cuban reception of Scottish literature are precisely "literary." Among them, mention should be made of the *American Popular Lessons* by which Martí and many of his contemporaries became familiar with Scotland and Scottish literature in their early childhood. Other revealing texts on the Cuban side, involving Scotland and Scottish literature, correspond to journalistic notes, personal correspondence, and study notes.

Other definitions are more specific regarding the object of comparative literature. According to Vijay Kumar Das, "Comparative Literature analyses the similarities and dissimilarities and parallels between two literatures. It further studies themes, modes, conventions and the use of folk tales, myths in two different literatures or even more."⁴⁵ One of the most far-reaching impacts of Scottish literature on the Cuban culture in general, and particularly on Martí's literary creation, originates in a folk tale collected by Edward Bannerman Ramsay, while the myth of Ossian inspired not only several translations on the Cuban side but also several anthological compositions dedicated to the hero.

As to the "parallels" mentioned by Kumar Dass, some scholars also interpret it as the effect of one literature on another or others, which leads to one more long-discussed concept, "literary reception," central to both comparative literature and to this thesis. The relationship between comparative literature and reception is addressed in general terms by the late George Steiner, who notes that

every act of the reception of significant form, in language, in art, in music, is comparative. Cognition is re-cognition, either in the high Platonic sense of a remembrance of prior truths, or in that of psychology. We seek to understand, to "place" the object before us—the text, the painting, the sonata—by giving it the intelligible, informing context of previous and related experience.⁴⁶

⁴⁵. Bijay Kumar Das, ed., *Comparative Literature*, (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and distributors, 2000), 1.

⁴⁶. George Steiner, *What is Comparative Literature: An inaugural Lecture Delivered Before the University of Oxford on 11 October 1994*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1.

Nevertheless, when it comes to literary reception, numerous discussions and disagreements arise. Scholars seem not to reach a clear consensus on terms such as “reception,” “literary reception,” “interliterary reception,” “influence,” “literary influence,” and “literary impact,” which are often used indistinctly and indiscriminately. Robert C. Holub has expressed that “the proliferation of theoretical and practical investigations, though, has not produced conceptual unanimity, and what precisely reception studies entail is at present still a matter of dispute. Perhaps the central difficulty is determining exactly what the term means.”⁴⁷ In this thesis, “reception” will be referred to as the mere contact of the literary work with a reader from another literary and linguistic community. In the specific case of the Scottish-literature Cuban reception, most of the receptors involved were coincidentally writers and translators, which led to a multivariate response beyond the enjoyment of reading. However, structuralist approaches to this literary “system” and its processes tend to downplay the human encounter between the actors involved: the author or emitter and the reader or receptor (also referred to as “receiver” in the scholarly literature). They also tend to marginalise the multiple means or channels by which the text reaches its readership, that is, the acts of mediation performed by intermediaries and transmitters referred by Ulrich Weisstein in his *Comparative Literature and Literary Theory*.⁴⁸ This aspect of the system, as will be further discussed, bears peculiar characteristics within the Cuban reception of Scottish authors. Since so much has been written about “the determining features and context” in which the nineteenth-century Scottish literary production took place, this thesis mainly focuses on the main historic features and literary context that favoured the Cuban reception, and includes biographical details of key receptors and transmitters, both to consolidate the historical evidence which underpins the study and to assist in subsequent research building on these foundations.

In comparative terms, reception can also be considered the threshold of “influence,” another concept that has been the object of innumerable academic discussions as well. In his *Theories of Comparative Literature*, M. M. Enani defines

⁴⁷. Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A critical introduction*, (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2003), xi

⁴⁸. Ulrich Weisstein, *Comparative Literature and Literary Theory* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1973), 30.

it very succinctly as “the movement (in a conscious or unconscious way) of an idea, a theme, an image, a literary tradition or even a tone from a literary text into another.”⁴⁹ Elementary as this definition may seem, it does not go much beyond the term’s etymological sense of the movement of a liquid into a container or receptacle, and does not tell much about the multiple responses that readers, depending on their background, may experience once they have received the literary “message.” Besides his allusion to “conscious” and “unconscious” influence, Enani also distinguishes “literary and non-literary,”⁵⁰ as well as “direct and indirect”⁵¹ and “positive and passive”⁵² influences. As the terms coincide to a great extent with their primary dictionary meanings they do not require special explanation here. Neither will be defined the modes of influence commonly classified into “adaptation,” “pastiche,” “stylisation,” “parody,” “plagiarism,” “creative treason,” etc., addressed by Manas Sinha.⁵³ Instead, reference will be made to the expression “literary indebtedness,” used by J. T. Shaw in his key essay “Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies,”⁵⁴ and thereafter adopted by many other scholars. In his work, Shaw makes no distinction between “literary indebtedness” and “literary influence,” stating that “the study of literary indebtedness has never given up its place as an important branch of literary research within particular literatures, and especially in comparative literature”⁵⁵ – a statement both shared and refuted by many specialists. However, in the same essay, Shaw asserts that “the reception of an author or his works by an individual or national culture must be sharply differentiated from literary influence, though to be sure it may provide the impetus or intermediaries through which an influence may come to operate.”⁵⁶ That differentiation referred by Shaw has already been set forth here, however, as previously stated, he does not establish the

⁴⁹. M. M. Enani, *Theories of Comparative Literature* (Cairo: South Valley University Press, 2005), 15.

⁵⁰. Ibid., 15.

⁵¹. Ibid., 16.

⁵². Ibid., 22.

⁵³. Sinha, Manas, *In the context of Irish Nationalism W B Yeats poetry and its influence upon the poetry of Jibananda Das*, (Silchar, Assam: Assam University Press, 2014) Shodhganga, http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/96296/9/09_chapter%203.pdf. 55.

⁵⁴. J. T. Shaw, “Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies,” in *Comparative Literature: Method and Perspective* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), 66-67.

⁵⁵. Ibid., 58.

⁵⁶. Ibid., 61.

difference between “literary indebtedness” and “literary influence.” What is more, he concludes that “there is still need for study of reception and popularity and for all the varieties of direct literary indebtedness including literary influence,”⁵⁷ on the basis of which assertion it can be assumed that “literary influence” is a subset of “literary indebtedness.”

This thesis sustains the opinion that the term “indebtedness” presupposes the existence of a “creditor” and a “debtor,” which might raise unnecessary issues of supremacy and a simplistic, linear model of “transacting” cultural influence. Regarding the Cuban reception of Scottish literature, there are several instances in which the (Cuban) “debtors” – with their publications, critical works, translations and inspirations – produced work of such creative value as to favour their (Scottish) “creditors” to such a great extent that they too can be regarded as retrospectively “indebted.” In this sense, the term “mutual acknowledgement,” addressed in the conclusions of this thesis, will serve a better purpose. Nevertheless, the validity of Shaw’s ideas on literary influence is not questioned here. The solid ground provided by his practical approach is very germane and helpful in the analysis which follows. In particular, I note Shaw’s view that literary

influence, to be meaningful, must be manifested in an intrinsic form, upon or within the literary works themselves. It may be shown in style, images, characters, themes, mannerisms, and it may also be shown in content, thought, ideas, the general *Weltanschauung* presented by particular works. Of course it is necessary to adduce satisfactory external evidence that the hypothetically influenced author could have been influenced by the influencing author; for this purpose, mentions, allusions, quotations, diaries, the evidence of contemporaries, and evidences of an author's reading must be used. But the essential test must be within the works themselves. Whether particular borrowings are interpreted as showing influence depends upon their effect and importance in the new work; but influence need not include any specific borrowings.⁵⁸

One of the key criteria for considering the inclusion of Scottish authors in the relevant analyses of the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba, as well as José Martí’s approach to those authors, is precisely the number of mentions, allusions and quotations, even though we argue that the number does not determine the influence’s

⁵⁷. Ibid., 70.

⁵⁸. J. T. Shaw, Ibid., 66.

scope. As subsequently discussed, a particular borrowing of a pair of terms from Edward Bannerman Ramsay's *Reminiscences* had a far-reaching effect on Martí's "new" work. Since Martí's diaries do not contain significant material in this regard, they will not be taken into consideration, and finally, the term "impact," used by Holub and other scholars, will be only reserved for an extraordinary effect on the receptor's work and beyond. Other theoretical and methodological considerations will be included as needed in the following chapters for the sake of unity and coherence.

José Martí, the key Cuban figure of this thesis, is usually acknowledged as the greatest writer of his century in Cuba, which reputation adds significance to his engagement with Scottish literature (and its subsequent influence). Although his works include essays, novels, short stories, plays, and art criticism, he is widely considered the most important Cuban poet of the nineteenth century and one of the precursors of Modernism in Hispanic America. Martí is also regarded as the most important Cuban translator, journalist and writer of children's literature of the century. These traits, together with his celebrity as a thinker, political leader and organizer of the Independence War against Spain confer on Martí the status of Cuba's national hero. Relevant spheres of his life in which he attained remarkable success and influence are addressed in Appendix 1. Following Martí's death in battle in 1895, his works were arranged and compiled into twenty-six thick volumes, through which a Scottish component is clearly distinguishable. In a letter addressed to an Argentinian friend, Martí, who never visited Scotland, recommends to him the reading of Edward Bannerman Ramsay's *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* and mentions "the beauty of Scotland, which is my kind of people."⁵⁹ This expression implicitly conveys Martí's perception of Scotland and Scottishness, a topic that will be addressed all through this thesis not only regarding Martí but also the rest of the Cuban writers who took part in the Scottish-literature reception.

This thesis comprises four chapters: Chapter 1, "The Cuban Reception of Scottish Literature," delves into "the determining features and context," both historical and literary, that gave rise to the literary phenomenon and discusses why

⁵⁹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 7, 396.

there was a Scottish-literature reception in Cuba at that time and why it lasted almost all through the century while revealing the most prominent receptors and summarising their contributions. The chapter concludes that their active role as influenced receptors turned them into influencing re-transmitters who contributed to the Scottish-literature reception beyond the Cuban boundaries.

Chapter 2, “The Cuban Reception of Byron,” addresses, for the first time, the reception of Byron in Cuba. Surveying a range of works originated by this literary phenomenon, including personal correspondence, criticism, journalism, translations, and imitative creation, the chapter interprets these works as marks of influence. The chapter examines the engagement of Cuban receptors with the life and works of Byron as well as their active role, not yet acknowledged, as Byron transmitters. In particular, the chapter deals with Byron’s influence on Martí’s works and Martí’s role and scope as a receptor of Byron. Details of the life and work of the relevant Cuban receptors are provided for the benefit of subsequent researchers.

Chapter 3, “The Cuban Reception of Walter Scott,” approaches, for the first time, the reception of Walter Scott in Cuba, while focusing attention on translations, correspondence, criticism, and creative writing stimulated by Scott’s oeuvre. Special attention is paid to the influence of Scott on the creation of the Cuban anti-slavery novel, especially, *Cecilia Valdés*, the most emblematic of all, and two historic dramas that might be classified as Scottish literature. The chapter reveals the Cuban receptors’ perception of Scott’s life and works as well as their perception of Scotland and Scottishness by means of Scott’s works, and their subsequent contribution to the reception of Scott. The chapter argues that the role played by the Cuban receptors of Scott should be acknowledged by adding their names on the map of the international reception and literary impact of Scottish literature and the international reception of Walter Scott in particular.

Chapter 4, “José Martí and Scottish literature,” addresses Martí’s facet as a receptor and re-transmitter of Scottish literature. By means of an influence study and a survey of Martí’s approach to a wide variety of Scottish cultural topics, the chapter explores the origin of Martí’s interest in Scotland and his command of Scottish culture. The chapter argues that Martí’s participation in the reception was not the result of a mere idealised romantic vision but of his engagement with Scottish themes

since early in his life through *The American Popular Lessons*, a source containing a distinguishable Scottish element along with transatlantic topics such as exploration, conquest, colonisation and slavery. The chapter also addresses Martí's role as a re-transmitter and the impact of Edward Bannerman Ramsay and Samuel Smiles on Martí's works while arguing that the number of mentions of a foreign author does not necessarily determine the scope of their influence. The chapter answers the question why Martí should be considered the most prominent of the Scottish-literature Cuban receptors of the nineteenth century.

As no other studies have yet been conducted on the literary relationship between Scotland and Cuba, one of the limitations of this thesis lays in the fact that the survey of literary contacts cannot be informed by preceding research findings. Although the Scoto-Cuban literary phenomenon had remained invisible so far, it is so massive, complex, and under-researched that this initial attempt cannot hope to address the role played by all the Scottish authors and the Cuban receptors involved nor in all the areas and genres in which the influence manifests. Not all the Scottish authors addressed by Martí will be the object of analysis below: a selection has been made taking into consideration the number of references Martí made to them, the extent and importance of those references, and the literary relevance of the over twenty authors on the list (out of which, ten were initially discarded since each of them were addressed by Martí only once and his approach to them was not so relevant or extensive). However, referring to them all shows the extent to which the Cuban national hero was engaged with Scottish authors and their works: that is, his wide scope as a Scottish-literature receptor and the wider significance of Scoto-Cuban literary transmission.

Chapter 1

The Cuban Reception of Scottish Literature

Cuba's transatlantic geographical position, together with its Spanish historical background, as expressed before, make it unlikely the idea of a Scottish literature reception on the island in the nineteenth century. However, the fact that the literary phenomenon existed, even though it has not hitherto researched, urges us to find out the reason why it took place precisely at that time and in that place, why it comprised most of the century, what it was like, who were the best received Scottish authors and which works, who were the main Cuban receptors, and what was their role in the reception. In order to find the answers to these queries, analyses will be conducted on the socio-historical context that gave rise to the Scottish-literature reception, the most relevant literary features that distinguished the period, as well as the life and works of the main receptors, and the way they interrelated.

History in Times of Reception

The socio-historical context encompassing the Cuban reception of Scottish literature is associated with the apogee and crisis of the slavery system, as well as the formation, development, and maturity of a national consciousness. A summarised account of the period refers that

Cuba awakened dramatically in the nineteenth century. The growth of the United States as an independent nation, the collapse of Haiti as a sugar-producing colony, Spanish protective policies, and the ingenuity of Cuba's Creole business class all converged to produce a sugar revolution on the island. In a scant few years, Cuba was transformed from a sleepy, unimportant island into the major sugar producer in the world. Slaves arrived in increasing numbers; large estates squeezed out smaller ones; sugar supplanted tobacco, agriculture, and cattle as the main Occupation; prosperity replaced poverty; and Spain's attention replaced neglect. These factors, especially the last two, delayed a move toward independence in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁰

The alluded "prosperity" of course refers to that of the slave owners and rich merchants. In fact, at the beginning of the century, the production of sugar, closely related to the upsurge of slavery, underwent a sharp increase also favoured by the

⁶⁰. "History of Cuba: Historical Background." *One World: Nations on Line*, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Cuba-history.htm>.

Napoleonic wars that triggered the price of the product, as well as the Industrial Revolution in England, that brought about technological advances such as the steam engine.⁶¹ However, the population of the island was highly polarised into diverse social strata: an oligarchy of Creole landowners and Spanish merchants, a large slave mass and, in between, freed blacks and mulattos, and humble white people. The accelerated slavery-based economic growth during the first half of the century was a source of social instability given the continual abolitionist rebellions and plots the system generated.⁶² Furthermore, the development of the colony was attaining contributed to widening the ever-increasing differences of interests between Cuba and Spain. The strengthened control of the metropolis over its colony by means of measures and restrictions that affected the Cubans,⁶³ not only increased the differences between the Spaniards and the Creole population but also contributed to originating a sense of national identity among the Cubans.

The disagreement with the oppressing Spanish policies brought about four major political tendencies aiming at solving the situation; namely, abolitionism,⁶⁴ reformism,⁶⁵ annexationism,⁶⁶ and independentism.⁶⁷ Besides the slaves, who early in the century started to uprising against the regime, also the Creole landowners joined abolitionism since they were benefitting from the technological advances that increased the production and therefore the profits. Slave traders and colonial governors, since they were still enriching themselves on the free slave trade, were opposing abolition. England was planning to abolish slavery and demanded the same from Spain. The reformists, who were enduring the unimpeded increase of taxes on the part of the Spanish government, advocated for measures such as free trade and the gradual abolition of slavery through due compensation. By the middle of the century, most of the Cuban trade was taking place with the United States and that nation continued to attain a huge and fast economic development. These facts made

⁶¹. Fernando Ortiz. *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1987), 51.

⁶². Julio Le Riverend, *Breve Historia de Cuba* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1997), 41.

⁶³. *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁴. Susana Callejas et al., *Ibid.*, 48-50.

⁶⁵. *Ibid.*, 34-40.

⁶⁶. *Ibid.*, 50-53.

⁶⁷. *Ibid.*, 40-47.

some people on the island consider that the best solution to the Spanish exploitation would be the annexation of Cuba to the United States, in which procedure the American government was not still interested since it could bring about conflicts with a powerful England. They would rather keep Cuba under the control of an extremely weakened Spain and wait for a better chance to take over the island, a policy originally plotted by President Quincy Adams and consequently known as “the ripe fruit.”⁶⁸ Spain kept on exerting control over Cuba while extracting as much as possible from the island by means of a total domination policy. It mainly consisted in increasing the taxes and reinforcing the laws, especially those preventing free trade and encouraging exclusion of the Creole citizens from government positions. This circumstances lead to the frustration of all the political positions and left no other way out but the armed fight that burst in 1868. Cubans, who were already thinking and identifying themselves as national citizens, had eventually decided to win their independence from Spain. The rest of the century is highlighted by three wars that brought about the defeat of Spain and the empowerment of the United States on Cuba by offering help just at the end of the last war, when it had been practically won by the Cubans.

Music, Dance and the Indirect Influence of Romantic authors

From a literary point of view, and according to *Historia de la Literatura Cubana*⁶⁹ (History of Cuban Literature, *H. L. C.* henceforth), the nineteenth century comprises three subsequent stages. The first of those stages (1790-1820), characterised by the institutionalisation process undergone by literature and the predominance of Neoclassicism in the literary production, is not so relevant to this analysis. However, the second stage (1820-1868), mainly associated with the rise and fall of slavery, distinguished by the emergence and consolidation of national consciousness, and highlighted by the prevalence of Romanticism, constitutes the

⁶⁸. Quoted in Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony: A Study in Sugar, Studies in American Imperialism* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), 7.

⁶⁹. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *Historia de la literatura cubana: La colonia, desde los orígenes hasta 1898*, La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2005.

framework within which the reception of Scottish literature originated and developed in Cuba. The phenomenon, nevertheless, extended to the third stage (1868-1898), which encompasses the wars for independence from Spain and registers the move from Romanticism to Modernism and Naturalism as prevalent literary movements, a period also related to José Martí's reception of Scottish literature. However, one of the early evidences of the Scottish-literature reception on the island, as previously referred, is not precisely related to literature but rather to music and dance. An approach to this peculiar feature is provided by Alejo Carpentier⁷⁰ in *La Música en Cuba*,⁷¹ a volume that has been characterised by Luis E. Álvarez as “an interpretation of the general process of Cuban culture, provided on the grounds of music,”⁷² the reason why literary incidents are naturally embodied in the Carpentierian text. Referring to the very beginning of the third decade of the century, Carpentier points out that

new and wider margins of expression open up for the sentimental ballad, copied from the ones sung in the saloons of Paris. Madame de Staël inspired romantic songs among certain Havana musicians. In 1820, “La Corina” was published, with ingenuous lyrics, seeking to prolong the emotions of a tearful moment.⁷³

Certainly, the new genre of lounge music, also referred to as “romanza,” gained recognition in Havana's ballrooms, a happening also recorded in *H. L. C.*⁷⁴ It is widely known that Madame the Staël (1766-1817), the first inspirer mentioned by Carpentier, is considered one of the most prominent voices of European Romanticism, and coincidentally regarded as one of the precursors of comparative literature as well as one of its most recurred scholars, which assertion is supported by Sarah Webster Goodwin on stating that “comparative literature offers the rare

⁷⁰. Cuban novelist, essayist, ethnologist and musicologist, holder of a Cervantes Prize, considered the most outstanding writer of the twentieth century in Cuba.

⁷¹. Alejo Carpentier, *La música en cuba*. Ciudad de la Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1979.

⁷². Luis Álvarez, “Alejo Carpentier en *La música en Cuba*,” *Cubaliteraria*, August 2016, <http://www.cubaliteraria.com/articulos.php?idarticulo=19608&idcolumna=32>.

⁷³. Alejo Carpentier, *Music in Cuba* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 169.

⁷⁴. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 101.

example of a feminist critic and scholar—Germaine de Staël—as one of its earliest and most influential theorists.”⁷⁵

Nevertheless, what makes Staël more relevant to this analysis is not her role as “pioneer comparatist”⁷⁶ but the fact that the song alluded by Carpentier, “La Corina,” (1807), was inspired by her novel *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (Corinne or Italy), strongly related to Scotland.⁷⁷ As Carpentier’s work does not stand on the grounds of literature, he does not address the wide literary reception Staël was given in Cuba by that time, and the way she influenced not only musicians, who might have perceived that Corinne too was one of them since at some point she “took her harp, and sang one of those simple Scotch ballads whose notes seem fit to be borne on the wailing breeze,”⁷⁸ but also several Cuban writers of the epoch who appreciated her works, among them, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, who is considered the most prominent woman author of her time and whose life and works bear much in common with Staël’s as reflected in a letter written by Avellaneda herself to her close friend Ignacio Cepeda in Spain. In the letter, she invites him to enjoy the reading of contemporary authors. The list is headed by “works of the celebrated Walter Scott:” *The Pirate, Kenilworth, Waverley* and *The Antiquary*.

Then *Corinne or Italy* by Madame Staël. A descriptive novel of the most beautiful and poetic country in the world, the description made by the pen of another writer whose merit you know. In addition, some friends have told me there are similarities between me and the protagonist of this novel, and I want to read it again with you and look for the resemblance that is attributed to me with this beautiful ideal of such a genius as Staël’s.⁷⁹ (Translated by the author)

The paragraph reveals Avellaneda’s awareness of her resemblance to Corinne, her perception of Staël as well as her admiration for the French writer. Since the

⁷⁵. Sarah Webster Goodwin, “Cross Fire and Collaboration among Comparative Literature, Feminism, and the New Historicism,” in *Feminist Engagements with Comparative Literature*, ed. Margaret R. Higonnet (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 248.

⁷⁶. A. Owen Aldridge, ed., *Comparative Literature: Matter and Method* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), 2.

⁷⁷. Catherine Jones, “Madame de Staël and Scotland: Corinne, Ossian and the Science of Nations,” *Romanticism*, v. 15, Issue 3, 239-253, published October 2009, <https://doi.org/10.3366/E1354991X09000750>.

⁷⁸. Madame Staël, *Corinne or Italy*, (London: A. Spottiswoode, 1838), 149.

⁷⁹. Roberto Cruz de Fuente, *La Avellaneda, autobiografía y cartas* (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1914), 64.

protagonist of the novel has never left any doubt as to its biographical nature, the parallel between both writers can be inferred from her text. Furthermore, in *H. L. C.*, Staël heads the list of authors who strongly influenced Avellaneda.⁸⁰ However, Staël's inspiring Corinne, though born in Italy, is the daughter of a Scottish father, and the novel also includes other Scottish characters such as Corinne's stepmother and her daughter. A considerable part of the plot is set in Scotland and consequently there are descriptions involving "the sad and bleak ambience of the country and the cold reserved behaviour of the Scots."⁸¹ In *Music in Cuba*, Carpentier also provides an excerpt of the piece inspired by Staël's novel, which can be considered as evidence of indirect influence:

... tenderly from Rome, bequeathed
 Among friends with good fortune,
 But oh! Sad, the poison of love,
 That inclemently roams in my veins.
 I saw Oswald and suddenly loved him,
 Oh! Corina, it's time for you to die,
 Oh! Corina, it's time for you to die.⁸²

Besides showing the intention alluded by Carpentier of "seeking to prolong the emotions of a tearful moment" by means of the repetition of the last sorrowful lines, the stanza features the name of the coprotagonist, Oswald, with whom Corinne is sentimentally involved. Interestingly though, Oswald too is a Scottish character even though neither Oswald nor Mr. Nevil, as he is also called in the novel, are registered Scottish names. The sample provided by Carpentier uses the Spanish equivalent of Oswald, that is, Osvaldo. However, some scholars draw attention on the resemblance of the character's original name to that of Oscar, the Ossianic character. Pierre Carboni refers to him as "the young melancholy Scottish peer Oswald whose name suggests that of Oscar."⁸³ Besides, the novel contains at least five allusions to Ossian. Staël was so influenced by Macpherson's work that it constituted the base of one of

⁸⁰. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 254.

⁸¹. "Lamentos de Corina a su idolatrado Osvaldo" Almanaque, Pliegos de cordel, tradición oral, romancero..., published August 8, 2013, <http://adarve5.blogspot.com/2013/08/lamentos-de-corina-su-idolatrado-osvaldo.html>.

⁸². Alejo Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*, *ibid.*

⁸³. Pierre Carboni, "Ossian and Belles Lettres," in *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*, eds. Deidre Dawson, Pierre Morère (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, London: Associated University Press, 2004), 86.

her most referential theories. As stated by Pierre Carboni, “Ossian and belles lettres shaped Madame de Staël’s influential literary theory into the famous dichotomy between the *littérature du Nord* and the *littérature du Midi* in *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800).”⁸⁴ Carboni also asserts that “Madame de Staël goes even further, interpreting Ossian as the ‘origin’ of northern literature, just as she defines Homer as the first source of its southern equivalent.”⁸⁵ It can be said then that, beyond the literary influence exerted on Cuban writers such as Avellaneda, Madame de Staël, a non-Scottish author, played an indirect initial role in getting Cubans familiar with Scotland and Scottish literature by means of her non-Scottish novel featuring Scottish characters and settings while making allusions not only to Macpherson’s *Ossian* but also to Scottish ballads. According to Carpentier, Staël was not the only writer inspiring musical pieces in Cuba at that time:

after Madame Staël, Chateaubriand and Lord Byron were the great inspiration for Romantic songs. “La Isabela,” by Ramón Montalvo, still sung by our grandmothers, with its melody so full of unexpected chromaticism, was written using a version of Byron’s “To Jenny.” The title of the ballad “Dulce Chactas” reveals its origin. Plácido composes the poetry that, based on the famous novel, will inspire “La Atala,” one of the great successes of the time.⁸⁶

To the best of my knowledge, Chateaubriand is not related to the reception of Scottish literature in Cuba, unless his alleged influence on Byron⁸⁷ can be traced in this regard despite not being Byron the best transmitter of Scottishness as widely accepted. At least, *Atala, ou Les Amours de Deux Sauvages dans le Desert*, the novel that inspired such musical pieces as “Dulce Chactas” and “La Atala,” mentioned by Carpentier, does not contain any recognisable Scottish element. Nevertheless, among the great inspirational sources of the “new” genre, Carpentier mentions Lord Byron, a name on almost all the lists of famous Scots. Much has been written about how Scottish Byron is given his English birthplace, his early-childhood Scottish residence and education, and his scant Scotland-related literary production, among

⁸⁴. Ibid.

⁸⁵. Ibid.

⁸⁶. Alejo Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*, *ibid.*

⁸⁷. Stephen Minta, “Byron and *Le mal du siècle*,” The Byron Society, accessed January 23, 2019, <http://www.thebyronsociety.com/byron-and-le-mal-du-siecle>

other considerations. The late Peter Cochran, a renowned Byron scholar, introduces his edited “Byron’s Poems about Scotland” by simply saying that “Byron is thought of as an ‘English’ poet, but ‘Anglo-Scots’ is more accurate.” In his “Byron,” Alan Rawes addresses Byron’s Scottishness by surveying the criteria of several authors who delineate Byron’s Scottish traits and traces his Scottish identity through his works. However, Rawes concludes that “as he adopted an English rather than a Scottish identity on moving to England, so he adopted a European identity rather than his English one when he went abroad,”⁸⁸ to which can be added that his life and work have provided him with a universal identity. Very often the tenth canto of his celebrated *Don Juan* is quoted as an ultimate argument: “... I am half a Scot, by birth – and bred / A whole one.”⁸⁹ “The International Reception and Literary Impact of Scottish Literature” mentions “two Scots whose influence on nineteenth century literature is without parallel: Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott.”⁹⁰ The same source, nevertheless, admits that

Byron’s well-charted international fortunes cannot be discussed here, as – rarely, if ever, perceived as a Scot abroad– he had little direct impact on perceptions of Scottish literary identity. Nonetheless, as the Romantic writer *par excellence*, sparking unprecedented foreign interest in British writing, he provided a filter through which other, more recognisably Scottish figures were read,⁹¹

after which statement the chapter unimpededly proceeds to analyse the international reception of Byron. So the same will be done here regarding Byron’s fortunes in Cuba not yet fully addressed. For so doing, there are reasons other than appealing to the inclusive character of comparative literature. Whereas Scott is second on the list with fourteen mentions, Byron, with seventeen, is the most recurrent Scot in *H. L. C.*, where the first allusion corresponds to his facet of romanza inspirer⁹² as pointed out by Carpentier. However, the title mentioned by him, “To Jenny,” does not pertain to any collection of poems by Byron. A deep search reveals that “To Jenny” was the

⁸⁸. Alan Rawes, “Byron,” in *The Edinburgh history of Scottish literature: Vol. 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707-1918)*, edited by Susan Manning and Ian Brown, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 178, 2007.

⁸⁹. Paul Wright, ed., *Selected Poems of Lord Byron* (London: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2006), 382.

⁹⁰. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹¹. *Ibid.*

⁹². Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 101.

title given by Mexican poet and translator Manuel María Flores (1840-1885) to his rendition of Byron's "Stanzas to Jessy."⁹³ As Flores's Spanish version was not published until 1874 in his book *Pasionarias*, Carpentier should have referred to the original piece by Byron but using the title altered by Flores. "La Isabela," therefore, should have been the fruit of an earlier Cuban inspiration by Byron's piece. So the question arises, why was Byron's "Stanzas to Jessy" so welcomed and why "La Isabela" became so attractive? The key to the first part of the answer might be in Andrew Elfenbein's assertion that "Byron is not just an author, but an unprecedented cultural phenomenon. His work affects not only the novel, poetry and drama, but fashion, social manners, erotic experience, and gender roles."⁹⁴ Peter Cochran not only quotes Elfenbein's definition but also sustains that "one could add, porcelain figurines, pub-signs, portraits, paintings, engravings, tourist-guides, statuettes, miniatures, songs, and operas."⁹⁵ Cuban songs and operas inspired by Byron are an ad hoc example of that "unprecedented cultural phenomenon" stated by Elfenbein and enlarged by Cochran, who concludes that "Byronism was a commodity independent of Byron's work,"⁹⁶ after which it can be said that "Stanzas to Jessy" had its fortunes granted beforehand, and, as well as Staël's novel, affected the sentimental ballad that became fashionable in Havanan ballrooms by inspiring a composition such as "La Isabela."

Byron's poem had been initially published in 1807 by *Monthly Literary Recreations*. Subsequent issues would be prefixed by an explanatory note: "The following stanzas were addressed by Lord Byron to his Lady, a few months before their separation,"⁹⁷ so surely the Cuban piece was named after Anne Isabella Noel Byron, 11th Baroness Wentworth and Baroness Byron, known as Lady Byron but nicknamed Annabella. However, when the piece was published for the first time, Byron had not yet met

⁹³. Manuel María Flores, *Pasionarias*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/pasionarias--0/html/606c9b63-4fe2-41ca-9171-febf57aba120_9.html#140.

⁹⁴. Andrew Elfenbein, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8.

⁹⁵. Peter Cochran, *Byron's European Impact* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 3.

⁹⁶. Peter Cochran, *Ibid.*

⁹⁷. George Gordon Byron, *The Works of Lord Byron Including the Suppressed Poems* (Paris: A. and W. Calignani, 1826), 713.

Anne Isabella, which happened in 1812. The marriage took place two years after he met her, and eight years after the poem was published. The question then remains, who was Jessy? Once more, Cochran provides a possible answer:

Byron had, while at Cambridge, fallen in love with a Trinity choirboy called John Edlestone. He left Cambridge at Christmas 1807. By February 1808 he was enjoying an exhausting heterosexual relationship with a sixteen-year-old girl called Caroline Cameron. He could not write frankly about the former without using pseudonyms, names of ambiguous gender, or remote implication. Of the latter, he might write more frankly. These problems, plus the contiguity and possible overlapping of the two relationships, sometimes makes attributing these remaining poems hard. But they contain a depth of tenderness and passion which is absent from the Nottinghamshire poems.⁹⁸

The identity of Jessy, a name that could be either masculine or feminine, might be relevant to Byron studies; however, the addressee makes little difference regarding the reception of the poem in Cuba, except for pointing out that the Cuban piece might bear the “wrong” name. The composition, made up of eight anaphoric stanzas, features the relationship between the poetic persona and a beloved subject, decomposed into a metaphoric element (“mystic thread of life”) and several metonymic objects (“a Form,” “a Voice,” “a Face,” “a Lip,” “a Bosom,” “a Mouth,” “an Eye”), all of them enumerated and distributed with certain incremental meaningfulness from the second stanza to the sixth, which set of lines contains the last three elements. Towards the end of the poem, all the isolated parts integrate with the poetic persona to make up “two Hearts” in the seventh stanza, and “two Souls” in the eighth, where the union is fully proclaimed and “those Souls are One.” Besides the anaphors, providing emphasis all through the poem, and the enumeration, meant to build up how much the beloved subject means to the poetic persona, the poem also features some metaphors (“Destiny's relentless knife,” “Affection's tale”) that intensify the meaning conveyed by them while embellishing the language. So Byron’s poem, from a stylistic point of view, has its own values even though it is not on the lists of his best or his most famous compositions. Furthermore, love is one of the archetypical themes of Romanticism, a means to explore liberated individual feelings, emotions, and passions. Besides the Cubans’ interest in the Romantic

⁹⁸. Peter Cochran, ed., “Byron’s early poems of Nottinghamshire and London,” accessed Dec 29, 2018, https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/poems_of_nottinghamshire_and_london.pdf.

novelties of the epoch, and their natural disposition to singing and dancing to the new genre, both the stylistic quality of Byron's piece and the love theme, through which many could perceive themselves reflected, constitute the main reasons why the composition was granted wide interest. It is therefore not surprising that the influence of "Stanzas to Jessy" may have enthused a well-acclaimed Cuban sentimental ballad. As to the second part of the answer, "La Isabela" should have been brilliantly composed as suggested by Carpentier's description. Although no written record has been found so far, neither Carpentier offers any excerpt of the lyrics as he does in the case of "Corinne," the fact that he refers to the piece as "still sung by our grandmothers" strongly suggests that, because of the quality of both the music and the lyrics, the piece was in fashion even in the first half of the twentieth century. Carpentier, furthermore, offers other clues as to the good fortune of Byron's "Stanzas to Jessy" and the acceptance of "La Isabela." On comparing the fashionable ballads of the moment, he states that

many of these songs are written in triple time over a waltz accompaniment, barely distinguished by random figures, embellishments, and removed from dance forms. Others, with greater pretensions, such as "La Isabela," look for their atmosphere and type of accompaniment in the German *lieder*. Truly, a certain Romanticism—more literary than musical—was being introduced to the island through these ballads, which salon society preferred to the uncouth ribaldry of the *guaracha*. It offered the harp players a greater showcase for their swooning gestures. But as always happens with imported foreign fashions, these ballads ended up, adjusting to the environment, turning the *mal du siècle* into tropical languidness.⁹⁹

Besides adding to the quality of the musical piece and its rendition, which again accounts for its extended reception, Carpentier alludes to the peculiar way in which Romantic authors such as Staël and Byron were received in Cuba, and how the literary aspect played a more prominent role than the musical regarding influence on "fashion and social manners," hence the preference the inspired compositions achieved, in the higher social strata, over the autochthonous musical genres rather associated to the lower strata. What is more, Carpentier alludes to the practical purpose served by the inspired compositions: harpists could reach higher standards of

⁹⁹. Timothy Brennan, ed., *Alejo Carpentier, Music in Cuba*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001, 170.

virtuosity on performing their renditions, which constitutes a peculiar example of literary influence on other arts in a postprocess stage. Carpentier concludes with a reference to the assimilation of both the inspired ballads and the “sickness of the century,” a distinctive trait of the Romantic aesthetics, which leads back to Chateaubriand, “the figure who did most to explore the idea of the *mal du siècle* in a theoretical way,”¹⁰⁰ and his possible influence on Byron, even though “it is well known that Byron had little to say about Chateaubriand...”¹⁰¹ Notwithstanding, Childe Harold and Manfred are considered among the most representative heroes of the *mal*. Allusion to the reception in Cuba of the eponymous works by Byron will be made in Chapter 2.

A key reference to the relationship between music and literature in this stage, and the role played by Byron’s works, is provided by Rafael Fernández Moya in an article on the international connection that characterised the literary gatherings held by Rafael María de Mendive, a Cuban outstanding poet, translator and teacher who

arranged the lyric toy “Gulnare,” an argument taken from Byron’s “The Corsair,” which Arditì¹⁰² set to music and was staged at the Tacón Theatre. Byron, who died in Missolonghi, Greece, as a national hero of that country in 1824, was admired in Cuba. From Byron, Mendive also translated “I Saw Thee Weep;” Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, “The Destruction of Sennacherib,” which was published in the Havanan newspaper *La Prensa* in 1852; poet Antonio Sellén translated “Parisina,” “The Prisoner of Chillon,” “The Laments of Tasso” and “The Bride of Abydos,” while his brother Francisco translated “The Giaour.”¹⁰³ (Translated by the author)

The quote not only offers one more instance of the literary influence of Byron on arts other than literature but also features in clear terms the collaboration between the poet-translator and the musician in the creation of the musical piece inspired by Byron’s poem. Gulnare is the name of one of the main characters of *The Corsair*, the heroine who, taking on a heterodox gender role, helps the protagonist escape from

¹⁰⁰. Stephen Minta, “Byron and *Le mal du siècle*,” *The Byron Society*, accessed January 23, 2019, <http://www.thebyronsociety.com/byron-and-le-mal-du-siecle>.

¹⁰¹. Ibid.

¹⁰². Luigi Arditì (1822-1923) was an Italian violinist, orchestra conductor and composer who attained great success in the United States and Europe. He was closely related to the opera seasons in Cuba from 1846 to 1851, in which year he conducted the orchestra of the Tacón Theatre of Havana.

¹⁰³. Rafael Fernández Moya, “Tertulia y conexión literaria internacional en casa de Mendive,” accessed March 10, 2018, <http://www.bpvillena.ohc.cu/2019/01/tertulia-y-conexion-literaria-internacional-en-casa-de-mendive/>.

death without being rewarded with marriage. Byron's composition has been the object of mixed criticism along time, from those who consider it "Byron's silliest poem"¹⁰⁴ to those who endorse its values by pointing out that the volume made publishing history in London on selling out its entire ten-thousand first run in only one day. Given the artistic relevance attained by both Mendive and Ardití, the performance of Italian singer Fortunata Tedesco,¹⁰⁵ not mentioned by Moya, as well as the undeniable fame of Byron's poem, the staging was successful, which is corroborated by most of Cuban-music reference books¹⁰⁶ as well as literary histories of Cuba, and of Spanish America.¹⁰⁷ All of them refer to the Cuban opera inspired by Byron and written by Mendive. Furthermore, the fact that "Gulnara" was staged at the Tacón Theatre, the busiest at the epoch in Cuba, accounts for the large audience reached by the staging. Moya's reference also reveals the considerable number of translations of Byron's works done at that time, not necessarily related to musical pieces as it initially happened, which constitutes another mark of influence. He also addresses Byron's heroic death in Missolonghi for the independence of the Greek people, beleaguered by Turkish-Egyptian forces, the key to the admiration he was granted in Cuba, where most of the population, engaged in forging their national identity, was struggling under Spanish domination to attain their independence as well, therefore the perception of Byron as a referential symbol.

Among the Byron translators mentioned by Moya, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes (1819-1874) deserves a special notice. In Cuba, he is considered the Father of the Homeland. Formerly a plantation owner, he set his slaves free and started the Ten Years' War against Spain in 1868. A year later, he was appointed President of the Republic of Cuba in Arms. A leadership coup caused his death. His interest in the translation of Byron's "The Destruction of Sennacherib" can thus be related to his endeavour to defeat the Spanish army and thus attain independence from Spain. As can be inferred from Moya's observation, "the Romanticism—more literary than

¹⁰⁴. Peter Cochran, "The Corsair, Byron's Silliest Poem," in *The Burning of Byron's Memoirs: New and Unpublished Essays and Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2004), 253.

¹⁰⁵. Zoila Lapique Becali, *Música colonial cubana en las publicaciones periódicas (1812-1902)* (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1979), v. 1, 29.

¹⁰⁶. Elio Horovio, *Cuban Music from A to Z* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 154.

¹⁰⁷. Alfred Coester, *The Literary History of Spanish America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 397.

musical— [that] was being introduced to the island” as of the third decade of the century, endured over time and by mid-century the initial sentimental ballads had been overcome by a more ambitious genre, the opera, which fact helps to explain why the initial musical feature of the reception lasted so long, a thread that will be followed to explain not only why there was a reception but also why it extended to the third stage. “Gulnara,” nevertheless, was not the only Byron-inspired opera originated in Cuba. Regarding the influence of Romanticism through this musical genre, Cuban scholar Salvador Arias refers that “the taste for naming shops with opera titles was also evident in the confectionery ‘La Vestal’ and the hat shop ‘La Parisina,’”¹⁰⁸ the latter named after the lyrical play based on Byron’s poem, which instance makes another item to be added to the Elfenbein-Cochrane list featuring the “unprecedented phenomenon.” A good coda for the fortunes of Byron through music and other concomitant arts might be the fact that for several decades now “The Corsair” has been in the active repertoire of the Cuban National Ballet. Further reference will be made to Mendive and his role in education as well as the literary gatherings since both areas constitute relevant factors to this analysis.

As hitherto discussed, this early feature of the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba is not distinguished by the direct effect of purely-Scottish literary works on Cuban writers; however, it is marked by the indirect influence of Romantic authors on sentimental ballads, the fashionable musical genre of the epoch; among those authors, Madame Staël, strongly influenced by Scottish literature and whose influencing novel *Corinne or Italy*, with a strong Scottish-literature component, was received in Cuba and served as inspiration source for the celebrated ballad “La Corina.” Lord Byron, not fully considered a Scottish writer but still the Scot who attained the greatest fortunes in Cuba, was also received on the island through the same peculiar path, and thus his poem “To Jessy” inspired “La Isabela,” another well-received ballad, while *The Corsair* inspired the opera “Gulnara.” As the setting to music of pieces inspired directly or indirectly by the works of Romantic authors, among them Scottish, turned out to be a tradition, for several decades the Cubans

¹⁰⁸. Salvador Arias García, “Plácido y el romanticismo,” Researchgate, January 2015, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276082747_Placido_y_el_romanticismo.

became familiar with them and their works, which brought about further readings and translations.

Hispano-American Figures and the Economic Society

The settlement of several Hispano-American figures in Havana at the end of the second decade of the century also characterised the second stage. They propagated among the Cuban intellectuals their revolutionary ideas about the wars for independence in the region and the immediate necessity to separate the Caribbean Island from Spain, therefore their influence is related to the process of consolidation of national identity that was taking place at that time besides having familiarised the Cubans with the works of European Romantic authors. Regarding their contribution, *H. L. C.* refers that, “from a literary point of view, they provided the first elements of Romanticism as a new tendency opposing Neoclassicism and as a liberating worldview of the individual opposing the prevailing narrow rationalism.”¹⁰⁹ In fact, they were highly knowledgeable about the literary novelties of the epoch and their influence led to deep reflection about personal and national independence. Among these immigrated Hispano-American intellectuals, mentioned should be made of Argentinian Antonio Miralla, whose works, permeated by German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, were well received among the Cubans as recorded in *H. L. C.*¹¹⁰ The fact that Miralla was an admirer of Goethe’s leads to think that he also promoted the novel among the Cubans. *The Sorrows*, as widely known, contains two pieces of Ossianic poetry belonging to “The Songs of Selma” and “Berrathon,” both related to the sentimental and sensual climax of the novel. The wide international fame achieved by the volume makes Goethe, as is the case of *Staël*, a noticeable receptor and transmitter of Scottish literature. Two of Miralla’s closest friends on the island were José María Heredia y Heredia¹¹¹ and Domingo del Monte. Both became Scottish-literature receptors. Heredia’s first

¹⁰⁹. José Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 107.

¹¹⁰. *Ibid.*, 108.

¹¹¹. José María Heredia y Heredia was born in Santiago de Cuba in 1803, he is considered the first romantic poet in Hispano-America, the initiator of Romanticism in Latin America and one of the most important poets of the Spanish language. He is widely known as “El cantor del Niágara” (The Bard of Niágara), for his famous poem inspired by the falls, and was also named National Poet of Cuba. Among his many and varied Occupations, Heredia was a prominent humanist, prosecutor,

translation, the Ossianic poem “La batalla de Lora,” was dedicated to Miralla, which strongly suggests that Heredia, and possibly many other Cubans, became familiar with Macpherson’s work through Goethe’s *The Sorrows*, promoted, directly or indirectly, by Miralla, which can be considered another case of indirect influence. In 1829, Cuban scholar José de la Luz y Caballero, who distinguished as a Scottish-literature receptor, would meet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Dresden and offered him his sympathies. Miralla had taught English to Heredia and had been a translator himself, one of his most popular translations being “Elegía en el cementerio de una aldea” after Thomas Gray’s original “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.” Later Heredia would translate works by other Scottish writers and Del Monte would be one of the most active promoters of Scott’s life and works as further discussed.

The prevalence exerted over the cultural panorama by the Friends of the Country Economic Society also characterised the second stage. The institution, even though devoted to the scientific, technical and cultural development of the country, was hindered by the colonial policies Spain had imposed at that time. Several cultural projects submitted to the Society were then prevented, among them, the creation of a Cuban Academy of Literature.

The incident ended up with the deportation of [José Antonio] Saco¹¹² at the request of [Miguel] Tacón¹¹³ and the withdrawal of [Domingo] Del Monte¹¹⁴

lawyer, professor, historian, translator, journalist, historical novelist, soldier, dramatist, deputy and director of the Literary Institute of Mexico. He came to be the private secretary of Antonio López de Santa Ana in 1832, besides other important responsibilities he held for the Mexican government. Since his early childhood, Heredia was educated under the guidance of his father, an enlightened man whom he owed his humanistic initiation. Child Heredia was so precocious and learned with so much interest, that at three he knew how to read and write, and at eight he was translating Horace. Because of the several positions his father was offered, Heredia lived in Florida, Santo Domingo, Venezuela and Mexico. While in Venezuela, in 1816, he studied Latin grammar at the University of Caracas, and his first known poems date back to that time. In 1817, the family returned to Cuba and in 1818, he began to study law at the University of Havana. In 1819, after having written other plays and finished his second year of Laws, young Heredia travels to Mexico where his father had been appointed investigating judge. In Mexico, Heredia enrolled the laws studies again, collaborated with several periodical publications and compiled his first poems into two volumes. The death of his father in Mexico in 1820 let him in charge of the family and made him return to Cuba where he founded his first magazine and graduated with a Bachelor’s Degree in Law. Eventually he graduated as a lawyer in 1823, in which year he is accused for participating in a conspiracy against the Spanish regime, the reason why he managed to escape to the United States.

¹¹². Cuban polymath, one of the most prominent figures of the nineteenth century who distinguished as a writer, historian, anthropologist and, social critic.

¹¹³. Governor General of Cuba (1834-1838).

¹¹⁴. Cuban writer, literary critic, and arts patron, known for his contributions to Cuban literature and public education.

from public activities. From that moment on, the most prominent Cubans in the cultural sphere stepped away from the official institutions in order to carry out their work privately: Del Monte reinforces literary gatherings in his own house; [José de la] Luz y Caballero [...] and [Cirilo] Villaverde¹¹⁵ would devote themselves to teaching.¹¹⁶ (Translated by the author)

The situation also brought about the segregation of cultural life into two main factions: the official Hispanic culture and the incipient Creole cultural movement embraced by outstanding writers increasingly engaged in consolidating a national literature distinguishable from the Spanish canons imposed until then, a tendency that led the natives to assimilate with pride the new literary production and deviate their attention from the Spanish Romantic models to other European and North American prototypes representing the vanguard of world literature. In this regard, the *H. L. C.* points out that “as to foreign poets, it is always asserted —and rightly—that Cubans were not fond of the Spanish poets at that time and would seek out their readings beyond the Pyrenees: Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Moore, Campbell, Byron, Goethe, Heine, Leopardi...,”¹¹⁷ which statement provides another plausible clue to set forth the reasons why Scottish authors were so well received in Cuba. Simple as it may appear though, the rejection of Spanish authors, consciously or unconsciously associated to the Spanish repression regime, favoured the Scottish-literature reception. The tendency to concentrate attention on European authors other than the Spanish ones was followed by those intellectuals who devoted themselves to cultural activism as well as those who engaged in private education. In fact, both fields became propitious for the reception of Scottish literature in Cuba as subsequently addressed.

Literary Gatherings

Among the undertakings that characterised cultural activism, literary gatherings were the most representative. These activities gained so much relevance in the third decade of the century that they not only attracted local residents, mainly intellectuals, but also prompted the attention of travellers and stationed authorities.

¹¹⁵. Cuban writer, journalist and freedom fighter, best known for his *Cecilia Valdés*, an emblematic novel about social classes and races in nineteenth-century Cuba.

¹¹⁶. José Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 103.

¹¹⁷ José Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 554.

Robert Francis Jameson, the British Commissioner of Arbitration based in Cuba between 1819 and 1823, noticed that

the *Tertullia* is the Spanish *rout*, conducted, however, with due gravity and order. The Havana can supply many room fulls of agreeable and pretty women and rational gentlemanly men; but there is a formal air in the good breeding of the latter very *old-schoolish*. When a well-bred caballero takes leave after a visit he will make you a bow of a most correct right angle, another when half way to the door, and a third he turns round to make as he touches the threshold.¹¹⁸ (sic.)

Jameson's critical but skin-deep viewpoint, however, fails to grasp the essence of the event. He cannot even distinguish that the attendants were Cubans rather than Spanish. He neither refers to the objective of the gatherings nor realises their cultural content, which bore a substantial literary component involving European Romantic authors, among them, English writers hand in hand with Scottish. Susana Callejas et al., in their *History of Cuba*, offer a better description of the literary gatherings on defining them as

acts of friendship and trust among people who maintained close relationships. In the gatherings, there was music, games and conversations through which opinions were exchanged on topics that varied according to the interests of the participants. In the middle of the evening, chocolate or coffee, soft drinks and sweets were distributed. The gatherings held by Domingo del Monte were among the most renowned. The cultural movement that was promoted by them reached numerous groups of creators and thinkers who were already expressing, all over the Island, the differences between the Creole culture and the Spanish one.¹¹⁹ (Translated by the author)

The alluded closeness, based on friendship and trust, was a key element to safely hold these gatherings, attended by people of letters, where they talk about art and literature and almost always about politics. They have often served as a pretext for political conspiracy and the circulation of new ideas; they have fostered schools of aesthetic renovation and centres where new artistic movements are fashioned.¹²⁰ Part of that cultural movement referred by Callejas et al. is related to the ideological and

¹¹⁸. Robert Francis Jameson, *Letters From the Havana, During the Year 1820 Containing an Account of the Present State of the Island of Cuba, and Observations on the Slave Trade*. (London: John Miller, 1821), 83-84.

¹¹⁹ Susana Callejas Opisso et al., *Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹²⁰. Abelardo Estorino, "José Jacinto Milanés visita las tertulias delmontinas," *Librinsula*, accessed March 21, 2018, <http://librinsula.bnjm.cu/1-205/2007/septiembre/194/dossier/dossier341.htm>.

aesthetic ideas of Romanticism, and involves authors such as Scott, Byron, Staël and Goethe who were introduced in those coteries alongside topics such as slavery and abolition. As stated by José Gomariz, “the forbidden fruit was always present in Del Monte’s literary gatherings and the fact was reflected in personal correspondence, essays, literary creation, daily life and, in some cases, it was the main source of income for the participants. Besides being a literary topic, slavery was, above all, an economic issue.”¹²¹ Del Monte’s personal correspondence, however, is not regarded for its antislavery content, but by its appreciated cultural value. His close relationship with numerous intellectuals on the island and abroad made possible the creation of his *Centón Epistolario*, a profuse collection of letters bearing significant information on literary topics and therefore relevant to the Cuban reception of Scottish literature. In this regard, mention should be made of Del Monte’s correspondence with Spanish journalist and critic Ángel Iznardi addressing topics such as the life and works of Walter Scott. Other correspondences reveal that Del Monte used to request from his friends abroad newly-published works by Scott and Byron or about them as is the case of Thomas Moore’s *Life of Byron*, which information also casts light on why there was a Scottish-literature reception in Cuba. Among the customary participants of Del Monte’s gathering, mention should be made of the most prominent intellectuals of the epoch, among them, José María Heredia, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Cirilo Villaverde and Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces. They all turned out to be among the most important Scottish-literature receptors. Some of them translated into Spanish several works by Scottish authors, published their works, or wrote critical articles about them. The translations done in Cuba by that time, including those of Scottish authors, are closely related to the literary gatherings.

Even though Del Monte’s gatherings are regarded as “one of the most significant events in Cuba’s literary history,”¹²² he did not start the tradition. Early in the century, young Félix Varela¹²³ would attend the gatherings held by Bishop Juan José Díaz de Espada in his house.¹²⁴ In his notes to the readers of *Félix Varela. Obras*,

¹²¹. José Gomariz, *Colonialismo e independencia cultural. La narración del artista e intelectual hispanoamericano del siglo XX*, (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2005), 53.

¹²². “Las Tertulias,” *Librínsula*. Ibid.

¹²³. Cuban priest, teacher, writer and philosopher. Distinguished for his independentism ideas.

¹²⁴. Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, “Nota al lector,” in *Félix Varela y Morales. Obras*, La Habana: Editorial Cultura Popular and Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, 1997, XXV.

Eduardo Torres-Cuevas features De Espada as “opposing slavery and slave traffic, supporting new sciences and art as well as a promoter of new methods in education.”¹²⁵ Under the tutorship of Bishop De Espada at the San Carlos College in Havana, Varela not only had access to the literary novelties of the epoch treasured in the bishop’s private library but also the opportunity to discuss about philosophy, sciences and arts with his classmates gathered at De Espada’s. By 1815, after having succeeded De Espada in his teaching position at San Carlos, Varela would hold his own gatherings with the students, however, he did not distinguish for this activity; instead, he is considered a great educationist, the teacher of prominent intellectuals who became Scottish-literature receptors. José de la Luz y Caballero, a disciple of Varela’s, also held his gatherings¹²⁶ and, just as his teacher, became rather known for his educational career and was strongly engaged in the Scottish-literature reception. José María de Mendive, one of Luz y Caballero’s disciples, was also a gathering holder.¹²⁷ Mendive became widely known for being José Martí’s teacher and as well is related to the reception. As hitherto referred, there is a close relationship between literary gatherings and private teaching, another feature of the stage furtherly addressed given its relevance to the Scottish-literature reception.

Almost three decades after Del Monte’s gatherings had come to an end, Nicolás de Azcárate, following the tradition, started his “Literary Nights” in Guanabacoa. Shortly after, he moved the gatherings to Havana, where his “Literary Conversations” were attended by prominent intellectuals such as Mendive, the aforementioned translator Antonio Sellén and his brother Francisco Sellén, also a translator, who rendered into Spanish Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Kidnapped*. In 1866, Azcárate compiled in two volumes a selection of representative works submitted to his gatherings. The first volume contains the aforesaid poem “A Ossian” (To Ossian) by Luisa Pérez de Zambrana while the second one features two translations by Juan Muñoz Castro: “Todo por ti” (All for you), one of Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies*, and “A Emma,” a translation of Lord Byron’s poem. Gatherings, as hitherto

¹²⁵. Ibid.

¹²⁶. Lourdes Arencibia, “La traducción en las tertulias literarias del siglo xix en Cuba,” *Researchgate*, accessed April 21, 2018, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264871495_LA_TRADUCCION_EN_LAS_TERTULIAS_LITERARIAS_DEL_SIGLO_XIX_EN_CUBA.

¹²⁷. Rafael Fernández Moya, Ibid.

discussed, remained a cultural tradition that extended all through the century and favoured the Scottish-literature reception. Their main hosts became outstanding receptors while also related to publishing and private teaching, which features, as subsequently discussed, also contributed to the reception.

Publications and Private Teaching

Even though several publications of the epoch had their origin in the gatherings, the stage is also characterised by the emergence of numerous local magazines and the introduction of others that were edited abroad by Cuban intellectuals who had been either banished or compelled to leave the country because of their ideas and activities in favour of the country's independence. Most of those publications aimed at providing the readers with varied cultural information including the literary events that were taking place in Europe. José María Heredia is among those writers who were compelled to leave the country by the second decade of the century. While exiled in Mexico, he worked as co-editor of *El Iris* and founded the *Tlalpam Miscelánea*, which magazines were well received in Cuba. In the 1926 fourth issue of *El Iris*, he “consecrated an article to give an idea of the literary character of Lord Byron and to make a brief review and judgment of his works.” In the eighteenth issue of the same Mexican magazine, corresponding to May 1826, Heredia published one more article devoted to “another poet who still lives and flourishes in England, and who perhaps enjoys in his country a celebrity as vast as that of Byron, although he is diametrically opposed in all, less in genius.” The article was titled “Contemporary English Poets: Thomas Campbell” and in it Heredia not only provides references to Campbell's works and their poetic values but also includes a translated excerpt of one of the most emblematic pieces by Campbell: “The Pleasures of Hope.” In March 1832, the third issue of *Miscelánea*, presented the first section¹²⁸ of an essay titled “Ensayo sobre la novela” (Essay on the novel). In words of Rafael Grillo, this essay is a substantial exploration that can be considered “the most finished of his journalistic contributions and his top as a literary

¹²⁸. This section appears on page 65, while the second section is on the fourth issue, corresponding to April, on page 97. The third and last section is on the fifth issue, corresponding to May 1832, on page 129.

critic.”¹²⁹ The third section of the essay is devoted to the historical novel and the figure of Walter Scott.

Among the publications that appeared in Cuba towards the third decade of the century, one of the most relevant to the Scottish-literature reception was *La Moda o Recreo Semanal del Bello Sexo* (Fashion or the weekly recreation of the fair sex), founded in 1829 by Domingo del Monte and José Joaquín Villarino. According to some critics,

La Moda ... means, for the periodical press in Cuba at that time, the opening of a new type of soft, ductile, serial publication of very varied subjects and, above all, of impressive graphic beauty, not only because of the coloured figures, most of them by printmaker Manuel López López illustrating the fashion in use, but also because of the very arrangement of materials, the beauty of the front cover, as well as the fonts used in the headings,¹³⁰

which attributes made *La Moda* reach a wide audience since it proved attractive not only to women interested in national and international fashion but because many readers would enjoy as well the variety of topics provided by the magazine such as music and literature. Among the relevant works featured by *La Moda*, mention should be made of three articles; the first, “Jovellanos y Scott,” by Domingo del Monte, contains a comparative approach to the life and works of both writers. The second one, also by Delmonte, deals with Scott’s *Ivanhoe*. The third one, by Luz y Caballero, narrates the visit paid by the author himself to Walter Scott in Abbotsford. Other articles are related to Goethe’s *Werther*, Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand. However, there is more to Scottish literature in *La Moda*: according to *H. L. C.*, in this magazine,

Del Monte published his “Cuban Romances,” by means of the trickery – very much in the Romantic way– of having found them in an ‘ancient codex somewhat spoiled by the onslaughts of time.’ It was written around 1779 by bachelor Toribio Sánchez de Almodóvar, according to news published in the same magazine. With these poems, Del Monte tried –with a quality not beyond discreet– to create certain poetry bearing a strong Creole and rancid Hispanic folk flavour. However, he erred in trying to use the romance

¹²⁹. Rafael Grillo, “Las tierras vivas del hombre Heredia,” *Rousseau Studies*, accessed July 12, 2017, <http://rousseaustudies.free.fr/ArticleGrillo.htm>.

¹³⁰. Cira Romero, “Domingo del Monte a la ofensiva: *La Moda o Recreo Semanal del Bello Sexo* y *El Puntero Literario* (II),” *La Jiribilla*, accessed November 26, 2018, http://epoca2.lajiribilla.cu/2011/n542_09/542_02.html.

structure at a time when the popular cultivators of verse on the island already preferred the *décima*.¹³¹ (Translated by the author)

Obviously, Del Monte's Romantic "trickery" was not an original procedure by the time he published his alleged "Cuban Romances." Seventy years before, Scottish poet James Macpherson had as well claimed to have found the third-century Gaelic originals he translated, and then published as *Fingal. An Ancient Epic Poem*, in six books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal (1761, 1762) and *Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem*, in eight books. Over the next decades, Macpherson's "translations" were translated into so many languages and read in so many countries that he became the first Scottish writer to attain such a great international recognition. Unfortunately, Del Monte's "Cuban Romances," although presented after Macpherson's pretext, did not bring about any remarkable success, revival or influence, especially because of the "discreet" quality of his compositions. Although theoretical discussions have not yet considered the term, this case can be regarded as one of "failed influence." On trying to adapt his purely-Cuban motifs, characters and landscapes to the classic traditional forms, Del Monte was not but putting the "new wine into old wineskins," and therefore did not meet the expectancies of his contemporaries.¹³² While European Romantic authors were looking into the past in search for the glory reached by ancient civilizations, the Cubans were rather seeking new ways of expression and had already adopted the *décima* as their most appropriate verse pattern. In "The International Reception," the authors point out that "Macpherson's anti-classical commingling of genres – epic narrative and dramatic dialogue, elegy and lyric, poetry and prose – influenced pre-Romantic and Romantic novelists as well as poets,"¹³³ and offer a long list of influenced authors, to which the names of Delmonte and Heredia deserve to be added. The latter will be subsequently mentioned regarding his translation of Scott's *Waverley* and the use of prose poetry on translating "Flora Macivor's Song," one of the poems included in the novel.

¹³¹. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *Ibid.*, 101.

¹³². José Lezama Lima, "Domingo del Monte," in *Antología de la poesía cubana* (La Habana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1965) volumen 2, 345.

¹³³. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 35.

Many other magazines of the epoch contain references to Scottish authors, as is the case of *Bimestre Cubana*. This magazine came to light in 1831 and was related to the names of Félix Varela, José de la Luz y Caballero and Domingo del Monte, and includes translations of theatrical works and poetry, as well as literary comments and current issues. Consequently, the periodical makes reference to

a Goethe buried in the pantheon of the Saxe-Weimar princes, a Walter Scott modifying, only with his poetic influence, the tastes and opinions of his century, and collecting in the last subscription of his works more than one hundred thousand pesos; a Lord Byron making all Europe go to the bookseller's store in search of his tremendous inspirations,"¹³⁴ (Translated by the author)

which sort of comments, besides showing the influence of the Scottish authors on the members of the editorial board, would encourage the readers to become familiar with them. The magazine included an article, "Gualterio Scott," by José de la Luz y Caballero, on the life and works of "the prodigy of the Caledonian mountains." Another article, "Novela histórica," by Domingo del Monte, not only approaches the works of Walter Scott as a paradigm of the genre but refers to Lord Byron as well. Both Heredia's "Ensayo sobre la novela histórica" and Del Monte's "Novela histórica" as originated from the same source, will be analysed in Chapter 3 about the Cuban reception of Walter Scott. The magazine also includes a section of international "news, scientific and literary varieties," under the corresponding country. The list of nations, not keeping an alphabetical order, is significantly headed by "England," under which title there is a note on the release of Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron* as well as several news on Byron and Walter Scott.

Regarding Havana at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Torres-Cuevas refers in his notes to the reader of Varela's *Works*, that "in a city that maintained close and daily commerce with New York, London, Bordeaux, Cadiz, and other major cities of the world, books, that commodity so much appreciated in some circles, were also received."¹³⁵ Besides magazines, books also played an important role in the Scottish-literature reception. In 1829, Cuban scholar Domingo del Monte compiled and published a set of poems by Spanish writer and translator Nicasio

¹³⁴. Revista Bimestre Cubana, Internet Archive, accessed July 15, 2017, <https://ia800703.us.archive.org/24/items/revistabimestrec00real/revistabimestrec00real.pdf>.

¹³⁵. Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, *ibid.*

Gallego. The book contained two pieces Gallego had translated from *Ossian*: “Minona” and “Temora.” That very year, Heredia included in his magazine *La Miscelánea* a critical note on the volume. Even though he mentions the merit of the rendered pieces regarding versification, he also expresses his disagreement with the translation for it “being very far from the outlandish and sublime writings of the Caledonian bard,” and not faithful to the original.¹³⁶ On having being an earlier translator of *Ossian*, Heredia was not only very knowledgeable about the wave of translations the work had triggered in Europe, but also about the Scottish character of the composition, although based on Irish ancient myths, therefore the use of the adjective “Caledonian.” The availability of books by Romantic authors, especially by Scots, is addressed by Salvador Arias on stating that in several bookshops in Havana, such as “La Primera de Papel,” “El Escritorio,” and even at Magin Pons’s tailor shop, there were books for sale by Walter Scott and Lord Byron.¹³⁷ Books by the relevant authors were also requested abroad, as reflected in Domingo del Monte’s *Centón Epistolario*, acquired by bookshop owners or brought to Cuba by scholars such as Del Monte himself and Luz y Caballero after their trips to Europe, among other ways. As hitherto set forth, the publication of cultural magazines and books as of the third decade of the century was another feature contributing to the reception of Scottish authors in Cuba by means of news, translated works, literary criticism and book reviews.

As stated before, there is a close relationship between literary gatherings and private teaching as a relevant feature of the stage regarding Scottish-literature reception. Félix Varela, one of the earliest gathering hosts, also distinguished as a teacher and is considered among the Cubans as “the one who taught us to think first” since his independence ideas had great repercussion among his contemporaries and very much contributed to the shaping of the nation from an ideological point of view. However, his approach to literature should also be taken into consideration since it may have influenced the attitude of his disciples towards the reception of foreign authors. Varela sustained that

¹³⁶. *Miscelánea, Periódico Crítico y Literario*, volumen 1, Primera parte, (Toluca: México, 1829) 33.

