GAMBLING IN THE MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL IMAGINARY

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ABSTRACT

Emily Joy Clark: Gambling in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Latin American Social Imaginary
(Under the direction of Rosa Perelmuter)

Economic themes appear in many nineteenth-century Latin American narratives, but the representation of gambling and other forms of speculative capitalist commerce, such as investment, trade, and mining, is a largely unexplored area of critical literary analysis. This dissertation examines the depiction of gambling and other games of chance, as well as financially-speculative endeavors, in eight texts from the mid-nineteenth century throughout Hispanic America, including José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816), Eduardo Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira* (1879), Rosario Orrego's *Alberto el jugador* (1860), Teresa González de Fanning's *Regina* (1886), Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841), Alberto Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas* (1862), José Ramón de Betancourt's *Una feria de la caridad en 183…* (1841, 1858), and José Milla's *Los Nazarenos* (1867).

In the four chapters of the dissertation, I analyze four different perspectives on gambling and its repercussions in society as it applies to gender (Chapters 1 and 2), social class (Chapter 3), and the role of the citizen in post-independence Latin American nation states (Chapter 4). The fictional portrayal of the gambler and the description of gambling as either a positive or a negative activity for individuals, families, and the general populace tell the reader not only about game-playing and popular culture, but also about gambling's deeper significance for writers of the nineteenth century with respect to their societies. By examining how gambling and social roles dialogue with one another, I conclude that focusing on the depiction of this chance-based

activity allows us to confront several aspects of the social imaginary of the time: social inequalities, women's participation and activism, class mobility through risky economic practices, and the construction of the citizen in nation-building narratives.

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INTRODUCTION

While many scholars have looked broadly at literary works depicting reform movements such as abolitionism, political movements, and indigenous rights, among other topics, very few have examined the subtle, but persistent, depiction of gambling and the prohibition movement condemning its practice during the nineteenth century. Of course, in order for social reformers to take interest in the topic of gambling, it had to be relevant and prevalent in their societies, and indeed it was. Gambling was a pastime that had long been popular in Latin America, as in other parts of the world, and this activity, affecting a wide spectrum of society, appears in much of the literature of the nineteenth century. Many literary works depict casual card games, billiards, lotteries, and other forms of betting that take place in a variety of settings, yet these activities have received little critical attention. While a few scholars have examined individual works and the depiction of gambling therein (Patricia Rubio, for example, offers an analysis of gambling as the antithesis of domestic life in Rosario Orrego's *Alberto el Jugador* [1861] in her introduction to this reprinted work), and one or two have looked at gambling's larger relationship with Realist depictions later in the nineteenth century (for example Leigh Mercer's chapter "The Games Men Play: The Stock Market and the Casino" in *Urbanism and Urbanity* [2013], which analyzes gambling in the Spanish Realist novel), no one to my knowledge has taken a broad, detailed look at the varied uses of gambling in the nineteenth-century Latin American novel.

This dissertation attempts to fill that void by undertaking an extensive assessment of distinct representations of gambling and their implications as depicted in narrative works written in the mid-nineteenth century in Latin America. Thus, each chapter of the dissertation explores a

different aspect of gambling, from perspectives on social roles of gamblers, to the reactions of those around them and gambling's effects on mid-nineteenth-century society. This project offers insight into the way in which different authors viewed the common practice of gambling during this period and how they chronicled its prevalence and effects in the newly-formed communities they depicted in their narrative works. As Thomas M. Kavanagh argues in *Dice, Cards, Wheels: A Different History of French Culture* (2005), examining the relationship between gambling and other aspects of history and society (such as social class or religion) offers a unique insight into the history and nature of gambling itself and into the history of popular culture and literature. With this perspective at the root of the dissertation, I analyze the link between gambling and representations of social roles in each novel I treat.

While there are numerous novels depicting gambling during this period, I have selected those that feature gambling either as a major plot device or a driving force in the story, or those that offer gambling as an activity essential to the characterization of an important protagonist or their fictional world. The nineteenth century was a period of flux in Latin America, so it is not surprising that gambling is regarded from various perspectives in my chapters, from a benign, to a neutral, to a damaging practice. After looking at the different approaches to gambling offered in these works, I argue that a critical subtext about society itself and the roles of different groups of people in society was depicted through them. The focus on gambling fascilitates access to a range of beliefs about gender roles, social class roles, and the larger construct of the individual's role in the nation. By examining the broader ideas surrounding this polarizing activity, I focus on the following textual categories: 1) texts depicting gambling as a positive activity associated with a rebellious (typically masculine) protagonist; 2) those condemning gambling as dangerous for the family (often written by women as reform texts and cautionary tales); 3) those in which

gambling is viewed in a seemingly more neutral fashion, but where the author still offers commentary on social class; and finally, 4) those that portray gambling as a negative activity linked with illness, criminality, and danger to the social order and the nation. These categories form the basis of the analysis and the chapters of my dissertation. For each of the chapters, I analyze in detail two of the best examples of works for the categories outlined above, exploring a total of eight narratives in detail.

While gambling is the central focus of the dissertation, as it is the theme that links the works considered to one another, larger questions regarding speculative commerce also emerge. Specifically, gambling is often tied to forms of investment and business endeavors that speak to greater concerns with national economic stability and the foundation of national currencies and trade after independence. These connections between gambling and other risky monetary endeavors enable me to link gambling to larger national and international questions emerging with the advent of industrial capitalism and modernity. As writers envisioned national spaces and identities, risk-based commerce took on new meanings for those concerned with social inequalities and economic turmoil during this transitionary period.

To better situate the dissertation in its historical context, it is important to provide a brief history of gambling, which I extend for each novel's geographical and historical setting in the individual chapters. Gambling is an ancient, popular leisure activity that sometimes has been viewed as a harbinger of greater social problems or as a symptom of corruption or malaise in society. In line with David Schwartz's historical data on the subject, I define the term "gambling" broadly as referring to a variety of games or chance-based activities that typically involve monetary transactions and can include pastimes like dice games, card games, and the

lottery, as well as betting on fights, games, or commodities prices.[1] During the nineteenth century, as new nations sought to define themselves across Latin America during and after their struggle for independence from Spain, gambling, which was already present during the colonial period and earlier (both among indigenous peoples of the Americas and in Europe), came under fire by reformists who wanted to challenge and reshape their societies into fledgling nations and leave behind problems of the colonial period.[2] This critique of gambling (along with a counter-discourse of texts that romanticized and glorified it), emerges in the literature of the nineteenth century and offers a window into reform movements of the period and into the self-concept of reformers in the nascent nations of Latin America. Gambling's function as an entropic or chaotic force in the social order, as it is an activity based on chance and probability, makes it a potentially dangerous and addictive enterprise, and the uncontrollable nature of game playing even offered a threat to civilization from the perspective of some writers and reformers. Due to the volatile aspects of chance and probability in gambling and the potential for associated criminal activity, gambling was frequently legislated, regulated, or banned, often as a response to public outcry against it. For these reasons, both male and female writers of the nineteenth century examined and questioned the health and viability of nations and families in the grip of perceived debauchery at the hands of gambling, while other writers viewed the activity as a positive, independent, and subversive endeavor.

Gambling may be the commonality between the works treated in this project, but they all approach this same theme from different perspectives. As gambling had a broad and varied

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[1]David Schwartz's text *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (2006) offers an excellent overview of different types of gambling throughout different time periods, as well as a thorough world history of gambling itself, and it was consulted here.

[2]Leslie Bethell's chapter, "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (2008), provides an explanation of increasing gambling activities, piracy, and smuggling as related to a lack of gold and silver coinage during the colonial period, thus detailing the perceived problems of gambling prior to the nineteenth century in Latin America.

influence throughout history, many different types of gambling were pursued in diverse geographical locations and time periods. While early forms of gambling were based on throwing bones (later turned into dice) for divination and eventually betting, other forms of gambling like cards, roulette, lotteries, and betting on races and sports games appeared later (Schwartz 6). Surprisingly, many of the gambling activities recognized and played today were developed just in the last few centuries when playing cards became popular (Schwartz 41). Whereas the twentieth century has specific favored gambling activities like poker, roulette, and black jack, the nineteenth century had its own popular games, including faro, whist, *hombre*, *monte*, *tresillo*, and other games rarely played today. These games are the ones found in our narratives, along with a variety of additional gambling activities, such as billiards, horse racing, and dice.[3] Ironically, while some types of gambling were regulated and even banned, other types of gambling were state-sponsored during the nineteenth century. For example, cards, dice, and casino games (such as early versions of roulette), were often controlled and eventually outlawed (in the case of Chile in the early nineteenth century, among others), but some activities were popularized and even directed by the nations themselves, with the lottery being the most notable example (Schwartz 146).[4] Throughout the dissertation we will encounter gambling houses promoting card games as well as public (and private) lottery systems, the most commonly represented forms of gambling in texts of nineteenth-century Latin America, as well as other, related financially-speculative activities.

[3]Where available, I garner additional information about these card games from rule and strategy books of the nineteenth century, especially those housed by the Fundación Juan March in Madrid, such as Robert Houdin's *Secretos de los garitos: arte de ganar a todos los juegos* (1891).

[4]Thompson's *The International Encyclopedia of Gambling* (2010) explains exactly how different countries in Latin America have historically approached the legalities of gambling, as well as gambling trends country by country, including Chile.

Whenever possible, further historical background from primary source texts describing gambling practices from a non-fictional perspective is provided in individual chapters. Thus, we will find references to legislation, authors' letters, cheating manuals, and newspaper articles reporting gambling's prevalence and the public's opinions on the activity, such as Luis Pérez Castro's article "Escándalo" (1873) in the Mexican newspaper *La Bandera de Juárez* (1872-1873), which describes the police shakedown of a gaming house, and Fanny Calderón de la Barca's letters in *La vida en México* (1843), which describe gambling in the town of San Agustín. Essays taking a historical perspective such as Leslie Bethell's "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720" in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (2008), also help to offer context for the development of gambling activities in the Americas in different regions, although it is important to note that, as David Schwartz discusses in *Roll the Bones* (2006), gambling existed in pre-Columbian civilizations as well (17). Finally, works of philosophy related to politics and social class of the period (such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract* [1762] and Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* [1848]) and new arguments on women's place in society (found in essays such as Benito Jerónimo Feijóo's *En defensa de las mujeres* [1726], Juana Manso's "Emancipación moral de la mujer" [1852] and "La mujer del porvenir" [1884] by Concepción Arenal) help to contextualize the argument for the renegotiation of social roles occurring in the narratives analyzed in individual chapters of this dissertation.

The theoretical perspectives that I utilize in the literary analyses of the eight novels I study in this dissertation aid in conceptualizing social roles and economic interpretations of literature. Gender roles are particularly germane to my analysis in the first two chapters. In this context, narratives discussing masculinity and femininity during Romanticism (for example, Susan Kirkpatrick's *Las Románticas* [1989]), help me to construct a theoretical scaffold around

the idea of the masculine rebel figure (in Chapter 1) and women's depiction as passionate reformists (in Chapter 2).

As I explore in "Chapter 1: The Romanticized Rogue and Questions of Masculinity for the Gambler," the gambling protagonists are depicted as idealized rogue figures (drawn from traditions like the *novela picaresca*, Romantic narratives, and the Gothic novel). There I trace the development of specific constructs of masculinity in nineteenth-century novels focusing on these risk-taking, iconoclastic protagonists who are on the margins of society, embodying the spirit of liberty, personal desires, and individuality that are hallmarks of the Romantic Movement.[5] In this context, I approach the topic of gambling via gender scripts and hegemonically masculine characterizations in *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816) by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi and *Juan Moreira* (1879) by Eduardo Gutiérrez. [6] In this chapter, gambling appears and evolves in a romanticized fashion as part of a disillusioned counter-discourse that questions the framework of society beginning during independence and continuing through the Romantic period and throughout the nineteenth century.[7]

Fernández de Lizardi's *El Periquillo Sarniento* provides an early fictional illustration of gambling in Latin America through the picaresque-influenced account of the life of Pedro Sarmiento (nicknamed Periquillo Sarniento) and his misspent youth. Periquillo participates in a variety of gambling ventures, which push the protagonist in and out of poverty and destitution

[5]As M. H. Abrams and other theorists have postulated, the author's relationship to the writing process was undergoing a shift during Romanticism towards focusing on the individual and the writer's feelings and desires.

[6]Gamblers were usually depicted as male, although there are a few exceptions (ie. *La Quijotita y su prima* [1818-1819] by Fernández de Lizardi), which will also be discussed. The lack of female gamblers (and the negative portrayal of those that do exist) also has some interesting implications for the questions of masculinity brought up in this chapter.

[7]While the chapter proposes to trace the romanticized rogue gambler beginning with a *pícaro*-influenced figure in *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816), it is important to note the earlier existence of such a character type. The *pícaro*, represented, for example, in Francisco de Quevedo's *El buscón* (1626) and other picaresque novels, participates in a series of lawless activities, including gambling, with an (often) destructive end and elements of sociocultural critique.

and form part of his masculine identity. Additional discussion of the history of the rogue figure, through the development of the *pícaro*, features in this analysis. *Juan Moreira* (1879) by Eduardo Gutiérrez is an important late Romantic work of *literatura gauchesca* in Argentina that describes the lifestyle of the protagonist rogue title character, a gaucho in the Argentine pampa struggling for freedom, honor, and vengeance for his poor treatment by local officials. Again, gambling serves as a hallmark trait of the rugged gaucho, who participates in betting activities. The rendering of Juan's masculine image and problematic dominance over those around him, including other gauchos, women, and indigenous characters, shows that while the rogue may be a romanticized misfit, gambling helps him to maintain the power structure on the pampa. Since the gambler is often male, the portrayal of masculinity through this type of character centers on traits like independence, desire, and even lawlessness, in line with Susan Kirkpatrick's characterization of the "Promethean transgressor" figure (14).

In the novels in "Chapter 2: Gambling, Women's Reform, and the Family," including *Alberto el jugador* (1860) by Rosario Orrego and *Regina* (1886) by Teresa González de Fanning, women appear in an idealized fashion, but with new, reformist goals as straight-laced defenders of the family against gambling and financial corruption. As women became increasingly active in the public sphere, changing roles allowed for this redefinition of womanhood, which placed women as the moral pillars of their homes and societies.[8] While this was primarily a positive step for women's freedom of expression, being a moral expert also was an element of the complex

[8]Some texts of the eighteenth century were particularly influential in beginning to rewrite women's roles, as outlined by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis in *Women Writers in the Spanish Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness* (2004). For example, the aforementioned Benito Jerónimo Feijóo's "Defensa de las mujeres" (1726) was central in the evolving debate on women's roles, as were a number of works written by women in the eighteenth century, including the Spaniard Josefa Amar y Borbón's *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (1790). This process continued into the nineteenth century covered in this dissertation project.

and contradictory new role of the idealized, domestic angel of the house.[9] In the second chapter, I am thus directed by Susan Kirkpatrick's *Las Románticas* (1989) and other texts discussing changing roles for women, the concept of the public and private spheres, and female subjectivity in the nineteenth-century novel, such as Nancy La Greca's *Rewriting Womanhood: Feminism, Subjectivity, and the Angel of the House in the Latin American Novel 1887-1903* (2009).

Since women had long been limited to the home, in charge of their offspring, and subservient to men's needs, desires, and decisions, gambling was an activity that was perceived as ruinous to the family and to the safety and financial security of women. As many women saw it, it fell to them, therefore, to assume the role of defender of the family and of moral values by calling for social reform.[10] Their lives and experiences constitute a microcosm of the lives and roles of women in this crucial time for emerging nations.[11] These descriptions also mark the move for women from domestic to public spaces. Using these theoretical perspectives as guides, I examine how women became active participants in their families and communities and how they are depicted as reformers who denounce gambling as a deleterious, risky endeavor.

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[9]The self-negating feminine ideal of the "ángel del hogar" is described by women (and men) of the nineteenth century as a blueprint for proper behavior as a housewife and as a way to avoid the potential for ruin and the danger of becoming a "fallen woman." The Spanish writer María del Pilar Sinués de Marco outlines this domestic ideal in her treatise *El ángel del hogar* (1859), and modern critics (Nancy LaGreca, among others) have discussed and expounded upon theories of this domestic ideal and its function. Interestingly, the exemplar appears to serve multiple functions: justifying women's authority to write as related to moral concerns on the one hand, while simultaneously condemning their activities in the public sphere on the other, since writing was still not fully accepted behavior for wives and mothers. Many women writers struggle with this very issue themselves in their texts (ie. Ángela Grassi, Lastenia Larriva de Llona, and other adherents to the domestic novel).

[10]As aforementioned, the shift towards women's written participation in the public sphere coincided with their newfound moral authority (Kirkpatrick 27). While they were often limited in their freedom for blatant textual self-exploration, with regards to moral and domestic concerns, women were able to use these as platforms from which to be heard.

[11]The examples offered in the two novels also serve to bring the microcosm to a larger audience on a macro scale: the reading public, thereby doubling as instructive stories for women who might make the mistake of marrying a gambler.

Rosario Orrego's *Alberto el jugador* (1860) tells the story of two families and the threat of their dissolution through the gambling addiction of male characters in the households, as they are lured by Alberto, a malicious swindler and gaming house owner. The active role of the female protagonists, Lucía and Carmela, to combat Alberto's attack on their families, along with the depicted corruption of their homes due to gambling, promote women's reform work and changing social roles. Moreover, the attempted financial manipulation of women in marriage, as the patriarch of one family attempts to promise his daughter in wedlock to pay off gambling debts, mirrors the corruption of the gambling house itself, as women and family are used as currency (Rubio 19). Teresa González de Fanning's *Regina* (1886), the other novel in the second chapter, offers the story of a female protagonist who falls in love with a dandy. Despite warnings against marrying this character, Regina decides to do so anyway. During the novel, Regina grows increasingly concerned about her husband's disappearances into the countryside, and eventually it is revealed that he is participating in gambling and counterfeiting schemes. When he takes some dinner guests out to look at a machine he has built as part of his mysterious business efforts, tragedy strikes, and Regina's skirt is caught in the mechanisms of the machine as it is turned on. Her body is dragged in and mutilated, and she perishes, offering dying words of warning to readers (24). The two novels thus offer cautionary messages to their reading public, assert women's voices in economic discourse, and elucidate their authors' reformist activities.

Having examined changing gender roles and related perspectives on gambling, I also analyze gambling's relationship to social class roles in "Chapter 3: Gambling, Race, and Social Class, a Gentleman's Game?" This chapter analyzes Alberto Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas* (1862), which uses gambling as an activity related to social climbing, and Gertrudis Gómez de

Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841), which employs the lottery as both a racially-stereotyped activity, and as a failed attempt to subvert social class divisions. Here, differing perspectives on what gambling is and who participates in this activity are mediated by notions about various socioeconomic groups. Ideas about gambling are also further negotiated by beliefs about race in novels such as *Sab*. In my analysis on social class, I use Ann Fabian's historical data in *Card Sharps, Dream Books, & Bucket Shops* (1990) about social class, race, and gambling, which demonstrates that different forms of gambling were pursued across social class strata (115). Although her study focuses on the United States, it offers helpful historical information about the perceived exploitation of the working class by the lottery, as well as the popularization of different card games and betting schemes during the nineteenth century (Fabian 114).

The third chapter's analysis on social class also explores gambling's portrayal among the wealthy members of society. This trend has been examined in the Realist novels of some European countries, especially Russia (Dostoevsky's *The Gambler* [1867] being a notable example). In this vein, I employ critical works such as J. Jeffrey Franklin's *Serious Play: The Cultural Form of the Nineteenth-Century Realist Novel* (1999) to provide some theoretical framework for the discussion on the depiction of gambling in these true-to-life situations popular in the Realist novel and its precursors. Since questions of social inequalities related to monetary class divisions were of major importance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when major philosophers were changing popular views on the rights of the individual and the government (ie. Marx), these changes in societal construct, illustrated directly through the political changes of the period (like Latin American Independence movements), put into question the feudal system and other archaic social structures of earlier centuries.

Gómez de Avellaenda's *Sab* (1841) offers a unique perspective on the lottery and social class in this chapter through its depiction of the tragic love story of a slave, who is enamored with the the daughter of the landowner. Sab saves his rival Enrique Otway's life, but Carlota, passionate about the handsome Enrique, ignores Sab's affections for her. Sab arranges for Carlota to receive his winning lottery ticket so she can marry Enrique, and he dies of a broken heart. Unhappy after her marriage, she later finds out about Sab's affection for her. The symbolic use of the lottery ticket (a disruptive means to upward mobility), along with the social class, gender, and racial divisions of Cuban society depicted in the novel, provide fertile ground for literary analysis. In Alberto Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas* (1862), gambling is also represented in the context of social class. Martín Rivas comes to Santiago from the countryside and frequents the houses of both wealthy and less fortunate families in the city where gambling appears as a favored leisure activity. While cards are primarily the game of choice here, mention of other commodities trading and investments adds interesting elements for analysis that connect gambling to larger capitalist commerce. The depiction of social climbing and the means by which one can acceptably change their socio-economic status in the novels also provides an additional fruitful area for comparison.

Finally, having examined gender roles, family roles, and social class roles, I also explore the role of the citizen in "Chapter 4: Gambling and the Citizen: Its Impact on Society and the Vision of an Ideal Nation," drawing from several key critical approaches. Since many texts during the nineteenth century were concerned with the creation of the nation-state, I look at novels that viewed gambling as a potential detriment to morality, social order, and control. In these works, gambling is linked with disease, criminality, immorality, and lawlessness, and the gambler serves as a type of antithesis to what the ideal citizen should be. Because gambling, an

activity in which one can become wealthy based on luck, is subversive to an organized society supposedly based on effort and hard work, in line with Franklin's argument that gambling undermines labor-based wealth, these texts critique gambling's flagrance of social order (37). The character of the professional gambler, increasingly a historical reality as people better understood rules of probability and how to cheat, comes under fire as a sociopath or outlaw in these novels, since the gambler may be subversive to the social order and destructive to the independence project.[12] The narratives included in this chapter are José Ramón de Betancourt's *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* (1841, 1858), which was written in connection with Domingo del Monte's literary *tertulia*, and José Milla's *Los Nazarenos* (1867), a Guatemalan historical novel that looks at a failed uprising against Spanish colonial rule.

The concept of the nation and its importance in nineteenth-century Latin American literature, popularized by Doris Sommer in *Foundational Fictions* (1991), which argues that much of the literature of this period is intended to promote nation building, is key to the analysis of texts in the fourth chapter. Counterpoint critical works to Sommer's theories, which posit that such "foundational" novels must be arguing against other texts and social currents promoting entropy, as in Juan Carlos González Espitia's *On the Dark Side of the Archive* (2010), provide an explanation for the disease and criminality represented in the narratives. Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* (1978) also helps create useful scaffolding for comprehending the representations of gambling as a sickness in these texts. Connections between gambling and disease (linked to addiction), that arise in these representations have larger implications for concepts of societal health. Obviously, the chance-based activity of gambling could have been viewed as detrimental

[12]Both Ann Fabian and David Schwartz spend chapters discussing the increase in professional gamblers that came along with a better understanding of the mathematics of probability theory.

to the proposed order of national projects, and these concepts aid in the analysis of the literary works throughout the dissertation.

In the case of José Ramón de Betancourt's *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* (1858), a *costumbrista* work, César Morgán (aka "el Rubio"), has travelled throughout the Cuban countryside setting up temporary gaming houses and extracting money from the local communities by force. Instead of focusing on this villain, the story centers on a valiant protagonist named Fernando who tries to prevent his brother-in-law Carlos from falling victim to Morgán's schemes. Unfortunately, Carlos is assassinated in the street by Morgán's henchmen, and Fernando and the police track down "el Rubio," who is finally caught and, prior to execution, writes a letter asking for their forgiveness. Fernando is then happily married to Carlos' sister and the work concludes with religious messages for readers. The association of gambling with other crimes and the novel's attempts at reestablishing order make it of interest in this chapter.[13] The second half of the fourth chapter centers on José Milla's novel *Los Nazarenos* (1867), which was also written with nationalistic goals during the nineteenth century in Guatemala. This historical novel follows a conspiracy against the despotic seventeenth-century colonial regime by a group known as "los Nazarenos," which coincides with a series of important incidents centered on gambling and gambling arrears that ultimately cause the Nazarenos' planned uprising to fail. The non-gambling protagonist, Rodrigo, secretly involved in the conspiracy as well, manages to escape persecution and enters a monastary, pledging allegiance to the Catholic faith. Milla, a conservative, was deeply concerned with the fate of the new nation of Guatemala, which is evident in the novel's treatment of gambling as the cause of

[13]While Cuba was still under Spanish control during this period, some members of Domingo del Monte's *tertulia* and some other groups of intellectuals and reformers were involved in independence activities (ie. the purported Ladder Conspiracy), as critics such as William Luis have traced (38). As a result, we may read Betancourt's novel as part of a discourse questioning the ills of contemporary Cuban society and envisioning an (eventually) independent Cuba.

the failure of the uprising against unjust Spanish rule and also as a hallmark of the corrupt colonial regime. The allegiance of the protagonist to Catholicism and the idea of money's link to corruption is discussed, along with some of Milla's other works that also mention gambling.[14] By utilizing these texts, this chapter explores gambling's relationship to a supposed moral society on a larger scale. While the two authors take slightly different perspectives, both are highly concerned with the potentially negative impact of gambling on the future of their societies and the national project.

Broadly stated, then, this dissertation examines gambling's relationship to the (re)definition of social roles during the nineteenth century. The connection between gambling and emerging economic questions makes nineteenth-century authors' use of this trope particularly relevant for investigating changing attitudes of the period. Through the lens of gambling, I thus assess the changing face of social roles such as gender (through the romanticized rogue figure and the new role of women as social reformers), family roles (through the discussion of gambling's negative impact on the family), social class roles (by examining gambling and social mobility), race and stereotypes, and the role of the ideal citizen (by considering gambling's effects on society and independence movements in Latin America). By examining gambling through the distinct viewpoints offered by male and female authors of mid-nineteenth-century fiction, this project investigates a recurrent and significant topic and its concurrent discussion of social realities, masculinity and femininity, socioeconomic status, work ethic and the economy, criminality, and reform. Since gambling itself is a dissident activity to a social paradigm based on hard work because luck is associated with financial gain, a tension that critics such as J. Jeffrey Franklin describe, it offers a unique perspective for the analysis of social

[14]Milla's collection of cuadros de costumbres in *El canasto del sastre* (1861-1871), for example, includes a chapter on gambling, and several of his other novels such as *Historia de un pepe* (1887) also include gambling as an activity common in Guatemala during the nineteenth century and earlier, particularly among the upper classes.

role changes during the nineteenth century, particularly since those role changes were also subversive in nature given the ironies of the work ethic exemplar in a period characterized by inequalities ingrained in the fabric of society itself.

CHAPTER 1: THE ROMANTICIZED ROGUE AND QUESTIONS OF MASCULINITY FOR THE GAMBLER

> Lo que los tahúres llaman reglas no es sino un accidente continuado (en barajando bien), porque que venga el cuatro contra la sota, es un accidente; que venga después el siete contra el rey, es otro accidente; que venga el cinco contra el caballo, es otro [. . .] No hay mejor regla ni más segura que los *zapotes, deslomadas, rastrillazos* y otras diligencias de las que yo hago, y aún estas tienen su excepción que es cuando se la advierten a uno y le ganan con su juego; por eso dice uno de nuestro refranes: que *contra vigiata no hay regla.*
>
> — José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, *El Periquillo Sarniento* (327).

The literary rogue figure has long fascinated readers because of the way that he or she breaks free from societal constraints. In this chapter, I will consider how this iconoclast is sometimes portrayed as a gambler, how gambling (and cheating) are romanticized through this depiction, and how gambling can inform the development of this protagonist's gendered characterization. While many texts during the independence era focused on the deleterious aspects of gambling and its effects on the family and the nation, as we will see, some nineteenth-century novels glorify this rogue figure, and it is to those novels that I turn my attention in this chapter. The public's taste for themes dealing with the underbelly of society existed prior to the nineteenth century, and, as gambling became a popular activity to depict in fiction, a type of glamorization of the card shark ran concurrent to this trend. This chapter explores two novels that utilize gambling as part of the characterization of an independent, roguish protagonist. Through the depictions of the rogue gambler, important questions about the framework of society, gender roles and masculinity, and social order will be discussed. Since the gambler is often male, as Schwartz has documented, and since his financial enterprises frequently run

contrary to social order, a rugged, independent, hegemonic masculine paradigm is developed through his behavior (142).

