The African Wet Nurse in Colonial Cuban Poetry

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Throughout the entire nineteenth century, the population of Cuba had to endure numerous periods of illness and epidemics. Two of the most important were the smallpox outbreak in 1803, and repetitive outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in 1833, 1850 and 1856. These epidemics caused thousands of deaths in 1803; the total number of deaths would have been even greater if doctors had not unleashed an intense vaccination campaign to contain the disease in time. Tomás Romay was responsible for this action; in his book *Memoria sobre la introducción y progresos de la vacuna en la Isla de Cuba* [Testimony of the Introduction and Progress of the Vaccination on the Island of Cuba] (1813), he explains that it was introduced to Cuba on February 10, 1804, by María Bustamante. He brought her from Puerto Rico, where she, her son and two mulatto maids had been inoculated. From them, he extracted pus to prepare injections so he could prevent many more deaths. Yet, at the beginning, the population did not believe in the efficiency of the vaccine, for which reason one of the ruses the doctors used to convince it was inoculating four children who "for twelve days were fed by nurse mothers covered in the pox, but who did not get the slightest infection…These children took in a great deal of the virus via the breast milk they suckled from these women, whose bodies were covered with seeping pustules; the spent a long time in a very contagious environment. Fortunately, they suffered no effects from the illness."[1]

We know through Romay that this procedure was successful because the vaccine was rapidly accepted on the island. That very year, 800 children were laid to rest in the *Cementerio de los Capuchinos.* In addition to the repulsion a description such as this can provoke in spectators and readers, what is missing from Romay's memoire is the identity of these wet nurses, who tended to be black slave or free women. Thus, we

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African wet nurse. Painting by José María Romero

should take this anecdote, so revealing of the period's thinking, as a point of departure for understanding the interest there was in hygiene, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the discovery of new technologies capable of germs from within the

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human body that attacked it, and concerns regarding illnesses that were transmitted via various body fluids, like the "black vomit" or smallpox, that caused even death.

This obsession with illnesses that social and biological limits in a society that precisely depended on those limits for its survival, contributed to the spread of the belief that mother's milk could be as beneficial and dangerous for a child's health. It was beneficial if it came from a healthy, robust body, but dangerous if it came from a sick one, from someone with mental or psychological illness.

In this essay, I will examine the presentation of the African wet nurse in the poems of José María de Cárdenas, José Padrínes and Juan Clemente Zenea, writers who were part of the Del Monte literary group and *El Artista* journal, which in 1849, published a call for submissions on the subject of "Lactation," of which one would win a prize. This was done under the auspices of the Liceo Artístico y Literario de La Habana [Artistic and Literary Lyceum of Havana].

This lyceum was one of the first literary institutions in Cuba. It offered literature, foreign language and a number of science classes. The men assigned as judges for the context were well known doctors and scientists: Anastasio Valdés, Julio Jacinto Le Riverand, Nicolás Gutiérrez, Felipe Poey, Wenceslao Villa-Urrutia and Cayetano Aguilera. The description of the call for submissions specified that the articles should be written assuming "the premise that maternal lactation is better, determine cases in which it should be stopped, and demonstrate if in these cases artificial lactation was preferable to an unrelated wet nurse, considering the kind we often employ customarily."[2] In mentioning the "unrelated wet nurse, the organizers were logically referring to the slave women that used to breast feed the children of landowners. All one needs to do is see the ads in the *Diario de la Habana* during the month of January the year before the publication of the call for submissions: they reveal the brutal way in which wet nurses were commercialized and how often their sale was published in the newspapers.