¹³⁷. Salvador Arias, *ibid.*

good literary taste has its foundations in nature, and it is made known to us by what generally pleases all men at all times when they are detached from all worry; but the enlightened nations must be paid attention, always preferring the opinion of the wise. Physical sensitivity significantly influences this taste. It is acquired and rectified by studying, practicing and imitating good models, getting in this way the delicacy and correctness that constitute its main properties.¹³⁸(Translated by the author)

Beyond his conception of pleasurable topics and their natural origin, Varela admits the convenience to heed the literary production of other countries, particularly if it has something worth of being incorporated through simulation. Even though the idea might be arguable from current standpoints, it favoured the reception of diverse literatures, including Scottish, and can be tracked in the works of his direct disciples as well as the ones from further generations as is the case of Martí who cleverly wondered “why should foreign literatures, so abundant today in that natural environment, sincere strength and current spirit, lacking in modern Spanish literature, have to be almost a forbidden fruit?”¹³⁹ Attuned with Varela’s idea, Martí concludes that “knowing diverse literatures is the best means to get free from the tyranny of some of them,”¹⁴⁰ another clear allusion to Spanish-literature predominance. Varela also advocated for the importance of translation and its teaching. By means of an article, advanced for his time, he proclaimed that “the art of translation is the art of knowledge,”¹⁴¹ which can also be particularly interpreted as the possibility of accessing diverse literatures. Following Varela’s teachings, Del Monte and Luz, became proficient in several foreign languages, which allowed them to get familiar with foreign literatures, while translating into Spanish several works. They not only approached prominent Romantic models including Scottish authors, but also exerted the same influence on their respective disciples, a chain that can be traced up to Martí. Del Monte was the mentor of José María Heredia and Cirilo Villaverde, outstanding Scottish-literature receptors. Among Varela’s direct disciples, Luz y Caballero is the most relevant regarding the relationship between private teaching and Scottish-literature reception. In fact, Luz was the only first-hand receptor who

¹³⁸. Félix Varela, *Micelánea Filosófica*, (Nueva York: Henrique Newton, 1827),157-158.

¹³⁹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 15, 361.

¹⁴⁰. *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹. Félix Varela, *ibid.*, 343

distinguished in both fields. None of his biographies omit his travel to Scotland, where he met with Walter Scott in Abbotsford, and his fruitful exchange with educationist John Wood in Edinburgh. Concerning the trip and Luz's double target, in his *Vida de Don José de la Luz y Caballero*, José Ignacio Rodríguez asserts that certainly

Mr. Luz wanted to visit Scotland. His desire to show his respects to Walter Scott and the excellent reputation of the philosophical doctrine professed in Scottish Universities would attract him to this part of the British territory. His memories of Edinburgh were always lively. There he saw everything, he recorded everything in detail. 'I shall never forget—he says in a famous report—the calculation of huge figures which—as in a military parade—was executed simultaneously by the students of the Sessional School of Edinburgh.' ¹⁴² (Translated by the author)

As this section mainly deals with education and Scottish-literature reception, Luz's approach to Scott is discussed in Chapter 3 on the Cuban reception of Walter Scott. Regarding the educational side of Luz's visit to Scotland, an exhaustive search in the *Complete Works* of Luz y Caballero, aimed at finding out what was so appealing about the "philosophical Doctrine," reveals that Rodríguez's statement is somehow imprecise. Neither Luz make any reference to the topic in his writings nor the literature available on the Scottish side mention it. According to a personal communication of Dr. Andrew W. Hass,

there is not a singular 'Scottish Philosophy' as such – that is, a unified body of thought underpinned by a set Doctrine subscribed to by a 'school' or an 'academy.' There is, rather, a tradition of Scottish philosophy, and a rather august tradition, which begun of course with the early Duns Scotus, but which more often falls under the label of the later 'Scottish Enlightenment.' But if Luz was active in the early part of the 19th century, the philosophical reputation of Scotland would have rested largely upon Scottish Common Sense Realism, the most significant figure of which was its founder, Thomas Reid. Reid was responding to the scepticism of his contemporary, David Hume, and his response helped to inform another key contemporary, Adam Smith, who took philosophical concerns in a direction that gave birth to modern economics... If the supposed Doctrine was 'professed in Scottish Universities,' it would be far more likely that he is referring to the Common Sense philosophy of Reid, which did develop a kind of school of its own (Fergusson, Beattie, et al.), and which exported itself abroad with some fervour, especially to America (which is why Luz is more likely to be

¹⁴². José Ignacio Rodríguez, *Vida de Don José de la Luz y Caballero* (Nueva York: Imprenta de El Mundo Nuevo-La América Ilustrada, 1874), 26.

speaking of *its* influence rather than, say, Hume's or Smith's, or anything later).¹⁴³

However, in Luz's works there is no reference to Reid, Fergusson, Beattie or Smith. Significantly, his speech¹⁴⁴ at the Seminario de San Carlos at the ground-breaking ceremony for the 1824 Philosophy course, and his assuming the position of head of the Philosophy Department, contained an introductory quotation from David Hume: "Happy, if we can unite the boundaries of the different species of philosophy, by reconciling profound enquiry with clearness, and truth with novelty!",¹⁴⁵ which statement makes improbable that Luz may have been so especially interested in any philosophical Doctrine. Furthermore, the Cuban philosophical tradition has always been inclusive in correspondence to the elective method attributed to Luz and alluded by Armando Hart: "All schools and no school, that is the school; all methods and no method, that is the method."¹⁴⁶ The idea was also embraced by Martí, who stated that "there is no way to save oneself from the risk of blindly obeying a philosophical system, but to be nourished by them all,"¹⁴⁷ which approach also applies to literary studies. A more exact view of Luz's educational interest is provided by Alicia Conde Rodríguez in her foreword to the second volume of his *Collected Works*:

In 1832 Luz set forth the explanatory method he had learned from the director of the Edinburgh Sessional School, Wood, on his trip to Scotland. [...] It is at the Carraguao College where Luz first introduced it as an effective instrument to create in the students the need for research and the rejection of superficiality, the only way, moreover, of making the true thinkers for science and conscience that Cuba needed. This was the mainspring of his aspirations,¹⁴⁸ (Translated by the author)

and consequently he started a sustained effort to implement in Cuba the explanatory method, which he referred to as "the only way to reach perfection; (...) the

¹⁴³. Dr. Andrew W. Hass, Head of Division, Literature and Languages, personal communication, May 17, 2017.

¹⁴⁴. José de la Luz y Caballero, *José de la Luz y Caballero: Obras, diarios y epistolario*, v. 3, (Ciudad de La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, 2001), 1.

¹⁴⁵. Taken from David Hume's *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, published in 1748.

¹⁴⁶. Armando Hart Dávalos, "Educación, cultura y política culta," Prensa Latina, accessed May 23, 2017, <http://www.walterlippmann.com/docs2058.html>.

¹⁴⁷. José Martí, *O. C.*, volumen 15, 361.

¹⁴⁸. José de la Luz y Caballero, *José de la Luz y Caballero: Obras, diarios y epistolario*, v. 2, (Ciudad de La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, 2001), vi.

accomplishment of the meditations of all my life.” Furthermore, Luz defines the explanatory method by means of purposes such as making easier the acquisition of knowledge through reading, which is a mechanical art at a certain extent; taking advantage of the Doctrine contained in each passage to be read; providing the disciples with a flow of voices and means to express themselves by means of a detailed analysis of each passage; and, above all, exercising reasoning on all the objects tackled. Regarding the method and the creator, Luz expressed: “I swear, oh Wood, to being the most fervent apostle of your system in any corner of the world and especially in my beloved homeland.”¹⁴⁹

In 1833, Luz published three important materials to implement the method in Cuba: a graded reading book with especially chosen texts, which was reprinted in 1876; a guide for teachers containing instructions to implement the method, published again in 1900 in *Cuba y América*, a New York magazine intended for Cuba and the rest of Latin America, and a booklet titled *Foundation for the Explanatory Method*, all of which was aimed at providing the teachers of the region with the necessary tools to revolutionize education. The term “explanatory method” appears almost thirty times in the *Complete Works* of Luz y Caballero, and the name of John Wood is mentioned over fifteen. The teaching of languages and literatures was at the core of Luz’s pedagogical ideas, therefore he advocated for “the study of living languages and Latin for those who want to pursue a literary career”¹⁵⁰ as a means of cultivating their talent, which idea entails the ability to accede other literatures. Consequently, he also advocated for “the subsequent knowledge provided by the comparative study of languages. Here is philology providing great services to science, of which scholars have not known yet how to take advantage.” The comparison alluded by Luz and his reference to philology not only implicitly entail literature but also suggests that he must have been familiar with the ideas of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe regarding “world literature” (Weltliteratur), one of the pillars of comparative literature.¹⁵¹ Luz furthermore considered that

¹⁴⁹. Ibid.,48.

¹⁵⁰. Ibid., 373.

¹⁵¹. Concept used by Goethe to address the circulation and reception of literary texts in Europe during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

the diversity of uses and customs of the various peoples, and even of the same people, according to the times, are a perennial source of novelty. Then literature must be renewed, not only in the form, but even in the substance. Here is established the need of romanticism. Consequently, the great geniuses always had a large part of romanticism. Interest is not captivated but with novelties. In addition, literature must be renewed by making it an instrument of moral improvement: this is its high mission. Nobody like Scott and Manzoni, Goethe...¹⁵² (Translated by the author)

which thought reveals not only how influential Scott's life and works were on Luz's pedagogical praxis, but also the mutual-benefit relationship between education in Cuba and Scottish-literature reception. Scott was one of the novelties of that time, and Manzoni, as widely known, was considered the main representative of the Italian Romanticism and heavily influenced by Scott.¹⁵³

Luz not only succeeded but excelled: the explanatory method is still followed and referred to in the Cuban educational system, along with the rest of his ideas on education. The relationship between John Wood and Luz, the introduction of the explanatory method in Cuba, as well as its reception, influence, evolution and permanence even in socialist Cuba constitute significant topics worth of being addressed in further research. The same applies to the possible influence of the method in the education José Martí received under Mendive, and Martí's pedagogical ideas. According to *Diccionario de la literatura cubana*, in its entry corresponding to translations, Luz not only translated Byron's works but also a *Life of Schiller*.¹⁵⁴ Among Luz's students, Mendive stands out regarding the Scottish-literature reception. He has been referred to as "the Teacher's teacher" or "the link between Varela and Martí,"¹⁵⁵ not merely because of being Martí's mentor and having been taught by Luz, a disciple of Varela's but because of the reflection of Varela's ideas in Martí's, as is the case of the approach to foreign literatures and

¹⁵². José de la Luz y Caballero, *José de la Luz y Caballero: Obras, elencos y discursos académicos*, v. 3, (Ciudad de La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, 2001), 54.

¹⁵³. Matteo Sarni, "Affinità simboliche fra Manzoni e Scott," in *I cantieri dell'italianistica. Ricerca, didattica e organizzazione agli inizi del XXI secolo*, Guido Baldassarri, Valeria Di Iasio, Giovanni Ferroni and Ester Pietrobon, eds., (Roma: Adi editore, 2016).

¹⁵⁴. Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística, *Diccionario de la Literatura Cubana*, (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1980), 1154.

¹⁵⁵. María Carla O'Connor, "Una deuda reparable con Mendive, el maestro del Maestro," *Cubadebate*, August 16, 2018, <http://www.cubadebate.cu/especiales/2018/08/16/una-deuda-reparable-con-mendive-el-maestro-del-maestro-video/#.XPKAoYhKjcv>.

their teaching as well as the presence of foreign languages in school syllabuses to reinforce access to those literatures, being translation an essential component of the learning process. Education through private teaching, as hitherto discussed, was one of the favouring factors for the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba. There was a marked emphasis on the teaching of foreign languages and literatures as well as translation. This trend that can be traced from Varela to Martí, which succession of educationists distinguished for being literary gatherings hosts, Scottish-literature translators as well as the authors of works involving Scottish writers.

This chapter has addressed why there was a Scottish-literature reception in nineteenth-century Cuba, why it extended over time, what it was like, who were the main representatives and what was their role and contribution. The answers to these questions entail several factors, most of which are closely interrelated as evidenced in the analysis of the main historic features and literary context that brought about the reception. In his “Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies,” Shaw asserts that

literary influence appears to be most frequent and most fruitful at the times of emergence of national literatures and of radical change of direction of a particular literary tradition in a given literature. In addition, it may accompany or follow social or political movements or, especially, upheavals. Thus, like all literary phenomena, it has a social and often also a meaningful political context, in addition to the literary one.¹⁵⁶

The Scottish-literature Reception in Cuba, the threshold to literary influence, is related to the regularity pointed out by Shaw on entailing both the same historical and literary contexts and their interrelation. In the Cuban case, however, the historical aspect and its socio-political circumstances, rather than accompanying or following, set the basis for the reception. The long arm of the oppressive colonial regime imposed by Spain, made the most prominent Cuban intellectuals of the epoch to either withdraw from official cultural institutions or abandon the country under compelling political conditions and thus embrace activities that favoured the approach to literatures other than the Spanish, which trend included and favoured Scottish literature. What the Cuban reception bears in particular, however, is the way in which the early manifestations originated, as is the case of indirect literary

¹⁵⁶. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 66.

influence on music and dance. Works such as Madame Staël's *Corinne or Italy* containing a heavy Scottish component, or Byron's "To Jessy," originated acclaimed musical compositions as of the third decade of the century. The setting of literary works to music became continuous practice and, several decades later, the opera "Gulnare," inspired by Byron's *The Corsair*, was successfully staged in Havana. This feature of the reception was accompanied by a series of interrelated conditioning factors such as the settling of Hispano-American personalities who not only propagated the works of Romantic authors such as Byron, Scott and Goethe but also their political ideas about independence while exerting their literary influence on Cuban intellectuals such as Heredia and Del Monte. Gatherings also played an important role in the reception since it allowed the participants to access Scottish literature. Gathering hosts fostered the approach to Scottish writers such as Byron, Scott and Macpherson by spreading their works through translations, criticism and promotion while encouraging the discussion of economic and socio-political issues such as slavery, abolition and the independence of Cuba from Spain. Gathering hosts also took part in the emergence of several cultural magazines featuring the life and work of Scottish authors by means of translations, criticisms and news items, which feature, together with the availability of books by Scottish writers, acquired by book sellers and intellectuals on their trips abroad, also encouraged the reception. Education through private teaching and mentoring can be regarded as a basic factor for the reception. It emphasised on the teaching of foreign literatures and languages as well as translation, which approach was followed by several generations of teachers from Bishop De Espada to José Martí while creating the fertile ground required for the reception of Scottish literature; in words of Shaw, the "fallow land" where "the seed of literary influence must fall,"¹⁵⁷ for which the disposition to approach foreign literatures, as well as the knowledge of foreign languages and translation were critical.

Most of the features that conditioned the favourable reception of Scottish-literature in Cuba extended over time. The initial influence on Romantic ballads inspired by authors such as Staël and Byron subsequently manifested in operas.

¹⁵⁷. Ibid., 65.

Gatherings became a tradition. Magazines and books featuring Scottish authors continued to be published. Education through private teaching and mentoring involved several generations of teachers in line who propagated their ideas about foreign literatures and languages as well as translation, all of which explains why the phenomenon originated in the second stage (1820-1868) and was prolonged to the third stage (1868-1898), which period coincides with Martí's approach to Scottish authors.

In dealing with the main historic features and literary context that made possible the reception of Scottish literature in Cuba, the names of the main receptors have surfaced: José de la Luz y Caballero, who met Walter Scott at Abbotsford, and Scottish educationist John Wood at the Edinburgh sessional School, implemented Wood's explanatory method in Cuba and wrote several articles on Scott while promoting the inclusion of the Scottish writer in Cuban school syllabuses, a translator of Byron and Goethe, a gathering holder and Rafael María de Mendive's teacher; Domingo del Monte, prominent literary activist and magazine founder, gathering holder par excellence, author of articles and notes involving Scottish authors, a translator of Byron and sponsor of José María Heredia and Cirilo Villaverde whom he introduced to the works of Byron and Scott as models to follow, and compiler of the *Centón Epistolario*, a collection of letters containing material relevant to the reception; José María Heredia, first translator of Scott's *Waverley* into Spanish, recognised as an Ossianic poet because of Macpherson's influence on his works, author of poetry inspired by *Ossian*, and a translator of *Ossian* himself as well as of Byron and Thomas Campbell, a magazine founder and author of several texts involving Scottish writers, author of a drama with a Scottish argument; Cirilo Villaverde, author of *Cecilia Valdés*, considered the most important Cuban novel ever and admittedly influenced by Scott; Rafael María de Mendive, Martí's teacher, a translator of Byron, a magazine founder and gathering holder; Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, strongly influenced by Staël, Byron and Scott while distinguishing as a promoter of their works. Other receptors such as Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, author of *El Mendigo Rojo (The Red Beggar)*, a drama based on the alleged survival of King James IV of Scotland after his defeat in Felton, and Francisco Sellén, translator of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, will be approached in further chapters. As

evidenced, the personalities hitherto mentioned were not passive receptors: their valuable contributions to the reception and influence of Scottish writers by means of criticism, publications and translations turned them into influencing re-transmitters of Scottish literature in Cuba and beyond. Given the exceptional prominence of José Martí as a Scottish-literature receptor, next chapter will be devoted to the topic.

Chapter 2

The Reception of Lord Byron in Cuba

Following the reasons why there was a Scottish-literature reception in Cuba and Byron's opening role in the process, this chapter, adding to the collection of similar works but involving other countries, addresses for the first time the reception of Byron in Cuba and the "help" provided by his life and work in developing creations by Cuban receptors. The chapter assesses some of those works as marks of influence and provides considerations about their validity from a reception perspective while addressing the following questions: what purpose the reception of Byron served, what was the Cubans' perception of Byron's life and work, what was the Cubans' contribution to the reception of Byron and whether they deserve acknowledgement as receptor-transmitters and therefore be included on the map of Byron's international reception. The chapter also addresses Martí's engagement with Byron's life and work and analyses Martí's role and scope in the reception of Byron, which again adds to his prominence, not yet acknowledged, as a Byron receptor.

According to J. T. Shaw, "direct interrelationships between literatures exist in a context of the reception and popularity of an author or authors of one country in another,"¹⁵⁸ which applies to the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba, where several Scottish authors attained noteworthy fortunes. Nevertheless, Shaw does not address indirect interrelationships, a distinguishing feature in the case of Cuba as formerly discussed, since it not only marks the origin of the reception but also makes a difference regarding the phenomenon in other non-English-speaking countries. Lord Byron, who was given the broadest reception among the Scots who made their influential work into Cuba, is an example of indirect interrelationship, as previously discussed. Shaw also asserts that literary reception "can be traced through critical and

¹⁵⁸. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 60.

other comment in newspapers, journals, diaries, and by mentions and allusions in literary works.”¹⁵⁹ The Cuban reception surpassed the guidelines provided by Shaw. Byron was not only the object of “critical and other comment” but also of books, essays, critical works and journalistic notes. As to “mentions and allusions,” they have been taken into account to determine the recurrence of Scottish authors in both *H. L. C.* Byron attains the highest number of mentions (17), followed by Scott (14). According to Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard in “The International Reception,” one of the reasons why Lord Byron is approached in the article together with other Scottish authors is the fact that “as the Romantic writer *par excellence*, sparking unprecedented foreign interest in British writing, he provided a filter through which other, more recognisably Scottish figures were read.¹⁶⁰ As the first Scot to be received in Cuba, it can also be said that Byron opened the doors to the ones who came later. He is firstly mentioned in *H. L. C.* as a *romanza* inspirer,¹⁶¹ the earliest feature that registers his indirect presence in Cuba; however, the same source also addresses direct paths and alludes to Domingo del Monte as having known first-hand the European literary novelties of the epoch, Byron among them, and having made the Cubans familiar with him. In this regard, *H. L. C.* also refers to the early inclusion of Byron’s works in *La Moda*,¹⁶² the magazine cofounded by Del Monte. Other sources credit Heredia for having “introduced English poets like Thomas Campbell and Lord Byron to the knowledge of his contemporaries,”¹⁶³ Furthermore, there are references to the sale of Byron books even in tailor shops, as previously mentioned, all of which leads not only to accept that there were several routes for the “unprecedented cultural phenomenon” to have reached the island, but also to subscribe the conclusion *H. L. C.* provides: “Lord Byron, known directly or not, was an ever active presence,”¹⁶⁴ which avowal, besides giving room to the initially indirect musical path through which Byron was received in Cuba, also accounts for the critical pieces and journalistic notes he motivated, the poetical pieces he inspired, as well as the imitations and translations he generated, all of which, together with his

¹⁵⁹. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 37.

¹⁶¹. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 101.

¹⁶². *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁶³. Rafael Grillo, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 153.

alleged effect on the works of outstanding Cuban writers such as José María Heredia and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, constitute marks of positive influence not yet fully acknowledged. In this regard, José María Heredia is the only Cuban registered by “The International Reception and Literary Impact of Scottish Literature.”¹⁶⁵ Other works such as *The Reception of Byron in Europe*,¹⁶⁶ edited by Richard A. Cardwell (2004), and *Byron’s European Impact*¹⁶⁷ by Peter Cochran (2015) are clear about their scope. “The International Reception” makes three references to Heredia. None of the three are fully accurate. Concerning the international reception of Byron, the authors of the chapter state that

for many international readers, Byron forged a new language to express desire for freedom, national, social, individual, or existential. He showed that the poet could also be a person of action, inspiring the writer-soldiers and writer-politicians who participated in the Latin-American Wars of Independence (like Andrés Bello and José María de Heredia), the 1848 revolutions in Europe (Mazzini, Lamartine, Arany, Eötvös, Mickiewicz), and other national liberation movements.¹⁶⁸

The Cuban readers’ perception of Byron’s “new language,” as well as his influence, will be subsequently addressed in this chapter. Even though the reference to Heredia and Bello can be well appreciated given its transatlantic character, it is not accurate. None of their biographies corroborates their participation in said wars. Bello, a man of letters, was based in London from 1810 to 1829. The Venezuelan War of Independence took place from 1810 to 1823 and the independence of Venezuela (Bello’s homeland) was declared in 1811 while Chile (the country where he eventually settled) attained its independence in 1818. For his part, Heredia died in 1839 and the Ten-year War, the first armed conflict for the independence of Cuba from Spain, did not start until 1868. Unfortunately, the chapter does not mention instead two Cuban writer-soldier-politicians who really did “participate in the Latin-American Wars of Independence.” Coincidentally, the Ten-Year War in Cuba was started by a translator of Byron, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, whose name should

¹⁶⁵. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶. Richard A. Cardwell, *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, (London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).

¹⁶⁷. Peter Cochran, *Byron’s European Impact*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

¹⁶⁸. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 37.

also enlarge the map given his further relevance as a historical personality. The Cuban Independence War of 1895 was started by José Martí, and Byron is by far the most recurrent Scot in his *O. C.* Taking into account these coincidences, further studies will be needed to establish how influential Byron was, regarding the case of Cuba, “in allying poetry to democratic and national causes.”¹⁶⁹ As to the inspiration alluded by the authors, in the case of Heredia, it needs to be forcibly understood in the broader sense of the term since Heredia’s reception of Byron, and other Scottish authors, encompasses not only poetical pieces, the compositional genre most associated with inspiration, but also essays, critical pieces, imitations, translations and journalistic notes. The critical works motivated by Byron will be subsequently analysed from a reception perspective.

Critical reception of Byron in Cuba

Some of the mentions of Byron in *H. L. C.* correspond to two critical works published in Cuba; the first, “El personaje bíblico Caín en las literaturas modernas” (1873)¹⁷⁰ (The biblical character Cain in modern literatures), was written by Enrique José Varona, and the second, “Byron” (1873),¹⁷¹ by Enrique Piñeyro. Varona’s article, though written in 1873, was not published until 1877 in *Revista de Cuba*. It was subsequently included in his *Estudios literarios y filosóficos* (1883). Based on an analysis of the biblical passage, the article assesses the work of eight authors featuring Cain, and provides conclusive considerations about Byron’s approach to the character in his eponym play and his noteworthy contribution to the history of the character. In this regard, Varona states that “if in his other works Byron has sung the drama of his life, in *Cain* he has brought to light, from the mysterious depths of his heart, the sublime drama of his thought; and at the same time he has developed the universal drama of man subjected to the empire of evil,”¹⁷² a consideration that not only confers validity to Byron’s legacy but also differs from the extended trend to attribute certain biographical character to Byron’s works and characters. Byron’s

¹⁶⁹. Ibid.

¹⁷⁰. Enrique José Varona, *Desde mi belvedere y otros textos* (República Bolivariana de Venezuela: Fundación Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2010), 5.

¹⁷¹. Enrique Piñeyro, *Poetas famosos del siglo XIX: sus vidas y sus obras* (Madrid: Librería Gutenberg, 1883), (Paris: Imprenta A. Lahure, 1883), 68.

¹⁷². Enrique José Varona, *ibid.*, 18.

universal dimension was also addressed by Piñeyro on referring to the universal admiration he aroused,¹⁷³ while Martí states that Byron had a universal soul. On assessing Byron's universal achievement regarding *Cain*, Varona states that

only by the mouth of Byron has a man spoken the language of the immortals. Condensing or translating his concepts would be a desecration. The gigantic doubts of his spirit, the meditations of his prolonged insomnia, the problems that his daring numen has solved when he believed or dreamed, all of that the poet poured into that great scenery by engaging himself in those sublime dialogues.¹⁷⁴

Even though the consideration entails only one of Byron's plays and the article is focussed on a very specific topic, it still shows Varona's deep engagement with Byron's life and work and the influence exerted by Byron on Varona's creative work. For Varona, "Byron has been the most lyrical of the known poets, that is, the most subjective writer. At times, in his own personality, he has synthesized the entire humanity. So great he was and so great he was recognized," which statement subsumes Varona's perception of Byron in his universal character. As the article does not reflect Varona's disagreements, displeasures or incriminations concerning Byron, it does not allow for an extensive analysis of Varona as a receptor, but the relevance of the article as endorsed in *H. L. C.*, and the number of publications to date, suffice to acknowledge Varona's role in the Scottish-literature reception as a noteworthy transmitter, which merit has not yet been registered in the critical corpus generated by the work nor by transatlantic reception studies. Varona concludes his approach to *Cain* by categorically stating: "If after Byron any other writer has dared to animate the shadow of Cain, critics must ignore it," a sincere but exaggerated statement since creative genius knows no limits. Leconte de Lisle's *Qain* (1869) has been considered one of the most remarkable short epics of the nineteenth century. More recently, José Saramago's *Cain* (2009) has been added to the list of successful novels by the Nobel Prize-winning author.

Piñeyro's work is part of his *Poetas famosos del siglo XIX: sus vidas y sus obras* (famous poets of the nineteenth century, their lives and works), dedicated "to the memory of José de la Luz Caballero, my teacher, and to Havana, my home city."

¹⁷³. Enrique Piñeyro, *ibid.*, 70.

¹⁷⁴. Enrique José Varona, *ibid.*, 21.

The book was published in Spain and France in 1883, which fact beforehand accounts for the contribution of the Cuban author to the reception of Byron in Europe. The second chapter of the volume, “La poesía moderna inglesa” (Modern English poetry) contains eight sections; the third, “Tres poetas del siglo XIX” (Three poets of the nineteenth century), makes general references to Keats, Shelley and Byron. The sixth section of the chapter corresponds to “Byron,” the work abovementioned. *H. L. C.*, however, does not make any reference to the seventh section, “Byron juzgado por Goethe”¹⁷⁵ (Byron assessed by Goethe) nor to the third chapter of the book, “Un imitador español de Byron”¹⁷⁶ (A Spanish imitator of Byron), basically dealing with the positive influence of Byron on Spanish poet José de Espronceda. The three pieces, however, complement each other and stand for the importance of Piñeyro not only as a Byron receptor but also as an international transmitter of Byron’s life and work. As a receptor, Piñeyro’s perception of Byron was clearly synthesised when he expresses that

Byron was essentially, let us say it at once, a revolutionary, an agitator who found in poetry a better vehicle than in party competitions to present and propagate his ideas, which he sang, and had a multiplying power through the lyric horn that would have been uselessly lost from the parliamentary gallery. There his true superiority originates, on that it consists.¹⁷⁷ (Translated by the author)

This peculiar definition, besides indirectly reflecting on the perception other Cuban receptors had of Byron, also leads to Piñeyro’s viewpoint about the international fortunes attained by the poet: “Byron has exerted on the literary world perhaps a greater influence than that of any other writer of the century, awakening vibrant and harmonious resonances everywhere, and there are very distinguished poets such as Alfredo de Musset in France and Espronceda in Spain [...] who have drawn magnificent inspirations from the stream of his poetry.”¹⁷⁸ Among the positive remarks Piñeyro makes about Byron, he mentions that the poet “wrote abundantly and in very diverse genres. [...] As a descriptive poet he has few rivals; and as a humourist, as a satirist, as a serious-comic poet (if the expression is allowed) there is

¹⁷⁵. Enrique José Varona, *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁷⁷. Enrique Piñeyro, *ibid.*, 86.

¹⁷⁸. *Ibid.*, 6-7.

none perhaps that excels him or even equals him.”¹⁷⁹ Piñeyro also admires that Byron “accepts and embraces the passions, ambitions and wrath of his contemporaries, he rushes to all the fights, asks for his part in the danger, and makes his voice heard and his plume float where the blows abound, the blood runs, and the brave succumb.”

Unlike Varona’s approach to Byron, not all in Piñeyro’s critical pieces about the poet is admiration for him. In Piñeyro’s perception, he rejects “the aristocratic pride with which he was filled, and he hardly ever bothered to conceal even in the midst of his liberal manifestations,”¹⁸⁰ In Piñeyro’s opinion, that pride prevented Byron from being a true writer, a scrupulous and careful artist. Piñeyro also draws attention to “a certain arrogant condescension in his way of writing, as there had to be in his dealings and in his relations with the world.”¹⁸¹ Even though Piñeyro acknowledges that Byron possessed great gifts of eloquence and brilliance, he points out that he “did not polish or chisel his language, henceforth the imperfections that often affect his best pages and place him, on the list of true artists, below Shelley, Keats, and some others who, for other reasons, are inferior to him.”¹⁸² On the negative side as well, Piñeyro points out that “unfortunately, Byron’s verses also err on their musical qualities. Never has a poet of equal or lower rank had a worse hearing,” a viewpoint shared by Swinburne as cited by Piñeyro who, sharing another viewpoint with Matthew Arnold, also states: “that aristocrat, that Baron of the United Kingdom, always lacked the delicate passion of every artist for the correct use and the supreme disposition of words.”¹⁸³ These non-complimentary viewpoints, however, do not jeopardise the high esteem in which Piñeyro holds Byron and the remarkable presentation he makes of the poet to an international audience. Piñeyro concludes that

the life of Byron, rather than the image of a star, suggests the image of one of those celestial bodies of lit hair appearing at long intervals, tracing an immense luminous furrow on its passage, a symbol of ruin and destruction for shy and scary people, a magnificent spectacle for those who watch them

¹⁷⁹. Ibid., 75.

¹⁸⁰. Ibid., 72.

¹⁸¹. Ibid., 73.

¹⁸². Ibid.

¹⁸³. Ibid., 74.

determined to sand their orbit and discover their elements.¹⁸⁴ (Translated by the author)

This metaphorical description of Byron's life and work—associating it with a comet—summarizes Piñeyro's approach to the poet whom he does not consider “good, sane and safe to know” but whose balanced traits he states on documented grounds, which makes Piñeyro's pieces valuable marks of influence. However, his name has not yet been recorded on the list of Byron receptors nor has his role been acknowledged for his contribution, with this and other texts, to the international reception of the poet.

Unfortunately, there is no reference in *H. L. C.* to other critical works about Byron written by Cuban intellectuals or related to them such as “Poetas ingleses contemporáneos: Lord Byron”¹⁸⁵ (Contemporary English poets: Lord Byron), by José María Heredia; “Lord Byron,”¹⁸⁶ by Jules Janin; *Vida de Lord Byron*¹⁸⁷ (Life of Lord Byron), by Emilio Castelar; *Bosquejo crítico de la Vida de Lord Byron de D. Emilio Castelar*¹⁸⁸ (Critical Sketch of the Life of Lord Byron by D. Emilio Castelar), by Antonio Vinageras y Cruz, and “Byron,”¹⁸⁹ by José Martí. Given the importance of these critical works for the reception of Byron in Cuba, they will be subsequently analysed in the same chronological order they are mentioned: Heredia's “Lord Byron,” the earliest sample so far consulted of an article about Byron authored by a Cuban receptor, was probably written in 1826, the same year it was published in the fourth issue of *El Iris*, the Mexican magazine Heredia himself had founded. When Heredia started his promotional literary project from the pages of *El Iris*, his priority was “contemporary English poets” and the first poet he addressed was Lord Byron adducing he was “the most celebrated of all,” which assertion he documented by setting forth the merits of Byron's works. As stated by Heredia in the introduction of the article, his objective was “to provide the readers with some ideas

¹⁸⁴. Ibid., 82-83.

¹⁸⁵. José María Heredia, *Poesía e prosa* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1992), 172.

¹⁸⁶. Jules Janin, “Byron,” in *La Moda o Recreo Semanal del Bello Sexo*, (La Habana: Imprenta de D. Lorenza María Fernández de Terán), 21 May, 1831.

¹⁸⁷. Emilio Castelar, *Vida de Lord Byron*, (La Habana: La Propaganda Literaria).

¹⁸⁸. Antonio Vinageras y Cruz, *Bosquejo crítico de la Vida de Lord Byron de D. Emilio Castelar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Rafael Anoz, 1873).

¹⁸⁹. José Martí, Ibid., v 15, 355.

about the writer's merit and literary features," which intention, besides the writing and publication of the article, accounts for Heredia's active role in the reception of Byron as a transmitter. Heredia's article has been taken into account by scholar Carlos Illades to analyse the reception of ideas through literary magazines in nineteenth-century Mexico. The fact, besides setting forth the validity of the article from a reception perspective, makes it susceptible to being considered in a context wider than the one approached by Illades. Regarding Heredia, Illades states that,

in his opinion, Lord Byron was the greatest of contemporary English poets. He did not like the eccentricity and morals of the writer: he admired his poetry. Heredia deemed him as detached from the classic canon and open to the genius of his own fantasy, agile in jumping from one theme to another, in changing tone and style. This expertise dazzled the island poet who knew Byron's verses by heart, understood his inner pain and shared his libertarian spirit.¹⁹⁰ (Translated by the author)

Illades's remark acknowledges Heredia's contribution to the reception of Byron in Mexico, however, Heredia's endeavour reached far beyond. In Cuba, the early appearance of the piece, and its rather promotional nature, may have contributed to the subsequent wave of inspirations, imitations and translations generated by Byron's life and work. Even though Illades's statement is extremely brief, it addresses important aspects to analyse Byron (and the rest of the Scottish authors) from a reception standpoint: the receptor's perception of the author and his work, that is, what the receptor admires, rejects or adopts regarding the author, as well as the effect of the reception in terms of influence and purpose served and the receptor's subsequent contribution to the reception of the author. The title of Heredia's article, refers to "English poets," such as the ones "celebrated for ever" he mentions in the first paragraph;¹⁹¹ nevertheless, it is clear that neither all of them stood the test of time nor Heredia, on referring to them, meant "England-born," but "English-speaking," which can be corroborated in the next paragraph where Heredia, alluding to "the contemporaries who have enriched English literature with treasures that should not be disdained," mentions the Scots Byron, Scott and Campbell, which,

¹⁹⁰. Carlos Illades, "Las revistas literarias y la recepción de las ideas en el siglo XIX," in *Historias*, v. 57, 2004, 55.

¹⁹¹. Shakespeare, Dryden, Milton, Pope, Cowley, Waller, Gay, Young, Shenstone, Collins, Gray, Mason, Akenside, Beattie, Goldsmith, Armstrong and Cowper.

according to Heredia, “would suffice to provide their century with splendour.” Also in the first paragraph of his text, therefore the importance he grants to the idea, Heredia foregrounds that

as the knowledge of English becomes more widespread in the new American countries, an immense scenery with the immense literature of that nation will be opened to the youth. The time is not long before the noble English language, the language of free men, is as widespread among us as French. This is determined by a thousand reasons, each more powerful.¹⁹²
(Translated by the author)

His statements are in line with the ideas of former receptors such as Varela, Del Monte and Luz y Caballero regarding the teaching of foreign languages and literatures as well as translation. The repetition of the adjective “immense” strongly warns of the literary vastness that awaits the younger generations on accessing literature in English. In Heredia’s article, however, there are some contrasting notions, as when he addresses English as “the language of free men.” The characterisation, however, does not apply to the several million people who were forcibly shipped by Britain across the Atlantic and whom English was imposed by slave plantation owners as a domination language. Even though the article contains some biographical elements, including Byron’s death in Missolonghi, the author makes reference to the “unique and indisputable merit” of Byron’s work, originated in “the deep sensitivity of his heart and the fire of his fantasy.” Heredia briefly addresses the objects of Byron’s descriptions, “presented in his magical verses with the same bright and vivid colours with which they were portrayed in his fiery imagination,” and the nature of the characters, whom he lends “the affections that only emerge from his sensitive heart, generous, and overwhelmed and sour by the misfortune and injustice of men.” Most of the article is devoted to its main purpose, introducing the readership to Byron’s work, which Heredia does from his own perception and therefore reflecting his own contradictions. Therefore, “*Childe Harold* is perhaps the poem that abounds the most in descriptive and moral beauties, even though it reflects the author’s religious scepticism;” “the unbridled drama *Manfredo* [...] contains extraordinary beauties, and perhaps the state of mortal anxiety and boredom and terror, in which the soul of a pervert is agitated, has never

¹⁹². José María Heredia, *ibid.*

been painted with more frightening truth;” “although *Don Juan* is the worst of his poems under the moral aspect, it is the one in which he best manifested all the amazing flexibility of his genius;” All these contradictions mainly originate in Heredia’s classical formation, and strict religious morals, the reason why, after regretting that “his detractors and the envious of his glory have not ceased to pursue his name even beyond the grave,” he concludes the article with an amended statement: “Byron's poems, with all their irregularity, have superior beauties that will sustain the celebrity they enjoy in Europe and the United States,” a reference to the international reception of Byron to which Heredia made a remarkable contribution not yet fully acknowledged in reception studies.

Jules Janin’s “Lord Byron,” (1831)¹⁹³ classifies as a peculiar sample of the indirect influence that contributed to make Byron “an ever active presence” in Cuba. A result of Byron’s influence in France, the article was originally written in French and then translated by Domingo Del Monte to be published in *La Moda*, the Cuban magazine he founded, which circumstance does not deprive the translation from its creative value nor from its early contribution to the reception of Byron on the island. Issued in four deliveries, Janin’s work bears a rather biographical character. Besides being written in a narrative tone, it incorporates interesting descriptions and makes effective use of dialogue, not only between the relevant characters but also between the writer-translator and the readership. The work reads better as a short novel than as a critical body on Byron’s life and work. Even though Janin leaves little space to critical literary considerations, he still refers to Byron’s poetical production and asserts that

this poetry that has seen everything it sings, will obey the law of our time. Oral truth, ocular truth: here is undoubted progress in poetry. We don't want more false descriptions, more imaginary heroes, more convention speeches. We have told Cooper: “Tell us about the sea and the storms;” to Walter Scott: “Tell us the history of Scotland;” to Byron: “Tell us about yourself, my lord; tell us what you know about your soul: unravel your misanthropy to us: be your hero, your Achilles, your Hector, your Godfrey, your Henry IV; And when you don't talk about yourself, tell us what you have seen.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³. Jules Janin, *ibid.*, 392.

¹⁹⁴. Jules Janin, *ibid.*, 395.

Janin's first statement relegates the author and foregrounds his work not only by using a subject-changing metonymic expression but also by personifying the work and thus enabling it to see, sing and obey, which display of expressive means endorses the greatness attributed to Byron's poetry by Cuban and other receptors. Nevertheless, Janin's embellished idea stressing the significance of Byron's work also contains a notion shared by other authors: Byron's lack of imagination makes him sing what he sees by means of his poetical sense, which idea is endorsed by Martí as when he says that "Byron's invention was scarce: what he did was to return the reflex images of the external with his own colour and his powerful subjectivism."¹⁹⁵ The obedience to the law mentioned by Janin metaphorically refers to the compliance of Byron's works with the new requirements of a more discerning readership who appreciates credibility in what Byron perceives and what he expresses, a feature Janin considers "undoubted progress" and other authors refer to as "new language."¹⁹⁶

As to the requests to particular authors featured by Janin, he makes it by turning the abstract readership into a narrative persona provided with a "demanding" voice. The requests, however, are rather rhetorical since they really stand for what the readership has received from the alluded authors. In the case of the request addressed to Walter Scott, to tell the history of Scotland, he did in certain ways, although there is criticism about Scott not being completely faithful in this regard. What is relevant though is that the Cuban readership, by means of the article, was induced to perceive Scotland and Scottishness through Scott's works. The "requests" to Byron entail key features of his reception that were approached by Cuban and other receptors. One of those features, subjective though, is the soul of the poet. In this regard, Spanish critic Castelar, the author of a book on Byron further addressed, asserts that Byron "does not present the world as Goethe does, in itself, in its existence, in its laws and its phenomena; he presents it as it appears to his soul, just as he looks out into the abyss of his thought."¹⁹⁷ The same author, regarding Byron, considered that "his soul devoured that disgust of reality, against which the poet had only one refuge: the

¹⁹⁵. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 15, 355.

¹⁹⁶. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 37.

¹⁹⁷. Emilio Castelar, *ibid.*, 152.

ideal,”¹⁹⁸ and also that “none of his travels filled the curiosity of his soul, born to travel the infinite.”¹⁹⁹ José Martí, who asserted that Manfred lived in the very soul of the poet, not only mentions the intimate torture of Byron’s immense soul but also refers to Byron’s universal soul.²⁰⁰ All the aforementioned references not only show the attention prompted by Byron’s inner world among his receptors but the variety of approaches to it.

Byron’s misanthropy constitutes another aspect of Janin’s “collective requests” to Byron, a feature addressed by many a critic not being Cuban receptors any exception. Starting with Byron’s expressions in this regard, there are marked contradictions in the appreciation of this characteristic. Byron himself, in a letter to John Murray II, his friend, adviser, publisher and literary critic, wrote that “all men are intrinsic rascals, and I am only sorry that not being a dog I can’t bite them.”²⁰¹ Nevertheless, through the poetic persona of his *Don Juan*, Byron himself seems to complain: “Some people have accused me of misanthropy/...Why do they call me misanthrope? Because/ They hate me, not I them.”²⁰² Thus, critics have ever since taken sides to either neglect or support Byron’s misanthropy. On one extreme, Thomas Babington Macaulay asserts that “never had any writer so vast a command of the whole eloquence of scorn, misanthropy and despair;” On the other, Teresa Guiccioli states that “his misanthropy was quite foreign to his nature. All those who knew him can bear testimony to the falseness of the accusation.”²⁰³ In the very article, however, after asserting that Byron was a misanthrope²⁰⁴ and requesting Byron to unravel his misanthropy, Janin contradicts himself on concluding that Byron was a “false misanthrope and happy to be with at the table.” The topic, as shown here, is full with contradictions and rests on personal perceptions. Heredia, after mentioning that “Byron lived tormented by domestic disgusts,” asserts that, “undoubtedly, those misfortunes gave his works the tone of misanthropy that

¹⁹⁸. Ibid., 90.

¹⁹⁹. Ibid., 82.

²⁰⁰. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 15, 355.

²⁰¹. Thomas Moore, *Life of Byron*, (London: John Murray, 1854), 267.

²⁰². George Gordon Byron, *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*, (Paris: Baudry, 1825), 9-10.

²⁰³. Teresa Guiccioli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 48.

²⁰⁴. Jules Janin, *ibid.*,

generally reigns in them, and stirred his soul in terms of making insufferable his permanence in his homeland;”²⁰⁵ however, misanthropy heads the list of distinctive features Piñeyro attributes to Byron’s heroes.²⁰⁶ The Cuban receptors, far from accusing Byron, make the difference on laying the feature on Byron’s works and his heroes. Janin also refers to Byron’s heroes, and commits him to “be your hero,” an endorsement rather than a request. Much has been written about Byron’s characters and heroes. In words of Castelar, “his characters are all clouds of his own soul, formed by the vapours of the feelings that battle in the ocean of his heart.”²⁰⁷ Most of Byron’s critics agree that his heroes are incarnations of himself. Thus the concept of Byronic hero is regarded as one of the main components of Byron’s legacy. In this regard, Piñeyro alludes to “the spirit of rebellion and bold pride of the Byronic heroes,”²⁰⁸ which trait, together with exile, was very well appreciated by the Cubans engaged in building their national identity in a context of war against Spain. José Martí, perhaps the best connoisseur of Byron among Cuban receptors, concluded that “Byron himself, with the dressings of poetry, is his best creation.” As hitherto discussed, Janin’s article contributed to familiarise also the Cubans with Byron’s life and work by means of his peculiar approach to it. Given Janin’s French nationality, his role as a receptor is not relevant to this analysis. However, the fact that his article on Byron was translated and published in Cuba, makes him a germane transmitter on having contributed to the reception of Byron on the island. The same merit corresponds to Del Monte whose translation made the article accessible to the Cuban readership and deserves further specialised attention. Significantly though, neither works such as the aforementioned *The Reception of Byron in Europe* and *Byron’s European Impact* nor other sources consulted, refer to the French writer Jules Janin as a noteworthy receptor of Byron. Neither those works make reference to his contribution to the transatlantic reception of the poet in Cuba as an effective transmitter.

²⁰⁵. José María Heredia, *ibid.*, 169.

²⁰⁶. Enrique Piñeyro, *ibid.*, 96.

²⁰⁷. Emilio Castelar, *ibid.*, 152.

²⁰⁸. Enrique Piñeyro, *ibid.*, 293-294.

Despite Emilio Castelar's Spanish nationality, his *Vida de Lord Byron* was published in Cuba. No information has been found so far about the circumstances of the publication, however, it can be assumed that the editorial fact responded to local intellectual interests. The book holds the merit of being the first biography of Byron published on the island, therefore its pioneering contribution to the knowledge of the poet's life and work by the Cubans. Since its publication, the volume aroused encountered passions and even generated a criticism volume by Cuban writer Antonio Vinageras, to which further reference is made. As in the case of Janin's "Lord Byron," given Castelar's nationality, attention will not be drawn on his perception of Byron but on the contribution of his work to the reception of Byron in Cuba. In this regard, one of the most appreciated elements is Castelar's approach to Byron's early age at which

his mother took him from London, where Byron was born, to the countryside, to Aberdeen. There, before dawn, when the melancholy chant of the lark followed the cry of the rooster, he walked alone, on the pretext of hunting, to exercise his forces and to take his wandering genius along the banks of the cliffs, along the tops of the mountains, through the caverns where the voice of the gods of his parents is still heard, to be inspired by the spectacles of nature, and to unite his moan of poet to the universal voice.²⁰⁹ (Translated by the author)

Thus, through Castelar's work alluding to the restorative power of nature as a romantic trait, the Cubans were given the opportunity to not perceive Byron as purely English by having early access to his Scottish side, his early inspiration sources and formation years in Scotland, attending "the very humble schools of Aberdeen, where he learned his first letters and Latin." As implied by Castelar and set forth by many scholars, Byron's stay in Scotland contributed to forge the rebellious and libertarian spirit of the poet and his heroes, a feature very well received by the Cubans engaged in the shaping of a new nation, which endeavour took three independence wars in the second half of the nineteenth century. Castelar refers to Byron on his return to England and describes the new circumstances that surround him: "Here is Byron, independent by nature, proud of his genius, educated in the mountains and suddenly involved in a complicated and ceremonial society.

²⁰⁹. Emilio Castelar, *ibid.*, 9.

Here is Byron, who believes himself superior to those around him, forced to lower his forehead, to bend the spine to submit to general concerns.” Addressing Byron’s new environment allows Castelar to contrast it with the child’s previous stage and provide a more detailed account of his Scottish childhood, the time when

his true home had been the Ossianic cavern, from where he saw the stars rise or the clouds form with the vapours of the valley, to the sound of the wind that stirred the wild hair of the pines and collected the moans of the waterfalls mixed with the howling of the wolves and the sharp cry of the eagles. His only profession had been to jump, run, as if to deny his limp; to exercise his forces in the manner that the chiefs of Scotland’s ancient clans; to entrust his songs, like the minstrels, to the turns of the wind, to the wings of the air; to wander through the gorges to bathe his soul in the silver rays of the moon; to climb into the cradle of the mountains, as if to reach the infinite by hand, that infinity that was so close to him in his soul, overwhelming him with its weight, as all human greatness overwhelms.²¹⁰

Even though Castelar’s narrative is mediated by Romanticism as a transnational context, the geographical, natural, historical, cultural and traditional elements mentioned in his passage constitutes a vivid portray through which the Cuban readership could perceive Scotland and Byron’s long-discussed Scottishness. Castelar still insists in the traumatic change in the life of the child and refers that “this strange being, wild by character, a highlander by customs, poet by sublime genius, and therefore incomprehensible, was to fall into the most mechanical society of the universe and feel shattered by the teeth of its wheels.” Besides these aspects concerning Byron’s Scottish side, his bibliography by Castelar also addresses, with his particular vision, the rest of Byron’s life and his works. Regarding Castelar and his *Vida de Lord Byron*, José Román Leal, the Cuban who wrote the prologue to the volume, mentions “the sublime author of these shining pages, which in marble and gold should be eternalized.” However, Vinageras, the author of *Bosquejo crítico de la Vida de Lord Byron*, considers Castelar’s bibliography “a minor work.” Validating the works on Byron from a literary standpoint is not relevant to this analysis but addressing their contribution to the reception of Byron. In this regard, mention should be made of Leal’s perception in his prologue:

Lord Byron is the synthesis of the elements piled up by the effort of the European peoples in the critical and supreme hour of the anxiety of

²¹⁰. Emilio Castelar, *ibid.*, 13.

confusion, of shock, which manifests itself in a penetrating cry of heart-breaking doubt, but sublime doubt, as a momentary eclipse, so that, by the law of contrast, the flood of light of this prodigious intellectual shaking that gives no truce to thought or peace to the hand appears more radiant. Such is the epic of intelligence in the Olympic battle with pain.

Leal's definition of Byron as incarnation of the convoluted epoch in which he lived aligns with Castelar's own characterisation:

Wonderful flexibility is the distinctive character of the poet. He combines ancient classicism, modern romanticism and orientalism, the vaguest idealistic drowsiness with the crudest realism, the most brutal. He is the personification of his caustic time. He is the instrument that all winds hurt, and that sounds to all winds. [...] Being a subjective poet, never forgetting his personality, dragging the chain of his individual pains through the earth, he remains and will always remain one of the most faithful poets of this uncertain century, which, from its beginnings, has hesitated between reason and faith, between law and tradition, between freedom and caesarism.

Both viewpoints, together with all the biographical information contained in the volume, provided the Cuban readership with an image that neared them to the man, the poet and his work. Disregarding how distorted the image may have been due to historical imprecisions, overemphasis on Byron's scandalous private life or lack of literary rigour, as criticised by authors such as Vinageras in his *Bosquejo Crítico*, Castelar's *Vida de Lord Byron* bears a remarkable significance from a reception viewpoint, the reason why both Cardwell's *The Reception of Byron in Europe* and Cochran's *Byron's European Impact* make reference to the volume. Neither of the two, nevertheless, mention that the biography was published in Cuba, which fact made the volume available for a local readership and therefore contributing to the transatlantic reception of Byron on the island.

Vinagera's *Bosquejo crítico de la Vida de Lord Byron*, as indicated by the title, is meant to criticise Castelar's *Vida de Lord Byron*. Paradoxically, Castelar's work was published in Havana in 1873, while Vinageras's critical essay was initially published in Spain in the same year, although a second edition took place in Havana in 1879, which fact constitutes a peculiar instance from a reception perspective. Given the wide international fame attained by Byron, Castelar's essay triggered mixed reactions. The supporters considered the volume an accomplished attempt to honour the genius. Vinageras is on the detractors' side although his work is very well

documented and backed by his command of the English language and his deep knowledge of Byron's life and work. For Vinageras, "the life of the great poet authored by Mr. Castelar is [...] a monotonous picture and, therefore, tiring, without connection, a work where digression interrupts the analysis, and whose reading does not leave in the reader's mood another impression but the fleeting, which is by no means related to the capital issue."²¹¹ In his essay, Vinageras addresses what he considers inaccuracies, inconsistencies, flaws, unnecessary repetitions, contradictions, gaps and compositional failures. In words of Vinageras himself, his volume "does not go beyond being very light notes, with no other intention than avoiding the damage that the falsified history may cause [...]. Mr. Castelar's Byron is not Byron." Vinageras concluded his essay expressing that

the great figure who threw, as a storm does, on the conscience of the nineteenth century the uncertainties and doubts, the struggles and worries of the shipwrecked eighteenth century, that great man who inherited Rousseau and Voltaire, and was the Mirabeau-Apollo of this poor planet's Olympus, was not that eternal swinger who has painted his new biographer... he was something else: the intelligence of a century in its dawn; the pain of another century in its twilight; and so great he is, without looking at his worst flaws, as nobody inquires about the artist who built Agrippa's palace, that for every critic it is a duty not to speak a word of himself when he has to approach [...] one of the giants of literature of all time.²¹² (Translated by the author)

Both Varona and Vinageras coincide in stressing Byron's greatness and they both appeal to the same stylistic device, the repetition of the adjective "great" to reinforce that quality, to which Vinageras adds a considerable number of allusions. Rousseau and Voltaire, both writers and philosophers, permeated the French Revolution with their libertarian ideas and so did Byron's influential writings "in allying poetry to democratic and national causes." The personification of Mirabeau and Apollo attributed to Byron makes a significant characterisation of the poet. French Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Count of Mirabeau (1749-1791) distinguished, among other facets, as a writer, journalist, and politician. Given the influence of his speeches, he was referred to as "the orator of the people" and "the torch of Provence." However, he is regarded, above all, as a revolutionary, a quality central to the definition of Byron

²¹¹. Antonio Vinageras y Cruz, *Bosquejo crítico de la Vida de Lord Byron de D. Emilio Castelar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Rafael Anoz), 1873, 5.

²¹². Antonio Vinageras y Cruz, *ibid.*, 28.

provided by Piñeyro. Other features of Mirabeau, though less complimentary, as well relate to Byron. As widely known, also Mirabeau was the protagonist of several scandals and even served sentence. After his death, the finding of incriminating documents, which could not be burned as in the case of Byron, brought his legacy into posthumous disgrace. Concerning the allusion to Apollo, the Greek god of male beauty and shining youth, Piñeyro was not the only receptor who referred to Byron's appearance. Martí, transgressing the prejudices of his epoch, referred to Byron as "bello," (beautiful) and not as "apuesto" (handsome). What is more, Martí conferred paradigmatic value to Byron's beauty. In a New York chronicle published by the Argentinian newspaper *La Nación*, Martí expresses that "in Boston, Motley looked as beautiful as Byron."²¹³ Shortly after, Martí made a similar comparison on asserting for the same periodical that "John Payne was beautiful, like Byron and like the historian Motley, but, as he was as impatient as beautiful, he gave of himself before receiving."²¹⁴ The allusion to the Greek deity also relates to Byron's bond to Greece, the country for which he sacrificed his life, "the favourite object of his piety and his love,"²¹⁵ as stated by Heredia. The subordinate sentence mentioning "the artist who built Agrippa's palace" is meant to disregard Byron's dark side being his work so great and enduring as compared to the alluded ancient construction. Despite the alleged faults of Castelar's biographical essay and the rigorous assessment conducted by Vinageras in his critical volume, both works complement each other, both circulated in Cuba with the peculiar characteristic of being the first books about Byron, and both are significant from a reception perspective. Even though Vinageras's critical perception did not favour Castelar's *Vida de Lord Byron*, it provided elements that guided the Cuban audience into a more critical reading of Castelar and ultimately into the knowledge of Byron's life and work. Contrary to Castelar, neither of the reception studies so far consulted have recorded Vinageras as a receptor of Byron or as an international transmitter of his life and work.

Since José Martí's "Byron" was never published in his lifetime, it can be considered a project subsequently compiled in his *O. C.* Due to the fact that the text

²¹³. José Martí, *ibid.* v. 9, 337.

²¹⁴. José Martí, *ibid.* v. 13, 246.

²¹⁵. José María Heredia, *ibid.*, 173.

is not dated, and the rest of the works under the title it was published are dated 1882-1884, it can be assumed that the text was written around the same date, almost sixty years after the publication of Heredia's article, which accounts for his alluded ever active presence. A remark on the front page classifies the text as "excerpts." All the ideas contained in it are both psychologically and grammatically complete, however, the sections do not bear complete unity or coherence, which rather gives the text the appearance of a set of well-organised notes to be used in a subsequent article.

The text, nevertheless, contains Martí's most essential considerations about Byron's work, among which it is possible to distinguish, as in the case of other receptors, not only characterising traits but also aspects Martí admires or regrets regarding the poet.

In the text, Martí enumerates

the elements of Byron's character: his Saxon education opposing the ardour of the South; the natural contrast that results from painting with a sober language accidents of passion not common in the land where that language is spoken; the powerful individuality of the poet, increased with rude censorship, and the very deep intimate pain he attracts to himself and tinges with its brown colour all sensations and objectives.²¹⁶

The characterisation is rather positive and Martí refers to Byron's pain in a compassionate rather than a judgemental way. Nothing indicates, however, that Martí was unaware of the "guilt" that tortured Byron. Most probably, Martí preferred not to say, which attitude aligns with that of the other Cuban receptors, who were respectful, and rather justificatory, about Byron's private life. Most of Martí's ideas about Byron's works in the text are contrasted or opposed. In this regard, Martí considers that "Byron stains with blood from his wounds the literary creations of his intelligence; he is original even in spite of himself. He cannot imitate, although, in the mystery of his will, he wishes to do so."²¹⁷ The idea is partly reiterated when Martí refers to Byron's pains reflected in all his works; however, regarding imitation and referring to *Don Juan*, Martí doubts whether all generations would read the loves with Doña Inés since "they smell of Boccaccio," and insinuates that Byron "likes to paint shipwrecks, like Virgil; and wars, like Homer," which statements contrast with the rest of the appreciation: "all generations would read with pleasure the loves with

²¹⁶. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 15, 357.

²¹⁷. *Ibid.*, 356.

Haydee, this inimitable idealization of the passionate beauties of Greece.” Even though Martí expresses that “Don Juan is completely eclipsed by the poet: the protagonist is always Lord Byron,” and also that “*Don Juan* does not have his own colour: it is his invention; coming out of his own reality, Byron would not have been a great poet,” Martí sets forth and even celebrates the way the immortality of Byron’s poem was consummated:

Don Juan started as a new edition of his travels, where, with an affected desire to disdain the classic, he tries and makes classic descriptions. But, when the personal struggles requested it, the created character became a contributor to the creative character. He brought it to England, exchanged its nature, education, activity and language for magical art and used it to defend himself against his enemies and to avenge himself against hypocritical England,²¹⁸

which idea does not differ from that of other authors such as Cochran who asserts that “Byron’s *Don Juan* plays with so much of the European and English literary traditions, and plays so many different games with them, that summarising is hard.”²¹⁹

In his text, Martí also addresses *Manfred*. For him, the poem is “a simple conception: undoubtedly inspired by Goethe, more human and less important than *Faust*.” Regarding the poem, Martí again points out its autobiographical elements: “Manfred [...] lived in the very soul of his poet. Byron painted in it his own solitude, his endless remorse: this is the vigour of his poem.” His admiration for *Manfred* is expressed on only one line: “It seems incredible that talent can suspect all the tortures of the human spirit without feeling them.” Martí, nevertheless, had mixed feelings about the two Byron’s poems that had prompted his attention since very early:

I always had *Manfred* and *Mazeppa* for the best of Byron. They seemed to me two excellent concretions of the human soul’s pains. Later I found out with sorrow that the *Manfred* that enthused my childhood had been born from the reading of the admirable gothic poem rather than the contemplation of the forests of nature and the sins in the conscience. With the same regret I found out that *Mazeppa*, my other marvel, was not a human spirit chained to the

²¹⁸. José Martí, *ibid.*, 355.

²¹⁹. Peter Cochran, ed., *Aspects of Byron’s Don Juan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 3.

fierce running steed, the image of life, but the splendid robes of a rare real fact.²²⁰

Martí's disappointment, however, did not prevent him from admitting that "Byron's style has a unique energy. It is not weakened by the abundance and swelling of images but fortified by the vigour and propriety of words," a consideration endorsed by Martí's ability to read Byron's compositions in their original language. Another positive consideration is added at the end of the text: "Byron had in favour of his originality: that of his character, that of his country, that of his language, and that of his pain. A poet should not be judged by what he was not able to do when there is abundant copy of what he did." Out of the works so far analysed, Martí's text, if not the last to be written, was the last to be published. Notwithstanding, it has appeared in all the issues of Martí's *O. C.* corresponding to the last and the current century. From a reception viewpoint, Martí's text has its own significance: it constitutes a mark of influence endorsed not only by the early engagement of the author with Byron's life and work but also by his prestige as a critic. In his text, Martí's combines praising and non-complimentary considerations providing the readership with a balanced, authorised and very personal vision of the topic addressed.

The critical works previously analysed, Heredia's (1826), Janin's (1831), Varona's (1873), Castelar's (1873), Vinageras's (1873), Piñeyro's (1883) and Martí's (c. 1882-1884), were written along a span covering most of the century, they bear their own characteristics and vary among them regarding objective, content, extension and approach. As critical works, they constitute a valuable corpus through which the wide reception of Byron in nineteenth-century Cuba can be proved, traced, and searched in more depth. Heredia's, Vinageras's and Piñeyro's works were initially published abroad, which feature adds international relevance to their receptor-transmitter role in the reception. Being Janin and Castelar foreign authors, their works, originated from the reception of Byron in Europe, indirectly contributed to the "ever active presence" of Byron on the island though in peculiar ways: Janin's article was presented to the Cuban readership by means of Del Monte's translation while Castelar's volume was published in Cuba; however, neither of them are

²²⁰. José Martí, *ibid.*, 356.

mentioned in “The International Reception and Literary Impact” despite their international contribution. Except for Heredia’s work, none of the others has been addressed from a reception perspective, being Heredia the only author referred to as a receptor of Byron in the relevant bibliography so far consulted.

The reception of Byron in Cuba can also be traced through the number of translations generated by his works, some of which have already been mentioned. Among the most outstanding translators of Byron, mention should be of the following keeping the chronological order of their births; José María Heredia, 1803-1839; Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, 1819-1874; Rafael María de Mendive, 1821-1886; Antonio Sellén, 1838-1889; Francisco Sellén, 1838-1907; Adelaida del Mármol, 1840-1857; Mercedes Matamoros y del Valle, 1851-1906, and Francisco Díaz Silveira, 1871-1925. As in the case of the critical pieces, these translations, taking into consideration the translator’s lifetimes aforementioned, were published almost all along the century. From a reception viewpoint, they not only constitute indisputable marks of influence but also clear samples of the translator’s contribution to the reception of Byron in their assumed role of transmitters. Even though Heredia is mentioned in “The International Reception,” the roles assigned to him as “a person of action” or “a writer politician” influenced by Byron do not apply to his case. Instead, the article should have addressed Heredia’s role in the reception of Byron as a translator, a critic, and an inspired poet who dedicated some of his creation to admire Byron’s poetic genius. The rest of the Cuban translators have not yet been acknowledged in their role of influenced receptors who turned into successful transmitters of Byron’s works. Subsequent reference is made to Martí as a receptor of Byron.

Influence of Byron on Heredia as Viewed by Martí

According to one of the introductory remarks in his 1888 article, Martí asserts that “Heredia does not have to fear of time: his poetry will endure, grandiose and eminent, among the defects imposed by his time and the imitations with which he

trained his hand; his poetry will endure like those ancient pyramids that reign in the divine solitude rising their colossal stones above the dust of the collapsed castoffs.”²²¹

Besides revealing how familiar Martí was with Heredia’s work, this positive appraisal of his poetic accomplishments conveys an allusion to one of the most controversial aspects concerning Heredia’s work: his literary influences, to which Martí confers a negative connotation on coordinating “defects” with “imitations” by means of a non-contrasting conjunction. While foregrounding what Martí considers Heredia’s great and everlasting merit, he distinguishes it from Heredia’s imitations of Romantic poets, which he further addresses as a mere writing exercise. As widely known, imitation, as one of the integrating forms of literary reception, is closely related to literary influence. Even though J. T. Shaw asserts that “imitations have often been used as a pedagogic device in an artist’s development,”²²² this does not seem to be the case of Heredia whose imitations were published hand in hand with his creative pieces. On the next line, however, Shaw, still referring to imitations, points out that “they have often been condemned by scholars and critics,” which observation aligns with Martí’s attitude as a critic regarding Heredia’s works; however, as pointed out by Shaw, “imitations may have independent aesthetic merit of their own.”²²³ While several authors hold the opinion that Heredia was influenced by a number of Romantic poets, especially Byron, as recorded in *H. L. C.*,²²⁴ Martí regrets that

there is never lack of someone who, without looking at the roots of each poet, or thinking that those who come from the same root have to show it on the leaf, consider imitation or idolatry the similarity of a poet with another who is analogous to their character, the bases of education or the nature of genius: as if the oak that grows in Beijing would come from that of Aranjuez, because there is an oak grove in Aranjuez.²²⁵ (Translated by the author)

In his statement, aiming at reinforcing his appraisal of the poetic values conveyed by Heredia’s works, Martí tries to minimize the extended criterion surrounding Heredia’s literary influences. Instead of pointing out that many critics, or most of them, hold the opinion that Heredia imitates Byron, he refers to that majority as an inevitable

²²¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 5, 133.

²²². J. T. Shaw, “Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies,” *ibid.*, 63.

²²³. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*

²²⁴. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, v.1, 134.

²²⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 5, 138.