In Mexican José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816), and in Argentinian Eduardo Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira* (1879), gambling forms an essential part of the rogue protagonists' lifestyle and characterization. In my analysis, I will closely consider the scenes in these two texts where gambling's contributions to the rogue or anti-hero figure's persona are elucidated. As relevant, I will refer to additional novels that followed a similar trend where they complement the present analysis. *El Periquillo Sarniento*, a novel written during the Mexican independence movement, draws from earlier literary traditions like the picaresque novel, neoclassical didacticism, and genres such as the *crónica de viajes* and *vida de santos* narratives. The novel predates Romanticism's arrival in the Americas and offers a precursor figure to the idealized independent Romantic rogue gambler. In *El Periquillo Sarniento*, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's anti-hero protagonist, Pedro Sarmiento, or "Periquillo Sarniento," as he is nicknamed, serves multiple purposes in this saga designed to critique the structure of colonial Mexican society. Gambling is included in the subversive activities of this picaresque-influenced narrative, and this monetary enterprise propels the protagonist in and out of poverty and middle class society. While Periquillo is an anti-hero, he is the central figure of the novel, and his is a humorous coming-of-age story where we find both a comical glamorization of the protagonist's moments of good fortune and an interesting depiction of the protagonist's masculinity. Using this novel, I trace how gambling became part of the rebellious anti-hero persona. As a counterpoint to gambling's depiction among men in *El Periquillo*, I will also scrutinize the more inimical depiction of women's presence in the gambling house in *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818-1819), another novel by Fernández de Lizardi. This narrative

provides a divergent, more sinister outcome for a female protagonist who behaves against social norms.[15]

Juan Moreira, Eduardo Gutiérrez's most popular novel, hails from a different part of Latin America (Argentina) at a later point in the nineteenth century. Though the novel has a distinct context, it also depicts a central rogue protagonist figure who regularly gambles. In Gutiérrez's true crime text, the development of the title character's iconoclastic persona is central to the gauchesque narrative. Drawing from traditions such as Romanticism, Gothic trends, and the earlier picaresque, the rogue developed here finds precursors in narratives similar to *El Periquillo Sarniento* and texts of the picaresque and Romantic traditions, particularly with regards to the ways in which he interacts with his environment, travels, and participates in speculative activities. The rogue gaucho traverses the pampa after being exiled from his hometown and maintains hegemonic power differentials on the frontier in part by winning at gambling, including cards and billiards, as well as other competitive activities, like fighting. Through the investigation of these two narratives, I define and develop questions of masculinity as they relate to changing social roles and rights of the nineteenth century and the framework of society itself. As the luck-based activity of gambling occupies a somewhat positive role in these novels, the social and political significance of texts favorably depicting this activity are also examined here.

[15]Several of Fernández de Lizardi's novels offer stories of gamblers, with *Don Catrín de la Fachenda* (1832) giving another example of a game-playing protagonist whose pursuits are explained in detail by the narrative with the probable goal of showing the poor options and subsequent outcomes of men among the less-educated middle class. Fernández de Lizardi wanted to improve these social issues through his satirized narratives. By featuring anti-heroes, however, the texts also have divergent, entropic messages, rather than merely offering simple social critique, as will be explored in this chapter.

A Brief Literary History of the Gambling Romantic Rogue

In order to situate the literary analysis of these two works, let us briefly examine their literary and historical context. The rogue was a socially-relevant, popular figure for a variety of reasons. Part of gambling's link to the rebel is defined through the activity's complex relationship to social order and the nation. While many anti-gambling novels of the nineteenth century were focused on nation building, as will be explored further in Chapter 4, some novels operated against organizational order and instead sought entropy and rebellion, whether intentionally or not; Juan Carlos González Espitia argues in *On the Dark Side of the Archive* (2010) that the idea of "foundational fictions" espoused by Doris Sommer runs parallel to a countercurrent of literature of the same period incorporating symbols of chaos and iconoclasm pushing back against social order. These currents exist in forgotten and intentionally ensconced novels, but they are often available below the surface even in the more popular "nation-building" novels themselves (González Espitia 16).

Novels romanticizing activities of the supposed underbelly of society (including gambling, prostitution, drug use, and banditry, among other topics) offer examples of the questioning of tradition and authority in contrast to lawful behavior. For the Romantic rebel, gambling served as one such counter-institutional activity. The rogue's independent lifestyle by nature goes against organized society, and gambling, as a frequently publically-condemned speculative activity outside of the hard work paradigm, also runs against the family and labor goals of the emerging nation-state. As historian Ann Fabian argues about the United States in *Card Sharps, Dream Books, & Bucket Snapes* (1990), gambling was perceived during much of the nineteenth century as a vice that was damaging to national stability; in the minds of many reformers "[g]ambling transactions [. . .] were dangerous to a republic of rational profit seekers

because they encouraged false hopes for quick profits" (2). Because of the perceived bond between gambling and anti-establishment tendencies, the Romantic rogue finds an outlet in the activity as a figure standing alone against a restrictive world in narratives undermining organization and regulation.

The development of this counter-current, gambling rogue figure follows an interesting chronological trajectory into nineteenth-century Hispanic fiction, which I will now explore. Initially, most representations of gambers prior to this period appear in picaresque fiction. For this reason, the *novela picaresca* is of importance because this genre not only influences *El Periquillo Sarniento* (in fact, some critics, such as Timothy Compton, consider *El Periquillo* to be a picaresque novel), but it also offers an outline for the development of the rogue during Romanticism, who is cultivated further in novels such as *Juan Moreira*. Historians of the *novela picaresca* have highlighted a number of different traits relevant to the genre, although the picaresque is somewhat contradictory by nature, as critic Peter Dunn has argued in *Spanish Picaresque Fiction: A New Literary History* (1993).[16] Since gambling appeared in picaresque texts, it quickly became an important money-making endeavor and plot device.

In these narratives, the protagonist often flirts with lawless behavior to prevent financial ruin, and, significantly, customarily engages in gambling or swindling of some kind. From the earliest picaresque novels, gambling is a common, financial venture. The Spanish novel, *La vida del Buscón* (1626) by Francisco de Quevedo, which depicts a gambling protagonist *pícaro*, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599, 1604) by Mateo Alemán, which depicts a rogue (also a gambler)

[16]While critics differ on an exact definition of the picaresque, some theorists, such as Timothy Compton, have tried to synthesize the traits of these narratives. Compton finds the following traits common: "[e]pisodic [p]lot," "[d]izzying [r]hythm," fate as a guiding force, and depictions of violence against the protagonist (10). Additionally, the *pícaro* typically meets the following criteria: a trickster of "[u]ncommon [o]rigins," who experiences "alienation," can adapt to his circumstances in true "[p]rotean [f]orm," and is indecisive, exhibiting "[i]nternal [[i]nstability" (Compton 10-11). Finally, the narrative typically is presented in first person with the *pícaro* in "[a]n [u]nkind, [c]haotic [w]orld," fighting for survival among a "[v]ast [g]allery of [h]uman [t]ypes" (Compton 12).

who ends up becoming a galley slave after a series of misadventures, and Miguel de Cervantes's novel *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (1613), which offers the tale of two card sharps, all provide excellent examples of the gambling *pícaro* figure. As the picaresque genre grew in popularity, so, too, did the representation of the gambler in fictional narratives. This growth occurred concurrent to increased global popularity of gaming and gambling activities through the inventions of the casino and the lottery (Schwartz 92).

Looking more closely at these representations, gambling emerges as both a textual tool, and as a historical reflection of its presence in society. For example, in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, leading critic Jean-Pierre Etienvre signals that Cervantes utilized references to card and dice games as part of larger, literary games played with words, metaphors, and humor in his works themselves (139-41). Using these modalities of thought to examine the angles of literary representation of game-playing then, we can conclude that such depictions accomplish diverse goals on a written level (in plot, allegory, and other literary devices, for example), and on a societal level (by reflecting social realities and the characterization of gamblers). Stepping out of the colonial period, it is interesting that Fernández de Lizardi's novel coincides with the final days of Spanish colonialism, but not entirely surprising because picaresque elements have often been employed as a strategic tactic of societal critique. Since gambling was also popular in Latin America during the colonial period among traders and residents, according to data provided by Leslie Bethell in "Spain's Atlantic Trade 1492-1720," its depiction during independence speaks to such social realities (353). The development of the rogue gambler stemming from the picaresque has thus been important in its statements about society and social roles.[17]

[17]While novels of the picaresque canon officially pertain to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, scholars such as Frank Wadleigh Chandler recognize that characteristics of the genre carried over into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (342). In the Americas some bridge texts incorporated elements of the picaresque such as Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's *Los infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690) and *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes desde*

Into the nineteenth century, while Romanticism took hold, the picaresque narrative, popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, did not completely vanish, as the *pícaro* character offered an influence for the creation of other misfit characters in European and American traditions of Gothic fiction, and in various currents of Romanticism throughout Europe and in the Americas with the Romantic rogue figure. In fact, as Frank Wadleigh Chandler observes about trends in British Romanticism, the Romantic rogue was formed in part by the application of picaresque elements to the sentimental traits of the Romantic hero in the "spirit of true romance" (342). This miscreant character was largely focused on cultivating individuality and rugged independence, often running against societal rules (Kirkpatrick 14).

While the romanticized rogue figure was shaped by the currents surrounding the Romantic Movement and Latin American independence movements, this figure came to embody many of the ideals of the period for the newly-liberated vision of the self-made man. As freedom and the pursuit of personal desires and fortune became hallmarks of a rebellious protagonist, what better activity could represent his liberty and pursuit of desires than gambling, with its speculative and luck-based path to financial actualization? For the Romantic rebel existing on the margins of society, gambling serves as a countercurrent to the established hard-work paradigm and offers a way of breaking free from the confines of the daily toil associated with urban living, including either menial labor or the tedium of an upper crust lifestyle.[18]

Buenos-Ayres hasta Lima (1775) by Concolorcolvo (Alonso Carrió de la Vandera). In terms of literary history, works such as these kept alive aspects of the picaresque novel, and the popularity of the rogue figure carried on into the nineteenth century with the publishing of *El Periquillo Sarniento*, often hailed as being the first novel of Latin America.

[18]Romanticism's fascination with breaking free from societal confines was also noted (and critiqued) by writers of the nineteenth century, including the Spanish essayist Mesonero Romanos, whose "El Romanticismo y los Románticos" (1837) posits that the Romantics need to enter into proper trades and stop pursuing self-induced marginalization, using his nephew as an example.

Finally, the transition to Romanticism from Neoclassicism also offered renewed (or continued) interest in the theme of gambling because of its relationship with luck. Since Romantic writers were fascinated by the ideas of destiny, fortune, and luck, it stands to reason that gambling activities, which embodied these elements, would find a space in the fiction of the period, which was often concerned with omens, coincidences, and the mysterious or even fantastic, all part of a literary aesthetic that has been widely examined, such as in José María Martínez's collection of *Cuentos fantásticos del Romanticismo hispanoamericano* (2011).

With these shifting movements, texts featuring a romanticized rogue character were quite popular in Spain and Latin America in the mid-nineteenth century, including Espronceda's "La canción del pirata," (1840), and, more importantly, *El estudiante de Salamanca* (1840). In *El estudiante de Salamanca*, gambling is an essential component of the plot's development, as the rebellious protagonist faces off at the card table against the brother of his recently deceased ex-lover. This meeting, and the use of the departed lady's picture as ante during the game, ultimately results in the death and ruin of the rake himself. Mariano José de Larra also discusses gambling as a personal vice in his *artículo de costumbres*, "La Nochebuena de 1836" (1836), which he wrote shortly before his suicide. In it, he questions Fígaro, his alter-ego's, roguish behavior and popular practices such as gambling by young men of his social class in a carnivalesque fashion.

Many other texts also contain gambling scenes, such as the play by Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas), *Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino* (1835), in scenes during the army campaign, and José Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* (1840) which functions around the central idea of a wager between the two rival miscreants to determine who is the most villainous. Other novels of mid-nineteenth-century Spain represent a similar interest in the rogue gambling protagonist, such as

the Catalán writer Manuel Angelón i Broquetas' *Treinta años o la vida de un jugador* (1862), which offers extensive scenes at the gambling house as a major component in character and plot development. In some Romantic novels and other texts of the period from the Americas, the rogue figure also appears in a gambling context. For example, in the previously-mentioned *Don Catrín de la Fachenda* (1832), Fernández de Lizardi explores gambling motifs through the game play of the protagonist. Similarly, in Manuel Payno's *El fistol del diablo* (1845-1846), the protagonist, motivated negatively by the necktie pin that the devil gave him, inadvertently sets off a chain reaction of unfortunate events, and all characters who come in contact with the pin either perish or suffer physical or emotional stress. Several scenes in the serial novel depict gambling houses where the protagonist and his friends try their hands at the card table. The novel's depictions of gambling here also link with larger speculative activities that the text examines throughout, which Richard Rosa has explored (138).[19]

Gauchesque literature is an offshoot from this tradition relevant specifically to Argentina and Uruguay and their questions of political, social, and national identity during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. While Eduardo Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira* has characteristics of other genres and literary periods, its foundation in the romanticized rogue tradition is strengthened through the activities of the protagonist himself; Juan carves out an existence on the margins of civilization (on the pampa) and participates in gambling and other speculative activities related to his physical, mental, and financial independence. In this vein, popular fiction and poetry developed surrounding the literary intrigue of the gaucho figure, who wandered the frontier as an independent, free-spirited outlaw, dodging the law and trying his luck at cards. As historian John

[19]Richard Rosa has examined Mexican national financial concerns in *El fistol del diablo* in his article "Finance and Literature in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America" (2012), which looks at how concerns about debt, bankruptcy, and national financial insecurity play out in the novel, including in its representations of banditry. He does not discuss gambling, but his astute observations about economic themes show the importance of finance in nineteenth-century Mexican literature.

Charles Chasteen has argued in *Heroes on Horseback: A Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos* (1995), the popularization of stories (both factual and fictional) surrounding gaucho figures elevated them as symbolic national heroes in parts of Spanish-speaking America, giving rise to popular tales about gauchos and their lifestyle. *El gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872) and *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* (1879), the most notorious texts of the gauchesque genre, offer the versified, two-volume story of a gaucho of the same name who struggles against dishonor and injustice after the dissolution of his family and his subsequent exile. In this epic poem, Martín is, of course, depicted at the card table, as gambling serves as part of his characterization as a romanticized rogue. In this same vein, *Juan Moreira* offers a more extensive, well-developed depiction of the gaucho protagonist as a gambler, providing an avenue for the discussion of how the romanticized rogue figure changed over time. Of course, the texts in Spain and the Americas that featured miscreants involved in gambling pursuits also fit in an even larger tradition throughout Europe that romanticized these themes. Charles Baudelaire wrote of gambling in his *Les fleurs du mal* (1857), Alexander Pushkin's "The Queen of Spades" (1833) focuses on gambling, and, as I will briefly discuss in the third chapter, Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Gambler* (1857) also treated these themes from an anti-heroic perspective and adapted them through new literary movements, demonstrating that gambling was growing in literary representation.

The Rogue Gambler and Masculinity in Romantic Fiction

Turning to the idea of social roles posed from the outset of the dissertation, questions of masculinity become central to the characterization of the rogue protagonist developed during the nineteenth century. Through the textual development of rogue's independent nature and attempts at gaining control over his surroundings through gambling, a variety of rugged masculinity is concurrently formed, particularly since the prototypical gambler figure is usually male (Schwartz

142). In fact, even today, gambling among men is more common than among women, with Communications researcher Deborah K. Phillips citing statistical evidence from meta-analyses that "among the recreational gamblers, the men were heavier gamblers, gambled at an earlier age, and gambled at higher frequencies than the females" (2). Concurrently, since men were more often engaged in this activity, gambling was ultimately associated with them.[20]

Since gender itself, as theorists such as Judith Butler have posited, is a social construct, masculinity and femininity are shaped by societal forces, norms, and ideals. For this reason, we can examine the modalities through which gender paradigms were developed in narratives over time. In her introduction to *Las Románticas*, Susan Kirkpatrick outlines the emerging ideology of masculine individualism stemming from independence movements, the Protestant Reformation, and the Enlightenment period that fully blossomed during Romanticism. The newly-important rights of the individual had far-reaching consequences on society and on the household that could be felt in the public as well as the private spheres (Kirkpatrick 6). Self-concept and subjectivity became crucial in all contexts during Romanticism, including in art and literature, where creativity was employed as part of a process of personal-exploration and the discovery of desires (Kirkpatrick 7). While men claimed inalienable rights and liberties, women too became interested in gaining a voice in the public sphere, with notable examples of written activism being Josefa Amar y Borbón's *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (1790) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Women* (1792). However, as women became adamant that they deserved rights, many prominent men of the period, philosophers such as Rousseau and Kant, for example, simultaneously were depicting differences and divides between the two sexes, thus discrediting their female counterparts and relegating women to continued positions of

[20]There is some irony in this, since, as Schwartz explains, gambling is linked historically with divination practices, and components of modern card decks come from divination decks, especially within the Spanish *Baraja* tradition, and women were major practitioners of divination arts historically (53).

domestic servitude (Kirkpatrick 6-7).[21] In this way, while men were gaining increasing independence and were undertaking self-exploration in their writing, this creative journey was largely from a masculine perspective and, often, in a largely masculine context.

Some idealized principles of masculinity involved in man's self-exploration and desire for independence can be found in the Romantic rebel archetype and emerge in narratives depicting a gambling rogue from the nineteenth century. As Kirkpatrick has noted, a masculine struggle against the constraints of the world leads the rebel to behavior that could be condemned by society in his search for liberty:

> Besides basing their map of the psyche on the contours of desire, the Romantics made desire the core of an archetypal figure of the self. Linked to Prometheus and Lucifer, this figure provides an identity, a center, for images of the appetitive impulse and its struggle against a resistant world. The Romantic rebel is one form of the Promethean self; the irrepressible energy of the rebel's desire, demanding liberty and power, bursts constraints of any sort, political, aesthetic, physical, and moral. (14)

The defining characteristic of the masculine rebel's persona, then, is his fight against those who stand in the way of his cravings and wishes. Concurrent to the rogue's continued development through the Romantic rebel figure, came an impulse to fulfill desires, often through risk-taking behavior, which fit nicely with certain chance-based activities such as gambling. Concurrently, gambling became more strongly associated with men in literary representations. Evidence suggests that while game-playing did occur in the home environment, clubs and taverns were a very popular venue for gambling, hence the activity itself became construed as a man's game, since these spaces "were largely male preserves" (Schwartz 142). As Susan Kirkpatrick argues, "[t]he Promethean rebel, fired by never-satisfied desire, was almost a polar opposite of the selfless, compliant, passionless feminine ideal, while the Solitary's cultivation of his isolation

[21]One of the most representative texts in this vein is Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762), which argues for the restriction and domestic training of women from a young age, thus decisively excluding them from educational opportunities available to men.

and difference directly contradicted the domestic angel's commitment to familial interrelationships" (23). It is in this space, then, through the (typically) masculine Romantic rogue figure, that the gambler character finds a continued venue for development.

Via the Romantic rogue, authors cultivate a variety of masculinity that involves potentially anti-social behaviors designed to protect the rogue's honor and power over those around him. This is also linked to the concept of "Hegemonic Masculinity" espoused by sociologists such as R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt, who posit that certain traits and practices within traditional masculinity were utilized to maintain power differentials and gender difference in "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept" and earlier writings. As Mike Donaldson agues in "What Is Hegemonic Masculinity?" (1993), these masculine paradigms include displays of power, violence, and risk-taking behavior, among other things, all with the intent of maintaining dominance over women and oppressed groups (645). While the theory is not without critique for somewhat essentialist modes of conceptualizing the history of masculinity, it is applicable to some activities of the rogue, who struggles to maintain power and independence by engaging in risky activities. While the rogue often lives as an iconoclastic outcast, he maintains his personal liberties through his pursuits, including gambling. In fact, the underlying significance of the act of gambling supports this, since the winning of money, the object of the game, is a way of gaining control over others in a capitalist society. Communications theorist Jason Grant McKahan supports this by arguing that gambling and many risk-based activities, like sports, are historically founded in a hegemonic, masculine paradigm (70). As he puts it, "Gambling was a means of demonstrating an ideal masculinity, in which men displayed wealth and put it at risk, while upholding the semblance of control (concealing vulnerability and emotions) through strategy, odds, and probability" (McKahan 70).

Not only is the game's structure itself reflective of social norms of masculinity, and a contributor to them, it also offers an opportunity for financial wealth and, concurrently, buying power in an emerging economic market. Along with wealth, came control, and, subsequently, as McKahan argues, "[t]he accumulation of capital (and statistical procedures to ensure it) has permeated Western capitalist masculinity" (71).

The applications of these theories of masculinity to the texts in this chapter are multifold. While *El Periquillo Sarniento* predates Romanticism's arrival in the Americas, the ideals of individualism and independence espoused in the novel show similarities to these same values that are central to the rogue's "Promethean" aspects of self that are espoused by Susan Kirkpatrick (23). In picaresque narratives, the *pícaro*'s constant struggle against antagonistic forces in his environment (poverty, homelessness, hunger) push him to engage in illegal or morally questionable activities, with the end goal of gaining dominion over his surroundings. As in Connell and Messerschmidt's theories of hegemonic masculinity, Periquillo participates in risky behaviors (like gambling) with the goal of amassing power over others by winning money. By depicting the male character's struggle against theoretically antagonistic forces, the novel cultivates a masculine narrative perspective that takes place in a primarily masculine environment, as I will explore.

Noting the novel's male focus and neglect of heterosexual relationship-building, Robert McKee Irwin argues in *Mexican Masculinities* (2003), that the romances common to "foundational fictions" are not necessarily found in Mexican foundational novels like *El Periquillo Sarniento* because the novel is "simply too focused on the world of men to fit Sommer's schema" (4). This point highlights the truth about the discourse of masculinity in a subset of novels during the nineteenth century, including *El Periquillo Sarniento*: that the male-

focused world of the protagonists in some works may have aided the development of a male-centric social model after independence and a maintenance of patriarchal norms.[22] As a way of demonstrating dominance in a "men only" setting, the male characters exhibit hyper-masculine characteristics, like gambling, drinking, and fighting, perhaps as a display of manhood in the homosocial world being cultivated in the novel itself. In this vein, the rogue gambler is developed as a hyper-masculine character in a male-centric world, who must prove his masculinity through an activity that seeks to dominate others (gambling). While the gambling rogue and the *pícaro* are typically male, there is a smaller current within the tradition of the rogue narrative that includes female protagonists, as I will explore using *La Quijotita y su prima*. Additionally, as Ana Rueda documents of Spanish literature, some authors advocated the correction of women gamblers in comportment manuals of the late-seventeenth century, showing that women did participate in the activity and were censured for it (84).[23]

Specific to the world of gauchesque literature, which is depicted in *Juan Moreira*, masculinity is developed through the gaucho's attempt at controlling his surroundings. Here the

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[22]Ironically, these male-centric narratives ultimately push the male protagonists closer together, since women are almost excluded from the novel (like the national project, since they did not have full rights as citizens). Irwin views these fraternal novels as having a covertly homosocial (and possibly homosexual) nature (it is the men who build relationships with each other primarily, rather than with female characters), which he argues results in paradoxical heteronormative actions or attitudes present in the texts (15).

[23]The presence of women in roguish roles begins with characters in Spanish texts such as las "serranas" in Juan Ruíz's *El libro de buen amor* (1330-1343) and the Trotaconventos character in Fernando de Roja's *La Celestina* (1499), as critic Anne Kaler argues in *The Pícara* (1991). These characters continue to occasionally be described in picaresque fiction, with Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *La pícara Justina* (1605) being notable examples from European traditions. While the pícaro was more popular, the pícara did exist. What then does this mean for questions of masculinity treated in the rogue gambling narrative of the nineteenth century? Specifically, Fernández de Lizardi's *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818), features a roguish female protagonist or pícara character named Pomposita who does partake in gambling activities in one scene late in the novel. The development of this character has some aspects in common with that of Periquillo in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, but there are notable differences between the two, specifically, while Periquillo's narrative does not execrate or denounce the wayward protagonist anti-hero, Pomposita's rebellious behavior is met throughout the novel by moralizing sermons, and she is condemned for her actions at the story's conclusion. The differences between the treatments of the two characters by the same author may have much to do with gender and the development of masculinity in the two novels and in the gambling house, as I will explore in the analysis of *El Periquillo Sarniento* shortly.

liberation described by Kirkpatrick as a central goal in Romantic rebel narratives appears, as the protagonists constantly struggle for freedom and power on the frontier, with attempted displays of dominance over other characters as key plot elements. While the gaucho is a figure unique to regional South American identities, some observations made about nineteenth-century cowboys in the United States may help trace the role of gambling for historical figures on the frontier. As Jacqueline M. Moore posits in her article on the development of a rugged, masculine cowboy ideal, gambling was also a way of publically showing one's bravery, since men had to take risks at the card table (355). As she describes it,

> Much of the cowboys' town spree was a public performance, for each other as much as for the townspeople. The spree involved a number of rituals associated with male bonding and masculinity, such as gambling, drinking and fighting. […] But gambling took courage, as a man could just as easily lose. Gambling thus became a public show of manhood for cowboys, even if it seemed profoundly irrational to the people around them. (Moore 355)

While Moore is obviously touching on gambling's relationship with public displays of masculinity in the United States, similar principles appear to apply elsewhere, as game serve a major role in assertions of power, as I will demonstrate shortly.[24]

In fact, the representation of the Argentine gaucho shares elements in common with that of the U.S. cowboy, in that both were masculine figures on the margins of their societies that became central to an idealized definition of masculinity. Eduardo O. Archetti has traced the cultural history and development of the popularization of the gaucho as a male symbol, stating that "[t]he idealization of gaucho masculinity provided a powerful cultural model relating maleness and Argentine identity as intrinsic aspects of a more encompassing national identity" (227). In this way, by the glorification of the gaucho's lifestyle, he comes to serve as an

[24]In fact, as Rhy Isaac argues of the history of gambling in the southern United States in *The Transformation of Virginia* (1982), there was an important entertainment and competition aspect of gambling, even in spite of all odds stacked against winning (119).

important figure in the development of masculinity in Argentina, and his depiction gambling in novels such as *Juan Moreira* develops a masculine paradigm that he represents.

This is especially true once we consider the diverse relationships between gambling, speculative commerce, and money described in the introduction and explored by critics such as Leigh Mercer (112). Since money was ultimately a means of hegemonic control over others, gambling becomes a way of subverting hard-work paradigms to potentially earn wealth while simultaneously offering a way of demonstrating one's confidence and fearlessness in a risky activity. Because Latin American nations were recently emerging as independent states, questions about money, work, and social structure were central to this process, which helped cause a proliferate representation of gambling.