On January 6th, 1848, an advertisement gave details about "a childless, mulatto women who had given birth two and half months earlier, with good and abundant milk…[and who] was extremely docile."[3] On the 11th and 13th, there is an offer to rent another black wet nurse "with her three-month old child, with good and abundant milk for an ounce a month."[4] On the 21st, there was an ad for a black woman who had given birth a month earlier, "with her male child [and] very abundant milk,"[5] and another on the 29th that sold or rented a "healthy, unmarked, young black woman of good appearance, 40 days past her delivery" with a female child.[6]

These advertisements are just a small sampling of the intense trafficking there was in recently delivered women who slave owners had no qualms about renting or selling, with or without children, so they could have "abundant" milk available for white children. This heartless enterprise, which was very typical of the slave system, was not entirely free of complications. One can appreciate from the call for contributions published in the literary section of the Liceo Artístico y Literario de La Habana, this practice was already being criticized by some intellectuals, not so much for its commercial aspects, or for the fate of the wet nurses and their children, but because of the possible repercussion it could have for the

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population of white children in Cuba. Why did wealthy, white women need to use a wet nurse, when they themselves could feed their children? When should "maternal lactation" stop? Under what circumstances was it appropriate to do so? The survey sought to find answers to these and other questions, and Justino Valdés Castro, a Havana doctor, was the one who won the competition that year.

According to Valdés Castro, women could have various physical and psychological reasons for not breastfeeding their children. White women could have difficulties with their breasts, lymphatic system, "nervous system," and even "maladjusted passions." All this could influence their constitution.[7] If a child's health was affected early on by an "addicted" mother or one with the problems such as Valdés enumerates, it was recommended a "healthy and active" wet nurse take her place. Careful and strict hygiene and a trip to the country, for healing, was also recommended.[8] The other option was "artificial lactation," which according to Valdés, could also cause numerous illness in children, among them intestinal parasites, cervical tuberculosis and lymphatic problems. "Artificial lactation" was understood to mean the use of animal milk, about which Valdés insists should be avoided, or consumed with care: "Take precaution first to see how well a family member dying of consumption tolerates milk taken from an animal."[9]

As Ramón de La Sagra explains in *Historica física, política y natural de la isla de Cuba,* mothers who could not nor would not breastfeed their children turned to goat milk, the children suckling it directly from the animal's teats. Many mother, however, did this because "they were too disgusted to confide their children to black wet nurses."[10]

Despite this, one of the few photos taken of slaves in Cuba shows a slave wet nurse with a child and goat: *Retrato de José Manuel Ximeno con su criada negra y un carnerito,* by Spanish painter José María Romero.

Valdés assured that mother's milk was the best, but if a wet nurse could not be found, because there was none or the woman was too poor to pay for one, then, and only then, could donkey mare's milk (the closest to human milk, it was thought) was recommended—but only if it was "fresh from the mare and warm."[11] Goats were preferred in Cuba due to their docile nature and "the shape of their teats."[12] If the milk got cold, it lost its nutritional value. Milk was a living organism and should be consumed that way [warm]. If goat's milk was used, because of its viscosity, then it should be mixed with water, at least during the child's first two months. Sometimes it was possible to find "young goats" that had recently had kids, whose feed consisted entirely of watery vegetables or fresh greens, but their milk was more likely to be "weaker and less rich in nutrients that milk extracted from older animals."[13]

All this points to the fact the period's medical norms had established a hierarchy of priorities that one could heed if one had enough money and the health of the white child and mother could come first. It was also emphasized that unless white women had some sort of illness, they should not give their children over to slave wet nurses. Any Cuban writer talking about this situation would write the same thing. The women, if being healthy and strong, decided to give their children over to slaves to care for them while they went to parties and other recreational activities, would be harshly criticized.