“someone,” a depersonalised singular subject lacking all critical authority. Then, in a figurative sense, he alludes to the source as “root” and the literary work as “leaf,” which metaphors, bearing a euphemistic load, are used to address what seems to be a taboo topic for Martí when it comes to Heredia. Martí’s statement aims at establishing Heredia’s originality as a differentiating element, opposed to the similarity he considers as unavoidable as the existence of “oak-poets,” although not associated to imitation, to which form of influence Martí, again, confers a negative connotation by presenting it in coordination with an alternative adverse item, “idolatry,” which term can also be regarded as an implicit reference to Heredia’s excessive admiration for *Ossian*, a strong passion that took him not only to translate several pieces of the epic poem but also to compose others inspired by Macpherson’s work, the reason why Heredia has also been referred to as an Ossianic poet.²²⁶

In the article, Martí makes explicit his reserve concerning similarities: “Thus, because of appearances, malevolent or new-fangled observers see servient copy where there is not but fatal resemblance. Neither Heredia nor anybody else can get rid of their time, which, in one thousand subtle ways, influences the mind and, sitting where nobody can see it, dictates the first feelings, the first prose.”²²⁷ This time, instead of minimizing the critics, Martí refers to them in derogatory terms, which causes a stronger invalidating effect in favour of his aim to praise Heredia’s work by implicitly distinguishing the lack of poetic talent from the predictable similitude imposed by the mimetic essence of arts in general, and literature in particular.²²⁸ Martí also justifies influence by explaining that

the poetic soul is always so eager for high company, and it is always so needy of beauty, that as soon as it appears, the soul goes after it. Moreover, by the direction of the first steps, the soul reveals the beauty it is following, which is usually less than the one it inspires. From these impulses, genius comes vibrating, as a sea of sound waves, from Homer to Whitman.²²⁹ (Translated by the author)

In his explanation, Martí sets forth the poet’s pursuit for a great model, their requirement of works bearing aesthetic values as well as their disposition to follow

²²⁶. Isidoro Montiel, *Ossian en España*, Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1974, 68.

²²⁷. José Martí, *ibid*, 138.

²²⁸. This notion has been intuited since Aristotelian times and Martí approaches as determined by fate while appealing to one of the influential factors that have been addressed in comparative-literature studies and Weisstein considers in terms of “epoch, period, generation and movement.”

²²⁹. José Martí, *Ibid*.

both. However, he again expresses the idea in a figurative sense by referring to the poet as “the poetic soul,” the model as “high company,” the inspiring work as “beauty,” the evidence as “direction of the first steps” and eventually he refers to influence as the “beauty followed.” The reason why Martí addresses the phenomenon in such indirect and metaphorical terms can be explained in words of J. T. Shaw: “some scholars and critics, including many who have studied literary indebtedness, seem to feel that to suggest an author's literary debts diminishes his [or her] originality.”²³⁰ Martí, who apparently lodged the prejudice, insists on delimiting the alleged influence of Byron on Heredia from the original quality of Heredia's work, for which, he reinforces his viewpoint by expressing that the “beauty followed,” that is, the inspiring work, “is usually less than the one it inspires,” a comparison implicitly favouring Heredia's work by suggesting its superiority, and a way of paving the ground to explicitly express his idea about Heredia's own poetry and his imitations. For Martí, influence as a literary phenomenon has continuously taken place in the history of world literature and can be traced “from Homer to Whitman” as many comparatists state it though providing different examples, namely Boccaccio and Shakespeare; however, Martí seems to have been far from admitting that “originality consists, not exclusively or even primarily in innovations in materials or of style and manner, but in the genuineness and effectiveness of the artistic moving power of the creative work,”²³¹ the reason why he eventually expresses that

due to some confessed imitations, bearing much lower quality than his original works, it has been loosely said that Heredia was an imitator of one author or another, and specially of Byron, when the truth is that Byron's superb passion was not in line with Heredia's noble passion, nor there is the least essential resemblance in the topics they addressed in common.”²³² (Translated by the author)

Martí's remark reflects his position since for him “to study is a merit; but imitation is a mistake: more than a mistake, an abandonment of the dignity of intelligence.”²³³ His statement, nevertheless, faces a difficult obstacle in his purpose to thoroughly highlight the poetic values of Heredia's works: Heredia's avowal of his imitations, which fact

²³⁰. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 58.

²³¹. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 59.

²³². José Martí, *ibid.*

²³³. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 6, 368.

cannot be easily overlooked. According to J. T. Shaw, “many great authors have not been ashamed to admit that others have influenced them, and many have even paraded their indebtedness to others.”²³⁴ Heredia, whom Martí considered “the first romantic author of the Americas,” seems to be among those many. At least, the original authors of his imitations were always acknowledged by him. Even though Martí devotes the next paragraphs of the article to document his “truth,” he could not withstand it. One year later, in the commemoration speech he gave at the Hardman Hall of New York, Martí warns:

I don't come here to judge how classic and French education got together in him, as well as the fire of his soul and time, and the accidents and places of his life; nor to judge how the teaching of his father accelerated his genius, nor the odyssey of his childhood; nor what is his own or a reflex in his famous verses; nor to point with an inclement finger at the time when, deprived his soul of the highest occupations, he repeated his first ideas in less happy verses by the habit of producing, or the need to express himself, or gratitude to the people who were hosting him, or by political obligation.²³⁵ (Translated by the author)

On addressing the highlights of Heredia's life, Martí shows again how knowledgeable he was about Heredia's most essential values both as a human being and as a poet. Once more, however, Martí refers to Heredia's poetic influences while revealing a change of attitude on his admitting that some of Heredia's works are indeed “reflections,” that is, imitations. In the same speech, Martí eventually admits that “Heredia imitates the love of the horse after Byron,” a statement alluding to Heredia's “A mi Caballo” (To my horse) and Lord Byron's *Mazeppa*. The assertion, nevertheless, is followed by a rhetorical question: “After whom Heredia imitates his ‘Oda al Niágara,’ ‘Huracán,’ ‘En el teocali de Cholula?’,” with which Martí still lingers on highlighting the originality and expressive values of Heredia's paradigmatic pieces. In his purpose, Martí also addresses other works by Heredia and points out in strong terms that “it is not proper of a sound mind to consider the marvels of Heredia's ‘Tempestad’ (The tempest) less than the verses Byron composed during a storm,” a direct reference to Byron's “Stanzas composed during a Thunderstorm,” while suggesting that Heredia's composition is at least as valuable as Byron's, which appreciation might be appropriate; nevertheless, reaching a more precise idea on the

²³⁴. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 58-59.

²³⁵. José Martí, *ibid.*, 166.

comparison of the pieces and the influence of Byron on Heredia would take further comparative studies and it would necessarily entail other ramifications. Caridad Atencio, an outstanding Martí scholar, has pointed out “some peculiarities that connect the poems of Martí and those of the Niagara Singer in a subtle way.” On comparing Heredia’s “A mi caballo” with Martí’s “Académica,” Atencio concludes that

the horse is invoked in both poems, and it is addressed, with the same verb, as if something owned, and although not with the same potentiality and intentionality as Martí, Heredia also conceives the horse synonymous with the free and natural. [...] Obviously, Martí takes the same motive and infuses new essences, showing, through this symbol of the free and the spirited, the rebellion against meter and stanza prisons to which poetry was subjected at that time, and the new lyric he was proposing.²³⁶ (Translated by the author)

Her observation becomes more relevant on taking into consideration that Martí “always had *Manfred* and *Mazeppa* as the best of Byron,”²³⁷ which opens another set of queries; among them, at what extent was Martí himself indirectly influenced by Byron. Whatever the answer may be, in the light of widely accepted considerations, “what genuinely moves the reader aesthetically and produces an independent artistic effect has artistic originality, whatever its debts,”²³⁸ an idea Martí seems not to have adhered to in his time.

Alfredo: A transatlantic Byronic hero?

Martí, as previously mentioned, considered that “study is a merit; but imitation is a mistake: more than a mistake, a neglect of the dignity of intelligence.”²³⁹ In this regard, he asserts that “Alfred de Musset was less great because he was blinded by Byron's radiance, and wanted to copy the Shakespearean theatre in his disarrays.”²⁴⁰ Martí’s reluctance to accept influence in general and imitation in particular as positive effects is not an encouraging factor on trying to trace the influence of Byron on Martí’s work, especially on Martí’s poetry. Concerning influence, Enani states that “everything in this area seems to be tentative, and even

²³⁶. Caridad Atencio, “Clamores heredianos en Versos libres de José Martí,” *La Jiribilla*, accessed 20 June, 2019, <http://www.lajiribilla.cu/clamores-heredianos-en-versos-libres-de-jose-marti-2>.

²³⁷. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 15, 356.

²³⁸. J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 59.

²³⁹. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 6, 368.

²⁴⁰. *Ibid.*

contestable. The mere observation of similarities is never enough to conclude, with any certainty, that there has been an influence; still, when one encounters direct ‘borrowings,’ or ‘imitations’ (deliberate or otherwise) one can safely assume prior knowledge by the poet of ‘foreign’ models.”²⁴¹ In this case, nevertheless, the prior knowledge of the foreign model is not assumed but confirmed. Since very early in his life, Martí was deeply engaged with Byron’s life and work; however, if it is assumed that Martí did not borrow from Byron nor imitated him, then the question would be: will the mere observation of similarities be enough to conclude that Byron influenced Martí’s poetry?

In April, 1875 the *Revista Universal* of Mexico published a poem by José Martí. The title, “Alfredo,” just as in the case of “the young melancholy Scottish peer Oswald whose name suggests that of Oscar,” keeps close similarity with “Manfredo,” the Spanish equivalent to “Manfred;” only that in this case, to the best of our knowledge, no scholar has so far drawn attention on the resemblance of the title of Martí’s composition to that of Byron’s poem. Martí’s eponymous poem tells the story of a young man who cannot find the love meeting his requirements and eventually decides to terminate his life by drowning in a river. The story in Martí’s “Alfredo” differs from that in *Manfred*; nevertheless, both compositions bear several elements in contact, among them, the same denouement: the death of the protagonist after his unsuccessful seek for forgetfulness and forgiveness. Regarding Byron’s poem, Bernard Beatty states that

Manfred is both culmination—for the Byronic hero could go no further than this, he dies in Manfred’s death—and turning point. Hence, melancholy Manfred dies no longer subject to his inheritance of humors but in a good humor, and this is the legacy that will be put to such good use in Byron’s great comic poems—*Beppo*, *The Vision of Judgement*, and *Don Juan* that come after *Manfred* and are enabled by it.²⁴²

Given the importance of *Manfred*, as stated in Beatty’s words, it is hardly surprising that Martí may have drawn inspiration from Byron’s poem to create his piece. The analysis, however, will not be centred on how much Alfredo owes to Manfred, which would reduce the source of influence, but on how much Alfredo owes to the Byronic

²⁴¹. M. M. Enani, *ibid.*, 4-5.

²⁴². Bernard Beatty, “Inheriting Humors, Legating Humor: The Will of Manfred,” in *Byron: Heritage and Legacy*, Cheryl A. Wilson, ed., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 139.

hero, a concept that has been widely discussed and has generated countless characterisations, some of which have been simplified into a great many lists of Byronic-hero traits. The biography included in *George Gordon, Lord Byron*, a volume from the series Bloom's Classic Critical Views, refers to Byron "as the originator of the concept of the Byronic hero," and subsequently provides a synthesised definition: "a melancholy, brooding and defiant man, haunted by some secret guilt."²⁴³ Ember Pepper, who deems the Byronic hero "a familiar figure," consecutively defines it as "the brooding but sensitive man whose quiet, if not taciturn, demeanour covers over a deeply troubled soul."²⁴⁴ Even though both approaches complement each other, both lay on psychological grounds whereas none of the two addresses the hero's physical characteristics, which feature is not much less important and has been taken into account by many other Byron scholars. Amber Kelly asserts that "the Byronic Hero is often handsome, although there are variations to how that attractiveness is defined. Whether or not he meets the traditional standards of beauty, the Byronic Hero is ripe with sexual charisma."²⁴⁵ On analysing Martí's Alfredo, both aspects will be considered. A Byronic hero does not have to necessarily bear all of the traits addressed in the definitions or enumerated on the lists, however there are some other traits that will be pointed out where relevant.

Martí's poem is divided into six cantos, the first of which, meant to introduce the character, has four stanzas, the first starting with a statement between exclamation marks as is proper in Spanish, "Alfredo: ¡qué abundante cabellera/ Sobre la franca sien llevó extendida/ Todo el tiempo de mal y lucha fiera/ Que sollozando anduvo por la vida!" (Alfredo: what abundant hair he wore stretched on his frank temples all the time of evil and fierce struggle that he went weeping through life!). The exclamation marks, however, may not express real admiration but rather astonishment, surprise or regret. Long hair was not much of a male attribute in Martí's social environment, the reason why, on Oscar Wilde's visit to New York, Martí, in two of his chronicles, besides praising the merits of the Irish

²⁴³. Harold Bloom, ed., *George Gordon, Lord Byron*, (New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism), 1.

²⁴⁴. Ember Pepper, "The Byronic Hero," *Academia*, accessed 30 October 2019, https://www.academia.edu/36802619/The_Byronic_Hero.

²⁴⁵. Amber Kelly, "Literary Blueprints: The Byronic Hero," *Ploughshares at Emerson College*, 01 January, 2015, <http://blog.pshares.org/index.php/literary-blueprints-the-byronic-hero/>.

poet, criticises his long hair.²⁴⁶ In the stanza, Martí associates Alfredo's long hair with the character's suffering, his struggle with integrity, a thread that overarches the whole composition. A seemingly insignificant detail to draw attention on is Alfredo's "franca sien" (frank temple), an expression that leads to multiple interpretations. The adjective bears a polysemic character in Spanish, thus meaning "free" or "open." Other meanings, fallen into disuse but operational in Martí's times, are "liberal" and "generous." By then, "sien" was also used to designate "mind" or "understanding." In non-verbal communication, the temple is associated with "mind," "sense," "common sense," "wisdom," or "reminder." Literally speaking, the expression "franca sien" makes no sense, so the only possible way of understanding it is appealing to figurative speech, where the adjective may work as a transferred epithet and then the "frank" is Alfredo instead of his temple. Did Martí mean that Alfredo is "frank"? Did he mean anything else according to the multiple combination of the meanings? Did he mean that Alfredo is "liberal" in the sense of someone who behaves or acts in a way far removed from rigorous or strict societal rules or models? If so, Martí was providing Alfredo with one of the most commonly accepted traits of the Byronic hero.

The second stanza starts with an enumeration: "Plazas, calles, paseos, vagabundo,/ La frente al aire, el caminar tardío,/ Aquel ocioso espíritu en profundo/ Trabajo²⁴⁷ andaba, lleno de vacío." (Squares, streets, avenues, vagabond. The forehead in the air, the late walking. That idle spirit, full of emptiness, faced deep difficulty.) The enumeration lays emphasis on the variety of places frequented by Alfredo, but the idea does not need further elaboration since the last element does not grammatically belong to the group, which inconsistency creates an impression on the mind of the reader on finding out that Alfredo is not but a wanderer leading an unsettled and possibly irresponsible or disreputable life. Thus, the wandering searching behaviour as a trait of the Byronic hero, is not only confirmed but emphasised by the stylistic device; then, what might be insinuated in the first stanza is explicitly expressed in the second, which leads to another trait: emotional and

²⁴⁶. Félix Flores Varona, "José Martí: el retrato olvidado de Oscar Wilde," in *Ireland and Cuba: Entangled Histories*, Margaret Brehony and Nuala Finnegan, eds., (Ediciones Boloña: La Habana, 2019), 252.

²⁴⁷. Trabaja mucho, trabaja para andar+la noción de profundidad.

physical isolation from society. It does not take much effort to infer that vagabond Alfredo is above the rules of society and distastes social institutions. Regarding Byronic-hero traits, Amber Kelly asserts that “moral right supersedes societal norms and laws, so this character functions on the fringe,” thus the trait also applies to Alfredo. The rest of the stanza is also packed with traits: The phrase “La frente al aire” (The forehead in the air), indicates “pride” or “arrogance,” another trait subsequently repeated in the poem. The character’s spirit facing a “deep difficulty” introduces the idea of an internal conflict and the suffering it causes, while the oxymoronic expression points at the lack of love as the cause.

The third stanza continues to characterise Alfred: “Clavado en sí, su cuerpo lo encerraba/ Como la niebla al sol que lucha en vano/ Por penetrar la nebulosa traba/ Que rayos roba al mundo del humano.” (His body enclosed him nailed to himself, as the fog encloses the sun that in vain struggles to penetrate the nebula that steals rays from the human world.) The stanza introduces a peculiar topic, the body as a confined space. Alfredo is irremediably “nailed” to himself and trapped in his body, probably because of the repressive effect of the society he is avoiding or because of his inner struggle with an identity other than his own external one. The notion of inhabiting the wrong body that limits his expression is metaphorically and dramatically expressed by means of the nebula effect. The idea not only adds to the mysterious suffering of the character but also to its psychological complexity, a trait of the Byronic hero, which instance calls for the question, is a personality dysphoria the real cause of his anguish or his impossibility to find the one and only? Regarding the psychology of the Byronic hero, Amber Kelly points out that “modern critics sometimes throw around the psychological term ‘bipolar’ because the Byronic hero exists in states of extreme emotions, including anger, which sometimes leads to violent outbursts.”²⁴⁸ The fourth stanza of Martí’s poem shows the character’s clear correspondence with this trait: “Ora en Alfredo alzabase tormenta,/ O en suaves ondas como en lago terso,/ El aire blando el suave rizo aumenta/ De su alma en el espacio, un alma en verso.” (Sometimes the storm would burst in Alfredo or, as in a smooth lake, the mild air increases with soft waves the soft curl in the space of his

²⁴⁸. Amber Kelly, *ibid.*

soul, a soul in verse.) Alfred's emotionally conflicted psychology, as reflected in the stanza, coincides with the trait of the Byronic hero and thereupon manifests in a dual state, the occasionally tormented mood, to which Martí devotes only one line, and the calmly state, expressed in three lines, in which the pain, metaphorically represented by a soft curl, recedes. The curl, however, is "soft" and its softness is increased by the "mild" air with "soft" waves, none of which qualifiers denote virility. That is the curl that "occasionally" occupies all the space in Alfredo's coiled kinky curly soul, a soul that can only be described in verse, which indeed is done, once more, in the fifth section of the poem, where Alfredo cries "woman" three times and the poetical persona answers each cry by telling an enigmatic "flash-fiction" story; the first, about a lost bird that returns to its trunk to find an empty nest and die; the second, about a wounded traveller who digs the ground regretting he is dying and eventually dies; and the third, about a madwoman whom the wind hangs by her hair from "the blackish rock of the fatal beaches of life." The three stories are condensed into the description of Alfredo's soul: "¡El alma así de Alfredo vagabundo! / Loca en la playa, pájaro en el tronco,/ Viajero herido por el ancho mundo,/ Niebla y sol, noche y luz, gemido bronco." (Such is the soul of Alfredo the vagabond! A crazy woman on the beach, a bird on the trunk, a traveller wounded by the wide world, fog and sun, night and light, a hoarse whine.) The components of Alfredo's soul, however, are not mentioned in the same order as the stories where they belong were told. The first component Martí mentions to describe Alfredo's soul is the madwoman. The purpose might have several readings, which includes foregrounding torment and despair and assuming the enigmatic fatality of the beaches as a transferred epithet that deems Alfredo *homme fatale* hanging (he too has long hair) from the blackish rock of his hidden guilt. Be that as it may, there is still a disparity between the madwoman's gender and Alfredo's. After all, the story could have been as well about a madman but the author chooses to make a step ahead and "improves" the occasional dual behaviours previously referred with a soul loaded, in one third, with a female component.

The description, besides reflecting the psychological complexity of the character, also displays the aforementioned bipolarity by means of the two contrasting pairs while the oxymoronic expression "hoarse whine" emphasises the

inner contradiction of his soul. The second section or canto continues to describe the character:

Alfred: brave lad; that gallant lad
with a frank forehead and a superb neck,
eternal idler, late walker, gallant,
kind, dreamer and beautiful;

Perennial sad lad who, with an open hand,
gave pleasures and joy crying,
and goes asleep, and awakens before him
the sympathies of his eagerness bed;

Maniacal lad. Dalia the indigent,
crazy with hunger, meshed her braids.
And Dalia wanted kisses from his mouth,
and Alfredo put kisses on her forehead;²⁴⁹ (translated by the author)

The excerpt displays several traits of the Byronic hero already addressed and others such as the braveness that enables him to heroic behaviour. On describing Alfredo, the poetic persona not only mentions his “abundant hair” in the first section but also refers to him in the second as “that gallant lad with a frank forehead and a superb neck.” The adjective “gallant” is repeated while the adjective “beautiful,” usually employed to qualify a female, is also used here, fair enough to fulfil the aesthetic requirement of the Byronic hero. If there was any doubt so far, being a “maniacal lad” makes Alfredo “bad, mad and dangerous to know.” The second half of the poem, mainly reflecting the inner thoughts of the character about his mysterious soul, shows another trait commonly included on the lists, being highly intelligent or even street smart. In this regard, the fourth section is prolific:

²⁴⁹. Alfredo: bravo mozo; aquel gallardo
De frente franca y de soberbio cuello,
Ocioso eterno, caminante tardo,
Galán, amable, soñador y bello;

Perenne triste, que con mano abierta
Llorando daba gozos y alegrías,
Y va dormido, y ante sí despierta
De su lecho de afán las Simpatías;

Maniático doncel. Mesaba loca
De hambre sus trenzas Dalia la indigente,
Y quiso Dalia besos de su boca,
Y Alfredo puso besos en su frente;

Woman, woman, it is in vain that,
shedding blood of sorrows without you,
life passes through the earth leafing flowers,
like a pale and wounded virgin!

It is in vain, in vain, that life understands
the burning language of the wise,
without the language of living love in your lips
lighting this poor heart.

It is in vain, in vain, that crazy life
contemplates in itself stamped corpses while,
without will, the soul invokes
the redeeming fire that blazes in your kisses.²⁵⁰ (Translated by the author)

In correspondence with the Byronic-hero trait, the excerpt sets forth how sophisticated and educated the character is, so much so, that he can invoke “the language of the wise.” Furthermore, the smart reflections shade some light (or shadow) on the internal conflict of the character. Addressing a generic woman, Alfredo points out that he is shedding “blood of sorrows” in his solitude, and regrets not only that “the language of living love” in the lips of the lover does not light his poor heart but also that, “without will, the soul invokes the redeeming fire that blazes in your kisses.” At this point, questions may rise: why does the charismatic, magnetic, sexually-attractive and seductive young lad (all traits of the Byronic hero) let life pass by without a lover? Why does the knowledgeable young lad have an issue in getting his heart lit and lack the will to invoke the kisses of the lover? Why

²⁵⁰. —"Mujer, mujer, en vano es que la vida
Sin ti vertiendo sangre de dolores,
Como una virgen pálida y herida,
La tierra cruce deshojando flores!

En vano, en vano que la vida entienda
La abrasadora lengua de los sabios,
sin que El lenguaje de amor vivo en tus labios
encienda este pobre corazón.

En vano, en vano que la vida loca
Contemple en sí cadáveres impresos,
Mientras sin voluntad el alma invoca
el fuego redentor que arde en tus besos.

does he cry when giving handfuls of pleasures and joy while putting kisses on Dalia's forehead and not in her mouth if she was ostensibly hungry for love? Why does he enjoy wandering late at night? What are the sympathies he awakens when he goes asleep and what is "his bed" eager for? Why his soul fluctuates between a tormented and a soft mood while described as having a female component? Given the complexity of Alfredo's psychological profile, the questions so far posed call for deeper analysis.

In Martí's poem, Alfredo's conflict has different shades of grey as corresponds to the Byronic hero: Firstly, his relentless and unfruitful search for a love still bearing some hope: "who knows if any soul will refresh my empty existence," an expression that can also be understood as a sample of cynicism and sarcasm, both Byronic-hero traits. Secondly, his rejection, with derogatory terms, of the undesirable women with whom he had regrettable love affairs, and, in the third place, his lack of will or capacity to correspond to love, all of which can also be considered a school of red herrings. The last section of the poem, containing Alfredo's reflexive talk to the water where he eventually drowns, reveals still another shade of the conflict: Alfredo refers to his "calm forehead that hurts with all the pains," his soul "returns crying, half dead, covered in blood and captive of its evil," he regrets that "the crime bends the knee and turns the cursed forehead ashamed," he requests a kiss for "the uncured soul which is the point and glory of my guilts" and curses "the proscribed love which I have stamped in mud on my soul." Alfredo's reference to the so far not addressed "evil," "guilt," "crime," and "proscribed love," appears unrelated to his previous failed love affairs but related to his subsequent self-destructive behaviour, one more trait of the Byronic hero, however, the nature of the character's flaw remains unrevealed. In his article "Byron," Martí states:

An eminently subjective poet, he reflects his pains in all his works: his sombre pain, for a hidden cause, of a nature that cannot be revealed before men. He reflects this grave sorrow, in *The Corsair*, in *Laza*, in *Manfred*, in *Childe Harold*. In *Manfred*, it is Astarte, his sister and friend. In *Childe Harold*'s first song, it is the one he loved, the one that could never be his.²⁵¹
(Translated by the author)

²⁵¹. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 15, 356.

Neither Martí reveals the nature of Byron's pain but sets forth its reflection on Byron's works, abounds in its severity and points at the relationship between the hero and the loved one. In the case of *Manfred*, he points at Astarte, "his sister and friend." Nevertheless, it is not clear whether the real cause of the reflected pain lays in the love relationship or in a hidden trait of the hero. In "Alfredo," the multiple failed love relationships, as a source of sorrow, displayed separate from the hero's hidden guilt and crime, might be considered another if not the most determining cause for suffering. The only loose end in "Alfredo" is the possible relationship between the hidden guilt and an intrinsic trait of the character very well delineated both in the physical description: long hair, superb neck, beautiful, and the psychological description: late walker, untold sympathies, eager bed, lack of will or capacity to correspond to love, the wrong body enclosing the nailed soul, suicide over failed love and, on top of it, the female component of his soul, all of which is summarised in the last stanza of the second section: "Aquel Alfredo era raro, en verdad" (That Alfredo was weird, indeed).

To the best of my knowledge, "Alfredo" has never been approached from a reception perspective, however, in his article "Lecturas heterodoxas sobre un cuerpo ambiguo" (Heterodox readings on an ambiguous body), Jorge Camacho approaches Martí's poem from a perspective of gender roles and body discourses:

The interesting thing about this poem, however, is the sensual way in which Martí physically describes Alfredo, which, as in the case of Barrundia's description, has "feminine" features. In this poem, moreover, the total rejection of the woman appears and as it happens in many romantic stories where a maiden commits suicide in the river after having been rejected by the groom, here Alfredo throws himself to the current and drowns. But unlike them (the Ofelia of the pre-Raphaelites or the Guatemalan girl of Martí himself), what frustrates Alfredo's search and indirectly that of the poet himself, is the impossibility of finding a woman at the same spiritual height as these men, a woman who fulfilled all the requirements that the poet asked: "he searched for woman, and what he found was terrifying." In the case of Alfredo, moreover, the woman is described with images that degrade her. It is "mud," "meat," "beast." To top it all off, Alfredo has relations with a married woman and, faced with the impossibility of suffering the "stain" left by her kisses on the poet's soul, he decides to commit suicide. (Translated by the author)

Camacho does not approach the psychological aspect of the character, nor explores all the shades of grey of Alfredo's conflict. He focuses attention on only one woman

out of the several mentioned in the poem; nevertheless, he refers to Alfredo as having “feminine” features, as the ones displayed by Martí in his description²⁵² of Martín Barrundia.²⁵³ Camacho’s observation validates the possibility of relating Alfredo’s guilt, his unnamed crime, to a reason other than bad luck in his wandering searching behaviour and the eligibility of the lovers found.

As early as 1909, Xavier Mayne, in *The Intersexes*, included a section titled “Byron’s *Manfred*, a Homosexual Allegory?”²⁵⁴ In his section, Mayne admits that “among all Byron’s dramatic poems, none remains more a subject of speculation,” and poses an interrogation: “What exactly is the mysterious burden on Manfred’s conscience? That unspeakable sin, to bind him and the dead Astarte together? —a sin inseparable from passion.” In this regard, Mayne states the following:

We may then argue “Manfred” as, in a sense, an uranian drama, according to the foregoing; a sexual love between Manfred and a youth, or some more mature friend, as the burden on the conscience of Manfred—or rather the loss that oppresses him. Astarte thus becomes a psychic allegory; under her feminine personality is hidden a male relationship, which (startling as is the idea of incest) was thought by Byron too audacious a motive for the British public.²⁵⁵

This interesting viewpoint about Manfred’s “mysterious burden” is taken into consideration by John Lauritsen and presented as a “strong case” in his review of *Byron and Women [and men]*.²⁵⁶ Mayne’s viewpoint about a same-sex relationship might be right but his case is far from being strong. His analysis is based on non-traceable information: “The writer of these pages has received, from a source that claims strong private authority in discussing Byron’s homosexuality, a pertinent comment on ‘Manfred.’”²⁵⁷ The source is a grandson who listened to his grandfather

²⁵². There was no man in Guatemala more beautiful, polite and soft-hearted than the Minister of War, Martín Barrundia. What was remarkable in him was that feminine grace in the size of a man's body; there were no lighter eyes, a more correct nose, or thinner lips; his hand was silk, and his gaze and his speech: shrunken he seemed, more than superb, and shy, more than disentangled; a Cape jasmine was at the entrance to his garden, but it was no whiter than his forehead. (Translated by the author) José Martí, *O. C.*, v 8, 105.

²⁵³. Guatemalan Minister of War under President Rufino Barrios.

²⁵⁴. Xavier Mayne, (pseud. for Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson) *The intersexes: a history of similitisexualism as a problem in social life*, (Privately printed, 1908) 359.

²⁵⁵. Xavier Mayne, *ibid.*, 360.

²⁵⁶. John Lauritsen, “Byron's Boyfriends,” *Pagan Press*, accessed 30 October 2020, <https://paganpressbooks.com/jpl/COCHRAN.HTM>.

²⁵⁷. Xavier Mayne, *ibid.*

talk about his conversation with Byron regarding the making of *Manfred*. Despite the lack of empirical rigour, the explanation provided by Mayne can be considered another possible answer to the question about the nature of Manfred's hidden guilt, a trait obviously shared by Alfredo. The difference lays in the fact that Martí provides more hints to consider any of the shades of grey of Alfredo's internal conflict or their combination, including his feminine features, as the real source of his suffering and eventual suicide. The fact that Martí preferred not to say anything about the nature of Byron's "guilt," and therefore its representation in *Manfred*, does not mean that Martí was not aware of the open public and badly-kept secret about Byron's sexual dalliances. Martí gives enough clues to infer it from his "Alfredo," if that is the reading the audience is looking for. As hitherto discussed, the mere observation of similarities, notwithstanding Enani's considerations, provides sufficient cumulative evidence to conclude, with a high level of certainty, that there has been a positive influence of Byron on Martí's poem. Martí's Alfredo bears more physical and psychological characteristics of the Byronic hero than needed to be considered. Having Martí concentrated so many Byronic traits to build his character, makes Alfredo out-Byron Manfred, for which reason "Alfredo" can also be interpreted as Martí's deliberate homage to the poet he admired. From a comparative perspective, Byron's foreign work definitely helped create Martí's poem in another national language and literature, one more reason, together with his writings and references involving Byron, for Martí to be considered a remarkable transatlantic Byron receptor. This analysis contributes a new way to read Martí's poem, from the perspective of Martí's reception of Byron and his most noteworthy legacy: the Byronic hero.

In his *Poetas famosos del siglo XIX*, Enrique Piñeyro concludes that "posterity, looking for the man behind his verses, will always find that they faithfully and brilliantly reflect the important role he played in the history of our century."²⁵⁸ Martí is perhaps the Cuban author who best looked for the man behind his verses. In his Chronicle "Pushkin: a Memorial to the Man Who Blazed the Pathway Leading to Russian Liberty," published in *The Sun*, New York, Martí refers

²⁵⁸. Enrique Piñeyro, *ibid.*, 83.

to the influences of the Russian poet: “Pushkin’s odes and epistles, like the first works of all men of letters, were imitations of the earlier masters, but they were very happy imitations. Byronic outcries with Shakespeare profundity.”²⁵⁹ Although Martí does not completely disapprove of Pushkin’s early works, he points out what the Russian inherits from other poets and therefore he does not consider it his legitimate merit; Martí, notwithstanding, celebrates that “when the true sorrows of life took the seat usurped by artificial grief absorbed from foreign literature, a new epoch was opened for the talent of the poet,”²⁶⁰ which Martí considers a triumph of originality. But it is the comparison of Pushkin with Byron what best reveals the way Martí perceives both authors, what he admires the most about them and, at the same time, what Byron and Martí bear in common. On comparing Pushkin with Byron, Martí states that

Byron had died with his sword across his lyre. As a poet, Pushkin was his superior, but not as a man. True, he did not reach the mysterious magnificent heights in which the Englishman soared. Byron saw injustice and lashed it. Pushkin raised his voice against it, and then became its chamberlain and historian. He was more humane, more fluent, more imaginative, more spontaneous, and more national than Byron, but less brave and totally undesirous of dying in the cause of liberty. Pushkin might have lived to an old age; Byron could not. Death is a right belonging to lives devoted to the rights of man—lives full of passion, resigned and proud.²⁶¹ (Originally in English by José Martí)

Martí perceives Byron as a man of action who reached an extraordinary stature in his fight for justice. Although the comparison does not favour Byron, Martí also deems him humane, fluent, imaginative, and spontaneous. On expressing that Pushkin was more national, Martí is implicitly alluding Byron’s universality, to which Martí adds Byron’s braveness and his resolution to die for the cause of liberty. This is “the man behind his verses” that Martí admired and to whom he is bound by several similitudes: Both played an important role in the history of their century, both were poet-soldiers who lashed injustice, both are regarded as universal figures while Martí is referred to as the most universal of all Cubans, both were brave and were ready to die for the cause of liberty, both considered that “Death is a right belonging to lives

²⁵⁹. José Martí, *ibid.*, 412.

²⁶⁰. *Ibid.*

²⁶¹. José Martí, *ibid.*, 409-410.

devoted to the rights of man” and both made their way to obtain that right. Neither Byron nor Martí could live to an old age. Both are heroes.

Since the first ballads drawing inspiration from Byron’s life and work to the last edition of Martí’s *La Edad de Oro*, the unsearched but “ever active presence” of Byron in Cuba has originated a considerable bulk of creative work, thereupon his positive influence on a varied range of genres and authors whether musical or literary. Regarding literature, Byron generated a corpus including books printed in Cuba, critical essays, as well as journalistic articles and notes. Byron also inspired poetical pieces and generated numerous imitations and translations besides his alleged effect on the works of outstanding Cuban writers such as José María Heredia and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. However, except for a reference to Heredia in an article by Mexican scholar Carlos Illades on the role of the Cuban poet in the reception of Byron in Mexico, and an inaccurate mention to Heredia in “The International Reception,” no studies have been conducted on the reception of Byron in Cuba. For logical reasons, this chapter has not addressed all the genres influenced by Byron. Attention has been focused on a series of critical works about him, most of them published in Cuba and written by Cuban authors, except for French Jules Janin and Spanish Emilio Castelar. Janin’s work, published in France, was translated and published in Cuba by Domingo del Monte. Castelar’s work was initially published in Havana with a subsequent edition in Spain as well as a translation published in England. Castelar’s work bears the merit of having contributed to the Cubans’ perception of Byron’s Scottish background. Neither the authors nor the translators have been fully acknowledged for their transatlantic contribution to the reception of Byron with their receptor-transmitter role, which also applies to Heredia whose work was initially published in Mexico, and Antonio Vinageras y Cruz, whose work was initially published in Spain. Martí’s work, contained in his *O. C.*, has had several editions to date. The whole set constitutes both an undeniable mark of influence and an invaluable corpus for the study of the reception of Byron’s work in Cuba since these critical works contain relevant information about “what was retained and what was rejected, and why, and how was the material absorbed and integrated, and with

what success.”²⁶² The viewpoints and statements presented by the different authors, despite their validity, remain unexplored material for the study of Byron’s life and work. José Martí could have also been on the list of Byron translators were it not for the fact that his early translation of Byron’s *Cain* was not preserved. However, Martí’s engagement with Byron’s life and work reflects in the high number of references in his *O. C.*, as well as in poetry, an area where Byron’s positive influence can be very well appreciated and adds to Martí’s merits as an outstanding receptor. Acknowledging the Cuban authors who took part in the reception of Byron enlarges the map of his influence. Acknowledging their subsequent contribution to that reception as effective transmitters exonerates them from any alleged “indebtedness” conveyed by the concept.

²⁶². J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 3-4.

Chapter 3

The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Cuba

For the first time, this chapter addresses the reception of Walter Scott in Cuba, adding to the collection of similar works involving other countries. According to *H. L. C.*, the works of Walter Scott started to be disseminated on the island as of 1820.²⁶³ Contrary to the reception of Byron, Scott's took place in a direct way, among its most peculiar features being the close encounter of a Cuban receptor with Scott himself, the first translation of *Waverley* into Spanish by Cuban José María Heredia, Scott's contribution to the appearance of a new literary subgenre on the island, the creation of the most emblematic Cuban novel ever as well as dramas with Scottish arguments. Abundant studies have been conducted on Scott's international fortunes. *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* constitutes a good regional example containing several works connected to this chapter; among them, a "Timeline of the European Reception of Walter Scott," and "The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Spain." The former accounts for translations of Scott's volumes in languages other than Spanish as of the third decade of the nineteenth century, and confers recognition on José María Heredia for the first translation of *Waverley* into Spanish while based in Mexico in 1833.²⁶⁴ The latter not only states that "the first known translation of Walter Scott into Spanish, which was only partial, was published by José María Blanco-White²⁶⁵ in 1823-24,"²⁶⁶ but also admits to the fact that most of the Scott translations into Spanish were done out of Spain. The reasons provided aim at the political situation of the country after the forced resignation of Ferdinand VII and the imposition on the Spaniards of king Joseph Bonaparte by his brother Napoleon. This circumstance constitutes a plausible explanation why the first whole translation of *Waverley* was not done in Spain but on the other side of the Atlantic. "The International Reception and Literary Impact of Scottish Literature" by

²⁶³. Jorge Luis Arcos et al, *ibid.*, v. 1, 122.

²⁶⁴. Paul Barnaby, "Timeline of the European Reception of Walter Scott, 1802-2005," in Murray Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*. (London: Continuum, 2006), xxxvii.

²⁶⁵. Due to religious and political reasons, Blanco-White, a catholic clergyman who turned into Protestant, had emigrated to Britain in 1810. Based in Britain he became the editor of *Las Variedades o El Mensajero de Londres* (Varieties or the London messenger), a Spanish-language magazine that published excerpts of *Ivanhoe* as well as summaries of the different chapters of the novel.

²⁶⁶. José Enrique García-González and Fernando Toda, "The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," in Murray Pittock, ed., *ibid.*, 46.

Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, encompassing a wider geographical spectrum than *The Reception in Europe* but with different scope and depth, will also be critical to address the Cuban reception of Scott in Cuba. The article provides a concise characterization of the phenomenon at a global level. Consequently, the features it addresses constitute a guide for discussion while providing standpoints for comparison. The works of Fiona Robertson will be taken into consideration to approach the life and work of Scott. In this regard, mention should be made of *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott*, edited by Robertson, as well as “Walter Scott,” and “Walter Scott and the American historical novel,” authored by her. Other volumes to consider in the analyses are Carla Sassi’s “Sir Walter Scott and the Caribbean,”²⁶⁷ and Michael Morris’s *Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740–1833*, both dealing with issues related to the influence of Scott on the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, edited by Murray Pittock, will as well be taken into account.

This chapter aims at setting forth what Scott’s reception in Cuba was like, what purposes it served, what the receptors’ perception of Scott and his work was like, the notions of Scotland and Scottishness perceived through it, and what was the receptors’ subsequent contribution to the reception of Scott. Attention will be focused on translation, correspondence, criticism and creative-writing generated by Scott’s oeuvre. This chapter argues that the reception of Scott in Cuba bears several features in common with the phenomenon in Europe, however, it shows its own characteristics while not being less significant and fruitful. To attain the purpose of this chapter, analysis will be conducted on Heredia’s translation of Scott’s *Waverley*, letters generating and contributing to the reception of Scott, critical articles on Scott published in Cuba, and Cuban novels featuring the influence of the Scottish writer.

A transatlantic *Waverley* in Spanish

Even though Scott’s works did not originate a significant number of translations by Cuban receptors as Byron’s did, this area also adds to the relevance of Scott’s reception in general and that of José María Heredia as a receptor in particular.

²⁶⁷. Carla Sassi, “Sir Walter Scott and the Caribbean: Unravelling the Silences,” in *Walter Scott: New Interpretations*, Susan Oliver ed. (Yearbook of English Studies, 47, 2017) 224-40.

Despite the fact that Heredia considered the historic novel “a bad genre in itself, an eminently false genre,”²⁶⁸ he ended up being the paradoxical object of the genre he disqualified on becoming the translator of *Waverley*, a historic novel.²⁶⁹ Heredia’s introduction to the translated novel, though bearing an obvious promotional character, constitutes a valuable document to assess Scott’s transatlantic reception. According to Heredia,

Walter Scott’s reputation is universal; and, after Shakespeare, perhaps no author has shown a deeper knowledge of the human heart. This is indeed the cause of the amazing success his famous novels have had, in whose characters and situations there is nothing fictitious, and everything breathes the truth and simplicity of nature. The prodigy of Caledonia, energetic and original in the pathetic elements, admirable in the dialogue, incomparable in the descriptions, captivates the mind with the variety of his talents and the powerful interest that his magical narratives arouse and sustain,²⁷⁰ (Translated by the author)

with which, Heredia contradicts himself once again, but for the good: his remarks, besides containing the core of the Cuban receptors’ perception of Scott, contributed to propagate the positive image of the Scottish writer.

It is widely known that *Waverley*, often considered the first of its kind in Western tradition, was the first novel written by Scott, but little has been written about the transatlantic Spanish version, *Waverly o Ahora sesenta años*, published in three volumes in 1833. In his article on Heredia’s translation, José Enrique García, provides a descriptive-comparative analysis of the translational process at three levels: pre-textual, macro-structural and micro-structural. The partial conclusions in each case confirm that Heredia’s translation was effective and successful, a conclusion we endorse. García also mentions that “considering the origin of the translator (Cuban living in Mexico) and the potential readers, Heredia makes use in

²⁶⁸. *Miscelánea, Periódico Crítico y Literario*, volumen 5, Toluca, México, 1832, 130.

²⁶⁹. Regarding the historical novel, Heredia has been the object of still another paradoxical fact: Two novels have been written in Cuban featuring him as the main character: *Yo, Heredia, errante y proscrito* by Miguel Barnet (1990), and *La novela de mi vida* by Leonardo Padura (2001), only that those historical novels do not bear the flaws Heredia censured in his time. The historical context that gave origin to his life and Works is faithfully recreated in both compositions.

²⁷⁰. José María Heredia y Heredia, *Waverley, o, Ahora sesenta años: novela histórica*, (México: Imprenta de Galván, 1833).

his translation of the lexicon and grammar of American Spanish,”²⁷¹ therefore Heredia’s translation can also be regarded as an early instance of what, in translation studies terms, is nowadays referred to as “localisation.” However, more can be added to García’s conclusions since he does not conduct any specific study on the poetical translation implied in Heredia’s rendition of *Waverley*. Therefore, the following analysis will explore the contribution of the Cuban poet to the translation of the poems contained in the Scottish novel, him being one of the most outstanding Spanish-speaking poets of his time.

The first of the *Waverley* poems translated by Heredia appears in Chapter V, “Choice of a Profession,”²⁷² included in the novel to acquaint the reader “with the wild and irregular spirit of our hero.” Even though the poem is eponymous with the surname of the protagonist, Waverley, the piece is widely known by its first line: “Late, When the Autumn Evening Fell.” The poem’s traits are not only akin to the romantic movement in general and the author in particular but also to the poetical production of the poet translator. Set in the “Mirkwood-Mere’s romantic dell,” on a lake by the prodigious gloomy fictional forest, the poem stands for excitement and wildness. The detailed description of the remote landscape, disturbed by the stormy power of nature, is comparatively incorporated into the feelings of the poetic persona, which not only makes the composition a romantic piece par excellence but also places it in line with the poetical works of Heredia himself, among which “The tempest” constitutes a germane example even though critics attribute the influence to Byron. Given the differences of the linguistic material of the languages entailed, in his rendition of “Waverley,” Heredia does not follow the formal aspects of the original composition divided into stanzas whose irregular number of lines makes forty-four. Instead, his poem bears no stanza division, and is featured in forty-seven lines. However, both compositions take rhythm into consideration in their own linguistic context. While Scott’s is written in iambic tetrameter lines, a pattern

²⁷¹. José Enrique García González, “*Waverley* de Walter Scott, en la traducción de José María Heredia (1833),” accessed 23 June 2018, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/waverley-de-walter-scott-en-la-traduccion-de-jose-maria-heredia-1833/>.

²⁷². This and the rest of the poems hereafter analysed can be reached at the Global Grey site: <https://www.globalgreybooks.com/waverley-ebook.html>. The corresponding translations of the poems by Heredia are available at <http://ri.uaemex.mx/handle/20.500.11799/58467>.

widely used in Scottish traditional ballads, Heredia's is translated into perfect hendecasyllabic verses containing at least five stressed syllables, being the stress on the sixth syllable carefully observed by the translator as a formal requirement of the Spanish pattern. Even though the hendecasyllabic verse is rather related to the iambic pentameter, it constitutes the closest Spanish pattern to the original tetrameter and bears the same popularity in the target language. Heredia does not adopt the rhyming couplets of the source poem, which would have meant an additional effort conspiring against the accuracy of content translation; nevertheless, his success in the implementation of the appropriate rhythm rather lays in upholding the combination of unstressed and stressed syllables of the English foot instead of taking advantage of the freedom of combinations provided by the target language, therefore his respectful adherence to the source rhythm and the quality of his translation of this poem in this regard.

Because of the aforementioned linguistic differences, Heredia avoids the rendition of translation units and rather focuses on being faithful to the original ideas. Thus, the stanza: "Yet, with a stern delight and strange, / I saw the spirit-stirring change/ As warred the wind with wave and wood. / Upon the ruined tower I stood, / And felt my heart more strongly bound, / Responsive to the lofty sound, / While, joying in the mighty roar, / I mourned that tranquil scene no more" is translated as follows: "Empero yo, sin alterar mi frente, / con oculto placer inexplicable/ miré la mutación desoladora. Cuando el airado viento combatía/ con aguas y con árboles, alzado/ sobre la torre solitaria estuve, / y mi agitado pecho respondía / al sublime fragor, y en él gozaba, / y a la vez lamentaba/ que mi dulce ilusión desaparecía."²⁷³ The translator, far from literally adhering to the source content, chooses to provide an equivalent while retaining the original idea. On the attempt, he misses original expressive means such as the spectacular alliteration conveyed by the line "As warred the wind with wave and wood" but compensates the loss with a prepositional repetition (con-con), adds his own elements (without altering my forehead) and

²⁷³. But I, without altering my forehead, / with hidden inexplicable pleasure/ I watched the desolate mutation. / When the angry wind fought/ with waters and trees, / on the lonely tower I stood, and my heaving breast responded/ to the sublime din, and in it I rejoiced, / and at the same time I lamented/ That my sweet illusion disappeared.

modifies some of them with qualifiers that are best appreciated in the target language. In this regard, the original “ruined tower” is personified as “lonely” and the “landscape on the lake” is referred to as “the beautiful scene of the crystalline lake.” Just as Heredia adapts original elements in prose to be better grasped by the audience not familiarised with them, he does in poetry. On translating “The realms of fairy bliss were lost,” the expression becomes “my sweet illusion was gone.” On replacing the alien mythological element integrating the metaphor, he uses a synesthetic trope, with which procedure he not only retains the poetic value of the source unit and facilitates its understanding in the target but still preserves the meaning and intention of the original expression.

The following poems under analysis, “St. Swithin’s Chair” and “Davie Gellatley's Song” were given similar translation treatment regarding both form and content. The former belongs to Chapter XIII, “A More Rational Day Than the Last;” and the latter, to Chapter XIV, “A Discovery--Waverley Becomes Domesticated at Tully-Veolan.” “St. Swithin’s Chair,” made up of eight stanzas of two rhyming couplets each, is written in the most common meter used in traditional English poetry and verse drama, the iambic pentameter. Being the translator a poet, he refuses to adopt the source measure while pouring the piece into one of the most popular verse forms in Spanish, the traditional romance, bearing the same acceptance in the target language as the source pattern. Heredia, with his command of the verse form adopted, manages to translate each original stanza into six or eight octosyllabic lines, in which sequence the even-numbered lines rhyme assonantly while the odd-numbered ones correspond to blank verses. Thus, he transmits the rhythmic effect of the original while attaining the freedom of composition provided by the alternating blank verses, which allows him to concentrate on following the Spanish rhyming scheme by means of stylistic inversions, omissions, additions and proper word choice. For example, the first unit of the poem, “On Hallow-Mass Eve, ere yon boune ye to rest, / Ever beware that your couch be bless'd,” is translated as “En espera de difuntos, / antes que os deis al descanso, / cuidad de que vuestro lecho/ se bendiga de antemano.” On rendering the original statement, Heredia implements a cultural adaptation by making reference to the equivalent holiday, Noche de Difuntos

(Night of the Dead); then transposes the verb form (to rest) as “descanso” (rest), a noun that will determine not only the rhyme of the next even line but also of the whole poem, the reason why, among other equivalents, in this case he chooses the adverbial modifier “de antemano,” (beforehand) serving the purpose while standing for the original old-fashioned “ere.” The next and last unit of the stanza, “Sign it with cross, and sain it with bead, / Sing the Ave, and say the Creed,” is translated as “Signadlo con muchas cruces/ y repasad el rosario, / rezad la Salve Regina, / decid el Credo santo.” In order to keep the number of syllables demanded by the Spanish pattern, Heredia implements a change in number and “cross” becomes “muchas cruces” (many crosses). The alteration, far from changing the original message, intensifies its meaning. The metonymical “bead” is translated by the whole, “rosary,” to achieve the rhyme since a literal procedure would have lacked all sense in Spanish given the marked polysemy of “cuenta,” the direct equivalent to “bead.” In order to comply with the measure of the line, and maintain the reference to the biblical Virgin Mary, “Ave” is adapted as “Salve Regina,” while the “Creed” is qualified as “santo” (holy) to accomplish the rhyme, and complete the measure of the octosyllabic line, “santo” being a pertinent adjective; nevertheless, the correspondence is not always close: while translating the “troubled air” in one of the following lines, Heredia renders it as “aire vano” (vain air) to attain the rhyme; thus, he deviates from the original meaning of the modifier. Nevertheless, he still appeals to word choice, and, instead of using “raudo,” (rushing) commonly associated with “aire,” and also contributing to the rhyming scheme, he manages to preserve the original prosopopeia and therefore the poetic value of the source expression.

“Davie Gellatley's Song,” made up of only three stanzas, bears alternate end rhyme, however, it is written in a hardly distinguishable meter form, and in lines containing an irregular number of syllables, which traits could be associated with the personality of the character, a cognitively-disabled minstrel glossed by Scott as “a natural fool.” The poem, just as “St. Swithin’s Chair,” is also translated into the Spanish romance form. The target pattern provides not only measure regularity with its octosyllabic lines but also keeps a sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables. The chosen Spanish verse form allows for the preservation of the original alternate

rhyme, only that in Heredia's version the even-numbered lines rhyme with assonance. In his endeavour, Heredia translates most of the source lines into two, the device fitting in with his verse form and allowing the poet for more creative freedom to keep measure, achieve rhyme and choose the most convenient target terms. Thus, the first stanza: "Young men will love thee more fair and more fast; / *Heard ye so merry the little bird sing?* / Old men's love the longest will last, / *And the throstle-cock's head is under his wing*" translates as "Los jóvenes te amarán/ con más ardor y eficacia; / *¿No escuchas con qué alegría/ ese pajarillo canta?* / Pero el amor de los viejos/ tiene más peso y constancia, / *y el tordo su cabecita/ oculta bajo del ala.*" In the example, and all along the Spanish version, Heredia maintains the italicised lines repeated in each source stanza but using two lines of the Spanish romance and basically the same techniques as in the previously analysed poem, except for the use of a diminutive, "cabecita," instead of "cabeza" (head), the choice contributing to the measure of the line. Though not appealing to literal translation, Heredia is still faithful to the original idea of the Scottish poem, and provides the Spanish reader with a composition bearing high poetic standards making the Spanish version, to say the least regarding the source, as rich in form, content and rhythm.

The last poem under analysis, "Flora Macivor's Song," appears in Chapter XXII, "Highland Minstrelsy." This piece is predominately written in anapaestic tetrameters and four-line stanzas of two rhyming couplets. On translating the fifteen stanzas of the poem, Heredia avoids dealing with the original rhyming pattern and the internal complexity of the long lines ending with a stressed syllable, and decides to render the excessively long piece into prose poetry. Since the genre did not start to develop in the rest of Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the modality could only have been drawn from James Macpherson, widely accepted as one of the forerunner of prose poetry with his "translation" of Ossian. Heredia was not only a connoisseur of Macpherson's work but also a renowned translator of the Scottish writer as already mentioned. The paragraphs in Heredia's rendition correspond in number with the source stanzas whose content is faithfully poured into Heredia's composition without the conditioning imposed by the original rhythmical pattern. On avoiding the constrain, Heredia remains attached to the original ideas

while expressing them in his own poetical language and style. Thus, additions, omissions and modulations are mainly used to make the message understandable or intensify some components in the target language. In this regard, for example, the line “But more dark is the sleep of the sons of the Gael” is rendered as “pero aún es más tenebroso el sueño del hijo del Gael. (but even more frightening is the dream of the Gael’s son). The description of “the sleep” operates an incremental change of meaning in the translation process while the plural number of “sons” is changed, by means of a metonymic effect, to a symbolic singular number. Heredia is consistent with his translation of “dark,” and repeats the intensifying procedure in the fourth stanza where “the dark hours of night and of slumber” becomes “las horas tenebrosas de la noche y del sueño.” The following excerpt is representative of the poetic quality deployed in Heredia’s rendition: “For honour, for freedom, for vengeance awake! // Awake on your hills, on your islands awake, / Brave sons of the mountain, the frith, and the lake! / ‘Tis the bugle but not for the chase is the call;/ ‘Tis the pibrochs shrill summons — but not to the hall.” The corresponding target message reads as follows: “¡Despertad al grito de honor, libertad y venganza! // ¡Despertad sobre vuestros montes, despertad en vuestras ideas, hijos valientes de la montaña y del lago! ¡Es la corneta! Pero no convoca a la caza. ¡Escuchad las gaitas sonoras! Pero no os llaman al salón festivo.”²⁷⁴ Besides keeping the repetition of the imperative “Awake,” Heredia’s translation introduces a “cry” in the summon, the addition providing more intensity to the original call. The “hills” increase their height and become “mountains” while “islands” is transmuted into “ideas,” the change providing a more far-reaching concept since it involves all the geography mentioned and applies to all the men convoked. Hampered to provide a proper Spanish equivalent to “frith,” Heredia omits the bisemic term; however, he implements a different procedure on translating the expression “‘Tis the pibrochs shrill summons — but not to the hall.” In this case, he appeals to nearness, and introduces a metonymic device by means of which the term “pibrochs,” without a Spanish equivalent, is intensified and modulated as “sounding bagpipes,” the element accounting for Heredia’s

²⁷⁴. Wake up to the cry of honour, freedom and vengeance! // Wake up on your mountains, wake up in your ideas, brave sons of the mountain and the lake! It is the bugle! But it does not summon to the hunt. Listen to the sounding bagpipes! But they do not call you to the festive hall.

acquaintance with the Scottish cultural heritage. Furthermore, the “summons” become more active with the addition of the imperative “Listen.” Another addition makes the hall “festive” to intensify the contrast between the musical instrument and the location.

The poems so far analysed constitute a small sample of the poetry translation task carried out by Heredia. Deeper and more extensive studies can still be conducted on the Cuban poet’s contribution in particular and to the reception of Scott in Latin America in general. As previously discussed, the first translation of *Waverley* into Spanish, besides the merits pointed out by José Enrique García, can as well be highly appreciated for the high standards of Heredia’s delivery of the poems scattered through Scott’s novel. According to this limited analysis, Heredia favoured his renditions not only with his proverbial translator expertise but also with his renowned poetical flair. As a translator, he guaranteed the successful transition into Spanish of the poems analysed by deploying a variety of techniques allowing for the best understanding of the original pieces in the target language while providing faithful versions inasmuch as the different nature of the languages involved allowed him. As a poet, Heredia’s contribution to the Spanish version lays in his attachment to the poetic values of the original pieces, such as rhyme and rhythm, but rendering them as if originally written in Spanish, for which he appealed to careful word choice, and a variety of compositional forms including the widely-accepted Spanish popular romance and the prose poetry subgenre adopted from Macpherson. The combination of his talents made it possible for the source poems, to say it in Martí’s words, “not to remain in the same foreign language they were in, which is what good translations are known for.”

The reception of Scott through correspondence

A great many scholars agree that personal correspondence constitutes an important source to trace the influence of authors. In this regard, Ihab H. Hassan points out the

need to attune our ears to the ‘huge, unrecorded hum of implication’—the phrase is Trilling’s— which rises from a culture or a period and insinuates itself into every literary relationship. Letters, diaries, notebooks, histories, social documents, ideological manifestoes, political tracts, are all to be considered, not simply to the

degree they establish the ring and hue of a cultural context, but, more important still, to the degree they and the context they establish are contradicted by those literary works which we intend to place in meaningful apposition.²⁷⁵

The statement is related to Enani's idea that "comparatists interested in emphasizing the direct influence between different writers are [...] obliged to obtain documentary information verifying an actual relation between them, such as personal contacts or letters."²⁷⁶ The subsequent analysis addresses the only personal contact so far registered between Walter Scott and a Cuban writer and features a letter derived from that close encounter as well as other correspondences between writers as a means to trace the reception of Walter Scott in Cuba, starting with a letter by Cuban writer and philosopher José de la Luz y Caballero. In 1829, Luz travelled all the way from the Caribbean to Scotland to meet Walter Scott in Abbotsford. Shortly after the visit, Luz wrote a letter from London to his friend José Cecilio Silvera. The correspondence, containing a thorough account of the event, was also the basis for Luz's "Visita de un Habanero a Gualterio Scott" (Visit of a Havanan to Walter Scott), published by Domingo del Monte in *La Moda* in 1830. Luz's letter was later included in José Ignacio Rodríguez's *Vida de Don José de la Luz y Caballero*, a biography published in 1874, and more recently collected in *José de la Luz y Caballero*,²⁷⁷ published in 2001, which publications have guaranteed the availability of the document to date. In the letter, Luz himself describes it as a "kind of historical-descriptive story with its overtones of dissertation" while the biographer considers it "so interesting and so curious that it is worth transcribing it fully."²⁷⁸ Since most of his contemporary scholars and subsequent critics coincide in deeming Luz one of the most enlightened Cuban intellectuals of his epoch, the information about Walter Scott provided in the letter bear relevant significance. Despite the interest and curiosity expressed by the biographer, only the relevant excerpts of the letter are fully transcribed and discussed here:

²⁷⁵. Ihab H. Hassan, "The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes towards a Definition," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, v. 14, No. 1 (Sep., 1955), 73. Accessed 30 July, 2019 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/426642>.

²⁷⁶. M. M. Enani, *ibid.*, 17.

²⁷⁷. José de la Luz y Caballero, *José de la Luz y Caballero: Obras, diarios y epistolario*, v. 5, (Ciudad de La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, 2001), 53.

²⁷⁸. José Ignacio Rodríguez, *ibid.*

The introductory paragraph deals with the journey, the location and appearance of the property as well as the encounter with “our cripple, the dweller of that enchanted mansion and the most popular writer of his century.”²⁷⁹ This expression, by means of the possessive adjective, not only expresses familiarity on appealing to the physical impairment of the writer but also discloses the sense of belonging and admiration with which Cubans regarded Scott, a feeling not traced so far in the case of any other Scottish authors including Byron, who was never called “our Jorge” among the Cubans.

The description by Luz of the mansion and its antique collection is so vivid that it must have encouraged Heredia to express in his “Ensayo sobre la novela” (Essay on the novel) that “few writers have used with more skill and success the treasures of a science as arid as that produced by the extracts of worm-eaten manuscripts, and the discoveries of antiquarians.” In his essay “Sobre la Novela Histórica” (About the historical novel), Del Monte, concerning the relationship between collecting antiquities and writing, argues that “Walter Scott has been so persuaded of the necessity and usefulness of this work that his fondness for antiquities has turned into a mania, and his house, according to the testimony of a Havanan who visited him in Abbotsford, is an armoury or museum of costumes, furniture, weapons and antique gossip of all kinds.”²⁸⁰ Identifying “the Havanan” as Luz, the statement reveals how influential he was in transmitting his perception of the close encounter with the Scottish writer. In this regard, the second paragraph contains a characterisation:

The appearance of our novelist does not show at first sight any of those physiognomic features that often characterize talent, but when he begins to speak and the conversation becomes engaging, the liveliness and expression of his eyes—which until then seemed entirely hidden in their deep sockets and sheltered with their bushy eyebrow—are then revealed. And when it comes to the morality of the individual, how many occasions arose during the speech to admire his excessive modesty! I confess that the delicate art with which he would avoid any comment that might even indirectly result in praising him made him look greater. Otherwise, he is the most straightforward man in the world. Since his favourite entertainment is talking about the harvest, on seeing

²⁷⁹ . José de la Luz y Caballero, *ibid.*, 53.

²⁸⁰ . Domingo del Monte, “Sobre la Novela Histórica,” in *Escritos de Domingo del Monte*, (Havana: Cultural S. A., 1929), 221.

him and even listening to him, one would say he is the best representation of an honest farmer.²⁸¹

The noteworthy combination of physical and psychological traits defining the “venerable old man leaning on a cane,” not only constitute an essential part of Luz’s perception of Scott but also the essence of the portrait transmitted by him to the Cubans, which image is endorsed by its testimonial character coming from a first-hand receptor. The characterisation is complemented with another excerpt alluding to the writer’s routines:

I have found out that Sir Walter spends most of the day at intensive work. All through his life he has been a painstaking and methodical man who, even in his travels, which is all that is to say, *sur sa foi de voyageur*, he has always written at least two hours a day invariably. This along with his unrivalled fertility explains the prodigious number of his works and also explains the premature aging in which already works, for not being more than 59 years he represents ten more. However, he enjoys very good health, perhaps due to the exercises he does every day, despite a leg shorter than the other, in which consists his lameness *a nativitate*.²⁸²

Even though the text brings the writer close to his potential Cuban readers, it contains other less complimentary features, such as “the premature aging in which he already works” and the assertion that “for not being more than 59 years he represents ten more.” On dealing with the writer’s physical impairments, Luz mentions “a leg shorter than the other, in which consists his lameness *a nativitate*,” an imprecise observation as Scott’s condition was not congenital but a result of his later illness with poliomyelitis.²⁸³ Regardless, these unflattering personal details about the writer may have helped the Cuban readers develop a more humane and intimate image of him. Other descriptions contained in the letter address Scott’s library, his personal cabinet and even what they had for lunch on that day. The conversation is also reported and, at some point, Luz

made it deal with the Spanish language and literature; and he told me he gave preference to our language [Spanish] over Italian, which I knew he did not say to compliment me, since he highlighted the real advantages the Spanish language has over the Tuscan. In this regard, he made mention of the translation of ballads and songs done by his son in law Mr. Lockhart, who is

²⁸¹. José de la Luz y Caballero, *ibid.*, 53.

²⁸². José de la Luz y Caballero, *ibid.*, 53.

²⁸³. Edinburgh University Library, *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*, accessed February 2020, <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/biography/chronology.html>.

none other than the editor of the *Quarterley Review*. With such recommendation I hurried to read the translation of Lockhart that I keep because he has really done it in a masterful way.²⁸⁴

Besides revealing once more the significance and uniqueness of the document, the excerpt introduces a topic not always addressed in Scott's biographies: his command of foreign languages including French, the language in which he received the visitor as pointed out in the letter. In his article "Gualterio Scott," where the name of the writer adopts its Spanish equivalent and after which many Cuban scholars referred to Scott in such a familiar way, Luz states that "Gualterio Scott first appeared before the public in 1799, now in his thirties, as the translator of Goethe's famous German tragedy, *Goetz of Berlichingen, the Iron Hand*."²⁸⁵ However, Scott's fondness of the Spanish language shared by his kin, together with the Hispanicisation of the name, must have caused Luz and his Cuban readers to better identify themselves with the writer. The letter, reception-wise, contains elements related to Scotland and Scottishness. Luz refers that while

talking with the extraordinary man who has made all the cultivated world become interested in the adventures and customs of the Highlanders of Scotland, I had to ask him about the current status of those people. Making a slight comparison between what they were before and what they are today, I pointed out how much they had changed in thirty years; which shift has been, at some extent, *pour le mieux*, since they have become increasingly anglicised. I say "at to some extent", because there is no doubt that, as the ancient costumes fade away, the country loses much of its poetic distinction, but congratulations on the loss of poetry, as long as civilization wins. Regarding the Highlanders, he told me two funny stories, because it is noticeable that he speaks with the same fluency and spontaneity with which he writes. I will only tell you one of them, for being the one that depicts with great liveliness the independent and frank character that animated the Highlanders. The oldest of them—whose name I cannot remember, but I believe he was one of the descendants of Rob Roy—was still alive in 1824 when George IV paid his last visit to Scotland. And as the old man was one of the greatest curiosities of the country he was introduced to the King, who told the man he hoped to have in him one of his best friends (undoubtedly meaning that the scenes of the of 1745 and 46 in which the Highlanders revolted would not take place again). The man replied that on being the greatest enemy of the King at that moment he would deceive

²⁸⁴. José de la Luz y Caballero, *ibid.*, 51.

²⁸⁵. Revista Bimestre Cubana, Internet Archive, accessed July 18, 2017, <https://ia800703.us.archive.org/24/items/revistabimestrec00real/revistabimestrec00real.pdf>.