Finally, gambling is linked to the male rogue through the creativity process. Gambling, a speculative activity based somewhat on luck, offers a foundation for the creative process as per the Romantic aesthetic. Namely, since the Romantics utilized luck, fate, and destiny as themes in their writing, the luck-related activity of gambling fits well into this framework. Many authors either immersed themselves in the social underworld in order to gain a unique perspective for the writing process or indulged in underworld activities themselves. Fyodor Dostoevsky and Charles Baudelaire, for example, were known gamblers.[25] The connection between gambling, substance abuse, and creativity also suggests this same relationship, as Jean-Charles Sournia has examined in his article "Alcoholism, Gambling and Creativity" (1994), which was published as part of an edited collected volume examining behaviors of supposed vice among writers of European Romanticism. In other words, gambling was not just a literary tool, it was also a social reality, an element of countercurrent narratives during the nation-building period, and a popular activity

[25]Lorne Tepperman, Patrizia Alberese, Sasha Stark, and Nadine Zahlan examine this history from a sociological and historical perspective in *The Dostoevsky Effect: Problem Gambling and the Origins of Addiction* (2013).

among iconoclastic writers themselves. All of these factors contributed to narratives that represented speculative game playing in a popularized, glamorized fashion. Since the activity was also entertaining and fun (at least for winners), it should come as no surprise that it was commonly represented and connected to masculine identity.[26]

The Gambling Rogue in* El Periquillo Sarniento *(1816)

El Periquillo Sarniento elucidates a particular representation of masculinity that is tied to a quest for monetary power through its rogue protagonist's gambling activities, the subject of this section. The author, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776-1827), was born in Mexico City to middle-class parents of education and reputable background (in medical and literary fields), and these formative years would place him at the center of Mexican national discourse in the future nation's capital. After his marriage in 1805, he embarked on a career in writing and publishing, becoming an outspoken voice for certain political and social causes including Mexican independence, church reform, and abolition of the slave trade. Fernández de Lizardi faced imprisonment for his political leanings, and he suffered through periods of extreme poverty after his periodical was shut down. All of these factors contributed towards his eventual death from Tuberculosis. While most critics recognize *El Periquillo Sarniento* as a landmark novel, Fernández de Lizardi's other works, such as *Noches tristes* (1818), *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818-1819), and *Don Catrín de la Fachenda* (1832), also offer additional insight into Mexican society and customs and helped to establish a tradition of Mexican novelists. Many literary scholars of Fernández de Lizardi's works have focused on either their relationship to the

[26]Since gambling is ultimately a leisure pastime as well as a money-making venture, the pleasure associated with this activity is another of its key characteristics, and it plays a role in the pleasure-seeking rogue's interest in the activity. Game playing is inherently fun because the risk involved gives a rush to players. Much research from a sociological and psychological perspective (ie. Peter Ferentzy and Nigel E. Turner's *The History of Problem Gambling* [2013]) has focused on the risk-taking aspects of gambling and how the resulting adrenaline high promotes continued interest and even addiction. Also, the clear link between winning at gambling and resultant power from wealth play another part of the interest of the rogue figure in speculative activities.

picaresque and to the development of Mexican fiction, such as María Rosa Palazón Mayoral, their subversive discourse to colonial order and promotion of independence interests, such as Danuta Teresa Mozejiko, or on the author's newspaper, *El Pensador Mexicano*, and its important influence on Mexican society, such as María del Rosario Lara. This research is helpful for understanding Fernández de Lizardi's importance in nineteenth-century Mexican society, but there is still much work to be done, particularly with regards to the details of daily life given in his narratives, such as gambling, which I will explore.[27]

The amusing plot of *El Periquillo* follows twists and turns typical of episodic fiction as the title character describes his misspent youth, squandered education, failed career in a monastery, the subsequent death of his parents, and his descent into ruin and abject poverty. During this process, Periquillo embarks on an aimless journey in and out of the capital of Mexico, in and out of prison, and from one career to the next in a fashion characteristic of the picaresque novel. The text of the story comes from a theoretically repentant protagonist whose tale Fernández de Lizardi supposedly prints for the protagonist posthumously. Crucially, among the novel's descriptions of the title character's lifestyle, is the extensive detailing of the gambling house, the lottery, cheating tactics, and common gambling activities of the time period. In these scenes, Fernández de Lizardi develops a gambling rogue anti-hero who aspires to a certain type of masculinity promoting independence, a maintenance of power differentials based on gender, and subversive, anti-establishment traits. While critiquing the ills of society that lead to the development of such a character, the author simultaneously offers an appealing narrative that does not dramatically censure the protagonist, since his actions are the logical outcomes of a

[27]Of note, gambling's popularity specifically in Mexico is also depicted in non-fiction sources of the period, which would be interesting for further analysis, including Fanny Calderón de la Barca's travel letters that describe gaming at a festival in the town of San Agustín as "founded upon that love of gambling, which is said to be a passion inherent in our nature, and which is certainly impregnated with the Mexican constitution" (214).

wayward youth. Gambling forms an integral part of the protagonist's characterization, and it is likewise ultimately not condemned by the narrative. Through gambling's satiric representation as one of the rogue's few options for financial gain in his society, a specific brand of masculinity is subtly cultivated that promotes risk-taking behaviors and seeks dominance over others.

While there are moralizing elements of *El Periquillo Sarniento*, including an anti-gambling argument that is developed by the author, there is an equally-convincing argument that the novel's undercurrent of entropy and glorification of activities typically conceived of as socially-detrimental ultimately undermines the supposedly moral message of the text. Crucially, the constant reference to gambling, which serves as a motor for action and events in the novel, is often treated with a certain gleefulness characteristic of the picaresque genre. Additionally, it could be argued that the mere development of the anti-hero protagonist humanizes his sometimes problematic and wayward tendencies. Some critics, however, believe that the novel condemns the protagonist's actions and persona.

Beatriz Alba-Koch argues in one of the chapters of her 1999 study that Fernández de Lizardi's text is an indictment of gambling (among other activities deemed detrimental to society) and primarily has moralizing aims, differentiating herself from most critics, who view it as humorously influenced by the picaresque and sparking broader social critique. In fact, Alba-Koch believes the novel's central purpose is didactic, observing that gambling itself is condemned in the narrative and serves as a way of highlighting social problems: "En el plano diegético, las moralizaciones sobre el juego forman una matriz discursiva desde la cual se produce una derivación. El gusto por el juego permite a Fernández de Lizardi introducir el desorden y el interés como problemas, mostrando la manera en que obstaculizan la reforma tanto del individuo como de la sociedad" (138). The novel does, in fact, discuss gambling's dangers

and warns readers not to partake in the vice, but, from my perspective, this does not make the overall effect of the novel anti-gambling (Fernández de Lizardi 332). Conversely, the novel's humor and boisterous fun surrounding activities such as gambling help cultivate the protagonist's independent, rule-breaking persona, to the reader's delight. Gambling, in fact, facilitates the espousing of a masculine model.

Periquillo's aspirations of wealth and the development of his masculine identity can be realized through his gambling activities. Gambling appears fairly early on in the novel's meandering description of the title character's youth, emerging as a form of entertainment and a plot device, more than as a repeated point of critique. The narrator uses a light-hearted tone to describe it, and, as I will demonstrate, he offers extensive details of gambling and even cheating techniques, all of which detract from any stated moral argument against it. The novel's first-person treatment of gambling also prevents the activity from being viewed as something that only "other" people participate in, since the protagonist garners sympathy for himself and his exploits merely by being the wayward, somewhat-likeable central character. Finally, from their first appearance, the comical tone of the descriptions of the card games and their motley group of participants also makes their presentation in the narrative seem primarily entertaining, rather than morally enlightening. In these detailed, often humorous moments, the protagonist learns quickly how to play and cheat at cards as part of his practical education and induction into the underbelly of society. Periquillo's movement into the gambling house is part of his coming of age process and the development of his rogue persona. Since the protagonist is not fully condemned by the narrative, as he is redeemed at the end of the novel, we then must ask what effect his characterization as a gambler has for readers. I would answer that, specifically, it serves to pursue and promote a brand of idealized hegemonic masculinity used to elevate Periquillo's

status and gain currency over others in the novel. Whether or not the glamorization of gambling is intentional on the author's part, the reader sympathizes with the misfit adventurer and, throughout the novel, is somewhat complicit with his actions. Read in this light, the descriptions of gambling ultimately do not fully serve an anti-gambling purpose, but rather a temperance purpose. In contrast to the argument presented by Alba-Koch, the gambling rogue appears here not as a malevolent character, but as a wayward, troubled, and misunderstood anti-heroic figure passing through a series of misadventures. Ilan Stavans, supports this idea, arguing that *El Periquillo Sarniento* and some other narratives of its time leverage their narration from a carnivalesque and parodic perspective, which later gives rise to the popularized anti-hero in Mexican novels of banditry (95).[28]

Since gambling emerges as part of the likeable, rebellious youth's solutions to poverty, Fernández de Lizardi develops the protagonist's persona and outlines a rebellious, idealized masculinity in the depictions of this activity. For example, in the early days, Periquillo's friend Pelayo teaches him *to be a gentleman* by learning to play a variety of games, always with practical advice for winning (by cheating):

> Con mi maestro se había propuesto civilizarme e ilustrarme en todos los ramos de la caballería de la moda, me enseñó a jugar al billar, tresillo, tuti y juegos carteados; no se olvidó de instruirme en las cábulas del bisbís, ni en los ardides para jugar albures según arte, y no así, así, a la buena de Dios, ni a lo que la suerte diera; pues me decía que él que limpio jugaba limpio se iba a su casa, sino siempre con su pedazo de diligencia. (197)

Later, following the death of his father, Periquillo spends more time learning how to gamble and slowly bleeds away the family's inheritance on parties, girlfriends, and at the gaming table. As

[28]Examples of these narratives include *Los bandidos del río frío* by Manuel Payno (1889-1891), *Los de abajo* (1915) by Mariano Azuela and a variety of other narratives into the twentieth century and today, perhaps offering precursors to the modern *Narconarrativa*. The exploration of the banditry narrative is a relevant, related field to the gambling narrative, and an excellent source on this tradition is Juan Pablo Dabove's *Nightmares of the Lettered City: Banditry and Literature in Latin America, 1816-1929* (2007). In other chapters of this dissertation, I continue to examine the link between gambling and banditry that was espoused among the general populace.

he describes it, he was "[c]onstantemente disipado, vago y mal entretenido, no pensando sino en el baile, en el juego, en las mujeres y en todo cuanto directamente propendía a viciar mis costumbres más y más" (263).

During this period, Periquillo also describes to the reader a great deal of cultural practices related to gambling, including the types of gamblers at different levels of society, thus foreshadowing his personal journey through gambling in various social classes while coming of age and outlining tenets of stereotypical male gamblers. For example, he discusses the gamblers who populate middle-class society, while not living very respectably:

> La otra clase de tunantismo decente es aquella que se compone de mozos decentes y extraviados que, con sus capas, casaquitas y aun perfumes, son unos ociosos de por vida, cofrades perpetuos de todas las tertulias, cortejos de cuanto coqueta se presenta, seductores de cuanta casada se proporciona, jugadores, tramposos y fulleros siempre que pueden; *cócoras* de los bailes, sustos de los convites, gorrones intrusos, sinvergüenzas, descarados, necios *a nativitate*, tarabillas perdurables y máquinas vestidas escandalosas y perjudiciales a la desdichada sociedad en que viven; y estos tales son pillos y *léperos* decentes, y de esta clase de *pillería* digo, que pude haber puesto cátedra pública, según lo que aprovecharé con las lecciones de mi maestro y el ejemplo de mis concursantes en el corto espacio de un año. (198)

These prototypical gamblers serve as a model for Periquillo himself as he becomes initiated into their group and comes to embody this type of middle-class roguish figure, as explained in his description. Periquillo also describes his induction into the aforementioned group and offers a sketch of working class gamblers as well, whom he negatively depicts and then, later, ironically becomes. He states, "Un año gasté en aprender todas estas maturrangas; pero, eso sí salí maestro y capaz de poner catedra de fullería y *leperaje* a lo decente, porque hay dos clases de tunantismo: una soez y arrastrada como la de los enfrazados y borrachos que juegan a la rayuela o a la taba en una esquina […] éstos se llaman pillos y *léperos* ordinarios" (198). The supposed nature of gamblers in common society exposed, Periquillo has offered an unflattering, comical depiction

of players, of which he will form a part (first of the supposedly more respectable group, and later of the lower-socio-economic-class group) over the course of his adventures. This "critique" of the lawless gamblers offers a certain brand of humorous irony in its foreshadowing of the remainder of the novel, since Periquillo himself ultimately aspires to become one of them in adulthood.[29] Because of the protagonist's descent into the world he has described, the reader begins to sympathize with the male gambler who is driven to the brink by society and must gamble more to try to win money.

After losing the family inheritance, Periquillo's mother passes away, and he is left to fend for himself. While one might expect this series of events to evoke a change in the protagonist's behavior, Periquillo instead further immerses himself in the lifestyle of a card shark, now apprenticing under his friend Januario to study the tricks of the trade (302). In this process, Periquillo is literally learning and practicing the script for the type of man he desires to become. Working as a professional gambler, he quickly ascertains how to manipulate the cards, stack the deck and perform a variety of tricks to succeed at cheating those with whom he is playing. Descriptions of foul play abound here in great detail, representing the historical reality that many card sharks of the nineteenth century were employing a variety of crooked tactics to gain the upper hand (Fabian 2).

These manipulations offer a way of dominating other players for financial gain by capitalizing on their losses, a key trait of hegemonic masculinity previously described. As discussed in the introduction, gamesters were able to find guidance for a myriad of tricks commonly practiced amongst professional gamblers by learning from others, or by reading about them and practicing to gain finesse before approaching the card table, where they would

[29]Calderón de la Barca's aforementioned historical letters also document gambling across all strata of society in Mexico (214).

successfully employ them to capitalize on the trust of unsuspecting opponents. This fact is especially significant in *El Periquillo Sarniento* because the detailed descriptions of cheating ultimately do not discourage gambling and cheating, just as stories of, for instance, romanticized bandits that Dabove has explored, (such as, in Mexico, *Los bandidos del Río Frío*, the previously-mentioned novel by Payno that was inspired by actual bandits), do not categorically preach against bandits; rather, they offer a window into the lawless behavior of the supposed underbelly of society, glamorizing it in the process. By earning money through cheating the system and thus gaining power over others, a rugged form of masculinity is being espoused.

In this vein, descriptions of sleight-of-hand and stacking the deck abound in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, and the title character is able to successfully mislead other characters for financial gain. This point is especially important because the successful gambler ultimately makes money from others, gaining wealth and power by causing his opponents to lose, including by dishonest means, which are presented as a way of dominating other players by outsmarting them. Observe the descriptions of professional gambling offered by Januario when Periquillo asks how he earns money to live: "De cócora en los juegos—me respondió—, y si tú no tienes destino y quieres pasarlo de lo mismo, puedes acompañarme, que espero en Dios que no nos moriremos de hambre, pues más ven cuatro ojos que dos. El oficio es fácil, de poco trabajo, divertido y de utilidad. ¿Conque quieres?" (302). Periquillo's confusion about what is entailed in this line of work is clarified by Januario, who explains that the *cócoros* make money off others by targeting them, working together and manipulating the odds in their favor, causing other players to feel frightened (302). The little work involved in earning money by gambling (as Januario claims) is due to his ability to make money from nothing by stealing the initial buy-in bet and practicing a variety of other tricks of the trade:

> Se procura tomar un buen lugar (pues vale más un asiento delantero en una mesa de juego, que en una plaza de toros); y ya sentado uno allí está vigilando al montero para cogerle un zapote o verle una puerta, y entonces se da un codazo, que algo le toca al denunciante en estas topadas. O bien procura uno dibujar las paradas, marcar un naipe, arrastrar un muerto, o cuando no se pueda nada de esto, armarse con una apuesta al tiempo que la paguen, y entonces se dice: <<Yo soy hombre de bien; a nadie vengo a estovar nada>> […] de suerte que al fin se queda en duda de quién es el dinero, y él que tiene la apuesta gana. (303)

When betting using tricks and stolen money it becomes harder not to turn a profit, but only if luck is in your favor. Fortunately, Januario then explains how to manipulate luck through cheating to increase the odds of beating your opponents in competitive games and establishing one's superiority and dominion.

What follows is essentially a brief "how-to" guide or "mini" gambler's manifesto for making money, which would probably have been of interest to the casual reader wondering how slight-of-hand could be practiced at the card table, or to those actually interested in gambling. In fact, many "pro" gambling texts or gambler's manuals of the nineteenth century offered these sorts of descriptions of gambling tactics, even while providing moral explanations condemning gambling alongside them. For example, it became common during this period to critique gambling while simultaneously explaining how to play to win with tips from "reformed" gamblers.[30] The purpose of a large body of texts in this tradition, obscured by their stated moral

[30]Texts such as José Antonio Jiménez y Fornesa's *Miscelánea completa, instructiva, curiosa y agradable* (1828), which describes a great number of cheater's tricks for the Spanish reading public, and Robert Houdin's *Secretos de los garitos: Arte de ganar a todos los juegos* (1891), which was translated from French to Spanish and popularly read later in the nineteenth century are two examples of this genre. The Spanish text *Los misterios del juego: descripción breve, exacta e imparcialísima…* (1882) by Martín Doimóngez, also offers specific strategies on winning by cheating with the supposed moral end of helping gamblers to avoid being tricked by cheaters. More related novels and instruction manuals were also being published in the Americas, including the strategy book (presented as a moral treatise) titled *How Gamblers Win, or the Secrets of Advantage Playing* (1865), which was published anonymously "by a retired professional."

aims, appears to have been to actually offer gambling strategies for serious players looking to direct the course of play at the card table.[31]

In *El Periquillo Sarniento*, the didactic gaming-strategy aims of the novel (whether intentional or not) are concretely manifested through the direct representation of cheating techniques in the text, with a subtext about masculine behavior. Januario goes through a list of tricks to stow money away: "Irse a profundis –dijo mi maestro—es esconderse el dinero del monte que se pueda, poco a poco, mientras baraja el compañero, fingiendo que se rasca, que se saca el polvero, que se saca un cigarro" (306). Later he offers tricks for playing in pairs to win by working against the rest of the table: "También es otro arbitrio que tengas en el juego un amigo de confianza, como yo, y sentándose éste junto a ti, a cada vez que se descuide el dueño del dinero, le das cuatro pesetas fingiendo que le cambias un peso" (306). By beating opponents with crooked tactics, Periquillo and Januario will seek to reap the monetary benefits of this competitive display of symbolic masculine strength, characterized by fearless risk-taking.

In order to become a true "maestro" (307) at the card table, a tellingly named title, since he will be a master who is literally controlling the financial outcomes of others, Periquillo absorbs the lessons of his instructor Januario, who presents a litany of techniques. Utilizing nicknames and slang for different plays, these terms lend a comical tone to the depiction of cheating that peaks the curiosity of the reader about what they are:

> Para entrar en esta carrera y poder hacer progresos en ella, es indispensable que sepas amarrar, zapotear, dar boca de lobo, dar rastrillazo, hacer la hueca, dar la empalmada, colearte, espejearte y otras cositas tan finas y curiosas como éstas, que, aunque por ahora no las entiendas, poco importa; yo te las enseñaré dentro de quince o veinte días, que como tú te apliques y no seas tonto, con ese tiempo basta para que salgas maestro con mis lecciones. (307)

[31]J.R. Spell's article "Mexican Society as Seen by Fernández de Lizardi" (1925) is one of the few critical works that discusses this specific scene, but he does not manage to put it in its historical context among cheating manuals and other texts offering such details (161).

What is evident by the casual use of this cheater's slang is that, if Fernández de Lizardi was not a gambler himself, then he certainly familiarized himself with the gambler's lifestyle when writing *El Periquillo Sarniento*. This interest in cheating's role in Mexican society of the period again highlights the novel's glamorization of this popular leisure pursuit as it forms part of the protagonist's identity as a young man and as a component of *costumbrista* descriptions of the narrative.

Finally, the reader is offered an explanation of how to "make" a deck, which consists of making a cheater's deck with marked cards and stripper cards, or cards that have been cut slightly to change their size and thus facilitate the divination of certain cards while shuffling:

> El hacer las Barajas en el modo que te digo no consiste en pegar el papel, abrir los moldes, imprimirlas y demás que hacen los naiperos; ése es oficio aparte. Hacerlas al modo de los jugadores quiere decir hacerlas floreadas: esto se hace sin más que estos pocos instrumentitos que has visto, y con sólo ellos se recortan, ya anchas ya angostas, ya con esquinas que se llaman orejas, o bien se pintan o se raspan (que dicen vaciar) o se trabajan de pegues, o se haces cuantas habilidades uno sabe o quiere; todo con el honesto fin de dejar la camisa al que se descuide. (308)

Ultimately, it appears necessary to cheat fortune by manipulating the cards while gambling if one wants to tip the odds in their favor. To use the phrase that is repeated several times in the novel: "el que limpio juega, limpio se va a su casa" (309). In the end, to be an effective gambler one must release oneself from guilt about unjustly gaining wealth on others' losses because it is necessary to cheat: "pero por esta razón estos señoritos mis camaradas y compañeros, antes de entrar en el giro de la fullería, lo primero que hacen es esconder la conciencia debajo de la almohada, echarse con las petacas y volverse corrientes" (309). As mentioned, the descriptions of cheating and winning at cards, rather than arousing alarm and being depicted negatively, ultimately sound intriguing. In these scenes, Periquillo attempts to learn the behaviors of his model, Januario, who carries them to their most extreme (resulting in his later demise while

working as a bandit). As a component of the protagonist's development as a man in this coming-of-age narrative, gambling thus becomes a defining characteristic of the masculinity to which he aspires and, eventually, embodies. Just as in other novels that tell the story of protagonist wrong-doers, the reader cannot help but feel relieved and even happy when Periquillo gets away with misdeeds because, by taking the perspective of a rogue character, it is easier to sympathize with him or her rather than to desire his or her punishment.

Concurrent with the independence and free will espoused as central to the nineteenth century (and, later, masculine, Romantic ideals), Periquillo follows his luck at cards, rather than be bound by society. Also in line with the typical depiction of the anti-hero misfit, he seeks to change his fortune by somewhat questionable means (cheating). The activity becomes central to Periquillo's lifestyle and goals of financial independence. Even when he is periodically defeated or attacked by those unhappy with his manipulation of the deck, which is the cause of the end of his first run at the gaming table (333), Periquillo still returns to the activity repeatedly later on in the novel: while in prison, while working odd jobs under different masters, and when he reenters the capital after working as a fake doctor, ultimately refusing to lose.

Reason, a primary force in Neoclassicism, stands in direct contrast to another force involved in an activity such as gambling: the idea of luck. This concept, linked with others like fate and more sentimental constructs developed later in the Romantic novel appears to be under discussion in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, and it is partly this idea that lends a certain romantic idealization to the rogue gambler's lifestyle and masculine image. While Fernández de Lizardi contradicts the existence of luck, using reason and emerging theories of probability, "luck" still operates in the novel itself. The luck involved in the gambling process, now beginning to be better understood through mathematics, still presents the interesting questions: is winning a

matter of destiny, and does the winner deserve to win?[32] Since cheating was often employed in card playing, it would appear that this allows for the "earning" of winning itself through the manipulation of fate, which underlies what winning at gambling really means for the rogue figure in an economic system: power over the other players.

If part of an ideal masculine paradigm was a quest for independence and an unquenchable desire (Kirkpatrick), gambling represents the perfect activity for the young protagonist on such a search for self-identity and fortune. As previously cited, gambling is actually a part of the protagonist's development as a gentleman: "Con mi maestro se había propuesto civilizarme e ilustrarme en todos los ramos de la caballería de la moda, me enseñó a jugar al billar, tresillo, tuti y juegos carteados" (197). The gambler is thus depicted as a fashionable masculine ideal who exists on the margins of urban space by definition, and, thus, the liberated nature of the protagonist's lifestyle is further developed through gambling.[33] Periquillo and Januario, who often function outside of "civilized" society, take up gambling to earn money when they are not accepted in among the upper class due to their poverty. It is also the link between gambling, money, skill, and luck that make this activity different from other ventures that the rogue could be involved in that define his identity.

Not only is gambling a glamorized activity characteristic to the appealing masculine image of Periquillo (and to Januario), it is a central source of power and oppression of others. If

[32]Luck, in contrast to pure reason, emerges as a force in the gambling lifestyle, even while reason seeks to control it. While the narrator attempts to explain that gambling is mathematically stacked against the player, descriptions of luck appear in Januario's advice to Periquillo and in the occasional winnings themselves. Specifically, Januario tells Periquillo that he should pick someone or something to pray to because it is essential for gambler's luck: "Unos [jugadores] rezan a las ánimas, otros a la Santísima Virgen, éste a San Cristóbal, aquél a Santa Gertrudis, y finalmente esperamos en el Señor que nos ha de dar Buena muerte. Conque, no seas tonto, Periquillo, elige tu devoción particular, y anda, hombre, anda, no tengas miedo" (309). The continued maintenance of a belief in luck, even though it is argued against and even laughed at in the novel, permeates the narrative itself. This concept of luck, fate, or destiny would only become more popular during the nineteenth century as ideals of Romanticism took hold.

[33]This idea will be further explored in the second and the fourth chapters, where gambling reform texts are examined.

one is sagacious enough to successfully navigate the card table and outsmart opponents, then rewards for such behavior can be control over people and prestige. This is particularly apparent when Periquillo's fortune changes after his gambling success, which has implications for his direct control over his life and that of the people around him. In the second half of the novel, Periquillo gains wealth upon his return to the city, not by card playing, but through winning the lottery. The lottery was very popular during the nineteenth century, as well as earlier, and it underwent a variety of permutations and alterations of rules and technique during its formation in the seventeenth century, as Schwartz has documented.[34]

Ultimately, as a result of the luck Periquillo has in the lottery, he is able to gain financial power in his community, since money purchases control. Once Periquillo becomes wealthy, he uses wealth to dominate others, bringing societal power differentials, particularly as related to gender, into focus in the novel. While it would appear that the author does not intend to lay bare relationships between men and women as governed by economic buying power, the nature in which women are essentially bought and sold (as mistresses, prostitutes, or in marriage agreements) in Mexican society of the period is exposed.[35] The most salient example of this power dynamic emerges after Periquillo's lottery win, since he uses the money to attract and manipulate women around him. In these chapters during the novel's second half, the reader also sees the protagonist's subsequent hegemonic control of women and other characters after he changes his social status through money. After Periquillo spends the day at the gaming table, losing everything, he does finally find luck in the lottery, as he describes to readers:

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[34]I will further explore the lottery's history and its unique social implications in the third chapter where I discuss how Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841) employs the activity as a symbolic plot device.

[35]As María Rosa Palazón Mayoral argues in her categorical analysis of Fernández de Lizardi's seminal novel, the author's tone is predominantly *machista* as Fernández de Lizardi "insiste en la subordinación de las mujeres al padre y al marido bondadosos" (24). To further underscore the power imbalance viewed as a positive in marriage, Palazón Mayoral highlights that, "Asimismo, Pedro Sarmineto opina que, para que funcionen, los matrimonios deben ser la unión de mujeres jóvenes y de hombres de mayor edad" (25).

> Dijéronme que se iba a hacer la rifa de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Al momento me acordé de mi billete, y aunque jamás había confiado en tales suertes, me quedé en el patio, más bien por ver la solemnidad con que se hacía la rifa que por otra cosa. En efecto se comenzó ésta, y a las diez o doce bolas fue saliendo mi número, que me acuerdo era 7.596, premiado con tres mil pesos. Yo paraba las orejas cuando le estaban gritando, y cuando lo fijaron en la tabla hasta me limpiaba los ojos para verlo; pero cerciorado de que era el mismo que tenía, no sé cómo no me volví loco de gusto, porque en mi vida me había visto con tanto dinero. (587)

Along with Periquillo's new money, comes new power over his surroundings. While the protagonist has largely been without female companions in the novel (with the exceptions of a foray into the countryside as a young man and during a brief stint as an apprentice when he courted his master's mistress, Luisa), he suddenly begins wooing two women. Having won back Luisa with his lottery earnings, he tires of her and pursues a younger woman named Mariana. The newfound monetary wealth of the protagonist makes him view his first mistress with contempt: "Yo estaba contento con Luisa, pero no dejaba de estar avergonzado, considerando que al fin había entrado de cocinera" (598).

Thus, hegemonic masculine traits emerge as the main character's success as a gambler is described, since he utilizes money won in speculative activities to acquire property and attract women.[36] Once he has set his sights on Mariana, Periquillo ousts Luisa so he can try to marry the younger woman, describing his difficulty in immediately buying her off thusly:

> Entre las señoras y no señoras que me visitaban iba una buena vieja que llevaba una niña como de dieciséis años, mucho más bonita que Luisa, y a la que yo, a excusas de ésta, hacía mil fiestas y enamoraba tercamente, creyendo que su conquista me sería tan fácil como la que había conseguido de otras muchas; pero no fue así, la muchacha era muy viva, y aunque no le pesaba ser querida, no quería prostituirse a mi lascivia. (601)

In order to do this changeover, Periquillo manipulatively plans for his old friend and servant to seduce Luisa so that he can have a reason to eject her from the house since she was not

[36]Interestingly, Periquillo's reaction to winning the lottery will stand in stark contrast to Sab's, which I will examine in the third chapter.