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Lactation was a frequent subject in the scientific literature of nineteenth-century Europe and the United States; it confirmed that the qualities of a woman's milk could vary if she suffered from severe mental problems, in which case the milk's consistency would change. Valdés Castro's memoire supports its discussion on the subject of French medicine, particularly on Ratier's indication, in his very popular work. In *Abandoned children: foundlings and child welfare in nineteenth-century France,* Rachel Ginnis Fuchs explains how in France, between 1830-1840, abandoned children were fed milk in bottles. The authorities had to depend on "*nourices sedentarias"* to feed them. Even when it was difficult to find wet nurses, the orphanage's administration would refuse to hire unmarried mothers "because they believed the 'immorality' of these women would be transmitted to the abandoned children through their milk."[14] The situation worsened because it was believed that many children were infected with syphilis and could transmit it to their wet nurses, via their contact with their breasts. Then the women might pass it on to their husbands. In these cases, it was suggested that goats be used, because they established no maternal bonds with the child and did not transmit social ills.[15]

Something similar went on in Spain and was discussed in the poetry of Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796-1873). Yet, unlike in Cuba, wet nurses there were not slaves, and doctors and writers did not think about the ills they might suffer, but rather the ones they might inflict on children. This was the source for the discussion about what dangers there might be in the milk of women affected by moral or psychological problems and the tremendous trauma of slavery. As José Varela de Montes states in *Ensayo de antropología o sea Historia fisiológica del hombre* (1844-1845), who according to nineteenth-century, Cuban historian Jacobo de la Pezuela was read for a the Havana Medical School in 1862, these factors could influence children's development. Varela de Montes also stated: "lactation influences not only the physical character of humans, but also their moral character because we inherit (according to Le Camus) our parent's vices and virtues, their spirit and inclinations."[16] If that were the case, what happened to white children from rich families who were nursed by slave women?

In 1848, *El Artista* printed a poem by Bretón de los Herreros and an article about wet nurses that had already appeared in a book about "Spanish types" of the time. In both texts, Bretón de los Herreros criticizes mothers who in an attempt to avoid physical work, or preferred passing their time in parties and other forms of diversion, left their children's lactation to other women."[17] This criticism reappeared in the work of Juan Clemente Zenea, and indirectly in a poem by Cárdenas y Rodríguez published in the same magazine, which initiated in Cuba a cycle of publications on the topic.

Cárdenas y Rodríguez's poem should be read like a criticism of the slave system and acknowledgment of the family ties that would be established between white children and "milk mothers." It was understood that when a wet nurse served a white child, the child became indebted to the old slave or was witness of the family breakup Africans brought to Cuba suffered. This poem was published in *El Artista* the same year as the one by Bretón de los Herreros. Cárdenas y Rodríguez reminds white children of what they owe their milk mothers. He does so

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by resorting to a sort of ventriloquism, by speaking as if the slave herself were doing so. He even has her express appreciation to God, because it was thanks to his grace: "To his benign influence / From his secret mystery / He brought me to faraway climes / to be your mother of love."[18]

Cárdenas y Rodríguez finds no better reason for her to have been brought from Africa as a slave, to suffer all the tortures of so terrible a system, just to serve whites. It should not surprise us that this poem was published, given the historical and political context, just four years after the brutal repression of the Escalera Conspiracy (1844).

This explains why her condition, or that of her children is every discussed, even though she probably had to abandon or lose them to be able to lactate her master's child. The only thing highlighted is her supposed devotion and "love" with which the African wet nurse fulfills her responsibility, only to ask the "child" to not forget her when he or she grows up, at the end of the poem: "Don't forget, o child, no, that it was on my breast that you once that you tasted, sweet calm, that there are also sensitive souls for which the day is ungrateful."[19]

What the author is trying to do in this poem is create emotional empathy in the reader, so he or she can acknowledge what is owed to the wet nurse, and act with compassion and respect towards her when he or she reaches adulthood. He does not advocate for an end to slavery or the slave trade, but rather for better treatment for slaves, and a model of civil virtue that white children and young women should adopt. This form of social activism in literature—whether it uses the victim's voice (the slave) to convince the reader, or the first person voice, as if he were "witness" to this cruel scene—is repeatedly found in novels critical of slavery, in José Martí's chronicle about the "terrible order of Africans," in lullabies in the early, twentieth century (in which it is the black woman who almost always speaks), or in Miguel Barnet's book *Biografía de un cimarrón* (1966).