His Majesty if he said he had ceased to be so. But half the fun of the story is missed on writing it, that is, when you translate it.²⁸⁶

As inferred from the excerpt, Luz, before hand and because of the influence of Scott, was familiar with The Highlands, a topic central to Scotland and Scottishness he could not help but bring up in the conversation. Disregarding how arguable Luz's viewpoint might be concerning his identification of Anglicisation with civilization, the story shows Scott's sympathy for the Highlander. Scott, however, had stage-managed the King's trip and organised the whole visit. The date of the event provided by Luz is inaccurate though. The visit of King George IV to Scotland took place in 1822 and, even though Luz mentions "the last visit," there had not been a previous one and it had been the first visit of a reigning monarch to Scotland in almost two centuries, being Charles I the last king to visit the country for his Scottish coronation in 1663. Luz, however, does not explain that the occasion had been favourable for the inclusion of tartan pageantry featuring the kilt as part of the Scottish national identity, a fact that bore subsequent lasting influence. Luz, instead, abounds on the Highlands topic, which helped reinforce the interest in that Scottish territory among the rest of the Cuban receptors who had also become acquainted with the Highlands through the works of Walter Scott. In this regard, Heredia expresses in his "Ensayo sobre la novela" that Scott

portrayed the former habits of a country that even today is still wild. The dialect, the landscapes and the superstitions of those descendants of ancient Celts who preserved their original outfit, were astonishing in their rarity. People were disappointed about sentimental or licentious novels, and then felt as if they were breathing the pure air of the mountains and seeing Ben Lomond rise amid the vapours that covered the valleys. The languor of modern civilization in those simple and wild paintings provide an interesting contrast to its own weakness.²⁸⁷ (Translated by the author)

Even though Heredia has a different viewpoint about civilization, the statement displays his engagement with Scott's works and the Highlands. Despite the fact that Luz refers to Scott as "the extraordinary man who has made all the cultivated world become interested in the adventures and customs of the Highlanders of Scotland," he was not the only author through whom the Cuban receptors became familiar with

²⁸⁶. José de la Luz y Caballero, *ibid.*, 52.

²⁸⁷. José María Heredia, *Poesía e prosa* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1992), 200.

Highland culture. Castelar in his “Vida de Lord Byron,” as formerly discussed, addresses Byron’s stay in that region. Francisco Sellén, in the prologue to his translation of Stevenson’s *Kidnapped*, refers to the work as “an animated painting of the customs of Scottish Highlanders and, in general, of their social status at that time.” Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, in *El Mendigo Rojo* (The red beggar), included a Highlander chieftain and a group of highlanders among the characters of his drama, and provided a footnote defining the demonym as “former inhabitant of the mountainous regions of Scotland bearing a Celtic origin.” Luaces’s idea of the inclusion must have originated in Scott’s *Waverley* or in Luz’s account of the conversation with the Scottish writer. Through various means, but mostly through Scott’s works, most of the Cubans receptors and therefore the Cuban audience by means of their role as transmitters became familiar with the Scottish Highlands, which can be regarded as one of the purposes served by the Scottish-literature reception in general and the reception of Walter Scott in particular. At the end of the letter, Luz asserts that “during the rest of the day I did not stop saying to myself: I saw the first writer of his time; and even more than his writings, I have been delighted by that unaffected modesty I would almost call ‘naiveté,’” a significant summary of Luz’s first-hand perception of Scott and the high esteem in which he held the Scottish author. From a reception viewpoint, the relevance of the letter lays in conveying the image of Scott perceived by Luz and transmitted to the Cuban audience along with topics bearing national relevance as that of the Highlands and the Highlanders that prompted the attention of most of Cuban receptors whose sympathy with the inhabitants of an idyllic region, who had revolted against the English, reflected the yearning for freedom of their own people.

Several letters collected in Del Monte’s *Centón Epistolario* contain another kind of information although also relevant to the reception of Walter Scott in Cuba, namely his efforts to acquire newly published works by the Scottish author. In this regard, his correspondence with Spanish journalist and critic Ángel Iznardi is worth consideration. In a letter written to Del Monte in 1829, the same year Luz y Caballero visited Walter Scott, he claims to have read thirty-two volumes of Scott’s works including *Old Mortality*, *Rob-Roy*, *St. Valentine's Day; or, The Fair Maid of Perth*, *Guy-Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, and *Woodstock or The Cavalier*, “leaving to the

end the ones translated into Castilian,” with which distinction Iznardi alludes to the numerous translations triggered by Scott’s works in Spain and France. The impression left by such readings is pointed out in the letter in exclamatory terms:

What a man, my Domingo! How much truth in the characters! What scenes of public and domestic customs! How much liveliness and naturalness in the dialogues! How much interest, how much perfection in the plans! I do not know what I like best about this Scottish man. I do not know if it is his knowledge of the human heart, or the ever-sustained intelligence with which he introduces a generous rival such as the Lord Evandale of *Old Mortality*, or a brave swashbuckler of Good Robert times as the Smith of *St. Valentine's Day*, a pure revolutionary conspirator such as the protagonist of *Redgauntelet*; a model of this passion that unites me with Domingo del Monte, such as the two friends of the same novel, and an example of true, modest, sublime virtue, such as the character of the noble Quaker favouring the two friends.²⁸⁸ (Translated by the author)

The first and main element of admiration expressed by Iznardi, who undoubtedly perceives Scott as a Scottish writer, is a man who dazzles him in such a way that he cannot choose the trait he admires the most in them. Del Monte takes advantage of Iznardi’s uncertainty in perceiving Scott’s work and builds upon it to reach the conclusion that “his knowledge of the human heart” constitutes the core to define one of the attributes that should characterise the historic novelist: that of the philosopher, a key to assert that this one and the rest of the traits of the romantic historic novelist as conceived by Del Monte are drawn from the model offered by Scott, which topic will be addressed on analysing Del Monte’s “Sobre la novela histórica,” all of which constitutes an instance of how the exchange of ideas by means of personal correspondence favoured and enriched the reception of Scott. Iznardi’s letter continues to praise Scott. Not being able to choose a favourite trait, Iznardi concludes that “in the end, everything is admirable in this extraordinary writer: his works, in my mind, have in their dialogue the perfection of Moratin’s comedies; as to their plan and interest, they are equal, or perhaps superior, to Don Quixote, and regarding perfection and coherence of characters they have no equal.”²⁸⁹ This sort of remarks reflects on Del Monte’s writing about Scott and is shared by other Cuban receptors in their critical works. A personal comment at the end of the letter refers to Iznardi’s

²⁸⁸. Domingo del Monte, *Centón Epistolario*, v. 1, (La Habana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002), 113.

²⁸⁹. *Ibid.*

difficulty in acquiring some of the works by Scott requested by Del Monte. Another negative answer in the same regard is provided by José Luis Alfonso in a letter dated 7 July 1831: “W. Scott's works for 7 pesos no longer exist. Last year, when I talked about it, it was given away because the new edition with the notes and other additions was being translated. This is the only one available and it costs 21 pesos—30 volumes.”²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, other correspondences account for success in procuring Scott’s works, namely, a letter from Cuban writer José Antonio Echeverría, dated 14 August 1830, with news that Scott’s volumes 5, 7 and 8 were sent to Del Monte, besides an additional comment about how beautiful the picture of *Marmion* was.²⁹¹ Iznardi’s letters to Del Monte still reveal other features of the Scott reception. On 25 June 1830, Iznardi promises from then on

to accept your proposal of sending you as many articles as I can, mainly for the magazine, whose four-month period seems too long to me, by the way. Maybe I will start today by sending you a little article about a bad translation project involving W. Scott. I want you to tell me the details about the good Spanish translation of *Ivanhoe* and other well-translated Scott novels so that I can buy them and have them reprinted here. Gallego, the poet, is in Madrid enjoying the hunting and table of his friend the Duke of Frías.²⁹² (Translated by the author)

Iznardi refers to *Bimestre Cubana*, founded by Delmonte who, obviously, had requested Iznardi’s collaboration with the magazine. The fact that Iznardi procures advice from Del Monte as to the quality of Scott translations worthy to be acquired and reprinted leads to think that Del Monte may have also contributed to the reception of Scott in Spain. The reference to Spanish poet Nicasio Gallego strongly suggests that it was by means of Iznardi that Del Monte compiled and published a set of poems by Gallego containing pieces of *Ossian* translated by the poet as previously referred. Iznardi fulfilled his promise. In the same letter, he included his “Colección de novelas escogidas de W. Scott traducidas al castellano para una sociedad de literatos.”²⁹³ The article,²⁹⁴ however, was abridged into a journalistic note most

²⁹⁰. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 194.

²⁹¹. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 171.

²⁹². Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 165.

²⁹³. Collection of chosen novels by W. Scott translated into Spanish by a literati society

²⁹⁴. So far, only the first volume of *The Lady of the Lake* has been delivered, which the company has improperly given the name of historical to this work by Walter, being it one of the poetic works. The thought of translating the finest compositions of this admirable Scottish genius into our

probably written by Del Monte. The note was published under the “Spain” section of *Bimestre Cubana* with the title “Obras de Gualterio Scott” (Works by Walter Scott):

In Madrid, a meeting, which is said to be literary, is aiming at translating all the works of the Scottish poet and novelist, and has already begun its tasks by publishing some of his main poems. The copies have not yet arrived in Havana, but, according to reports from an intelligent correspondent, it seems that this enterprise is not very auspicious; since, instead of choosing the English text for the translation, as it is the most natural thing to do, they have used Defaucompret’s French version. We wish the above-mentioned writers, instead of following this evil path that does not seem to have many letters, they would follow the example of Mr. Tapia and Mr. Mora, who in their beautiful translations of *The Talisman* and *Ivanhoe* have left nothing to be desired by the passionate admirers of Sir Walter Scott and by the purity of the Castilian language²⁹⁵. (Translated by the author)

Even though the note is not signed by the journalist, there is enough evidence to confer Domingo Del Monte the authorship. According to the text, there was a possibility the translated works by Scott may have reached Havana by means of the “intelligent correspondent,” but no evidence has been found so far. Neither has information been found as to whether Iznardi’s editorial project was successfully carried out or whether the volumes reached Cuba, where the sale of Scott’s works is recorded as previously mentioned. However, a relevant point is that the reception of Scott in Spain and Cuba were communicating vessels in which ideas, projects and texts involving Scott were shared, a fruitful exchange that informed the interest of

language is certainly very laudable, but success, if we are to judge by the sample, does not correspond to the hopes the fans had conceived on seeing the advertisement. First, the translation is done after another French translation by Defaucompet and there is no need to say more to infer how discoloured the original pictures should be. In a society of writers, it is impossible to lack one who knows English. Why not to translate the original Scott then? In addition, the first volume delivered shows notable oversights, which effect is undoubtedly due to the rush of the translator, otherwise the word ‘desdiciria’ would not be on page 29 instead of ‘desdiría,’ and other mistakes of the kind with some other of construction and agreement, and, of course, the Gallicisms that are so common in the works published at present. We have stated that the said flaws are due to little care rather than to complete ignorance. In order to remedy this and to have the work accepted by the public, of which it is very far off according to the bookseller’s reports, we hope that more attention will be paid to the execution; because following as it has begun, the result of the sale will also be the same, and when publishers complain about the public’s lack of enthusiasm to buy and read the good stuff, it will be able to answer them with Iriarte, making a short alteration of one of his best fables:

He who works for the public should know
That he perhaps blames them in vain;
For if he despises them whom he gives straw,
When another one gives them grain, they will eat the grain. (Translated by the author)

²⁹⁵ “Gualterio Scott,” *Revista y Repertorio Bimestre de la Isla de Cuba*, (Habana: Imprenta Fraternal, 1831), 221.

the Cuban audience in Scott's life and work and can be traced in the correspondences. At the same time, correspondences between Cuban and Spanish writers constitute a valuable, yet unexplored, source for the studies of the European reception of Scott, especially in Spain. The following paragraphs deal with criticism involving Scott.

The critical reception of Scott

The analysis of primary sources, as widely known, constitutes the means par excellence to conduct literary studies on the life and works of authors; however, when it comes to reception studies, the receptors' criticism, given its generally specialised character and perception acuity, constitutes a major source, as endorsed by numerous comparatists, to explore the ways in which a given writer has been accepted by another national community or the kind of influence that writer has exerted on the literary production of a foreign nation. Among the critical works generated by the reception of Walter Scott in Cuba, the following analysis will address "Gualterio Scott," published by Luz y Caballero in *Bimestre Cubana* in 1831 after his return to Cuba; "Jovellanos y Scott" and "Ivanhoe," both written by Domingo del Monte and published in *La Moda* in 1831, and the aforementioned "Sobre la novela histórica," also by Del Monte though published in *Bimestre Cubana*. Attention will be also paid to "Ensayo sobre la novela," written by Heredia and initially published in the Mexican magazine *Miscelánea* in 1832, which fact accounts for Heredia's contribution to the reception of Scott in Mexico. Up to now, these works have been approached from a literary point of view in respect of favourable criticism. For the first time, they are here addressed from a reception perspective. Taking into account that "Visita de un Habanero" does not contain more relevant elements than the ones contained in the letter to Cecilio Silvera, the article will not be analysed; instead, attention will be paid to "Gualterio Scott" since this text constitutes a thorough chronological introduction to the works of Walter Scott. As the author's purpose is to promote said works, the article bears a complimentary promotional character. The first paragraph states that

no one is unaware that the imagination of this pilgrim genius runs hand in hand with his fertility, but very few know to what prodigious degree this creative faculty is extended. Being "Gualterio" Scott as well known in the

civilized world as the prince of the historical novel, there is hardly anyone among the foreigners who know that when he began to appear as a novelist, he had already picked up the laurels as a distinguished poet. But such is the magic and superiority of his prose that with it he completely eclipsed his poetry, however outstanding it was among his own countrymen. Moreover, among those who know the poet, the novelist, and even the historian, there are countless people who lack news that no genre of composition has been foreign to the inimitable Scottish writer.²⁹⁶

The statement contains not only the reasons why the Cubans should heed Scott's work but also why Luz provides the readers with references to all the known works of "the magician of Abbotsford" carefully grouped by genres, a list that comprises most of the article and includes useful annotations about the most important works while documenting the literary fertility of the author, "the amazing total of one-hundred and twenty-six books in the span of thirty-one years, that is, almost four volumes per year." This trait that also makes Luz refer to Scott as "a new Proteus" regarding the versatility of the Scottish writer. Scott's productivity is addressed not only in the letter to Cecilio Silvera as previously shown but also in "Visita de un Habanero" and "Gualterio Scott," where Luz reiterates that "not a day has passed in those thirty-one years on which our author has not composed; noting that even during his travels he has never stopped writing for at least two hours a day, whatever his other occupations or commitments." Luz restates the idea on concluding, with a rhetorical question, that "who would not say that composition has become as indispensable to his intellectual life as food is to his physical one?" Scott's imagination and fertility praised by Luz is nevertheless questioned by Heredia in his "Ensayo sobre la novela:"

Walter Scott does not know how to invent figures, to clothe them in heavenly beauty, nor to communicate a superhuman life to them; in a word, he lacks the faculty of creation that the great poets have possessed. He wrote what his memories dictated, and after having glanced at ancient chronicles, he copied from them what he found curious, capable of exciting astonishment and wonder. To give some consistency to his narratives, he invented dates, leaned slightly on history, and published volumes and volumes.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶. José de la Luz y Caballero,

²⁹⁷. José María Heredia, *ibid.*, 201.

Heredia's statement, in the first place, reveals that not all Cuban receptors perceived Scott in the same way. Del Monte, for instance, praises Scott's for possessing the virtue of the poet that assists the historic novelist as furtherly discussed. Referring to the novel as a genre, Ricardo del Monte, in his prologue to *Noche Trágica* (Tragic night) by Arturo R. de Carricarte, holding a criterion different from Heredia's, states that

Walter Scott perfected it, ennobled it, brought it to the historical scene, and enriched it with such finished pictures of real life and so many characters, that the novel rose to great heights among the other genres of literary production, just as Balzac, the brilliant follower of the Scottish novelist, found it almost as fruitful, but more delicate and deeper in the probing of the human heart.²⁹⁸

Heredia's opinion is obviously biased by his negative conception of the historic novel, which, contrary to the opinion of other Scott receptors, he deems "a bad genre in itself, an eminently false genre, to which all the flexibility of the most varied talent only lends a frivolous appeal, and which will soon be ruined by the fashion that today adopts and favours it."²⁹⁹ Therefore, Heredia also disparages the role of historical novelists on expressing that they

abandon all that is useful to the historian, they seek to seize what pleases them in the memories of history, and, disregarding the lessons of the past, they only aspire to surround themselves with their prestige. Their aim is to paint costumes, describe harnesses, sketch imaginary features, and lend to real heros certain movements, words and actions whose reality cannot be proved. Instead of elevating the story to themselves, they beat it to the level of fiction; forcing their true muse to give misleading testimony.³⁰⁰

On expressing his thought, Heredia was clearly referring to Scott. At least, he was including the Scottish writer among the historic novelists he addresses. Even though the rest of Heredia's text is prejudiced by the same conception, he is compelled to express his positive viewpoints about Scott and his works on acknowledging at least that

the movement, the grace, the life that Walter Scott lends to the scenes of past times; the rudeness, and even the inelegance of his narratives, which seem in perfect harmony with the barbaric times they refer; the variety of his singular

²⁹⁸. José Manuel Carbonell y Rivero, ed., *La prosa en Cuba*, v. 5, (La Habana: Imp. Montalvo y Cárdenas, 1928), 73.

²⁹⁹. José María Heredia, *Poesía e prosa* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1992), 200.

³⁰⁰. *Ibid.*, 199.

portraits having a certain aspect of wild antiquity in their very strangeness, the rarity of the whole and the meticulous exactness of the details, have made popular the novels we are addressing,³⁰¹

With these statements, Heredia contradicts himself, which he does once more on concluding that “the scenes of civilized customs seem to lack colour and life along with those of the highlanders and the sibyls that the Scottish narrator resurrects; and the paintings of love in its wanderings, whims, scruples and hesitations no longer interest us.” However, history proved Heredia’s viewpoint wrong since the genre, far from “being ruined by the fashion that then adopted and favoured it,” has overcome time in constant development to reach our days with outstanding representatives and exponents. Regardless the contradictions, Heredia’s article has been considered a milestone in his career. In this regard, Rafael Grillo has stated that “his concerns about a genre he never intended to pursue personally, reached their best expression in the ‘Essay on the Novel,’ a thorough study of 1832 that can be considered the most complete of his journalistic contributions and his peak as a literary critic.”³⁰² Heredia’s reluctance to accept the genre and its main exponent did not prevent Scott from attaining his fortunes in Cuba where more authorised voices like Luz’s were paid better heed.

Albeit Del Monte’s critical works involving Scott show wide differences regarding the purpose of the author, each bears its own values reception-wise. “*El Ivanhoe*” is the only article devoted to a specific work by Walter Scott. The first part of the article reproduces an excerpt from a London newspaper published in Spanish between 1924-1925 featuring a translation of *Ivanhoe*. The second part replicates a statement made public in Florence by *Antologia*. Both pieces provide enough positive criticism about Scott’s work as to stimulate the readers’ interest while informed by international viewpoints. Albeit Del Monte does not mention the name of the London periodical publication, he specifies the year the translation was issued, 1925, and the English editorial, Ackermann, as well as the New York editorial house in charge of a second issue, Behr and Kall, which data would facilitate access for the interested audience. As the translation was anonymously published, Del Monte adds

³⁰¹. Ibid., 201.

³⁰². Rafael Grillo, *ibid.*

his suspicion that the London translator was the Spanish José Joaquín de Mora, also anonymously alluded in the first part of the article as the translator of *The Talisman*, as well considered an excellent rendition of the original by Scott. In his article, Del Monte gives some details about the translator while highlighting his prestige, which also adds to his promotional purposes. Given the fact that the sources quoted by Del Monte abound in the merits of both the original and the translation, they leave little to say except for what he considers “a historic circumstance of this celebrated novel:” Del Monte refers that when Scott was writing the manuscript, a daughter was to get married and he offered her either the novel or five thousand guineas as a dowry. The daughter accepted the novel and was well rewarded since only the first edition, as published in the French newspaper *Petit Courier*, raised four thousand. Even though Del Monte oversizes the relevance of the comment, it also adds to his promotional purpose. De Mora has been acknowledged in *Historia de la Traducción en España* (History of translation in Spain) for rendering both novels into Spanish.³⁰³ His name is also recorded in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, nevertheless these texts do not refer to his possible contribution as a transmitter in the Cuban reception of Scott. The international information gathered by Del Monte, the data added by him, the engaging comment and the publication of the article in his magazine *La Moda* account not only for his promotion of Scott’s *Ivanhoe* but also for the receptor’s role as a transmitter not yet acknowledged and also present in “Jovellanos y Sott,” published in the same magazine.

“Jovellanos y Sott” is meant to praise the life and work of the Spanish writer by comparing him to Walter Scott. According to Del Monte, “Jovellanos, who without dispute has been the most eminent genius and the best cultivated in Spain, was destined to be the Walter Scott of his country, if he had lived to this day.” On documenting his supposition, Del Monte, cannot help but setting forth the traits of Scott he admires the most, as reflected in the rest of his works involving Scott.

Among the similarities shared by both authors, Del Monte mentions

the descriptive pieces of ancient customs that are scattered in some of his works and the historical accounts of the Scottish novelist. The same accuracy, the same sagacity in deducing from the chronicles, the laws and the great

³⁰³. Francisco Lafarca, Luis Pegenaute, eds., *Historia de la Traducción en España* (Salamanca: Editorial Ambos Mundos, 2004) 342.

events of a people, the customs, the worries and even the clothes and ridicule of a given era, however remote and dark it may be; the same colouring and even the same diction.³⁰⁴ (Translated by the author)

These traits, furthermore, are also the ones the rest of the receptors, without including Heredia, coincide in pointing out, and constitute the core of their perception of Scott and implicitly express their perception of Scotland and Scottishness through Scott's works, henceforth the relevance of Scott as a Scottish-literature influencer. Del Monte, however goes beyond these traits and delves into the reasons for the similarities shared by both authors to provide his viewpoint from a reception perspective: "This similarity may have been powerfully influenced by the continuous reading and admiration with which both the Scotsman and the illustrious Asturian contemplated the magnificent piece on feudalism and its spirit that [William] Robertson wrote in *The History of Charles V.*"³⁰⁵ Even though Walter Scott is mentioned all throughout *The Dictionary of Literary Influences* given his wide influential role all over the world in the nineteenth century, his name is not included on the list of influenced authors, neither those of Jovellanos and Robertson. *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott* mentions William Robertson among the great names of the Scottish Enlightenment that dominated the city where Scott grew and even refers that, as a student at Edinburgh, Scott would attend the lectures given by Robertson;³⁰⁶ however, the book makes no reference to Scott being influenced by Robertson's *History*. No allusion is made to the issue in other comprehensive works such as *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*³⁰⁷ or *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move*,³⁰⁸ which absence of reference makes Del Monte's remark relevant if not curious observation given the significant contributions made by Robertson not only to the writing of Scottish history but also to that of Spain and Spanish America. Even though the figure of Scott in Del

³⁰⁴. Domingo del Monte, *Escritos de Domingo del Monte*, v. 2, (Havana: Cultural S. A., 1929), 102-103.

³⁰⁵. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 103.

³⁰⁶. Fiona Robertson, ed., *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 3.

³⁰⁷. John O. Hayden, ed., *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1970).

³⁰⁸. Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Monte's "Jovellanos y Scott" is addressed from a comparative perspective of equality, Scott still plays a paradigmatic role in Del Monte's purpose to praise the life and works of Jovellanos. By pointing out the similarities between both authors, Del Monte sets forth their common traits, which, in the case of Scott, coincide with the features Cuban receptors admired the most as reflected in the rest of their critical works involving Scott, henceforth the relevance of the article reception-wise besides featuring Del Monte as a Scott receptor and transmitter while providing relevant information about the Scottish writer.

Just as Luz and Heredia, Del Monte also expressed his concerns about the novel. His article "Sobre la novela histórica" (About the historic novel) explores the history of the genre, establishes the requirements the historic novelist should meet and assesses the works of three Spanish novelists.³⁰⁹ According to Del Monte, the historic novelist should encompass the poet, the philosopher and the antiquary, which qualities he defines according to his viewpoint and exemplifies by appealing to the model Scott offers, the same model with which he provided his fellow writers and followers, among them, Heredia, Luaces and Sellén as furtherly discussed.

Regarding the poet as an attribute, Del Monte defines it as

the faculty of inventing situations and characters that present more in relief the spirit of the epoch, of the people and of the characters that one wants to paint: to this quality also belongs the gift of pouring throughout the novel and in every part of it an irresistible attraction, either for the particularity and exactness of the descriptions, that do not let us confuse the aspect of some places with that of others; or for the colour, the animation and the grace of style and language, that only those who have received from God a poet's soul can infuse to their works.³¹⁰ (Translated by the author)

The definition applies to Walter Scott whom Del Monte subsequently addresses to exemplify the trait by asserting that it is contained in "all the novels of the great author of *Ivanhoe* and *The Antiquary*," to which Del Monte adds that, without the trait, "he would never have been able, in spite of his vast and seasoned erudition, to trace with the same mastery almost than our eminent *poet* Miguel de Cervantes, those pleasant perspectives of countryside nature, or that siege of Torquillstone castle,

³⁰⁹. *Ramiro Conde Lucena* by Rafael Humara y Salamanca, *El Caballero del Cisne* by Ramón López Soler, and *Gómez Arias o Los Moros de las Alpujarras* by Telesforo de Trueba y Cosío.

³¹⁰. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 217- 218.

that reminds of the confusion in the field of Agramante painted by Ariosto,³¹¹ which insinuation leads to the influence of Italian author Ludovico Ariosto on Scott, a topic addressed in “Walter Scott and Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*” by scholar Susan Oliver who points out that “Scott’s interest in Ariosto extended beyond his writing career. Reading *Orlando* became a self-prescribed palliative for ‘mental and bodily fever.’ The prospect of an ‘Orlando cure’ for frenzy is intriguing.”³¹²

As to the philosopher attribute, Del Monte means “the deep knowledge of the human heart,”³¹³ which, according to him,

cannot be acquired without the most perceptive observation of men in society; without the study of the secret motives that impel each one to think and act in a way that is different from what might be expected, judging them by the general rules of morality. In order to attain this knowledge, it is also necessary to pay attention to the sex, the age, the condition, and the period in which the character has been placed, whose innermost feelings we have to discover.³¹⁴

This requirement can also be attributed to Walter Scott who, according to Del Monte, distinguishes in this regard and the rest of the traits that make up perfection in the genre. Del Monte documents the statement, by stating that in Scott’s fictions “the historical characters were seen more truly and scrupulously represented than in history itself. And it is certain that no historian of Great Britain has made known to us so much, nor so confidentially, the characters of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth of England as this divine genius in his novels *The Abbot* and *Kenilworth*.”³¹⁵ The example provided by Del Monte might also be the reason why in José Martí’s *O. C.* there are so many references to said characters. Within this feature though, Del Monte addresses concepts central to the reception of Scott such as morality and gender. In the first case, he asserts that “Sir Walter Scott’s noblest crown has been the purity of his moral intentions. An enlightened philanthropist, and finally believing in the perfectibility of the human race, his infinite productions can well be traced,

³¹¹. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 218.

³¹². Susan Oliver, “Walter Scott and Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*,” in: Everson, Jane E and Hiscock, Andrew and Jossa, Stefano, (eds.) *Ariosto, the Orlando Furioso and English Culture*. Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford University (2019), accessed October 2019 <http://repository.essex.ac.uk/21409/>.

³¹³. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*

³¹⁴. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 219.

³¹⁵. *Ibid.*, 219-220.

without the most severe moralists may find in them an idea tending to make the species worse,”³¹⁶ to which thought Del Monte adds that “his women are a model of respect and honesty, which does not prevent themselves from being sensitive to love and compassionate and delicate, as they should be.”³¹⁷ His readers may or may not agree with the approach, but the relevant point in this case is how Scott and his works were perceived. In an educational report, Luz y Caballero, dealing with the teaching of history for moral purposes and referring to the advantages of fiction over reality, points out that “the novelist, becoming a painter of domestic customs, an area which the historian never goes through, can have a more direct influence on promoting virtue.” In this regard, Luz expresses that “we cannot but applaud the profound philanthropy of Gualterio Scott, who, sensing the decision of the century, and mainly that of females for the novels, knew how to take advantage of this fondness in favour of customs. To few moralists they will be more indebted than to the immortal Scottish painter.” Even though Heredia disregards the merit of historic novelists, he admits that Scott “does not hesitate to judge the morality of facts as well as men.”³¹⁸ Del Monte also addresses morality on referring to Byron in his essay: he deplors

the author who, seduced by the energetic and sombre epics of the author of *The Corsair*, believes that the attraction of poetry consists only in the perpetual struggle in which that unhappy man, reflecting his own misanthropy, always opposes his heroes to the social institutions. Only the force of his prodigious ingenuity would have been capable of making his heroic bandits and his silent virgins interesting; but it is not because of a moral deviation of such a nature that the charm of his poems is so great. [...] Those very criminals of Byron will surely seduce us by way of their depredations and crimes: we admire the corsair, the Gioaur, Lara for the virtuous parts that adorn them, for their generosity, the nobility of souls, their courage, not for their thirst for revenge, nor for the contempt of every law, of every order that seems civilization.³¹⁹

According to the statements of Del Monte, morality makes a difference between the perception of Byron and that of Scott from the perspective of Cuban receptors. Byron’s misanthropy is evidently opposed to Scott’s philanthropy. The philosopher

³¹⁶. Ibid., 224.

³¹⁷. Ibid.

³¹⁸. José Heredia Heredia, *ibid.*, 200.

³¹⁹. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 224.

attribute also applies to Scott, whom Del Monte appeals, once more, to exemplify his definition involving morality and gender.

The antiquary attribute, defined by Delmonte as a “meticulous science,” can be regarded as especially tailored after Walter Scott as no other historical novelist of the epoch distinguished as much for this virtue. In words of Del Monte,

this science is not reduced to knowing the obituary and the visible results of the facts, which one learns from the vulgar stories, but to greedily requesting by whatever means are available to us the best elaborated news about the customs of the century to be represented. The study of the law, of literature, of the sciences, of the arts, of the concerns of the times, is what makes customs known; and yet these investigations are not enough; for if the novelist is to give his work the peculiar, unmistakable stamp of a given age, they must, with the most tenacious curiosity of a woman, but at the same time with the sagacious insight of a wise man, go through cloakrooms, visit museums of antiquities, consult pictures and paintings, and examine and compare ruins of every kind.

The description of the “science” coincides with Scott’s approach to it as widely known, which Del Monte addresses on explicitly expressing that Walter Scott is “well known for the predilection with which he has admired this study and the very delicate taste and philosophical skill with which he knew how to make the most of his lucubration.” To exemplify the trait, Del Monte not only appeals to Luz’s testimony on his visit to Abbotsford, as previously referred, but also provides additional information accounting for his wide knowledge about Scott’s work, namely the possibility that Scott “tried to portray himself in the character of [Jonathan] Oldbuck, the antiquary in his eponymous novel,” a consideration shared by numerous scholars who consider the book a self-portrait where Scott relives the disputes and enthusiasm of his early life, including his unhappy experience with Williamina Belsches evoked by Oldbuck's unsuccessful courtship with Eveline Neville, the possible reason why *The Antiquary* remained Scott's personal favourite among all his novels.

As in the previous cases, Del Monte not only delineates the attribute required from the historic novelist after the paradigm offered by Scott but also exemplifies the attribute by appealing to him. Conferring paradigmatic value to Scott not only reveals Del Monte’s perception of the Scottish author and his work but also his influence on Del Monte’s critical literary thought, which enabled him, “without

being labelled as an unmerciful critic judging only by capricious arbitrariness, to qualify the respective merit of each of the novels listed at the beginning of this essay,”³²⁰ a fact adding to the practical purpose served by the reception of Scott. The critical works so far analysed are marked by the influence of Walter Scott, reflect the high esteem in which the Cuban receptors held the Scottish writer and reveal the traits they admired the most regarding both the author and his works. As to the author, the best appreciated traits are those defined by Del Monte: poet, philosopher and the antiquary, which, according to him, make up the perfect historic novelist. The works are highly appreciated for their descriptions, the treatment of the characters and the representation of the epoch through traditions, customs, garments and laws, among other distinctive elements. The authors of the critical works analysed, Luz, Heredia and Del Monte, played an important role in the reception of Scott not only as outstanding receptors but also as proficient transmitters who, in their own right, should be spotted on the map of Scottish-literature international reception and particularly the transatlantic reception of Walter Scott.

Influence of Scott on the Cuban Novel

In her “Sir Walter Scott and the Caribbean: Unravelling the Silences,” Carla Sassi, by means of a comprehensive body of updated narratological theories, examines “the sound of silence” emanating from Scott’s oeuvre when it comes to the slave-based plantation economy in the Caribbean. In her purpose, Sassi appeals to the numerous and undeniable sources that could have made Scott fully aware of the issue, addresses the historical context in which Scott’s evasion took place, and points out that “there is a conspicuous imbalance between what Scott evidently knew about his fellow countrymen’s long-standing involvement in the colonization of the Caribbean (...) and the place that the reality of slavery and Caribbean colonialism occupies in his literary work.” In this regard, Sassi concludes that “Scott himself seemed to inhabit, like many of his contemporaries, a ‘grey’ area, between a degree of abhorrence for what could not but be considered as an inhumane practice, and a pragmatic attachment to the economic and political certainties of imperial politics.”

³²⁰. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 222.

Sassi, at the same time, leaves the way open for subsequent related studies on expressing that “while ongoing historical research may reveal further intersections between Scott and the Caribbean, what we can infer from the nuanced silences in his fictional writings (...) is nonetheless very valuable.”³²¹ Some of those further intersections she mentions can also be provided by reception studies. As to Scott’s reticence, a topic only recently addressed, so far there is no evidence that Cuban receptors perceived and remarked on it. Neither made any reference to Scott’s non-engagement with abolitionism nor his engagement with Toryism, which, as pointed out in “The International Reception,” “passed largely unobserved.”³²² However, the influence of Scott on Cuban literature, albeit not transmitting his avoidance to address slavery in the Caribbean, paradoxically contributed to the creation of antislavery works in Cuba. His novels arrived on the island precisely at the time when a national literature was emerging and reflecting the social issues of the epoch. Several Cuban authors have been alluded as influenced by Walter Scott. Most of the biographical and critical works regarding Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda refer to that influence,³²³ especially on her novel *Sab* (1841) often dismissed as an antislavery novel; however, in this regard, the statements of Carlota, one of the characters, deserve attention when she reflects about slavery and the slaves:

–They consider themselves fortunate, because they are not beaten and reviled, and they quietly eat the bread of slavery. They consider themselves fortunate, and their children are slaves before they leave their mothers’ wombs, and then they see them sold like irrational beasts... their children, their flesh and blood! When I become Enrique’s wife, no unhappy slave will breathe at my side the poisonous air of slavery. We will set all our negroes free.³²⁴

In my opinion, Avellaneda does not need to offer personal viewpoints on the topic. Her characters are expressing, with complete freedom, what the author or the narrator is constrained from expressing. On denouncing the atrocities of the slave regime, Carlota alludes to and supersedes contemporary philosophical ideas on the

³²¹. Carla Sassi, “Sir Walter Scott and the Caribbean: Unravelling the Silences,” *ibid.*

³²². Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *Ibid.*, 37.

³²³. Antonio Obed Tarajano Roselló, “*Sab, Francisco y Cecilia Valdés* como modalidades del discurso novelado sobre la esclavitud en Cuba,” *Monografias.com*, accessed 10 July 2018, <https://www.monografias.com/trabajos32/literatura-cubana/literatura-cubana.shtml>.

³²⁴. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, accessed 13 July 2021, <https://biblioteca.org.ar/libros/70100.pdf>.

rational inferiority of blacks and the convenience for them of life in slavery. Rather than revealing her anti-slavery position, in her manifesto, Carlota is appealing to the abolition of slavery. At the same time, her dialogue anticipates she is going to marry a slave owner thus contributing to the development of the narrative just as in Scott's novels, which feature may constitute a mark of influence; however, an incontestable mark is given at the beginning of Chapter X by the inclusion of a quotation³²⁵ from Scott's *Guy Mannering*, a novel referred to by Sassi for "the detailed account of the colonial reality of the East Indies."³²⁶ Scott's influence is also noticed by the songs and poems included in *Sab*, the mixture of genres characterising Scott's novels.

Anselmo Suárez y Romero's *Francisco* is also regarded as influenced by Scott. The novel³²⁷ was written in 1839, nevertheless, it was not published until 1880, the reason why *Sab* is considered the first of its kind. Even though the novel narrates the love affairs of two slaves, Francisco and Dorotea, hindered by their masters, its main value lies not in its sentimental plot, but rather in the description of life in a sugar mill. The author profusely describes costumes, traditions and rites of the African slaves while reproducing their characteristic speech. Coincidentally, a great deal of the narrative is conveyed by dialogues, which features also relates to Scott, the model offered by Delmonte to Suárez who, like Villaverde, was among the attendants to Del Monte's literary gatherings. *Francisco*, just as the film inspired on the novel, did not attain the popularity and importance conferred on Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*, also influenced by Scott.

Given the relevance attained by *Cecilia* as a Cuban cultural icon and Scott's contribution to its creation, a more detailed analysis is subsequently made of this intersection of the Scottish author and the Caribbean. In *H. L. C.*, Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* is the only novel to which a whole section is devoted,³²⁸ however, the section does not draw attention on Scott's influence on the novel despite the fact that

³²⁵. "It would seem that the appearance of this female, and the mixture of frenzy and enthusiasm in her manner, seldom failed to produce the strongest impression upon those whom she addressed. Her words, though wild, were too plain and intelligible for actual madness, and yet too vehement and extravagant for sober-minded communication."

(<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5999/5999-h/5999-h.htm>)

³²⁶. Carla Sassi, "Sir Walter Scott and the Caribbean: Unravelling the Silences," *ibid.*

³²⁷. Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco*, accessed, 20 November, 2021, <https://ia600906.us.archive.org/18/items/francisco00romeoog/francisco00romeoog.pdf>

³²⁸. Jorge Luis Arcos et al, *ibid.*, 475.

the author publicly admitted it. The section in *H. L. C.* starts quoting a letter from the world-famous Spanish novelist Benito Pérez Galdós expressing his pleasure and surprise on reading Villaverde's novel, which preamble leads the authors to deem *Cecilia* "the great novel of the nineteenth century in Cuba." The avowal is endorsed by Sybille Fischer in her introduction to an English edition of the novel:

Cecilia Valdés is the most important novel of nineteenth-century Cuba. [...] Written between 1839 and 1882 by the exile Cuban writer and political activist Cirilo Villaverde (1812-1894) and published in New York in 1882, *Cecilia Valdés* soon achieved mythical status. It was celebrated, attacked and rewritten by other novelists, set to music, and, eventually, adapted for the screen. The *mulata* herself became a national icon and an improbable Cuban patron saint of sorts. Asking himself why *Cecilia Valdés* acquired the status of a national myth, César Leante, one of Cuba's important twentieth-century writers, states that it is because "*Cecilia Valdés is the Cuban nation:*" "because Villaverde's protagonist symbolizes, in her flesh and her spirit, the racial and cultural combination that determines the Cuban being."³²⁹

These statements, and many others, highlight Scott's contribution to the creation of the novel as undoubtedly noteworthy. What is the historical anecdote provided by this novel? Young mulatto girl *Cecilia Valdés*, not knowing she is the illegitimate daughter of rich Spanish plantation owner and slave trader Cándido de Gamboa, engages in a love affair with her half-brother Leonardo. At the same time, Jose Dolores Pimienta, a deprived black musician, loves *Cecilia* without being reciprocated. Leonardo, pressed by the ethnical and economic prejudices of the epoch, leaves *Cecilia*, who had conceived a daughter, to marry white upper-class Isabel Ilincheta. Compelled by *Cecilia*'s request of preventing the wedding, and not hearing her remark about whom to kill, Pimienta stabs Leonardo to death, which fatal outcome brings about Pimienta's execution and *Cecilia*'s eventual confinement in a mental hospital where she casually re-joins her mother, who recovers the lost reason and recognizes her daughter before dying.

The importance of Villaverde's work, nevertheless, did not remain in the nineteenth century. *Cecilia* is still regarded as the most emblematic Cuban novel of all times. It has become a national identity symbol and reception-wise constitutes the most important example of literary influence on other arts in a postprocess stage, as

³²⁹. Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdes or El Angel Hill* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xi.

described by César Domínguez et al.³³⁰ In this regard, among the numerous creations drawing inspiration from *Cecilia*, mention should be made of the zarzuela by Gonzalo Roig, the film by Humberto Solás, the bronze sculpture by Erig Rebull and the canvas by Cosme Proenza, all of which pieces are homonymous with the novel. In her introduction to a US edition of the novel, Ana María Hernández, besides referring to *Cecilia* as “one of the peaks of the nineteenth-century Latin American novel,”³³¹ provides a thorough inventory of theatre productions inspired by *Cecilia* as well as its numerous editions. Even though Hernández does not allude to the many translations of the novel into several languages, she mentions a great many narrative works by Cuban and foreign authors drawing inspiration from *Cecilia*. Hernández, however, does not refer to the parody *Cecilia Después o ¿Por qué la Tierra?*, a humorous sci-fi novel, by Félix Mondéjar Pérez, in which “the author uses formulas of customs recreating places of the epoch while speculating with real personalities and fictional characters to achieve the humour that characterizes the work,”³³² which trait is traceable not only in Villaverde’s *Cecilia* but also in Sott’s works. Regarding the relevance and scope of the eponymous character, Hernández asserts that

Cecilia joins the gallery of archetypes in universal literature such as Don Quixote, Don Juan, Hamlet, Othello, Faust and Carmen who have embodied the complexities of the human psyche and, consequently, have exceeded the limits of time and place. Like them, Cecilia has generated –and continues to generate– a number of avatars in various times and cultures. Out of the characters mentioned above, Cecilia is the one who best reflects an American context since she is the product of two cultures: the European and the African, and, therefore, she is not limited to the Cuban society, but resonates throughout the Caribbean, the south of the United States, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and in every country where the mixture of races has defined the essence of national identity.³³³ (Translated by the author)

On mentioning the European culture, Hernández refers to one of the components making up the Cuban nationality; however, there is more to it: Cecilia is also a product of the so far unsearched Scoto-Cuban literary connection. In this regard,

³³⁰. César Domínguez et al., *ibid.*, 13.

³³¹. Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés: Novela de costumbres cubanas* (Doral, FL: Stockcero, 2013), ix.

³³². *Cecilia después*, Ecured, accessed 30 June 2019, accessed https://www.ecured.cu/Cecilia_despu%C3%A9s_o_%C2%BFpor_qu%C3%A9_la_Tierra%3F.

³³³. Cirilo Villaverde, *ibid.*, xii.

Walter Scott contributed his part to the making of *Cecilia* and therefore to the formation of the Cuban national identity as subsequently discussed. Hernández also addresses the contemporary importance of the character in a context wider than the regional. In this sense, she states that,

with the increase of migrations, and therefore the crossbreeding at a global level, we could say that *Cecilia*, far from losing its validity, is gaining more and more universal resonance. The strident return of racism and intolerance to the political discourse of apparently democratic societies in recent decades, the pronounced social stratification that is supplanting socio-economic mobility in some contemporary societies, the new forms of exploitation of ethnic minorities at the global level give the work back the urgency of its original context.³³⁴

The previous detailed reference to the significance of *Cecilia* is necessary on considering that the novel is not absolutely a Cuban creation. Of all the nineteenth-century Cuban novels allegedly influenced by Scott, *Cecilia*, again, is the only one whose author has admitted and explicitly expressed Scott's influence. In the prologue to his novel, Villaverde declares that

for over 30 years I have not read a single novel, Walter Scott and Alessandro Manzoni being the only models that I have been able to follow on setting down the various panoramic scenes of *Cecilia Valdés*. I am aware that it would have been better for my work had I written an idyll, a pastoral romance, or even a story along the lines of *Paul and Virginia* or of *Atala and René*; but although more entertaining and moral, such a narrative would have not been the portrait of any living person, or the description of the customs and passions of a flesh-and-blood people, subject to special political and civil laws, imbued with a certain order of ideas and surrounded by real and positive influences.³³⁵

As widely known, poet and novelist Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) is considered the main representative of the Italian Romanticism and one of the main followers of Scott,³³⁶ whose influence on Manzoni's most famous literary work, *I Promessi sposi* (The Betrothed) has been generally considered as quite evident. In his declaration, Villaverde indirectly refers to traits of Scott's work present in his novel and widely discussed by Cuban receptors in their critical works. On referring to the procedures followed to write his novel, Villaverde declares,

³³⁴. Ibid.

³³⁵. Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdes or El Angel Hill*, *ibid.*, xl.

³³⁶. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 38.

Far from inventing or imagining characters and scenes of pure fantasy that beggars belief, I have raised realism, as I understand it, to the point of presenting the principal characters of the novel warts and all, as the vulgar saying goes, dressed in the attire they wore in life, the majority of them with their real name and surname, speaking the very language they used in the historical scene in which they figure, copying, where appropriate, *d'après nature*, their physical and moral physiognomy, so that those who knew them by sight or through tradition may easily recognize them and at least say: the resemblance is undeniable.³³⁷

Being familiar with Scott's novels, and their traits as identified and appreciated by Cuban receptors such as Del Monte, there is no doubt left that, on declaring his creative procedures, Villaverde, at the same time, is setting forth Scott's influence on *Cecilia*. Although Villaverde's influence avowal does not mention the fact, and no consulted scholar has referred to it, the most striking influence token is conveyed by the very name of the Cuban novel and its eponymous character as close reading reveals. The Scottish novel is also titled after the protagonist, young Edward Waverley, whose aunt Rachel, aiming at diverting him from an inconvenient relationship, decides that he should seek an occupation beyond the realm of the Waverley-Honour estate, which resolution takes to his enrolment, as a cavalryman under the command of Colonel James Gardiner, in a regiment of dragoons based in Dundee, Angusshire. In *Cecilia Valdés*, young Leonardo Gamboa is encouraged to leave the city and spend time in a rural property holding a slave-operated sugar mill. The purpose is to prevent Leonardo (whose name bears a distinguishable resemblance to Eduardo, the Spanish equivalent to Edward) from engaging in an inconvenient relationship. The unsuitable match in Scott's novel is named Cecilia Stubbs; in Villaverde's, Cecilia Valdés. Considering the low recurrence of the name in both languages, the coincidence is as improbable as the influence unmistakable.

Other noticeable feature in *Cecilia* relating to Scott is the inclusion, all through the novel, of songs and poetry excerpts, especially in the headings of the chapters. Some compositions, as in *Waverley*, were clearly composed by the author and purposely put in the mouth of his characters, which borrowed device allowed Villaverde to feature stanzas of ten octosyllabic lines as in "Andaba revoloteando/ En el ambiente exquisito, / Muerto de sed un mosquito, / Jugo de flores buscando./

³³⁷. Cirilo Villaverde, *Ibid.*

Llegó a tu boca, y pensando/ Que era una rosa o clavel,/ Introduciéndose en él,/ Porque allí el placer le encanta, Murió en tu dulce garganta/ Como en un vaso de miel.”³³⁸ Villaverde introduces the stanza under the pretext of having been improvised by Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés), the real-life character being none other than the mulatto Cuban poet who was shot on charges of conspiracy against the Spanish regime. None of the compiled poetic works of Plácido, nevertheless, contain the quoted stanza but a poem titled “Amores mosquito” (mosquito loves), from which Villaverde, on reproducing Plácido’s popular style, seems to have drawn inspiration while paying due homage to one of the most popular Cuban poets of the nineteenth century. This adopted poetical form, known as “décima,” has become a national symbol of identity within the Cuban culture. Notwithstanding, in her “Dialéctica para una voz propia en *Cecilia Valdés*” (Dialectics for an own voice in *Cecilia Valdés*), scholar Ana Mateos, regarding the value of the prologue as an instrument to interpret Villaverde’s novel, considers

questionable the extent to which one should take it into account, since it is known that some of the data offered by Villaverde are not true. For example, it is not true that he completely abandoned all literary activity upon leaving Cuba, with the exception of the brief period he spent in Havana in 1858 after nine years away from the island; it is known that, even in exile, Villaverde dedicated time to translating literary works. The lack of veracity of these data therefore casts a shadow of doubt on his claim to be following the models he mentions in the prologue.³³⁹ (Translated by the author)

The first “shadow of doubt” derived from Mateo’s remarks, however, is her knowledge about the traits of Scott’s novels conveyed by Villaverde’s declaration of influence. Villaverde’s inaccuracies do not constitute proper argument to dismiss his statement. A better means would have resulted from a comparative analysis of Scott’s *Waverley* and *Cecilia*. As Mateo does not offer any source accounting for

³³⁸. In the exquisite atmosphere a mosquito, dead of thirst, was fluttering around looking for flower juice. It came to your mouth, and thinking it was a rose or a carnation, it entered because it loved the pleasure there. It died in your sweet throat like in a glass of honey. (Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés o la Loma del Ángel*. Biblioteca Ayacucho: Caracas, Venezuela, 1981, 120.) Translated by the author.

³³⁹. Ana Mateos, “Dialéctica para una voz propia en *Cecilia Valdés*,” *Academia*, accessed 15 October 2019, https://www.academia.edu/37401282/Cecilia_Valdes_Dialectica_para_una_voz_propia_In_O_Ette_und_G_M%C3%BCller_eds_Caleidoscopio_Colonial_Eine_Inselwelt_im_Fokus_Kultureller_Transferprozesse_im_19_Jahrhundert_Madrid_Iberoamericana_and_Frankfurt_Vervuert_103-120_.

Villaverde's translations, it is not viable to elucidate whether the alluded "literary works" include any novel. Be that as it were, several sources admit Scott's influence on *Cecilia*. The foreword to a 2018 edition of *Cecilia* states that "the technique of this novel shows the influence that Walter Scott had on the author" while documenting the statement by explaining that

through its chapters (headed by slogans that gather thoughts from diverse universal authors), Cuban customs in the city and in the countryside, with all their peculiarities, pass through the different social classes; the high ideals of those who aspired to a collective overcoming are crossed with the vices, the cruelties, the slavery, the governmental insanity and the prerogatives of the privileged.³⁴⁰

The alluded "slogans" mainly correspond to excerpts of poetry. In the same regard, the *H. L. C.* reads that

this historic canvas was conformed with the instruments of Romanticism, local customs and critical realism: Walter Scott and the historical novel, a significant motif within the legendary; Victor Hugo and the Esmeralda of *Our Lady of Paris*, with which the novel by the Cuban writer is analogous in regard to the compositional sequence of the plot, and the Precious of the *Exemplary Novels* by Cervantes, a point of physiognomic and characterological similarities laying in the spontaneous grace and the outstanding ever-admired beauty of the Cuban mulatto woman.³⁴¹ (Translated by the author)

Surely Mateo did not consult the *H. L. C.*, a recommendable source to clear up doubts like hers given the intellectual prestige of its authors. Even though this source alludes to other possible influences, Scott's influence heads the enumeration and distinguishes the Cuban novel. By means of his anecdote, Villaverde, a convinced abolitionist, provides his readers with a fresco of the slave-owning Cuban society in its social interaction during a period explicitly established by the author in his piece, from 1812 (the year in which he was born) to 1831. At the same time, the writer describes the horrors of slavery both in the city and in the rural plantations of the sugar mills while revealing the intricate racial relations in Colonial Havana, and depicting its social layers, topped by the elite social circles of Spanish-born and creole whites, but threatened by the growing number of mulattos and blacks: some of

³⁴⁰. Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés*, (Letras Colibrí: México, 2018), 6.

³⁴¹. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 446.

them slaves, some freed men. Thus the novel stands out for its portrayal of representative characters and settings, a feature inherent to the novels of Walter Scott. In this regard, in the very prologue Mateo dismisses, Villaverde, as already mentioned, expresses his creative procedure in the conception of the characters, which proves he was following the model provided by Scott. And, just as the Scottish writer did in his works, Villaverde also integrates prominent public figures to the set of characters of his narration. As a result, the names of José de la Luz y Caballero, José María Heredia, and Domingo Del Monte are present in Villaverde's novel—just to mention some actual personalities hitherto addressed given their engagement in the Scoto-Cuban literary connection. Besides, when the author describes the living room of the Gamboa family, he places two magazines on the sofa, one of which was *La Moda o Recreo Semanal del Bello Sexo*, the same publication that, founded by Del Monte, featured several works and journalistic notes involving Walter Scott. Seemingly, Mateo did not consult any biographical work on Villaverde. Most of them address the influential tutorship offered to him by Domingo Del Monte, which would have sufficed to change Mateo's mind about the doubtful influence of Scott on Villaverde that she proclaims on doubtful grounds. At this point, it is necessary to point out that “the wise counsel of such a fine tutor” was also provided to José María Heredia and Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces who also reflected Scott's influence in their creative work. As hitherto discussed, besides the credible and documented declaration of influence made by Villaverde in his prologue to *Cecilia*, other sources not only admit to that influence but also document it. Therefore, it can be stated that Walter Scott's novels helped develop an antislavery novel that, besides featuring and representing the construction of the Cuban nation, has become part of the Cuban national identity. The prevalence of *Cecilia* until present through its ever-growing editions and translations, as well as its influence in the creation of multiple literary and non-literary works of arts in a postprocess stage, accounts for an impact of the reception of Scott in Cuba.

Written in the same historic context and basically addressing the same social questions, these novels show general traits relating to Scott in general, and to *Waverley* in particular. Among such features, mention should be made of the way in which the characters designed by the authors interrelate with others extracted from

real life. Customs and language are highlighted through the actions and descriptions of the characters and the imitated transcription of their speech as genuine expression of their identity. These features allowed the authors for “placing the individual at the confluence of historical forces.”³⁴² Dialogues are used as a means of conveying narrative while revealing the psychology of the characters. A place is allocated for the description of the Cuban nature and its landscapes with their typical tropical flora and fauna, a means of “promoting the locally characteristic over the classical and universal.”³⁴³ Pieces belonging to diverse genres, especially poetry, are incorporated into the text of the novels. These overall characteristics may constitute starting points for future comparative studies involving other novels within the same boom marked by the same influence. Despite the noteworthy fortunes attained by Scott in Cuba, no reception studies had yet been conducted to document his influence on nineteenth-century Cuban novels such as *Sab*, *Francisco* and *Cecilia Valdés*, just to mention those regarded as “the first antislavery documents originating in Cuba.”³⁴⁴ Ironically, the distance kept by Scott from the slave exploitation taking place in the Caribbean as pointed out by Sassi, was overcome by his influence on Cuban literature, a phenomenon that helped the onset of a new literary genre on the island, the antislavery novel, *Cecilia* being the highlight of the genre.

The Red Beggar: Scottish Literature made in Cuba?

The influence of Walter Scott on Cuban literature was not only exerted on the novel but also extended to the drama with a peculiar feature, the deviation from the local context. While the novels drawing on Scott's oeuvre are set in a rather contemporary Cuban milieu, the dramas attach to the historic character of Scott's novels and find their place much beyond “sixty years since.” Two representative cases are José María Heredia's *Eduardo IV o El usurpador clemente* (Edward IV; or, the Merciful Usurper) and Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces's *El mendigo rojo* (The Red Beggar). The former, written in 1819, refers to facts taking place in the fifteenth-century; the latter, written in 1859, refers to the sixteenth-century. The fact that these

³⁴². Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁴³. *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴. Antonio Obed Tarajano Roselló, *ibid.*

dramas are set and plotted in Scotland makes them worthy of attention. The fact that Heredia was barely fifteen when he wrote *Eduardo IV* and the historic argument being Scottish arise several queries as to where he drew the inspiration from since some sources adduce that the works of Scott started to be spread in Cuba as of the 1820s. Leaving aside Scott's *History of Scotland*, which was published in 1829, earlier possible sources that can be thought of are Shakespeare's *Henry VI* or *Richard III* or Thomas Heywood's *King Edward IV*, both featuring Edward IV as one of the characters. There is still the possibility that young Heredia may have come across a history of Great Britain providing information about Edward IV. Several sources, including the *Diccionario de la literatura cubana* (Dictionary of Cuban literature), consider that *Eduardo IV* might be a translation,³⁴⁵ however, scholar Rosa Ileana Boudet points out that the supposition that Heredia's drama is a translation has not been backed by the identification of any original work to establish the relationship.³⁴⁶ My own search corroborates her statement. Yet another explanation is more plausible: according to González and Roig, young Heredia and his family arrived in Havana from Venezuela in December 1917; in 1918, he was enrolled in the first course of law at the university and, one year later, he wrote *Eduardo IV*.³⁴⁷ José María Aguilera, furthermore, states that "Heredia began studying law in Havana, where he came into contact with the liberal thinking that was transmitted in the classrooms of the San Carlos College. Through Félix Varela and José Antonio Saco, he met Domingo del Monte who supported him in his vocation as a poet,"³⁴⁸ Given Del Monte's well-documented role as a Scott receptor-transmitter, the most probable source of inspiration for Heredia's drama must have been Scott's works provided by Del Monte. Their friendship by then is also recorded in *H. L. C.*³⁴⁹ Another additional reason to support this possibility is the fact that Scott's *Waverley*,

³⁴⁵. Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, accessed July 2019, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/s3/BVMC_OBRAS/fed/f8a/228/2b1/11d/fac/c70/021/85c/e60/64/mi mes/fedf8a22-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_9.htm

³⁴⁶. Rosa Ileana Boudet, *Cuba: actores del XIX*, (Santa Mónica, California: Ediciones de la Flecha, 2017), 48.

³⁴⁷. Francisco González del Valle and Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, *Cronología herediana (1803-1839)*, (La Habana: Secretaría de Educación. Dirección de Cultura, 1938), 3.

³⁴⁸. José María Aguilera Manzano, *La formación de la identidad cubana (el debate Saco-La Sagra)*, (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2005), 12.

³⁴⁹. Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 128.

published in 1814, features the Stuart king Bonnie Prince Charlie, known to some of his foes as “the usurper,” which fact might have given Heredia the idea for both his title and his work.

Recorded by several international reference sources,³⁵⁰ Heredia’s verse drama tells the story of a Scottish noble who conspires against Edward IV, the king of England who established the Yorkist dynasty, in order to attain the independence of Scotland, which topic can be regarded as a curtain veiling the author’s views regarding the Spanish domination of Cuba and related nationalistic themes. The conspirator is caught while dealing with the enemy over the city he was supposed to protect; therefore, he was condemned to death by a war council. The fate of the Scottish man changes when the king’s spouse, Matilda, intercedes on his behalf and saves his life, which instance also reminds of *The Corsair*’s Gulnare and the heterodox gender role assumed by Byron’s characters as pointed out by Elfenbein. Some nineteenth-century critics, such as Pedro Jesús Guiteras,³⁵¹ did not find it proper to feature the “usurper” as “merciful,” while the love of the homeland is relegated to a second place, one more instance in which Heredia contradicts himself; his character is for independence but still shows certain attachment to the oppressor. This viewpoint, however, does not make the drama less relevant to this research. However, the fact that no written copy has been preserved precludes any subsequent analysis.

The second drama, *El mendigo rojo*, is set in 1533, twenty years after the Battle of Flodden, and features James IV, King of Scots, as its main character, which fact is registered in Aurelio Mitjans’ *Historia de la literatura cubana*,³⁵² in 1859. Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces structured his verse drama in five acts. Characters and actions are presented with a rather flexible attachment to the real historical facts representing the period, a recognisable trait of Scott’s novels. Since James Grant’s *The Yellow Frigate* appeared in 1855, James IV has been the object of many fictional portrayals in historical novels and short stories; nevertheless, the list of texts

³⁵⁰ Stanley Hochman, ed., *McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Drama: An International Reference Work in 5 Volumes*, v.3, (United States: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1984), 578.

³⁵¹ Quoted by Aurelio Mitjans in his *Historia de la Literatura Cubana*, Editorial América, Madrid, 1918, page 192.

³⁵² Mitjans, Aurelio: *Historia de la Literatura cubana*. Editorial América Madrid, undated.

compiled by literary scholars does not yet include the Cuban drama. Several legends have been woven around the death of the monarch, which traditional stories can be divided into those alluding to the fate of a surviving king, and those referring to the possible destination of his body. Luaces's drama aligns with the first group, but proposes a completely different variant: the drama is based on the possibility that King James IV, instead of dying in Felton as commonly accepted, remained alive for many years after his defeat with the assistance of his servants. This allowed him to engage in a fight against the regent, who had usurped the throne, in order to conquer the freedom of his imprisoned son James V, and recover his crown, which objective he successfully fulfills. The action is emphasized by the role played by John, a bastard son of James IV who manages to serve Lord Seton and saves James V from death on two occasions. John's love of Clary, Lord Seton's orphan daughter, and the rivalry of the king, in love with the same lady who yields to the demands of his father, also add to the action of the play, which argument provides enough material for further analysis if not comparative studies involving the Scottish legends. Despite the characteristics of the genre, Luaces's drama, provides the audience with factual information about Scotland by means of didactic footnotes that make up a glossary³⁵³ including places such as Edinburgh, "the capital of Scotland;" Stirling, "a city and county in the central region of Scotland;" Perth, "a city and region of Scotland close to Stirling," and Falkland, "a region of Scotland;" or places related to the history of Scotland as is the case of Feldon, "the Spanish name for Flodden, a plain of England in the county of Northumberland, where on 9 September, 1513, the battle was fought where James IV of Scotland was defeated by the English army of the Earl of Surrey," or Holyrood, "the palace in Edinburgh that served as residence to the royal family of Scotland." Other entries correspond to terms directly borrowed from the English language and incorporated into the text in Spanish, which calque procedure made the audience to directly familiarise with traditional elements conveying notions of Scottishness, namely, "clan," "name used in Scotland to designate a tribe or family;" "claymore," "large sword typical of the Scots," and "plaid," "a twilled fabric with a tartan pattern." One of the footnotes features a historical figure: William Wallace

³⁵³. Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, *Teatro*, (La Habana: Editora del Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1964), 155-156.

who “was a hero that fought for the liberty of Scotland against the English rule and was hanged and dismembered in London in 1305.”

Apart from showing the playwrights’ interest in Scottish history, to which Walter Scott’s works definitely contributed, these dramas helped the Cuban audience familiarise with the periods they reflect. Other contributions of Scott traceable in *El mendigo rojo* and clearly drawn from *Waverly*, are all the aforementioned geographical places and locations including the castle of Stirling. All the terms borrowed from English profusely appear in *Weaverley*. The mixture of real historic figures such as Archibald Douglas, VI count of Angus, and fictional characters such as the Highlander chieftain, are as well drawn from *Waverley*. As in Scott’s novel, Luaces’s also integrate into the plot common people such as servants, soldiers and highlanders who attain literary representation. As in Scott’s works, the intrigue is supported by late identification of characters, disguises are used to escape from danger, and characters believed to be dead unexpectedly reappear.

These Cuban dramas, besides approaching Scottish history, can be theoretically considered Scottish literature. In his *Scottish Literature*,³⁵⁴ Gerard Carruthers devotes a whole chapter to “international and intercultural relations” while sketching some canonical problems in this regard:³⁵⁵ works written by Scottish authors and set elsewhere but in Scotland (Allan Massie), works of expatriate writers bearing little or no “sensibility recognisably Scottish” (Alexander Trocchi), works of writers who are descendants of the Scottish Diaspora and little noticed in Scotland, works of writers bearing a “hybrid identity or plurality” (Bernard MacLaverty), works of immigrant writers (Margaret Elphinstone and J. K. Rowling) as well as of migrant writers (Irvine Welsh, W. S. Graham and Muriel Spark), works of writers who seem to show certain awareness of their Scottish descent (William Boyd), and works of actual or imaginative short-term visitors to Scottish culture (William Shakespeare, William Collins, Dorothy and William Wordsworth, John Keats and Arthur Hugh Cough). The diversity of instances presented by Carruthers, comprehensive as it may result, does not refer, however, to the peculiar case of the

³⁵⁴. Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 171-197.

³⁵⁵.

dramas alluded. Neither refer to the case other definitions of “Scottish Literature,” such as Carla Sassi’s,³⁵⁶ bearing the same inclusive character. (Indeed, so inclusive and generic are these cosmopolitan framings of Scottish Literature, they risk undervaluing the specific engagement of non-Scottish writers with Scottish themes and material.) None of the works hitherto analysed have been yet considered into the realm of the most common definitions of “Scottish literature” but, from an international and intercultural perspective, as pointed out by Carruthers, both relate to Scottish literature on similar or more substantial grounds than those expressed by this author. According to their features, perhaps subsequent “canonical problems” might include “works set and plotted in Scotland, bearing a sensibility recognisably Scottish and written by non-Scottish writers elsewhere but in Scotland.” Drawing on Sassi’s definition these dramas might also be considered as “works written by Creole professional writers who evoked a remote, imagined world and published their works exclusively in the colonies.” Reception-wise, both plays by Cuban authors can be regarded as cases of “extreme positive influence,” the concept constituting another contribution to the theory of influence studies. Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, mentored by Del Monte just as Heredia and Villaverde, also distinguished as a literary translator. He is not only considered one of the most outstanding exponents of the Romantic aesthetic in Hispanic America, but also one of the most prominent nineteenth-century Cuban playwrights. However, he has not yet been recorded as an influenced receptor contributing with his Scott-inspired work to the knowledge in Cuba of topics involving Scotland and Scottishness.