“acostumbrada a resistir estos ataques” (607). Of course, as the narrator argues, wooed by the appearance of money, Periquillo’s young love interest is given to him in matrimony, and he achieves the consummation of his desires. Since the protagonist feigned familial wealth, of course, all of the riches from the lottery are ultimately exhausted and he goes back to his old tricks. Periquillo’s pregnant wife ultimately perishes at the hands of a cheap and inexperienced midwife, and the protagonist is left alone. Although Periquillo should take at least some blame for the death of his young bride, he is blinded yet again by necessity to find fortune and any guilt quickly vanishes when he returns to his normal lifestyle. As is apparent by this dramatic representation, the monies acquired through gambling served in a gendered economic system to procure a bride for the protagonist and to manipulate his relationships with women according to his liking: when not satisfied by one woman, Periquillo simply found another. The power acquired by winning money thus allowed Periquillo to attain women as commodities in a patriarchal market system where men have control over women in matrimony, an idea I will explore further in the second chapter.

In this way, while glorifying gambling, a glamorized view of the male gambler is being presented to the reader. The daring risk-taker can become extraordinarily lucky at times by winning money, which can buy him the admiration and submission of women around him. This is simultaneously an endorsement of gambling and of male dominance in traditional gender relations. As such, the female characters involved in relationships with the protagonist are never more than flat characters. Aside from Periquillo’s mother and a few women in whom Periquillo takes interest, the focus of the action is consistently on the male characters, with the women serving in peripheral roles only. This male-centric perspective is exemplified too through the disposable nature of the female characters, who ultimately serve merely to frame the activities of

Periquillo. The world of the gambler is truly a masculine one, decorated by a few women with the action driven by and for men. As Robert McKee Irwin notes, women are scarcely present in the novel and are poorly depicted when the do appear, suggesting that the center of idealized masculinity essentially writes women out of the picture (17). As he puts it, "*El Periquillo* focuses much less significance on heterosexual relations than on fraternal friendships and pedagogical bonds between men: in fact, its main character is a model of *Mexicanness*, a distinctively male *Mexicanness*" (17). This is, of course, reflective of women's marginalization in the nineteenth century and telling when examining women's negative character development in the novel and their lack of monetary power, work options and access to education, a reality I explore in the next chapter.

Not only are women under-represented in the novel and depicted as controllable through financial means, the narrator also blames his mother for the downfall of his career aspirations (by not allowing him to pursue a trade) and his wife (deceased in childbirth) for the financial losses at the end of their marriage. The explanation he gives for the loss of the lottery winnings comes along with a cautionary statement for women's roles in preserving (or squandering) the family fortune:

> Las mujeres poco prudentes no son las que menos contribuyen a arruinar las casas con sus vanidades importunadas. En ellas es por lo común en las que se ve el lujo entronizado. La mujer o hija de un médico, abogado u otro semejante quiere tener casa, criados y una decencia que compita o a lo menos iguales a la de una marquesa rica; para esto se compromete el padre o el marido de cuantos modos le dicta su imprudente cariño, y a la corta o a la larga resultan los acreedores; se echan sobre lo poco que existe, el crédito se pierde y la familia perece. (594)

While women are manipulated by money gained through gambling activities and are held responsible for losing much of family fortunes with their petty spending, they are not direct participants in gambling activities and are never depicted at the gambling table in this novel.

Additionally, even though women could technically buy lottery tickets during this period, they are not shown doing so here. These facts are telling, especially when viewed, as I mentioned earlier, in light of another of Fernández de Lizardi's novels, where women are represented in the gambling house, *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818-1819).

An obvious contrast is developed between Periquillo's involvement in gambling activities and those of Pomposita in *La Quijotita y su prima.* While Periquillo eventually establishes a stable life for himself and offers the supposedly reformed perspective as narrator of his personal story, Pomposita, the protagonist of *La Quijotita* who is a female rogue figure, is not afforded a happy ending. The young woman's story is not offered in her own voice but through a third-person narrator, and her actions are punctuated and critiqued throughout the text by her moralizing uncle, the colonel, who constantly lectures on morality and immorality as it relates to the behavior of young women. While it appears that Fernández de Lizardi was trying to promote practical women's education in the novel (by showing a "good" and obedient young woman, Prudenciana, in contrast to her cousin, Pomposita, who did not receive education or discipline), the stark differences between the treatment of the wayward protagonists in the two novels says much about how the author construes their gender roles.

When Pomposita also enters a gambling house alongside her supposedly immoral mother towards the novel's conclusion, it is a step towards her eventual ruin, a life that ends in prostitution, disease, and death. While the male rogue can gamble and win, the female *pícara*'s gambling ends in bad luck. For Periquillo, gambling enhances his masculine identity; for Pomposita, entering the gambling house is a transgression that as a female she cannot overcome. As Anne K. Kaler has noted, female pícaras often served distinct roles in fiction from their male

counterparts, including prostitution (117).[37] The ending of *La Quijotita y su prima*, therefore, is not surprising, and we again must note that her condemnation in the novel ultimately concludes with gendered monetary transactions. Rather than at the gambling table, another way to make money is through prostitution.

As we saw in the forgoing discussion, gambling functions as a glorified activity that is part of the male gambler's search for liberty, economic capital, and social power (particularly over women). It becomes clear that the activity, while defying familial wealth structures, approves and affirms traditional gender politics, as it is only an acceptable masculine undertaking in Fernández de Lizardi's fiction. But how does the rogue gambler's participation in the activity question society while defining masculinity? Namely, it would appear that some critique of traditional wealth structures is being offered here. By living on the margins of society, by engaging with speculative luck activities, and by trying to gain hegemonic dominance and control over others, particularly women, through gambling winnings, the masculine identity promoted through the gambling protagonist seeks to oppress others in a competitive, individualistic spirit, rather than to work together in a cooperative one. The Romantic rogue's outsider perspective allows him to achieve, through gambling and winning, the stature that old social norms might not have allowed him. Ultimately, the rogue gambler is modeling a vision of an independent, self-made man who will not be bound by traditional societal rules (such as social class), and whose triumph is viewed positively, in keeping with the romanticized and gendered depiction of the period in which it emerged.

[37]The interaction between currency and the corruption of female characters is one that is also noted for Spanish nineteenth-century fiction by Jo Labanyi in *Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel* (2000). There she traces speculative commerce's relationship to adultery in Galdós' fiction, establihing a link from a character's "escalating career as an adulteress to the proliferation of money circulating on the market" (Labanyi 131).

Gambling Gauchos in* Juan Moreira *(1879)

While *El Periquillo Sarniento* provides a depiction of gambling and masculinity using an anti-hero figure, *Juan Moreira* offers a view of masculinity defined by gaucho gambling on the rough and rugged frontier. *Juan Moreira* emerged as a central product of gauchesque literature that was read popularly in the late-nineteenth century and became an important text culturally for shaping national identity in Argentina to include the independent figure of the gaucho. Alejandra Laera, in *El tiempo vacío de la ficción* (2004), argues that elements of history and cultural realities were brought to light and novelized in an entertaining fashion in Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira*, filling a void in literature and in national identity in the process (21). Aside from reflecting some aspects of Argentine reality, Gutiérrez's novels were also valued for their entertaining story-lines, and were bought by newspapers and published serially, with some thirty-three books in folletín form (Hart 675). Ultimately, the wide reach of Gutiérrez's fiction allowed him to live as a professional writer. A member of the "Generación de los 1880," as William G. Acree, Jr. has described, fans of Gutiérrez's popular fiction actually lined up to await the next installment of his texts (x). However, as widely-read as Gutiérrez's fiction was, literary critics have paid scant attention to his works because of a perceived attitude that they are not worthy of academic study as products of popular culture (Hart 673). Ironically, these works were tremendously important in establishing national history, as mentioned previously, and developed an interesting masculine model for readers.

Eduardo Gutiérrez was born in 1851 and was already publishing during his teenage years as part of a family of writers in the Buenos Aires region of Argentina. His style, while a bit uneven (Stephen Hart has discussed how Gutiérrez did not correct proofs of his stories or decide where to cut each installment), was nonetheless enjoyable, hence *Juan Moreira*'s popularity

(675). Gutiérrez's untimely death during his peak in fictional production, solidified him as an important cultural influence in Buenos Aires of his period, but later he was largely forgotten in the twentieth century (Acree x). The story of Juan Moreira continued on, however, beyond this original retelling and was adapted into a play, forming part of Argentine cultural history.

In *Juan Moreira* (1879), the title-character is presented as a rogue, but one who should be excused for his behavior because of a lack of options available to the gaucho in Argentine society. Gutiérrez characterizes Moreira as a tragic, forgivable character in part to call attention to the poor treatment of gauchos by local officials who abuse their governmental authority. This is represented through repeated statements about Moreira's "espíritu noble," (103) and the mention of few options for the tragic gaucho figure: "la nobleza de esta raza desheredada de todo derecho, cuyo único porvenir es el puñal en los atrios electorales o los cuerpos de línea al eterno servicio de las fronteras" (104). This imbedded social critique is remnicent of the argument that Fernández de Lizardi makes of social problems, limited guidance, and scant work options using the rogue figure in *El Periquillo Sarniento*.

While the first chapter mentions that Juan was not the type to waste time on drinking and game playing, the reader sees him fall into both activities through the course of the novel's action. As is typical for gauchesque literature, the storyline centers on Juan's adventures on the pampa as he struggles against the persecution of malicious, power-abusing local officials who want to take his wife and home. Once Juan collects on a debt he is owed by killing another townsperson, officials pursue him with a murderous intent in retribution for his crime. Juan escapes town with his life, taking a stand as he leaves, and his wife is subsequently forced to abandon him for his enemy to escape her miserable circumstances of poverty and starvation. Through Juan's subsequent journey on the pampa, the novel describes his rugged lifestyle,

romanticizing the gaucho in the Argentine pampa struggling for freedom and vengeance for his poor treatment by men in positions of political power.

Gambling serves as a hallmark trait of the rugged, roguish Juan, who participates in multiple betting activities, including cards and billiards.[38] Other gauchos in the taverns that Juan Moreira visits also participate in a game called *taba* (an animal bone form of dice) and gambling is the center of much social activity in the novel.[39] After being exiled from his home, Juan Moreira wanders the pampa, constantly fighting the law, killing when necessary to protect his honor, and gambling, both with the indigenous people he encounters (who the narrator depicts in a problematic, stereotyped fashion) and with other gauchos in nearby towns. This constant battle against his environment serves to define the Romantic rogue figure in this novel and also offers many examples of his participation in gambling as part of his character development alongside the promotion of negative and hegemonic attitudes towards other groups of people on the pampa.

The rendering of Juan's masculine image and dominance over those around him, including other gauchos, women, and indigenous characters, shows that while the rogue may be a romanticized loner, gambling helps him to maintain the power structure on the pampa. It also serves as a hallmark of his passionate lifestyle: "Cuando se entrega al cariño de una persona, lo hace con la misma vehemencia que ama, que odia, que juega o que bebe" (108). The gaucho's Promethean search for liberty, drawing from Susan Kirkpatrick, also connects him to other gambling reprobates depicted playing cards and gambling during Spanish Romanticism (ie. Don

[38]As far as the legalities of gambling go in nineteenth-century Argentina, Thompson has documented that casinos were privately owned and licensed locally after independence (486). They were minimally regulated, and, as is evinced by Juan's gambling on the pampa, laws surrounding gambling outside of them may not have been strictly enforced (486).

[39]While the descriptions of *taba* are not essential to understanding Moreira's gendered characterization, they are of interest for understanding the unique cultural context of the text. Animal bones were commonly used in divination practices throughout the world and were one of the earliest forms of gambling worldwide (Schwartz 16). Their representation here shows an interesting cultural reality of the gaucho, who participated in traditional as well as more modern games.

Félix in *El estudiante de Salamanca* [1837]). As John Charles Chasteen has argued in *Heroes on Horseback* (1995), many aspects of the gaucho caudillo's lifestyle were appealing to their countrymen, often inspiring loyalty and reverence for their frontier exploits (4). Juan Moreira's story emerges within an up-and-coming popular idealization of the gaucho, perhaps as part of a later response to the civilization versus barbarism debate, as the gaucho may have stood in an idealized position for a romantic notion of barbarism and American identity.

Following the traditions of the Romantic rogue figure (already somewhat established by this point through other misfits such as *pícaros*, pirates and outlaws), the gaucho's lifestyle offers a route to achieve a version of liberty so sought after in Romanticism. As a means to that end also, gambling provides a way to potential financial freedom outside of the traditional enterprises associated with wealth and familial inheritance. Gambling is a paradigmatic activity for the gaucho figure because of its relationship with money. Since Juan is living on the margins of society and attempting to attain financial independence and liberty from the confines of society's rules and laws, gambling provides an alternative mode of gaining wealth and recovering his lifestyle. Because Juan's departure from his homestead was, in part, because he murdered another man, Sardetti, who refused to settle a debt with him, money becomes a key component of the protagonist's struggle against his surroundings. In a capitalist system, money-making is essential for power and stability. From Juan's perspective, since he follows a rigid honor code where anyone who insults him or disrespects him must pay with his life, money offers one way to better control others in a hostile world. For this reason, readers see Juan repeatedly engage in gambling as a money-making enterprise. After all, the activity is not only related to leisure, but also to the pursuit of financial independence. Since Juan is a cunning player, he consistently wins

throughout the novel, often resorting to cheating, which is not condemned by the narrator, harkening back to the descriptions of foul play in *El Periquillo Sarniento*.

From early in the plot, Juan is described as being a winner in horse-racing competitions on the frontier, which help to establish him as a dominant force on the pampa even before he leaves his home and turns to a life of crime: "No concurría a las pulperías sino en los días de carreras, en que iba a ellas montado sobre un magnífico caballo parejero" (7). Depicted as a tortured, star-crossed rogue, the protagonist participates in competitive betting activities both for entertainment, at one point describing a break he takes from his wanderings to relax at the gaming table (210), and for financial gain, in an early episode describing the turning of a profit among the story's indigenous characters (174). Instead of condemning gambling, the novel also uses it as a tool to show how Juan gains the upper hand over others and maintains his personal liberty through his domination of the activity. In this depiction, gambling becomes an essential part of the dominant masculine ideal that the novel cultivates. The following example shows clearly how Juan Moreira (under the pseudonym Juan Blanco) suppresses rivals through gambling at billiards:

> Juan Blanco se puso a jugar al billar con cuatro de los paisanos, mientras Romero tomaba poco a poco una copa de ginebra, mirando la partida. Los jugadores eran buenos, pero Blanco les empezó a ganar el dinero con suma ligereza y haciéndoles grandes trampas que los paisanos veían, pero no se atrevían a protestar de ellas, pues a pesar de que Blanco había sufrido a Romero todo lo que este le había dicho, no por eso había perdido por completo su prestigio. (236-37)

Having shown up his opponents in the initial match with his tricks, Moreira is challenged to a game by Rico Romero (who was silently observing him in the first round) for 100 pesos and drinks for all present (237). Of course, Juan quickly begins to dominate the game: "Blanco no pudo prescindir de sus malas mañas, y en el primer descuido de Romero corrió el taco hacia los

palos, volteándolos a todos" (237). His outraged opponent is subsequently beaten on multiple levels, losing, not only the game, but the fight that ensues afterwards:

> ¡Ah, puerco tramposo! —gritó Romero encendido de cólera—. ¡Esto es robar la plata! —y tomando una de las bolas del billar la lanzó al pecho de Blanco, produciendo un ruido seco y obligándolo a llevar la mano al pecho y lanzar una potente maldición. Rápido como el pensamiento, Romero se lanzó sobre Blanco enarbolando el taco y tirando un golpe a la cabeza que este apenas pudo parar. La lucha se trabó bárbara y encarnizada sin que ninguno de ellos hubiera echado mano a la cintura en busca de la daga. […] Entonces Blanco se agachó sobre su espalda y le arrancó rápidamente la daga, dándole enseguida un golpe de puño en la cabeza que lo hizo caer sin sentido. (238)

After the brawl between the two gauchos, Rico perishes, "cayó al suelo sin pronunciar una palabra: la muerte había sido instantánea" (239). In this example, gambling is used as an assertion of Juan's dominance and masculinity over other gauchos. Juan is the alpha-male, and other characters seek to avoid playing against him, "pero no se atrevían," dropping out of the game when they notice him playing tricks rather than challenging his authority, the consequences of which can be deadly (236). While the tone of *Juan Moreira* is entirely different from the more light-hearted one found in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, it is still apparent that through the glorification of Juan's strength in the games he plays that an idealized portrait of the rogue's masculinity is being crafted in the narrative through the activity of gambling itself.[40] In this way, gambling is ultimately portrayed somewhat positively by the narrator, since it is part of Juan's romanticized persona.

The activity also offers a window into the alternative honor code being propagated by the marginalized protagonist himself. Cheating in gambling is not condemned when Juan Moreira engages in it because deception is ultimately a way of outsmarting opponents and gaining the

[40]The difference in tone between the two texts is also linked to the changing tastes of Romanticism. The ill-fated protagonist in Juan Moreira fights against a society that is attempting to restrict his longed-for liberty, and these struggles play out at the gaming table. However, even though the novel is considerably more pessimistic, a brand of idealized masculinity that uses gambling as a tool for dominance over any characters who try to restrict the rogue is still being nurtured in its pages.

upper hand. In fact, cheating merely functions as part of Juan's authority over other characters in all the bars and taverns he enters. As Acree has argued, dominant behavior, such as cheating, was part of the *viveza criolla* which served to define the protagonist's masculinity (xvi). While Juan cannot beat the unjust legal system, in the spaces of male dominion (such as the tavern and gambling house), he is able to establish his preeminence. The inverted honor code of the gaucho harkens back to earlier predominant paradigms of power where physical strength and skill are the factors deciding leadership roles and societal power, and this was critical for cultural identity (Chasteen "Heroes" 5). Gambling binds these displays of strength and skill to monetary control, thus allowing Juan to assert himself over other men in his environment, which questions social structures restricting his self-governance and fulfills a common fantasy of being able to participate in questionable activities and get away with them that is typically nurtured through an anti-hero.

The ability to amass wealth through alternative means (such as gambling) allows Juan to continue his wanderings in the pampa, especially since the novel omits details about any other sources of Juan's income. Since Juan does enter towns and bars frequently, it is apparent that he has some capital to spend, but where he obtains it is not fully explained, so we must assume that at least some of his money comes from his speculative wagering activities. Juan's manipulation of chance through cheating even demonstrates his attempted dominion over luck itself. By winning at horse racing, cards, and billiards (a money-making activity), the gaucho is able to continue his life on the margins of society without giving up his liberty.

To further explore the effect that Juan's idealized masculine dominance has on the depictions of social roles in the novel, again the descriptions of gambling are linked to hegemonic power over marginalized groups of people, including indigenous and female

characters. Early in the novel, while riding around on the pampa, Juan encounters opponents at the card table in a settlement of a local group of indigenous people. Gutiérrez depicts the tribe in a critical fashion without condemning similar characteristics in the novel's protagonist himself. The irony, of course, is that the indigenous characters are criticized for their drinking and gambling, whereas these same pastimes are described favorably when Juan Moreira participates in them. While gauchos were typically of mixed ethnic origins, the negative descriptions of indigenous tribespeople appear to restate perceived differences between the gaucho and the indigenous characters. The racist depiction suggests that drinking and gambling go hand-in-hand with a hedonistic lifestyle: "El indio es jugador por el mismo género de vida ociosa que lleva, y es en el juego tan vehemente como en la bebida: juega mientras tiene que jugar" (172). Juan is depicted as further converted into a gambler by the pampa landscape, and thus his participation in speculative activities is considered forgivable and even laudable by the narrator. For example, the text describes how, while with the tribe, "Moreira se hizo en los toldos un gran bebedor y un jugador malicioso, desplegando un talento especial para hacer trampas con la baraja" (172). This special "talento" will figure into Juan's attempt to subjugate other groups of people through his prowess at the card table, thus espousing the protagonist's attributes of hegemonic dominance (172), and this supposed skill at cards will allow him to make money off the recently-paid tribespeople: "Moreira espió el momento de *hacerse perdiz* de todos, pero de una manera provechosa y digna al mismo tiempo de sus famosos antecedentes" (173).

Juan's winning also seems to be related to the purported ignorance and desperation of the indigenous characters whom Gutiérrez dehumanizes during the gambling depictions:

> Cuando cae el comisario pagador con los pequeños sueldos, que se convierten en fuertes sumas por la cantidad de meses que se les adeudan, en cada toldo se arma una jugada donde el indio que pierde juega, buscando el desquite, hasta el kepí con galones, que es la prenda que más estima. Y un indio que llega a perder hasta

> el kepí es una fiera a quien sólo puede sujetar el profundo respeto que tiene por el cacique y el capitaneo que, como autoridad suprema, preside la jugada. En estas jugadas Moreira siempre salía vencedor de buena o mala manera, lo que había dado jugar a lances muy desagradables que habían terminado en una lucha a mano armada en que el indio sacaba siempre la peor parte, pues Moreira no se hacía mucho de rogar para sacar su daga y hacer un desparramo. (172-73)

Through this description, the novel's racist undertones emerge, and the narrator sets the reader up for the descriptions of Juan's cheating that are to follow, arguing subtly that it is justified, and if anyone dared to argue with his winnings (which were acquired "de buena o mala manera"), then they could pay for it with their life (173). In these descriptions, gambling plays a central role in the power relationship between Juan and other characters. Specifically, Juan's skills at "baraja" (a term referring to the Spanish deck specifically) allow him to dominate at the card table, although some of these skills are actually manipulations of the deck to cheat (172). Again, as in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, gambling is not a clean enterprise. Likewise, such crooked behavior is not condemned by the narrator, who tries to demonstrate that unfair play actually shows the prowess of the protagonist gaucho, since he is able to cheat and get away with it.[41]

At the end of his stay with the tribe, the game between Juan and Coliqueo, a cacique who has bet his horses in the gambling match reveals, clearly, Juan's cheating behavior and intentional manipulation of his indigenous opponent. As seen previously with Periquillo, Juan is described as deft at sleight-of-hand tricks, and his opponents are incapable of detecting his well-played chicanery. The narrator states, "[c]omo Moreira tenía la baraja, juego en que había adquirido gran práctica, los indios no podían apercibirse de las innumerables trampas que les

[41]Ironically, Stephen Hart has likened aspects of *Juan Moreira* to the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the United States (675), arguing that Moreira, as a gaucho marginalized by society, "functioned as a rhetorical figure in which the subaltern was given a voice only to have it eventually silenced by death" (681). There are some problems with this idea, however, especially in its assumption that the gaucho is comparable to slaves in the Americas, as well as the novel's blatant racism towards minority characters and the glorification of Moreira's dominance over them, as depicted in this scene. It seems more likely that the novel's use of the gaucho figure fits more with the Romantic aesthetic of the period that admired iconoclastic figures, rather than as part of some higher social cause for racial equality.

hacía el paisano, con una limpieza digna del más hábil prestidigitador, merced a las que iba haciendo pasar a su poder todo el dinero de los indios" (174). Many of the other gamblers watching the game had already lost their livelihoods and large sums of money to Juan: "Los jugadores estaban en la mala: habían perdido entre todos unos diez mil pesos, que pasaron a poder del gaucho afortunado, que los guardó en el tirador" (175). In this description, Juan's subterfuge results in the manipulation and exploitation of the indigenous people in the tribe in a way that is not unlike their exploitation on a larger scale in Argentina during this period.

Because of the greater symbolism on a national level and because of Juan's specific exploitation of the tribespeople, the game against the cacique held special significance for the defeated audience: "Parecía que en la jugada fuese el alma de cada uno de aquellos jugadores, muchos de los cuales habían perdido sus miserables prendas" (176). However, despite the obvious significance of the game itself on a broader scale in the exploitation of indigenous peoples and their land on the pampa, the action is not condemned by the narrator, and is instead supported as though it were a tale of triumph. In this fateful game, Juan turns over a card, and swiftly wins the round, upsetting his opponent: "Por fin Moreira tiró una carta y apareció debajo la ganadora, arrancando un grito de la garganta de aquellos hombres, grito que era una mezcla de ira y de amenaza. La carta que había aparecido decidiendo la jugada era una sota, que venía a quitar a Coliqueo toda esperanza, pues con ella perdía el rollo de dinero que jugó contra el caballo" (177). This concludes the game, which then erupts into violence, with Juan winning the fight and cutting Coliqueo's forehead open, but leaving him alive because it would be bad manners to kill his host if he could avoid it.[42] Several warriors pursue Moreira, and once he has

[42]John Chasteen has commented on the use of knife fights by the gauchos of Uruguayan borderlands as helping to maintain their "masculine hierarchy" and dominance over those around them ("Heroes" 94). In this case, Moreira's actions seem to be in line with this same gaucho behavior that defines masculinity shown in the historical data.

shot them or driven them back, he rounds up their horses for sale, thus increasing his financial gain from the affair.

Obviously, this presentation of the power differentials between Juan and his opponents is exceedingly problematic, although common for gauchesque fiction. This novel shows the anti-hero protagonist as a dominant figure who uses gambling winnings to gain control over those around him in a harsh environment. As seen in *El Periquillo Sarniento*, the cultivation of the gambler's craft coincides with attempts to manipulate other groups of people using methods contrary to traditional commerce. In the retooling of gambling as a weapon against the indigenous peoples of the pampa, a variety of hegemonic masculinity is again being cultivated: one that places the rogue gaucho above men of other marginalized races and ethnicities, perpetuating and implementing their oppression.[43] In this example, the gaucho's personal liberty and financial gain is glorified and placed above the dignity and lifestyle of the indigenous peoples whom he encounters. Since Juan has learned how to effectively cheat, he is shown as able to win because of his cunning and capacity to outsmart his opponents, who are presented as less intelligent and unable to keep up with his tricks. Instead of condemning this behavior, Gutiérrez clearly glorifies it to the reader, using reverent language to describe Juan's abilities, describing him as playing with "talento" (172) and "con una limpieza digna del más hábil prestidigitador" (174). Finally, he also offers glorified descriptions of the battle that ensued after Juan's win and the protagonist's theft and sale of the tribes' horses from the mounted warriors sent to pursue him.

Much of *Juan Moreira* involves male-dominated social interactions with another important male friendship between Juan and another gaucho Julián, who swears him loyalty

[43]This is largely a furthering of Moreira's existing behavior towards indigenous peoples, having previously engaged in militarized attacks against them that were mentioned early in the novel (7).

early in the novel (Acree xv). As Acree has described, this relationship between men is occasionally described almost in romantic terms, perhaps as a part of the male-dominated frontier lifestyle and strong bond between men (xv). For example, as Acree mentions, when Julián and Juan see each other after a long separation the narrator states, "Es imposible pintar con palabras la emoción de Julián y Moreira al hallarse frente a frente. Aquellos dos hombres valientes [. . .] se abrazaron estrechamente; una lágrima se vio titilar en sus entornados párpados, y se besaron en la boca como dos amantes, sellando con aquel beso apasionado la amistad leal y sincera que se habían profesado desde pequeños" (137). It should be noted that strong ties and even potentially homosexual behavior between male characters does not necessarily contradict the largely hegemonic presentation of masculinity presented by the text, it simply adds another layer complicating the presentation of a male ideal by the novel, in line with Acree's view (xvi).

This male-centric vision of the frontier is furthered by the depiction of male-only gambling in the *pulpería*, since no female characters are portrayed engaging in it. Gambling subsequently also functions as an enterprise that helps to maintain gender power differentials in the novel. Aside from the obvious exclusion of women from financial speculation (thus effectively stripping them of any financial power), the only women in the novel are presented as weak victims of men (for example, Juan's wife, who is forced to turn to the antagonist, Francisco, to avoid starvation) or as prostitutes, whom Juan visits in his travels. At times, Juan takes breaks from his wanderings to visit taverns, bet, and frequent brothels. In one such trip to town, Juan is described as drinking, gambling, and womanizing all at once to relax for several days: "Solía venir al partido de Lobos, donde se alojaba en una casa llamada la Estrella y allí pasaba dos o tres días entregado al juego, al beberaje y a las mujeres. Mientras Moreira estaba allí, no sucedía ningún escándalo porque él no lo permitía: ¿y quién contrarrestaba aquella

voluntad de acero?" (210). This autocratic image of Moreira shows how he maintains control over others by directing both men and women around him to conform with his will in the novel. The other gauchos do not dare to fight in his presence and he easily attains whatever monetary winnings and sexual liaisons he desires. In this example, spending time gambling and winning money to maintain his image is thus also associated with dominance over women, who are presented throughout the novel as commodities to be traded and purchased through monetary means. This same uneven relationship can be seen in the unhappy partnership between Juan and his wife. Julián describes to Juan the tragic circumstances of his wife Vicenta, who succumbs physically to the advances of the local Justice to avoid letting her baby starve after Juan is forced to abandon her: "La idea de que aquella criatura pudiese morir de hambre la desesperaba de una manera dolorosa, pues comprendía que era preciso salvar a aquel inocente, aun a costa de su cuerpo enflaquecido de una manera horrible" (157). While she is excused for her behavior, since she believed Moreira dead and was trying to save her son, Juan still turns away from her when, discovering that he is still alive, she begs him to kill her for her dishonor (194). Moreira doesn't carry out her request, reasoning that she acted out of desperation, but he does distance himself from her and frequents brothels, particularly "La Estrella" in the latter part of the novel (210, 267, 279).[44] Women thus appear in the novel as part of a goods exchange, with power struggles (through monetary contests, fighting, gambling, and other competitions) as controlling factors.