They are discursive strategies that stand out for the intimate nature of their rhetoric and the very physical and emotional connection between the poetic voice and the subject-victim of whom it speaks. They were directed at an educated, white public, who after a year of terrible repression (after the Escalera Conspiracy) could not help but very cautiously contemplate any reference to slavery. Logically, each one of these narrations contains their own political agenda, and should not be seen to represent the desires or aspirations of blacks. Thus, despite their limitations, one must acknowledge Cárdenas y Rodríguez's valor in publishing this poem and, in general, the valor of *El Artista*'s editors (it lyceum's secretary was none other than Cirilo Villaverde and had other important members like José Victoriano Betancourt and Ramón de Palma).

Poet José Padrínes, like Cárdenas y Rodríguez, would later return to the same topic; yet, this time, the conversation is not between a milk mother and white child, but rather a lover and his girl, the latter of whom criticizes him for having another woman. The poem's title is *La rival imaginaria* [The Imaginary Rival], the idea of 'imaginary' stemming from the fact that the poet denies and affirms that in the past he had fallen in love with a beautiful woman (the girl) who ended up being Lucifer. This woman, with her "divine eyes," early one showed signs of having a "simple heart," and since he was not seeking expensive dresses, or

feathers, or pearls, he fell in love with her. In other words, the poet says he was looking for the nineteenth century's ideal woman, "pure, ideal, innocent," one with "virtuous ardor," but when he got to know her better, he became horrified. He had been fooled by her external beauty without noticing that behind that face there was a cruel woman who beat her slave till they bled, even her wet nurse's daughter:

"I didn't see you were quarrelsome / that you paid them with trumpery. / That you were fickle, cruel, / Vane and finicky. / Nor had I seen / that in you were / Blind, irate, ferocious / Atrociously striking /troubled María / Slave, daughter of that / Black African woman, who gave you / your vane, beautiful mother / denied you. / I can still see you / That terrible, haughty face / That tremulous look / The sound of the vile whip / I can still see the slave / Bloody and weeping / Who runs away fearfully / Your blind frenzy. / Is this a women /A goddess from the heavens descended? / Or a brief vision / of a mannish Lucifer?"[20]

This poem, which Villaverde would quote later on in his famous novel, is a violent criticism of the slave system, and achieves this in a way similar to what Francisco Manzano expresses in his *Autobiografía,* by telling of his personal experiences, even if he never witnessed this scene. He appeals to the reader and communicates to him or her about so cruel a practice by using a witness's voice. Padrínes, a poet about whom little is known (just that he was Spanish and lived in Matanzas), communicated to Domingo del Monte that he was considering finishing a story-poem whose action took place at a sugar mill. We know this from one of the letters he sent to Del Monte from Matanzas in 1836, in which he thanked him for sending a copy of *El Artista* (a Spanish magazine with the same title as the Cuban one). A slave couple decides to marry, but were unlucky enough to discover that the foreman is also in love with the woman. After she rejects his sexual advances, he asks her now husband to give her a terrible beating, which he does, and from which she dies while being punished.[21] The storyline, of course, is reminiscent of the novel *El negro Francisco,* by Antonio Zambrana, which would be published many years later, but the principal source for the story in Padrínes's poem seems to be Manzano's book, since it, too, has a devilish woman in it who owns slaves and is cruel. It is the image of the Marquise of Prado Ameno in Manzano's *Autobiografía* (1835). In it, he wrote that she would bust up "her nose as was her custom on a daily basis."[22]

In both stories, the owner is a cruel woman with no virginal qualities, the kind that one would associate with the goddess-like treatment they are depicted with, the saintly woman at home with her children and husband. This time, she is a woman who appears to be changing the "natural order" of things in a bourgeois marriage, because she takes on a "male" role, does not breastfeed her children, and sadistically punishes her slaves.