As hitherto discussed in this chapter, Walter Scott was given a wide reception in nineteenth-century Cuba, which fact had not yet been recorded. The scope of Scott’s influence can be traced in translation, correspondence, critical works, and

³⁵⁶. In Carla Sassi’s “Acts of Un/willed Amnesia: Dis/appearing Figurations of the Caribbean in Post Union Scottish Literature” she provides a definition of “Scottish Literature,” which, according to her, “is a very flexible and inclusive one, incorporating texts written by Scottish-identified authors on both sides of the Atlantic, irrespective of their birth, residence, or the place of publication of their work. In the same regard, the discussion includes “professional writers along with occasional ones; natives who left Scotland never to return—by choice or necessity—and ‘Creoles’ who still felt strongly their Scottish roots; writers who were recording personal experiences (emigrants, exiles or travellers), and others, who evoked a remote, imagined world, relying on travel accounts. Some of the writers considered here published their works in Edinburgh or London, others exclusively in the colonies.”

creative writing. The translation of *Waverley*, although a transatlantic endeavour, was the first rendition of the novel into Spanish and made the volume accessible in Latin America, one more credit in favour of Heredia whose name, together with those of Luz, Del Monte, Villaverde and Luaces deserve to be acknowledged on the list of international receptors of Scott and therefore spotted on the map of Scottish-literature reception. As to correspondences, Luz y Caballero's letter to José Cecilio Silvera constitute a rich testimony of the visit paid by Luz to Walter Scott in Abbotsford containing the receptor's first-hand perception of Scott worth taking into consideration in further studies on the life and works of the author. The personal contact described in the letter and subsequently recorded in "Visita de un habanero a Gualterio Scott" was influential on the rest of Cuban receptors and the Cuban audience in general, who by this means had also the opportunity to become familiar with the characterisation of the author provided by Luz along with topics central to Scotland and Scottishness, namely, the Highlands and the Highlanders. Other correspondences compiled by Domingo del Monte in his *Centón Epistolario* reveal the connection between the European and the Cuban reception of Scott, which bond included the exchange of viewpoints, news and articles involving Scott as well as translation and publication projects and the acquisition by the Cuban side of newly released Scott volumes. As well as correspondences, the critical works generated by the reception of Scott in Cuba constitute an invaluable source to examine the Cuban receptors' perception of both the author and his work, his positive influence on them and on their critical thinking, as well as their contribution to expand the reception. In this regard, Del Monte played an important role not only as the author of important critical works promoting Scott's oeuvre but also with his tutorship of intellectuals such as Heredia, Villaverde and Luaces who became outstanding transmitters. Their role in the reception, however, has not yet been acknowledged. As to the influence of Scott on creative writing, Villaverde's *Cecilia* is so far the most outstanding instance given the relevance of the novel as an iconic constituent of national identity. The dramas inspired by Scott constitute an instance of extreme positive influence since they can technically be considered as a new "canonical problem" to classify as Scottish literature beyond the creative purpose served by the reception. Scott was

undoubtedly the Scottish author who helped best the perception of Scotland and Scottishness. In words of Del Monte,

thanks to the chivalrous and historical muse of Walter Scott, today Scotland offers the foreigner who visits it the same powerful prestige of memories as the poetic Italy, because there is no mountain, lake, torrent, city or ruin of a monastery or feudal castle that is not touched by the magic that the poet communicated to them in his songs and novels.³⁵⁷

José Martí had little to say about Scott, however, he addressed enjoyment as one of the basic purposes served by his reception on expressing that “there are novels, such as those by [...] Walter Scott, which are charming history books: by reading them we do not waste our time.”³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷. Domingo del Monte, *ibid.*, 86-87.

³⁵⁸. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 23, 234.

Chapter 4

José Martí and the Cuban Reception of Scottish Literature

Although José Martí's first mention of Scotland in *O.C.* dates back to 1873, since 1866 he had started to familiarise with iconic elements of the Scottish culture while under the guidance of José María de Mendive. By then, early Scottish-literature receptors such as Heredia, Del Monte and Luz y Caballero had already departed and Martí was on his way to become the most prominent Cuban intellectual whose writings respond to Scotland, its culture, history, geography, and people. Martí's works contain abundant references to Scottish authors revealing his strong engagement with them, the number (24) far exceeding those approached by the rest of the Cuban receptors altogether, which also credits him as one of the most outstanding. The influence of Edward Bannerman Ramsay on Martí's poetry turns out to be significant for Cuban culture and identity; however, Martí is also distinguished as an outstanding Scottish-literature re-transmitter as evidenced in his approach to Samuel Smiles.

This chapter develops two major arguments. Firstly, Martí's approach to Scotland and the Scots, and his participation in the Scottish-literature reception, did not take place as the result of a mere idealised romantic vision. It was the result of a long-standing engagement with a wide variety of extra-literary Scottish topics gathered all along his writing career, starting in his early youth when he came across *The American Popular Lessons*, a text containing not only a distinguishable Scottish element but also references to transatlantic phenomena such as exploration, conquest, colonisation and slavery. These contents, besides prompting Martí's attention, helped inform and develop his critical thought as evidenced in later works such as *The New York Chronicles*, *Simple Verses* and *The Golden Age*. Secondly, from a theoretical viewpoint, this chapter argues that even though several Scottish authors were profusely mentioned in Martí's works, the number of mentions cannot by itself determine the scope of the cited authors' influence. In the case of Scottish authors' influence on Martí's writings, the determining factors are the repercussion of what he (as an influenced poet) adopted, and what he (as a translator and re-transmitter) adapted from those authors, as is the case of Edward Bannerman Ramsay and Samuel Smiles. Other factors characterising Martí's participation in the reception include the "grafting" of his Scotland-influenced writing into previously established patterns and traditions, and

his relationship with former and contemporary receptors. These aspects are not discussed in the body of this chapter but are fully developed and respectively addressed in Appendix 2.

To accomplish the purpose of this chapter, analysis will be conducted on Martí's first reading involving Scotland and the Scots, as well as associated transatlantic phenomena, which will allow us to unfold the primary source of Martí's special affinity for Scotland and its cultural iconography. Analysis will also be conducted on relevant Martinian works revealing his approach to non-literary Scottish topics, which will also allow to assess their significance in Martí's perception of Scotland and Scottishness. The chapter explores previously unexamined impacts caused by Edward Bannerman Ramsay on Martí's most famous poem, and by Samuel Smiles on a translation included by Martí in *La Edad de Oro* and involving authors such as Byron, Scott, Burns and Carlyle. Attention will be paid to Martí's perception of those authors and his not yet explored contribution to their transatlantic reception not only in Cuba but also in the United States and several Latin American countries. These discussions will demonstrate why Martí can be considered the most prominent of the nineteenth-century Cuban receptors of Scottish-literature and thus argue for his inclusion on the incomplete map of the international reception and literary impact of Scottish-literature.

“Neither Thistle nor Nettle:” Influence of Edward Bannerman Ramsay on José Martí's Work

Most of comparatists agree that mentions, together with allusions and quotations, provide an effective tool on tracing influence. Revisiting J. T. Shaw, it can be restated that mentions constitute not only an intrinsic form in which influence manifests but also “satisfactory external evidence that the hypothetically influenced author could have been influenced by the influencing author.”³⁵⁹In Martí's *O. C.*, there is a variation³⁶⁰ regarding the number of mentions of Scottish authors in *H. L. C.*.

³⁵⁹ J. T. Shaw, *Ibid.*, 66.

³⁶⁰ Lord Byron, recording the highest number of mentions in Martí's *O. C.* (43), is followed by Thomas Carlyle (21), and not by Walter Scott (7). Regarding the Scottish authors not registered in *H. L. C.*, the most recurrent in Martí's *O. C.* are Andrew Carnegie (16), Robert Burns (12), David Hume (7), David Livingston (4) and Andrew Lang (4). Except for Robert Louis Stevenson (2) and Henry Drummond (2), the rest of the authors³⁶⁰ are only mentioned once.

However, some of them score a high number as is the case of Byron whose literary influence on Martí has been previously analysed and documented; however, it does not fully stand for the influence of Scottish authors on Martí since Byron's Scottishness gathers as many supporters as detractors. The following analysis of Martí's engagement with Edward Bannerman Ramsay in this section, and of Samuel Smiles in the following, propose a different approach to mentions as evidence of influence. Besides, nobody would cast doubt on the fact that Ramsay and Smiles were genuinely born and bred Scots.

Out of all the texts Martí ever wrote, "I cultivate a white rose," "The white rose" or "Poem XXXIX," from *Versos sencillos*, is considered the most widely known and recited. Critics have favoured both the poem and the book since they were published in 1891. In more recent times, scholars such as Cintio Vitier³⁶¹ and Fina García Marruz³⁶² have focused attention on *Versos sencillos*, regarded by most specialists as Martí's most finished and advanced poetical work. Scholar Caridad Atencio has approached the volume in articles such as *Recepción de Versos sencillos: poesía del metatexto* (reception of *Simple Verses*: metatext poetry)³⁶³ and "El proceso de creación de los Versos sencillos en los apuntes de José Martí" (The *Simple Verses*' creative process in José Martí's notes).³⁶⁴ In "Versos sencillos a 125 años de su publicación" (*Simple Verses* 125 years after Its publication), Atencio considers *Simple Verses* "the most important of the poetic books written by José Martí and the best known, his poetic work of maturity, since it also constitutes 'his poetic testament' (García Marruz, 1995): it not only contains Martí's most refined art, but the definitive conclusions reached by his thought."³⁶⁵ Many other Martí scholars from outside of Cuba have also expressed their appraisal of both the book and the poem as is the case of Manuel A. Tellechea whose prologue to his translation of the volume states that

³⁶¹ Cintio Vitier. "Los Versos sencillos" in *Temas Martianos, Primera serie*, (La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1969).

³⁶² Fina García Marruz, "Los versos sencillos," in *Revista Casa de las Américas*, n. 200, July-September, 1995.

³⁶³ Caridad Atencio, *Recepción de Versos sencillos: poesía del metatexto*, (La Habana: Editorial Abril, 2001)

³⁶⁴ Caridad Atencio. "El proceso de creación de los Versos sencillos en los apuntes de José Martí," in *UNEAC*, accessed 3 April 2017, <http://uneac.org.cu/noticias/el-proceso-de-creacion-de-los-versos-sencillos-en-los-apuntes-de-jose-marti>.

³⁶⁵ Caridad Atencio, "Versos sencillos a 125 años de su publicación," accessed 3 April 2017, <http://www.lajiribilla.cu/articulo/versos-sencillos-a-125-anos-de-su-publicacion>.

Versos sencillos is the poetical autobiography of Martí's soul: Each poem captures an experience, a sensation, or a moment that shaped the poet and the man. For more than 100 years, these poems have been part of the life of an island and a continent: Martí's reformulation of the Golden Rule, "La rosa blanca" (Poem XXXIX), is perhaps the most anthologized poem in Latin America and the first most children are taught in school.³⁶⁶

The "Golden Rule" mentioned by Tellechea alludes to unconditional friendship and benevolence, archetypal topics all through the history of literature and reformulated by Martí in "I Cultivate a White Rose." Here there is an interesting Scoto-Cuban coincidence. In Scotland, the white rose is a traditional Jacobite symbol which carries broader nationalist significance, e.g. members of the Scottish National Party wear white roses at parliamentary ceremonies, and often link the flower to Hugh MacDiarmid's bittersweet poem "The Little White Rose."³⁶⁷ Its patriotic meaning is both traditional and modern, and widely recognised in Scottish society. In the case of Martí's white rose, the composition constitutes the lyrics to "Guantanamera," another symbol of national identity and the most internationally known Cuban song. When we consider the relevance of the volume, the poem, the author and the song, the significance of the subsequent analysis, from a literary transmission point of view, will become clear, therefore the so far unsearched influence of a Scottish author on the creation of this poem makes the text extremely germane to the aims of this thesis. Regarding studies of reception and influence, and despite their contradictory viewpoints, most specialists have always agreed to the relationship between literature and other disciplines as formulated by Henry H. H. Remak in his 1961 "Comparative Literature."³⁶⁸ More recent approaches, as that of César Domínguez et al., still hold to the same viewpoint and encourage comparatists to

come back to Remak's definition and see how his solution consisted in simply enlarging the scope of comparative literature, from the traditional interliterary axis (the comparison of one literature with another or others) to the 'new' interartistic (the comparison of literature and other arts) and interdiscursive (the comparison of literature and other areas of knowledge, such as history, philosophy, social sciences, sciences, religion, etc.) axes.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶. José Martí, *Versos sencillos/Simple verses*, (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 1997), 8.

³⁶⁷. Hugh MacDiarmid, "The Little White Rose," *Poetry Foundation*, accessed May 2021, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/46800/the-little-white-rose>.

³⁶⁸. Henry H. H. Remak, *ibid.*

³⁶⁹. César Domínguez et al., *ibid.*, 29.

In order to determine the influence of Ramsay in the creative process of “I Cultivate a White Rose,” this analysis necessarily appeals to “the application of other disciplines in and for the study of literature,” as stated in Zepetnek’s 1998 definition of “comparative literature”³⁷⁰ and endorsed in the 2014 edition of *A Companion to Comparative Literature*.³⁷¹ Therefore, this analysis addresses the relationship of the literary piece with areas of knowledge such as linguistics, stylistics, translation studies, biblical studies, history, literary theory, history of literature, botany, and systematics, among other disciplines. The cultural significance of the text previously set forth, and Ramsey’s influence on it, justify this interdisciplinary endeavour.

The onomastic index of José Martí’s *O. C.* includes the name of Allan Ramsay³⁷² to indicate a reference to the Scottish writer. Deeper research reveals that the entry should correspond to a Ramsay other than Allan: in a letter written to his friend Miguel Tedín³⁷³ on 17 October 1889, Martí tried to ensure that the Argentinian railroad entrepreneur had read *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*. This work had certainly not been authored by Allan Ramsay³⁷⁴ but by Edward Bannerman Ramsay (1793- 1872),³⁷⁵ The reference to the *Reminiscences*, however, will shed light on one of the most long-standing disputes among Martí scholars, editors, readers and reciters. Since Martí’s *Simple Verses* was published for the first time, there has been a strong tendency to reproduce, memorize and recite the second and seventh lines of “I Cultivate a White Rose” in two different ways as indicated by the parentheses:

³⁷⁰. Steven Tötöösy de Zepetnek, idem.

³⁷¹. Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas, eds., *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell), 425.

³⁷². José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 26, 370.

³⁷³. *Ibid.*, v. 7, 396.

³⁷⁴. This finding, despite how reasonable the compiler’s mistake could have been, and how insignificant compared to the contribution of his work, should be taken into consideration in further reprints of Martí’s *O. C.*

³⁷⁵. Edward Bannerman Ramsay (1793-1872), one of the most popular church figures in the history of Edinburgh, was born in Aberdeenshire. Parallel to his religious career, Ramsay distinguished as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh since 1827. He is also regarded as one of the founders of Glenalmond College. Among his works, mention should be made of *A Catechism Compiled and Arranged for the Use of Young Persons* (1835), *The Christian’s Almoner* (1840), and *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (1857), which had run to over twenty editions by the time of his death and contributed the most to Ramsay’s reputation. The volume had its origin in “Two Lectures on some Changes in Social Life and Habits,” given by Ramsay at Ulbster Hall, Edinburgh, in 1857 and has been considered one of the best compilations of Scottish stories. Its hilarious tone seems to refute Sydney Smith’s statements about the Scottish’s want of humour.

I cultivate a white rose
In July (June) as well as January
For the sincere friend
Who frankly shakes hands with me.

And for the cruel one who tears from me
The heart with which I live,
Neither thistle nor nettle (arugula) I cultivate:
I cultivate the white rose.^{376 377} (Translated by the author)

The controversy about the second line involves the original metonymical phrase “*en julio como en enero*” (In July as well as January) meaning “all the year round” or “always.” The expression is customarily printed and recited with a slight letter shift in the first month, “*julio*,” that turns it into another month, “*junio*,” (In June as well as January). In the case of the seventh line, “*cardo ni ortiga (oruga) cultivo*,” the term “*oruga*” bears a bisemic character and thus can be understood in Spanish either as “arugula” or “caterpillar,” but it is mostly printed, memorized and recited as “*cardo ni ortiga cultivo*” (Neither thistle nor nettle I cultivate). The search for the correct variants has sparked fervent debate but no new viewpoints. On addressing the possible reasons for the change in the second line of Martí’s poem, in his article “*La oruga de Martí*” (Martí’s arugula), Mexican poet and critic Juan Domingo Argüelles argues that “it might have happened because many people like *junio* rather than *julio*.”³⁷⁸ However, that preference he adduces is not supported by any documentary evidence to prove it while there are more plausible explanations he could have taken into account, namely, the alliteration of the sound [n], alternating in postvocalic and prevocalic positions (En-ju-nio-co-moen-e-ne-ro), makes the line much more phonetically attractive in a sequence also smoothed by a sinalepha and a blending (-moene-). Both the poetry written by Martí and the translations he did of other authors

³⁷⁶. Cultivo una rosa blanca,
En julio (junio) como en enero,
Para el amigo sincero
Que me da su mano franca.

Y para el cruel que me arranca
El corazón con que vivo,
Cardo ni ortiga (oruga) cultivo:
Cultivo la rosa blanca.

³⁷⁷ José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 16, 117.

³⁷⁸. Juan Domingo Argüelles, “La oruga de Martí” *Verbiclara*, accessed 6 junio 2017, <https://verbiclara.wordpress.com/2013/05/09/la-oruga-de-marti/>.

reveal his command of phonetic expressive means and stylistic devices. An example in this regard is the unusual sound combination of *squirrel-quarrel* in Emerson's "Fable" translated and amplified by Martí with an equivalent phonetic arrangement in Spanish: *ardilla-querella-presumidilla-aquella-ardilla-bella*.³⁷⁹ Therefore, it is more likely Martí may have written "junio." Another reasonable explanation for the letter shift lies in the so far unnoticed relationship between Martí's "Cultivo una rosa blanca" and Robert Burns's "A Red Red Rose," a composition inspired from Scots traditional sources:

O, my luve's like a red, red rose,
That's newly sprung in June.
O, my luve's like the melodie,
That's sweetly play'd in tune.³⁸⁰

Martí's poem and Burns's bear a remarkable resemblance: though written in different languages, both are structured into stanzas of four lines, both use repetition as an expressive means (my luve's like, red/ cultivo, rosa blanca), both feature affection by means of the same symbolic rose introduced on the first line, and, very coincidentally, the month of June is mentioned on the second line of both poems." Furthermore, Martí was a connoisseur of Burns's poetry, and in Martí's works, there are numerous lines of Burns quoted and translated for either critical, comparative or paradigmatic purposes. Consequently, these elements might also reflect the influence of one of Burns's most popular poems on Martí's most popular, and that reputation, together with the rendition of both into popular musical pieces, forms another remarkable coincidence. Some other elements in favor of the June variant, given their relationship with the third symbol, will be furtherly addressed. Notwithstanding, the consonantal shift in question neither alters the metaphoric meaning of the expression nor entails other relevant ramifications, the reason why the analysis will be henceforth centred on the second and more often debated disagreement: the seventh verse of the poem, "cardo ni ortiga (oruga) cultivo."

³⁷⁹. Félix Flores Varona, *Traspasos de La Edad de Oro* (La Habana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, 2003), 66-67.

³⁸⁰. Robert Burns, *The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, (New Lanark, Scotland: Geddes and Grosset, 2007), 395.

The preference for “ortiga” has increased to the degree that an ordinary Internet search provides 377 entries (38 pages) for “*Cardo ni oruga*” while “*cardo ni ortiga*” generates 410 entries (41 pages). On trying to explain the origin of the variants, some specialists allude to the prologue of the book, where Martí declared: “these verses are printed because the affection with which some good souls received them, in a night of friendship and poetry, has made them public.”³⁸¹ The remark entailing the possibility that, on that occasion, he might have recited what from that moment on would be repeated and spread by his friends: “cardo ni ortiga cultivo.” That possibility leads to blaming the editors for “having corrected” what was correct if Martí wrote “ortiga.” Regardless of what may have originated the variation, specialists are now more focused on finding out which form is the correct one or, at least, which makes more sense. However, the query demands an explanation deeper than that provided by Argüelles: “because they believe that ‘oruga’ is a mistake and, since they are obsessed with correction, they arbitrarily impose on the verse the ‘ortiga’ Martí did not write.”³⁸² Who seems obsessed with corrections is Argüelles, who, in another article, “Esa negra saramullo...,” claims that in his former article “I demonstrate that the popular poem XXXIX of José Martí’s *Simple Verses* has been modified by arbitrary editors who truffle ‘July’ for ‘June’ and ‘caterpillar’ for ‘nettle.’”³⁸³ Argüelles, as previously seen, does not demonstrate anything since he does not provide any evidence to prove his viewpoint, nevertheless, he arbitrarily asserts again that “oruga” is not a mistake and forcefully provides, as evidence, the definition of the term in the *María Moliner* dictionary, with which he reaches the conclusion that “the vegetable, arugula, exists.” The existence of the vegetable, nevertheless, does not prove it is the right word in the poem. If, according to the definition, the vegetable is not harmful and therefore used as a condiment, why it is not used in the poem as a token of benevolence and friendship but in an opposite sense? Another question, not answered in Argüelles’s articles, might be asked on his own grounds: why do people believe that “oruga” is a mistake and impose the “ortiga” arbitrarily?

³⁸¹. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 16, 61.

³⁸². Juan Domingo Argüelles, *ibid.*

³⁸³. Juan Domingo Argüelles, “Esa negra saramullo...,” *La Jornada Semanal*, n. 814, 10 October, 2010, <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2010/10/10/sem-juan.html>.

Several factors need to be subsequently analysed to avoid unfounded speculations and reach a serious conclusion: in his composition, Martí uses three main symbols: the “rosa blanca” (white rose), representing friendship, and the “cardo” (thistle), together with the “oruga-ortiga” (arugula-nettle), to signify hostility or enmity. These three elements might be engaged in a more complex relationship than what is commonly assumed, so quite a few questions might be left for further research: was the England-Scotland historical conflict and their respective national symbols what inspired the analogy of Martí’s poem? Did Martí ever come across “The Thistle and the Rose,” the poem by William Dunbar (1460? –1520?) in honour of Margaret Tudor, grandmother to Mary Stuart, whom he repeatedly mentioned in his works? Was Martí aware that Scotland has been long referred to as “the little white rose” (and therefore Hugh MacDiarmid’s poem)? Even though reference has been made to Robert Burns’s “A Red Red Rose” and the resemblance Martí’s poem bears to it, the first symbol will not be the object of analysis. Attention, however, will be centred on the second and third symbols, that is, the “cardo/oruga-ortiga” relationship, which is critical to the debate.

Concerning the second symbol, “cardo” (thistle), Martí could have been familiar with some of the numerous plants bearing the word in their name from his time living in Spain. According to Ramón Morales, in his book *Las plantas silvestres en España* (Wild plants in Spain),³⁸⁴ “the thistles are a numerous and frequent group of plants all over Spain.”³⁸⁵ Apart from the presence of the “Scotch thistle” in the *American Popular Lessons*, Martí’s early textbook, there is still more evidence Martí was familiar with the term even though it was not part of his active vocabulary: in a letter sent to his Mexican friend Manuel Mercado on 28 February, 1877, Martí wrote: “Esta es tierra sembrada de cardos, pero esmaltada de buenos corazones.”³⁸⁶ (This land is planted with thistles, but enamelled with good hearts), an expression in which, either literally or metaphorically, he opposes, by means of the contrastive

³⁸⁴. The same source refers to the genera present in that country and mentions, among others, *Onopordum*, *Cirsium* and *Carduus*, the ones encompassing the species usually associated with the legend that originated the national symbol of Scotland: cotton thistle (*Onopordum acanthium*), spear thistle (*Cirsium vulgare*), dwarf thistle (*Cirsium acaule*), melancholy thistle (*Cirsium heterophyllum*) and musk thistle (*Carduus nutans*).

³⁸⁵. Ramón Morales et al., *Plantas silvestres en España*, (Madrid: CSIC, 2013), 181.

³⁸⁶. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 20, 26.

conjunction, the negative connotation of the thorny plant to the positive meaning of goodhearted friendship, an antagonistic relationship analogous with the one he provides in the poem through the use of the same word. Indeed, several thistle species grow in Mexico, among them the spear thistle (*Cirsium vulgare*), related to Spain and Scotland. Moreover, in 1881, in one of his notebooks, Martí jotted down, “In the archivolts of Gothic doors and windows, the kale leaf, cabbage, thorny thistle.”³⁸⁷ From this note, it is possible to deduce that he was also familiar with the architectural value of the plant. This notion is addressed in several publications of the epoch he might probably have consulted. The *Quarterly Papers of Architecture*, namely, contains an excerpt very similar to the note: “The finials and wreaths are composed of the leaves of the colewort, thistle, vine, and some other plants. They supply the place of crockets in the archivolts of doors, arches, windows, and canopies of niches.”³⁸⁸ Furthermore, in 1885, Martí translated *Logic* at the request of the D. Appleton. The volume, written by William Stanley Jevons and published by the same editorial house, states that “a daisy has little resemblance to a great Scotch thistle; yet the botanist regards them as very similar.”³⁸⁹ In fact, both the daisy and the thistle taxonomically belong to the same largely widespread family of flowering plants, *Asteraceae* or *Compositae*. On dealing with the noun phrase “great Scotch thistle,” Martí did not translate the adjective “great” (suggesting the historical, cultural and traditional value of the plant) by means of a direct equivalent since it would have required providing an explanation for an audience not completely familiar with the plant and its characteristics so they could make sense of it. Instead, by means of a modulation, he translated the noun modifier into Spanish as “fuerte” (strong), thus suggesting only the tough texture of the plant and his familiarity with it. On analysing the combination of translational techniques used by Martí in his rendition, it is possible to infer that he was also familiar with the thistle as Scotland’s national symbol. Even though several thistle species grow in the United States, where Martí lived and wrote his “I cultivate a white rose,” only one plant grows in Cuba bearing the word in its name: *cardo santo* (*Argemone mexicana*). That species,

³⁸⁷. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 21, 207

³⁸⁸. John Weale, *Quarterly Paper on Architecture*, (London: I. Weale, 1844-1845), 23.

³⁸⁹. William Stanley Jevons, *Logic*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879), 30.

however, does not belong to the *Asteracea* family but to the *Papaveraceae*. Besides, it does not bear any negative reputation among Cubans so there is no probability that Martí's symbol may have been inspired by that species. The word “cardo” was not used by Martí in the rest of his journalistic or poetic works and constitutes a foreign element for Cubans, which reinforces the rest of the discussion.

Regarding the third symbol, some academics support its first variant, that is, “oruga” (arugula) because it appears in all the editions³⁹⁰ of Martí's *O. C.*, which were carried out by prestigious scholars.³⁹¹ The fact that those publications were carried out by them only proves that they were faithful to the first edition of the book and, consequently, kept the “oruga” without any critical consideration, but that neither proves “oruga” the right word nor diminishes the prestige of the relevant scholars. On the contrary, we have mentioned their names and works to document the importance of the poem.

Given the bisemic character of the term “oruga,” people also take sides with regard to whether Martí meant “arugula” or “caterpillar,” that is, the plant or the animal. The plant, *Eruca vesicaria* var. *Sativa*, is grown in the Mediterranean region where it is known for its multiple uses in cooking and being highly appreciated as salad and a sauce ingredient given its pungent hot flavour; its leaves, flowers and young seed pods are edible, as well as its mature seeds, out of which a rich oil is made. The Cuban encyclopaedia *Ecured* has an entry for “oruga;”³⁹² however, the corresponding information is not provided by a Cuban source but taken from *Flora de Iberia*³⁹³ since the plant does not grow in Cuba and, like the thistle, it is practically unknown to the Cubans. The Spanish source also makes reference to the advantageous characteristics of the plant. Another Spanish website refers to it as having “an explosive, peppery flavour that pairs perfectly with sweet or citrusy fruits

³⁹⁰. These editions include the *Edición crítica de las Obras completas* (critical edition of the compiled works) and the *Edición crítica de la coesía de José Martí* (critical edition of José Martí's poetry).

³⁹¹. Insisting on their prestige, as if it meant their infallibility, to prove the “oruga” right, without taking into account that “to err is human,” far from revering them, is a way of dehumanising them. Those scholars, however, neither realised that Allan was the wrong Ramsay nor Lawrence the wrong Oliphant, only to mention imprecisions regarding Scottish authors.

³⁹². *Ecured*, “Oruga (Planta),” accessed 20th May 2018, [https://www.ecured.cu/Oruga_\(Planta\)](https://www.ecured.cu/Oruga_(Planta)).

³⁹³. *Flora de Iberia*, “*Eruca vesicaria*,” accessed 20th May 2018, <https://floradeiberia.com/273/eruca-vesicaria-oruga-eruca-ruca-rucula/>.

and salty meats and cheeses.”³⁹⁴ No description, however, features arugula as rough, thorny or urticating. On having lived in Spain, especially in Aragon, where the species is very common, Martí should have known this plant very well. Significantly, he never used the word “*oruga*,” meaning the plant, in the rest of his works or personal correspondence, which also leads to consider that he did not use it in his poem. The second meaning of the third symbol, “*oruga*” (caterpillar) has also been considered a candidate because many people find the caterpillar ugly and repulsive, which qualities are not necessarily true: because of their attractive coloured patterns and shapes, caterpillars are usually included in collections of images illustrating the beauties of nature. It is very unlikely that Martí meant the animal in the expression “*cardo ni oruga cultivo*:” the stylistic tendency in Spanish is not to cultivate animals but to raise them. If a caterpillar were cultivated, the aim would be either to achieve its metamorphosis into a butterfly or to produce silk, none of which is related to the negative connotation demanded by the context. As in the case of arugula, the caterpillar does not make a good symbol of either hostility or enmity. Martí does not use the word to mean the animal in the rest of his literary or translational works; nevertheless, it is used with such a meaning at least five times in his journalistic works, out of which only one corresponds to a metaphoric non-complimentary expression: “¡No hay orugas más ruines que estos amigos de la hora venturosa!”³⁹⁵ (There are no meaner caterpillars than these friends in good times), in which specific context the stylistic device is built on the voracious appetite of the larvae, not on any other negative notion.

As previously stated, “*ortiga*” (nettle) is the second variant of the third symbol. Contrary to “*arugula*,” not yet having proved its poetic value with any of its two contextual meanings, the Spanish term “*ortiga*” and its English equivalent “*nettle*” have been widely used in literature. *Violetas y ortigas* (violets and nettles), for instance, is a 1917 book by Enrique José Varona in whose metaphoric title, alluding to flowers and thorns, the author contraposes the beneficial to the hostile.

³⁹⁴. Susana Russo, “Fresh, Feisty Arugula: More Than a Salad Green,” *NPR*, accessed 20 May 2018, <https://text.npr.org/s.php?sId=137623588>.

³⁹⁵. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 9, 337.

The following is a relevant example taken from an old Scottish rhyme about the plant:

Gin ye be for lang kail,
Cou' the nettle, stoo the nettle;
Gin ye be for lang kail,
Cou' the nettle early.

Cou' it laigh, cou' it sune,
Cou' it in the month o' June;
Stoo it e'er it's in the blume,
Cou' the nettle early.³⁹⁶

Even though the word “nettle” in this composition is not used to directly express hostility or adversity, the coincidental presence of “June” in it might be taken as one more possible clue to solve the first dilemma in Martí’s poem. Yet another Scottish traditional song about nettles foregrounds the month of June:

Cut nettles in June,
They come up again soon.
Cut them in July,
They are sure to die.³⁹⁷

As clearly seen, there is a close relationship between “nettle” and “June,” which coincidence also suggests that these were the elements originally included by Martí in his poem. Significantly, Martí used the word “ortiga” in another poetical context: “Mi poesía” (My Poetry), the last poem of his *Versos Libres (Free Verses)*: “Y el corazón, por bajo el pecho roto/ Como un cesto de ortigas encendido:” (And the heart, under the broken chest, / burns like a basket of nettles).³⁹⁸ By means of this symbol, Martí expresses what the poetic persona feels on coming back from an overwhelming urban environment. He appeals to the urticating thorny nature of the plant to provide the negative sense the poem demands. The outstanding Cuban botanist Tomás Roig includes the term “ortiga” in his *Diccionario botánico de nombres vulgares cubanos (Botanical Dictionary of Cuban Vulgar Names)* and explains that “The European nettle, *Urtica urens* Lin., does not exist in Cuba, but they call “ortiga” or “ortiguilla” to several species of the *Urticacea* family bearing

³⁹⁶. Robert Chambers, *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1870), 34.

³⁹⁷ Watts, Donald: *Dictionary of Plant Lore*, (United States: Academic Press, 2006), 160.

³⁹⁸. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 16, 227.

urticating hairs that produce the same painful burning sensation caused by the actual nettle.”³⁹⁹ In a more updated publication, *Plantas medicinales, aromáticas o venenosas de Cuba*, the same author omits the entry and, under “*ortiguilla*,” he states that this species, *Fleurya cuneate*, is given several vulgar names such as “ortiga” in Cuba as well as “cow-itch” and “West Indian nettle” in the English Antilles.⁴⁰⁰ The same information can be found in the *Exploración Botánica de las Islas de Barlovento: Cuba y Puerto Rico Siglo XVIII*;⁴⁰¹ furthermore, in a personal communication, Dr. Lázara Pérez Luis, an outstanding Cuban botanist, confirmed that “none of the species associated with the name *ortiga* (nettle) in Europe or the United States grow in Cuba. On this island, people are hardly familiar with the word ‘ortiga’ mentioned in the famous Martí’s poem. They do not know what it is.” Therefore, what they call “ortiga” in Cuba does not correspond to the *Urtica dioica* species, often called “common nettle” or “stinging nettle,” native to Europe and North America, where Martí may have become familiar with the plant and its characteristics.” It should not be forgotten that, at the beginning of the first poem of the book, he points out that “*Yo sé los nombres extraños/ De las yerbas y las flores*” (I know the strange names of herbs and flowers).⁴⁰²

The combination of the second symbol in Martí’s poem (thistle) with the most popular variant of the third symbol (nettle) might provide the key to the right pair and thus solve the arugula/caterpillar-nettle dispute. Due to the fact that “both thistles and nettles have been called the devil’s plant or devil’s vegetable because of their thorns, and both are considered prickly weeds,”⁴⁰³ they appear combined in numerous literary works Martí should have accessed. Martí scholar Carlos Ripoll bases his support of the “*ortiga*” (nettle) on the presence of this combination in the

³⁹⁹. Juan Tomás Roig y Mesa, *Diccionario botánico de nombres vulgares cubanos*, (La Habana: Editorial Científico-Técnica, 2016), 718.

⁴⁰⁰. Juan Tomás Roig y Mesa, *Plantas medicinales, aromáticas o venenosas de Cuba*, (La Habana: Editorial Científico-Técnica, 1981), 725.

⁴⁰¹. Paloma B. Fernández de Caleyá et al., *Exploración Botánica de las Islas de Barlovento: Cuba y Puerto Rico Siglo XVIII. La obra de Martín Sessé y José Estévez*, (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2000), 483.

⁴⁰². José Martí, *ibid.*, v.16, 63.

⁴⁰³. *The Old Farmer’s Almanac*, “Is a Thistle the Same as a Nettle, and Do They Both Sting?,” accessed 20 May 2018, <https://www.almanac.com/fact/is-a-thistle-the-same-as-a>.

Bible.⁴⁰⁴ In fact, in several Spanish versions of The Bible, it reads: “*He pasado junto al campo del perezoso, y junto a la viña del hombre falto de entendimiento, y he aquí, estaba todo lleno de cardos, su superficie cubierta de ortigas, y su cerca de piedras, derribada.*”⁴⁰⁵ Some English versions also feature these plants: “I passed by the field of the sluggard and by the vineyard of the man lacking sense, and behold, it was completely overgrown with **thistles**; its surface was covered with **nettles**, and its stone wall was broken down.”⁴⁰⁶ In both languages the terms are used to express laziness, procrastination, apathy and idleness. The only inconvenience is that most of the Bible versions available in the nineteenth century referred to “thorns and weeds,” “thorns and thistles,” “nettles and weeds” or any other combination but “thistle and nettle.” The pair makes sense, it is semantically compatible and fits in with the poem, but does not indicate that Martí may have drawn the reference from the Bible as suggested by Ripoll.⁴⁰⁷ There is also a chance Martí may have come across the pair on reading Hans Christian Andersen’s stories, one of which, “The Nightingale,” he translated for *La Edad de Oro*.⁴⁰⁸ In one of the most popular stories, “The Wild Swans,” a princess is compelled to weave coats of nettles in order to break an evil spell cast on her brothers; however, “A Leaf from Heaven” features among its characters not only a botanist (who also knew “the strange names of herbs and flowers...”) but also “thistles” and “nettles.” The combination of species abounds in the rest of Andersen’s stories; nevertheless, Martí did not hold Andersen in high esteem. The only reference Martí made to Andersen and the inclusion of his works in magazines of the epoch depicts them as “a forced burden of minor stories.”⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, it is probable that Martí may have accessed Andersen’s “thistles” and “nettles,” but less probable that he may have reproduced them in his poem.

Notwithstanding, there is still another source from which Martí may have drawn the thistle-nettle combination. In his letter to Tedín referencing Edward Bannerman Ramsay’s *Reminiscences of Scottish Life & Character*, Martí also

⁴⁰⁴. Carlos Ripoll, *Amigos*, “Martí: cardo ni ortiga cultivo,” accessed 21 May 2018, https://amigos.com/blog/34772/post_200585.html.

⁴⁰⁵. *Biblia Paralela*, accessed 22 May 2018, <http://bibliaparalela.com/proverbs/24-31.htm>.

⁴⁰⁶. *Bible Hub*, accessed 22 May 2018, <http://biblehub.com/proverbs/24-31.htm>.

⁴⁰⁷. Carlos Ripoll, *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 18, 491.

⁴⁰⁹ José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 7, 208.

expressed that “it is worth ordering the book, because its pages are full of wit and originality.”⁴¹⁰ The fact that Martí strongly recommended the reading of the volume as well suggests that he had not only read it but also enjoyed it. Consequently, it is highly plausible that he knew that, on referring to Scottish sepulchres, in the initial pages of the book, Ramsay quoted “the account given by Sir W. Scott, in *Guy Mannering*, of an Edinburgh burial-place:”

This was a square enclosure in the Greyfriars’ Church yard, guarded on one side by a veteran angel without a nose, and having only one wing, who had the merit of having maintained his post for a century, while his comrade cherub, who had stood sentinel on the corresponding pedestal, lay a broken trunk, among the hemlock, burdock, and **nettles** which grew in gigantic luxuriance around the walls of the mausoleum.⁴¹¹

Just as in the Bible, the term is used here to denote laziness, procrastination, apathy, indolence and idleness. But this would not be the only mention of the plant in Ramsay’s book. He also combined “nettles” with “thistles,” and on reading the volume, Martí might have also found out that

there was a good deal both of the pawky and the canny in the following anecdote, which I have from an honoured lady of the south of Scotland: — There was an old man who always rode a donkey to his work, and tethered him while he worked on the roads, or wherever else it might be. It was suggested to him by my grandfather that he was suspected of putting it in to feed in the fields at other people’s expense. ‘Eh, laird, I could never be tempted to do that; for my cuddy winna eat onything but **nettles** and **thristles**.’ One day my grandfather was riding along the road, when he saw Andrew Leslie at work, and his donkey up to the knees in one of his clover fields, feeding luxuriously. ‘Hollo! Andrew,’ said he; ‘I thought you told me your cuddy would eat nothing but **nettles** and **thistles**.’ ‘Ay,’ said he, ‘but he misbehaved the day; he nearly kicket me ower his head, sae I pat him in there just to punish him.’⁴¹²

The Borders anecdote, besides being full with the wit and originality Martí refers to when recommending the book, shows a fine humour tinted with local colour, which features, besides the “good deal both of the pawky and the canny,” make it a memorable piece. Both nettles and thistles appear twice in the anecdote. Given Martí’s fondness of Ramsay’s *Reminiscences* and the intrinsic values of the story, it

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 396.

⁴¹¹ Edward Bannerman Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861), 2-3.

⁴¹² Ibid., 179.

is highly probable that Martí may have “borrowed” Ramsay’s “nettles” and “thistles” to include them in his poem while reversing their order to foreground the Scottish symbol. In his 1928 *Poesías de José Martí* (Poetry by José Martí) compilation, Juan Marinello, one of the most highly regarded Cuban men of letters of his time, published the book using the expression “oruga” but added this footnote to the poem:

In the numerous transcriptions of these two stanzas of Martí we have read the seventh verse as it is seen here; but it seems beyond doubt that a mistake was made in taking it from the original manuscripts. This verse should have been written by Martí: ‘Neither thistle nor nettle I cultivate.’⁴¹³ (Translated by the author)

Marinello does not offer any grounds on which to consider “thistle-nettle” the right pair and therefore “nettle” the right variant, but he sounds very sure about the statement. As previously discussed, there are convincing reasons to hold his position: the term “oruga,” considering both semantic variants, does not make a good metaphorical resource to express hostility or enmity. While Martí knew and used the terms “cardo” and “ortiga,” and even included “ortigas” in a piece of poetry, there is no evidence in his *O. C.* that he may have ever used the term “oruga” to make reference to the plant. Even though he used it on referring to the animal, the allusion never entailed negative notions such as hostility or enmity. Phonetically, in the sequence “*cardo ni-ortiga cultivo*,” besides the combination of the sound |r| in postvocalic position, the alliteration of the sound combination |ti| occupies the positions of accented syllable in a line of dactylic meters, which device makes the verse much more musical than the originally printed. Therefore, contrary to what Argüelles states in his article, there are several reasons why most of the people believe that “oruga” is a mistake. They do not arbitrarily impose the “ortiga,” it simply makes sense while “oruga” does not. Furthermore, none of the numerous translations of “*Guantanamera*” into English features “arugula” in any of its variants. Instead, translators have to force a device half way between reformulation and adaptation to come up with “thorn” or any other suitable option. Such is the case of Tellechea’s rendition of the line: “Thistle nor thorn do I give:”⁴¹⁴ in which

⁴¹³. José Martí, *Poesías de José Martí: Estudio preliminar*, (La Habana: Cultural. S. A., 1929), 155

⁴¹⁴. José Martí, *Versos sencillos/Simple verses*, *ibid.*, 105.

“thorn,” in the target language, is by no means a semantic equivalent to the original-source “*oruga*.” This problem is not faced by versions featuring “thistle nor nettle.” Such is the case of Pete Seeger’s, one of the most famous, in which the line reads “I cultivate neither thistles nor nettles,”⁴¹⁵ or Sergio Endrigo’s version in Italian: “*Cardi né ortiche coltivo*.”⁴¹⁶ Consequently, if there is something imposed, as Argüelles states, it is not the “*ortiga*” but the contextual meaning of the words that should appear on the line to oppose the notion of affection and friendship expressed by means of the “white rose,” which requirement is not met by the quite beneficial arugula. Besides, so far nothing proves that Martí did not say “nettle” when he met with his friends or that he did not write it in the manuscript he delivered for publication as suggested by Marinello in his footnote to the poem. On recommending Ramsay’s book to his friend, Martí regretted not to have it at hand, which adds to the said values he conferred to the volume. However, something else makes Martí’s approach to Ramsay important: the fact that, in the same paragraph, before addressing the Scottish writer and recommending the *Reminiscences*, Martí refers to “the beauty of Scotland, which is my kind of people.”⁴¹⁷ This expression strongly suggests the significant impression Ramsay’s book had caused on him and endorses the henceforth widely documented statement that Ramsay was the source of the “thistle” and the “nettle” in Martí’s “Cultivo una rosa blanca.”

Taking into account that “Cultivo una rosa blanca” is Martí’s most famous poetical composition and “Guantanamera” is the most internationally famous Cuban song, the influence of Ramsay’s work on the creation of the composition, both in its literary and musical format, constitutes an important impact given the extraordinary effect of the foreign work on the receptor and beyond, even though Ramsay is only mentioned once, and wrongly, in Martí’s *O. C.* On admitting to the Scottish elements borrowed from Ramsay, this analysis provides a different reading of the poem in which the foreign terms find their origin and acquire sense, the piece being not entirely Cuban but, at some extent, a genuine fruit of the Scottish-literature reception.

⁴¹⁵ Pete Seeger, “Guantanamera,” *Letras*, accessed 23, May 2018, <https://www.lettras.com/pete-seeger/1359292/>.

⁴¹⁶ Sergio Endrigo, “La rosa blanca,” *Genius*, accessed 23, May 2018, <https://genius.com/Sergio-endrigo-la-rosa-bianca-lyrics>.

⁴¹⁷ *O. C.*, Volume 7, page 396

Edward Bannerman Ramsay has neither been related to the reception of Scottish literature abroad nor has Martí so far been credited for being a receptor-transmitter of Ramsay. Acknowledging the transatlantic repercussion of Ramsay's work through Martí's receptor-transmitter role will enlarge the map of Scottish-literature influence. The last section of this chapter deals with another impact of Scottish literature related to José Martí's work, which adds to his relevance in the reception of Scottish-literature.

“A Goldfinch Nest:” Martinian Vision of Scotland Through the Arts

Martí's engagement with the reception of Scottish literature is also related to his approach to a wide variety of extra-literary themes. Revisiting J. T. Shaw's words, “influence, to be meaningful, must be manifested in an intrinsic form, upon or within the literary works themselves.”⁴¹⁸ Among the forms in which influence may be shown, Shaw mentions “characters,” “themes,” “content,” “thought,” etc., presented by particular works. Among “the diverse and very heterogeneous study areas with which comparative literature has dealt,” Aurora Pimentel mentions “influences and sources,” “themes and motifs or thematology,” as well as the relationship between “literature and other arts.”⁴¹⁹ In Martí's works there are copious texts and references involving Scottish literature; however, his approach to Scottish authors and works is concomitant with his approach to a wide variety of themes related to Scotland, and including other arts, among them, painting, sculpture, music, dance and theatre. Addressing some of those themes as approached by Martí would cast light on how knowledgeable he was about them, how noteworthy the corresponding texts and references are, and how much they contributed not only to Martí's perception of Scotland and Scottishness, but also to Martí's prominence as a receptor and transmitter.

Based in Mexico as a journalist, in December 1875, young Martí started to write “A Visit to the Fine Arts Exhibition,” intended for *La Revista Universal*, and published in four issues, the last of which appeared on 8 January 1876, and is completely devoted to celebrating Santiago Rebull's famous canvas *The Death of*

⁴¹⁸ J. T. Shaw, *ibid.*, 66.

⁴¹⁹ Aurora Pimentel, “Qué es la literatura comparada y cómo se puede usar en la enseñanza de la literatura,” in *Anuario de Letras Modernas*, v. 4, 1988-1990, (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma), 1993.

Marat.⁴²⁰ Martí's article has been well received ever since by both the general audience and specialised critics. In this regard, Mexican scholar Justino Fernández García, in his essay "José Martí as an Art Critic," states that

it is a perfect piece of art criticism; in addition, it is written with a fervent enthusiasm that does not prevent it from having a balanced sense of measurement. It is here that Martí triumphed for the first time as a critic; later he would dedicate other excellent paragraphs to other works, but to none an essay so exact in its method, its form and its content, nor of such an extension.⁴²¹ (Translated by the author)

The characterisation offered by Fernández not only fairly assesses the piece but also accounts for its literary quality on referring to it as "an essay so exact in method," encompassing the thorough description of the painting and its expressive elements, the physical and psychological portrayal of the characters, and Martí's critical appraisal of the work. Given its artistic values and its success as a work of criticism, the article has been the object of numerous studies bearing methodological purposes as is the case of Fernández's article itself. Regarding Martí's article, Roberto Daniel Agramonte y Pichardo, an outstanding Cuban intellectual, has stated that "just as painter Rebull's, writer Martí's portrayal is also unsurpassed. In that thorough assessment of Rebull's canvas, Martí reveals himself as an in-depth critic of art interpreting history and biography."⁴²² The article, besides showcasing Martí's engagement with the painting, is also relevant for containing Martí's earliest reference to Scotland in his *O. C.* and providing what Agramonte refers to as "Marat's psychological autopsy."⁴²³

There was Marat, the doctor who never healed a nobleman, the beard hair of the Republic, pilgrim in Scotland, square seller in France, leader of confined people, perhaps wise, never crazy, always cruel. He wanted to be a monster, and he became one: he was as rude as frightening, but logical; centuries of slavery had to release such a man from their womb of chains. He had the hypocrisy of virtue, and even its concept; but he never had its value: not in vain his terrible name struggled without finding an outlet in Loubet's honest lips. Contrasted swirled roughly-bound muscles constituted his outer shape. As the central fire of the earth forces abrupt ruptures to the surface, so there must have

⁴²⁰. Not as famous as Jacques-Louis David's, but still one of the most remarkable pieces among the vast iconography generated by the death of the French politician.

⁴²¹. Justino Fernández García, "José Martí como crítico de arte," accessed July 3, 2017, <https://es.scribd.com/document/379486056/Jose-Marti-como-critico-de-arte-pdf>.

⁴²². Roberto Daniel Agramonte y Pichardo, *Las doctrinas educativas y políticas de Martí* (Estados Unidos de América: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1991), 538.

⁴²³. *Ibid.*

been in Marat an internal volcano that contracted and tended itself to the wrapper of that fatal man.⁴²⁴

The first significant element to notice in Martí's ekphrasis is his reference to both Marat's medical career and his sojourn in Scotland, generally omitted by critics and biographers in spite of this being a period of Marat's life highlighted by the attainment of a medical degree from the University of St Andrews and the publication of "The Chains of Slavery" (1774), his first political work bearing revolutionary ideas of social reform and criticism of the British government. The fact that Martí refers to Marat as "a pilgrim in Scotland" suggests Martí's awareness of Marat's presence in several places of the country. As to Marat's medical career, in their article "Doctor Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793) and His Time as a Physician in Great Britain," Silver and Weiner state that "Marat left no medical legacy and his related writings were forgotten for 100 years until the rediscovery of [...] two medical papers, which were eventually republished in 1892 at the instigation of James Bailey, the librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England."⁴²⁵ Given the fact that Martí's reference to Marat as a doctor was written long before 1892, the statement by Silver and Weiner cannot be taken as an absolute fact since the first element provided by Martí to characterize Marat is precisely his occupation as a doctor in Scotland, to which Martí—foregrounding the humane aspect and relegating the scientific side—adds what he considers to be the most essential aspect of Marat's medical legacy: the merit of having devoted his career to the neediest.

Posthumously, Marat's name and legacy have been perceived and approached by historians and writers in a markedly biased and polarised way. On one hand, some highlight Marat's dark side and find little or no merit in his life and work. Such is the case of Thomas Carlyle, one of the Scottish authors addressed by Martí, who, besides referring to Marat as "a large-headed dwarfish individual, of smoke-bleared aspect and blue lips," provides the following characterisation of Marat in his *History of the French Revolution*:

⁴²⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, Editorial Ciencias Sociales (Social Sciences Editorial House), Tomo (Volume) 6, pág. (page) 396, 1986, La Habana (Havana).

⁴²⁵. JR Silver, Weiner, M-F. "[Doctor Jean-Paul Marat \(1743-93\) and his time as a physician in Great Britain.](https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1a5e/cfa26faea9e9e8cb13ee6c8dd9bdd65398b2.pdf)" <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1a5e/cfa26faea9e9e8cb13ee6c8dd9bdd65398b2.pdf>, accessed 20 December, 2017.

Surely also, in some place not of honour, stands or sprawls up querulous, that he too, though short, may see, —one squalidest bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse-drugs: Jean Paul Marat of Neuchatel! O Marat, Renovator of Human Science, Lecturer on Optics; O thou remarkablest Horseleech, once in D'Artois' Stables, —as thy bleared soul looks forth, through thy bleared, dull-acrid, wo-stricken face, what sees it in all this? Any faintest light of hope; like dayspring after Nova-Zembla night? Or is it but blue sulphur-light, and spectres; woe, suspicion, revenge without end?⁴²⁶

Carlyle exerts his harsh criticism on Marat; however, it is not in the text where he mentions Marat's relationship with Scotland but in a footnote corresponding to Marat's name in the above quote. Carlyle succinctly expresses that “during a visit to Scotland he received the honorary degree of M.D. (St. Andrews),” a statement that excludes Marat's extended stay in Scotland. The only “positive” elements offered by Carlyle in his characterisation, “Renovator of Human Science” and “Lecturer on Optics,” far from adding to the reputation of the political leader, functions as a sarcastic means to degrade him. In comparison, the Martinian approach to Marat shows certain balance regarding positive and negative elements in Marat's life. In fact, it bears some of the same “balanced sense of measurement” Fernández García confers to the Martinian article. While admitting that the French activist can be regarded as a monster, Martí appeals to his leadership qualities, casts doubt on his wisdom and points out his sanity. And even regarding Marat's alleged monstrosity, Martí finds logic in it and justifies his behaviour by mentioning the historical context in which he lived while indirectly alluding to his *The Chains of Slavery*, with which work Martí seems to have been familiar. As hitherto discussed, Martí's earliest reference to Scotland is not related to Scottish literature but takes place in a piece of art criticism involving Jean-Paul Marat, a prominent personality who lived and graduated in Scotland even though his Scottish connections are not widely known. In his ekphrasis of Rebull's painting, *The Death of Marat*, Martí, unlike other authors, including Thomas Carlyle, fully associated Marat with Scotland and referred to his medical career, which topics, as stated before, have not been fully researched. Based on Rebull's painting, Martí, unlike Carlyle, provides a rather non-biased characterisation

⁴²⁶. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1902, 161.

of the French politician while addressing a Scotland-related fact through the plastic arts.

Martí's inclusion in *The Golden Age* of a Robert Burns portrait to illustrate his version of "Great Young Men," the third chapter of Samuel Smiles's *Life and Labour*, provides a peculiar case accounting for the relationship between literature and painting. The portrait's name is *Robert Burns*; nevertheless, Martí changed it to *Robert Burns, the Scottish poet*, in correspondence with his rendition of Smiles's piece as further on addressed. Regarding the piece, Herrera and Herrera, in *Las ilustraciones de La Edad de Oro de José Martí*, state that

the semi-profile portrait featuring Robert Burns tilted to his right, originally comes from the painting by his friend, the portraitist and famous landscape artist Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840) dated 1787. This painting inspired the drawing of Scottish portraitist Archibald Skirving (1749-1819) and at the same time was the basis for the well-known engraving by John Beugo (1759-1841), which originated a cluster of reproductions that adorn the works of the Scottish poet published by the Appleton house in 1873 and the ones that were repeatedly published in New York until 1889 by other publishing houses.⁴²⁷ (Translated by the author)

The note provides interesting information about the origin of the engraving in *The Golden Age*, to which should be added that the three artists involved, Nasmyth, Skirving and Beugo, are Scottish. Probably, Martí knew the history behind the engraving on including it in the children's literature magazine; however, the fact accounts not only for Martí's approach to Scottish painting but for his contribution to its promotion alongside literature. Given the transcendence of Martí's publication, both Smiles and Beugo shared the same fortune, which in a way is also extensive to Nasmyth, the original painter, and Skirving for his reproduction, both credited in the work cited.

Yet another Mexican painting prompted Martí's attention regarding a Scottish theme, better developed by Martí through the perspective of dance. In a letter to his friend Manuel Mercado, Martí mentions "the reproduction"⁴²⁸ of an extraordinary

⁴²⁷. Alejandro Herrera Moreno, Herrera Durán, Gretel. *Las ilustraciones de La Edad de Oro de José Martí*, (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Enrique Loynaz), 2019, 27.

⁴²⁸. The original canvas is *Mary, Queen of Scots and David Rizzio* (1870) presently at the Rotherham Art Gallery, in Sheffield, England, and was painted by English artist John Rogers Herbert (1810-1890), who distinguished himself as a precursor of Pre-Raphaelitism.

painting that features Mary Stuart falling in love with [David] Rizzio,⁴²⁹⁴³⁰ executed by Mexican painter Manuel Ocaranza Hidalgo. However, in Martí's *O. C.*, Mary Stuart is better represented through texts not related to painting but to dance. In a chronicle dated March 1882, Martí describes the dancing participants in a city celebration as "a fantastic parade of circus people led by robust girls dressed up as queens of Scotland,"⁴³¹ an implicit reference to Mary, Queen of Scots, who in her time, had been judged by Protestant reformer John Knox not only for dancing and dressing too elaborately but also for hearing Mass.⁴³² Despite Knox's rash comments on the Queen, her image has transcended history bearing the quality of a good dancer who liked to hold balls and wear fine dresses and jewels on those occasions. Most of Queen Mary's biographers have focused to some degree on describing her way of dressing without addressing the fact that it inspired costumes worn by dancers on the other side of the Atlantic many centuries later. Biographers particularly refer to the outfit she was wearing on the day of her execution, even though among their numerous descriptions there are some slightly different, such as the one asserting that "she shed her black cloak to reveal a red dress – the colour of martyrdom."⁴³³ Antonia Fraser, one of the most prestigious biographers of Mary Stuart, has referred to the appearance of the Queen on that day as

a tall and gracious woman, who at first sight seemed to be dressed entirely in black, save for the long white lace-edged veil which flowed down her back to the ground like a bride's and the white stiffened and peaked head-dress that too was edged with lace, below which gleamed her auburn hair. Her satin dress was all in black, embroidered with black velvet, and set with black acorn buttons of jet trimmed with pearl; but through the slashed sleeves could be seen inner sleeves of purple, and although her shoes of Spanish leather were black, her stockings were clocked and edged with silver, her garters were of green silk, and her petticoat was of crimson velvet.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁹. The Italian courtier who became Queen Mary's private secretary and was stabbed to death by Lord Darnley and his friends in her presence for having supposedly left the Queen pregnant.

⁴³⁰. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 20, 33.

⁴³¹. *Ibid.*, v. 9, 278.

⁴³². According to his own account, Knox himself warned the Queen about those who are "more exercised in fiddling and flinging than in reading or hearing God's most blessed Word." In Knox, John *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland*, (London: Andrew Melrose, 1905), 256.

⁴³³. Natalie Mears, "Mary, Queen of Scots," accessed 20 January, 2018, https://www.gale.com/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/intl-gps/intl-gps-essays/full-ghn-contextual-essays/gps_essay_spo16_2_mears1_website.pdf.

⁴³⁴. Antonia Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, (London: Phoenix Press) p. 667.

This kind of description might shed some light on why her attires transcended in dance, and why Martí made several references to the Queen in contexts involving dance. In a New York chronicle, written in 1883, Martí features an inaugural ball in a palace on 5th Avenue. On addressing the dancers and their costumes, he expresses his admiration about “how friendly Mary Stuart, who is Christina Nilsson this time, walks with Elizabeth of England while happily laughing!”⁴³⁵ an ironic reference to the fact that, according to some historians, after being presumably involved in the assassination of her husband Lord Darnley, Queen Mary had managed to leave for England, where her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I, rather than supporting her, kept her in prison for eighteen years, during which time Mary Stuart allegedly plotted to eliminate Elizabeth, a rivalry that ended up with Mary’s execution. In Martí’s *O. C.* there are still other approaches⁴³⁶ to Queen Mary and her costumes, so requested at that time that they were available in shops. Martí’s references, furthermore, reveal that, over three hundred years after her death, Queen Mary and her attires had transcended in dance on the other side of the Atlantic, a fact that prompted Martí’s attention several times and, notwithstanding, is not mentioned in any of the numerous biographies of Mary Stuart so far consulted, hence the importance of the Martinian texts addressed besides showing Martí’s approach to themes involving Scottish arts other than literature.

In 1882, Martí wrote a note on William Brodie for the “Sección Constante” of *La Opinión Nacional*. The aim was to pay due homage to the artist on his death:

Brodie, Scottish sculptor, prominent in his art, has died; Brodie was a poor worker, and he spent his dark life removing and installing water and gas pipes. He did his wonders alone, and went with them, and with his head full of golden birds, to Edinburgh. Soon all the birds had black wings. His art went slowly. A friend found him disconsolate one day and heard him say bitterly: Great art

⁴³⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 9, 395.

⁴³⁶. Another Martinian chronicle involving an inaugural ball and a Mary Stuart costume, written in 1889, reproduces a note published by *The Herald* announcing that Benjamin Harrison, who shortly thereafter would become the 23rd president of the United States, would finally attend the ball, “although his Methodist Church, of which he is a great pillar, prohibits dancing as a major sin and concealed prostitution,” (José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 142.) which attitude seems not to have changed so much since Knox’s times. Martí adds that Harrison’s wife would also attend the ball while emphasising that the lady would not be wearing a low-cut dress, then he quotes a mocking pastor of a rival sect saying that “it would be fine, if the lady wore a dress like Mary Stuart’s because it is the highest known so far,” which punny expression can be understood as a sarcastic allusion to the “Her Highness” title, lady Harrison’s social position and the price of the attire. The note yet provides more details about Harrison’s wife wishing not to be sighted by the press while buying her dresses or being compared to “the one of walnut eyes that even dead seduce, Mary Stuart,” a synthetic portrayal of the Queen.

will take me, my wife and my children into misery! Let's go back to the pipes. But his wife, full of energy, said: "Hey! You're a coward! You will be a great man, William, if you do not lose heart. You take care of your figures, that I will take care of you, the children and me, and I will do it so that we do not see ourselves in need. But William shook his head sadly. The day after, everything had changed, and Brodie's head was again a goldfinch nest. A rich merchant had sent the sculptor enough money for him to study in Rome for two years, and promised to take care of his family. This was done, and Brodie returned from Rome already famous."⁴³⁷ (Translated by the author)

The first relevant aspect is that Martí perceived Brodie as a Scots even though, at the peak of his career, he was commissioned numerous important monuments that found their way all over Britain and reached as far as Canada. Due to the brevity demanded by a journalistic note, Martí is compelled to synthesise Brodie's early life by addressing his poverty, his devotion to work, and the artistic dreams that would take him to Edinburgh. Thus, Martí is prevented from saying that before reaching the big city, Brodie, who was born at Banff, a coastal village of Aberdeenshire c. 1821, had moved with his family to Aberdeen, where he served an apprenticeship before being employed as a plumber at the Broadford Works, a period Martí dramatically refers to as "his dark life removing and installing water and gas pipes." However, Brodie also managed to attend the Aberdeen Mechanics Institute where his vocation started to consolidate while modelling miniature busts and portrait medallions in wax and clay, materials he furtherly substituted for lead in order to cast portraits of renowned figures, the "wonders" Martí mentions. Brodie was also instructed in drawing and oil painting. His 1846 Aberdeen exhibition of wax medallions paved the way for his further moving to Edinburgh, where he learned large-scale modelling and portrait-bust carving. The scant information there is about Brodie in general and in this stage of his life in particular, only mentions the highlights of his career as is the case of *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*,⁴³⁸ where memberships and exhibitions are mentioned. No sources have been found, however, casting light on his personal circumstances between 1847 and 1852, in which period, according to Martí's poetical

⁴³⁷. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 23, 153.

⁴³⁸. The Henry Moore Foundation, *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*, accessed 20 January, 2017, http://liberty.henry-moore.org/henrymoore/sculptor/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=322&from_list=true&x=0.

expression “all the birds had black wings.” The anonymous friend who, according to Martí’s story, came across Brodie and overheard his complains might well have been Hall Burton, who introduced Brodie to the rich merchant and philanthropist mentioned by Martí, James Buchanan from Glasgow, who financed Brodie’s journey to Rome in 1853. According to *Who made the Scottish Enlightenment?*,⁴³⁹ “Brodie’s work is better known than his name,” which also applies to his life. The statement can partially be explained by the fact that his biography has not yet been properly written and there are only some biographical sketches based on very common information. In this regard, Martí’s note differs from the rest of the materials so far consulted in that it provides voices: both Brodie and his wife Helen Chisholm, an amateur painter whom he married in 1841, are engaged in a credible dialogue that not only reflects crucial moments of their lives but also makes the reader perceive them as real people, which effect might be taken as the starting point to recreate Brodie’s life from a cinematographic or literary perspective. Furthermore, Martí provides a psychological characterisation of each member of the couple: a disconsolate, sad, hesitant, pessimist, dreamer and occasionally euphoric Brodie, and an outspoken, energetic, persuasive, optimist, supporting, dedicated, loving and reflexive Helen, which makes good art material to shape both characters in their respective protagonist and antagonist roles, a work that yet needs to be done given the relevance attained by Brodie, especially after his return from Rome, where he had studied under the Scottish master Lawrence MacDonald. Probably, because of the limited space the section of the Venezuelan newspaper, Martí did not make reference to the subsequent stage of Brodie’s life, when he established his studio in Edinburgh and specialised in architectural and monumental sculpture as well as in portrait busts. Since then, the city cemeteries started to lodge magnificent pieces still admired. Perhaps the most celebrated of his works are the statues of *Greyfriars’s Bobby*, in Edinburgh, and the *Moffat Ram*, which has become the symbol of that Scottish town. Brodie’s largest work, however, is the Buchanan Memorial, at the Dean Cemetery. The note not only pays a heartfelt tribute to Brodie, but shows Martí’s knowledge about the Scottish sculptor and constitutes an instance of Martí’s

⁴³⁹. Colin Russell: *Who Made the Scottish Enlightenment: A Personal, Biographical and Analytical Enquiry*, (United States of America: Xlibris), 2014, 153.

engagement with a non-literary Scottish theme as is the furtherly addressed case involving several scenic arts.

“Coney Island,” a New York Chronicle, is a remarkable fresco of the seaside resort located in the south-western side of Brooklyn and crowded with numerous amusement parks. On depicting the place, Martí mentions “the grimaces and cries of black minstrels,” a direct allusion to the fusion of British opera with the music originated in the southern plantations, being its most distinguishable feature the performance of white actors with their faces painted black to render their songs and dances on stage while imitating black people in a supposedly humorous way. Regarding the Coney Island minstrels, Martí said that their grimaces and cries “should not be –Oh!– like those of the minstrels in Scotland,”⁴⁴⁰ which expression provides grounds to consider that Martí was familiar with the cultural tradition of minstrelsy as documented by several music historians such as Henry George Farmer in his *Music in Medieval Scotland*⁴⁴¹ and *A History of Music in Scotland*.⁴⁴² Furthermore, in a letter addressed to José Joaquín Palma in 1882, Martí mentions the country again to say that the Cuban poet would have been “a skald in Scotland,” in a context where the term, of Scandinavian origin, is synonymous with “makar” or “minstrel.” Besides being familiar with Scott’s *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*, most probably Martí was also familiar with black minstrelsy in Scotland, a phenomenon that had started early in 1839, when Thomas “Daddy” Rice, the so-called “Father of American Minstrels,” made his first appearance on stage at the Adelphi Theatre in Edinburgh. Martí’s reference to Scottish minstrels, addressing them as a paradigmatic point of comparison, indicates that he was acquainted with the artistic tradition.

Not all Martinian texts and references involving Scottish art were complimentary. In an 1890 chronicle intended for *La Nación*, Martí states that “even yesterday, people would say that there is not such a pianist as Eugen d’Albert,”⁴⁴³ who

⁴⁴⁰. José Martí, O. C., v.9, 125.

⁴⁴¹. Henry George Farmer, *Music in Medieval Scotland*, (London: Hinrichson Edition Ltd.), 1930.

⁴⁴². Ibid, *A History of Music in Scotland*. (London: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.), 1947.