Eventually Juan's rebellious lifestyle catches up with him, and he is captured and perishes when the army ambushes him in the brothel as the novel winds down. Moreira is betrayed by a friend and fellow gaucho, El Cuerudo, with whom he had been pictured dealing cards at a *pulpería*, causing a power struggle between the two of them that began their

[44]In one of the last scenes prior to Juan's death, he visits his preferred prostitute "Laura" after having had a good run at the card table (279).

treacherous friendship (272). Of course, Juan fights the police until his last breath, refusing to yield to the will of others, making his death representative of his lifestyle. After his death, Juan's dog and friends lament him. In the story's conclusion, the narrator eulogizes the star-crossed gaucho and then recounts a few more anecdotes about Moreira's valiant life.

Overall, gambling serves to highlight the rogue's independent lifestyle on the frontier and his domination of other characters, including members of marginalized groups, such as the indigenous and female characters. Any strategies employed to achieve a win, including cheating and killing, are permitted practices in the construction of the hero. Juan's relationship to other characters is built around the maintenance of his authority, which also allows him to be defined in terms characteristic of the Romantic rogue, existing on the margins of society and fighting for his liberty. Juan appears to live off income from his gambling, which serves as a luck and strategy-based activity in keeping with his freedom-loving persona. Gambling allows the gaucho to establish himself and dominate other characters on the frontier through a version of hegemonic masculinity and a continual quest for fulfillment of personal desires, often in contrast to societal values.

Conclusions

An undercurrent of texts from the mid-nineteenth century sought to establish an idealized hegemonic masculinity by utilizing romanticized rebel protagonists who engaged in gambling practices to pursue financial dominance by winning without regards to the means. While the protagonists of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's *El Periquillo Sarniento* and Eduardo Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira* are rebel figures who lie, cheat, and even kill for power, they are not unanimously condemned in their fictional worlds. Instead, an appeal for sympathy and respect for the two men suffering and struggling against the restricted liberties and opportunities of their

societies is cultivated by the authors, resulting in a glorification of their dominant behavior. Utilizing gambling, the two authors allow a concrete manifestation of desires of dominance over others by using whatever means necessary to gain the upper hand in games of chance to win financial capital, such as trickery or violence. These texts thus questioned existing strict societal parameters, offering instead protagonists who stretched the limits of acceptability as successful gamblers and garnered the approval of their audiences, who profited vicariously from their rebelliousness.

CHAPTER 2: GAMBLING, WOMEN'S REFORM, AND THE FAMILY[45]

> ¿Quién es Alberto N…? No se sabe. Chileno se le cree, mas nadie le conoce, no hay quien sepa dar noticia de su familia, o que lo haya visto crecer. Apareció como una planta venenosa en medio de un desierto […] Todo lo sabe: mas, para las gentes sensatas y observadoras, es todo oropel, todo arte, siendo en el fondo un hombre lleno de vicios y pasiones desenfrenadas. Su vocación y oficio es el juego. Por este medio ha adquirido una fortuna considerable. La casa en que le hemos dejado es su casa de juego: especie de hotel donde se refugian algunos vagos de buena sociedad que forman parte de su séquito.
>
> — Rosario Orrego, *Alberto el jugador* (35)

Women's literary production became more widely distributed during the independence era as women writers' literary output increased and their work was more accepted. The higher volume of texts can be attributed a variety of causes, including shifting definitions of women's place in society and concerns for women's happiness as individuals starting in the eighteenth century, as Elizabeth Franklin Lewis has explained (2). Additionally, other influential factors noted by Susan Kirkpatrick included new liberal ideals related to Romanticism that valued individual freedoms and opinions and a gradually increasing acceptance of women as moral and domestic experts in their societies (27). While many new women writers emerged during this productive period, they were also censored both internally and externally with respect to the topics they were permitted to write about. Although women would not formally enter the political arena until the following century, they had become recognized as authorities in the

[45]A portion of this chapter appeared previously as a journal article in *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, and this copyrighted material is provided with their permission. The original citation is as follows: Clark, Emily Joy. "Risky Business, Gender Roles, and Reform in *Regina* (1886) by Teresa González de Fanning." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 49.3 (2015): 433-56. This article is available from the *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* website at: https://rll.wustl.edu/reh, and the text can be accessed through the online repository *Project Muse*: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/revista_de_estudios_hispanicos/.

domestic realm, and they addressed in their writing themes of moral significance that directly affected the family, questioning practices that were seen as having negative consequences to home and family life.[46] Gambling was one of them, and it was often featured in fictional and non-fictional texts of the period.

Two women writers in particular, because of their distinctive circumstances, viewed gambling as a potential threat to their families and marriages and wrote memorable novels critical of its practice.[47] In Chilean author Rosario Orrego's novel *Alberto el jugador* (1860) and in Peruvian author Teresa González de Fanning's novel *Regina* (1886), gambling and related financial corruption emerge as negative forces that are directly detrimental to the protagonists, their families, and their domestic existence. These two texts have some of the best examples of women's critique of gambling and risky economic endeavors, and thus were selected for detailed analysis in this chapter. In these narratives, women's place at the mercy of men in the economic structures of the nineteenth century comes into focus, and the authors caution readers against marrying men who have fallen victim to perceived morally-deviant behavior and financial corruption. Through the construction of these female-centric narratives focused on reform, Orrego and González de Fanning, female reformers themselves, create characters that mirror this same role. In this way, women were able to rewrite their place in society, awarding themselves even more active roles in policy-making through novels of social reform, which likewise helped to elevate their self-concepts as social activists.

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[46]It is worth noting that temperance and anti-drinking campaigns in the United States may have found success among women writers and activists for similar reasons, as critic Carol Mattingly has explored in her collected volume of temperance literature by women writers who were concerned with the effect of drinking on the stability of their households and on their safety, given that women received little legal protection from their husbands (3).

[47]It is important to point out here that women writers were not the only ones taking issue with gambling, as there were other reformist texts also written by men that were concerned with its effects on society, as will be explored in Chapter 4. Women's texts, however, seem to have a more female-focused and family-focused version of this argument, which probably helped justify their creation to potential critics, as will be shown in this chapter.

In *Alberto el jugador*, Alberto, a malicious professional card shark, works to bankrupt and manipulate two households while the women of the house take active steps to prevent the destruction of their families and protect themselves and other women from the dangers of predatory creditors. Luisa, the female reformist in the first of the two families, takes a direct role in safeguarding her husband by actually entering the male space of the gambling house to retrieve him. Carmela, another emboldened female protagonist and the matriarch of the other family, fights the corruption of her husband under Alberto's malicious influence and tries to shelter her daughter from his predatory advances. The novel concludes with Alberto's flight from the city, and the restoration of the bonds between remaining members of the two families after a series of tragic consequences.

Teresa González de Fanning's novel *Regina* (1886), written more than two decades after Orrego's text, has marked influences of Naturalism but offers similar messages about the dangers of gambling, questionable investments, and speculative financial activities. In this short text, González de Fanning's protagonist marries a gambler named Genaro. Even though her friend warns her of his duplicity after Genaro tricked her in courtship earlier, Regina falls victim to his charms and, later, to his vices as he leads the family down a path of ruin that culminates in the heroine's death and the breaking up of the family unit. Here, the work functions primarily as a cautionary tale, warning readers against being beguiled by men that seem charming but are actually predatory and addicted to gambling or other corrupt financial practices, all of which are described as contributing to the family's ruin.

Women's Writing and an Emerging Moral Discourse

To understand how and why these two novels developed in distinct countries and contexts, it is necessary to examine in greater detail how women's writing came to occupy a

more prominent space in the public discourse of the mid-nineteenth century and then to look at why gambling itself was specifically of importance to women writers. Prior to a detailed analysis of Orrego and González de Fanning's novels, let us first discuss the rise of women's literary production that occurred largely during and after Romanticism.

Regarding the general climate for women writers, they had long faced hostility in most of the patriarchal world, but some key narratives of the Golden Age and the Spanish Colonial Period, including Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's writings (in Mexico) and María de Zayas y Sotomayor's works (in Spain), among others, had begun to establish a small women's literary tradition in the Hispanic world.[48] Relatively few women were writing during the eighteenth century in Latin America, but the foundation had been laid for women's writing, and developing ideas about women's changing place in society were paving the way for an increase in women's authorship. Of import, several key texts emerged in Spain that would play a part in influencing changing women's roles and would help propel women's writing into the nineteenth century. Specifically, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo's *Defensa de las mujeres* (1726) helped to change the way that women were conceptualized by arguing that women were unique beings with moral and domestic expertise. Josefa Amar y Borbón's writings on women's roles, like *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (1790), which was meant to serve as an educational guide for women for running their households, firmly established women as having the authority to write about domestic matters. In other places, influential texts on women's roles were also emerging, including Mary Wollenstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), among other works. These trends, coupled with Romanticism's ideals and Latin American

[48]Of course, Teresa de Cartagena, Teresa de Ávila, Florencia Pinar, and others writers from the early modern period also helped found a literary tradition for women in later centuries, although some of their texts were not commonly read prior to the twentieth century.

independence movements, created ripe terrain for cultivation by women writers in the nineteenth century.

In fact, in the decades of major independence movements, especially in South America, historians have documented the active participation of women in these struggles, where they sometimes actually served in battles or in support roles for the armed forces, thus establishing their places alongside men as founders of emerging nations. In their studies, Davies, Brewster and Owen demonstrate that "there is historical data on at least ninety prominent women soldiers" (22), and Graciela Batticuore has examined how women writers of the period were aware that politically-active women existed, describing, for example, how Juana Manuela Gorriti tried to preserve evidence of women's participation in independence movements through biographical vignettes (57). Unfortunately, while women helped in planning and support during the independence era, they were later excluded from the national project by male leaders not willing to change the patriarchal structure. Women were again relegated to the home, although the majority of them had never left it anyway, and they were designated roles as domestic and moral consultants in their nascent countries. In Spain during this period, women also experienced a widening and then closing space for their public participation and writing, as Constance Sullivan notes (29). These brief increases of women's public presence began to change public opinion on them and established them as experts in the domestic realm (Kirkpatrick 27). The concurrent development of a feminine ideal at the center of the domestic environment, defined often as the "ángel del hogar," a term I mentioned in the introduction, offered women writers a place between domestic expertise and restriction in an idealized domesticity. While permitting women a perspective from which to write with authority, the "ángel del hogar" role also was conversely

restrictive, as women now had to ensure they stayed within it to avoid being depicted as corrupted or fallen angels.

As Susan Kirkpatrick has argued, Romanticism offered a new venue for self-expression, as a writer's subjectivity was a central part of narrative and poetic composition (10). Additionally, a new focus on individual liberties made writers less concerned with didactic aims, or with following Neoclassical structural guidelines and allowed them to engage in a search for self-identity and desire. While this allowed more freedom for writers, Kirkpatrick notes its downside:

> The position of the female subject in relation to the Romantic elaboration of a language of subjectivity was contradictory: on the one hand, the new aesthetic movement seemed to encourage women's participation by valorizing feeling and individuality, but on the other hand, women found it difficult to assume the many attributes of Romantic selfhood that conflicted with the norm tying feminine identity to lack of desire. (10)

The emphasis on liberty at the heart of Romanticism accordingly should permit creative expression, but it simultaneously limited women writers from expressing views beyond certain topics and opinions without risking censure for their writing in the first place.

The feminine ideals of negation of personal desire in the interest of the wants of the spouse and children stood in direct conflict to the search for freedom, power, and exploration of desires that a character like the rogue typified, which I explored in the previous chapter. In fact, women were not only "othered" by men's quest for freedom and desire (Kirkpatrick 14), they were also exploited as objects of men's desire and, as discussed in the last chapter, as objects to be purchased in a commodities exchange by the successful liberty-seeking rogue gambler. However, while women's interests were being restricted and foreshortened by some male writers, women were simultaneously making some in-roads in writing on certain subjects, such as those related to the governance of the home (Kirkpatrick 27). Additionally, as Leona S. Martin

has examined, women writers began to communicate with each other further about domestic and moral concerns, establishing a voice for themselves in a communication network (440).

While women's voices were becoming louder, women were still lacking in political and property rights, since they were subject to their husband's will and thus had little power to comment on their societies, finance, and politics, all subjects viewed as men's terrain. As Catherine Davies, Claire Brewster and Hilary Owen explain, "[e]conomic dependence meant that women's husbands mediated women's claims to social citizenship rights" (19). Perhaps partially as a reaction to these unequal relationships and the frustration women must have felt in having so little control over their family's financial standing, activities viewed as threatening to the family's stability came under fire. Because these topics were framed as affecting the home, women were able to argue their opinions without overstepping domestic boundaries. Supporting this assertion, Davies, Brewster and Owen provide historical evidence that "[i]nasmuch as elite women could exert their influence, they did so in the home, church and socially acceptable urban networks (salons, charitable organizations)" (19). Women's foray into the public sphere thus occurred initially in these intermediary spaces on topics affecting the domestic environment.

Working within these acceptable fields for their writing and publishing, women commented on a variety of subjects that affected the home, and some of them ultimately used the ground they had gained in these moral and domestic arguments to build bridges to other, related topics. These reform works allowed women a new space of authority and a sudden, direct impact on the public sphere, from which they had long been denied rights, opinions, and a voice. Anti-gambling texts and texts advocating fisical responsibility from the mid-nineteenth century appear to fall in this category, along with a variety of other writings on social causes that also impacted home life. While their opinions in the public sphere spanned a variety of subjects (abolition or

reform of slavery, education of women, childrearing, political causes, rights for and better treatment of indigenous peoples, relationships between spouses and with the church), gambling and financial reform texts serve as one project within a vast body of reform narratives, but nonetheless offer a highly interesting argument, particularly because they are directly linked with the financial stability of the household and the national economy.[49] For women who were long held hostage to the male-driven economy (since women were neither educated for nor permitted to work in a variety of careers), offering opinions on household spending and the national economy had been difficult, and texts critiquing corrupt business dealings and gambling allowed one such venue to express disgust about being held hostage within a financial system in which they did not play an active role.

As Carmen de la Guardia argues, shifts in social consciousness during Romanticism and views on women's roles as empathic mediators were also essential for explaining a boom in women's reform writing. While her data is about Spain and the United States, it can well apply to the situation of women in Latin America: "Si algo caracterizó a la sociedad norteamericana de mediados del siglo XIX, fue la proliferación de movimientos de reforma, todos profundamente impregnados de ideología romántica" (11). Despite reform writing's essential role in nineteenth-century narrative, it is often overlooked in favor of texts focused on national identity or romance. In fact, with the crucial exception of some important scholarly dialogue centering on abolitionist writings, *indigenismo*, and recent post-colonial readings of nineteenth-century texts, relatively

[49]Large numbers of women's narratives from the nineteenth century meet the criterion for reform texts, including, for example, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841), critical of slavery and traditional women's roles; Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's *Blanca Sol* (1888), which was concerned with women's moral education; Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* (1889), which focused on better treatment of Peru's indigenous citizens and women's roles; and *Índole* (1891), which critiqued financial corruption and corruption within the Catholic church. In Argentina, other relevant texts were being written, such as "Emancipación moral de la mujer" (1852) by Juana Manso, which was published in her personally-directed periodical that argued for women's rights and for better education, work opportunities, and treatment of women under the law. Of course, popular political writers like Juana Manuela Gorriti also contributed short stories such as "La hija del mashorquero" (1907), which pronounced her political opinions against the dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas.

few literary critics have examined reformist narratives dealing with finance, the economy, education, religion, labor, and multiple perceived criminal behaviors.[50] While reform texts are by nature moralizing, it bears asking if some of their neglect by critics might stem from the fact that many of them were penned by women and sometimes treated topics related to marginalized peoples. These texts were often popular during the period of their publication, since they were frequently published in serial installments for their readers' entertainment.

Just as women were central to reform movements, they also began to play key roles in promoting changes in their societies because, as Carmen de la Guardia states, they were perceived as more emotional and empathetic than their male counterparts:

> Consideradas, las mujeres, como seres vinculadas al mundo de los sentimientos, al mundo de las pasiones, estaban más capacitadas, según la tradición filosófica occidental, para reconocer y sentir el dolor de los otros. Sometidas, como la mayoría de los ahora redimibles, al mundo 'obscuro' de la naturaleza eran -con la expansión del romanticismo- reclamadas. Los valores clásicos atribuidos a los varones, vinculados al mundo organizado de la razón, quedaban alejados de los movimientos reformistas. (12)

Obviously, women's accepted ability to offer human compassion, alongside their newly recognized expertise in the domestic realm just detailed, may have allowed a newfound freedom of expression across the Americas and Europe in places that had previously been relatively static with regards to the rights of minorities and women. Whereas women could not vote or take an active role in legislation by serving in political office, they were suddenly establishing themselves in a more public sphere by writing and working on reform topics. It is these shifts that make the nineteenth century one of the most dynamic periods in all of human history.

[50]One major exception to this is the attention paid to Sarmiento and Bello's polemic related to nation building and education in the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, the lens of nation building has typically been a prominent medium for comprehending all such reformist narratives of the nineteenth century in literary criticism, using theory that Doris Sommer and other critics have developed.

In this way, through their increased authority to comment on domestic affairs and through the acceptance and definition of their roles as empathic figures, women were able to offer pointed commentary on social, financial, and even political problems they viewed in their societies in an augmented fashion spurred by Romantic ideals. The creation of debate spaces that bridged the public and private sphere, such as in literary salons, provided crucibles for the formation of ideas about the public sphere from semi-protected places. These shifts (alongside educational reform) account for much of the boom in women's participation in reform writing of the nineteenth century, and also led to gambling's debated legality and effects on home life as one of the areas of women's reformist critique.

A Brief History of Women's Anti-Gambling Texts in the Nineteenth-Century

As explored in the introduction to this dissertation, many texts critiquing gambling emerged in the nineteenth century, with some evidence of their earlier propagation. Prior to the nineteenth century, a variety of treatises had been published that described the perceived dangers of gambling throughout Europe and the Americas. For example, as Beatriz Alba-Koch has examined, *Discurso sobre los daños del juego* (1798) by José Miguel Guiridi y Alcocer circulated in the Americas and was somewhat influential in the regulation of gambling, although it took a more secular viewpoint from other, similar texts (141). Additionally, the Cuban writer José Antonio Saco also wrote against gambling in "Memorias sobre la vagancia" (1832) as part of the literary *tertulia* of Domingo del Monte, which I will discuss further in the fourth chapter. Finally, dueling ideas about the influence of God versus that of chance played out in anti-gambling and pro-gambling texts throughout Europe and the Americas. Ann Fabian notes, for example, that many important writers and intellectuals were influential in launching anti-gambling legislation and debates on these themes (27). For example, in the United States,

Charles Caldwell, an academic at Transylvania University, helped organize a major anti-gambling society in 1834 (Fabian 27), showing the central position of such a debate within academic and educated circles and its direct impact on legislation, which was subsequently tightened in the United States. These restrictive laws paralleled those being passed in Latin America, as William N. Thompson has noted (498). Specifically, while gambling was pervasive during the colonial period and the independence era in Latin America, it came under scrutiny following Spain's loss of the colonies, and various laws were passed to regulate speculative activities. For example, in Chile, where Rosario Orrego was writing, beginning in 1810, a series of laws restricting the practice prohibited casinos, but lawmakers, recognizing the pervasive nature of gambling, had legalized such spaces again by 1846 (Thompson 498). Further debate about the supposed immorality of gambling continued throughout the rest of the century, with multiple stages of tightening and relaxation of gambling laws (498).

Having established the relationship between women and reform writing, let us now examine why gambling and financial corruption may have been of specific interest for women writers during the nineteenth century, aside from the reality that it was perceived as a vice by some of the public. First of all, factors related to economic development questions likely played an important role. As Carlos Marichal argues of the mid-nineteenth century, it took decades for Latin American nations to form fully stable economies after independence because "[t]he lack of modern financial institutions, the weakness of judicial systems, the prevalence of corruption among public functionaries, and the arbitrary exercise of political power generated high levels of risk for most transactions" (454). Subsequently, "[u]ncertainty was the keynote of business for decades" (Marichal 454). This was certainly the case for Peru and Chile, which had volatile financial climates before, during, and after the Guerra del Pacífico (1879-1883). Concerns about

the potential hazards of business endeavors and gambling spilled over into the fiction of the period and were represented in the questioning of high risk and potentially high return or high loss investments (such as stocks and gambling) in the category of speculative activities.[51]

On a micro level, women may have viewed the activity as potentially damaging to their households because gambling could put direct financial strain on a family if the monthly household budget was compromised by gambling debts. The unfortunate reality during the eighteenth and nineteenth century was that debtors' prison and forced labor were still used as a potential punishment in parts of Latin America for those who owed creditors, and the loss of the financial head of household to prison could have dire consequences for the family in a period where women were not commonly taught practical skills and trades to make a living. While the end of Spanish colonialism occasioned many changes in laws regarding gambling and debt, traditional punishments were still practiced in parts of Latin America, as historian Pablo Piccato describes using Mexico as an example: "During colonial times, sentences for crimes such as vagrancy, disorderly conduct, gambling, and desertion often involved the chain gang to Havana [. . .] After independence, forced recruitment in the army became common and, at least since 1867, political authorities of the Federal District sent prisoners to forced work camps" (246). Obviously, the loss of income from gambling arrears or punishment for unpaid debts could be disastrous to a family and put the women and children affected at risk.

In addition, even if it was not directly injurious to the family's financial circumstances, gambling could damage the family's emotional well-being. It could detach men from their families when they spent their evenings at the casino, rather than with their wives and children at

[51]For example, the stock market in Peru, González de Fanning's home country, began in the 1860s in Lima after the start of the booming Guano trade, which was largely controlled by a government monopoly (Marichal 453). After booms and busts in securities investments, caution in investing was likely an advisable model, as exhibited in both texts I analyze.

home. These factors all may have contributed to a growing narrative that was critical of the activity, finding it damaging to the household. Gambling was thus viewed as an enterprise that interrupted and intruded upon domestic bliss, leaving women and children alone in their houses while men were out squandering the family's wealth. Finally, the link between gambling and lawless behavior may have cast a shadow of suspicion around the activity as will be further explored in the fourth chapter, which looks at gambling's perceived negative influence on national unity and idealized citizenship.

The relationship between women's physical safety and autonomy and their financial reliance on men, since women did not have many work opportunities, also plays out in gambling narratives of the nineteenth century. As J. Jeffrey Franklin argues of nineteenth-century British narrative in *Serious Play* (1999), investment and financial speculation were joined with marriage for better or for worse: "Marriage, the epitome of the domestic, is as much a publicly observed transaction as stock investment, and female and male characters take part in speculations of both kinds" (55). Similarly, in women's anti-gambling narratives in Latin America, some female writers may have also been particularly concerned about what gambling meant in an economic environment where women's bodies were viewed as commodities to be bought in prostitution, or (less overtly) in marriage in the case of financially-motivated matrimonial arrangements. In households that took unnecessary risks, women's investments in marriage were placed on the line, along with their physical safety and the stability of their homes. If gambling meant potentially owing debts to creditors or to corrupt card sharks, it also meant potentially trying to settle those debts through whatever means were available to the debtor. In the nineteenth century, this could mean marrying off a daughter or another family member to lien-holders, thus bringing women directly into a forced financial exchange, as I will discuss shortly using Orrego's novel

Alberto el jugador.[52] Other concerns may have developed around the possibility for a family's financial ruin and destruction because of corrupt business dealings and gambling, as is envisioned in González de Fanning's *Regina*. As Franklin posits, if gambling, speculation, blackmail, or debt are involved in nineteenth-century narratives, "[b]ad money breeds bad money, and it endangers good money" (67).

An additional possible concern for women was the link between perceived "dens of vice" and prostitution, or the buying of a woman's body in the financial market. Aside from the obvious fact that a family's financial ruin could force a woman into prostitution in the first place (as portrayed in the last chapter when I briefly discussed *La Quijotita y su prima* by Fernández de Lizardi), the act of prostitution placed women's bodies in a marketplace as part of economic exchange, thus further objectifying them as objects to be bought, sold, and traded. Furthering this concern, there was a link between the gambling house, the brothel, and other perceived spaces of a type of "vice marketplace" running underground in urban society (this could include a host of other social problems that were also associated with crime and financial corruption). In contrast to the idealized view of women as *ángeles del hogar* in the early nineteenth century, Charles Bernheimer notes that in the later part of the century, with the advent of modernity, a misogynistic connection between women's bodies in financial transactions and disease and criminality can be seen in French literature and public discourse alongside the advent of modernity (2). The fear of the physical dangers and social ridicule of prostitution, one of the few jobs that women lacking practical work skills might pursue, probably added to panic about financial instability that gambling losses could cause. Simultaneously, the male-dominated,

[52]More extreme versions of the commodified depictions of women in fiction include works like British novelist Tomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), in which the protagonist's daughter is actually auctioned off in the opening scenes. However, Hardy's goal in the depiction of this relationship does not appear to be to increase women's economic agency, as the novels analyzed in this chapter attempt to do.

patriarchal spaces of supposed vice likely bred concerns of dangers of the corrupting nature of activities within them.

Regardless, the perceived connection between the ills of society that directly affected women and gambling was supported by news stories decrying gambling's negative impact on society, and tales of organized crime. For example, various newspapers report criminality linked to gambling in popularly read opinion pieces, such as "Escándalo" in *La Bandera de Juárez* from January 1873, which describes an illegal gaming house (3), or the brief discussion of casino legalization in a May 1877 issue of *El Hijo del Trabajo* (2), both Mexican periodicals. Historical connections between bandits, and other activities deemed criminal, including gambling, also played out in the fiction of Europe and the Americas. As Bridget M. Marshall proposes of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century British fiction, a link was developed between character weaknesses, boredom, and gambling for the stereotypical Gothic villain (11). Additionally, as Juan Pablo Dabove mentions, but does not fully explore in his analysis of banditry in nineteenth century narrative, gambling is a common activity among fictional and real bandits in Latin American texts, including Pedro Sarmiento (43) and Juan Moreira (184), both of which were analyzed in the previous chapter.

Of course, gambling's potential negative impact on the household itself and on women's relationships were not the only reasons for the critique of the activity. As we saw in the last chapter, women were often excluded from gambling spaces, gambling narratives, and from gambling. This may have also been a contributing factor in making the activity worth critiquing. If gambling formed part of an idealized masculinity that encouraged men to spend time outside the home and further subjugated women (as in the narratives explored in the chapter on the Romantic rogue), it stands to reason that women might be concerned not just with the activity

itself, but also with its representation. In fact, the popular perception of gambling as a gentleman's pursuit (Schwartz 142), intentionally excluded women from the gambling table and its associated leisure time. Since women were barred from participating in certain leisure activities and saw directly what corruption of the household could result from mismanagement of money by some participants in those activities, it stands to reason that they might desire to censure activities taking place in spaces that largely excluded them.[53]

If women were largely denied access to gambling houses, and if their reputations could be damaged by going to a gambling house (associated with financial transactions, and, subsequently, prostitution), logically, they might take aim at the prohibitive "boys club" in the first place.[54] In other words, because gambling was a restricted activity in an exclusionary space, and because women were often barred from leisure pursuits due to childcare, they may have also seen it as a primarily negative "men's" activity.[55] While they were likely left out due to a patriarchal societal structure, women also had time-consuming roles as mothers, which greatly limited their time to pursue any kind of pastimes that were purely for fun, like game playing. As Gema Navarro argues, historically women may have lost the ability to play in adulthood because

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[53]Likewise, it is worth noting that some women writers in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century were highly concerned with the impact of alcohol on their households, being that drinking and tavern-going were more acceptable for men, but not women. They also could have dangerous consequences for women whose husbands were suffering from alcoholism, so some women spoke out against its dangers in the temperance movement of the nineteenth century, as Carol Mattingly and other critics have argued (2).