The Padrínes poem is also important because in the owner is the milk sister of the slave, for which reason she expresses no gratitude at all towards her "mother." This is the ruptured view of "family" such as slavers would have presented the concept, which included the owner as a sort of paternal figure to the slaves. Her lack of sensitivity, which goes right along with her lack of gratitude, are concomitant with her love of dresses, parties and the carefree attitude that wealthy women display with their children since, as

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the poem says, her "beautiful mother" had "denied" the child her own milk.

In a general sense, her frivolity goes together with her lack of kindness. Her personality is constructed so that it contrasts with that of the milk mother (poor, black and worn out by the years and work) with the traditional image of women as "goddesses" of the home, virtuous and kind to everyone.

These writers imbue their women with masculine traits under the slave system; this deformation can even be found in José Antonio Saco's *Historia de la esclavitud,* in which he points out that while it was against the Church's precepts, slave-owners abused their slaves in antiquity. He cites St. John Chrisostom, writing that there were "women who were so cruel and barbarous" that they punished their slaves with whip, all night long, when it would have been better to use other, less harsh methods like words, striking fear in them, or offering them kindness and benefits: "she is your sister, if she is Christian."[23]

According to Saco, all the Church's clergymen deplored the vices and defects they associated with most slaves, but they blamed the owners for them, for neglecting to give them religious instruction and degraded them with their violence.[24] Saco follows Chrisostom's words, as they seem to be directly relevant to the way in which slavery was practiced and criticized in Cuba, where the Catholic religion still had great influence in the early nineteenth century. Was religious fervor compatible not with slavery, but with merciless mistreatment of slaves? For those who criticized the system, like Father Félix Varela, it was not. Yet, unlike the treatment received by the wet nurse in the poems by Cárdenas y Padrínes, Juan Clemente Zenea "El hijo del rico" reveals another angle that will later be employed by Anselmo Suárez y Romero and even Villaverde.

Zenea's poem is a kind of *bildungsroman* about the life of a white child who grows up in a wealthy home, and goes through a series of calamities that end up condemning him to poverty. Like Bretón de los Herreros, Zenea begins by emphasizing the mother's perverse behavior. She abandons her son to the arms of a black wet nurse and goes out to have a good time at dances and parties. Both poets create a kind of conversation with the infant and, indirectly, with readers, who witness this abandonment. Yet, if Bretón de los Herreros looks only at his character's childhood, Zenea follows the child into adulthood. For example, after he is done with his milk mother, he is sent abroad, where once again he finds himself alone. The result is that the now young man returns to Cuba and squanders his parents' fortune on dances, prostitutes and love affairs with married women. Zenea, speaking directly to the character, says: "You were rich at birth, and in that moment / Your mother denied you her breasts' honey / Fearing you would ruin her beauty / She sent you from her bed; / And she was not ashamed / Thinking it was natural / To give her precious baby / to a brutish slave, a wet nurse! / She was young, robust and healthy, / the best nourishment for you / Her light breasts she kept filled, / And she was able to give you life at that moment / If the voice of responsibility had heard, / You would have avoided the inhumane one / Whose very pure nectar contained / poison running through her veins."[25]

These verses more than let us see why for Zenea the child's bad behavior begins in the cradle, when he is abandoned by his mother ("breasts' honey"), and given to the wet nurse, whose milk becomes "poison" run-

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ning through her veins. Once again, what is at play here is a fear of what the slave could transmit to the child through her milk, fear of this unprotected, violated and "abject" class of people, as Suárez and Romero put it, that with their milk gave not only life but also transmitted "brutish" teachings and stories. According to Zenea, this is why when the child grew up nothing could "keep him from the path" for "an evil future": "And what can he learn / He who has a slave for a teacher? / Some witch stories who in the shadows / becomes important and unfortunately complicate things; / Evil romances, brutish legends, / Her story strikes fear, / And her sad ending, astonishment; / Ideas of fear / Which some obey and others give orders."[26]