⁴⁴³. Scottish musician Eugen Francis Charles d’Albert had been born in Glasgow in 1864 and besides being an outstanding pianist, authored over 20 operas, two piano concerti and several orchestral works, and is well remembered for the critical editions he made of works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Ludwig Van Beethoven.

was born in Scotland and wants to be regarded as German.”⁴⁴⁴ What prompts Martí’s attention, besides the success of the pianist, is the rejection of his original nationality. It is widely known that D’Albert publicly belittled his British ascent and formation and even changed his first name from Eugene to Eugen, its German form. In 1888, *The Times* published that D’Albert “was born and educated in England, and won his earliest successes in England, although, in a freak of boyish impetuosity, he repudiated some years ago all connexion with this country, where, according to his own account, he was born by mere accident and where he learnt nothing.”⁴⁴⁵ Later in his life, D’Albert seems to have changed his mind on declaring that “the former prejudice which I had against England, which several incidents aroused, has completely vanished since many years.”⁴⁴⁶ Martí’s remark about D’Albert’s nationality is more precise than what was published by the press, which shows how knowledgeable he was about the life and work of the pianist. The possible motivation behind Martí’s comment about D’Albert’s nationality issues might lay in the fact that until then Martí had devoted his life to fight for his nation. His fervent love for Cuba is present in his earliest verses where he expressed that

The love, mother, for the homeland
Is not the absurd love for the soil,
Nor for the grass we trample upon,
It is the invincible hate for those who oppresses it,
It is the eternal rancour for those who attack it;⁴⁴⁷

Thus, from the Martinian perspective, there is no reason why D’Albert should repudiate his nation, being Scotland a country with which Martí was already deeply identified. Although Martí’s approach to D’Albert shows that neither the musician was “his kind of people,” still shows his engagement with Scottish topics other than literature.

As previously analysed, within Martí’s literary works, along with his approach to Scottish writers, there are numerous texts and references related to a variety of themes involving arts in relation to Scotland as well as Scottish art as such. The texts

⁴⁴⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 13, 457.

⁴⁴⁵. *The Times*, 25 May 1886, p. 10

⁴⁴⁶. *The Musical Times*, v. 45, no. 741, 1 November 1904, 697-700.

⁴⁴⁷. Yvonne M. Conde, *Operation Pedro Pan; the Untold Exodus of 14,048 Cuban Children*, New York and London: Routledge, 1999, 199.

and references not only show Martí's wide knowledge about the topics addressed but also how much his approach can contribute to either current studies or others still to be deepened as is the case of Marat's stay in Scotland, the influence of Mary Stuart on dancing in the United States during the nineteenth century or the biography of William Brodie. The variety of texts and references so far addressed, besides constituting non-literary influence of Scottish elements on Martí, also account for his wide perception of Scotland and Scottish themes alongside literature, a feature not present in the works of other previous or contemporary receptors, which, together with his relationship with preceding and contemporary receptors and his intellectual facets addressed in Appendix 2, adds to Martí's prominence in the Scottish-literature Reception.

“My Kind of People:” an Influence Study

Since “influence study can be particularly interesting when it can be traced through an author's development,”⁴⁴⁸ this section explores the *American Lessons*, Martí's first reading containing a Scottish component as well as some topics, such as Africa and its exploration, the Africans, and the transatlantic slave trade, which are distorted or purposely omitted in this text, the same silencing strategy followed by Scottish writers and historians as subsequently analysed. Besides the positive influence reflected in the direct borrowing of ideas as well as the imitation of patterns and structures from the *Lessons*, the section also discusses the effect of this early reading on Martí's subsequent writings, especially on *The Golden Age*, containing, just as the *Lessons*, a Scottish component, and likewise, reference to the same issues related to Africa but from Martí's contrastive and mature perspective, which, in terms of comparative literature, is referred to as “negative influence,” a term coined by Anna Balakian and defined as “an author impressed by a system of thought in a predecessor which repels him in part and causes him to repudiate it at the same time that he is imitating it.”⁴⁴⁹ The expression has also been approached by Manas Sinha as denoting “an instance where a work is written as an antidote to the bad influence of an earlier

⁴⁴⁸ J. T. Shaw, *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴⁴⁹ A. Owen Aldridge, Anna Balakian, Claudio Guillén, and Wolfgang Bernard Fleischmann, “The Concept of Influence in Comparative Literature: A Symposium,” Penn State University Press, accessed February 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40245620>.

work.”⁴⁵⁰ The expression is used in this section in the same regard the aforementioned authors use it.

Influence, as widely known, does not necessarily have to be literary. According to Remak’s already quoted words, “Comparative Literature has an ideology of inclusion of the Other, be that a marginal literature in its several meanings of marginality, a genre, various text types, etc.” Even though the *Lessons* could be regarded as a schoolroom primer and not as an outstanding literary work or a significant historical source in its own right, the comprehensive character of comparative literature makes this text relevant. Besides, the authorship of the pieces compiled in the *Lessons*, makes the volume stand out of the ordinary. Although Eliza Robbins, who revised and corrected the *Lessons*, is the recognised author, the credits confirm that the content was “chiefly selected from the writings of Mrs. Barbault, Miss Edgeworth,⁴⁵¹ and other approved writers,” the mentions corresponding to two of the most prominent British authors of children’s literature: Anna Laetitia Barbault, a poet, literary essayist, critic and editor, and Maria Edgeworth, widely regarded as Walter Scott’s “accomplished friend” whose influence Scott himself acknowledges in his “General Preface to The Waverley Novels,”⁴⁵² the fact adding interest to the analysis of the volume. However, the *Lessons* is central to this analysis because of the great influential role it played in the creation of Martí’s *Gloden Age*. It can be asserted that the latter was written after the former, Martí’s volume being the conveyor of one of the most significant impacts of Scottish literature not only on Cuban literature but also on Cuban culture and identity. According to Aleksander Wat,

literature by its very nature, to be brutally frank, is plagiaristic. [...] Writers, at least contemporary writers, are recruited from among youthful, passionate readers: memory at that age is tenacious and the impression made on the young mind by one book or another is often stronger, deeper, and more enduring than one’s own feelings. Originality is often, if not always, a rebellion against a model, its negation or polarity. This negative influence, more powerful than

⁴⁵⁰. Manas Sinha, “Literary Influence: A Pivotal Aspect in the Domain of Comparative Literature,” *Pal Arch*, accessed March 2021, <https://archives.palarch.nl/index.php/jae/article/view/7117>.

⁴⁵¹. An approach to both writers can be found in “Maria Edgeworth and Anna Letitia Barbault: Print, Canons, and Female Literary Authority” by Aileen Douglas in *European Romantic Review*, v. 31, 2020 - Issue 6. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10509585.2020.1831084?journalCode=gerr20>.

⁴⁵². Walter Scott, *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Hence, Complete*, accessed 20 September 2020, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5998/5998-h/5998-h.htm>.

positive, generally escapes the attention of specialists in the study of influence. But for a scholar who wishes to know and present the internal mechanics of a work, establishing dependence and kinship is as indispensable as is setting the magnetic azimuth for a watchmaker.⁴⁵³

Therefore, our interest in setting forth the internal mechanics of the *Golden Age* as heavily related to and dependent on the *Lessons*. Taking into account that the *Lessons* was Martí's boyhood reading, and just one of many texts he would have encountered that shaped his thinking about race, empire and Scotland, one could preliminarily discard the effect of this schoolroom text on mature Martí's views and opinions. Neither could an analysis be premised only on the positive influence of this schoolroom text on Martí's advanced views and opinions. However, the *Lessons* exerted a decisive negative influence on Martí's own literary response to the aforementioned topics in the 1880s. To start with, it is possible to prove that, while creating *The Golden Age*, Martí was not only rereading the *Lessons* but borrowing material wholesale from it. That simultaneous reading gave him the possibility to address, from an already established critical viewpoint, the ideas he might have failed to repel as a young man, so this is the case of an "updated negative influence" even though the term has not yet been coined. Concerning influence, as previously mentioned, "everything in this area seems to be tentative, and even contestable," as already mentioned, nevertheless, direct borrowings, as most comparatists agree, constitute irrefutable samples of evidence. This influence analysis is aimed at revealing the origin of Martí's engagement with Scotland, his vision of the Scots, and some iconic elements of Scottish culture in a time when the reception of Scottish literature had almost faded away, and the main Cuban receptors had already passed. Attention will also be paid to transatlantic topics and their treatment in the *Lessons* as compared to Martí's mature approach to them in *The Golden Age*. The analysis also adds to the notion that Martí's engagement with Scottish literary culture is not an isolated spontaneous phenomenon.

In 1882, reminiscing about his early student life under his teacher Mendive, Martí recalls, "sixteen years ago, at thirteen, I would handle the *American Popular*

⁴⁵³. A. Wat, *Dziennik bez samogłosek. Pisma wybrane* (Diary Without Vowels. Selected Writings), vol. II, K. Rutkowski, ed., London 1986, 111.

Lessons with certain easiness, and tried the translation of *Hamlet*.”⁴⁵⁴ The statement, besides marking Martí’s commencement in the translation field, is noteworthy in relation to his initial engagement with Scottish culture. The *American Popular Lessons*⁴⁵⁵ was a compilation of readings “designed particularly for the younger classes of children in schools,” and covered a wide variety of topics such as history, science, religion and society. In Cuba, given the attention paid to the teaching of foreign languages and literatures, the volume was used as a textbook for the teaching of English.

Although a great many sections in the *Lessons* deal with different countries, or men of different countries, there is one section specifically named “Men of Different Countries,” which trend not only constitutes one of the main features of the volume but the one from which Martí extracted the most to create his works, especially, *The Golden Age* as subsequently analysed. Among the numerous peoples and nationalities comprised by “Men of Different Countries,” the first place remarkably corresponds to “Highlander,” the priority positively contributing to the impression of the young reader. Under the subtitle, it is explained that

the people in the north of Scotland are called Highlanders. They wear woollen clothes of many colours, called Scotch plaid, and caps or bonnets on their heads. They work hard, and are very honest. The south part of Scotland is called the Low-lands. Edinburgh is a city of Scotland—Glasgow is another city. Edinburgh has a university. The language used in Scotland is a little different from English. In Scotland, almost all over the country, there are schools for the instruction of poor people.⁴⁵⁶

Despite the title, and being introduced by the engraving of a Highlander in his traditional costume, the text is not only about Highlanders but about Scotland in general. Significantly, no reference is made to clan rivalries or clearances; neither the story is told of how Edinburgh and Glasgow became flourishing cities; notwithstanding, this text so far constitutes the first identified source of Martí’s acquaintance with the region, the country, the cities and the iconic elements mentioned. *La biblioteca de José Martí* (José Martí’s library),⁴⁵⁷ a compilation of titles

⁴⁵⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 22, 285.

⁴⁵⁵. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829.

⁴⁵⁶. Eliza Robbins, *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁵⁷. *José Martí en República Dominicana*, Departamento de la Fundación Cultural Enrique Loynaz en Santo Domingo, “La biblioteca de José Martí,” accessed April 2021,

and authors corresponding to books Martí owned, mentioned or alluded, account for the uniqueness, in Martí's early life and beyond, of a text like this one containing a Scottish element and dealing with transatlantic issues involving the exploration of Africa, the Africans, and black slavery. This circumstance favours the standpoint of the influential role of the *Lessons*. Long after this early reading, Martí would refer to both the plaid and the cap as representative Scottish symbols in his *Chronicles*. On dealing with the social and political situation of the United States in 1887, he describes how "men of different countries" get together to make up a new "Babel" where they understand each other, a world where "races, creeds, and languages are confused, (...) the Scotch plaid and the Italian handkerchief boil together, the false and tyrannical differences that have kept men apart melt, liquefy, and evaporate, and what is in them of justice accumulates and accentuates,"⁴⁵⁸ a statement where the metonymic object associated with the Highlanders not only embellishes the message with its poetical touch but also amplifies the emblematic value it bears while placing Scots and Italians in a representative position regarding the rest of the "mixture." Two years later, in "El centenario americano" (the American centennial), Martí again describes the city and its "French with helmets and pennants, its Irish with clover in their hats, its Scots with cap and legs in the air...,"⁴⁵⁹ a reference where both tangible iconic items are present; the cap is explicitly mentioned while the Scotch plaid is implicitly included by means of the allusion to the naked legs. From an influence viewpoint, the fact that in his writings Martí does not use any other distinguishing elements on depicting the Scots suggests that the ones grasped from the *Lessons* had a long-term effect in his memory and reflected in his writings.

Albeit the analysed section only refers to Highlanders and features them as "hard workers and very honest," in his works, Martí incorporates a broader though disperse characterisation entailing them as well as the rest of the Scottish people, especially the Scottish diaspora in the United States. In Martí's works, there is a marked tendency to represent not only "these 'Van' from Holland, and 'O' from

<https://www.laedaddeorodejosemarti.com/labibliotecadejosemarti.htm>

⁴⁵⁸. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 11, 172.

⁴⁵⁹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 223.

Ireland, and ‘Mac’ from Scotland,”⁴⁶⁰ but all the national groups taking part in the inception and consolidation of the United States. In his purpose, Martí goes beyond depicting the Scots in their distinctive plaids and caps and places them in different spaces and contexts to make them visible participants. In a speech given at the Hispano-American Literary Society, and addressing the origins of the United States, Martí recalls that

some bring on their ship a batch of blacks to sell, or a fanatic who burns witches, or a governor who does not want to hear about schools; what the ships bring is people from universities and from the arts, mystical Swedes, fervent Germans, Huguenot French, proud Scots, economical Dutch; they bring ploughs, seeds, looms, harps, psalms, books.⁴⁶¹ (Translated by the author)

Although the oral variant of his discourse makes it appear somehow scattered, relevant elements remain clear. Martí re-creates history just as it took place: for centuries, black slaves were brought from Africa into the United States and became a significant component in the shaping of the nation just as the rest of the groups mentioned. The foregrounded reference to the slave trade overcomes the complicit silence of the *Lessons* as subsequently discussed. On describing the Scots, the attributive “proud” might stand for Martí’s awareness of the long history of struggle and nationalism undergone by the Scottish people. Needless to say, some of the imported items on the list can be easily associated with the Scots. Mentioning them hand in hand with other peoples, as seen before, is not mere coincidence but a very well defined purpose to represent them as discussed below.

In one of Martí’s most celebrated chronicles, “El puente de Brooklyn” (the Brooklyn bridge), he describes the inauguration of the hanging pathway attended by “sharply profiled Hebrews with eager eyes, cheerful Irish, fleshy and tough Germans, rosy and robust Scots, beautiful Hungarians, magnificent blacks, burning-eyed Russians, red-haired Norwegians, elegant Japanese, spindly and indifferent Chinese.”⁴⁶² Even though the Scots are described only in their physical appearance, the adjectives used to depict them also connote “tenderness” and “strength” in Spanish. The blacks, however, are not assigned any specific nationality, which would have been

⁴⁶⁰. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 32.

⁴⁶¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 5, 135.

⁴⁶². José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 9, 424.

impossible for Martí. It is known they had been originally brought in enslavement from several nations of the African continent, and Martí knew very well that “African” was not a specific nationality, which the *Lessons* seemingly did not as further on addressed. In Martí’s *Chronicles*, Scots are represented both in particular local contexts, as that of the bridge’s inauguration, and in the national scenario:

This enormous factory, this republic with such cities that, more than cities, seem nations, is explained as a very clear event when in the august mornings of silent Sundays, one sees the beautiful Swedes, the thoughtful Germans, the majestic Scots, arriving to the same park where Washington said goodbye to his triumphant officers.⁴⁶³ (Translated by the author)

The “enormous factory” metaphor corresponds to the demographic growth and industrial development reached by the new nation, whereas the allusion to Washington, to whom Martí frequently refers to as “the father,” between quotation marks, as if casting doubt on his integrity, invokes the then recent times of plundering and slavery in which Washington himself, as widely known, was a ruthless slave owner who never showed any moral qualms regarding the social system, in contrast with another reality shared by the Scots ingrained in the new economic and social fabric of the nation. However, progress is not always synonymous with social justice, therefore, in a different context, with no attributes at all, Martí expresses that

this mixture of Irish, Scots, Germans, Swedes, people who eat meat and drink beer, and have Atlantic backs and hands, goes fast and without bridles, with no other bridles than those of their fear or instinct of self-preservation, to conquer what they believe to be theirs: their right to a greater share in the products of a wealth of which they consider themselves the main factor, not the main beneficiary,⁴⁶⁴ (Translated by the author)

This time “the mixture” is attending “The Great Strikes in the United States,”⁴⁶⁵ which scenery positions the Scots, together with the other “men of different countries,” aware of the exploitation to which they are subject, actively engaged in a struggle for equality and wellbeing that would eventually lead to the Haymarket Riot. Besides this general characterisation entailing their eating and drinking habits, the “Atlantic backs and hands,” and their historic determination to fight for their rights, in Martí’s appreciation,

⁴⁶³. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 11, 267.

⁴⁶⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, v.10, 412.

⁴⁶⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v.10, 401.

Scots, as previously seen, are also deemed “proud,” “rosy,” “robust” and “majestic.” Individual references in Martí’s *O. C.* also describe them as “good,” “pure,” “elegant,” “tenacious,” “romantic,” “stubborn,” and, of course, “brave,” among other attributes. “The Scots ramble the world on foot”⁴⁶⁶ is perhaps the most enigmatic characterisation. With some probability, it alludes the 71st Regiment of Foot, an infantry body best known as Fraser’s Highlanders, raised in 1775 during the American Revolutionary War.

But this does not mean that all Scots in Martí’s works are uplifting figures, and we can see a number of negative Scottish connections in his writing and experience. Allan J. Pinkerton,⁴⁶⁷ the detective and spy from Glasgow, and Thomas Cochrane,⁴⁶⁸ the mercenary and radical politician from Annsfield, constitute germane instances. Pinkerton, hired by the Spanish Government, heavily persecuted Martí for his political activities⁴⁶⁹ while organizing the Independence War against Spain in New York. Pinkerton also played an infamous role in the bloody repression of the Haymarket Riot, carried out, as Martí himself reports, by striking “men of different countries,” including the ones in plaid and cap. Cochrane, though praised for having assisted several Latin American nations in their struggle for independence from Spain, is ultimately criticised by Martí for having abandoned San Martín in a critical moment of his international emancipatory campaign.⁴⁷⁰ Regarding the allusion to the language difference in “Highlander” as another characterising Scottish element, Martí demonstrates his awareness of it on praising German poet Johann Peter Hebel for being “a dialectal poet like Burns.”⁴⁷¹ Even though a positive general characterisation of the Scottish people can be drawn from Martí’s works, not all Scots were his “kind of

⁴⁶⁶. José Martí, *O. C.*, v.11, 274.

⁴⁶⁷. Allan J. Pinkerton (25 August 1819-1 July 1884) is best known for founding the Pinkerton National Detective Agency; nevertheless, he seems to have written over twenty detective books based on the experiences of his agents and his own. Although a great many critics consider the volumes to be the product of ghost-writers with the objective of promoting the detective agency, Allan Pinkerton is the author acknowledged in all the publications.

⁴⁶⁸. Abundant information on the life of Thomas Cochrane can be found in “*The Autobiography of a Seaman*” by Thomas Cochrane, 1861; *Cochrane. Britannia’s Last Sea King* by Donald Thomas, 1978, and in *Cochrane the Dauntless. The Life and Adventures of Thomas Cochrane* by David Cordingly, 2007.

⁴⁶⁹. The espionage activities of the Pinkerton Agency on Martí are well documented in Paul Estrade, “La Pinkerton contra Martí,” *CEM*, Yearbook no. 1, 1978, 207 -211, and in Nydia Sarabia, “El plan de Fernandina y los espías del diablo,” *ibid*, Yearbook no. 5, 1982, 201-209.

⁴⁷⁰. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 8, 233.

⁴⁷¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 112.

people,” which withdraws him from having had an idealised vision of Scotland and the Scots. Since the *Lessons* also mentions “the Scotch thistle”⁴⁷² as a national symbol, it must have been Martí’s first contact with an element that, incorporated in his writing, would be subsequently lodged in the core of Cuban culture and identity as further on discussed.

To conclude the analysis of “Highlander,” it must be said that for Martí, the poor boy whose studies could not be sponsored by his parents, coming across the idea that “in Scotland, almost all over the country, there are schools for the instruction of poor people,” must have been a staggering life-changing experience. The educational efforts in colonial and post-colonial Cuba never reached that level. As previously mentioned, that Scottish endeavour, mainly based on the implementation of monitors, had been first-hand experienced by Luz y Caballero on his visit to educationist John Wood in Edinburgh, which was followed by the application by Luz of Wood’s educational method in Cuba to favour those lacking access to instruction. The fact that Mendive, Martí’s teacher, was one of Luz’s closest disciples, strongly suggests that young Martí not only benefitted from the Scottish educational method, but also from Mendive’s acquired disposition to facilitate the instruction of poor people, including young Martí whose studies Mendive graciously sponsored. Thus, the education of the disadvantaged became the main target in Martí’s social project involving the geographical region he called “Our America.” “To be educated to be free” is perhaps his best known aphorism, and *The Golden Age*, with its Scottish component, just as the *Lessons*, has been one of his most far-reaching educational projects.

“African,” the next relevant subtitle under “Men of Different Countries,” is introduced by an engrave of a black man holding an elephant tusk exceeding his size. The text, slightly shorter than “Highlander,” explains that

the African in the print is very black; he lives in a hot country and goes almost without clothes; he has in his hand the tusk of an elephant. The people who live on the Mediterranean in the north of Africa, are not black like the people in the other parts of Africa. The people of Guinea are negroes. They collect gold and sell it; they sell elephants’ teeth also. Elephants’ teeth are called ivory. Knife handles, combs, and many very pretty things, are made of ivory.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷². Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 237.

⁴⁷³. Eliza Robbins, *Ibid.*, 231.

This segment, a master piece of reductionism where a whole continent is abridged into an undefined country, starts intensifying the degree of what is considered by the author a significant attribute, “black,” used to oppose the inhabitants of the North side of the continent to those of the rest, one of those “false and tyrannical differences” that, in Martí’s words, have kept men apart. The example provided to illustrate the “dissimilarity” is the people of Guinea, however, they are not regarded as “black” but as “negroes,” the difference between both terms being extremely complex, so much so that, in Cuba, “negro/negra” is widely used as a term of endearment indistinctly applied to people notwithstanding their skin colour; besides, in Spanish there is only one term for both the adjective and the noun, therefore Martí does not have a problem on using it. That complexity is corroborated by scholarly works such as “Black, Negro, or Afro-American?: The Differences Are Crucial!,”⁴⁷⁴ which assertion is proven through the discussion of a wide range of implicating factors such as the geographic and historic perspectives, which in turn makes it complex to confirm the real purpose of the author in “African.” However, taking into consideration that Guinea was one of the main sources of the transatlantic slave trade, it can be assumed that using the term “negroes” in this case was not a mere compositional means to avoid repetition, but a way of subtly admitting either their inferiority or the suitability of the Guinean people for enslavement. The rest of the text features them as “sellers” without making any references to the “buyers,” not to mention the unfair trade imposed by the latter on the former.

This kind of omissions, central to a distancing-silencing-hiding narrative strategy aiming at concealing the slavery past of several nations, has not gone unnoticed by current scholarly endeavours; in the case of Scotland, it has been dexterously addressed by Carla Sassi in her “Acts of (Un)willed Amnesia: Dis/appearing Figurations of the Caribbean in Post-Union Scottish Literature,” a comprehensive approach to the Scottish-Caribbean relations and their representation in historiographical and literary texts even though the author pays special attention to the nonrepresentation, that is, the silence zones that not only prevented history from

⁴⁷⁴. Halford H. Fairchild, “Black, Negro, or Afro-American? The Differences Are Crucial!” ResearchGate, accessed December 2020, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274367919_Black_Negro_or_Afro-American_The_Differences_Are_Crucial.

being thoroughly and honestly written but also deprived literature from its potential to fully reflect the epoch, which voids consequently affected the cultural memory of Scotland. This tendency is as well addressed by scholar Michael Morris in his article “Yonder awa” on slavery and the “distancing strategies in Scottish literature.” Morris’s analysis ponders that “the West Indies became removed from the mainstream of Scottish cultural memory,”⁴⁷⁵ which statement significantly applies to Cuba, so much so that, being the largest island in the Caribbean and heavily involved in the British slave trade, it is hardly mentioned in Scottish history or literature, which also explains why its presence is almost null in scholarly works. In *The Golden Age*, nevertheless, Martí gets rid of the obsolete idea of the African tusk traffickers and points out that “whole parties of European people are out hunting elephants in Africa.”^{476 477} Among the commonalities shared by the *Lessons* and *The Golden Age* showing the striking influence of one on the other, mention should be made of the fact that, besides making reference to elephants in other sections, as is the case of “African,” and Martí’s “La muñeca negra” (the black doll), both volumes devote a whole title to the topic. A comparative analysis of both texts reveals that, in 1889, Martí copied wholesale his “Cuentos de elefantes” (stories about elephants) from “Elephant” in the schoolroom reader published in 1829. Sixty years after the publication of the reader, by the time Martí was creating and borrowing for *The Golden Age*, he was also attentive to the statements of Scottish authors such as Henry Drummond whose vision of Africa and the Africans, to say the least, had not gone beyond that of the *Lessons*’ as further on analysed, and Martí was refuting those warped ideas from *The Golden Age*; therefore the relationship among the African topic in the *Lessons*, *The Golden Age*, and Martí’s engagement with Scottish writing and literary culture, both as a receptor and a re-transmitter.

⁴⁷⁵. Michael Morris, “Yonder Awa: Slavery and Distancing Strategies in Scottish Literature,” in Devine, T.M., ed. *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

⁴⁷⁶. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 489.

⁴⁷⁷. This was also happening at the time “An African” was written, happened as recently as in 2012 when King Juan Carlos of Spain apologised for his involvement in an elephant hunting in Botswana in the middle of an economic crisis in Spain, and will probably be happening until the species goes extinct.

In Martí's version, priority is given to the African topic. The correspondence between the texts⁴⁷⁸ shows from their initial statements: "In America have been found the bones of an animal called the mammoth; he was larger than the elephant,"⁴⁷⁹ "De África cuentan ahora muchas cosas extrañas, porque anda por allí la gente europea descubriendo el país, y los pueblos de Europa quieren mandar en aquella tierra rica."⁴⁸⁰ Both sentences start out foregrounding, by means of a stylistic inversion, the place where each story is set. From an influence viewpoint, the coincidental expressive means leave little room to chance. Thus, the *Lessons*'s story takes place in the United States while Martí's is set in Africa, being noticeable that, at the time of writing, Martí, ironically, was in the United States, the place where he decided not to set his story. The rest of the coincidences can be seen in Appendix 3 containing the source and the target text while allowing their collation through a translation of Martí's version provided by the author. In his "Cuentos," Martí firstly addresses the exploration of Africa and the hegemonic intentions of the European nations, which corroborates both the influence of the *Lessons* and his special interest in Africa, "that rich land, where the warmth of the sun grows plants for essence and food, and others that give fibres for making cloth, and there is gold and diamonds, and elephants that are a wealth, because the ivory of their tusks is sold at a great price all over the world."⁴⁸¹ The description aims at providing the main reason why Europeans want to get in control of the continent by focusing on its immense richness but leaving it up to the reader the colonizing intention. Once emphasised the value of the elephants, Martí steps away from the *Lessons* by addressing the ivory trade, not as a unilateral issue of the natives, whom he neither accuses nor denigrates, but as a more global activity based on the demand of the item. On characterising the Africans, Martí reproduces the narratives of

⁴⁷⁸. The correspondence between *The Lessons* and *The Golden Age* in general, as well as between "An Elephant" and "Cuentos de elefantes" in particular, is established here for the first time. So far, all scholarly approaches to "Cuentos de elefantes" had taken for granted that the article had been originally written by Martí; however, it is a corrected, extended, and more educative version of the original "An Elephant," the new finding constituting a modest contribution to Martí studies.

⁴⁷⁹. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 243.

⁴⁸⁰. They tell many strange things about Africa now, because the people of Europe are discovering the country, and the people of Europe want to rule in that rich land. (Translated by the author)

⁴⁸¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 485.

Scottish explorer James Bruce of Kinnaird,⁴⁸² however, he seeks more credibility in a rhetorical third-person plural saying that

they tell many things of the courage with which the blacks defend themselves, and of the wars in which they engage, as all peoples do when they begin to live: they fight to see who is stronger, or to take from their neighbour what they want to have for themselves. In these wars, the prisoners taken in the fight remain as slaves and the victor sells them to the infamous Moors who go around looking for prisoners to buy, and then sell them in the Moorish lands.⁴⁸³

Instead of discriminating against the natives to justify the conquerors' cruelty, as in the *Lessons*, Martí foregrounds the African's virtue without concealing that they kill each other, which circumstance he addresses not to document how savage they are but to show they are undergoing the same civilizational pattern as all the peoples in their initial stages, the statement proving him consistent with his sense of diversity, amazing notion for him to have managed in the nineteenth century with the same present-day validity. By addressing slavery in West Africa and the Moors' involvement, Martí shows his command of the multisided phenomenon in which he can make distinctions: "good men from Europe, who do not want these sales of men in the world, go to Africa; and others go for the desire to know, and live for years among the wild tribes, until they find a rare herb, or a bird that has never been seen before, or the lake from which a river rises."⁴⁸⁴ The statement can be taken as an indirect allusion to the achievements of James Bruce, whose work Martí knew⁴⁸⁵ but from whom Martí kept distance, most probably because also in Bruce's accounts there are African territories "full of savage beasts, and men more savage than the beasts themselves."⁴⁸⁶ The pursuit of scientific knowledge referred to by Martí can be easily related to the reasons given in the *Lessons* for the foundation of the Africa Association as further on addressed. The statement, entailing travellers, hunters, missionaries, traders and explorers as well, does not make

⁴⁸². James Bruce of Kinnaird, *Travels to Discover the Source of The Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*. Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ruthven, For G. G. J. And J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, London, 1790.

⁴⁸³. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 485.

⁴⁸⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 485.

⁴⁸⁵. "And short ago we were reading a travel book by the Scots Bruce, who knows the Abyssinian territory very well. The volume tells us about the Galla tribes of that country, who are always at war with their neighbours. In order to go through immense deserts, they do not need any other food but a mixture of ground roast coffee and butter, which they make into balls and keep in a large leather bag." José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 23, 108. (Translated by the author)

⁴⁸⁶. James Bruce, *ibid.*, v.2, 147.

any personal mention but, among the good men disapproving of slave trade, Martí was alluding the Scottish explorers whose ideas about native Africans radically differed from those of Henry Drummond's as subsequently analysed. Such is the case of Mungo Park, with whom Martí must have been deeply engaged, as well as David Livingstone, whom Martí directly mentions: "Livingstone travelled fearlessly through the wilderness of Africa with his wife. Stanley is there now, trying to trade, and save Governor Emin Pasha from the Mahdi."⁴⁸⁷ Such small pieces of information, akin to Martí's style, are meant to attract the attention of his young readers and thus get them to find out more about the hook idea, in this case, life and works of the explorers. Stanley, who was not perfect in Martí's eyes,⁴⁸⁸ and still has pending accounts with history regarding his treatment of the African natives, can also be regarded as one of the personalities approached by Martí who established momentous connections with Scotland, not only because of the lapidary "Dr Livingstone, I presume?" but also for having conducted the *New York Herald* expedition that rescued the Scottish explorer in 1871.

To finish the analysis of this section, it is important to notice that the idea of "men of different countries" is not a void statement in Martí's works; it conveys his aspiration of brotherhood and solidarity among people and nations as expressed in *The Golden Age*.⁴⁸⁹ Tenuous though the relationship might seem, out of the eleven articles contained in *The Golden Age*, ten deal with "men of different countries;" the exception,

⁴⁸⁷. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 486.

⁴⁸⁸. On reporting a ceremony held in 1890 to homage Stanley at the Metropolitan Theatre in New York, Martí quotes the announcer saying that "Stanley found Livingstone, founded a free state in the heart of slavery, crossed Africa, mapped its mysterious waters, lakes and rivers, discovered the sources of the Nile, the problem of the ages, saved Emin, who was threatened with death." However, Martí also notes that "neither is his heart moved by the misfortune of the 'savage' who was caught in the struggling and fortunate empire of his nature, the native misfortune that brought tears to Gordon's eyes; nor does he think of the various stages of the peoples, all of them 'savage,' all of them nomadic and ferocious, on their coming into the world, nor does he see in Africa any other thing but the land that belongs to him, to him, a divine man, by his right of conquest and his fatal fortune, which comes from heaven, and must come to man, whether he expects it cowardly or whether it will come to him. But when he speaks, you see the agony of the march, the beehive of the camp, the secular trunk that falls wrapped in its festoons. The humid and dreadful sky. And the hard and selfish man." The quote was translated by the author. (*O. C.*, v. 12, 479-480)

⁴⁸⁹. "Now all the peoples of the world know each other better and visit each other, and in every town there is its way of making, according to whether it is cold or hot, or whether they belong to one race or another; but what seems new in the cities is not their way of making houses, but that in every city there are Moorish houses, and Greek, and Gothic, and Byzantine, and Japanese, as if the happy time were beginning when men treat each other as friends, and are coming together." (*O. C.*, v. 18, 371)

“Historia de la cuchara y el tenedor” (history of the spoon and the fork), was clearly written after the consecutive sections “Metals” and “Money” from the *Lessons*, only that in his “Historia” Martí refers to what he considers a more convenient subject for his educational project and, instead, describes the industrial process to produce cutlery out of metals. “Tres héroes,” the first text of *The Golden Age*, bears full correspondence with the notion since it deals with the life and deeds of three outstanding Latin American men: Bolívar, from Venezuela; Hidalgo, from México; and San Martín, from Río La Plata (Argentina). The rest of the articles are based on the same notion becoming a compositional device in pieces such as “Un juego nuevo y otros viejos,”⁴⁹⁰ “La historia del hombre contada por sus casas,”⁴⁹¹ “La Exposición de París,”⁴⁹² and “Cuentos de elefantes.” “La Iliada de Homero,” “El camarón encantado,” “Un paseo por la tierra de los anamitas,” “Las ruinas indias,” and “Los dos ruseñores” are respectively set in Greece, Russia, Vietnam, Mexico and China, just as some of the sections in the *Lessons* are set in different countries and titled after them. This regularity leads to the conclusion that, besides constituting a distinguishable Scottish element, the most plausible reason why “Músicos, poetas y pintores,”⁴⁹³ the article borrowed from Samuel Smiles’s “Great Young Men,” made it into *The Golden Age* is the fact that it fits the pattern on dealing with successful young “men of different countries;” therefore, again, the relationship among the *Lessons* with its Scottish element, *The Golden Age* conveying the impact of Smiles, and Scottish

⁴⁹⁰. The article deals with the games played by men through the times in several places of the world, the similitudes and differences according to every specific culture.

⁴⁹¹. The summary of the article provided by Martí is the following: “The life of man on earth, from the earliest ages until now. The stone age, the bronze age and the iron age. Caves, caves and tents. All peoples, from Egypt to the Russian people of today. How people have come to know each other and come together. The peoples of America, the Terraplainers, the Quechua, the Aztecs. The peoples of Asia and the peoples of Europe. The Romans and the men of the North. The Renaissance.” The quote was translated by the author. (*O. C.*, v. 12, 352)

⁴⁹². The summary of the article provided by Martí is the following: “A journey around the world. The French Revolution. What you see at the Exhibition. The Trocadero Palace and the Garden. The history of man’s room. The Eiffel Tower: what it looks like and how it was made. The Palais des Industries, the Palais des Beaux-Arts and the Palais des Arts Libérales. The pavilions of the republics of our America. Children at the Exposition. China and Egypt, Anam and Hindustan, Greece and Hawaii. The panoramas and the eating houses. The strange villages on the Esplanade des Invalides. The Cochin village. The Javanese kampong. Life in wild Africa. Arab palaces and bazaars. Theatres and cafés. The aissauas. The luminous fountains at night.” The quote was translated by the author. (*O. C.*, v. 12, 404)

⁴⁹³. The summary of the article provided by Martí is the following: “Anecdotes from the lives of famous men, translated from Samuel Smiles’s latest book, with four portraits: Michelangelo, Mozart, Moliere, and Robert Burns, the Scottish poet.” 353

literature. The high number of articles in *The Golden Age* in which “men of different countries” becomes a compositional pattern, and even the only exception, constitute strong evidence of positive influence, also found in other Martinian works, such as the *Chronicles*, in which, as previously seen, he invariably approaches the Scots together with individuals from other nationalities.

Despite the geographical and canonical differences, Sassi’s and Morris’s viewpoints not only apply to the section analysed but also help to better understand silences, misrepresentations and nonrepresentations in the following section, “Africa. —Adventures of Mungo Park,” dealing with the interest of Europeans in exploring the continent. In this regard, the text reads that “many ships have been sent from America, and from Europe, to Africa; but they had been sent for a long time, before any of the people who went in them, got much acquainted with the Africans.”⁴⁹⁴ The extremely passive voice featuring the one-way-only routes of the ships, does not only aim at grammatically omitting who, or what, sent those people to Africa but also at concealing the real purpose of going there so recurrently “without much acquaintance with the Africans.” Conversely, there was too much acquaintance with them. Otherwise, slave trade would have not been so “successful” as to having transported over ten million⁴⁹⁵ Africans to the Americas during that “long time.” Evidently, the story is told as if “yonder awa” little farms had been only about growing zesty green limes by spontaneous generation as addressed by Sassi and Morris in their aforementioned works, only that, in this case, the story is told precisely “west-awa’ yonder,” where not only the same silencing narrative is implemented but also

⁴⁹⁴. Eliza Robbins, *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴⁹⁵. According to Walter Rodney, “on any basic figure of the Africans landed alive in the Americas, one would have to make several extensions- starting with a calculation to cover mortality in transshipment. The Atlantic crossing, or “Middle Passage,” as it was called by European slavers, was notorious for the number of deaths incurred, averaging in the vicinity of 15-20 per cent. There were also numerous deaths in Africa between time of capture and time of embarkation, especially in cases where captives had to travel hundreds of miles to the coast. Most important of all (given that warfare was the principal means of obtaining captives) it is necessary to make some estimate of the number of people killed and injured so as to extract the millions who were taken alive and sound. The resultant figure would be many times the millions landed alive outside of Africa, and it is that figure which represents the number of Africans directly removed from the population and labor force of Africa because of the establishment of slave production by Europeans.” In Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Bogle-L’Overture Publications: London, and Tanzanian Publishing House: Dar-Es-Salaam, 1973, 96.

accompanied by a sharp discrediting purpose when addressing the Spaniards⁴⁹⁶ and a favourable treatment in the case of the English⁴⁹⁷ as analysed in Appendix 4. Thus, the author represents the Africans by pointing out that “women, in Africa, work in the fields,” while omitting that, “out of Africa,” in the Deep South of the United States, black slave women at the very time of writing were forced to work in cotton fields. Without appealing to the diversity of cultures or the stages of development undergone by different civilizations, the author refers that “the people of Africa do not live in large houses, with fine furniture, like ours” or “the Africans do not sleep upon beds like ours,” which comparative remarks contribute to representing them in a state of lowliness. When stating that “the negroes esteem such little [valueless] things⁴⁹⁸ much more than we do,” the author, besides aiming at their scarcity of intelligence making them inferior, provides a reason for the unfair deals to which the Africans were subjected by European and Moorish traders. The representation of other nationalities such as “Indian”⁴⁹⁹ and “New Zealander”⁵⁰⁰ follows the same silencing-disparaging strategy on depicting those peoples as “savage.”

⁴⁹⁶. “The Spaniards took these countries for their own, and everything they could find in them. They found great quantities of gold and silver, and treated the poor natives very cruelly, in hopes that the natives would tell them of still more gold and silver than they had found. The kings of other countries sent out ships to America, till in time America was all known to the people of Europe. People came from the different countries of Europe, to different parts of America. They found no towns, and pleasant fields, and fine gardens; they found only woods, and wild men, and wild animals. There were a great many Indians then—now there are a very few. In two hundred years, there have become more and more white men—fewer and fewer Indians. The Spaniards were not only cruel to the poor Indians, but they were cruel also to Columbus, who had made them so rich.” In Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 205-206.

⁴⁹⁷. “The English people are very wise, and very rich; they have a great many large ships. We speak the same language which the English do. Two hundred years ago, many Englishmen came to America; they and their children built some of these houses, and towns, which we see about us. Many of the clothes which we wear are brought from England; some of our cotton and woollen clothes are made there; our buttons, needles, scissors, pins, and knives, come from England, and so do waiters, and glasses, and plates, and cups, and saucers, and carpets. The English have a king and queen.” In Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 220-221.

⁴⁹⁸. As the four brass buttons from his waist coat thankful Park gave them on his departure.

⁴⁹⁹. “This Indian has a bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other. Children see boys in the streets with bows and arrows; boys use bows and arrows to play with. Indians use them to kill wild animals; they strip the skins from the animals taken in this manner, and make clothes of them; they eat the flesh of the animals. Sometimes Indians kill other Indians with the bow and arrow; they fight very much; they do not treat the women kindly. Savage men never treat women so well as civilized men treat them. The Indians have no books; they do not write and read. They talk in the Indian, language.” In Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 221.

⁵⁰⁰. “Here is one of the dark coloured men of the South Sea. New-Zealand is two islands very near together. The Zealanders kill wild animals, and catch fish, for food. If you look upon a globe you will see New-Holland west of New-Zealand. It was first discovered by Europeans, in 1609. In 1770, Captain Cook sailed all round it, and found it to be a vast island. The English have endeavoured to

Regarding the people of Africa, the section explains that “their dwellings are made by driving poles into the ground, very near together, and filling the spaces between with clay, and the large leaves of plants. The roofs are covered with thick broad leaves also.”⁵⁰¹ The intention does not seem to be representing them in their diversity but rather to deride them in their alleged backwardness. Even though Martí retained the negative influence of the *Lessons*, he fortunately overcame its narrative strategy. In “La historia del hombre contada por sus casas” (the history of mankind as told by their houses), he reproduces the same borrowed idea, which echoing stands for one more mark of influence, however, his intention is completely different. Before referring to the Africans’ dwelling, he provides exhaustive information on other peoples’ for the sake of documenting that “man is the same everywhere, and appears and grows in the same way, and does and thinks the same things, with no other difference than that of the land on which he lives.”⁵⁰² Only then he expresses that “the black man of Africa builds his house with walls of clay and the roof of branches, just like the Germanic man of old, and he leaves the window sill as high as the Germanic man left it, to keep out the snakes.” The repeated comparison serves an illustrative purpose.

On referring to the exploration of Africa, the *Lessons* reads that “a few years ago, the people of Europe began to wish to know more about the Africans; so a number of persons formed a company called, the African Association,⁵⁰³ on purpose to learn what they could concerning them; to find out if the Europeans could do them any good; and also to try if they could carry on any business with them.”⁵⁰⁴ That interest the author deludes in a whole continent was indeed the interest of a few upper-class people in London who founded the club in 1788, thus marking the commencement of the so

improve the natives of the South Sea Islands, and those of New-Holland, by sending missionaries to teach them the Bible. Missionaries are good men who leave comfortable homes in civilized countries, and go among savages, and other ignorant people, in order to teach them the gospel, and to read and write, and to live cleanly and decently.” In Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 222-223.

⁵⁰¹. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 211.

⁵⁰². José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 357.

⁵⁰³. The African Association was the common name given to the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, founded in London on 9 June 1788 and headed by Sir Joseph Banks, an English botanist, naturalist, and benefactor of the natural sciences.

⁵⁰⁴. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 210.

called “Age of African exploration.”⁵⁰⁵ On that “purpose to learn” there might have been a sincere desire for scientific knowledge as the intent to discover the source of the Niger River, being Mungo Park the first European to spot the waterway, and the location of Timbuktu, the lost city of gold, first reached by also Scots Alexander Gordon. Such is also the case of James Bruce who discovered the source of the Nile; nevertheless, exploration, as widely known, also opened the routes to colonisation.⁵⁰⁶ Nothing else is said in the *Lessons* about the business part or whether any good had been done so far to the Africans, an account of which can be found in Walter Rodney’s *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*,⁵⁰⁷ involving eloquent titles such as “The European Slave Trade as a Basic Factor in African Underdevelopment” and “The Supposed Benefits of Colonialism to Africa,” the validity of the book being pondered by Karim F. Hirji in his *Enduring Relevance*.⁵⁰⁸

Most of “Africa” features the adventures of a grateful “white man” assisted by a “Negro Woman,” the hero of the passage being none other than Mungo Park,⁵⁰⁹ the legendary explorer from Selkirk. The lady found Park hungry and exhausted in a terrible thunderstorm in the middle of the jungle and exposed to the attack of wild animals. Rescued by her, Park was provided with the safety of a hut, food, and place to sleep until the next day when he woke up to the surprise that a chorus of ladies were singing a song especially composed to him. Most probably, young Martí read and enjoyed the story; however, he did not know by then he too would go through a similar experience: in 1892, on a visit to Tampa, he was poisoned at a welcome dinner. Following the incident, Paulina Hernández, a black lady as well, cared for him while

⁵⁰⁵. Frank T. Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu: In Search of Africa’s City of Gold*, New York: Harper Collins, 2006, 11.

⁵⁰⁶. According to *Central Pipeline*, the website of the Central Connecticut State University, “between 1840 and 1890, land explorers such as Henry Stanley (...) David Livingstone (along the Zambezi) and Mungo Park (along the Niger river) began to explore the hinterland. Their reports about the resource potential of the continent led to intense competition among European powers. The competition set the stage for the scramble for territories in Africa. With their most profitable trade seemingly now gone, Europeans turned to the natural resources of West Africa again. These resources were now required in greater quantities to feed the expanding European manufacturing industries.” https://web.ccsu.edu/faculty/kyem/GEOG466_Africa/Slave_Trade_AfricaPartition.htm.

⁵⁰⁷. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle-L’Ouverture Publications, and Dar-Es-Salaam: Tanzanian Publishing House, 1973.

⁵⁰⁸. Karim F. Hirji, *The Enduring Relevance of Walter Rodney’s How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Daraja Press, 2017.

⁵⁰⁹. The Royal Scottish Geographical Society awards the Mungo Park Medal every year after the remarkable explorer.

critically ill, and all along his convalescence. After the failure of the Fernandina expedition to Cuba, she offered Martí the moral support he needed, sold her house, and donated the funds collected for the independence cause. In 1913, when she was buried, in fulfilment of her last wish, she carried in her hands a photograph that Martí had sent to her almost twenty years earlier, the dedication expressing his affection for her: “To Paulina, my black mother.”⁵¹⁰ It cannot be asserted whether having read the Mungo Park story in his prime youth conditioned Martí to acknowledge what life had in store for him too but perhaps the Mungo Park story shaped his interest in the exploration and the explorers of Africa, a topic he kept on revisiting in his writings but about which he developed ideas very different from those of the *Lessons*.

In New York, on 17 August, 1887, Martí wrote “Sobre la ciencia” (about science), a chronicle reporting the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which event was attended by Scottish religious writer Henry Drummond, from Stirling, who spoke about his explorer experiences. Martí noted down that

Drummond spoke about Africa. These mystics with their eyes turned inward, want to madly conform the world to their own concept of it. To deny that which is spiritual, that which hurts and shines, that which guides and comforts, that heals or kills, is like denying that the sun provides light, or that a father is moved by the glory of a son; so it is to deny that, in the toasted desert as in the Scottish academia, man’s virtues and evils are the same. For Drummond, contrary to what other explorers say, going to Africa is like seeing the dawn of the human beast. He deems ‘perversion of intelligence’ what, for the same reason he adduces, can be regarded as local diversity. ‘Half beast and half man is the human being in the heart of Africa.’⁵¹¹ (Translated by the author)

To fully understand Martí’s perception of Drummond, it is necessary to point out that he finds a contradiction between the divinity of the soul proclaimed by the mystics on turning to God, and their likeliness to accept, promote or support the animality of ethnic groups they regard as inferior and therefore suitable for slavery, part of the racist worldview Martí is alluding to. Drummond’s warped idea, a reflection of those previously fostered by Scottish thinkers such as David Hume or Thomas Carlyle, adds too much fuel to the fire. Drummond does not even speak of an inferior intelligence as

⁵¹⁰. Josefina Toledo Benedit, *La madre negra de Martí*, Ciudad de La Habana: Casa Editorial Verde Olivo, 2009.

⁵¹¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 11, 277-278.

Hume did in his time but deems it “perverse,” implicitly offering, on a silver platter, a more sophisticated justification for slavery. Drummond’s idea is essentially repeated, three years later, in his *Tropical Africa*: “it is a wonderful thing to look at this weird world of human beings—half animal half children, wholly savage and wholly heathen.”⁵¹² Quoting Drummond’s words on the African natives was Martí’s way of both exposing him and drawing attention to a way of thinking he considered unacceptably evil. Two years after the conference, precisely in *The Golden Age*, Martí wrote that “when the Romans had marble palaces with golden statues, and wore suits of very fine wool, the people of Britain still lived in caves, and dressed in wild skins, and fought with maces made of hard logs.”⁵¹³ This statement makes Drummond appear little versed in the history of civilization, and “wild” serves as a transferred epithet. The ideal of diversity was at the core of Martí’s emancipation project, conceived “with everyone and for the good of all.”⁵¹⁴

Among the Scottish explorers contradicting Drummond’s racist primordial view of “the dawn of the human beast,” mention should be made of David Livingstone and Mungo Park. Livingstone’s definite remark in one of his journal entries is in line with Martí’s thoughts: “I have tried to make out the character of the African and can conclude that he is as much a mix of good and bad as any other man.”⁵¹⁵ In Livingstone’s opinion,

no one can understand the effect of the unutterable meanness of the slave-system on the minds of those who, but for the strange obliquity which prevents them from feeling the degradation of not being gentlemen enough to pay for services rendered, would be equal in virtue to ourselves. Fraud becomes as natural to them as ‘paying one’s way’ is to the rest of mankind,⁵¹⁶

the account adding much to Livingstone’s character. From Park’s viewpoint, “whatever difference there is between the negro and European, in the conformation of the nose, and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic

⁵¹². Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa*, New York, John B. Aldex, Publisher, 1890, 8.

⁵¹³. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 363.

⁵¹⁴. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 4, 279.

⁵¹⁵. Quoted by Gappah in “What nobody told me about the legendary explorer David Livingstone.”

⁵¹⁶. David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray, 1857, 33.

feelings of our common nature,”⁵¹⁷ which perception is in line with Livingston’s. These quotes on the nature of native Africans not only account for “what other explorers say” despite Drummond’s ideas but also for Martí’s engagement with the life and works of these Scottish explorers and writers. In fact, Martí’s comments about Drummond’s speech provide grounds for tallying him to the same gallery of figures whose legacy and statues are being presently questioned. As the proceedings of the meeting only record that “Professor Henry Drummond of Glasgow delivered a lecture on ‘The Heart of Africa,’ giving observation on a recent scientific tour to the region of Zambesi and Lake Tanganika,”⁵¹⁸ Martí’s chronicle constitutes a valuable document to trace and assess Drummond’s participation in the event and his transatlantic reception in the United States. Besides its virtues, the Scottish academia, as Martí points out, is not exempt from evil, and Drummond, in whom Martí does not recognise any virtue, is not the only academic whose way of thinking Martí might have considered evil. His statement can also be related to his distancing from Thomas Carlyle whose works he very well knew but whose ideas about the inferiority of ethnic groups he did not share, which might have prevented Martí from writing a book about Carlyle as later on addressed in this chapter. Martí’s allusion to the evil in Scottish academia might furthermore be based on the reasons why Lord Byron had to write his “English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,” to which incident Martí referred more than once as further on addressed in this chapter. Martí’s approach to David Hume is fully contained in Appendix 7.

The Scottish component of the *Lessons* also extends to the *Sequel* where the Scots are (mis)represented once again:

The people who are attacked by the aggressive party endeavour to keep their property and expel their enemy: they carry on a defensive warfare. Sometimes an industrious people who possess flocks, and an abundance of the necessaries of life, and who live near a more idle and destitute people, are exposed to predatory incursions of these poorer neighbours. The border wars of the English and the Scots were of this kind. The English were exposed to inroads

⁵¹⁷. Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed Under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, London: W. Bulmer and Company, 1799, 82.

⁵¹⁸. AAAS, *Summarized Proceedings and a Directory of Members*, v. 36, 352, accessed November 2020, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=H3h8aO5ZbCgC&printsec=titlepage&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Drummond&f=false.

of the Scots, and many beautiful stories have been told concerning these wars.⁵¹⁹

Thus, each party is characterised in opposite extremes: on one hand, the victimised rich industrious English defending themselves from the Scots; on the other, the poor lazy destitute Scots looting the English. The Border Wars, however, were something much more complex than the kind of episode told by the *Lessons*. Constant Scoto-English conflicts in The Borders from the late thirteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century brought about reiving as a way of life. But, contrary to what the *Lessons* points out, reivers were either Scottish or English acting over the whole area without taking nationalities into account. “Scottish Reivers were just as likely to raid other Scots as to raid across the English Border. Scots and English would even join forces to raid on either side of the Border. The victims of reiving could be anyone from outside the immediate family.”⁵²⁰ The “many beautiful stories” allude to the influence of reivers on literature, especially on the folk tradition of ballads, many of which were cultivated and gathered by Walter Scott himself in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, a volume to which subsequent reference is made regarding Martí’s translation of Smiles. Other figures integrating the Scottish component in the *Lessons* and its *Sequel* are James VI and I, and his eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales, of whom an extended biography is included. John Knox is mentioned as an example of what an exemplary reformist is, and Thomas Brown, the poet and philosopher, is involved in a preface story⁵²¹ aiming to promote equality, a notion Martí had further sources to feed on. These volumes also contain excerpts from Scott’s “Marmion” and Byron’s “The Gladiator” as well as Thomas Campbell’s “To the Rainbow.” All these elements might have contributed to Martí’s early general background regarding Scotland and the Scots but so far their influential role on his later works, if any, remains a pending research topic.

⁵¹⁹. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 319.

⁵²⁰. Ben Johnson, “The History of the Border Reivers,” in Historic UK, accessed January 2021, <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofScotland/The-Border-Reivers/>.

⁵²¹. It is a beautiful anecdote related of Dr. Brown, the metaphysician, that when he received a visit from two respectable and intelligent Ayrshire peasants, they first entered his house by its inferior access, but after seeing and conversing with the owner, and returning again, they rang for admission at its principal door, and the philosopher was pleased with this circumstance, “for it proved,” said he, “that I had made them feel their equality.” In Eliza Robins, *Sequel to American Popular Lessons*, New York: Collins and Hannay, viii.

As hitherto discussed, Martí's engagement with Scotland and the Scottish starts with the early reading of *The American Popular Lessons*, a non-literary textbook, therefore supposed to provide the students with reliable information and convincing explanations leading to useful knowledge allowing for consequent fruitful discussions. Nevertheless, the analysis of the relevant sections reveals that the *Lessons*, far from fulfilling its instructive-educative function, conceals embarrassing historic facts by means of half-truths and whole lies, which procedure Martí opposes from *The Golden Age*. What is more, by misrepresenting and denigrating certain ethnic groups on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond, the *Lessons* provides justifications for phenomena such as the conquest and colonisation of territories, the extermination of aboriginal populations and the implementation of slavery. The *Lessons* also blame and discredit some perpetrators while praising others and casting silence on their crimes against humanity. Notwithstanding, the sections analysed exerted a marked negative influence on young Martí, which subsequently reflected in his writings. "Men of Different Countries" provided Martí with a compositional style based both on the enumeration of nationalities and the approach to several national communities in their geographical and chronological diversity, which features, together with the Scottish component of the section, helped Martí to fully represent the Scots in his works. "Africa. —Adventures of Mungo Park," increased Martí's interest in the continent and provided him with a penchant for the exploration of the continent and the way of life of the natives, thereof his engagement with Scottish explorers such as Henry Drummond, David Livingston, Mungo Park and James Bruce, whom he addressed in his works. The *Lessons* helped Martí create a new work, *The Golden Age*, the positive influence strongly corroborated in "Cuentos de elefantes" containing most of the original ideas in "An Elephant." The rest of the Scottish elements in the *Lessons* and its *Sequel* must have increased Martí's general knowledge about Scotland and the Scots. Despite the distorted contents of the *Lessons*, Martí not only overcame the lying-silencing-discrediting-blaming strategy of his textbook but also opposed it from *The Golden Age*, where he consequently warned the readers about the dangers of the

procedure.⁵²² This analysis establishes for the first time the influential relationship between the *American Popular Lessons* and *The Golden Age*, both bearing a distinguishable Scottish cultural component, concomitant with their respective approach to Africa and its exploration, the Africans, and the transatlantic slave trade, which liaison provides a new perspective for subsequent comparative literature studies of both works also from the postcolonial studies point of view.

“Musicians, Poets and Painters:” José Martí as a Scottish-Literature Re-transmitter

According to Nobel Prize-winner José Saramago, “os escritores fazem as literaturas nacionais e os tradutores fazem a literatura universal,”⁵²³ that is, “writers make national literatures and translators make universal literature,” the observation stressing the role of translation as a means to make literature available in languages and cultures other than the source. In this regard, comparatist Cătălin Constantinescu states that “the comparative study of literature must observe the special role of the translations; the term ‘translation’ is increasingly used as ‘transformation,’ through the literary texts that make translation as their main theme or through the work of translators, as they rewrite the sources and may alter the horizon of expectations.”⁵²⁴ Even though the texts that will be analysed in this section were originally conceived as part and result of a translation process, the term “transformation,” as pointed out by Constantinescu, applies to what the source text really undergoes regarding the target as further on analysed. The translator, without failing to ethically achieve “the representation of the Other,” rather transforms the original content at the convenience of his project, which procedure can be explained through Constantinescu’s own remarks:

translation is an instrument whose purposes and uses vary according to the

⁵²². “Children should only be told the truth, and no one should tell them what they do not know to be true, because then children live believing what the book or the teacher told them, and they work and think as if it were true, so that, if it turns out that what they were told was false, their life is already wrong, and they cannot be happy with that way of thinking, nor do they know how things really are, nor can they become children for a second time, and begin to learn it all over again.” José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 500.

⁵²³. José Saramago, *As palavras de José Saramago*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010, 182.

⁵²⁴. Cătălin Constantinescu, “The Role of Translations in Comparative Literature. Conjectures and Solutions,” in *Finnish Journal for Romanian Studies*. No 3, 2017, 12

position of the translator to the translated text (the old source language axis – target language). Therefore, any theoretical analysis or attempt must take into account two factors: the intention of the translator or the author and the relationship between the languages involved.⁵²⁵

Both aspects are implicit in the following analysis, which will be conducted under the dictum that “the main gain of studying the role of translation is that we may observe that ‘national’ literary histories are actually ‘transnational’ literary histories.”⁵²⁶

In July 1889, while exiled in New York, José Martí published the first issue of *La Edad de Oro* (*The Golden Age*), a monthly magazine with attractive engravings and illustrations. *La Edad de Oro*, subsequently compiled into a book, “has not only overcome time and borders in innumerable editions and translations, but has become compulsory reading among so much unimportant material that since time immemorial has been shaping the so-called children’s literature.”⁵²⁷ Scholar Salvador Arias, who devoted his career to the studies of *The Golden Age*, pointed out that the volume

is among the richest and most innovative literature of its time, due to its approach to the themes it deals with and its brilliant, functional and creative use of language, which places it at the forefront of what is known as Spanish-American modernism. In fact, it can be said that *La Edad de Oro* is one of the most representative and exemplary texts of all Spanish-American modernism. Consequently, the magazine is part of the ambitious cultural project that Martí supported for Latin America, as a vehicle for dialectical knowledge, ethical reaffirmation and aesthetic enjoyment par excellence.⁵²⁸

His remarks being part of the epilogue to *Un proyecto martiano esencial: La Edad de Oro*. Little else needs to be added to the importance of this jewel of the Cuban cultural heritage. When *La Edad* was published, José Martí was one of the most important men of letters in Hispano-America, the reason why some people, prejudiced about the genre, were sceptic about Martí’s children’s literature project. In this regard, Martí wrote to his Mexican friend Manuel Mercado that “those who expected, with the excusable malignity of man, to see me, for this infantile attempt,

⁵²⁵. Ibid., 21.

⁵²⁶. Ibid.

⁵²⁷. Félix Flores Varona, *ibid.*, 23.

⁵²⁸. Salvador Arias, *Un proyecto martiano esencial: La Edad de Oro*, *ibid.*, 242.

below what they thought they were obliged to see in me, have come to tell me, with their surprise rather than with their words, that a children's newspaper can be published without falling from the majesty to which every man must try to rise,"⁵²⁹ a remark reflecting the warm welcome the magazine was given. In the same letter, Martí expresses that the magazine was created

to help what I would like to help, which is to fill our lands with original men, raised to be happy in the land in which they live, and to live according to it, without divorcing from it, nor living infertilely in it, as rhetorical citizens, or scornful foreigners born for punishment in this other part of the world. The fertilizer can be brought from other places; but the cultivation must be done according to the soil. We are to raise our children to be men of their time, and men of America.⁵³⁰

The objective, remarkable though, demanded time and effort. Writing thirty-two pages a month while organising the Independence War must have been a difficult task for Martí, one of the probable reasons why he appealed to the inclusion in the magazine of translated works by other authors such as Édouard René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Helen Hunt Jackson. In the first issue of the magazine, Martí announced the publication of "Niños Famosos: de Samuel Smiles, con retratos." ("Famous Children" by Samuel Smiles with engravings) "Niños Famosos"⁵³¹ is obviously the Spanish title Martí had in mind for his version of "Great Young Men," from Smiles's *Life and Labour*. The version, however, was published in the next issue without the name of the author and with another title, "Músicos, poetas y pintores" (Musicians, poets and painters).⁵³² To the best of our knowledge, only one article has been written about Martí's translation, Alejandro Herrera's "Análisis comparativo entre 'niños famosos' y 'músicos, poetas y

⁵²⁹. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 20, 146.

⁵³⁰. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 20, 147.

⁵³¹. *Ibid.*, v. 18, 300.

⁵³². The fact that Martí credited the rest of the authors he translated for the magazine suggests that the omission of Smiles is completely inadvertent and unintentional, while the change of title might be related to mere improvement of the previous one since not all the figures addressed were famous children. Both the omission and the change could have misled readers to either disregard Smiles's authorship or consider that "Niños Famosos" corresponds to the original title of Smiles's work. Notwithstanding, "it has become known that, for the second issue of his magazine for children and young people, *The Golden Age*, Martí translated and adapted the third chapter of a didactic work by Samuel Smiles, and it is likely that for the other articles in that same issue—that of 'The Paris Exhibition,' for example—the Cuban did the same." In Lourdes Arencibia Rodríguez, "¿Una traducción inédita y desconocida de José Martí?," *Cubaliteraria*, <http://www.cubaliteraria.cu/articulo.php?idarticulo=12141&idseccion=55>

pintores”⁵³³ (Comparative analysis of ‘famous children’ and ‘musicians, poets and painters’). Herrera, nevertheless, does not take the source text as point of departure; instead, he relies on a translation into Spanish by Miguel de Toro y Gómez, published in 1901, and centres his analysis on the transformation, omission and addition of ideas rather than on the translation procedures, techniques and results. None of the examples provided in his analyses address the excerpts involving Scottish writers, which, for the first time are addressed here and from a reception perspective.

Martí’s *La Edad de Oro* and Smiles’s *Life and Labour* bear in common their educational character, their aim to shape better individuals by fostering their virtues. Smiles’s attempt is directed to the achievement of individual success. Martí aims at the improvement of society in the geographical area he called “Our America.” Even though Martí’s idea of his cultural and revolutionary project for Latin American children may differ from Smiles’s purpose of illustrating and enforcing the individuals’ power of perseverance, Martí still found in *Life and Labour* the suitable material to provide his readership with interesting facts about universal culture while fostering human values such as labour, selflessness, generosity, knowledge, growth, forethought, prudence, and frugality, the grounds of Smiles’s self-help. Martí did not translate the whole chapter, only the excerpts bearing some interest for his purpose. On translating the passages about the lives and works of Byron and Scott, Martí was consciously assuming the transmitter role. Regarding Byron, Smiles’s original points out that

Byron was another great and erratic genius, belonging to the same group as Keats and Shelley. Of turbulent and violent temper, he was careless of learning at school, yet he could “fall in love” when not quite eight years old. He was club-footed. While at Aberdeen he was nicknamed “Shauchlin’ Geordie”; yet he strove to distinguish himself in the sports of youth, and, like Keats, he fought his way to supremacy amongst his schoolfellows, – “losing,” as he himself says, “only one battle out of seven.” While at Trinity College, he kept a bear and several bull-dogs, and indulged in many eccentricities. A strange training, one would think, for a poet! Yet, as early as his twelfth year, he had broken out into verse, inspired by the boyish passion which he entertained for a cousin of about his own age. With all his waywardness,

⁵³³. Alejandro Herrera, “Análisis comparativo entre ‘Niños famosos’ y ‘Músicos, poetas y pintores,’” in *Anuario del Centro de Estudios Martianos*, v. 12, (La Habana: Imprenta Urselia Díaz Báez, 1989), 235.

Byron was a voracious reader in general literature, and he early endeavoured to embody his thoughts in poetry. In his eighteenth year, while yet at college, he had printed a thin quarto volume of poems for private circulation, and in the following year he published his *Hours of Idleness*. Stung into revenge by the contemptuous notice of his volume by Henry Brougham in the *Edinburgh Review*, he published, at twenty-one, his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Three years later, when twenty-four, the first canto of his *Childe Harold* appeared. "At twenty-five," said Macaulay, "he found himself on the highest pinnacle of literary fame, with Scott, Wordsworth, Southey, and a crowd of other distinguished writers at his feet. There is scarcely an instance in history of so sudden a rise to so dizzy an eminence." He died in his thirty-seventh year – an age that has been fatal to so many men of genius.⁵³⁴

Martí translated the main ideas contained in Smiles's source piece; nevertheless, the techniques he uses in the process are oblique rather than direct. Only a few short units are translated literally, which procedure suits better his purpose: Martí does not foreground Byron's "turbulent and violent temper" which expression he transposes by mentioning the school first: "Desde la escuela se le conoció el carácter turbulento y arrebatado." (From school he was known for his turbulent and violent character.) and using the term "character" instead of "temper," that is, the set of qualities rather than the ability to get angry. Instead of mentioning that "he was club-footed," Martí reformulates the expression by expressing that Byron "tenía una pierna más corta que la otra" (Byron had a leg shorter than the other), a more complimentary reference where the undesired characterising personal quality is transferred as a personal possession. Martí avoids to express that Byron "fought his way to supremacy" and, instead, sets forth that Byron "se hizo el dueño de la escuela a fuerza de puños," (became the owner of the school by fists) with which expression he generates a change in the hegemonic viewpoint of the source message and modulates it without altering its meaning and without creating a sense of awkwardness in the readership of the target text. Martí uses the same oblique procedure on translating that Byron "indulged in many eccentricities" and transposes: "cada día contaban de él una historia escandalosa" (Every day they would tell a scandalous story about him), which subject transference favours Byron by giving him the benefit of the doubt. Martí does the same on translating "he was careless of learning" into the modulated

⁵³⁴. Samuel Smiles, *Life and Labour or Characteristics of Men of Industry, Culture and Genius*, (London: John Murray, 1931), 92.

expression “he took little care of the books,” thus attenuating the behavior he does not wish to promote, as is also the case of calling others nicknames, the reason why Martí omits any reference to Byron’s while at Aberdeen. There are still other omissions in the target text: Martí, aiming at not jeopardizing Byron, omits “all his waywardness.” With the same purpose, and by means of a modulated omission, Martí does not mention “Trinity College” in the Spanish piece but “Cambridge,” a metonymic translation that neither jeopardises the institution nor misguides the reader.