[54]While fewer women entered gambling houses, there were some critical exceptions to this, which may have caused additional disrepute for the activity. Specifically, as historian David G. Schwartz describes, women historically *were* found in gambling houses, often working as waitresses in saloons, as prostitutes, or occasionally even as dealers at the gambling table (266). Schwartz cites a specific example of a Mexican female figure, Doña María Gertrudis Barceló, who ran her own gambling house in the early 1800s (266). However, the association between prostitution and gambling houses, as well as the tragic end met by two of the most notorious female gamblers (they committed suicide) on the U.S. frontier (Schwartz 267) may have contributed to its negative image.

[55]Even today, this stereotype and consequent female exclusion from high-stakes gambling continues to play out as very few women work as professional gamblers because of misconceptions about what professional gambling entails. For example, Annie Duke is one of the few female poker players that has entered into the upper echelons of the gambling world (during the last few decades) and is one of only a handful of female players in the main World Series of Poker Championships, as Gema Navarro discusses.

of familial responsibilities and an understanding of game-playing as a leisure activity (19). Since child-rearing was a real and constant responsibility and because women were somewhat restricted from male spaces, women appear to have gambled less outside of the home than did men, contributing to their critique of an activity that largely excluded them. Finally, public opinion of female gamblers had generally turned negative by the eighteenth century, at least in parts of Europe, as Gillian Russell has argued (481). For this reason, women writers looking to establish credibility for themselves as moral authorities may have also wanted to further distance females from the perceived masculine space of this polarizing activity.

Having addressed many of the reasons why gambling may have come under critique by some women writers in the nineteenth century, it is important to state that not all women writers criticized gambling. For some, gambling appears in a more neutral fashion in *Sab* by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, as will be explored in Chapter 3. Additionally, a few women writers actually wrote texts that were more supportive of gambling. Most notably, Spaniard Ángela Grassi argues in her *Novísimo manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras para uso de la juventud de ambos sexos* (1859) that men typically are those involved in gambling activities, but none should take the game too seriously (163). In her conduct manual, it is rare for women to be involved in game playing, although the lady of the house may play, but young women are to avoid the activity entirely, and great decorum should be practiced amongst gamblers (164). For Ángela Grassi, leisure pursuits such as gaming are normal, particularly for men, but social rules surrounding them must be followed, with the implication that urges such as gambling can be indulged, but must be regulated (165). Grassi was largely writing from a more conservative, traditional perspective and was part of the mid-nineteenth century domestic novel tradition popularly read in Spain during the reign of Isabel II and late Romanticism, and thus she publicly

supported the maintenance of separate spheres and roles for men and women more than some writers of the period.[56]

Women's anti-gambling writings were more prolific, with several noteworthy texts on the subject emerging during the nineteenth century. For example, while the present chapter focuses on Rosario Orrego and Teresa González de Fanning because they offer some of the most detailed narratives critical of financial speculation, other women writers were also concerned with these issues, arguing that gambling and bad business could be detrimental to home life. In South America, one of the first texts in this vein by a woman writer was Colombian Josefa Acevedo de Gómez's *Tratado sobre economía doméstica* (1848), which focuses on how to properly run a thrifty home and avoid damaging spending habits. The text itself offers a series of stories to advise readers on good and bad spending and work habits, culminating in a cautionary tale to parents on the importance of teaching good money management to children and critiquing their gambling habits.[57] Argentinian Juana Manuela Gorriti also criticized corruption associated with greed and gold-lust in gambling activities in "Un año en California," or "Un viaje al país del oro," a somewhat racially-problematic short serial novel (1864). Finally, González de Fanning's compatriots discussed these themes as well. Peruvian Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, for example, describes how aristocratic frivolousness and financial mismanagement, including

[56]The domestic novels of this tradition featured women writers who justified their writing by arguing for more conservative and religious roles for women in the home. The roles posed in the novels stand in contrast to the actions of the authors themselves (with Angela Grassi and María Pilar Sinués de Marco being the frontrunners) who clearly spent much of their time actually writing and not engaged in domestic pursuits. The irony of this situation may be obvious to modern readers of these novels, but it is likely that such arguments for traditional women's roles served to reduce censure of their writing and legitimize their ability to write and publish during a time when women were still critiqued for following academic pursuits.

[57]Acevedo de Gómez offers the tale of three youngsters who gamble and fritter away the family fortune merely as an idle pastime: "Jamás rehusaron dar prestada una cantidad a un petardista, jamás se excusaron a una apuesta, nunca dejaron de contribuir con su cuota a una rifa, aunque el objeto rifado les fuese inútil, y aunque estuviesen convencidos de que este no es sino uno de tantos medios que inventan los estafadores para comer del bolsillo ajeno" (73). While the family is destroyed through financial mismanagement, all is not lost in the end, since the daughter ultimately learns the value of hard work from a female friend (83).

gambling, results in the family's downfall and the protagonist's later desperate initiation into the world of work as a prostitute because of lack of other options and a poor practical education in *Blanca Sol* (1888). Additionally, in *Herencia* (1895), Clorinda Matto de Turner cites gambling as part of the downfall of Margarita's immoral double Camila, who marries poorly because she follows the indecent model of her mother and ultimately loses her family's fortune because her husband spends it at the card tables. In the Caribbean, the Cuban writer María de las Mercedes Santa Cruz, the Countess of Merlín, comments in *Mes douze premières années* (1831), later translated from French as *Mis doce primeros años* (1838), that gambling is an unpleasant and unladylike pursuit which focuses too much on money (125).

These critiques of gambling and financial corruption also fit into the larger current of novels that included male writers taking a similar line on the matter, including texts stemming from the del Monte literary *tertulia* in the 1830s and 1840s and other novels that were concerned with the logistics of finance in nation building, these novels were mentioned in the introduction and will be further analyzed in Chapter 4. We can see, then, that financial corruption is at the core of all of these texts, with two of the strongest examples coming from Rosario Orrego and Teresa González de Fanning, the subjects of analysis in this chapter.

As described previously, new concern for individual rights and social class inequalities that arose during independence movements and with the related development of the Romantic aesthetic and values of Romanticism also spurred reform writing, seen as ferreting out inequalities of the past. Ironically, in restricting activities perceived as causing further exploitation and inequality, some concurrent constraints on individual liberties of the privileged were deemed necessary. Ultimately, an ideological balance was sought here that was debated throughout the nineteenth century and into the present. Romanticism's fascination with depicting

people on the margins of society, regionally specific events and characteristics, and human emotions also fed into the preliminary examination of social problems and subsequent reform topics in narrative. Later, the aesthetic that built throughout the nineteenth century would be retooled during Naturalism to again depict common people suffering in circumstances caused by social inequalities and perceived vice with a darker, more realistic perspective. Rather than disappearing, gambling continued to play an important role in these narratives, which were concerned with concretely examining the good, the bad, and the ugly of society up close. While Rosario Orrego's narrative fits fairly well into the aesthetics and traits of Romanticism, *Regina* by Teresa González de Fanning, shows some of the influence of Naturalism coming later in the century, and some preoccupation with modernity and the dawn of mechanization, as I will discuss in the sections that follow.[58]

The Perils of Gambling Addiction in Rosario Orrego's Novel* Alberto el jugador *(1860)

Turning now to the novels in this chapter, in Rosario Orrego's narrative, *Alberto el jugador* (1860), the female characters devote their efforts to fighting against the antagonistic title character, who is attempting to corrupt and cause the financial ruin of their families. Rosario Orrego, the first popularly-read female Chilean novelist, published three novels, with *Alberto el jugador* leading the group. The novel originally came out serially in *Revista del Pacífico*, a periodical of the mid-nineteenth century. Orrego, who is somewhat understudied by modern critics, was important in her period for both the literary inroads she was making for women writers, and for the varied and active presence she cultivated by writing novels, poetry, and, later, directing a periodical. The author was married twice and had five children, several of whom helped her found her press, *Valparaíso*, in 1873. Orrego was particularly concerned with

[58]Such concerns with modernization have been discussed by a variety of critics, including Sabine Schlickers in *El lado oscuro de la modernización* (2003), which delves into mechanization, industrialization and changes in social structure and their disenchanted and problematic representation in the Naturalist novel of Latin America.

women's roles in her society during the nation-building era and also with perceived social ills, which she viewed as stemming partly from a lack of women's educational opportunities.[59] As Carol Arcos argues in her article, "Musas del hogar y la fé: la escritura pública de Rosario Orrego de Uribe" (2009), her writing was overlooked because of her gender in favor of that of other authors, including Blest Gana, but was still effective in changing concepts of women during the period because just writing was a transgressive act in and of itself for Chilean women of the mid-nineteenth century:

> La pulsión de la escritura y la exploración en formas poéticas, en cartas, ensayos, novelas-folletín, hace evidente una transgresión al imperativo y hegemónico modelo republicano de la mujer esposa y madre, al martirologio femenino en favor de los hombres y la patria. Aun cuando ellas no intenten dislocar su lugar cultural, político y económico, el gesto de la escritura constituye una cesura que interfiere los pactos de poder republicano-patriarcales. (6)

Orrego's interest in bettering her society through social activism led her to employ women's roles related to the home to leverage her argument. As Arcos argues, Orrego challenged the status quo "al utilizar las musas del hogar y la fe para ingresar a la ciudad letrada" (25).

While Arcos does not explore the details of Orrego's first novel explicitly, Patricia Rubio has examined some of the themes related to gambling in Orrego's text in her introduction to its 2001 edition. Rubio, considering the use of gambling in the plot, discusses twentieth-century models of addiction espoused by Edmundo Bergler, positing that gambling is represented as a dangerous activity that offers an antithesis of nation building (17). She states that, in the novel, "El juego deviene así un agente de caos, imposible de dominar, corrosivo del individuo, de la estructura social básica, la familia y, por ende, de la estructura social mayor, la nación" (15). Here, her astute observations about addiction and gambling's damage to the home environment

[59]Chile underwent major economic changes during the nineteenth century, including with regards to its gambling laws. As discussed, while gambling was temporarily outlawed during the time surrounding independence, it had become legal again by the 1850s, since the legislators recognized that gambling continued anyway (Thompson 35). The debate continued during the nineteenth century, and provoked Orrego's ire.

offer a space for further development and exploration of these views. Rubio also mentions that gambling and prostitution shared spaces and were related dangers for an unequal society, and she describes Orrego's goals in writing the novel (19). Rubio's observation of the presence of these themes is highly perceptive, and she corroborates the topics and related ideas that I will analyze in depth here. In addition to discussing the manipulation of various characters through gambling, here I will also further examine the represented corruption of the home life and family through debts, the connection between women's domestic authority and reform writing (and developing place in society), and the use of women's bodies as currency in financial exchanges sparked by gambling, a topic Rubio broaches briefly in regards to gambling's dangers (19). Moreover, I will explore the ways in which the reform activities of the protagonists are directly linked with the reformist intentions of the author herself. Finally, I will turn to an analysis of public and private spaces in the novel and their relationship to the roles of women.

In *Alberto el jugador*, two families face potential ruin through gambling, which is portrayed as a dangerous, problematic activity that places women in the crossfire of financial exchanges between men. Enrique and Luisa form one of the two couples depicted, and Enrique, who was raised by his mother and lacked practical education, has been seduced by the gambling house run by Alberto N., and is slowly bleeding away his wife's inheritance at the gaming table. The other family depicted as affected by Alberto's depraved activities is that of Pablo Aramayo, his wife Carmela, and his daughter Valentina. Pablo is unable to limit his gambling activities, and the tension between what he should do for the sake of his family and his clear gambling addiction ultimately causes him to promise his daughter Valentina to Alberto in matrimony to satisfy his debts. Through the mediation of Carmela, Valentina is saved from having to marry Alberto, who lusts after both women. The corrupt Alberto finds a way to have Valentina's new

husband Hermógenes arrested and thrown in prison for supposedly robbing money from a banking firm. Eventually the truth comes out and it is revealed that Alberto had a wax key made and that he organized the theft, framing Hermógenes. He is released and Alberto is arrested but escapes, fleeing the town and leaving disaster in his wake, as Pablo perishes in the gambling house and Carmela discovers the horrible truth that she and Alberto are half-siblings.

Crucially, throughout the novel's plot events, the repeated intervention of the female heads of household of the two families, Carmela and Luisa, prevents the complete destruction of the two homes. Nonetheless, the damage done by Alberto, who embodies the perceived evils of the vice of gambling, causes great suffering to both families, and he tries to hold the women hostage physically and financially in the web he crafts to ensnare his victims. From Alberto's initial presentation in the novel, he is depicted as the epitome of depravity by capitalizing on the weakness of others, like a venomous plant in the desert: "Apareció como una planta venenosa en medio de un desierto. Ninguna mano amiga la ha cultivado" (35). Orrego thus personifies vice through these characterizations of Alberto as "lleno de vicios y pasiones desenfrenadas," and sets the stage for a stark contrast between the evils of gambling exhibited through Alberto and the goodness of the female heroines (35).

In juxtaposition to Alberto, the female characters take center stage in the novel and are directly involved in trying to safeguard their husbands and families against the dangers associated with gambling debts and the casino. This direct embodiment of the concept of women as reformers, which was espoused by the author through the act of writing the book in the first place, emphasizes the importance of women's pro-social action, especially as it relates directly to the safety and security of the family. As a result, the female protagonists engage directly with other characters to try to protect their families from depravity in diverse ways.

Specifically, from the outset of *Alberto el jugador*, Luisa is the main character concerned about the well-being of her husband Enrique, whom she actually retrieves from the gambling den, actively crusading to turn the tide of his addiction. Wearing a veil to hunt him down and protect her own honor and identity, she appears "tan bella como buena" as she enters the casino (30). The unsavory nature of the gambling house, coupled with the assumed danger to women entering a male space plays out in the narrator's description of the space and the consequences of Luisa's actions, but, more importantly, the valiant decision to face danger and rescue her husband from the clutches of addiction paint her as an active participant in her family's safety and as a social reformer willing to stand up against Alberto and his gang. As Orrego describes it, Luisa is met by a depressing scene upon entering the gambling house that is representative of the desecration the space embodies as though it were a house of death: "Una escena dolorosa hiere su vista: inmediato al lugar en que ella se encuentra yacen cuatro hombres alrededor de una mesa de juego" (33). In this scene, Orrego also depicts how the characters are threatened with direct bodily danger from the corrupting act: "mudos e inmoviles parecían estos hombres inclinados sobre una tumba más bien que sobre un tapete" (33). The author thus develops an interesting link between the tomb and the tablecloth covering the gambling table, demonstrating mortality's perceived connection with gambling, considered an idle pursuit robbing people of life itself, driving the characters towards desperate financial straits, and causing life-stealing predicaments resulting in their ruin. The men sitting around the table appear somber as they may be living a figurative spiritual death embodied through gambling addiction. Luisa's willingness to face the danger of the gambling house in spite of its risk to one's physical safety shows her heroic agency and desire to protect her family, while also depicting gambling as a threatening activity rife with peril for women and their families, as I will explore shortly.

Monte, a previously-mentioned popular game during the nineteenth century, offers an important backdrop for this scene because the rules of the game place an emphasis on the dealer, giving the house an advantage as players bet on the likelihood of certain combinations. The players are at the mercy of the likely corrupt dealer, and are subsequently depicted in a zombie-like fashion, as dead while still alive, pale, unkempt, and trapped at the game table, previously compared to a tomb (33-34). In fact, the only movement described away from the action of game play is that of Enrique going to a desk to write a check for his losses, as he is held prisoner to the satisfaction of gambling debts. As Orrego states, "Aunque Luisa entiende poco de juego, bien conoció que era *monte* lo que allí jugaban. Ella busca en vano a su marido entre aquellas cabezas desgreñadas y rostros pálidos, y, en el momento en que va a retirarse para interrogar a José, se apartan dos hombres de la mesa de juego, y se dirigen a una mesita de escribir. Es Enrique con Alberto N…" (34). The physical danger of the gambling den subsequently proves too much for Luisa, who loses consciousness upon seeing her husband's altered state of "mayor desesperación" (34).

When Enrique, Luisa's spouse, returns from the gambling house, the reader finds out that he has lost most of the family's inheritance and their home is now in jeopardy, all because of his gambling addiction and excessive debts to Alberto. Enrique has not slept for three days because he has been obsessively playing at the card table, transformed by his addiction into a shadow of his former self. Even his honor is on the line, as evinced by the description Luisa's father gives: "Hace tres meses que hablé a tu marido sobre lo mismo que nos ocupa. Le hablé como a un amigo, le aconsejé como a un hijo. Él me prometió no jugar más, bajo su palabra. [. . .] Yo estreché su mano en la confianza que no volvería a tocar en adelante los naipes del jugador. Enrique no solo ha faltado a su palabra como hombre de honor" (37). In this quote, Luisa does

not find out all of the details from her father until it is almost too late, as the financial problem originally was between the men in the family. In the midst of Enrique's loss of control over his actions as the provider figure for the family, Luisa assumes the role of the family's moral protector, and, on a metaphorical level, as a moral compass for society. As Luisa attempts to persuade her husband of the dangers of his activities, the narrator comments on her importance in saving the family (a larger metaphor for society) from harm: "Dejémosla representar el papel que Dios ha confiado a la mujer al hacerla la sublime intermediaria entre el cielo y la tierra" (62). Women, imbued with God's goodness, serve as exemplum of righteous behavior, as well as guides for the wayward members of society, functioning as intermediaries between the heavens and earth, as the narrator states.[60]

The interference of Carmela in Alberto's machinations and her attempts at safeguarding her family, particularly her daughter, also directly demonstrate the agency of women's reform activities in the face of gambling's dangers. Initially, Valentina (Pablo and Carmela's daughter) is promised in marriage by her father to Alberto in payment for his gambling debt. We learn of this sinister plot when Valentina meets her beloved suitor, Hermógenes, and he describes the situation now threatening to tear the lovers apart:

> Tres meses harían que el Sr. Aramayo frecuentaba la tertulia de Alberto N… y ya era otro hombre ya no jugaba por entretenimiento, el vicio había echado raíz en su corazón, lo dominaba completamente. La consecuencia es clara: *el hombre honrado no es feliz en el juego*. Tu padre se ha arruinado, su fortuna ha pasado a manos de Alberto. Para abreviar, te diré que éste pide tu mano como único medio de salvación para tu padre. (45)

Alberto's plots to gain control over the women of the family are revealed in the next chapter, titled "La carcajada" (46), and the readers subsequently learn that the villain actually desires Carmela herself. While Carmela tries to intercede on her daughter's behalf, meeting with Alberto

[60]Of course, such a perspective stems from a variety of sources, with Severo Catalina's *La mujer* (1858), for example, being one of the contemporary texts to *Alberto el jugador*.

in the garden at a party and getting him to agree not to marry her daughter, she is ultimately duped by his lies. The narrator divulges that Alberto has been desperately in love with Carmela for a decade, rather than her daughter, as she is a beautiful, noble member of society described as "[h]ermosa y elegante, altiva e imponente, ha sido la mujer más bella de su tiempo, y aún lo es" (40). Carmela does still attempt to advocate for her daughter and eventually successfully thwarts the marriage plot, meeting with Alberto to argue that "este matrimonio es imposible" (50), and later seeing him again in secret to formally cancel the marriage. He finally agrees because she offers him her pardon and "eternal gratitud" and allows him to kiss her hand (75). Feeling he is gaining some favor with her, Alberto relents because she too now owes him a debt for this kindness, although not a monetary one.

Valentina also refuses to accept her father's amoral rule by flouting his authority when he attempts to use her as currency for his debt to Alberto. Rather than obey his command and wed the nefarious gambler, she defies the patriarchal order, shows readers her independence, and secretly meets with Hermógenes, as mentioned previously. With conviction, she impugns her father's corrupt mandate, telling Carmela that, rather than marry Alberto, "prefiero la muerte" (64). Accordingly, Valentina suffers and is somehow purified through her pain and steadfast principles after her husband's incarceration when he is framed for theft, epitomizing stoicism and strength as she lobbies for her husband's freedom: "Valentina se les había transformado. Ya no era la joven tímida y enamorada, aquella niña que prestaba vida y animación a todo cuanto la rodeaba; era una mujer, y una mujer santificada ya por el dolor" (107). Here, part of the process of becoming a woman appears to involve standing up for what is virtuous and just alongside her mother, again showing women's new roles as moral guides against perceived depravity.

Important too, is the understanding between mother and daughter in this regard. Rather than forcing her to wed Alberto, Carmela opens up to her daughter and relates her own personal tragedy of an arranged marriage at the young age of sixteen to Don Pablo, Valentina's father, whom she did not love. She had been obliged to obey the order of her father, telling him, "Señor, había creído que solo se trataba de mi felicidad; mas desde que es de la de Ud., disponga de mí, estoy pronta" (65). With a nod to the changing times, Carmela ultimately realizes that Valentina cannot and should not succumb to the same fate, again citing the reference to women as angels: "Tu padre, hija mía, es nuestro jefe, nuestro señor y dueño; le debemos toda sumisión, bien lo sé, pero ¿cómo consentir que te arranquen de mis brazos para arrojarte en los de un malvado? ¡A ti, mi alma ángel que has sostenido mis pasos! [. . .] ¡Oh, no, jamás! ¡Apelo al corazón de todas las madres!" (68). Here too, the novel appears poised to inspire female readers to action through such an emotional appellation to pathos. Crucially, Orrego shows that women should no longer stand for being used to pay off debts. The text lays bare the potential manipulation of women's bodies as commodities for trade or sale in a capitalist, patriarchal society as an especially troubling by-product of gambling culture and financial inequalities between the sexes, in line with Rubio's observations (19). The author offers the flip-side of the manipulation of women in situations of monetary power and influence praised in texts such as those of the previous chapter, which viewed this patriarchal power differential enhanced through gambling in a favorable light. By providing examples of women's physical use as currency to repay gambling debts, Orrego demonstrates the danger to women's safety and autonomy in situations involving corrupt economic exchange and paves the way for creating change.

Financially-motivated marriage appears as a kind of questionable, but socially-permitted, purchase of women in Orrego's novel and, as such, can be linked to prostitution. The monetary

bond between the two cannot be overlooked, as debt-payment through marriage turns the female body into an object, or a commodity to be traded (Rubio 19). Charles Bernheimer's comments regarding the dehumanization of female characters who turn to prostitution in French literature of the late nineteenth century will apply here as their situations are the result of patriarchal norms that govern interactions between the sexes (2). With the problems associated with a life of prostitution during the late nineteenth century, such as rejection by society, poverty, disease, and physical harm, which were all permitted by the patriarchal norms governing interactions between the sexes, financially-motivated sexual relationships appear potentially dangerous, as women lack control over the selection of their mates for their character and are subject to manipulation, abuse, and "ill repute" (Bernheimer 2).

In these varied movements in the novel, through the entrance of Luisa into the gambling den to try to save her husband, and through the rebellion of Valentina and Carmela against Alberto, the female main characters take active roles in fighting corruption in their societies as it affects their families and themselves. Women are thus connected to social agency and morality, especially in solving problems impacting their families and the stability of their households and marriages. While her female protagonists are attempting to rescue their families from the clutches of Alberto's corrupting influence, Orrego's novel aims to produce a model for community action on moral issues affecting the family. The novel, then, functions on two levels: by offering female characters who model social reform activities, and, more concretely, by serving as fruit of Orrego's reformist labor in and of itself, establishing her concrete efforts to reform her society. Both in her narrative and in her life, Orrego worked to shape women's social roles by creating female characters who criticize gambling and demonstrate its harm to families and society.

The female characters in *Alberto el jugador*, Carmela and Valentina, subvert Don Pablo and Alberto's patriarchal control. While Valentina best exemplifies the dangers of gambling for women's physical safety, plot events surrounding Carmela and Luisa also hint at similar situations. Families, as we can see, are ultimately destroyed through the monetary manipulation present in the novel. While Luisa fears she will lose Enrique and her livelihood to the gambling house, the Aramayo family also is damaged by financial corruption. Fearing the exploitation or ruin of his daughter, Luisa's aging father even threatens to separate her from Enrique's side if he cannot clean up his act, showing how the husband's gambling addiction is fracturing the family. He goes so far as to tell Enrique, "Yo sabré impedirlo. Un hombre como Ud., cuando se encuentre sin tener que jugar, jugará a su propia mujer" (195), thus bringing up the relationship between Luisa (and her physical existence) and the dangers of gambling. This conversation pushes Enrique to reevaluate his actions when he confides in Luisa the tension he now has with her father. At Luisa's urging, they decide to move to Valparaíso to get away from Alberto, the gambling house, and the triggers for Enrique's gambling addiction. The lesson for others is clear: one of the only ways to fight the disease is to flee from it, to leave it behind.

In Carmela and Valentina's household, Hermógenes is also arrested because he is framed for a financial firm robbery orchestrated by Alberto, showing how Alberto even degrades and endangers the men in the story. This false accusation puts his new marriage to Valentina in jeopardy, and threatens the viability of their union when he is arrested. As part of the slander and set up against him, Alberto's henchmen plant dice in a money box he owned, and they frame him for a monetary theft. The dice also falsely paint him as a gambler, which carried a harsher punishment and damages his reputation (114). In fact, as the novel mentions, the court system

was accustomed to dealing with gamblers and dealt them tougher sentences, which threatens Hermógenes' chances of leaving prison. As Hermógenes' friend explains to him:

> [N]o habrá indulgencia para Ud. porque se supone que el juego lo ha impelido a ese exceso: ésta es una desgracia más, pues la justicia y la sociedad, cansadas y conmovidas diariamente por las iniquidades que produce ese vicio, piden en alta voz que cese de una vez un azote que hace tantas víctimas inocentes, y bajo pretexto de escarmiento pronto será Ud. severamente castigado. (117)

By putting this strong diatribe against gambling in the voice of a male character, Orrego further strengthens the message also uttered by the female characters. Hermógenes, too, labels gambling a dirty endeavor, as he exclaims, "soy inocente; jamás mis manos se han manchado con el juego" (118). When he is released, Hermógenes and Valentina are able to move on together, while it is too late for Carmela and Pablo.

Pablo dies, significantly, when he is murdered by other gamblers upon leaving the gambling den, symbolizing again gambling's destructive impact on the family and corruption of the male characters who become addicted to it as well. Carmela receives a letter with the terrible news:

> Habiendo ganado, el Sr. Aramayo se retiró más temprano que de ordinario; cuando de repente lo asaltan tres hombres, y lo acosan con tan fuertes golpes, que lo dejan al instante sin vida. Estos desalmados eran de los mismos jugadores de la fonda que, viéndose perdidos y sin desquite, tomaron a D. Pablo la delantera, y en las desiertas y oscuras calles de esta ciudad, pudieron impunemente asesinarle y robarle su dinero. (179)

In this way, gambling's corrupting impact on the household is exemplified through Pablo's murder by other desperate, corrupted players. The letter also describes how Pablo was tortured by "mesas de juego" and "fantasmas de la fiebre" in his final moments (180). Although she and her daughter were "víctimas inocentes de su vicio fatal," Carmela is saddened by her husband's disgrace and his lonely final moments in "una miserable taberna" (180). Pablo's vice has finally taken his life, after first endangering his family. Pablo Aramayo's death in the gambling house

thus offers a direct manifestation of gambling's degradation and destruction of the male body as well as the female body, even though the reader is spared the horrific depiction of his demise.

While a focus is definitely on women's bodies and the family unit itself being manipulated to satisfy gambling debts, with Alberto serving as an antagonist intermediary, the corruption of male bodies, although not sexually, to do Alberto's bidding because of gambling arrears is also present. Beyond Hermógenes' imprisonment and Pablo's unfortunate demise, is the description of Alberto's manipulation of debtors and his henchmen. The character who helps Alberto in his scheme to have Hermógenes jailed is Adriano, who owes Alberto gambling debts and thus must work as his henchman to satisfy his arrears and stay out of prison. This possessive relationship is exemplified through Adriano's defeatest words, "Basta, Alberto, soy tuyo, exclamó Adriano agitando la cabeza como para desechar la última esperanza que hasta entonces lo había alimentado en la posibilidad de reparar su falta. Este *basta* fue la suprema despedida de su consciencia vacilante" (89). In this way, Alberto also manipulates male characters through debt and addiction.