Upon reading these lines, it is hard not to notice the profound abjection they communicate. It is white abjection, white men who upon disdainfully looking upon slaves and those either had or had not more money than he. From a moral point of view, he finds it unacceptable that a white woman refused to breastfeed her child and gave the responsibility to a slave, not only because she in doing so she was rejecting her natural role as a "healthy" woman, ready and willing to do what nature had assigned to her, but also because with that milk also came a bad upbringing that would lead the child directly to failure.

Zenea's stanzas clearly reveal the fear of porosity, fear of the brief intimacy there was between blacks and whites in the Cuban slave system. They reveal fear of world developing in the shadows, far from owners' eyes, an influence that threatens to subvert the *criollo* one. For Zenea, unlike with Padrínes or Cárdenes Rodríguez, there is nothing laudable in breastfeeding the child, not even in the milk, and much less so in an education that whites reduced to "witch stories," "evil romances and brutish legends." All these stories are, as he says, "conceptions of fear" that the nature and servile state of slaves inspired. The black wet nurse is the one who instead of giving the child life (milk) gives him death or poverty, which in a slave society divided between the rich and poor, white and blacks, was the very same thing.

The curse that came with the milk would reveal itself in their behavior, in their language and knowledge. It is no coincidence that this long tradition of connecting mother's milk with language and faith extends from Quintilian to Saint Augustine.[26] Perhaps Zenea, who was a friend of Nicolás Azcárate, was thinking about Manzano's *Autobiografía,* in which fear of ghost stories were so often repeated. According to the thinking of educated and scientific men, this was a symptom of superstition, lack of culture and social decay. These were witch, ghost and demon stories that very well could have resulted from a mixture of African stories and a medieval, Spanish tradition, which was criticized painters such as Francisco Goya (and his "caprichos") and writers like Leandro Fernández de Moratín (and his *Auto de fe celebrado en la ciudad de Logroño*) at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Even so, the "brutish" legends in the poem in question here seem to be something relevant only to blacks; to their "superstitions" and not as a feature of Spanish or *criollo* culture. In *Cecilia Valdés,* Villaverde ended up doing the same thing, when he writes about Cecilia's grandmother, and her ghost story, or the one that the servant of Don Tomás de Montes de Oca's wife has. He writes that "[the servant] almost always filled her head with numerous witch stories."[27]

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In any event, like the wet nurse's milk, words invade the child, poisoning him. Could it be any other way in a society that felt terror at the possibility of being swallowed up by a slave revolt like the one in Santo Domingo?

The goal is to criticize the bad influence of slaves on the lives of whites, on white women and, particularly, on "children," who upon coexisting with them became victims of their ignorance and fears. That generation was horrified at their proximity with Africans, their influence in all social spheres, which is why they began to criticize the system. Nevertheless, this should not be taken for a criticism of slavery and the slave trade for the purpose of promoting slave emancipation, much less a validation of their culture, whether or not they had brought it with them from Africa or it was forged from their intense intermingling slave barracks or cities. What these authors sought was to reform the customs of whites, and imbue them with compassion, make them acknowledge their excesses, their moral debt, and the evil they were bringing upon the whole country with their constant contact with this vilified race.