One of the major transformations in the translation process of the piece is undergone by the following sentence: “Stung into revenge by the contemptuous notice of his volume by Henry Brougham in the *Edinburgh Review*, he published, at twenty-one, his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.” Martí transmutes the source unit by omitting, transposing or modulating some of its constituents, and simply translates that “*La Revista de Edimburgo* habló del libro con desdén, y Byron contestó con su célebre sátira sobre los *Poetas Ingleses y los Críticos de Escocia*.” (*The Edinburgh Review* spoke about the volume with disdain, and Byron replied with his famous satire *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*). With this oblique procedure, Martí omits the feeling, the revenge and the name of the person who aroused it since Martí did not mean to promote retaliation in his magazine nor jeopardise a name without purpose. Besides the mention in *The Golden Age*, in Martí’s *O. C.* there are other references to *The Edinburgh Review*, as well as to Sydney Smith and Francis Jeffrey who, together with Francis Horner and Henry Brougham, were co-founders of the Scottish magazine. In one of his notebooks dating back to his first deportation to Spain, Martí wrote that “the Whig party—with a blue flag—originated from the Bishops War, a religious schism between Scotland and King Charles I, therefore the blue colour on the cover of the *Edinburgh Review*-1802.”⁵³⁵ By that time, Martí also jotted down his concern about the way the magazine had dealt with Byron’s *Hours of Idleness*: “Didn’t *The Edinburgh Review* tell Byron to drop the verses, that he knew nothing about spelling?”⁵³⁶ Both notes reveal Martí’s engagement with Scottish culture in general and his knowledge about Byron and *The Edinburgh Review* in

⁵³⁵. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 21, 213.

⁵³⁶. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 21, 426.

particular; however, Martí contributed to the transatlantic reception of the Scottish magazine by means of his journalistic notes for *La Opinión Nacional*, where he not only referred to the incident once more: “The *Edinburgh Review* is an old and famous newspaper, which, by the way, proved it difficult for Lord Byron and inspired one of his roughest satires,”⁵³⁷ but also published the following note:

The *Saturday Review* is one of the most widely read and appreciated in England. It is lighter and briefer but not less thorough than the famous *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review* and the *Blackwood Magazine*. Reading those magazines raises awareness of all great events, acts, problems and books that attract the interest in knowing about current life.⁵³⁸ (Translated by the author)

On comparing and promoting these publications, besides helping their reception, Martí provides one more sample of how familiar he was with the *Edinburgh Review*, to which other writers he knew so well were closely related. Such is the case of Thomas Carlyle and Walter Scott. On knowing so much about Byron and *The Edinburgh Review*, most probably Martí was familiar with Brougham, who was not only the harsh critic of Byron but also the statesman who advocated liberal causes such as the abolition of slavery and slave trade, a plausible reason for Martí not having mentioned his name in non-complimentary terms.

On translating Smiles’s excerpt on Byron, Martí makes a careful use of the translation techniques allowing him to preserve the main ideas in the source text while transposing, modulating or omitting elements, which procedure, in correspondence with Martí’s educational purpose, allows him to provide his young readership with a summarised biographical sketch featuring a more presentable Byron than the one offered by Smiles, and therefore a more imitable model as required by his educational project. By means of Martí’s translation, Byron, again indirectly, has guaranteed the continuity of his “ever active presence” in Cuba and much of the world on taking part in one of the most significant impacts of Scottish literature.

Walter Scott shared the same fortune in *La Edad de Oro*. Smiles’s original text includes the following passage:

⁵³⁷. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 23, 150.

⁵³⁸. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 23, 310.

Scott was anything but a precocious boy. He was pronounced a Greek blockhead by his schoolmaster. Late in life, he said of himself that he had been an incorrigibly idle imp at school. But he was healthy, and eager in all boyish sports. His true genius early displayed itself in his love for old ballads and his extraordinary gift for storytelling. When Walter Scott's father found that the boy had on one occasion been wandering about the country with his friend Clark, resting at intervals in the cottages, and gathering all sorts of odd experience of life, he said to him, 'I greatly doubt, sir, you were born for nae better than a gangrel scrape-gut.' Of his gift for story-telling when a boy, Scott himself gives the following account: 'In the winter play-hours, when hard exercise was impossible, my tales used to assemble an admiring audience round Lucky Brown's fireside, and happy was he that could sit next to the inexhaustible narrator.' Thus the boy was the forerunner of the man, and his novels were afterwards received by the world with as much delight as his stories had been received by his schoolfellows at Lucky Brown's. 'Two boys,' says Carlyle, 'were once of a class in the Edinburgh Grammar School: John, ever trim, precise, and dux; Walter, ever slovenly, confused, and dolt. In due time, John became Bailie John of Hunter Square, and Walter became Sir Walter Scott of the Universe.' Carlyle pithily says that the quickest and completest of all vegetables is the cabbage! The growth of Scott's powers was comparatively slow. He had reached his thirtieth year before he had done anything decisively pointing towards literature. He was thirty when the first volume of his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* was published; and he had reached forty-three when he published his first volume of *Waverly*, though it had been partly written, and then laid aside, nine years before.⁵³⁹

In the Spanish rendition of the text, the introductory sentence is modulated, which allows the translator to avoid the imprecise expression of being "anything" leading to multiple interpretations including the wrong message to the young audience. By means of a change in perspective and taking advantage of the context, besides adding the name of the writer, the form of the message is changed into "neither Walter Scott was precocious as a child," a more proper way to introduce the literary figure. The next three sentences are integrated into one in the target language where one of the noteworthy changes is the reformulation of the first statement. Martí omits the expression "Greek blockhead." He must not have considered it proper or respectful for a schoolmaster to address a student using a negative connotation for the demonym and the derogatory appellation. Instead, Martí provides an equivalent expression: "Su maestro dijo que no tenía cabeza para el griego" (His schoolmaster said he did not have the head to study Greek), a more complimentary way to express

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the same idea without the pejorative terms. Martí also reformulates the original expression “he said of himself that he had been an incorrigibly idle imp at school;” nevertheless, it is not the boy’s imperfections what Martí tries to avoid but the “incorrigibility of the individual,” a notion incompatible with his formative project. In the foreword to *Ismaelillo*, a poem book dedicated to his son, Martí expresses his “faith in human improvement, in future life, in the usefulness of virtue, and in you,”⁵⁴⁰ a key to understand the equivalence provided in the Spanish version: “He himself tells that as a boy he was very naughty and lazy,” a statement that underlies the rest of the passage meant to illustrate the improvement undergone by the boy, to which purpose Carlyle’s authorised voice makes a remarkable contribution. Carlyle’s story accounts for the way in which effort and dedication are rewarded in life. The next sentence, “But he was healthy, and eager in all boyish sports,” also serves Martí’s educational purposes since he conferred special importance to sports and physical education and warned that “in these times of anxiety of spirit, it is urgent to strengthen the body that has to contain it,”⁵⁴¹ the reason why he intensifies and enhances the original idea by translating that Scott “was very healthy, and he was a great friend of the sports of his age.” The last relevant reformulation is related to Scott’s first publication, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which Martí translates into Spanish as *Minstrelsy of Scotland*. Most probably Martí knew that not all the pieces compiled into the volume belong to that geographical region, namely, in north-east Scotland. However, the most plausible reason to explain the change is that, since it was published, the collection attracted high praise in Britain and beyond, thus becoming highly influential. By the time and from the distance Martí did his translation, he perceived the *Minstrelsy* not as a mere showcase of local legendary creations but as part of the Scottish cultural heritage.

The last sentence of the paragraph devoted to Scott reads, “Nor was Burns, though as fond as Scott of old ballads, by any means precocious; but, like him, he had strong health and a vigorous animal nature. Yet at eighteen or nineteen, as he himself informs us, the marvellous ploughboy had sketched the outlines of a

⁵⁴⁰. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 16, 17.

⁵⁴¹. *Ibid.*, v. 8, 389.

tragedy.”⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ Previously, Smiles had devoted two isolated sentences to Burns: “Burns, though rather a dull boy, began to rhyme at sixteen,” and “Robert Burns published his first volume in the same year.”⁵⁴⁴ In his translation, Martí omits the comparison between Scott and Burns. Besides the non-complimentary comment about Burns’s intellectual capacity, the most probable reason for the omission might have been the fact that, contrary to what Smiles expresses, none of the two writers distinguished for the strength of their health. The two sentences, nevertheless, are integrated into only one in the Spanish text as “Robert Burns, el poeta escocés, escribía ya a los dieciséis años sus encantadoras canciones montañesas.” (Robert Burns, the Scottish poet, was already writing his charming Highland songs at the age of sixteen.) In his rendition, Martí omits the non-complimentary reference to Burns being a “dull boy” and adds Burns’s nationality as well as the reference to the “charming Highland songs.” The second addition, complimentary though, is inaccurate since Burns’s “My Highland Lassie, O,” (1786) “My Heart’s in The Highlands,” (1789) and “Highland Mary” (1792), the pieces Martí very possibly refers to, were composed long after. Although minimal, Martí’s sentence on Burns must have contributed, to some extent, to the little knowledge there was of him in nineteenth-century Latin America.

The international reception of Burns has been addressed by numerous authors, among them, those edited by Murray Pittock in *The Reception of Robert Burns in Europe*,⁵⁴⁵ containing “Robert Burns and Spanish Letters” by Andrew Monnickendam, with reference to the late translation of Burns into Spanish, as well as Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard who, in “The international Reception,” point out that Burns did attain a significant international welcome, but also notice that “no global study of Burns’s international fortunes currently exists.”⁵⁴⁶ In fact, Burns’s transatlantic reception still remains understudied despite the existence of useful

⁵⁴². As to the sketched tragedy, related to Burns’s “A Penitential Thought, in the Hour of Remorse - Intended for a Tragedy,” relevant information can be found in Pauline Mackay’s *Burns for Every Day of the Year*.

⁵⁴³. Samuel Smiles, *ibid*, 95.

⁵⁴⁴. In reference to 1786, the year the English poet Samuel Rogers published his first volume, *An Ode to Superstition, and other Poems*.

⁵⁴⁵. Murray Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Robert Burns in Europe*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

⁵⁴⁶. Paul Barnaby and Tom Hubbard, *ibid.*, 39.

volumes such as *Robert Burns and the United States of America*,⁵⁴⁷ and *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, the latter comprising Nigel Leask's "Robert Burns and Latin America," a relevant piece in which the author states that "any study of 'transatlantic Burns' that lacked a perspective on Latin America would be geographically and culturally partial,"⁵⁴⁸ however, Leask finds it "probably not too rash to conclude that Burns's poetry (unlike his fellow Scottish writers Byron and Scott) had zero, or at least minimal, influence on nineteenth-century Latin American poetry and literary criticism,"⁵⁴⁹ the prevalence of Spanish literature and the lack of Scots-Spanish translations among the reasons alluded. Intriguing though it might be but in line with Leask's remarks, and as far as our research has gone, there is no record of a reception of Burns in Cuba. His works neither exerted influence on Cuban literature nor constituted a source of literary translation or inspiration.⁵⁵⁰ His name is neither registered in the *H. L. C.* nor in the works of any of the Cuban receptors. Martí was the only exception because of his stay in the United States, where the Scottish poet was widely received so the Burns Martí accessed was the "American Burns." As previously mentioned, Martí referred to Burns in two 1888 chronicles alluding the Scots paying due homage to the poet. The former was "coincidentally" written on 30 August, 1888, the same day on which a statue of Robert Burns was unveiled in New York; nevertheless, the central argument of the text is "The Election Campaign in the United States." The introductory paragraph conveys an updating of the most significant events of the moment:

The Scots, with great ceremony, raise a statue to their poet, Robert Burns, who had a musical verse, an unhappy life, and a brave soul. The Sioux aboriginals, squatting in circles, listen to the proposals of the priest, the captain and the lawyer, who have gone to their fertile land to convince them of their advantage on relinquishing the best of it to the railways of 'the great father' of Washington. Louisiana Caucasians, imitating the terrible Northeast "White Hoods" and concealing their hatred with pretexts of public morality, assault the black villages where some couple of the two races live, and

⁵⁴⁷. Arun Sood, *Robert Burns and the United States of America: Poetry, Print and Memory 1786-1866*, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁵⁴⁸. Nigel Leask, "Robert Burns and Latin America," in Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, Holly Faith Nelson, eds., *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012, 131.

⁵⁴⁹. *Ibid.*, 132.

⁵⁵⁰. The reason why works such as Michael Morris's "Robert Burns: Recovering Scotland's Memory of the Black Atlantic" are not directly relevant to this analysis.

unmercifully flog the man or the woman leaning against a maple trunk, and naked from the waist up. And at night, numbering more than a hundred, they fall on the village, agree surrender with the blacks willing to resist and they eventually triumph when there is no black alive.⁵⁵¹ (Translated by the author)

The paragraph can be regarded as a chip off *The Lessons* standing for the volume's influence on Martí's works. Apart from the distinguishable Scottish element, it also encompasses references to "different peoples." On representing the Scots, Martí provides a synthetic but significant characterisation of Burns accounting for Martí's deep engagement with the poet's life, work and spirit. Martí's approach to the aboriginals warns that the conquest is not over but has momentarily adopted a different appearance: violent massive extermination has given way to combined institutional pressure, and the natives are now facing the coercive role of religion, the repressive presence of racist vigilantes, and the legalizing intervention of "justice."⁵⁵² The alluded institutions are conveniently underpinned by the government, also personified by a popular metaphor, "the great father," which Martí, aiming at not racialising the expression, avoids to mention in its expanded form, "the great white father," commonly used to refer to the US president. Bearing the same name, Hannah Brookhart's article points out that "whites saw their actions, in many cases unprovoked massacres and a complete disregard for the Indians' religion and culture, as a way to introduce the American Indians to a 'civilized' lifestyle."⁵⁵³ That cynical vision of the actions is denounced by Martí when referring to the alleged advantages the natives would enjoy by believing the great-white-man story and ceding their lands to the greed of growing companies and powerful entrepreneurs such as Cornelius "The Commodore" Vanderbilt, the owner of the New York Central Railroad, an empire that unimpededly extended all over the country. Only two years later, in 1890, the Wounded Knee Massacre would take the life of over three hundred Sioux in what did not seem to be a civilizational action.

⁵⁵¹. José Martí, O. C., v. 12, 41.

⁵⁵². These bodies are stylistically represented in the text by means of a metonymic devise that presents the part by the whole and, at the same time, can be perceived as a form of personification entailing the priest, the captain and the lawyer, with which resource the author offers a more simplified concept in every case for the reader to better establish their cognitive link.

⁵⁵³. Hannah Brookhart, "The 'Great' White Father,"

The next happening Martí addresses is not less disturbing. Neither the abuse of black people in US had been over then nor is it over now. Although most historians coincide in placing the first Ku Klux Klan between 1865 and 1871, racial crimes kept on occurring all along the subsequent history of the United States. White supremacists, who had lost their privileged way of life after the Civil War, still thought of recovering it, or at least avenge their loss, in ways as brutal as those depicted by Martí. By giving accurate geographical details, he leads the reader from Louisiana to Pulaski, Tennessee, where the “White Hoods” originated, which also leads to think that most probably he knew of the foundational relationship between “Scotland and the Klan.” If so, again, his vision of Scotland was by no means romantic or idealised.

Out of the three events mentioned in the paragraph, the unveiling of the Burns statue makes the difference. The symbolic act features poetry, and the poet, bringing people together to celebrate life, opposed to expansionist greed and ruthless racism keeping people apart. The opening sentence of the second paragraph provides a discouraging denouement for each of the three events taking place in the first. In this regard, in “José Martí and Robert Burns: Connections Between Two National Icons,” Sood and Flores notice that “Martí juxtaposes the ‘brave soul’ Robert Burns with ‘Sioux aboriginals, squatting in circles’, and the assaulted black victims of terrible ‘Louisiana Caucasians’”⁵⁵⁴ before categorically stating that “the country neither gets disturbed, nor talks much about Burns, and not even celebrates as it should the noble speeches of the Sioux physician, the solemn ‘White Ghost,’ nor anyone punishes the Caucasians.”⁵⁵⁵ The authors of the article also point out that “this juxtaposition is admittedly curious given the extent to which Burns was published, and indeed commemorated through a variety of mediums in North America during the late-nineteenth century – the period in which Martí was writing.” Nevertheless, “not to talk much about Burns,” in Martí’s terms, can also be figuratively interpreted as not “drawing on the posthumous symbolic power of

⁵⁵⁴. Arun Sood and Félix Flores Varona, “José Martí and Robert Burns: Connections Between Two National Icons,” *Burns Chronicle 2018*, Robert Burns World Federation Limited, Bill Dawson, ed., accessed May 2020, <http://www.rbwf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/BURNS-CHRONICLE-2018.pdf>.

⁵⁵⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 41.

Burns,” not engaging with Burns ideal of equal opportunity for all men, the key being that “Martí enlists the poet into his own struggle against oppression and political bid for independence and equality.” Thus Burns acquires a paradigmatic value in Martí’s pursue of social justice, the reason why, once again, he invokes Burns, and his verse, in the same chronicle to compare him with US Republican politician James Gillespie Blaine, a descendent of Scots-Irish immigrants on his father’s side. Regarding Blaine, Martí comments that “the workers, of whom he fakes to be the champion, do not hold against him the fact that he is back from a tour of Scotland, in Carnegie’s car, not living “man to man,” as poet Burns would have wanted since he felt crowned for being a son of the land, but wearing red gloves and a cape, like the Prince of Wales.”⁵⁵⁶ The verse has been widely interpreted as Burns’s egalitarian idea of society, therefore it opposes Blaine’s selfish lavish behaviour supported by Dumfries-born wealthy businessman Andrew Carnegie,⁵⁵⁷ the author of several books.⁵⁵⁸

Although in positive terms, Carnegie as well was the object of the same kind of comparison. Regarding the way he treated Manuel Quintana,⁵⁵⁹ Martí praised the attitude of the entrepreneur, “who has the chair on which he sat down at the conference in the foreground of his dining room, took Quintana to his table, and to him he was talkative and open like his countryman Burns, who claims ‘that man to man the world o’er shall brothers be for a’ that,”⁵⁶⁰ the statement being the positive culmination of Martí’s representation of Carnegie, whom he had often criticized as a rich entrepreneur and dubious writer but ended up praising⁵⁶¹ him as the author of

⁵⁵⁶. Ibid., 43.

⁵⁵⁷. Even though Carnegie frequently contributed to periodicals on labour topics and is the author of several books, he is not widely regarded as a writer but rather as a successful businessman and philanthropist.

⁵⁵⁸. Ordered by date of publication: *Our Coaching Trip, Brighton to Inverness* (1882), *An American Four-in-hand in Britain* (1883), *Round the World* (1884), *Triumphant Democracy* (1886), *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889), *The Empire of Business* (1902), *The Secret of Business is the Management of Men* (1903), James Watt (1905), *Problems of Today* (1907), and *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (1920).

⁵⁵⁹. The Argentinian delegate to the 1890 International American Conference.

⁵⁶⁰. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 6, 109.

⁵⁶¹. “Between two sunflowers, decorating the corners of the lectern used here as a rostrum, the son of a Scottish weaver spoke to a chosen audience at that same hour. That son, because of his kindness and ingenuity, has become the beloved owner of the iron and steel workshops where, among the mountains that make them natural company, twelve thousand men work without anger. He is Andrew Carnegie, the author of *Triumphant Democracy*, a grateful book that the studious observer

Triumphant Democracy, which accounts for Martí's engagement with both the author and his work; however, none of the numerous mentions of Carnegie in Martí's *O. C.* are related to any literary impact. Analysis of Martí's characterization of Burns⁵⁶² and other references to the poet contained in the latter chronicle are found in Arun Sood and the present author's "José Martí and Robert Burns: Connections Between Two National Icons."⁵⁶³ Martí's references to Burns, although late secondary sources, together with the brief mention in his translation of *Smiles*, constitute the earliest known contact of the Cubans with Burns, therefore their importance. Martí's role as a Burns receptor-transmitter, a topic far from being exhausted in this chapter and outwith its scope, constitutes a unique trait that not only distinguishes him from the rest of the Cuban receptors but also adds to his merits as one of the most outstanding Scottish-literature receptors not yet acknowledged. Despite the high number of mentions of Burns in Martí's *O. C.*, there is not yet proved influence nor registered impact of Burns's works neither on Martí's nor on Cuban culture.

should not read without George's Progress and Poverty at his side. As defeat consumes, success revives: this millionaire who began his life as a telegrapher half a century ago, went at an agile pace to his lectern, the agile pace of one who, because he does not know it, does not fear the word: the word is never reached without trembling, as Talma never stepped on the stage without trembling." In José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 11, 302.

⁵⁶². "Then came the holiday of the Scots, who gathered, around the pole of ribbons they braid and tangle on dancing, to baptize –in the shade of the autumn trees and on a rainy day indeed– the statue of Robert Burns, their poet, to whom "not vernal show'rs to budding flow'rs, not Autumn to the farmer, so dear can be" as his nice Peggy of yellow tresses and bare feet. Rich and noble people gathered –bareheaded– to honor whom in life, only out of courtesy, uncovered his head before them; whom lived free and proud, preferring shortage to alms, and apprentice porridge to the uneasiness of the court poets; whom did not set foot on duke halls, but when the fame of his genius allowed him to do it crown to crown; whom did not sell out to the majesty for positions or pensions, nor aimed at pedantry degrees, nor inflated his Latin, nor faked his Greek, but pursued the doctorate he attained by virtue of the soul, with a young lady from the mountains as his teacher, both roaming in ardent Augusts the places where people dance, sing and plough; they gather to honor him who was at once Beranger and Tibullus, but with his hands still on the revered pole of Ayr. Like a brother he proudly defended the "plebeian lasses" from the disdain of the wealthy ones, with his stanzas by shield. And they really needed the defense of their attorney's verses. The robust and loving village girls from Ayrshire did not have a more demanding and tender friend than him, who did not go with the "pious godly flocks, weel fed on pastures orthodox" or write venal prose and palatial rhymes with the art he was taught by the moist dawn and the thrush in love. Instead, he would go –with bands on the hamstrings, plaid on his shoulders and composing verses– either to the strawberry fields of Ballechmyle where Mannie awaits him, or to the riverside to tell proud Tibbie that "Ye geck at me because I'm poor, But fient a hair care I," or he goes to the cornfield trail, where he will not be underestimated for walking slowly to the sound of the corn, embracing Peggy's waist, slim as a young arc." In José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 111. Translated by the author.

⁵⁶³. Arun Sood and Félix Flores Varona, *ibid.*

Thomas Carlyle is not featured in Smiles's chapter as a precocious talent, nor are in the chapter passages of his life and work as in the case of Byron and Scott. Nevertheless, Carlyle is frequently quoted in the chapter as a reputable source; consequently, his credited statements appear several times in Martí's translation. After Byron, as previously stated, Carlyle is the most mentioned Scot in Martí's writings. In the Venezuelan newspaper *La Opinión Nacional*, Martí wrote that

Carlyle, who has been a sort of Shakespeare of the prose, as bold, innovative, independent, deep, universal and brash, worked long before achieving fame. Fame began to flatter him after having published his *Life of Robert Burns*, whom he loved with a love even more lively than that he felt for Goethe. German literature, however, exerted great influence on the mind of the powerful philosopher.⁵⁶⁴ (Translated by the author)

The journalistic note not only synthesises Martí's perception of Carlyle but also constitutes the image of the Scottish writer Martí introduced to the Latin American audience. Most of Martí's references to Carlyle are contained in notebooks. One of the notes is introduced by an Emerson quotation, "Of what avail the plough and sail, /Or land or life, if freedom fail?," and contains a whole portrait of Carlyle, however, it was never published in Martí's lifetime. Most probably, Martí was planning to include the note⁵⁶⁵ in a subsequent work. Significantly, the text has a footnote by the compiler explaining that "below are some notes entitled 'My Negroes,' apparently intended for a book he was planning to write." The footnote redirects to *O. C.*, v. 18, 285, where, among other titles and notes for book projects, there is a list under the mentioned title featuring several black people who had caused a memorable

⁵⁶⁴. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 23, 93.

⁵⁶⁵. About Carlyle, on reading him:

He does not write on horseback, but on a chimera. He has a frown. With the look, he roots. He spits mockery. He prophesies, melts, anoints: concentrates. Life. He writes "Life" with capital letter. He tramples everything that does not fit his concept, everything that is not direct and loyal, -a government, a poet, a translator: he does not care about the size, but violation. He gets outraged with the labourers and repeaters of ideas: He wants men of actions, who may carry out actions. He does not go ahead at a natural pace on the well-trodden paths; but enters the jungle killing, crushing, bending, and cutting. His laughter is wide and deep, and a little bit cold. He collides with his time, because his time loves Mankind and the earth as goddesses; and to him Man is his God. But he is saved from the dangers of this worship of man because he loves mankind involuntarily. He sees action where the others see tyranny. He is blinded by the love of action, as others are blind by the love of diction. He reads at once the two stories of man, -the one told or taught to the world, and the most personal and hidden of desires and intentions that move him. He constantly puts in parallel the shape or the theory he disguises with the real attempts he conceals: He reads at once the two lines of life. His constant and relentless revelation boggles. He is marrow-hungry. (Translated by the author), José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 21, p. 341.

impression on Martí either because of their virtues or the way they were abused in slavery or under Spanish domination. The content of the list reveals the relationship of the note with Emerson, who, like Martí since his early years, staunchly opposed slavery. The Emerson ad hoc quotation alluding to freedom reinforces the rapport. Carlyle, as widely known, also distinguished for proclaiming the acceptability of using black slaves and indentured serfs in his “Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question” (1849), his pronouncement taking place at a time when slavery was at its highest in Cuba. The fact that Martí’s portrait of Carlyle is introduced by the Emerson lines and followed by a series of notes alluding to “his” negroes strongly suggests that Martí may have come across Carlyle’s “Occasional Discourse,” and therefore protracted his possible writing project involving Carlyle or even desisted from it. Besides the mentions of Carlyle related to the translation of Smiles, in *O. C.* there are some other corresponding to annotations in notebooks as well as comparisons. The high number of mentions, however, does not account for any impact on the Cuban culture or in Martí’s works. Notwithstanding, Martí can still be considered a noteworthy Carlyle receptor-transmitter not yet acknowledged. Even though *H. L. C.* mentions the influence of Carlyle’s heroic conception on biography as a genre in Cuba,⁵⁶⁶ nothing has yet been written about his reception in the Caribbean. Neither any information has been found so far about Carlyle’s transatlantic fortunes, which aspects should also be taken into consideration to enlarge the map of Scottish literary influence.

On setting forth the criteria for the selection of authors entering the *Biographical Dictionary of Literary Influences*, the editor admits that “some will argue, for instance, that it is madness to omit Friedrich von Schiller or Charles Baudelaire while including Samuel Smiles and John Greenleaf Whittier.”⁵⁶⁷ Even though he did not make it into “The International Reception,” Samuel Smiles has now an additional merit as previously discussed. The dictionary, however, works on a one-way basis and only addresses the alleged influence of other authors on the selected ones. Otherwise, the volume could have made reference to the international

⁵⁶⁶ Jorge Luis Arcos et al., *ibid.*, 423.

⁵⁶⁷ John Powell, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Literary Influences: The Nineteenth Century, 1800-1914*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), xi.

fortune attained by Smiles through his inclusion in José Martí's *La Edad de Oro*. Tracking the number of editions and translations the book has had all over the world, since it was first published would be a difficult task, however, it might give an idea as to the contribution of the volume to the reception of Ramsay, Smiles, and, indirectly, the other Scots approached, one way or another, in the Martinian text, namely, Lord Byron, Walter Scott, Robert Burns and Thomas Carlyle, without disregarding mentions such as the *Edinburgh Review* and Byron's satire in verse *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* and the fact that the translated chapter also mentions some other British authors.⁵⁶⁸ The editor of the *Dictionary* wishes "there had been room for more entries," which scenario would have allowed for the probable addition of a more representative number of transatlantic authors, among them, José Martí, who lacked room in the volume but fortunately neither literary relevance nor merits as a Scottish literature receptor-transmitter as hitherto set forth. Beyond the practical profit of filling a space in the publication, the inclusion of "Great Young Men" in *La Edad de Oro* constitutes another instance in which both Scottish and Cuban authors mutually benefit from the reception. The translation of Smiles's article for a children's magazine helped Martí introduce an interesting material featuring universal musicians, poets and painters in their way to success through hard labour, dedication and perseverance, which traits were essential to his educational project. At the same time, the publication of the article made possible the reception of Smiles in the vast geography where Martí's book, with its rare quality of attracting children and adults as well, has been published and continues to be published. Despite the fact that neither Ramsay nor Smiles are recorded in *H. L. C.*, and Martí mentioned them only once in his writings, nor have they been considered among the Scottish authors who attained transatlantic fortunes, the inclusion of Ramsay and Smiles in Martí's works accounts for impacts on Cuban culture that continue to extend all over the world. Martí definitely helped Cubans know about Scotland and its culture.

⁵⁶⁸. In alphabetical order: Bacon, Barrett, Browning, Byron, Chatterton, Chaucer, Coleridge, Congreve, Cowley, Crabbe, Johnson, Keats, Lytton, Macaulay, Milton, Moore, Pope, Shakespeare, Shelley, Sheridan, Southey, Spencer, Tennyson, and Wordsworth.

As argued in this chapter, José Martí's participation in the Scottish-literature reception is neither an isolated spontaneous phenomenon nor the result of an idealised vision. It is the result of his engagement with Scottish elements and topics since his early youth under the influence of the *American Popular Lessons* and its Scottish component along with transatlantic topics such as exploration, conquest, colonization and slavery. Even though these topics are silenced, misrepresented or heavily distorted in the *Lessons*, Martí was able to address them later in life with a more objective and critical vision. Just as in the *Lessons*, in Martí's subsequent works, there is a distinguishable Scottish element not only by the number of Scottish authors he addressed but also by his approach to a wide variety of Scottish topics other than literary. Even though mentions constitute a valuable element to trace influence, they do not necessarily determine the scope. Both Edward Bannerman Ramsay and Samuel Smiles, hardly mentioned by Martí, continue to be "an ever active presence" all over the world through the impact they exerted on the works of José Martí. Martí's engagement in the reception was also favoured by both his relationship with precedent and contemporary receptors, and his relevant intellectual facets. Martí distinguishes as the most relevant Cuban receptor and as such should be included on the map of the international reception and literary impact of Scottish literature.

Conclusion

This thesis examines the reception of Scottish literature in nineteenth-century Cuba, and constitutes the first critical and bibliographical exploration of this phenomenon. Positing a specifically Scottish component of Cuban literary and cultural history (the 'Scoto-Cuban'), this thesis establishes a new focus for transmission study and provides an empirical basis for further studies of both Scottish authors and Cuban receptors-transmitters discussed in the preceding chapters. The Scottish component provides a new means of appreciating Cuban cultural icons such as José Martí's *La Edad de Oro*, "Cultivo una rosa blanca," the lyrics to "Guantanamera," and "Alfredo," as well as Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*: both as genuine fruits of the Scoto-Cuban reception, and works whose 'nationality' is composite and complex. By setting forth the role played by key nineteenth-century authors and receptors, this thesis provides solid grounds to incorporate Cuban writers, translators and intellectuals onto the map of the Scotland's international literary heritage.

The factors that contributed to the origination of the Scoto-Cuban literary phenomenon were mainly the withdrawal of outstanding Cuban intellectuals from official cultural institutions due to the rigorous control imposed by the Spanish colonial regime, which situation compelled them to embrace activities that favoured their approach to Scottish and other foreign literatures and authors. Those activities comprise the holding of literary gatherings fostering the approach to Scottish writers by means of translations, readings and publications. Education through private teaching and mentoring also played an important role on promoting the teaching of foreign literatures and languages as well as translation. Other Cuban intellectuals, due to their political ideas, were compelled to go into exile, which situation did not prevent them from translating Scottish authors or writing valuable critical works promoting their lives and works. Another noteworthy factor was the settling in Havana of Hispano-American figures who propagated among the Cuban intellectuals the works of Scots such as Byron and Scott. The fact that these activities became traditional account for the extension of the reception over most of the century. Lord Byron, Walter Scott, James Macpherson, George Campbell, Thomas Carlyle, Edward Bannerman Ramsay and Samuel Smiles are among the Scottish authors best

received in Cuba, however, only three of them registered impacts on Cuban literature and therefore on Cuban culture. Scott's oeuvre was the model followed by Cirilo Villaverde for the creation of his *Cecilia*, considered the most emblematic Cuban novel and inspiring source for a wide number of creations in the most diverse artistic genre. Elements borrowed from Ramsay's *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* were incorporated in José Martí's "Cultivo una rosa blanca," the most popular Cuban poem and also the lyrics to "Guantanamera," the most internationally acclaimed Cuban song. A partial translation of Samuel Smiles's "Great Young Men," from his *Life and Labour*, was included by Martí in his *La Edad de Oro*, regarded as the most important Children's literature volume not only in Cuba but also in Latin America. The translated article, taking part of Martí's educational project addressed to the Latin American children "who would be the men and women of the future" not only features the lives and works of Byron and Scott but also contains references to Robert Burns and Thomas Carlyle.

Lord Byron, the first and best received Scot, was initially known to Cubans by means of the indirect path of music, however, he became "an ever active presence" that not only inspired musical compositions but triggered a considerable number of remarkable critical works conveying the Cuban receptors' perception of the author and his work. This corpus – here traced and documented for the first time – has not yet been incorporated into studies on the international reception of Byron nor to the studies of his life and work. Byron was also the object of innumerable translations and imitations, a bulk worth studying, compiling and publishing, which also applies to the numerous poetical compositions he inspired, among them, José Martí's "Alfredo," a striking tribute to the poet and the figure of the Byronic hero. Not less important is the reception of Walter Scott highlighted by the close encounter of José de la Luz y Caballero, and José María Heredia's first translation of *Waverley* into Spanish. Scott and his work generated a considerable correspondence and critical works containing, as in the case of Byron, the Cuban receptors' perception of the author and his work, a corpus also worthy of incorporation into studies on the international reception of Scott and studies of his life and work. Besides *Cecilia*, Scott inspired verse dramas with Scottish arguments that, according to some canonical parameters, classify as Scottish literature. One of the purposes served by

the reception of Scott was familiarising the Cubans with the history of Scotland and elements of Scottishness, namely, the Highlands. Cuban intellectuals found in a Scottish and other national literatures a means to avoid Spanish literature, which they associated with Spanish domination. The shaping of a national literature and the struggle to attain independence from Spain favoured the reception of authors such as Walter Scott displaying national history, people, customs, traditions and expressions, and Lord Byron, a freedom fighter with a rebellious libertarian character.

José Martí, Cuba's national hero, is the most outstanding among the Cuban Scottish-literature receptors. His texts, conveying a strong Scottish component with passages about Scotland, its culture and history, continue to be published in Cuba and abroad, which fact has given and will give continuity to his role as a Scottish-literature transmitter. Several facets of his life contributed to his successful role as receptor. Besides his engagement with the life and work of preceding receptors, Martí is considered the most important Cuban scholar, writer, translator and journalist of his time. His *O. C.* contain his approach to more than twenty Scottish authors whom he either promoted, characterised, translated or simply mentioned, the figure exceeding by far the Scottish authors approached by other previous and contemporary Cuban receptors. The impacts of Ramsay and Smiles on Martí's works stand for a noteworthy case of mutual acknowledgement in which the borrowed material helped create works that shine a spotlight on the rather forgotten original authors not yet acknowledged for having attained transatlantic fortunes.

José María Heredia distinguishes among the Cuban receptors for having done the first translation of *Waverley* into Spanish, as well as other translations involving Scots such as Byron, Macpherson, Tytler and Campbell. Heredia is also the author of critical works about Byron, Scott and Campbell besides having written a drama classifying as Scottish literature. José de la Luz y Caballero was a first-hand receptor of Scott and the author of texts narrating his visit to Abbotsford and others promoting Scott's life and work. Luz is also known for having met Scottish educationist John Wood and having implemented Wood's explanatory method in Cuba where it is in place even to date, a theme worth researching further. Domingo del Monte was the most outstanding host of literary gatherings, events that significantly promoted Scottish literature and authors. He wrote and translated critical works involving

Scottish authors and compiled the *Centón Epistolario*, a huge volume of correspondence containing valuable information to trace the Scoto-Cuban reception. Del Monte is also known for mentoring Cirilo Villaverde and Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, the author of one of the dramas with Scottish argument. Cirilo Villaverde is distinguished as a receptor of Scott by means of his far-reaching *Cecilia*. Other Cuban intellectuals addressed in this thesis also proved their merit as Scottish-literature receptors and transmitters not yet acknowledged. As most Cuban receptors were fluent in English, they did not need translation to access Scottish literature, however, as translators, they helped the Cuban audience to make contact with Scottish culture and literature, in which role they acted as cultural transmitters. The answers to my initial research questions pose other questions, namely, why a similar literary phenomenon did not take place in the Caribbean territories under British domination, or why such a massive Scoto-Cuban literary phenomenon has remained invisible to date. These queries may stimulate further research, drawing upon the foundations – critical, empirical and bibliographical – established in this project. The development of this thesis has rested on the theoretical principles and practical tools of comparative literature while appealing to the three scopes of the discipline as stated by Remak: interliterary (Scottish and Cuban literature), interartistic (literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, dance and other scenic arts) and interdiscursive (literature and other disciplines such as linguistics, stylistics, literary theory, translation theory, history, art criticism, etc.). Even though several guidelines established by the works of T. S. Shaw and other comparatists have been taken into consideration, we have avoided the concept of “literary indebtedness” since the influence of Scottish authors on Cuban receptors has been well “repaid” by their role as transmitters. Instead, we propose the expression “mutual acknowledgement.” On conducting our analyses, we have argued that mentions constitute a means to trace influence but do not determine its scope as in the case of Ramsay and Smiles. The main limitation of this thesis lays in the impossibility of approaching in depth all the Scottish authors taking part in the reception, all the Cuban receptors, all the genres involved, all the literary works, and all the translations generated by the reception. Areas such as education and translation, especially all the versions generated by Lord Byron as well as Heredia’s renditions of Macpherson’s *Ossian* and

Tytler's *Universal History*, deserve further research. I hope the term "Scoto-Cuban," coined in this thesis, may continue to be used in the future in contexts other than the literary.

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Appendix 1

The Intellectual Facets of José Martí

Being an exceptional and relentless student was one of the factors that made José Martí an outstanding scholar and Scottish-literature receptor. Martí must have learned his first letters from 1857 to 1859 in Valencia, Spain, where his parents had taken him when he was four. In 1859 the family returned to Havana and at six he started to attend a humble neighbourhood school and on the following year he was transferred to the San Anacleto School. In 1865, at twelve, he was admitted to the Municipal Primary Instruction School for Boys, whose director, Rafael María de Mendive exerted a great influence on the formation of the young student. Under Mendive, as already mentioned, Martí became familiar with several Anglophone writers and became engaged in the translation of some of them. Mendive himself requested Martí's admission to the Havanan Secondary Education Institute, where he was taught Castilian Grammar, Latin Grammar, Christian Doctrine and Sacred History, as well as Principles and Exercises of Arithmetic. On enrolling the San Pablo College in September 1868, Martí was once again mentored by Mendive, founder and director of the institution. The talented student had just started his third year when the Independence War broke out in October 1868, and the political situation directly affected his life from that moment on. On 28 January 1869, the day Martí turned 15, Mendive was arrested for alleged participation in a demonstration at the Villanueva Theatre⁵⁶⁹, where one of the characters on stage unexpectedly cried "Long live the land that grows the sugarcane!" provoking the immediate reaction of the audience that started to cry similar or stronger independentism slogans, which the volunteer soldiers of the Spanish regime countered by attacking the audience and eventually instigating a firefight. Mendive was eventually banished to Spain, but managed to escape to France and then to the United States. Consequently, Martí did not finish the course and instead engaged in revolutionary activities, for which reason, he too was imprisoned and eventually banished to Spain, where he graduated with a bachelor of arts, a degree in civil and canon law, and still another in philosophy and arts. In 1877, Martí travelled to Guatemala, where, as mentioned

⁵⁶⁹. Susana Callejas Opiiso et al., *Historia de Cuba*, (La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación), 2011, 149.

before, he was appointed teacher of French, English, Italian and German Literature as well as History of Philosophy at the Central Teachers' College and collaborated with the university magazine. In 1878, on his return to Cuba, after the first war for independence was over, he taught at the Education House in Havana. Later in 1881 while in Venezuela, he taught Grammar and French Literature at the Santa María College while teaching Universal Literature at the Villegas College, where he founded a rhetoric department. In New York, he continued to teach and was a cofounder of The League, a society devoted to promoting education among Cuban and Porto Rican migrant workers. Beyond the university and his teaching endeavours that earned him the title of "The Teacher" by which he is commonly referred, José Martí continued to pursue as much knowledge as possible in a wide variety of fields. He was a consummate reader and would take down note of any information he would find interesting or useful. At his death, he left over 20 notebooks full of diverse annotations and comments, which corpus makes almost 500 full pages and is gathered in volume 21 of his *O. C.* A considerable number of the notes contained in this volume are relevant to the reception and influence of Scottish writers such as Thomas Carlyle, Robert Burns, James Boswell, Francis Jeffrey and Margaret Wilson Oliphant.

As a writer, his first published work was the poem "A Micaela,"⁵⁷⁰ dedicated to Mendive's wife on the loss of their child. Martí was still fifteen by then, but his writing skills and sincere inspiration were already apparent.⁵⁷¹ His poetry matured quickly and became paradigmatic for many subsequent poets. His first poetry book, *Ismaelillo*, was written in 1881 in Caracas, Venezuela, and printed in New York in 1882. Many scholars coincide in asserting that the 15 poems of the volume, meant to evoke his absent son left behind in Cuba, laid the foundations for the new modernist

⁵⁷⁰. Published in *El Álbum*, a local newspaper of science, literature and classifieds printed in Guanabacoa, Havana, on 26 April 1868, according to a copy preserved at the Historical Museum of that locality.

⁵⁷¹. Salvador Arias, a scholar devoted to the study of the Cuban, in regard to this early piece, expressed that "It maintains a simple elegiac tone, without fanfare, in the manner of Mendive's own poetry. It uses the assonanced octosyllable, a basic language meter which Martí would master short after. The verse almost always flows and its reading is pleasant. However, it is not a text written at random by a teenager and in its images, metaphors and symbols it is possible to discover a coherent plan of undoubted personal development." (Translated by the author from <http://www.portalcubarte.cult.cu/en/node/4209>)

aesthetic.⁵⁷² Some state that this collection is indeed the first manifestation of modernist poetry in America.⁵⁷³ Regardless, this small volume was conceived as a reaction against the old forms and vices of Romanticism in the Americas. The next poetry collection, *Versos sencillos* (Simple verses) was published in New York in 1891 and is considered to represent the full accomplishment of the poet who by this time was thirty-eight and had accumulated much knowledge and experience in composing poetry. What Martí named “simple” deserves the adjective just because the poems and their stanzas show an unpretentious structure, the style is clean and the language is spontaneous and direct:

A sincere man am I
From the land where palm trees grow,
And I want before I die
My soul's verses to bestow.

I'm a traveller to all parts,
And a newcomer to none:
I am art among the arts,
With the mountains I am one.

I know how to name and class
All the strange flowers that grow;
I know every blade of grass,
Fatal lie and sublime woe.

I have seen through dead of night
Upon my head softly fall,
Rays formed of the purest light

⁵⁷². Among the authors who sustain the idea, mention should be made of Gustavo Escobar in *Esbozo sobre algunas ideas estéticas de José Martí* (<http://www.posgrado.unam.mx/sites/default/files/2016/04/0708.pdf>) and Enrico Mario Santi in *Ismaelillo, Martí y el Modernismo* (<http://revista-iberoamericana.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/Iberoamericana/article/viewFile/4267/4435>)

⁵⁷³. Caridad Atencio, *La saga crítica de Ismaelillo*, (La Habana: Editorial José Martí), 2008.

From beauty celestial.

I have seen wings that were surging
From beautiful women's shoulders,
And seen butterflies emerging
From the refuse heap that moulders.⁵⁷⁴

Nevertheless, these emotive and at the same time enigmatic pieces constitute an autobiographic manifesto. They reflect momentous episodes of Martí's life such as his banishment to Spain, his stay in that country and the feelings it aroused in him, his stay in Mexico, the flaws of his marriage, his life in the United States, his care for his alleged daughter María Mantilla, and even his premonitions of a possible early death. These verses ultimately convey the deepest thoughts of the author regarding concepts such as "God," "Universe," and "Nature." Further reference will be made to *Simple Verses*, especially to one of its poems, "Cultivo una rosa blanca,"⁵⁷⁵ due to its relationship with Edward Bannerman Ramasay, one of the Scottish authors closely related to José Martí.

Even though the set of poems named *Versos libres*⁵⁷⁶ was not published by Martí, they bear significant poetic value due to their original sonority and their approach to the cosmic, the great and the universal. These verses were dated by him in 1882, but at the same time he claims to have written them when he was twenty-five, which takes their completion back to 1878 even though they were published in 1939. As recorded in his *O. C.*, Martí's poetic production also comprises two more collections of poems: *Flores del destierro*⁵⁷⁷ (Banishment flowers), written from 1878 to 1895 and published in 1933 and *Versos de amor*⁵⁷⁸ (Love verses), published in 1930. The former can be regarded to as the conclusion of *Versos Libres*, while the latter shows certain reminiscence of the *Versos sencillos* regarding their form. A series of rhymed letters constitutes his last poetry set. Martí also authored three well-known plays: *Abdala*, *Adúltera* (Unfaithful Woman) and *Amor con amor se paga*

⁵⁷⁴. José Martí, "A Sincere Man Am I" (Verse I). All Poetry, accessed 14 January, 2019, [https://allpoetry.com/A-Sincere-Man-Am-I--\(Verse-I\)](https://allpoetry.com/A-Sincere-Man-Am-I--(Verse-I)).

⁵⁷⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 16, 117.

⁵⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, 131-230.

⁵⁷⁷. *Ibid.*, 239-308.

⁵⁷⁸. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 16, 311-340.

(Love is Paid with Love). The first was written by him when he was 17 and deals with the dilemma of a soldier who has to decide whether he stays home looking after his family or goes to war to prevent his homeland from being enslaved. The other two plays were well accepted and earned good reviews. All of them are contained in *O. C.*, volume 18. The essayist José Martí was the author of pieces like “Nuestra América”⁵⁷⁹ (Our America), of continental interest, and “Mi raza”⁵⁸⁰ (My Race), against racial discrimination. Concerning his written works, in *Historia del ensayo hispanoamericano*⁵⁸¹ (History of Hispano-American Essay) grounds are provided to assert that his prose was well received given the variations of his rhythm, the stylistic choice of words and the use of unexpected syntactic structures. His novel *Amistad Funesta* (Dismal friendship) as well as the short stories of *La Edad de Oro* (The Golden Age), bear the richness of style that characterised most of his pieces. His performance as an author of children’s literature was also well-received. Having been a prominent writer constitutes a significant strength in Martí’s reception of Scottish literature and authors. On one hand, the facet allowed him to appreciate from a knowledgeable position the works of writers such as Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Thomas Carlyle, Lord Byron and Edward Bannerman Ramsay whose life and works he promoted. On the other hand, this feature grants credits and reliability not only to Martí’s perception of Scottish writers but also to his texts expressing viewpoints, characterizations and assessments involving them. Martí’s career as a writer is closely related to both criticism and journalism, which facets as well involve his approach to several Scottish writers and will be furtherly addressed.

For decades Martí’s art criticism works have attracted the attention of scholars who have tried to discern methodologies, guides, and principles from his pieces, which endeavour, at the same time, reflects the importance conferred to his humanist thought. While his works involve most of the arts, his main contributions lie in literature and painting. Numerous writers from Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean were the object of Martí’s critical observations. His works “Emerson,”⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹. Ibid, v. 6, 15-23.

⁵⁸⁰. Ibid, v. 2, 298-300.

⁵⁸¹. Peter G. Earle y Robert G. Mead. *Historia del ensayo hispanoamericano*. México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1973.

⁵⁸². José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 13, 15-30.

“Longfellow,”⁵⁸³ “Louise May Alcott,”⁵⁸⁴ “Walt Whitman,”⁵⁸⁵ “Byron,”⁵⁸⁶ “Herbert Spencer,”⁵⁸⁷ “Oscar Wilde”⁵⁸⁸ as well as “Heredia”⁵⁸⁹ and “Francisco Sellén”⁵⁹⁰ were very well received. Even though *La Edad de Oro* was supposedly intended for children, the volume also had its share of literary critique: “La Ilíada de Homero” (Homer’s *Iliad*), an article that paves the way to the reading of that monumental piece of classical literature. For Martí,

criticizing, is not biting, or hammering, or putting the object in the pillory; it is not consecrating oneself by scrutinizing with greedy eyes the moles and spots that disfigure the beautiful work; it is the noble attempt to point out the black mole, and fade with pious hand the shadow that obscures the beautiful work. Criticizing is loving. (Translated by the author)⁵⁹¹

On reaching this definition associated with the purest manifestation of human feelings, Martí alludes to the unjustifiable practice of those critics who carry out their office in an arrogant and incisive way aiming at diminishing or discrediting their target. Instead of helping embellish the piece addressed, encouraging its improvement, correcting its flaws or enhancing its content, such “critics,” consciously or not, usually undermine legitimate creative attempts just because they are compelled by the need to simply say something or show how “powerful” their judgement is. Martí’s definition goes beyond the ethical and aesthetical aspect of criticism to point out its constructive aim and essence. His own critiques were the best illustration of his thoughts in this regard, and appear in several volumes of his *O. C.*: Volume 5, dedicated to Cuba, encompass several critical articles on literature, painting and music; Volume 13, on the United States, holds diverse works about literature and painting, while Volume 15 contains art criticism related to several European countries. Having been an outstanding art critic contributes to the reliability and quality of Martí’s critiques involving Scottish literature, authors and themes.

⁵⁸³. Ibid., 223-231.

⁵⁸⁴. Ibid., 191-195.

⁵⁸⁵. Ibid., 129-143.

⁵⁸⁶. Ibid., v. 15, 359-368.

⁵⁸⁷. Ibid., 385- 388.

⁵⁸⁸. Ibid., 359- 368.

⁵⁸⁹. Ibid., v. 5, 131-139.

⁵⁹⁰. Ibid., 181- 193.

⁵⁹¹. Ibid., 116.

Most of Martí's written works correspond to journalism, in which field he achieved wide international reputation. His journalistic career also started early: at 16 he founded his first newspaper, *El Diablo Cojuelo* (The lame devil), in partnership with his former classmate Fermín Valdés Domínguez. This publication was dated 19 January 1869 and had only one issue, but its editorials and satirical notes on major events had a significant impact. Shortly after, on 23 January, Martí and Domínguez issued another newspaper, *La Patria Libre* (The free homeland), which was inspired by Rafael María de Mendive and, like the previous one, also saw the light once, but as well transcended to reach present generations. Its last pages contained the still famous drama in verse *Abdala*, which piece makes a veiled allusion to the political situation of the country and reveals Martí's previously-mentioned early concept of "the love for the homeland."

After being deported to Spain in 1871, his career continued with an article named *Castillo*, published in *La Soberanía Nacional*, a Cádiz newspaper, and then reproduced by other media. Some biographers, however, coincide in asserting that Martí's journalistic career really commenced in 1875 on his arrival in Mexico. In that country he started to collaborate with the *Revista Universal*. His work for that publication provided him with much recognition and prestige as a journalist, Occupation that he also exerted in Guatemala and Venezuela. However, Martí produced most of his journalistic work in the United States. It is estimated that between 1880 and 1892 he wrote approximately 400 chronicles and 100 portraits addressing Hispanic America, the United States and Europe. Moreover, it has been found out that over twenty newspapers and magazines in Hispanic America and Spain frequently reproduced his works. Furthermore, the Argentinian newspaper *La Nación*, with which Martí kept a profuse collaboration, was read in the capitals of several South-American countries.⁵⁹² Consequently, all those publications constituted a significant channel for the promotion of Scottish authors. In 1880, based in New York, Martí started to collaborate with *The Hour*, in which journal he published a series of articles under the name "Impressions of America" as well as some chronicles on art. At the same time, he collaborated with *The Sun*, a journal

⁵⁹². Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, "José Martí, cronista de Estados Unidos." Caribenet. Accessed December 30, 2018. http://www.caribenet.info/pensare_pprodriguez_marti_cronista.asp?l=

directed by Charles Anderson Dana. One year later, he travelled to Venezuela, where he founded the *Revista Venezolana*, a journal that incurred the wrath of Venezuela's president, Antonio Guzmán Blanco, for which reason Martí was forced to return to New York, where he continued his journalistic career.

The vast majority of Martí's approaches to Scotland and Scottish literature are contained in his journalism pieces, namely the ones collected in his *New York Chronicles*, to which corpus still further reference will be made on dealing with Martí's relationship with Scottish authors. The *New York Chronicles* were mainly published in three Latin American periodicals: *La Nación*, from Buenos Aires, Argentina; *La Opinión Nacional*, from Caracas, Venezuela, *El Partido liberal*, from Mexico, as well as *La América*, a US journal of which Martí became the director after only one year of collaboration. Regarding the whole journalistic work of José Martí, Byron is the most recurrent name while *La Nación* contains the highest number of references to Scottish authors, among them, Burns, Carlyle, Byron and Stevenson. One of the columns of the Argentinian newspaper, the *Sección Constante* (Constant section), was another journalistic platform available to the promotion of Scottish topics such as the life of Queen Victoria at the Balmoral castle, Scottish personalities such as the sculptor William Brodie and writers such as Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle. Even though both *La Nación* and *La Opinión Nacional* refer to Hume and Carlyle, Scott is only mentioned in the latter, while Andrew Lang and Henry Drummond are only addressed in *El Partido Liberal*. The most recurrent name is "Carnegie," with over fifteen mentions distributed over the three periodicals alluding his powerful position in society as the great magnate of the steel industry, his participation in events of the high class, his relationship with the politician James Gillespie Blaine or his arguable authorship of *Triumphant Democracy; Or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic*. Although *La América* was a monthly publication devoted to the fostering of agriculture, industry and commerce in Hispano-American countries, it made room for literary criticism and promotion. This journal was responsible for the publication of two small articles related to Scottish literature: the aforementioned "Carlyle, romanos y ovejas," (Carlyle, Romans and sheep) alluding *Sartor Resartus*, and another one on Alexander Baine's *Practical Essays*. There are many references to Scottish literature in Martí's personal notes and correspondence.

However, it is definitely his journalism, with its significant acceptance on the side of both the audience and the critics, what provided him with a privileged platform to display his perception and validation of Scottish literature while revealing himself as receptor and transmitter of numerous prominent Scottish writers.

Martí's facet as a translator is also relevant to his reception of Scottish writers. He started the translation career at a very early age under the guidance of his teacher Rafael María de Mendive, who also taught the young student the basics of the English language, a tool that would be critical for him to later accede Scottish writers, including the ones he did not translate. The first record of Martí's renditions into Spanish is provided by himself in one of his notes:

There, sixteen years ago, when I was thirteen, would handle the *American Popular Lessons* with certain easiness, and tried the translation of *Hamlet*. As I could not overcome the scene of the gravediggers, and then I believed it indecent for a great genius to speak about mice, I was contented with the incestuous [*Cain,*] *A Mystery* by Lord Byron.⁵⁹³

The note, besides marking Martí's commencement in the translation field, involves noteworthy aspects concerning his facet as Scottish-literature receptor: the *American Popular Lessons*⁵⁹⁴ was a compilation of readings "designed particularly for the younger classes of children in schools." It displayed a wide variety of topics such as history, science, religion and society. One of its sections, titled "Men of Different Countries," starts with a farfetched subheading: "Highlander," under which the author, Eliza Robbins, who considers the Highlands a country, offers an interesting characterization of the Highlanders: "they wear woollen clothes of many colours, called Scotch plaid, and caps or bonnets on their heads. They work hard, and are very honest."⁵⁹⁵ This might have been Martí's first approach to the Scottish Highlands. Significantly, most of the Cuban authors who had previously engaged the Scottish literature reception had referred to the Highlands in their works as furtherly discussed. Nevertheless, the presence of the topic in the *American Popular Lessons* suggests that Walter Scott's novels were not the only source by means of which the

⁵⁹³. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 22, 412.

⁵⁹⁴. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829.

⁵⁹⁵. *Ibid.*, 214.

Cubans became familiar with the legendary Scottish region. Robbins also points out that “in Scotland, almost all over the country, there are schools for the instruction of poor people,”⁵⁹⁶ an effort first-had-experienced by José de la Luz y Caballero, who implemented in Cuba a Scottish educational method brought all the way from Edinburgh to the Caribbean Island. The fact that Mendive, Martí’s teacher, was one of Luz y Caballero’s closest students, strongly suggests that young Martí consequently benefitted from the Scottish educational method. A further edition of the *American Popular Lessons*, known as the sequel, contains works by two Scottish authors, Thomas Campbell’s “To the Rainbow” and Walter Scott’s “Marmion,” which means that Martí could have read both poems while taking his lessons. The didactic volume also contains a section titled “Africa”⁵⁹⁷ about the interest of Europeans in the knowledge of that continent and the adventures of a grateful “white man” assisted by a “Negro Woman.” The hero of the passage is no other but Mungo Park, the legendary explorer from Selkirk after whom The Royal Scottish Geographical Society award the Mungo Park Medal every year. The *American Popular Lessons*, besides assisting Martí’s learning of the English language and the acquisition of translation abilities, may have also fed his interest in Scott and Campbell while providing him with interesting information about Scotland and the Scottish people, especially the alluded writers.

Martí’s note also mentions Lord Byron’s *Cain, a Mystery*. The volume, published for the first time in 1821, had a relevant dedication: “To Sir Walter Scott, Bart. this mystery of Cain is inscribed, by his obliged friend, and faithful servant, the author.” Byron’s play may have as well given Martí one more opportunity to come across the name of Scott, however, by that time, that name must have been very familiar to young Martí given his close relationship with Mendive, a translator of Byron. Unfortunately, Martí’s translation of Byron was not preserved, but many other renditions overcame time and continue to be published. Most of Martí’s translations are contained in three of the *O. C.* volumes. No. 17, devoted to poetry, which contains a chapter titled “Traducciones,” (Translations) with unfinished translations whose headings were replaced by the name of the authors: Quinto

⁵⁹⁶. Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷. Ibid., 209-213

Horacio Flaco (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Edgar Allan Poe. No. 24 contains the Spanish version of three essays: “Old Greek Life,” by John Pentland Mahaffy; *Roman Antiquities*, by Augustus Samuel Wilkins, and *Logic*, by William Stanley Jevons, while No. 25 includes the rendition of three novels, the aforementioned *Mes Fils*, by Víctor Hugo; *A Mystery*, by Hugh Conway, and *Ramona*, by Helen Hunt Jackson. Other translations are contained in *The Golden Age* as is the case of Samuel Smiles’s “Great Young Men” in *Life and Labour*. The high number of editions and translations the book has had all over the world since it was published for the first time accounts for Martí’s contribution to the promotion and reception of Samuel Smiles and other Scottish writers addressed in it. Such is the case of Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Thomas Carlyle and Lord Byron whose names appear in the article hand in hand with those of many other writers from the British Isles.⁵⁹⁸ The Spanish rendition also contains mentions such as the *Edinburgh Review* and “English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.”

Several Cuban scholars have devoted themselves to study Martí’s translations, among them, Lourdes Arencibia, the author of a book titled *El traductor José Martí* (The translator José Martí)⁵⁹⁹ containing one of the most updated inventories of the pieces he rendered from several languages. None of those scholars, however, has recorded that Martí translated into Spanish several lines by Robert Burns and incorporated them into his statements about the Scottish writer in the *New York Chronicles*.⁶⁰⁰ Such is also the case of an excerpt on King Alfred the Great from David Hume’s *History of England* translated by Martí in a chronicle on the death of President Garfield. These findings will constitute new reports for the study of José Martí’s life and works in general and his translation career in particular.

Most of Martí’s translations bear in common their high quality: He not only conveys the essence of contents into the target language, but also translates or reproduces the expressive means and stylistic devices used by the original authors, which applies to

⁵⁹⁸ . Southey, Bacon, Moore, Congreve, Sheridan, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Pope, Johnson, Cowley, Chatterton, Keats, Shelley, Macaulay, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lytton, Barrett, Browning, Tennyson, Crabbe.

⁵⁹⁹. Lourdes Arencibia, *El traductor José Martí*. Pinar del Río: Ediciones Hermanos Loynaz, 2000.

⁶⁰⁰. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 12, 41.

all language levels, therefore the integrity of his endeavour. It is not relevant to address all the translations Martí did in his lifetime, but mention should be made of the fact that he translated from several languages other than English, among them, French, Italian, German, Latin and Greek, which allowed him to delve into the culture of several nations. The proved quality of Martí's renditions, the number of source languages involved and the diversity of genres he addressed, provided him with merits enough to be situated at the level of Venezuelan José Antonio Pérez Bonalde and French Charles Baudelaire, both considered among the top translators of the nineteenth century. Though scattered, Martí's valuable theoretical corpus on translation reveals his deep knowledge of this trade he embraced with his rigorous practice and professional devotion. In this regard, mention should be made of the letter⁶⁰¹ he wrote to his daughter María Mantilla short before his death containing what some specialists have referred to as his "translational will," and the prologue⁶⁰² to his translation of Victor Hugo's *Mes Fils* where Martí provides a definition of "translation" that can still be considered useful. Being considered one of the most important nineteenth-century Cuban translators anticipates not only the quality of José Martí's renditions of Scottish authors into Spanish but also adds to the reasons why he should be regarded as the main representative of the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba. This feature, as well as the others previously addressed, that is, the scholar, the writer, the art critic and the journalist, contribute to validating Martí's as a prominent Scottish-literature receptor.

As hitherto discussed in this chapter, José Martí's engagement in the Scottish-literature reception did not take place as an isolated spontaneous phenomenon but subjected to a pattern originated by the historical and literary features of the epoch and established by his previous and cotemporary fellow receptors. Martí's approach to over twenty Scottish authors is also informed by his intellectual relationship with those receptors, whose cultural heritage found in Martí a prominent recipient given his deep awareness of their lives and work, and his approach to a variety of themes, related to arts other than literature, involving Scotland and Scottish art. Martí's engagement in the reception was also favoured by

⁶⁰¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 20, 15.

⁶⁰². *Ibid.*, v. 24, 16.

the accomplishments attained in relevant intellectual facets: Being an outstanding scholar, writer, art critic, journalist and translator boosted his relevance as a Scottish-literature receptor, all of which, at a great extent, answers the question why Martí should be considered the most prominent among the Scottish-literature Cuban receptors of the nineteenth century. Further reasons are provided in the following chapters about the Cuban reception of Scottish authors and the Martinian approach to them.

Appendix 2

Martí: Preceding and Cotemporary Receptors

Albeit Martí was born after Heredia's death, as previously referred, texts and references to Heredia's life and work can be found through the thirty-six entries the name has in Martí's *O. C.* Some of the mentions correspond to "Heredia," the article published in *El Economista Americano*, New York, July 1888, containing a biographical synthesis, as well as a detailed analysis of the author, his epoch and his work. In a letter known as Martí's literary testament and addressed to his assistant Gonzalo de Quesada, written short before his death in combat, Martí refers to some of his works worth saving for further publication. The article devoted to Heredia is on the list, which not only indicates his appreciation of a work he had written seven years before, but also the high esteem in which he held the poet and his poetry. Some other mentions correspond to the speech given by Martí at the Hardman Hall of New York in 1889 in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Heredia's demise and aiming to collect funds to retrieve Heredia's birth house. Again Martí referred to the excellency of the poet and his love for the homeland. In the same speech, besides admitting to the influence of Byron on Heredia, Martí refers to the rich education he was provided, and reproduces a scene where some friends of Heredia's father's would admire the boy for his thorough and well-guided studies, and, appealing to the child's imagination, they ask him: "Boy, have you been a king, have you been Ossian, have you been Brutus?,"⁶⁰³ which question stands for the fact that Martí was familiar not only with Macpherson's famous "creation" but also with the

⁶⁰³. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 5,

corresponding translations done by Heredia as well as his Ossianic inspirations that made him stand out among the Scottish-literature receptors. Chapter 2, on Lord Byron, provides abundant information about Martí's engagement with Heredia's literary influences.

As in the case of Heredia, Martí also devoted two texts to exalt the life and works of José de la Luz y Caballero whose name has 32 mentions in Martí's *O. C.* The first text⁶⁰⁴ was published in *Revista Universal*, Mexico, 26 August, 1875; the second⁶⁰⁵ was published in *Patria*, a newspaper founded by Martí himself, on 17 November, 1894. In the *Patria* article, titled "José de la Luz y Caballero," Martí not only calls Luz "father" and "silent founder" but also quotes his words on expressing that he "could not sit down to write books, which is something easy, because concerns disturb and devour, so no time is left for the most difficult: shaping men."⁶⁰⁶ In fact, numerous Cuban intellectuals were shaped in his classroom, among them, Rafael María de Mendive, who became his faithful follower. The relationship between them is also referred to in the *Patria* article, where Martí expresses that Luz was like a father to Mendive, who gave continuity to the educational ideas promoted by Luz. Even though Martí profusely refers to the merits attained by Luz along his career, his references to Luz's death are very eloquent about the significance of his life, as when Martí states that

some years ago, an august man died in Havana. He had given to his homeland all the patience of his meekness, all the vigour of his reason, all the resignation of his hope. A whole people went to consecrate his corpse. The children gathered at the doors of that unforgettable college; the men cried over the corpse of the master: the generation that has been born feels on its forehead the paternal kiss of the wise José de la Luz y Caballero.⁶⁰⁷
(Translated by the author)

Apart from describing the mourn of the people who paid their respect for Luz, Martí implicitly expresses that his educational legacy had passed on from one generation to another until reaching his by means of Mendive. That metaphorical "kiss of the

⁶⁰⁴. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 6, 314.