In nineteenth-century fashion, it is revealed at the end of the novel that Carmela and Alberto are actually half siblings, and thus his interest in her serves as an incestuous corruption of the bond they should have had as brother and sister, concretely showing for a final time the destruction of their familial ties through gambling and related corrupt actions. Here too, the public perception of her family's honor also appears to play a role in Carmela's reaction, as she feels embarrassment and shame when the thruth is revealed by the town priest:

> Señora, dijo el cura interrumpiéndola-, Alberto es hermano de Ud. Su padre, el señor L., al confiarme hace 45 años, la guarda de este huérfano y el secreto de su nacimiento, puso en mis manos ese retrato para que se lo entregase cuando fuese hombre y digno de tan honrado padre. [. . .] Carmela, entretanto, transida de dolor y de vergüenza, se había cubierto el rostro con sus manos y permanecía muda sufriendo en su interior una lucha desastrosa: ella se resistía a dar crédito a las

> palabras del sacerdote, aunque penetraban en su corazón con el acento de la verdad. (215-16)

This terrible realization, that her husband's death, her daughter's forced marital separation, and her lascivious objectification were all carried out by her own brother, reminds readers of Alberto's corruption when he reacts with pleasure to the news of their shared parentage, stating that the priest's greatest kindness to him was this revelation "para tener la satisfacción de humillar a esa mujer" (217).

Finally, in addition to the active, crusading female protagonists, the direct danger that gambling represents to the physical safety of female characters who are commodified through debt, and the degradation and death of male characters through financial speculation, *Alberto el jugador* contains a subtext about spaces, particularly the relationship between public and private places. The intrusion of debt and gambling on the private sphere through their direct effect on the household justified women's involvement in their critique. Of note, are the forays of the women in the novel into the public sphere to take direct action for things affecting their home lives, including Luisa's entrance into the gambling house to retrieve Enrique, Carmela's meetings with Alberto and the priest, and Carmela and Valentina's trips to the prison while Hermógenes is held for crimes he did not commit. As a result of these negotiations and direct interventions, the problems of the male family members that are affecting the female family members are allayed. Consequently, the novel offers a concrete example of how women's roles should be broadened to include them as active participants in their communities, as the female characters are socially involved with economic issues affecting their homes. The parallel between the social critique that Orrego accomplishes through writing and publishing her novel and the social activism of the characters themselves in the novel is central here, as it is precisely the link between the public

and the private realm that Orrego develops in the text that helps establish her authority to write in critique of public problems.

As the novel shows, women are largely excluded from male spaces such as the gambling house, and those who are permitted entrance, as discussed previously, are linked with prostitution or push their way in, causing surprise for the gamblers and for readers. Since the only opportunity that Luisa has to enter Alberto's casino ends with her loss of consciousness and removal, Orrego highlights that the space is dangerous to women and that they are not welcome in it. The financial decisions made away from women thus negatively affect the family, and male-dominated spaces where women are not permitted are thus viewed as potentially dangerous, as they are not allowed to participate or regulate the actions of men there.

Through the female characters and their positive action and agency in protecting their families, the negative depiction of gambling, and the depravity of those corrupted by this activity, alongside the presentation of the different dangers of gambling for women's and men's bodies and family financial security, Rosario Orrego develops an argument for the goodness of women as social reformers against a perceived social evil. Simultaneously, she also succeeds in propagating an anti-gambling argument at the novel's core, adding her voice to public discourse about the topic, and aiming to reform society. Since women normally lacked a voice on legislation and financial matters in the public sphere, the text is both subversive and groundbreaking. By proposing women's active participation in Chile's financial matters, Orrego is reexamining her society's gendered economic divisions.

Financial Corruption in Teresa González de Fanning's novel* Regina *(1886)

While in Orrego's *Alberto el jugador* the female protagonists appear as reformer figures who are crusading to save their homes and families from the immorality and danger of gambling,

in Teresa González de Fanning's novel, *Regina*, the title character functions primarily as a warning to her readers to choose their husbands carefully. Peruvian González de Fanning played an important role in educational reform in Peru, but her fiction, often overlooked by critics and historians, also had an important presence in arguments surrounding women's rights and education. While González de Fanning has been primarily recognized as an advocate for education, founding the school Liceo Fanning in 1881, she was also an important writer who was particularly active in periodicals during the late nineteenth century in Peru. González de Fanning's relationship with Juana Manuela Gorriti's *tertulia* in Lima put her in contact with some of the most important writers and thinkers on women's education of the era. Along with other notable figures of the women's group, including Gorriti herself, Clorinda Matto de Turner, and Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, González de Fanning was involved in writing a series of essays on women's participation in the public sphere, including "Trabajo para la mujer," which was later included in the compendium of writings by the group assembled by Gorriti's son in *Las Veladas literarias de Lima* (1892). Later, in her own volume, *Educación femenina* (1905) which included a collection her articles, the author furthered her arguments on women's rights and education. In addition to these essays, she wrote fiction that argued for women's rights and the importance of women's education to the safety and stability of their families. As an active reformer who was deeply involved in the women's intellectual movement in Peru in the late 1800s, Teresa González de Fanning's texts aim at reforming women's education and rights and at protecting women from potential harm caused by financial dependence on men.

In this vein, the novel *Regina* serves as both a cautionary tale against trusting dangerous men who might harm women's families through illegal and immoral actions and as an example of why women needed access to educational opportunities to help prevent financial desperation

if their husbands were not financially competent or absent. Additionally, the novel offers some direct commentary on Peru's volatile financial climate following the War of the Pacific against Chile (1879-1883). Peru, González de Fanning's home country, had an economic boom from *guano* with a subsequent bust in the 1870s that was followed by the War of the Pacific, shaking the foundation of economic infrastructure and inviting foreign businesses into the country, as Rory Miller describes (131).

The rise of *guano* exports created a financial bubble for the Peruvian government, which controlled the production in a near-monopoly during the 1860s and 1870s. The later collapse of the Peruvian economy beginning in the mid-1870s was the logical result of several factors that historian Victor Bulmer-Thomas highlights. First, *guano* was nearly a non-renewable resource because it took centuries to build up the deposits sold, and thus exports declined once reserves had been harvested; second, Peru's loss of land to Chile after the war took profitable nitrate and copper-rich territory with it; third, a number of foreign-held bonds inched towards default as the country found itself unable to pay for its investments in war, mechanization, and industry (Bulmer-Thomas 73). Additionally, the interest in bringing rail lines into the country, particularly to aid in the transportation of goods for the mining industry, necessitated the purchase of expensive foreign (largely US) machinery and technology and increased the country's debt, as José R. Deustua has documented (*The Bewitchment of Silver* 160). Of course, foreign (particularly British) business interests would be further facilitated by the nation's debt solution with the 1886 drafting of the Grace Contract, which was ratified in 1890 and canceled external debt by giving foreign companies unfettered rail transportation and mining rights in Peru. Concurrently, while Peru's mining industry was active throughout the century, there was a drop in the global value of silver and a national coin shortage, since much of the mined product

was exported, causing inflation of the nation's paper money as the government tried to keep up with demand for usable currency (Deustua, "Producción minera" 336). Public confidence in investing was therefore likely shaken after the *guano* collapse, wartime losses, the price fluctuation of the mining industry, the costly railroad construction and industrialization that largely benefitted foreign companies, and concerns about the predatory actions of investors, among other factors.[61]

As a consequence of such events, anxieties about the potential hazards of business endeavors spilled over into the fiction of the period and were represented in the questioning of typically white-collar business and of practices such as monetary manufacture, or chancy investments in stocks or stake in companies in the category of speculative activities. In *Regina*, González de Fanning critiques risky business in her depictions of investment in sectors such as mining, counterfeiting, gambling, and mechanization that ultimately affect the financial stability of women's households. Historically, these endeavors had also become more popular internationally during the nineteenth century with the modernization of financial markets, as Leigh Mercer details in *Urbanism and Urbanity* (2013), thus inciting an emerging discourse on their safety and practicality. While such investing and business schemes existed globally, in the Americas, public debates also centered on them as citizens of new nations were concerned with shaping their fledgling economies, as gold and silver currencies of commodity money were transitioned to representative money post-independence, and as banking became increasingly globalized.

[61]It is in these transitional moments in Latin American history that Jameson highlights the negative effects of capitalism on the diversity of cultural products in a hegemonic fashion (69). The questions posed by González de Fanning, while not directly in line with Jameson's theory, which might be anachronistically applied here, do scrutinize risky global capitalist endeavors and modernity, as I will explore.

While, in *Regina*, the protagonist herself plays less of a direct reformer role, the messages of the work itself are still obviously reform-based, and the events of the novel show the importance of women supporting each other, choosing a spouse carefully, and protecting their families from corruption caused by gambling and speculative activities, particularly in a volatile economic environment. The message, which appears to be aimed somewhat at women, is that they too must play a role in safeguarding themselves and their families from such corruption, which is embodied through a seedy roguish figure who ultimately causes the family's ruin. In Peru, women were still subject to the will of their husbands from whom they could merely separate, but not divorce, according to legislation in the Código Civil of 1852, as Carmen Meza Ingar has analyzed (375). As a result, women were forced to suffer the financial consequences of their husbands' actions, and historian Christine Hunefeldt describes how, in Lima, wives were "increasingly expected to accept with silence [. . .] 'lesser' vices, such as a husband's gambling" (325). These social inequities come under fire in *Regina*, as González de Fanning demonstrates the danger of women's exclusion from the public sphere and lack of rights in a traditional marital partnership. While the novel's conclusion is more fatalistic than in Orrego's work, a similar message about women's roles as reformers and moral safeguards against corrupting influences from gambling and financial speculation is espoused by the author, with concrete parallels to Peru's economic difficulties during the 1880s, allowing González de Fanning to directly impact the public sphere.

In *Regina*, the eponymous protagonist nurtures a relationship with Dolores, a female friend who is spurned by a former beau who breaks her heart and leaves her drowning in a sea of despair. As the novel progresses, Regina is saved from an aggressive runaway bull by a mysterious gentleman of whom she has heard rumors around town. Despite her best intentions,

she falls in love with her rescuer who turns out to be the same man who caused her friend's death. As the story continues, his gambling and risky business pursuits will lead to the family's undoing and Regina's eventual death. As will be discussed, the text offers a warning, as women's safety is directly threatened through the husband's participation in gambling and questionable financial activities. By developing this concrete example of the dangers of gambling, González de Fanning uses the text for reform purposes, decrying gambling's dangers to women and the family, and, showing the direct destruction of the domestic space and, more concretely, women's bodies through the financially irresponsible decisions of their husbands who choose to participate in gambling.

The novel opens with a brief, foreboding backstory about the death of Regina's friend, Dolores, which warns readers against trusting Genaro, the novel's mysterious antagonist who broke her heart. Dolores was cruelly spurned by Genaro, her former beau, and she perished from melancholy after he dishonored and abandoned her. Despite having seen her friend destroyed by Genaro, the seemingly-incorruptible Regina will later ignore these lessons from Dolores, as she too will fall victim to his charms, initially not realizing that he is the same man. In Regina's first characterization, the narrator describes her as beautiful, smart, and worldly, but these positive traits ultimately won't save her from harm: "Regina era esbelta y magestuosa, como el cedro de la montaña. La mirada de sus magníficos ojos negros, velada por espesas pestañas, dejaba escapar destellos de pasión, energía, inteligencia y altivez" (3). Notably, Regina was also educated in Europe, theoretically a model of civilization: "[p]ródigamente dotada por la naturaleza, había recibido además una brillante educación en París, ese centro de la inteligencia y del buen gusto," but practical education to support herself, a top reform interest for the author, is

not mentioned as a part of Regina's schooling, and she is thus set up for ruin through the plot's events (3).

Following Dolores's death and the initial positive descriptions of Regina, González de Fanning details how the bright young protagonist could be also duped by the antagonist, with the implicit message that the novel's tragedy could happen to any woman. As readers learn more about Genaro, he is negatively depicted as a "traidor" to emphasize the signs of his pernicious nature and the danger of his charm (4). Subsequent observations offered about Genaro's depravity will also build suspense in the story and elicit concern among readers for Regina's potential fate, and this tension underscores the importance of following one's intellect over one's heart in marriage. The first mention of Genaro before his true identity is revealed, of course, is of his cruel treatment of Regina's friend, but Regina's subsequent rural escape to the countryside also foreshadows her tragic destiny at the villain's hands.

Spending time at her family's hacienda in the nation's interior to recover from her grief over her friend's death, Regina again hears of Genaro, but she does not make a connection between the enigmatic gentleman described to her and the ex-lover of her deceased friend, and his identity also remains a mystery for readers. The protagonist becomes intrigued by the tales of his exploits, although González de Fanning also offers some concerning and puzzling anecdotes about him that show his violent nature, including how he fomented a raid against indigenous tribes in the area (4). Crucially too, Genaro's favorite activity is hunting, a codified, risky, masculine sport often linked with the seduction and pursuit of women, depicted as prey, and his troubled and solitary existence mark him as a loner. As the narrator states, "[s]u ocupación favorita era la caza; pero con frecuencia se le encontraba con la escopeta en banda, vagando sin rumbo fijo por la montaña, o absorbido durante largas horas en profundas meditaciones" (6).

Moreover, ominous gossip from the townspeople arrives to Regina, as they theorize that he might be running away from some kind of crime or wrongdoing: "Los espíritus malignos y suspicaces, suponían que algún crimen lo tenía alejado del mundo civilizado" (6). Of great importance, these voices open an implicit subtext that González de Fanning subsequently builds throughout the novel about Genaro's vile nature and risky business ventures that are later explicitly exposed to readers.

In their symbolic first encounter, which offers a negative prefiguring of the revelation of Genaro's malevolent persona and tragic events later in the novel, Regina is trying to climb a tree to escape from a rampaging bull when Genaro rides up, shooting the animal and saving her from imminent danger. As Nicolás Fernández-Medina has posited about the bull as a symbolic creature in the novel *La gaviota* (1849) by Cecilia Böel de Faber (Fernán Caballero), the animal serves as a representation of virility, but also destruction and death, as he underscores: "tauromachy's primordial eros/thanatos duality" (408). In mythology, the killing of the bull as an offering, "promised everything from a fruitful sexual union to passage to the Underworld" (Fernández-Medina 408). The bull's appearance alongside Genaro, who then sacrifices it, might serve as a harbinger of the protagonist's later undoing at Genaro's hands and functions as a symbol of both love and death. Of course, the furtive Genaro slays the beast in "sangre fría," with complete calm, leaving Regina open, ultimately, to the dual threat of unstable marriage to him and her own eventual death later in the story (9). When she returns home after her close encounter and describes her savior, others recognize him as the gentleman they previously told her about, "*el doctor*," and describe his tortured countenance, filled with "miradas de amargura, odio o desprecio," forebodingly depicting him as "un hombre combatido por las más violentas pasiones, hastiado de la vida" (9). These "violentas pasiones," it turns out, are financially-

speculative in nature, as the reader will soon see, and will consume the couple as the novel continues.

Still unaware that this mysterious man is the notorious Genaro who caused her friend's ruin, when she returns to the capital several years after this incident, she hears Genaro V. has also made a reappearance in the city, and she remarks he must be looking for a new victim to sacrifice, "¿Ya está de regreso? ¡Habrá venido a sacrificar alguna nueva víctima?" (10). Apparently, Genaro is now very popular among the ladies of high society, and when Regina asks her friend Carlos why, he responds describing Genaro's wealth, which, while supposedly amassed through mining, was actually garnered at the gaming table and through the manufacture of a mysterious product: "[e]s minero, contestó Carlos, y se dice que últimamente ha puesto en explotación un mineral que le rinde un producto fabuloso. También se dice que su verdadera mina la encontró sobre el tapete verde; pero supongo que esas sean calumnias de sus malquerientes" (11). Of course, the "tapete verde" refers to the green carpet covering on gaming and billiard tables, thus already signaling covertly to Regina and the readers that Genaro is heavily involved in mining others' pockets at the gambling house, rather than the theoretically more honest labor of unearthing rare minerals from the ground (11).

Despite all of the warnings against marrying Genaro and her previous desire not to betray her friend, Regina is intrigued by the man who she believes rescued her in the countryside, and her heart overrules her better judgment. Regina becomes caught in the "redes" of love, and her parents try in vain to send her to Paris to evade Genaro's advances, but he travels to the European city as well (14). Even though Regina previously swore retaliation for Dolores's death, she is unable to resist Genaro's charms and suffers greatly, seeing ". . . el perjuro inconstante que había causado el infortunio de Dolores y su muerte prematura, y de quien ella había jurado tomar

venganza, tratando de inspirarle amor para después humillarlo con su desprecio. Una violenta lucha de sentimientos encontrados se trabó en el noble y generoso corazón de la joven" (13). In spite of all of this, unable to prevent the union of the lovers, Regina's family gives their permission for marriage to avoid a scandal, and she enters into matrimony despite everyone's advice and Genaro's bad reputation, offering a warning for readers about disregarding reason and falling for dangerous men engaged in risky business pursuits.

Once married, Regina and her husband live together and have many children as the years pass, but Genaro continues to spend time away from home in mysterious money-making endeavors. Genaro's risk-taking behavior and time spent on the frontier, away from urban high society play into two common tropes of the period: civilization and morality and their juxtaposition with rurality and corruption, and, of course, the portrayal of Genaro's independence and roguish behavior on the frontier, incorporating concepts examined in the previous chapter.[62] It becomes apparent as the novel progresses that Genaro's time spent in the countryside when he vanishes into the interior is being used for sinister purposes. Genaro's corruption is thus connected to the interior and the novel appears to advocate the concept of civilization as part of this debate popularized in the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, Francesca Denegri, one of the few critics to discuss *Regina*, reads the book as an indictment of rurality and perceived barbarism complicated further by ideas about the indigenous and the frontier lifestyle

[62]The debate emerging during the nineteenth century regarding civilization and barbarism largely stemmed from post-independence leaders and intellectuals in the southern cone (particularly Argentina), who were exploring the ideal models for the new nations of Latin America. In Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo: civilización y barbarie* (1845), a critique of Argentine caudillos and the Rosas dictatorship, an argument for a supposedly superior civilization, following urban and European models, was developed; The diametrically opposed vision of an independent America that founds its identity in its own traditions, including those of rurality and agriculture espoused by Andrés Bello represents a counterpoint to the European model espoused in Sarmiento's writings (Ramos 36). Based on Regina's family's attempts to save her from Genaro's influence (representative of barbarism) by sending her to Paris, along with the depictions of the corrupting dangers of the rural setting where Genaro ventures for his business pursuits, the novel appears to favor urban, intellectual, and even European models for civilization, which are important for comprehending the financial vision it is espousing. Rather than allowing corruption to flourish outside the cities in new nations, González de Fanning prefers emerging nations look to more traditional philosophical, intellectual paradigms to avoid the deleterious nature of the frontier.

that are embodied through Genaro. As she describes it, "el mundo de Regina queda contaminado a través de su amor por un hombre corrompido por su asociación con los territorios que yacen más allá del mundo del orden y la racionalidad" (Denegri 140). The negative depictions of the supposed corrupting influence of the countryside do play out in the text, but the concept of idealized "civilization" is further complicated by other factors, as it appears that González de Fanning is also realizing a critique on financial speculation, mechanization, and industrial modernity, as I will demonstrate.

Genaro, who had conducted his previous gambling activities in the countryside, as was evinced by his sudden appearance of wealth upon his return to the city after "mining" activities in rural areas (associated with barbarism in the classic debate of the mid-nineteenth century), eventually resumes these escapes from civilization. The narrator observes, "Pero, poco a poco, fue volviendo Genaro a su ensimismamiento y haciendo ausencias más largas y repetidas, cuyo objeto era un misterio para su esposa" (16).

Unhappy with these disappearences and Genaro's absent emotion and aloof behavior, Regina seeks refuge in high society, making her home a coveted destination for parties, "Los salones de la elegante casa de Regina estaban radiantes de lujo, luces y perfumes. Por doquiera se encontraban satisfechas las prescripciones del más exigente buen gusto, pudiendo considerarse aquella casa, como un digno templo donde iba a rendirse culto al placer, durante algunas horas, que serían de imperecedero recuerdo para la distinguida concurrencia que la llenaba" (17). The couple has children, but these are not enough to placate Regina for the lost love of her husband and resolve her unhappiness.

A costume party at the couple's home provides the perfect carnavalesque backdrop for the revelation of some terrible truths about the source of Genaro's wealth to the protagonist, who

had long ignored them. The figurative unmasking of Genaro to reveal his true nature and the source of his wealth once and for all is done by a visitor to the mansion who demands to speak with his business partner, Genaro. It is Regina who first receives him outside the house:

> Buscando el aire fresco de la noche, salió Regina a uno de los corredores exteriores, a tiempo que los criados se debatían con un hombre que pugnaba por entrar, alegando que le era indispensable el hablar, al instante mismo, con el dueño de la casa. –Decidle que desea verlo Mauro, y veréis que al punto me recibe. Estas palabras salían de los descoloridos labios de un hombre de mediana estatura, de fisonomía acentuada, en la cual se traslucía la inteligencia puesta al servicio de la astucia.[. . .] Al informarse de que la que se acercaba era la dueña de la casa, solicitó de ella una secreta audiencia, que al punto le fue concedida. (18)

The two begin talking and the sinister truth is revealed to Regina about the source of her husband's wealth. The intrusion of these outside behaviors on the home will have devastating consequences to the family, and we find that the shady business dealings of Genaro, extend beyond the gambling house into counterfeiting and other unlawful trades with Mauro, his business partner. Furthermore, these illegal activities have been discovered by the police:

> Señora, le dijo, con voz melosa pero firme;--no hay tiempo que perder, y fio en vuestra discreción. [. . .] –Decid a vuestro esposo que el laboratorio ha sido descubierto por los agentes de policía, y que los cuños y cuanto contenía ha caído en su poder. Yo me he escapado, porque no es tan fácil coger al zorro en la cueva; pero es menester que me aleje, al menos por algún tiempo, y para eso necesito dinero que no me han dejado tiempo de tomar. Con dos mil pesos que él me proporcione, me río de los más finos sabuesos de la policía. El cinismo de aquel hombre repugnaba a Regina; pero, esforzándose por disimular su disgusto le pregunto: –Y ¿Qué interés puede tener mi esposo en que U. se salve de la persecución de la justicia? –Simplemente que, si yo fuera encerrado en una cárcel y se me obligará a declarar, como soy incapaz de manchar mi conciencia con una mentira, diría que en la empresa de la falsificación de moneda, que injustamente quiere monopolizar el gobierno, soy yo el socio industrial y vuestro esposo es. . . el socio capitalista" (18-19).

In this revelation, Regina finds that her husband's investments have ruined their wealth and respectability as well as her own safety and personal reputation.[63] Regina's reaction plays upon these very sentiments, and demonstrates concretely the danger to women's reputations and those of their children that the act of gambling could have:

> Regina se dejó caer desplomada sobre un diván y una lágrima ardiente surcó sus mejillas. Llena de vergüenza, doblegó su frente como para ocultar al mundo entero la marca de infamia en ella impresa por el hombre cuyo nombre llevaba, cuya suerte había compartido a despecho de las súplicas y consejos de sus padres; del hombre que en su amor había creído un héroe y que, prostituyendo las dotes con que el Creador lo adornará descendía a la categoría de un vil criminal, de un monedero falso, que la justicia humana podía hundir en un presidio, legando a sus hijos un nombre infamado. (19)

Notice that Regina's honor, alongside that of her children, is at stake in this declaration, but she must keep this information private to try to avoid ruin for herself and her family. Subsequently, in reaction to this news, Regina's heart suffers "un martirio" that will foreshadow the novel's conclusion in the concrete martyrdom of the protagonist herself (19). These "secretos tormentos que la martirizaban" will now serve as part of the protagonist's undoing in this cautionary tale to avoid dangerous men (20).

Also worth noting here is that the direct impact of Genaro's behaviors on the domestic space now gives González de Fanning license for her critique of gambling and investments. Through the arrival of these problems at Regina's doorstep and her forced payout to placate her husband's business partner and avoid his arrest, the husband's financial problems have now become the family's financial problems. It is this intrusion on the domestic space, of course, that legitimizes women's critique of investments and gambling, topics that might otherwise be

[63]Interestingly, the insertion of counterfeiting in the text points to larger questions of national currency at play during the nineteenth century that Hugo Achugar has examined. Specifically, Achugar provides evidence that a transitionary period after independence included the printing of money by private banks and landowners, in addition to the government (20). While this was not seen as a negative action in the decades following independence, it would appear that by the time of González de Fanning's novel, better financial centralization had subsequently recast the printing of one's own money as a corrupt and illegal practice.

primarily in the public and masculine realm. It is precisely this intrusion on the home that gives women fodder to take social activism writings into the public sphere, aiding to give them a voice in public discourse, even while they were still limited in what they could argue about social problems.

At the end of the party, Genaro invites the guests to see a machine he has built as an epilogue to the celebration in three days' time. The machine, we learn, will be crowned by his wife who will ironically serve as its godmother, despite her obvious disdain for her husband's actions. The day of the celebration, after a lovely meal in the open air, the guests are hustled off to the hacienda house where a solemn baptismal ceremony will take place for the machine, a symbolic personification of machinery and industrialization that represents the husband's preference for monetary wealth over people.[64]

The culmination of bad business dealings, gambling, and corruption occasions the destruction of the family itself in the novel's final scenes. In a decadently gruesome ruination of the protagonist's physical body, we find parallels for the eradication of her future, along with any hopes and dreams for the future of her family and her children. Regina is literally sucked into the machine that her husband has built, which mutilates her body beyond recognition, leaving only her perfectly-preserved head unscathed to enable her (incredibly) to pronounce some dying words of wisdom to readers. As González de Fanning describes the scene,

> Todos escuchaban con interés, mezclando de vez en cuando alguna chanza que sostenía el buen humor de la concurrencia, cuando un grito de espanto se escapó de todos los pechos. La orla del vestido de Regina había sido cogida por una de las ruedas que, siguiendo su fatal acelerado movimiento arrastró a la desgraciada joven, cuyo cuerpo se sentía crujir bajo la presión de la endentada rueda,

[64]This link between financial speculation and modernity and industrialization is one that is also being developed by other writers in Europe and the Americas during this period, such as Walter Benjamin, who describes in *The Arcades Project* how the gambler (particularly in the casino environment) is linked to industrialization and modernity, critiquing how the gambler's monetary obsession and the physical act of gambling are a mechanized manifestation of his/her industrialized environment (513).

> mutilándolo horriblemente. En vano se trató de disputar su presa a la mecánica rueda. Cuando lograron suspender el movimiento, sólo se extrajo una masa de carne palpitante aún, pero en que apenas quedaba un resto de vida. Sólo su hermosa cabeza había quedado ilesa, y en ella estaban pintados los rasgos del más acerbo dolor. Aún pudieron sus contraídos labios pronunciar algunas palabras, que solo fueron escuchadas por el sacerdote capellán del ingenio y por el infeliz Genaro, –Perdóname…. Dios mío…. era….muy….desgraciada…. (22)

Of course, these dying words highlight Regina's victimization by her husband for listeners and readers. While Genaro did not murder Regina outright, it remains clear that his poor decisions, reckless behavior, and placement of his finance-related activities above his family's safety and well-being led to Regina's untimely death. Her pronouncement of her disgrace and misfortune serve as a cautionary reminder that marrying the wrong man, one who not only is involved incorrupt financial practices, but places them ahead of his family, can be dangerous, or even deadly.

After this final utterance, Regina continues moving her lips as though she wishes to say more, staring at her husband, the guilty party, and then, of course, at a crucifix that represents her sacrifice and also her redemption and salvation, kissing it as she perishes: "Sus labios continuaron moviéndose como si quisiera hablar aún: pero no se percibía sonido alguno. Sus miradas se fijaron primero en su esposo, que de pie, a su lado, parecía la estatua de la desolación, y luego en el crucifijo que le presentaba el sacerdote. Y depositando un débil beso en esa insignia de nuestra rendición, lanzó el último suspiro." (23). The religiosity of the final images offers a lesson in moral behavior for readers as well: "A la voz del sacerdote se arrodillaron todos y elevaron sus preces al Eterno por la misma que, llena de vida, juventud y belleza, los encantaba algunos momentos antes con su amabilidad y festivos conceptos" (23). A vision of the temporality of human existence at the dawn of the industrial age dominated by machines shows their dangers and allure for a society dominated by new global financial markets and

mechanization: "De la brillante Regina solo quedaban unos restos mutilados y sangrientos que atestiguaban la instabilidad de las grandezas humanas" (23). In fact, the advent of the industrial age was bringing concerns about the dangers of such mechanization, fears about the safety of machines, and texts decrying the dangers of putting one's trust in machines: powerful creations of humans, not God. These ideas were represented in texts from the period, and similar ideas appear to influence González de Fanning's presentation of Genaro's prized machine. Of course, the transition from Naturalism into Latin American *Modernismo*, occurring around this time, was also reacting to similar social issues.[65] For Peru, vast expenditures on aforementioned mechanization projects, railroads, and the mining industry during the late nineteenth century also make the machine's appearance at the novel's conclusion timely and relevant.