This ambiguity between criticizing slavery, advocating for Manzano's freedom, and concomitantly limiting their goal to be just a reform of the system can be seen clearly in Domingo Del Monte and even Saco. They were sometimes called abolitionists byothers reformers. Both complain about being considered one or the other. What is certain, though, is that in *Historia de la esclavitud,* Saco would seem to be expressing that very same ambiguity in the chapter about the role of the Church and the attitude of the clergy regarding slavery, when he asks them not to judge them as if they were in an "abolitionist" century. After all, even though the clergy acknowledged that all men were equal and made in the likeness of the Creator, they did not advocate for their freedom. What they did do was criticize the idleness and luxury in which many of the slave owners lived. According to Saco, these priests limited themselves to asking them not to mistreat their slaves—like Saint Augustine—not to treat them like a horse or money, but rather as other men, "like a father with his children and a husband with his wife."[28]

This seems to be the case with a number of narratives from this period. Suárez y Romero owned a sugar mill, Villaverde supported Cuba's annexation to the U.S. slave south for a time. Despite having written a powerful book against the system, he does not waste any time to distance himself from slave culture and label them "savages" and "brutes." Just one example will suffice to prove this point: African wet nurses. In his article "Vigilancia de las madres" [Mothers' Watchfulness], he states that "it is not always the holy milk of mothers that nourishes Cuba's children; an abject wet nurse gives us hers…the words of that ignorant and corrupt wet nurse are what we hear the most… that's where our erroneous ideas come from; that is the source of our bastard passions, which one they take hold of us and increase, makes our lives useless and reprehensible; that is how everything gets corrupted, even the chaste speech of our elders."[29]

Once again, milk is more than a nutritional drink. Just as in Zenea's poem, an accumulation of "bastard passions" and aspirations that the children are imbued with. Thus, we understand why Zenea's "son of a rich man" cannot have a happy ending, and why he can't help but expressing his fear concerning the teachings of wet nurses and slaves. Not unlike the "life of the *mulata*"

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that is depicted on cigar box labels during that period, that son is born condemned (by his mother) and dies poor and alone. It should also not surprise us that none of these poets praises or acknowledges that the slave woman has knowledge equal or superior to that of whites. Not even Rodríguez, whose poem is really the work of a white man who attempts to express his feelings, but not those of the slave woman against slavery and the slave trade. Yet, these poets did force their readers to acknowledge their work; in that sense, he is appealing to a feeling of indebtedness and gratefulness to achieve better treatment for African slaves and reminds them of the daily injustices committed by slave owners in a society where violence and discrimination were rampant.

Notes:

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2- Valdés Castro, Justino. *Memoria sobre la lactancia* (La Habana, 1856): 1.

3-9- *Diario de la Habana* (enero de 1848): 3, 3, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6.

10- Sagra, Ramón de la, *Historia física, política y natural de la isla de Cuba* III (Paris: Librería de Arthus Bertrand, 1845): 25.

11- *Ibid*, 7.

12- *Ibid,* 8.

13- *Ibid*.

14- Fuchs, Rachel Ginnis. *Abandoned children: foundlings and child welfare in nineteenth-century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984): 135-136.

15- *Ibid*, 138 s.

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18- Cárdenas y Rodríguez, José María de. "La despedida de la nodriza africana." *El Artista* (1: 2. 20 de agosto de 1848): 174.

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20- Padrínes, José. "La rival imaginaria." *Cuba poética: Colección escogida de las composiciones en verso de los poetas cubanos*. Ed. José Fornaris y Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces. (La Habana: Imprenta de la viuda de Barcina, 1861): 234.

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24- *Ibid,* 117.

25- Zenea, Juan Clemente. *Poesías completas* (New York: Imprenta y Redacción del Mundo Nuevo, 1874): 49.

26- Brewer-García, Larissa. "Bodies, Texts, and Translators: Indigenous Breast Milk and the Jesuit Exclusion of Mestizos in Late Sixteenth-Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 21. 3 (2012): 372.

27- Villaverde, Cirilo. *Cecilia Valdés o la loma del ángel* 2 [Ed y prólogo. Olga Blondet Tudisco; Antonio Tudisco]. (Madrid: Anaya, 1971): 176.

28- *Ibid*, 115.

29- Suárez y Romero, Anselmo. "Vigilancia de las madres," *Colección de artículos* (La Habana: Establecimiento Tipográfico La Antilla, 1859): 23.

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