⁶⁰⁵. *Ibid.*, v. 5, 271.

⁶⁰⁶. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁷. *Ibid.*, v. 6, 314.

wise,” from the perspective of this analysis can also be interpreted as the interest for dissimilar literatures and languages, for the acquisition of translational skills as well as the love for the emerging nationality. However, in Martí’s time the Spanish oppression was still in place, the reason why he also expresses that “Havana is the burial of Don José de la Luz (...), an unhappy city that up to now has only been able to utterly show itself in burials!”⁶⁰⁸ which concern can also be understood as the need to engage the whole city not only in the funerals of great citizens but in the struggle against the Spanish regime as well. Both Martinian articles on Luz y Caballero account for the deep knowledge Martí had about Luz’s intellectual dimension including his teaching career; however, the absence in both articles and the rest of Martí’s *O. C.* of precise references to Luz as a first-hand receptor of Scott, a translator of Byron or a fervent follower of Scottish educationist John Wood, does not necessarily mean that Martí was unaware of those facts since they were obvious and appear in all the biographical approaches to the Cuban philosopher.

In Martí’s *O. C.*, there are several references to Domingo del Monte⁶⁰⁹ who died in the same year Martí was born. The most known characterisation of Del Monte was provided by Martí on considering him “the most real and useful among the Cubans of his time,”⁶¹⁰ which expression, besides showing Martí’s appreciation of Del Monte’s life and work, entails the relevant efforts made by him to boost the cultural development of the country by supporting writers and artists and providing them with access to literary novelties. Even though in Martí’s written records there are no direct references relating Del Monte to any Scottish author, it is very presumable that Martí was aware of Del Monte’s contribution to the Scoto-Cuban literary relationship. Some of Martí’s references, however, are related to Del Monte’s mentored friend, Cirilo Villaverde. In this regard, Martí mentions “the affection with

⁶⁰⁸. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 5, 367.

⁶⁰⁹. The figure of Del Monte, nevertheless, has proven controversial. Some scholars such as Lourdes Arencibia mention his not being so brilliant in any literary genre, while others document his racist and annexationist positions, which facets are neither relevant to this thesis nor deprive him from the merit of having contributed at a great extent to the Scottish-literature reception in Cuba, a facet not yet acknowledged.

⁶¹⁰. *Ibid.*, 282.

which Del Monte welcomed and guided him,”⁶¹¹ an instrumental tutorship⁶¹² that contributed to Villaverde’s outcomes as a writer since Del Monte provided him not only with the knowledge about Scott and his works but also with a literary model to be imitated, which originated one of the most momentous literary bonds between Scotland and Cuba: Villaverde’s *Cecilia Valdés*, which, as previously mentioned, is considered the most important Cuban novel of all times. On Villaverde’s death in New York,⁶¹³ Martí wrote an article to pay due homage to the writer, whom, in words of Del Monte, Martí called “the first novelist of the Cubans” while celebrating his command of the Castilian language and referring to his novel as the “sad and delightful *Cecilia*.”⁶¹⁴ In the article, Martí also mentions both issues of the volume, which, together with Martí’s previously mentioned knowledge of the guidance provided by Del Monte, gives grounds to assert that, on reading the 1879 edition, Martí was aware of both the influence exerted by Scott on Villaverde and the novelist’s admittance to the guidance explicitly expressed in the volume. In Martí’s *Notebooks*, the name of Villaverde appears twice.⁶¹⁵ The first time, it is accompanied by the writer’s address and the word “book,” which most probably refers to Martí’s intention to acquire the novel inspired by Scott. Martí’s references to both Del Monte and Villaverde account for his intellectual relationship with them. As a poet and literary critic, Martí was also knowledgeable about the life and works of other receptors such as, Avellaneda, the Sellén brothers and Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces.

⁶¹¹. José Martí, *ibid.*, v. 5, 242.

⁶¹². According to Cuban critic Manuel de la Cruz, “the famous and meritorious sponsor, probing his faculties with the clarity of a psychologist and the acuteness of an artist, endeavoured to guide him along the paths of realism, neutralizing the ardour of romantic fever in his temperament, pointing out to him, in his own library, the models he had to follow for the correct command of the language and the novelists to whom he had to give predilection either to imitate or create a compositional procedure in the genre. The wise counsel of such a fine master decided his vocation and fixed his aesthetic creed: he studied with curiosity and passion the novels of Walter Scott and his disciple Alejandro Manzoni, and the product of this study was the publication of the first part of *Cecilia Valdés*, in 1839.” In Manuel de la Cruz, *Cromitos Cubanos*, Establecimiento tipográfico La Lucha, 1892, 191-195, 210-211. (Translated by the author) http://librinsula.bnjm.cu/secciones/274/expedientes/274_exped_1.html.

⁶¹³. As in the case of most of the Cuban intellectuals related to the Scoto-Cuban literary connection, the Spanish regime made Cirilo Villaverde go into exile.

⁶¹⁴. Martí José: *Compiled Works*. Volume 5, page 241

⁶¹⁵. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 21, 452-453.

Martí should have been familiar with the alleged influence on Avellaneda of romantic authors such as Scott, Byron, Staël and Goethe, a topic insistently approached by most of her contemporary critics; however, Martí did not find a favourite in her nor approved of her lyrical expression, which he found too powerful for a woman's. In an article meant to homage his mentor Mendive, Martí, nevertheless, praised him for "defending the Cuban glory that Hispanophobes and petticoat literati wanted to remove from Avellaneda,"⁶¹⁶ a statement revealing a positive change of attitude towards the female poet. Part of that glory mentioned by Martí is due to the previously mentioned models that influenced her and the topic, for being common knowledge among Cuban intellectuals, should have been known to him. As to the Sellén brothers, Francisco is a recurrent name in Martí's *O. C.*, not only because of his being a personal collaborator of Martí's while in exile in New York but also because Francisco was an accomplished poet about whom Martí wrote two articles also: "Francisco Sellén,"⁶¹⁷ published in *El Partido Liberal*, Mexico, 28 September 1890, and "Francisco Sellén, poeta Cubano,"⁶¹⁸ published in *La Ofrenda de Oro*, New York, December 1890, both containing favourable criticism of his works including a thorough inventory of his poetic translations. Sellén's translation of Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, titled *Plagiado*, was not published until 1896, one year after Martí's death, the reason why he could not refer to it; however, he mentions that Francisco "translated Byron's 'The Giaour' in either hasty or sombre verses,"⁶¹⁹ an opinion that corroborates Martí's awareness of Francisco's engagement in the reception. Martí as well wrote an article⁶²⁰ about Antonio Sellén that was published in *La Juventud*, Nueva York, 16 August 1889. Besides being an outstanding writer and journalist, Antonio was also distinguished as a translator of Byron. Regarding the translations of Byron's "Parisina," and "The Prisoner of Chillon," Martí pointed out that "they are as inspired as an original work,"⁶²¹ which not only indicates he had closely gone through the whole set of translated poems for having provided such a precise opinion about two of the pieces but also corroborates, as in the case of

⁶¹⁶. Ibid., v. 2, 298.

⁶¹⁷. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 5, 181.

⁶¹⁸. Ibid., 193.

⁶¹⁹. José Martí, Ibid., 194.

⁶²⁰. Ibid., 159.

⁶²¹. Ibid., 160.

Francisco, Martí's awareness of Antonio's engagement in the reception. Also Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces was mentored by Del Monte, which relationship not only suggests that Del Monte provided Luaces with the works of Walter Scott as a viable model, but also explains why Luaces became the author of *The Red Beggar*, the drama with a Scottish argument. There are only two references to Luaces in José Martí's *O. C.*; however, it is enough to establish the link, between the two receptors, and state that Martí was also familiar with Luaces's life and work. The previous analysis of relevant texts and references involving the intellectual bonds between Martí and his former and contemporary fellow receptors illustrates that Martí's engagement in the reception, besides fitting a pattern previously shaped, is informed by his intellectual relationship with them, which external factor is set forth by Martí's knowledge about their lives and works as well as their engagement in the reception explicitly or implicitly expressed.

Appendix 3

The Elephant-Cuentos de elefantes

THE ELEPHANT	EL ELEFANTE	CUENTOS DE ELEFANTES	TALES OF ELEPHANTS
<p>In America have been found the bones of an animal called the mammoth; he was larger than the elephant. There are no mammoths alive now, that we know of. The elephant is the largest animal that we know anything about. He is very strong, obedient, and sagacious. He loves rice very much. Sometimes he breaks into the rice fields of Asia, and tramples down the rice which is growing, and destroys a great quantity of it. The elephants are gregarious. In Africa, and in the island of Ceylon, some hundreds are seen together; the Africans are afraid of them; they kill them in order to get their teeth. The people of Asia take the wild elephant alive, and make him work. In Siam, a country of Asia, the people love elephants very much; they prefer the white elephant. The king of Pegu, who lives near to the king of Siam, once made a war with him, because the king of Siam chose to keep two white elephants which the king of Pegu wanted; and a great many people belonging to both the kings were killed. For such unimportant things do men make wars. In Siam, the king has a beautiful house for his elephants; he feeds them upon the cleanest and the whitest rice, and because it is a very hot country, he causes water to be placed in a room above that in which the elephants are, which is strained slowly through the ceiling, and drops gently upon them to keep them cool. The elephant has a rough skin, with few hairs upon it; he has small eyes, but they are</p>	<p>En América se han encontrado los huesos de un animal llamado mamut; era más grande que el elefante. Que sepamos, ahora no hay mamuts vivos. El elefante es el animal más grande que conocemos. Es muy fuerte, obediente y sagaz. Le gusta mucho el arroz. A veces irrumpe en los campos de arroz de Asia y pisotea el arroz que está creciendo y destruye una gran cantidad de él. Los elefantes son gregarios. En África, y en la isla de Ceilán, se ven algunos centenares juntos; los africanos les tienen miedo; los matan para conseguir sus dientes. Los habitantes de Asia cogen al elefante salvaje vivo y lo hacen trabajar. En Siam, un país de Asia, la gente ama mucho a los elefantes; prefieren el elefante blanco. El rey de Pegu, que vive cerca del rey de Siam, hizo una vez una guerra con él, porque el rey de Siam decidió quedarse con dos elefantes blancos que el rey de Pegu quería; y mucha gente perteneciente a ambos reyes fue asesinada. Por cosas tan poco importantes los hombres hacen guerras. En Siam, el rey tiene una hermosa casa para sus elefantes; los alimenta con el arroz más limpio y más blanco, y como es un país muy caluroso, hace que se coloque agua en una habitación por encima de aquella en la que están los elefantes, la cual se cuele lentamente por el techo, y cae suavemente sobre ellos para mantenerlos frescos. El elefante tiene una piel áspera, con pocos pelos; tiene ojos pequeños, pero brillantes, y mira amable y gentilmente a su</p>	<p>De África cuentan ahora muchas cosas extrañas, porque anda por allí la gente europea descubriendo el país, y los pueblos de Europa quieren mandar en aquella tierra rica, donde con el calor del sol crecen plantas de esencia y alimento, y otras que dan fibras de hacer telas, y hay oro y diamantes, y elefantes que son una riqueza, porque en todo el mundo se vende muy caro el marfil de sus colmillos. Cuentan muchas cosas del valor con que se defienden los negros, y de las guerras en que andan, como todos los pueblos cuando empiezan a vivir: que pelean por ver quién es más fuerte, o por quitar a su vecino lo que quieren tener ellos. En estas guerras quedan de esclavos los prisioneros que tomó en la pelea el vencedor, que los vende a los moros infames que andan por allá buscando prisioneros que comprar, y luego los venden en las tierras moras. De Europa van a África hombres buenos, que no quieren que haya en el mundo estas ventas de hombres; y otros van por el ansia de saber, y viven años entre las tribus bravas, hasta que encuentran una yerba rara, o un pájaro que nunca se ha visto, o el lago de donde nace un río: y otros van de tropa, a sueldo del Khedive que manda en Egipto, a ver cómo echan de la tierra a un peleador famoso que llaman el Mahdi, y dice que él debe gobernar, porque él es moro libre y amigo de los pobres, no como el Khedive, que manda como criado del Sultán turco extranjero, y alquila peleadores cristianos</p>	<p>They tell many strange things about Africa now, because the people of Europe are discovering the country, and the people of Europe want to rule in that rich land, where the warmth of the sun grows plants for essence and food, and others that give fibres for making cloth, and there is gold and diamonds, and elephants that are a wealth, because the ivory of their tusks is sold at a great price all over the world. They tell many things of the courage with which the blacks defend themselves, and of the wars in which they engage, as all peoples do when they begin to live: they fight to see who is stronger, or to take from their neighbour what they want to have for themselves. In these wars, the prisoners taken in the fight by the victor remain as slaves, who sell them to the infamous Moors who go around looking for prisoners to buy, and then sell them in the Moorish lands. From Europe to Africa good men go who do not want these sales of men in the world; and others go for the desire to know, and live for years among the wild tribes, until they find a rare herb, or a bird that has never been seen before, or the lake from which a river rises: and others go as a troop, in the pay of the Khedive who rules in Egypt, to see how they can drive out of the land a famous fighter whom they call the Mahdi, and he says that he must rule, because he is a free Moor and a friend of the poor, not like the Khedive, who rules as a servant of the foreign Turkish Sultan, and hires Christian</p>

<p>bright, and he looks kindly and gently upon his master. His great ears lie flatly, and loosely, and he sometimes moves them like a fan, to drive away dust and insects from his eyes. His hearing is good; he delights in music, and is as much pleased with the trumpet and drum as any little boy. The trunk, or proboscis of the elephant, performs many of the offices of a man's hand; it is very strong and flexible. The trunk is properly a very long nose—there is, at the end of it, something like a finger; with this he can pick up the smallest piece of money, untie knots, open and shut gates, draw the corks of bottles, and almost anything else that hands could do. A blow of this strong trunk kills a man instantly; it is more than two yards long. The elephant swims, and will draw heavy loads. He loves his master very much; knows his voice, and obeys his orders. He does as much work as several horses. Elephants appear to know more than any other brute animal; they are kind to those who treat them well; but they hurt or kill those who injure them. An elephant, which was once driven about for a show, used to eat eggs, which a man often gave him; the man in sport, gave him a spoiled egg; the elephant threw it away; the man offered him another, which was also spoiled; the elephant threw away the second, and did not seem to be angry; but he felt that the man intended to affront him, and he did not forget it. Not long after, the man came near to the elephant; the elephant seized him in his trunk, dashed him to the ceiling, and killed him. Elephants love spirits and wine. In India, a liquor somewhat like gin, called arrack, is used; elephants are</p>	<p>amo. Sus grandes orejas están planas y sueltas, y a veces las mueve como un abanico para ahuyentar el polvo y los insectos de sus ojos. Su oído es bueno; se deleita con la música, y se complace con la trompeta y el tambor como cualquier niño pequeño. La trompa, o probóscide del elefante, realiza muchas de las funciones de la mano del hombre; es muy fuerte y flexible. La trompa es propiamente una nariz muy larga; en su extremo hay algo parecido a un dedo; con ella puede coger el más pequeño trozo de dinero, desatar nudos, abrir y cerrar puertas, sacar los corchos de las botellas y casi cualquier otra cosa que puedan hacer las manos. Un golpe de esta fuerte trompa mata a un hombre al instante; tiene más de dos metros de largo. El elefante nada y arrastra cargas pesadas. Quiere mucho a su amo, conoce su voz y obedece sus órdenes. Hace tanto trabajo como varios caballos. Los elefantes parecen saber más que cualquier otro animal bruto; son amables con quienes los tratan bien; pero hieren o matan a quienes los hieren. Un elefante, que una vez fue conducido para un espectáculo, solía comer huevos, que un hombre le daba a menudo; el hombre, por deporte, le dio un huevo estropeado; el elefante lo tiró; el hombre le ofreció otro, que también estaba estropeado; el elefante tiró el segundo, y no pareció enfadarse; pero sintió que el hombre pretendía afrentarlo, y no lo olvidó. Poco después, el hombre se acercó al elefante; éste lo agarró con su trompa, lo estrelló contra el techo y lo mató. A los elefantes les gustan los licores y el vino. En la India se utiliza un licor parecido a la ginebra, llamado arrak, al que los elefantes son</p>	<p>para pelear contra el moro del país, y quitar la tierra a los negros sudaneses. En esas guerras dicen que murió un inglés muy valiente, aquel "Gordon el chino," que no era chino, sino muy blanco y de ojos muy azules, pero tenía el apodo de chino, porque en China hizo muchas heroicidades, y aquietó a la gente revuelta con el cariño más que con el poder; que fue lo que hizo en el Sudán, donde vivía solo entre los negros del país, como su gobernador, y se les ponía delante a regañarlos como a hijos, sin más armas que sus ojos azules, cuando lo atacaban con las lanzas y las azagayas, o se echaba a llorar de piedad por los negros cuando en la soledad de la noche los veía de lejos hacerse señas, para juntarse en el monte, a ver cómo atacarían a los hombres blancos. El Mahdí pudo más que él, y dicen que Gordon ha muerto, o lo tiene preso el Mahdí. Mucha gente anda por África. Hay un Chaillu que escribió un libro sobre el mono gorila que anda en dos pies, y pelea a palos con los viajeros que lo quisieren cazar. Livingstone viajó sin miedo por lo más salvaje de África, con su mujer. Stanley está allá ahora, viendo cómo comercia, y salva del Mahdí, al gobernador Emín Pachá. Muchos alemanes y franceses andan allá explorando, descubriendo tierras, tratando y cambiando con los negros, y viendo cómo les quitan el comercio a los moros. Con los colmillos del elefante es con lo que comercian más, porque el marfil es raro y fino, y se paga muy caro por él. Ese de África es colmillo vivo; pero por Siberia sacan de los hielos colmillos del mamut, que fue el elefante peludo, grande como una loma, que ha estado en la nieve, en pie, cincuenta</p>	<p>fighters to fight against the Moor of the country, and take the land from the Sudanese blacks. In those wars they say a very brave Englishman died, that "Gordon the Chinaman," who was not a Chinaman, but very white and very blue-eyed, but had the nickname of Chinaman, because in China he did many heroics, and quieted the revolted people with affection rather than with power; Which was what he did in the Sudan, where he lived alone among the blacks of the country, as their governor, and stood before them and scolded them like sons, with no other weapons than his blue eyes, when they attacked him with spears and azagayas, or wept for the blacks when in the loneliness of the night he saw them from afar beckoning to each other, to gather in the bush, to see how they would attack the white men. The Mahdi got the better of him, and they say that Gordon is dead, or is being held prisoner by the Mahdi. A lot of people are walking in Africa. There is a Chaillu who wrote a book about the gorilla monkey that walks on two feet, and fights with sticks with travellers who want to hunt it. Livingstone travelled fearlessly through the wilds of Africa with his wife. Stanley is there now, seeing how he trades, and saves the governor Emin Pasha from the Mahdi. Many Germans and French are out there exploring, discovering land, dealing and trading with the blacks, and watching them take trade from the Moors. Elephant tusks are what they trade with the most, because ivory is rare and fine, and they pay dearly for it. That of Africa is a live tusk; but in Siberia they take from the ice the tusks of the mammoth, which was the hairy elephant, as big as a hill, that has been</p>
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<p>fond of this. They will draw, or push a great weight, if they are shown some arrack, and expect to get it for a reward; but if it is shown, and not given to them, they are very angry. An elephant which was once treated in this manner, killed his master, who had deceived him. The poor man's wife saw her husband killed, and ran with her two little children to the feet of the elephant, saying, "you have slain their father, kill me, and them also." The elephant stopped—the mother and the children had not injured him, and he would not hurt them; he embraced the eldest boy in his trunk, placed him on his neck, and would not allow anyone else to mount him. The tame elephants have no young ones, so all tame elephants are taken wild. People carry a tame elephant out to the country where the wild ones are; they make a fence round a large space, and put the tame elephant into it. The enclosed place is something like a very large cage, with the door open, the tame elephant cries loudly, and the wild ones hear her; they come to see her, and go to her through the opening that is left for them; as soon as they get in, a bar falls, which prevents them from getting out again; at first they try very much to get out, and make a great noise; but they are fed, and treated kindly, and become quite tame in about fourteen days.</p> <p>EXPLANATIONS. Trunk. — There are different meanings of the word trunk. The trunk is that part of a tree which rises from the root, and supports the branches. A trunk is a box. Look at a fly as it eats sugar, or any other substance; he does not bend his little head, he pushes 'from it his proboscis, or trunk, and picks up his food.</p>	<p>aficionados. Si se les muestra un poco de arrack y esperan obtenerlo como recompensa, dibujarán o empujarán un gran peso; pero si se les muestra y no se les da, se enfadan mucho. Un elefante que una vez fue tratado de esta manera, mató a su amo, que lo había engañado. La esposa del pobre hombre vio cómo mataban a su marido, y corrió con sus dos hijos pequeños a los pies del elefante, diciendo: "has matado a su padre, mátame a mí y a ellos también". El elefante se detuvo: la madre y los niños no le habían herido, y él no les haría daño; abrazó al mayor en su trompa, lo colocó sobre su cuello y no permitió que nadie más lo montara. Los elefantes domesticados no tienen crías, por lo que todos los elefantes domesticados son llevados a la naturaleza. La gente lleva un elefante manso al campo donde están los salvajes; hacen una valla alrededor de un gran espacio, y meten al elefante manso en ella. El lugar encerrado es algo así como una jaula muy grande, con la puerta abierta; la elefanta mansa grita fuertemente, y las salvajes la oyen; vienen a verla, y van hacia ella a través de la abertura que se deja para ellas; tan pronto como entran, cae una barra que les impide volver a salir; al principio intentan mucho salir, y hacen un gran ruido; pero se les alimenta, y se les trata amablemente, y se vuelven bastante mansos en unos catorce días.</p> <p>EXPLICACIONES. Tronco - La palabra tronco tiene diferentes significados. El tronco es la parte de un árbol que se eleva desde la raíz y sostiene las ramas. Un tronco es una caja. Mirad una mosca mientras come azúcar, o</p>	<p>mil años. Y un inglés, Logan, dice que no son cincuenta mil, sino que esas capas de hielo se fueron echando sobre la tierra como un millón de años hace, y que, desde entonces, desde hace un millón de años, están enterrados en la nieve dura los elefantes peludos. Allí se estuvieron en los hielos duros de Siberia, hasta que un día iba un pescador por la orilla del río Lena, donde de un lado es de arena la orilla, y de otro es de capas de hielo, echadas una encima de otra como las hojas de un pastel, y tan perfectas que parecen cosa de hombre esas leguas de capas. Y el pescador iba cantando un cantar, en su vestido de piel, asombrado de la mucha luz, como si estuviese de fiesta en el aire un sol joven. El aire chispeaba. Se oían estallidos, como en el bosque nuevo cuando se abre una flor. De las lomas corría, brillante y pura, un agua nunca vista. Era que se estaban deshaciendo los hielos. Y allí, delante del pobre Shumarkoff, salían del monte helado los colmillos gruesos como troncos de árboles, de un animal velludo, enorme, negro. Como vivo estaba, y en el hielo transparente se le veía el cuerpo asombroso. Cinco años tardó el hielo en derretirse alrededor de él, hasta que todo se deshizo, y el elefante cayó rodando a la orilla, con ruido de trueno. Con otros pescadores vino Shumarkoff a llevarse los colmillos, de tres varas de largo. Y los perros hambrientos le comieron la carne, que estaba fresca todavía, y blanda como carne nueva: de noche, en la oscuridad, de cien perros a la vez se oía el roer de los dientes, el gruñido de gusto, el ruido de las lenguas. Veinte hombres a la vez no podían levantar la piel crinuda, en la que era de a vara cada crin. Y</p>	<p>standing in the snow for fifty thousand years. And an Englishman, Logan, says that it is not fifty thousand, but that these ice sheets were laid on the earth about a million years ago, and that since then, for a million years, the hairy elephants have been buried in the hard snow. There they lay in the hard ice of Siberia, until one day a fisherman was walking along the bank of the river Lena, where the bank is sand on one side and layers of ice on the other, laid one on top of the other like the leaves of a cake, and so perfect that these leagues of layers look like a man's work. And the fisherman was singing a song, in his fur dress, astonished at the great light, as if a young sun was feasting in the air. The air was sparkling. Bursts were heard, as in the new forest when a flower opens. From the hills ran, bright and pure, a water that had never been seen before. The ice was melting. And there, in front of poor Shumarkoff, the tusks, as thick as tree trunks, of a hairy, huge, black animal were sticking out of the frozen mountain. It was as if it were alive, and in the transparent ice one could see its astonishing body. It took five years for the ice to melt around him, until it all fell apart, and the elephant rolled to the shore, with the sound of thunder. With other fishermen came Shumarkoff to take away the tusks, three rods long. And the hungry dogs ate the flesh, which was still fresh, and soft as new meat: at night, in the darkness, from a hundred dogs at a time, the gnawing of teeth, the growling of taste, the clatter of tongues, could be heard. Twenty men at a time could not lift the raw hide, in which each mane was a rod at a time. And no one will say that this is not true, for in the</p>
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<p>Flexible. —Easily bent. The little twig of a tree is flexible —an iron bar is not flexible.</p>	<p>cualquier otra sustancia; no agacha su cabecita, empuja 'de ella su probóscide, o tronco, y recoge su comida. Flexible. - Fácil de doblar. La pequeña ramita de un árbol es flexible - una barra de hierro no es flexible.</p>	<p>nadie ha de decir que no es verdad, porque en el museo de San Petersburgo están todos los huesos, menos uno que se perdió; y un puñado de la lana amarillosa que tenía sobre el cuello. De entonces a acá, los pescadores de Siberia han sacado de los hielos como dos mil colmillos de mamut. A miles parece que andaban los mamuts, como en pueblos, cuando los hielos se despeñaron sobre la tierra salvaje, hace miles de años; y como en pueblos andan ahora, defendiéndose de los tigres y de los cazadores por los bosques de Asia y de África; pero ya no son velludos, como los de Siberia, sino que apenas tienen pelos por los rincones de su piel blanda y arrugada, que da miedo de veras, por la mucha fealdad, cuando lo cierto es que con el elefante sucede como con las gentes del mundo, que porque tienen hermosura de cara y de cuerpo las cree uno de alma hermosa, sin ver que eso es como los jarrones finos, que no tienen nada dentro, y una vez pueden tener olores preciosos, y otras peste, y otras polvo. Con el elefante no hay que jugar, porque en la hora en que se le enoja la dignidad, o le ofenden la mujer o el hijo, o el viejo, o el compañero, sacude la trompa como un azote, y de un latigazo echa por tierra al hombre más fuerte, o rompe un poste en astillas, o deja un árbol temblando. Tremendo es el elefante enfurecido, y por manso que sea en sus prisiones, siempre le llega, cuando calienta el sol mucho en abril, o cuando se cansa de su cadena, su hora de furor. Pero los que conocen bien al animal dicen que sabe de arrepentimiento y de ternura, como un cuento que trae un libro viejo que publicaron, allá al principiar este siglo, los</p>	<p>museum at St. Petersburg are all the bones, except one that was lost; and a handful of the yellow wool that was on his neck. Since then, the fishermen of Siberia have fished out of the ice about two thousand mammoth tusks. In thousands, it seems, the mammoths went about, as in villages, when the ice fell on the wilderness, thousands of years ago; and as in villages they go about now, defending themselves against tigers and hunters in the forests of Asia and Africa; But they are no longer hairy, like those of Siberia, but have scarcely any hair on the corners of their soft and wrinkled skin, which is really frightening, because of its ugliness, when the truth is that with the elephant it is like with the people of the world, that because they have a beautiful face and body, one believes them to have a beautiful soul, without seeing that this is like fine vases, which have nothing inside, and at one time they may have precious odours, and at other times stink, and at still other times dust. The elephant is not to be trifled with, for the moment his dignity is angered, or his wife or child, or his old man, or his companion offends him, he shakes his trunk like a whip, and with one lash he knocks down the strongest man, or breaks a post in splinters, or leaves a tree trembling. Tremendous is the enraged elephant, and however tame he may be in his prisons, there always comes to him, when the sun gets too hot in April, or when he tires of his chain, his hour of fury. But those who know the animal well say that it knows of repentance and tenderness, like a story in an old book published at the beginning of this century by the wise men of France, in which there is a</p>
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	<p>sabios de Francia, donde está lo que hizo un elefante que mató a su cuidador, que allá llaman cornac, porque le había lastimado con el arpón la trompa; y cuando la mujer del cornac se le arrodilló desesperada delante con su hijito, y le rogó que los matase a ellos también, no los mató, sino que con la trompa le quitó el niño a la madre, y se lo puso sobre el cuello, que es donde los cornacs se sientan, y nunca permitió que lo montase más cornac que aquél. La trompa es lo que más cuida de todo su cuerpo recio el elefante, porque con ella come y bebe, y acaricia y respira, y se quita de encima los animales que le estorban, y se baña. Cuando nada ¡y muy bien que nadan los elefantes! no se le ve el cuerpo, porque está en el agua todo, sino la punta de la trompa, con los dos agujeros en que acaban las dos canales que atraviesan la trompa a lo largo, y llegan por arriba a la misma nariz, que tiene como dos tapaderas, que abre y cierra según quiera recibir el aire, o cerrarle el camino a lo que en las canales pueda estar. Nadie diga que no es verdad, porque hay quien se ha puesto a contarlos: como cuarenta mil músculos tiene la trompa del elefante, la "proboscis," como dice la gente de libros: toda es de músculos, entretejidos como una red: unos están a la larga, de la nariz a la punta, y son para mover la trompa adonde el elefante quiere, y encogerla, enroscarla, subirla, bajarla, tenderla: otros son a lo ancho, y van de las canales a la piel, como los rayos de una rueda van del eje a la llanta: éstos son para apretar las canales o ensancharlas. ¿Qué no hace el elefante con su trompa? La yerba más fina la arranca del suelo. De la mano de un niño recoge un</p>	<p>story of an elephant that killed his keeper, who is called cornac there, because he had hurt his trunk with a harpoon; And when the cornac's wife knelt down in despair before him with her little child, and begged him to kill them too, he did not kill them, but with his trunk he took the child from the mother, and put it on his neck, which is where the cornacs sit, and he never allowed any other cornac to ride him than that one. The trunk is what the elephant takes most care of in his whole stout body, for with it he eats and drinks, and caresses and breathes, and gets rid of the animals that hinder him, and bathes. When an elephant swims, and elephants swim very well, you can't see its body, because it's all in the water, but only the tip of its trunk, with the two holes at the end of the two channels that run lengthwise through the trunk, and reach the top of the nose itself, which has two lids, which it opens and closes as it wishes to receive the air, or to close the way to whatever may be in the channels. Let no one say it is not true, for there are those who have counted them: the elephant's trunk has about forty thousand muscles, the "proboscis," as the book people say: it is all muscles, woven together like a net: some are along the length, from the nose to the tip, and are for moving the trunk where the elephant wills, and shrinking it, curling it, raising it, lowering it, stretching it: others are broad, and go from the carcasses to the skin, as the spokes of a wheel go from the axle to the rim: those are for tightening the carcasses or widening them. What doesn't the elephant do with its trunk? He plucks the finest grass from the ground. From a child's</p>
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	<p>cacahuete. se llena la trompa de agua, y la echa sobre la parte de su cuerpo en que siente calor. Los elefantes enseñados se quitan y se ponen la carga con la trompa. Un hilo levantan del suelo, y como un hilo levantan a un hombre. No hay más modo de acobardar a un elefante enfurecido que herirle de veras en la trompa. Cuando pelea con el tigre, que casi siempre lo vence, lo echa arriba y abajo con los colmillos, y hace por atravesarlo; pero la trompa la lleva en el aire. Del olor del tigre no más, brama con espanto el elefante: las ratas le dan miedo: le tiene asco y horror al cochino. ¡A cuanto cochino ve, trompazo! Lo que le gusta es el vino bueno, y el arrak, que es el ron de la India, tanto que los cornaca le conocen el apetito, y cuando quieren que trabaje más de lo de costumbre, le enseñan una botella de arrak, que él destapa con la trompa luego, y bebe a sorbo tendido; sólo que el cornac tiene que andar con cuidado, y no hacerle esperar la botella mucho, porque le puede suceder lo que al pintor francés que, para pintar a un elefante mejor, le dijo a su criado que se lo entretuviese con la cabeza alta tirándole frutas a la trompa, pero el criado se divertía haciendo como que echaba al aire fruta sin tirarla de veras, hasta que el elefante se enojó, y se le fue encima a trompazos al pintor, que se levantó del suelo medio muerto, y todo lleno de pinturas. Es bueno el elefante de naturaleza, y se deja domar del hombre, que lo tiene de bestia de carga, y va sobre él, sentado en un camarín de colgaduras, a pelear en las guerras de Asia, o a casar el tigre, como desde una torre segura. Los príncipes del Indostán van a sus viajes en</p>	<p>hand he picks up a peanut. He fills his trunk with water and pours it on the part of his body where he feels warm. The taught elephants take off and put on the load with the trunk. A thread they lift from the ground, and like a thread they lift a man. There is no other way to cow an enraged elephant than to really hurt him in the trunk. When he fights with the tiger, who almost always defeats him, he throws him up and down with his tusks, and tries to pierce him; but his trunk is in the air. The elephant is terrified of the smell of the tiger; rats frighten him; he is disgusted and terrified of the pig. Every pig he sees, he's terrified of it! What he likes is good wine, and arrak, which is the rum of India, so much so that the cornacs know his appetite, and when they want him to work harder than usual, they show him a bottle of arrak, which he then uncorks with his trunk, and sips it down; But the cornac has to be careful not to make him wait too long for the bottle, because what happened to the French painter who, in order to paint an elephant better, told his servant to entertain him with his head held high by throwing fruit at his trunk, but the servant amused himself by pretending to throw fruit into the air without really throwing it, until the elephant got angry and went at the painter with his trunks, who got up from the ground half dead, and all full of paint. The elephant is good by nature, and allows himself to be tamed by man, who keeps him as a beast of burden, and rides on him, sitting in a chamber of hangings, to fight in the wars of Asia, or to marry the tiger, as if from a safe tower. The princes of Hindustan go on their journeys</p>
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		<p>elefantes cubiertos de terciopelos de mucho bordado y pedrería, y cuando viene de Inglaterra otro príncipe, lo pasean por las calles en el camarín de paño de oro que va meciéndose sobre el lomo de los elefantes dóciles, y el pueblo pone en los balcones sus tapices ricos, y llena las calles de hojas de rosa. En Siam no es sólo cariño lo que le tienen al elefante, sino adoración, cuando es de piel clara, que allá creen divina, porque la religión siamesa les enseña que Buda vive en todas partes, y en todos los seres, y unas veces en unos y otras en otros, y como no hay vivo de más cuerpo que el elefante, ni color que haga pensar más en la pureza que lo blanco, al elefante blanco adoran, como si en él hubiera más de Buda que en los demás seres vivos. Le tienen palacio, y sale a la calle entre hileras de sacerdotes, y le dan las yerbas más finas y el mejor arrak, y el palacio se lo tienen pintado como un bosque, para que no sufra tanto de su prisión, y cuando el rey lo va a ver es fiesta en el país, porque creen que el elefante es dios mismo, que va a decir al rey el buen modo de gobernar. Y cuando el rey quiere regalar a un extranjero algo de mucho valor, manda a hacer una caja de oro puro, sin liga de otro metal, con brillantes alrededor, y dentro pone, como una reliquia, recortes de pelo del elefante blanco. En África no los miran los pueblos del país como dioses, sino que les ponen trampas en el bosque, y se les echan encima en cuanto los ven caer: para alimentarse de la carne, que es fina y jugosa: o los cazan por engaño, porque tienen enseñadas a las hembras, que vuelven al corral por el amor de los hijos, y donde saben que andan una</p>	<p>on elephants covered with highly embroidered velvets and rhinestones, and when another prince comes from England, they ride him through the streets in the golden cloth dressing-room that goes rocking on the backs of the docile elephants, and the people put their rich tapestries on the balconies, and fill the streets with rose-leaves. In Siam it is not only affection that they have for the elephant, but worship, when it is light-skinned, which they believe to be divine there, for the Siamese religion teaches them that Buddha lives everywhere, and in all beings, and sometimes in some and sometimes in others, and as there is no living thing with more body than the elephant, nor colour that makes one think more of purity than white, they worship the white elephant, as if there were more of Buddha in it than in other living things. They have a palace for him, and he goes out into the street among rows of priests, and they give him the finest herbs and the best arrak, and the palace is painted like a forest, so that he does not suffer so much from his imprisonment, and when the king goes to see him it is a feast in the country, because they believe that the elephant is God himself, who will tell the king the good way to rule. And when the king wants to give a foreigner something of great value, he has a box made of pure gold, with no other metal alloy, with diamonds around it, and inside, as an heirloom, he puts clippings of the white elephant's hair. In Africa the people of the country do not look upon them as gods, but they set traps for them in the forest, and they pounce upon them as soon as they see them fall: to feed on</p>
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	<p>manada de elefantes libres les echan a las hembras a buscarlos, y la manada viene sin desconfianza detrás de las madres que vuelven adonde sus hijuelos: y allí los cazadores los enlazan, y los van domando con el cariño y la voz, hasta que los tienen ya quietos, y los matan para llevarse los colmillos. Partidas enteras de gente europea están por África cazando elefantes; y ahora cuenta los libros de una gran cacería, donde eran muchos los cazadores. Cuentan que iban sentados a la mujeriega en sus sillas de montar, hablando de la guerra que hacen en el bosque las serpientes al león, y de una mosca venenosa que les chupa la piel a los bueyes hasta que se le seca y los mata, y de lo lejos que saben tirar la azagaya y la flecha los cazadores africanos; y en eso estaban, y en calcular cuándo llegarían a las tierras de Tippu Tib, que siempre tiene muchos colmillos que vender, cuando salieron de pronto a un claro de esos que hay en África en medio de los bosques, y vieron una manada de elefantes allá al fondo del claro, unos durmiendo de pie, contra los troncos de los árboles, otros paseando juntos y meciendo el cuerpo de un lado a otro, otros echados sobre la yerba, con las patas de atrás estiradas. Les cayeron encima todas las balas de los cazadores. Los echados se levantaron de un impulso. Se juntaron las parejas. Los dormidos vinieron trotando donde estaban los demás. Al pasar junto a la poza, se llenaban de un sorbo la trompa. Gruñían y tanteaban el aire con la trompa. Todos se pusieron alrededor de su jefe. Y la caza fue larga; los negros les tiraban lanzas y azagayas y flechas: los europeos escondidos en los yerbales, les</p>	<p>the flesh, which is fine and juicy: Or they hunt them by trickery, because they have taught the females, who return to the corral for the love of their offspring, and where they know that a herd of free elephants is roaming, they send the females after them, and the herd comes without mistrust after the mothers, who return to their offspring: and there the hunters lasso them, and tame them by love and voice, till they have them still, and kill them to take away their tusks. Whole parties of European people are in Africa hunting elephants; and now the books tell of a great hunt, where there were many hunters. Those who had been thrown out got up at a moment's notice. The pairs came together. The sleeping ones came trotting over to where the others were. As they passed the waterhole, they slurped their trunks. They grunted and probed the air with their trunks. They all stood around their chief. And the hunt was long; the blacks threw spears and arrows at them; the Europeans, hidden in the grasslands, fired their rifles at them from close range; the females fled, tearing up the reeds as if they were grasses of thread; the elephants fled backwards, defending themselves with their tusks when a hunter came upon them. The fiercest one came upon a hunter, a hunter who was almost a child, and he was alone at the back, because each one had followed his elephant. The fierce one was very fanged, and he came fierce. The hunter climbed up a tree, without the elephant seeing him, but the elephant smelt him at once, and came mooing, raised his trunk as if to pull the man off the branch, and with his trunk round the trunk, and</p>
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	<p>disparaban de cerca los fusiles: las hembras huían, despedazando los cañaverales como si fueran yerbas de hilo: los elefantes huían de espaldas, defendiéndose con los colmillos cuando les venía encima un cazador. El más bravo le vino a un cazador encima, a un cazador que era casi un niño, y estaba solo atrás, porque cada uno había ido siguiendo a su elefante. Muy colmilludo era el bravo, y venía feroz. El cazador se subió a un árbol, sin que lo viese el elefante, pero él lo olió enseguida y vino mugiendo, alzó la trompa como para sacar de la rama al hombre, con la trompa rodeó el tronco, y lo sacudió como si fuera un rosal: no lo pudo arrancar, y se echó de ancas contra el tronco. El cazador, que ya estaba al caer, se disparó su fusil, y lo hirió en la raíz de la trompa. Temblaba el aire, dicen, de los mugidos terribles, y deshacía el elefante el cañaveral con las pisadas, y sacudía los árboles jóvenes, hasta que, de un impulso, vino contra el del cazador, y lo echó abajo. ¡Abajo el cazador, sin tronco a que sujetarse! Cayó sobre las patas de atrás del elefante, y se le agarró, en el miedo de la muerte, de una pata de atrás. Sacudírselo no podía el animal rabioso, porque la coyuntura de la rodilla la tiene el elefante tan cerca del pie que apenas le sirve para doblarla. ¿Y cómo se salva de allí el cazador? Corre bramando el elefante. Se sacude la pata contra el tronco más fuerte, sin que el cazador se le rueda, porque se le corre adentro y no hace más que magullarle las manos. ¡Pero se caerá por fin, y de una colmillada va a morir el cazador! Saca su cuchillo, y se lo clava en la pata. La sangre corre a chorros, y el animal enfurecido. aplastando el</p>	<p>shook it as if it were a rose-bush: he could not pull it up, and fell back on his haunches against the trunk. The hunter, who was already falling, fired his rifle, and wounded him in the root of the trunk. The air trembled, they say, from the terrible mooing, and the elephant's footsteps broke up the reed bed, and shook the young trees, until, with one impulse, he came against the hunter's, and knocked him down. Down went the hunter, with no trunk to hold on to! He fell on the elephant's hind legs, and clung, in fear of death, to one of the elephant's hind legs. The rabid animal could not shake it off, for the elephant's knee joint is so close to his foot that he can hardly bend it. And how does the hunter save himself from there? The elephant runs, bellowing. He shakes his paw against the strongest trunk, without the hunter rolling off him, for it runs into him and bruises his hands. But he will fall at last, and the hunter will die with a fang! He pulls out his knife, and plunges it into his paw. Blood gushes out, and the enraged animal, crushing the bush, goes to the river, to the river of healing water. And he fills his trunk many times, and empties it over the wound, he throws it with a force that stuns him, over the hunter. The elephant is about to go deeper. The hunter shoots all five bullets from his revolver into the elephant's belly, and runs, in case he can save himself, to a nearby tree, while the elephant, with its trunk dangling, runs out onto the bank and collapses.</p>
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		<p>matorral, va al río, al río de agua que cura. Y se llena la trompa muchas veces, y la vacía sobre la herida, la echa con fuerza que lo aturde, sobre el cazador. Ya va a entrar más a lo hondo el elefante. El cazador le dispara las cinco balas de su revólver en el vientre, y corre, por si se puede salvar, a un árbol cercano, mientras el elefante, con la trompa colgando, sale a la orilla, y se derrumba.</p>	
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Appendix 4

Spaniards and Englishmen as Depicted by *The Lessons*

Despite the geographical and canonical differences, Sassi's and Morris's viewpoints not only apply to this analysis but also help to better understand silences, misrepresentations and nonrepresentations in the rest of the subtitles and sections under analysis. "A Spaniard," the next relevant subtitle under "Men of Different Countries," only provides a few general facts, mainly geographical, about Spain, and concludes by indicating that "how they became rich, and lazy, is told in another place,"⁶²² which remark redirects to a whole section, "Spaniards," whose introductory sentence arguably asserts that "the silver mines of South America belong to the Spaniards," the statement followed by a persuasive explanation on the inconvenience of avarice and being avaricious, for which the Spanish, after becoming filthy rich, provide a germane example of the implications:

They left off making what is necessary to wear; they left off cultivating the ground; and they left off improving their minds; and so, while all the people of other countries were growing more industrious, more learned, and more respectable, these rich Spaniards were becoming more idle, more ignorant, more proud, and more despicable, than any other people of Europe.⁶²³

The closing sentence of the section warns, "The way that the Spaniards came to possess these mines was this," the statement serving as a bridge to the next section, "The Discovery," featuring Christopher Columbus, his life and travels, and the subsequent Spanish history as told by the author:

The Spaniards took these countries for their own, and everything they could find in them. They found great quantities of gold and silver, and treated the poor natives very cruelly, in hopes that the natives would tell them of still more gold and silver than they had found. The kings of other countries sent out ships to America, till in time America was all known to the people of Europe. People came from the different countries of Europe, to different parts of America. They found no towns, and pleasant fields, and fine gardens; they found only woods, and wild men, and wild animals. There were a great many Indians then—now there are a very few. In two hundred years, there have become more and more white men—fewer and fewer Indians. The Spaniards were not only cruel to the poor Indians, but they were cruel also to Columbus, who had made them so rich.⁶²⁴

⁶²². Eliza Robbins, *ibid.*, 235.

⁶²³. Eliza Robbins, *ibid.*, 202-203.

⁶²⁴. Eliza Robbins, *ibid.*, 205-206.

Both quotes complement each other on providing a peculiar account of the rise and fall of the Spanish empire, a span involving the conquest and colonisation of transatlantic territories. Both coincide in representing the Spanish as completely discredited and demoralised after the plundering. Most probably, young Martí was very impressed on reading about the cruelty with which the Spanish proceeded “in hopes that the natives would tell them of still more gold and silver than they had found.” Significantly, the idea is reproduced in *The Golden Age*, where Martí, taking into account he is addressing children, indirectly depicts that brutality⁶²⁵ by appealing to what Father Las Casas, the Spanish priest, did not do:⁶²⁶ “he did not whip them, until seeing them faint, because they did not know how to tell their master where there was more gold,” which coincidence can be easily regarded as another mark of influence. Also in this case under analysis, the narrative is built on half-truths and flagrant lies. The Spaniards, as previously mentioned, were not the only ones who “took these countries for their own.” The author refers the one-way-only ships coming to America from all over Europe without apparent purpose. Having stated that “in time different parts of America were all conquered and colonised by different countries of Europe” would have better fit reality than the word game used by the author to conceal the real facts. Regarding what the conquerors found on their arrival, the author gives a thoroughly distorted account of the diverse ways of life of the natives, all of them equally depicted as wild as animals. Some, however, had reached an advanced stage of development as pointed out by Martí in *The Golden Age*,⁶²⁷ where, he also addresses

⁶²⁵. “He did not hunt them with hungry dogs to kill them by working in the mines, he did not burn their hands and feet when they sat down because they could not walk, or their beaks fell off because they had no more strength: he did not whip them, until seeing them faint, because they did not know how to tell their master where there was more gold: He did not rejoice with his friends, at mealtime, because the Indian at the table could not bear the load he brought from the mine, and he had his ears cut off as punishment: he would not put on his fancy doublet, and that cloak they called “ferreruelo,” to go, very gallant, to the square at twelve o'clock to see the burning that the governor's justice ordered to be done, the burning of the five Indians. He saw them burned, he saw them look at their executioners with contempt from the stake; and he never wore anything but a black doublet, nor carried a cane of gold, like the other rich and plump licentiate but went to console the Indians in the forest, with no other help than his cane of tree branch.” In José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 440-441-442 (Translated by the author)

⁶²⁶. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 440-441.

⁶²⁷. “One cannot read without tenderness, and without seeing like flowers and feathers in the air, one of those good old parchment-covered books about the America of the Indians, their cities and their festivals, the merit of their arts and the grace of their customs. Some lived isolated and simple, without clothes and without necessities, like peoples just born; and they began to paint their strange figures on the rocks of the river banks, where the forest is lonelier, and men think more of the wonders

the discrediting narrative strategy in Spanish history and literature regarding the natives. According to Martí, “the victorious Spaniards have said more than is right in these things about the Indians, they exaggerated or invented the defects of the vanquished race, so that the cruelty with which they treated them would seem just and convenient to the world,”⁶²⁸ the same discrediting strategy to depict natives assumed by a Scottish explorer on referring his Africa experience as further on discussed. As to the decrease of the native population, the section completely silences the reasons why there were “fewer and fewer Indians.” Martí’s account in *The Golden Age* is closer to the facts on stating that “in ten years there were no Indians left alive of the three million or more there were in Hispaniola!”⁶²⁹ or alluding Father Las Casas about Cuba: “on an island where there were five hundred thousand, he saw with his own eyes the Indians that remained: eleven.”⁶³⁰

As to Columbus, Martí does not seem to have cared much about how cruel the Spanish were to him. In the same *O. C.* volume where *The Golden Age* is compiled, Martí warns that “Columbus was more of a casual character than of his own merit; it is easy to prove, as well as that he served himself more than he did serve others, and rather than thinking of the others, he thought of himself, whereas what makes a man great is the lack of love of himself for the benefit of the others.”⁶³¹ Undoubtedly, on reading the *Lessons*, Martí should have agreed to how cruel the Spaniards were at that time, an idea he kept on echoing in his writings. However, him being the son of Spanish parents and a Spanish regime’s direct victim who suffered persecution, incarceration, forced labour, and banishment, he did not develop hateful feelings about Spain or the Spanish people, which attitude reflects in literary works such as *Simple Verses*, where he celebrates Spain,⁶³² mentions “the Scotch thistle” and condemns slavery. The

of the world. Others were older peoples, and lived in tribes, in villages of reeds or adobe, eating what they hunted and fished, and fighting with their neighbours. Others were full-fledged peoples, with cities of one hundred and forty thousand houses, and palaces adorned with paintings of gold, and great commerce on the streets and squares, and marble temples with gigantic statues of their gods. Their works did not resemble those of other peoples, but as one man resembles another. They were innocent, superstitious and terrible. They imagined their government, their religion, their art, their war, their architecture, their industry, their poetry. All theirs was interesting, daring, new. It was an intelligent and clean artistic race.” In José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 380. (Translated by the author)

⁶²⁸. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 382.

⁶²⁹. *Ibid.*, 440.

⁶³⁰. *Ibid.*, 443.

⁶³¹. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 18, 286.

⁶³². Poem VII

Lessons insists on blaming the Spaniards⁶³³ while omitting the participation of other nations, such as Portugal, France and Holland. At this point, it would be convenient to check what “Men of Different Countries” tells the readers under “An Englishman:”

The English people are very wise, and very rich; they have a great many large ships. We speak the same language which the English do. Two hundred years ago, many Englishmen came to America; they and their children built some of these houses, and towns, which we see about us. Many of the clothes which we wear are brought from England; some of our cotton and woollen clothes are made there; our buttons, needles, scissors, pins, and knives, come from England, and so do waiters, and glasses, and plates, and cups, and saucers, and carpets. The English have a king and queen.⁶³⁴

For Aragon, in Spain,
I have in my heart
A place all Aragon,
Frank, fierce, faithful, without cruelty. /
If a fool wants to know
Why I have it, I tell him
That I had a good friend there,
That I loved a woman there. /
There, in the flowery meadow,
That of heroic defence,
To keep what they think
People risk their lives. /
And if a mayor squeezes him
Or a “cazurro” king angers him,
The “baturro” puts on his blanket
And dies with his shotgun. /
I love the yellow land
That bathes the muddy Ebro:
I love the bluish Pilar
Of Lanuza and Padilla. /
I love him who with a blow
Throws a tyrant to the ground:
I esteem him, if he is a Cuban;
I esteem him, if he is Aragonese. /
I love shady courtyards
With embroidered stairs;
I love silent halls
And empty convents. /
I love the flowery land,
Muslim or Spanish,
Where broke its corolla
The little flower of my life.

José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 16, 74-75. (Translated by the author)

⁶³³. “Negroes are now slaves in the United States, and in the West Indies. The Spaniards, when they went to live in the West India Islands, treated the poor natives so badly, that they almost all died; then there were not enough people to do the work; so the Spaniards went to Africa, and stole and bought men, and carried them to the West Indies. This was more than two hundred years ago. Since then, there have been many negro slaves in different parts of America. Some of these slaves are treated kindly, and made very happy; some are treated cruelly, and made very miserable.” In Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 165-166.

⁶³⁴. *Ibid.*, 220-221.

Contrary to the Spaniards, the English enjoy an extremely positive treatment in the *Lessons*. Their flattery characterisation casts silence on how they became that rich, a story not “told in another place,” neither is it told how much their many large ships, most of them covering three-way routes, contributed to that richness. When addressing the many Englishmen who two hundred years before had gone to America, the author is obviously referring to the United States. No reference whatsoever is made to those many who went to America, the continent, during that long time; among them, those who engaged in the slave trade or those who took part in the Siege of Havana in 1762 when “a force of 30 British warships, accompanied by more than 200 transport and support vessels, carrying more than 26,000 soldiers and sailors and 2,400 enslaved Africans, (...) besieged and occupied Havana, then the largest and most strategically important naval base and the third most populous city in the hemisphere,”⁶³⁵ the figures being so considerable as impossible not to bear in mind. To be fair, not all of the British alluded were English.

“An Englishman,” by no means relates the English to slavery; nevertheless, speaking “the same language which the English do” can then be taken as an unconscious metaphor for “following the same narrative strategy.” The long list of items imported from England account for the industrial development reached by that nation at the expense of cheap raw material acquired from its colonies and mostly involving slave work force, being cotton a representative instance. In this regard, the author ignores that “in the 1790s, the first newly planted cotton came [into Britain] from American plantations manned by slaves,”⁶³⁶ and “from the early 1800s, in the vast territory of the mainland United States a new ‘cotton frontier’ pushed aggressively into Mississippi and Alabama where Native Americans were devastated, land deforested and canals built, in order to facilitate large-scale

⁶³⁵. Elena Schneider, “Esclavitud y libertad en tiempos de guerra: Respuestas de los negros al sitio británico de La Habana (1762-63),” *Revista de Indias*, LXXIX/275 (Madrid, 2019): 143-144, accessed November 2020,

<https://doi.org/10.3989/revindias.2019.005>.

⁶³⁶. Claire Hopley, “A history of the British cotton industry,” *British Heritage*, accessed February 2021, <https://britishheritage.com/history/history-british-cotton-industry>.

monoculture cotton plantations.”⁶³⁷ The Spaniards, again, were not the only ones who were cruel to natives. Following the cotton route in time, “by the middle of the 19th century, Britain was producing half the world’s cotton cloth, yet not a scrap of cotton was grown in Britain,”⁶³⁸ where also child labour was used in the cotton industry.⁶³⁹ Addressing New Lanark, conceived and long after regarded as an economic-improvement community project for the production of cotton goods in Scotland, and apparently disconnected in its inception from the slave labour originating the raw material in transatlantic plantations, Morris not only points out that “the enslaved labour which cultivated these crops in the New World was dissociated from this tale of entrepreneurial success”⁶⁴⁰ but also concludes that New Lanark can “be read as a nexus of Improvement, Enlightenment, Capitalism and Slavery.” In “An Englishman” as well, enslaved labour is dissociated from the tale of English success. The bunch of imports enumerated in the text are the result of a longer not-told story that, paraphrasing Morris, can be read as a nexus of Exploration, Conquest, Colonisation, Slavery and Capitalism. One of the sections analysed in this thesis is set in Africa, where a Scottish explorer is assisted by a black lady after some misfortune. The analysis conducted by Morris, and the global ramifications and complexities of the cotton phenomenon he addresses while quoting a great many relevant authors, anticipates why “in the room of the negro woman’s hut, were several women, employed in spinning cotton.”⁶⁴¹ Regarding the “Spaniards,” a clue has been provided as to why “they left off making what is necessary to wear,” and the list of imported items in “An Englishman” also reminisces that “many very pretty things are made of ivory.” Certainly, “the English have a king and queen.”

⁶³⁷. Michael Morris, “The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Improvement: David Dale, Robert Owen and New Lanark Cotton,” in *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707-1840*, Alex Benchimol, Gerard Lee McKeever, eds., New York: Routledge, 2020, 115.

⁶³⁸. Claire Hopley, *ibid.*

⁶³⁹. “Records from Quarry Bank Mill contain details of nearly 1,000 children who worked there between 1785 and 1847. Their day began early. They typically rose at 5:30 a.m., were given a piece of bread to eat and began work at 6. Through the day, they usually had three short breaks, when they were fed oatmeal, and then at 8:30 p.m., after finishing their shift, they got a supper of bread or broth. On Sundays, they had reading lessons, church, and chores, such as tending the owner's vegetable gardens.” Claire Hopley, *ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰. Michael Morris, *ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁴¹. Eliza Robbins, *American Popular Lessons*. New York: R. Lockwood, 1829, 211.

Appendix 5

David Hume in Martí's Perception

Martí never issued any laudatory remarks about Hume. His mentions of the Scottish philosopher are practically restricted to a translation, some philosophical notes, and the characterisation of two Hume readers. In one of his chronicles dealing with the shooting and subsequent death of President Garfield, Martí replicates and translates into Spanish an excerpt from the *New York Herald* quoting Hume's words about Alfred the Great in his *History of England*. Given Martí's lack of sympathy for Hume, his interest in the excerpt most probably comes from having read the section "Alfred, King of England" in the *Lessons*, one more instance of possible influence. The aim of both the *Herald* and Martí's chronicle is to feature Garfield as compared to the King, not to praise Hume or his work, about which Martí had noted that "Hume's *History of England* failed to get buyers."⁶⁴² The notes taken by Martí on Hume's philosophical thoughts express disapproval. Martí jots down that "Hume denied the existence of bodies,"⁶⁴³ which idea is repeated in the same notebook⁶⁴⁴ as well as when noting, "Hume assures that we have no more contact with objects than that of the representations we make."⁶⁴⁵ Such considerations might have also taken Martí, who definitely was not a skeptic, to write down that "in the abstractions of his reasoning, Hume doubted and denied."⁶⁴⁶ In this regard, Martí questions, "and if his denial was true, and if truth is the conformity of the thing with the concept of the thing, how can it be explained as true that rough difference in the certainty of his actions, and the denial of his aberrations?"⁶⁴⁷ Martí concludes that "there is primitive certainty and reflexive certainty," the statement placing him in a completely different philosophical position from Hume's. The question then remains: which Hume's actions and aberrations was Martí referring to?

The two Hume readers Martí mentions in his work are Rafael Serra Montalvo, a black journalist and teacher who founded several newspapers to support the Cuban independence movement, and Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, President Cleveland's sister,

⁶⁴². José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 21, 430.

⁶⁴³. *Ibid.*, v. 21, 48.

⁶⁴⁴. *Ibid.*, v. 21, 50.

⁶⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, v. 22, 140.

⁶⁴⁶. *Ibid.*, v. 21, 50.

⁶⁴⁷. *Ibid.*, v. 21, 50.

a writer, lecturer, and editor of the *Literary Life* magazine. As to Serra, again a black man, it is very significant that Martí represented him, against all the prejudices of the epoch, as a knowledgeable reader engaged with other authors such as Macaulay, Chateaubriand or Virgil.⁶⁴⁸ As Martí leaves little to chance in his writings, the description can be interpreted as his ingenious way of proving Hume wrong. For Martí, black people too are apt for high-level readings, including Hume, who proclaimed their inferiority. In recent years, some scholars have documented their viewpoints about Hume's discriminating thoughts on similar grounds. Ovet Nwosimiri states that "Hume and Kant have certain ideas about race; if these ideas are true, then there is—and indeed, can be—no African philosophy. But there is African philosophy—that of nationalist-ideological philosophy; therefore, Hume's and Kant's ideas about race are incorrect."⁶⁴⁹ So Martí's intention to disapprove of Hume's ideas by characterising Serra turns out to be obvious and correct. In the case of Cleveland, whom Martí describes reading "a work by Hume that disappoints her,"⁶⁵⁰ it is up to the reader, since Martí does not provide any other references, to figure out what work by Hume caused not only her disappointment but also Martí's impulse to mention the "detail." Was Martí expressing his own disappointment after having come across "Of National Characters" with its "improved" annotation about the inferiority of "negroes"?

Oceans have been written about Hume and Hume's works. Even though a great many academics have traditionally validated him as an outstanding philosopher, more recent approaches reveal a wide variety of positions with a trend to revisit and revalidate his contributions and flaws. Scholar Felix Waldmann is the author of an article bolstered by the IASH at Edinburgh,⁶⁵¹ Hume's alma mater. The article admits that "there is no question that Hume was a brilliant philosopher, whose writings have shaped modern philosophy and Scottish culture. His *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) may be the most significant work of philosophy published in English before the

⁶⁴⁸. José Martí, *O. C.*, v. 4, 380.

⁶⁴⁹. Ovet Nwosimiri, "Do the Works of the Nationalist-Ideological Philosophers Undermine Hume's and Kant's Ideas About Race?," ResearchGate, accessed 20 November, 2020. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342182823_Do_the_Works_of_the_Nationalist-Ideological_Philosophers_Undermine_Hume%27s_and_Kant%27s_Ideas_About_Race.

⁶⁵⁰. José Martí, *O. C.*, v 10, 252. , .

⁶⁵¹. <https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/david-hume-and-slavery>.

20th century.”⁶⁵² Nevertheless, the title of the article overtly enunciates that “David Hume was (...) also a racist involved in slavery,” which assertion is fact-documented by Waldmann’s recent findings of “an unknown letter of March 1766 by Hume, in which he encouraged his patron Lord Hertford to purchase a slave plantation in Grenada,”⁶⁵³ the document being included in Waldmann’s *Further Letters of David Hume*.⁶⁵⁴ But there is still more to it: archival research conducted by Waldmann himself additionally discloses that “Hume had not only contacted Hertford; he had facilitated the purchase of the plantation by writing to the French Governor of Martinique, the Marquis d’Ennery, in June 1766. Indeed, he lent £400 to one of the principal investors earlier in the same year.”⁶⁵⁵ Hume’s support, however, does not prove consistent with his viewpoints since, by the time he showed his “generosity,” he had already reached the conclusion that “from the experience of our planters, slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the slave, wherever hired servants can be procured,”⁶⁵⁶ the expression furtherly revealing, by means of the possessive adjective, his identification with the slave owners.

Waldman also brings to light that “when James Beattie of Aberdeen criticised Hume’s racist comments in 1770, Hume was unmoved. The last authorised edition of the essay, published in 1777, repeats the same sentiments, almost verbatim.”⁶⁵⁷ Nevertheless, that very year, in his “Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations,” Hume had admitted that “nor can a more probable reason be assigned for the severe, I might say, barbarous manners of ancient times, than the practice of domestic slavery; by which every man of rank was rendered a petty tyrant, and educated amidst the flattery, submission, and low debasement of his slaves,”⁶⁵⁸ which viewpoint reveals, once again, his inconsistency. With no results, in “Rush to Judgement on David

⁶⁵². Felix Waldmann, “David Hume was a brilliant philosopher but also a racist involved in slavery,” *The Scotsman*, accessed 20 November 2020, <https://www.scotsman.com/news/opinion/columnists/david-hume-was-brilliant-philosopher-also-racist-involved-slavery-dr-felix-waldmann-2915908>

⁶⁵³. Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴. Felix Waldmann, ed. *Further Letters of David Hume*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2014.

⁶⁵⁵. Felix Waldmann, “David Hume was a brilliant philosopher but also a racist involved in slavery,” *idem*.

⁶⁵⁶. David Hume, *Hume Texts Online*, accessed October 2020, <https://davidhume.org/texts/pld/pa>

⁶⁵⁷. Felix Waldmann, *ibid*.

⁶⁵⁸. David Hume, *ibid*.

Hume?,”⁶⁵⁹ Kenda H. Asher tries to make ends meet among Hume’s contradictions on the race topic, only to conclude that it is not time to judge yet. An old conclusion, however, can still be drawn from her work: “Hume doubted and denied.” Taking into consideration that Hume had condemned slavery... in ancient Rome “but his views served to reinforce the institution of racialised slavery in the later 18th century,”⁶⁶⁰ and also to justify it much beyond, then it can be said that, in this case as well, there is a “rough difference in the certainty of Hume’s actions and the denial of his aberrations,” of which Martí seems to have been very conscious. Martí’s allusion to the evil in Scottish academia might furthermore be based on the reasons why Lord Byron had to write his “English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,” to which incident Martí referred more than once as further on addressed in this chapter. Even though a positive general characterisation of the Scottish people can be drawn from Martí’s works, not all Scots were his “kind of people,” which withdraws him from having had an idealised vision of Scotland and the Scots.

⁶⁵⁹. Kenda H. Asher, “Rush to Judgement on David Hume?” Institute of Intellectual History, accessed November 2020, <https://intellectualhistory.net/past-meets-present-list/ruch-to-judgement-on-david-hume>.

⁶⁶⁰. Felix Waldmann, *ibid.*

Appendix 6

Selected Chronology of Key Scoto-Cuban Publications

1826	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• José María Heredia’s “Lord Byron,” fourth issue of <i>El Iris</i>, the Mexican magazine Heredia himself had founded.• José María Heredia’s “Contemporary English Poets: Thomas Campbell,” including a translated excerpt of one of the most emblematic pieces by Campbell: “The Pleasures of Hope.”
1831	<i>Elementos de Historia</i> , José María Heredia’s translation of Alexander Fraser Tytler’s <i>Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern</i> (1801), an extended version of his 1782 lectures. Toluca: Imp. del Estado, 1831-1832; 4 t, 2 vol.
1852	From Byron, Mendive also translated “I Saw Thee Weep;” Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, “The Destruction of Sennacherib,” which was published in the Havanan newspaper <i>La Prensa</i> in 1852; poet Antonio Sellén translated “Parisina,” “The Prisoner of Chillon,” “The Laments of Tasso” and “The Bride of Abydos,” while his brother Francisco translated “The Giaour.”
1889	- José Martí’s <i>The Golden Age</i> is published including “Músicos poetas y pintores,” a translation of Samuel Smiles’s “Great Young Men” from <i>Life and Labour</i> .
1896	<i>Plagiado</i> , version of Robert Louis Stevenson’s <i>Kidnapped</i> , translated by Cuban poet and journalist Francisco Sellén. Published by D. Appleton and Co, an editorial house specialized in translations.