Naturally, another essential lesson for readers, outside the warning of the dangers of marrying poorly or that of the problems of industrialization, is the literal physical danger to women's bodies that is presented in the story's conclusion. It is of great importance that Regina's body is actually mutilated by the machine because the wholeness of her physical form is lost. As seen in *Alberto el jugador*, where women's bodies were held hostage in deranged financial plots, to be forced into marriage to satisfy debts and pay for the husband's corruption, here again, women's bodies are ultimately directly at stake in gambling and precarious business dealings. Regina's husband's involvement with gambling, counterfeiting, and his new machine ultimately causes direct corporal consequences for her, resulting in her death. Although Regina is not forced into prostitution or arranged marriage (other types of loss of control over one's body) as a

[65]As Lily Litvak describes of Spanish critiques on industrialization, for some writers of the late nineteenth century who were coping with the mechanization of the labor process, these critics "mostraban cómo el espíritu industrialista tendía a abaratar cada vez más el esfuerzo humano; cómo, bajo la influencia de la máquina, el hombre se había convertido en una pieza mecánica ejecutando labores estandarizadas y repetitivas" (20). Accordingly, even Genaro is represented as an "estatua," or a frozen, dehumanized product of his environment as Regina lays dying (González de Fanning 23).

consequence of her husband's reckless financial behavior, she still loses her physical self as her body is concretely butchered by a machine her husband owned as part of his gambling and corrupt financial activities.

The tragic destruction of the story's protagonist is explained further to readers through an epilogue that specifically references the dangers of gambling and corrupt investing practices, and describes how they were part of Genaro's downfall. Here, González de Fanning provides Genaro's letter to the children's grandparents (Regina's family), where he explains that he has abandoned his offspring and articulates the reasons for his ruin. The repentant letter provides a didactic message that self-control in regulating one's passions plays an essential role in correctly caring for and protecting oneself and one's family. In Genaro's case, he failed in this regard, particularly in his passion for gambling, "el juego," the cause of the family's misfortune (24). His ruminations on these shortcomings are provided for his children and, by extent, the reader: "Si nos dejamos subyugar por nuestras pasiones, ellas serán nuestro tirano y nuestro verdugo. Sobre todo que aborrezcan la infernal pasión del juego, que ha sido la causa principal de las desdichas de su infortunado padre" (24). Because of his dark past, he argues that he tried to protect both Dolores and Regina from his "aliento emponzoñado" by estranging himself from them, but eventually Regina's talent, discretion and grace wore down his resistance, resulting in disastrous consequences: "Por igual motivo traté de alejarme de Regina; pero su belleza majestuosa, su talento, su discreción y sus gracias me cautivaron de tal modo que no fui dueño de mí, y la arrastré a la vorágine en que los dos hemos sucumbido" (24). Ultimately, Genaro's vices, particularly gambling, cause the family's ruin and Regina's symbolic physical demise. The theoretical problems of the relationship were many: Genaro's lying, gambling, and engaging in

corrupt business practices, and their concrete culmination is Regina's death and the family's ruin.

An even larger failure, perhaps, is Genaro's inability to care for his own children after his wife's death because of his irresponsibility and now precarious financial situation after the counterfeiting scheme is revealed. Genaro disappears mysteriously, with some saying he departed to seek fortune in California. A more sinister possibility, that Genaro committed suicide by drowning himself, is also alluded to by the narrator, as a handkerchief is found among the rocks at the water's edge near the location where Regina perished after she was mangled by the machine (25). The orphaned children will be raised by their grandparents, disgraced by the sins of their father. In this way, the couple's offspring, while not physically harmed by their father's gambling and bad business, have lost their parents, their home, and their honor, all of which will impact the rest of their lives. The effect of the father's behavior on his children's future in life shows a deterministic vision befitting the period in which the novel was written, but, more importantly, it illustrates a domino effect on multiple family members when gambling and corrupt business endeavors threaten to corrode the scaffolding of the family system. Through González de Fanning's direct portrayal of the dangers of gambling and financial speculation on the household and on women's physical bodies, she inserts herself into the tradition of women's reform texts surrounding gambling, and directly engages with the public sphere regarding matters affecting the home. Such commentary on speculative business as the cause of the family's destruction also can be read metaphorically as applying to Peru's economic crisis in the 1800s, which resulted from the male leadership taking unnecessary financial risks.

Conclusions

The two novels presented here exemplify how women writers were directly complicit in changing the roles of women in their societies. By adding their voices to social and economic discourse, Orrego and González de Fanning helped to transform women's roles into those of reformers and participants in the financial aspects of the home and nation. On a textual level, the two authors were also advocating for social reform and adding their voices to a dialogue about economic growth and the legality and perceived danger of potentially suspect activities for making money in new nations through the plot events and the actions of their female protagonists who were affected by and directly reactive to the dangerous financial dealings and gambling of their husbands. In this vein, reform writing offered women an avenue to write on social and political issues when they were relevant to the home, in which women had found a moral authority. Women's interest in these topics also stemmed from their perspectives on gambling and its potential danger for their families, and, on a larger scale, society. While not all women subscribed to this view, as is evinced by the examples of women writers who were not critical of gambling, such as Ángela Grassi, many did believe that women were potentially endangered by the poor financial decision-making of the patriarch.

Orrego and González de Fanning thus argue that families were being destroyed by gambling addiction and financial corruption. These activities were also linked to criminality, and corporal or bodily danger for both male and female characters. Women, especially, suffered from the gambling addiction and poor financial choices of men in their lives because of power differentials related to gender roles, work opportunities, and income. Financial power leveraged through debt, gambling winnings, counterfeiting, or other questionable means could have serious consequences for women's safety, as they were still essentially bought and sold in marriage

agreements, and, more literally, in prostitution. The manipulations of women's bodies, as in a commodities market, are concretely manifested in the novels through corrupt marriage agreements to satisfy debt, and, more disturbingly, through the physical destruction of Regina's body in González de Fanning's novel after her husband has endangered her with his reckless criminality.

CHAPTER 3: GAMBLING, RACE, AND SOCIAL CLASS, A GENTLEMAN'S GAME?

> ¡Maldición! —Repitió por dos veces—. ¡El 8014! ¡El 8014 y yo tengo el 8004!... ¡Por la diferencia de un guarismo! ¡Por solo un guarismo! ¡Maldición!...—Y se dejó caer con furor sobre una silla.
>
> — Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab* (86-87)

As popular gambling activities of the nineteenth century played out in urban centers, parlors, and gaming houses, these games were related not only in gender and family roles but also in in intriguing ways to socio-economic status. In this chapter, I explore different textual representations of gambling as an activity that both the wealthy and the working class members of society enjoyed. In both contexts, interesting questions emerge regarding gambling's link to economic and racial divisions imbedded in nineteenth-century society. Since gambling potentially offers a route to maneuver around established wealth inequalities, a reality that Franklin describes, it is a way of subverting the social class status quo, or at least potentially doing so (74). Because work opportunities were often restricted by education level and were offered more to some groups (namely, wealthy white males) than others, a few gambling pursuits, particularly the lottery, permitted players a chance to strike it rich outside of rigid societal parameters.

This chapter examines two novels that depict gambling among characters of various social classes. Specifically, in Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841) and in Alberto Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas* (1862), questions of finance, social climbing, and gambling take center stage, as the two authors depict financial speculation across the spectrum of social class through plot events. *Sab* helped define Cuban and Spanish Romanticism, whereas *Martín Rivas*

delineates the transition towards Realism in Chile, but neither narrative has been examined specifically from the perspective of gambling and social roles. In both literary works, *Sab* and *Martín Rivas*, gambling questions the status quo, even though it may not be defined as the solution to social class inequalities. While neither novel is explicitly pro-or-anti-gambling, strong messages about social class surface nonetheless, and the authors' depictions of gambling help to elucidate questions and potential answers to social concerns that arise in the novels' subtexts. Because gambling is portrayed as transecting diverse social strata, the activity works as an agent that could potentially upend and subvert economic and race divisions. Gambling is meant to be a money-making venture based on luck, so it plays a symbolic role in the negotiation of class difference as it queries and undermines the accepted paths to wealth through inheritance or labor.

Sab and *Martín Rivas* show two different reactions to the questioning of social stratification through gambling. In *Sab*, such questioning of the status quo through gambling (specifically the lottery) is supported by the participation of all major characters of various socio-economic groups. Even the characters in the most marginalized positions gamble, in particular, women and slaves, although in the end their luck-based attempt at changing their social standing still cannot undo or overcome the deeper structural inequalities present in Cuban society, perhaps because only a few fortunate winners could realistically improve their lives through such means. In an unfair society, then, relying on such luck is not sufficient to escape inequality, supporting Gómez de Avellaneda's underlying societal critiques in the novel. In contrast to Gómez de Avellaneda's novel, in *Martín Rivas*, the questioning of the status quo and financial divisions through gambling is generally not supported or approved of by the narrator, and it appears that the model for social climbing that Blest Gana advocates does not include gambling winnings and also fails to take into account society's ingrained discrimination and unleveled playing field.

Therefore, any subversive, luck-based activity (such as gambling) is subtly condemned, although social climbing and changes of social class are supported. The text, then, largely supports the hard work paradigm without taking into account existing discrimination that prevents labor from achieving equal outcomes in a stratified society.

Social Class and Gambling in Dialogue in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was a period of transition that made such reflections possible, and it is relevant to briefly consider this historical context. A rapidly-changing economic and philosophical environment characterized by new theories of wealth and nation also called traditional social classes, feudal society, and systemic inequalities and injustices, such as slavery, into question. These theoretical changes played out in the negotiation of social class through enterprises such as gambling, which conceptually worked to challenge and subvert categorically-defined social class. Both novels debate questions about social structure and the way in which people should earn money that play out on a minute level not only in the details of gambling, but also in depictions of investments as opportunities to amass wealth. Considering that gambling is a financial activity by nature, social class considerations in its portrayal are essential to understanding its function in nineteenth-century narratives.

Winning money and changing one's financial status through gambling, a luck-based activity, points out and undercuts society's stratified, unequal socio-economic status quo. In the nineteenth century, legislation surrounding slavery and restrictions on women meant that it could be exceedingly difficult to change one's social position as a member of a group that suffered discrimination. Strangely, then, while much of today's gambling can exploit citizens of lower socio-economic status, as some critics argue, in the nineteenth century, the odds of escaping an unjust social position through gambling winnings, particularly the lottery as presented in *Sab*,

may have been slightly better than through other means. That is to say that betting on lottery numbers may have brought a greater chance for changing one's social standing than betting on individual financial change through other avenues in a society that actively and intentionally permitted legal discrimination, making the lottery strangely subversive to financial stratification. However, the poor odds of actually winning still kept most people from being able to fortuitously escape their circumstances, a reality that illuminates gambling as more of a chaotic, chance-based, disruptive, and questioning force, rather than a solution to social inequalities.

Since gambling is inherently pecuniary, larger monetary questions surrounding it come to light when viewing *Sab* and *Martín Rivas* through the lens of speculative commerce. Gambling can consequently be discussed first from the financial perspective of the poor or disenfranchised social classes who were seeking upward social mobility through the possibility of striking it rich by getting lucky in the lottery or other games. Secondly, it can be approached from the perspective of the wealthy who aimed to further increase their fortune through gambling and who enjoyed passing their leisure time in games of chance, often at gentlemen's clubs or in their homes. In this vein, I will also examine how gambling connects to investing, another chance-based activity that was in vogue among the wealthy. As J. Jeffrey Franklin argues of the connection between investment and gambling in *Serious Play*, "[p]lay served a connective or bridging function, tying the demonized issue of gambling, for instance, to the socially pivotal institution of the stock market, and linking both of these to two of the most important issues in Victorian thought: work and money" (4-5). The activities are two sides of the same coin, and so investing among the upper class also merits consideration in a discussion of gambling across the socio-economic spectrum.

Historical facts worth considering bear out demographic and socio-economic categories of gambling represented in *Sab* and *Martín Rivas*, as both novels show intriguing representations of social customs across multiple social classes. With regards to the upper crust, gambling pursuits followed certain paradigms of wealthy society and the hegemonic displays of control that would come into focus in business transactions and investing during the nineteenth century. As Timothy Breen argues about the historical power plays of upper class gambling in the American colonies,

> When the great planter staked his money and tobacco on a favorite horse or spurred a sprinter to victory, he displayed some of the central elements of gentry culture-its competitiveness, individualism, and materialism. In fact, competitive gaming was for many gentlemen a means of translating a particular set of values into action, a mechanism for expressing a loose but deeply felt bundle of ideas and assumptions about the nature of society. (243)

According to Breen, wealthy gamblers often preferred games that involved skill and luck, but they also participated in activities like the lottery, which were popular among members of all social stratum, as will be demonstrated textually in *Sab* (248). In games among the wealthy gentry, however, those from lower socio-economic status were often excluded because they either lacked resources to enter high stakes betting, or because they were literally barred from the venue where such gambling occurred, as it was frequently in gentlemen's clubs or in private homes (Breen 250). Similarly, in investments, marginalized members of society were also excluded, making such chance-based transactions largely exploitative of other citizens, who were not permitted to participate for lack of capital and their physical restriction from spaces where negotiations took place. The direct labor exploitation of the poor or of slaves through speculative investment (stocks being a form of gambling) in sectors such as mining and agriculture allowed for the continuation of the gap between the haves and the have-nots, a historical reality documented by Tulio Halperín Donghi (14).

Alternatively, gambling among already marginalized individuals from a lower socio-economic status was sometimes described in literary representations more as a vice than it was among the wealthy.[66] While gambling was condemned among the poor, much speculative investment and gambling in gentlemen's clubs was deemed "good for business," an attitude shown in some realist novels that I will briefly explore. In comprehending such a class-coded presentation of the topic, we must remind ourselves who was penning the reform texts of the period. Of course, wealthier individuals often had better educational access and more leisure time, thus permitting them to write from a financially-privileged perspective. Some of the critiques about people from lower socio-economic classes gambling may also stem from larger concerns about changing class structure that cultural theorist Jason Grant McKahan has detailed (71). He argues that "[f]rom the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, when working and middle class men in western societies began to gamble regularly and the markers of class stability seemed threatened, negative views of gamblers as weak, immoral, and effeminate circulated among the upper classes" (McKahan 71). This discourse was also concerned with the possibility that the traditional class structure would be usurped by luck, rather than by nobility or by the hard work paradigm. As McKahan posits, "At the center of this class struggle was an appeal to the [. . .] ethics of labor and the anxiety of production being put to risk by 'easy money'" (71). All of these critiques of gambling among the lower classes failed to take into account the irony that the activity was present among all social strata. While McKahan is right that these judgements do exist in nineteenth-century narratives, gambling reform literature is often more complex and nuanced. As we saw in the last chapters, it was sometimes also related to gender roles and to questions of monetary stability in emerging nations.

[66]In this dissertation, for example, romantic rogue gamblers in the first chapter were depicted as sly con artists, rather than wealthy gentlemen. While the wealthy were also depicted gambling, as will be shown in this chapter, speculative white-collar commerce, such as investment and parlor games, was often less heavily critiqued.

Aside from a belittling of so-called lawless gamblers in the lower classes, there was a very different reformist critique that was a concern among some authors during the period and today. Specifically, some authors argued that gambling was an exploitative activity that put the poor at risk, particularly in activities where the chances of winning were very low. While McKahan feels that this is a paternalistic discourse, it cannot be fully paternalistic when some of the critics came from within the marginalized groups themselves (79). Namely, as we saw in the last chapter, women were sometimes the victims of gambling or business losses because the structure of society prevented them from working, and so some female writers produced texts decrying gambling's perceived dangers. Additionally, as Ann Fabian documents, a few abolitionists in the United States targeted gambling as an activity that was exploitative to the poor and to slaves who could have been saving in a "routine of careful earning and measured expenditure" (114). The historical facts are complex, but such concerns were genuine and somewhat pervasive.

These critiques are complicated further by the stratification regulating which social groups participated in different types of gambling. While the wealthy spent more time in gentlemen's clubs and private homes, the poor often lacked access to such spaces. The main exception is the lottery, in which people of all social classes, races, and genders participated, and which Fabian marks as the most accessible to all levels of society, including slaves, in the United States (115). The lottery was also common in much of Latin America, and debates about its legality and the use of cash prizes emerge in discourse of the period.[67] In Cuba, historical data does show that the lottery was accessible to both slaves and freed afro-Cubans, as well as to members of all socio-economic classes, and the lottery and other forms of gambling were

[67]See, for example, Antonio G. Bernal's newspaper opinion piece, "La lotería del ferrocarril de Toluca" (1880), which contributed to the debate in Mexico surrounding the usage of lottery earnings.

tremendously popular, as historian Hugh Thomas describes throughout his chapter "The Planters" in *Cuba: A History* (2010). As we will see in *Sab*, the novel does represent the lottery across social strata.

As Ann Fabian argues, the historical realities of the lottery in the United States during the nineteenth century did, in fact, result in dramatic wealth changes for a few slaves or freed African Americans in the United States. She cites, for example, the story of Denmark Vesey, a slave in South Carolina who won a sufficient sum in the lottery to buy his freedom, after which he started a carpentry shop and led a failed insurrection against slave owners in 1822 (126). These scenarios played out in several countries that had both slavery and a lottery system. As historian Eduardo Sáenz Rovner documents, Cuba's lottery began in 1812, and it became tremendously popular (84). In fact, Maturin Murray Ballou, a traveler to Cuba in the mid-nineteenth century, problematically claimed that the propensity to "vice," made the lottery popular, and explained that it was accessible across social classes (116). Crucially, he documents the following lottery episode among slaves near Havana in 1854: "[t]he poorer classes, too, by clubbing together, become purchasers of tickets, including slaves and free negroes; and it is but a few years since, that some slaves, who had thus united and purchased a ticket, drew the first prize of sixty thousand dollars; which was honestly paid to them, and themselves liberated by the purchase of their freedom from their masters" (Ballou 116). Such realities must have provided Gómez de Avellaneda with the building blocks of her novel.

Beyond the reality of gambling across social class strata, the renegotiation of social class itself was tantamount to the nineteenth century and to Gómez de Avellaneda and Blest Gana's narratives. Since questions of social inequalities related to socio-economic division became more central beginning during the Enlightenment and Romanticism, when philosophers were changing

popular views on the rights of the individual and the government, these shifts in theoretical government structure were illustrated directly through the political upheaval of the period. For example, the French Revolution, the American Revolution in the United States, and Latin American Independence movements, among other wars and uprisings, put into question the feudal system and old models of wealth and power distribution. Because the nineteenth century suffered from deep social class divides, those divisions were discussed in the reiteration of perceived social vices, such as gambling. With a new interest in emerging global financial markets, risk-based speculative business transactions, such as stocks and investments, also came into public debate as part of the renegotiation of social class as new nations struggled for independence from Spanish colonialism.

Theories of social class and economic development were also rapidly advancing during the nineteenth century, affecting the ways in which citizens viewed wealth divisions in their societies. In Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas*, a clear reference to such ideologies is present in the representation of *La Sociedad de la Igualdad* and in the novel's condemnation of inherited wealth. Of course, in *Sab*, questions are posed about the inequalities of society based around race and gender, since newly-minted "free" societies were found to still embody the ills of colonialism. These shifts stemmed too from philosophical changes. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* (1754) argued that moral inequality was based around artificial divisions of private property (84). Later, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) was one of the defining texts that allowed for renegotiations of social class during the mid-nineteenth century. As they argue, "[t]he history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," an attitude that took center stage in many nineteenth century narratives, as authors began questioning long-standing societal and financial

inequalities in their texts (2). While *Sab* was published shortly before Marx and Engles' seminal text, Socialist ideals espoused by thinkers such as Henri de Saint-Simon and Pierre Leroux were already growing in popularity by that time and created a climate that was ripe for the questioning of both capitalism and colonialism. The emergence of both early feminist theory, particularly during the Enlightenment period and into Romanticism (detailed in the last chapter), and the development of abolitionist discourse also contributed to a questioning of traditional social divisions.

Changing Ideas of Wealth, Work, and Luck

Gambling's relationship to social class in these two novels is also mediated by a variety of shifting concepts surrounding the definition of wealth and its precursor of work, including the negotiation of ideas such as the hard-work paradigm, which advocated labor as central to earning money, a framework supported in *Martín Rivas*. A counterpoint to such ideas is the luck model for making money, which was ever-evolving with the beginnings of probability theory and the stock market. In that vein, the complex history of the institution of investment banking and a more modern economic system is inextricably linked with concepts about wage-earning in the nineteenth century. Of course, both the construct of luck and the hard-work paradigm were newer ways of looking at economics compared to the distribution of wealth and land based on inherited nobility, a concept that had long dominated European and colonial society. Gambling thus takes an unusual, disruptive role in a society shifting from valuing inherited wealth to one that values hard work. Gambling is, strangely, outside of both of these classifications. Nobility is not favored to win through gambling's luck, and luck does not relate to labor, unless the labor is of the cheating variety, as exhibited in the novels in the first chapter. These factors make gambling uniquely subversive to other wealth-distribution systems, and it is these unique aspects

of the activity that bring it under fire by critics, and that also make it a distinct lens for examining social class. The surge in prevalence of speculative finance across the spectrum from card games to the stock market was also based in mathematical theories of probability pioneered during this period.

New concepts of luck relate back to the historical development of the mathematics behind probability, and a philosophical shift away from Christian beliefs in divine providence and God's will, to one open to science, reason, and the seemingly-chaotic, but mathematical laws of chance. In Ian Hacking's *The Emergence of Probability*, the history of the development of these concepts is discussed as it relates to philosophical ideas and gambling activities. As Hacking believes, probability, "the degree of belief warranted by evidence" and the "tendency, displayed by some chance devices, to produce stable relative frequencies" became central to both mathematics, game-playing, and economic concerns (1). This particular branch of mathematics was not recognized until much later than most fields, and, while some theories on the subject of chance emerged prior to the 1650s, religious doctrine may have prevented (to some extent) the acceptance of probability as a mathematical concept. Early sources of probability theory did revolve around game playing, dice, animal bones, and other ways of "consulting gods directly" in multiple cultural contexts (Hacking 3). Hacking argues that important theories such as Blaise Pascal early problem sets in the 1650s, Gottfried Welhelm Leibniz's logical application of the extent to which certain explanations are likely based on available data (the origin of modern statistics), and Jacques Bernoulli's probability math theorems in the early 1700s set the ball in motion on modern probability theory (3).

Using Hacking's historical data, we subsequently see that such questions were still being negotiated in the nineteenth century and that they became important topics for debate among the

general populace, who were grappling with questions of the morality and practicality of betting in business as well as in games. Interestingly, Romanticism relies on concepts such as fate, especially in its reactionary tendencies against the Enlightenment (when such theories of probability emerged), but, in *Sab*, these appear alongside an increased scientific understanding of the mathematics of economic thought (which we will see in the calculated risks of Enrique Otway's family). Later, in novels transitioning to a realist aesthetic, and in the business and gambling schemes present in *Martín Rivas*, commercial endeavors among members of different socio-economic classes often play out often with a more business-centric mindset. Both novels examine the concepts of luck in gambling alongside modern investment concepts as well, as these were important advancements of the late colonial period into the early independence era, particularly as nations looked to establish representative currencies, and to capitalize on trade and industry opportunities, as we will examine. Questions of gambling's role in the economies of Cuba and Chile play out in the two texts and speak to emerging concerns about how money should be made, and the fairness or injustice of different economic endeavors. Since the economic theory and probability theory surrounding gambling and investing were emerging and entering into public consciousness during this period, both novels also play with the ideas surrounding financial investments, chance, and the divisions of social class based on various models, including inherited wealth, gambling winnings, gains from investments, and hard work.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, gambling and investments concerned some members of society because of the risk involved, but for other citizens, particularly men among the upper classes who were the driving force behind stock transactions, they offered a new modality of wage earning. Namely, such capitalist commerce could allow for a luxury lifestyle without having to engage in more direct or traditional forms of work, such as manufacturing,

farming, or trade. As Tulio Halperín Donghi describes, such investing largely benefitted foreign companies and was supported by governments that placed the interests of the few in globalized, neocolonial business transactions over the interests of the masses and the countries themselves (118). Questions of speculative investment are therefore also at play in many novels of the period, including those in this chapter and others from this dissertation, as well as novels such as Cuban Ramón Meza y Suárez Inclán's *Mi tío el empleado* (1887), Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), and Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Índole* (1891), for example.

Of course, an emerging discourse on economic questions in literature that explored social class inequalities had also begun after the French and American (U.S.) Revolutions, which cast off monarchic systems in favor of more fairly allocating wealth and opportunities based on work. However, flaws in the implementation of such plans were partly based around existing structural divides in nineteenth century society. The negotiation of inequalities and questions of the economy, especially during this period, become a key piece of emerging reformist discourse.

Sab *(1841) and the Lottery as a Mediating Factor in Gender, Class, and Race Inequalities*

In *Sab*, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda uses the lottery to erode the logic behind the hard-work paradigm and systems of inherited money in Cuban society, where stark inequalities lingered. While gambling, ultimately, cannot resolve these injustices, it leads readers to reevaluate them. Gómez de Avellaneda depicts the tragic love story of a mulatto slave, Sab, who is enamored with the daughter of the landowner, Carlota. Sab and Carlota were raised together, and Sab's mysterious origins link him to her family tree, with her uncle likely his father, and his mother an African royal. Enrique Otway, Carlota's love interest, is more interested in following his father's wishes to increase the family's income than romance, creating a recipe for disaster that simmers throughout the novel. Sab saves Enrique's life on two separate occasions, but

Carlota, blinded by her love for the Englishman, ignores Sab. When Carlota's family cuts her out of land inheritance plans because they do not approve of Enrique, a foreign capitalist, Sab sacrifices his own potential happiness by arranging for Carlota to have his winning lottery ticket, thus giving her the dowry to wed the selfish Otway. While revisiting his adopted mother and brother, Sab dies of a broken heart, knowing that Carlota and Enrique are bound together. Carlota's wish to marry Enrique is granted, but she finds tedium, rather than felicity, in their union. The final scenes of the novel provide readers with Sab's confessional love letter, which Carlota receives from Teresa, her adopted sister who has become a nun, on her deathbed. The use of the lottery ticket as a major plot device in the novel highlights its possible meanings as a tool for upward mobility and change of social standing and helps to highlight the unequal aspects of Cuban society depicted in the novel.[68]

Born in 1814 in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba (now Camagüey, Cuba), Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda was a seminal figure of Romanticism in the Hispanic world. After the untimely death of her father, a wealthy aristocratic officer in the Spanish navy, her mother remarried, which took the family to Spain when Gómez de Avellaneda's stepfather moved there for business. The writer's mother was a criolla from a prominent, slave-owning family, and Gómez de Avellaneda spent some of her youth on the family's plantations, inspiring *Sab*. The young writer passed her days reading and writing poems and plays as practice for her later literary career. Preferring her individual freedom and academic pursuits, the author broke off her family-arranged engagement and refused to wed until she found love. While this was her first rebellious act against traditional matrimony, she would later critique marriage in her writings, had lovers outside of wedlock, and

[68]This perspective offered on the lottery as a disruptive tool to social class that I argue was employed by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda is different from the later, dystopian approach taken by some authors of the early twentieth century, such as Jorge Luis Borges in "La lotería en Babilonia" (1944), which argues that the lottery and chaotic wealth distribution and decision-making can be manipulated by those in power to further oppress the masses (76).

married twice of her own volition. When the family made their monumental move to A Coruña, Spain, the young author was 22 years old and eager to continue writing fiction and poetry, a talent which blossomed after her relocation to Europe. This journey and Gómez de Avellaneda's nostalgia for her homeland would also have a tremendous influence on her writing, inspiring the poem "Al partir" and multiple works, both poetry and prose, set in the Americas.

Once in Spain, Gómez de Avellaneda explored the country with her brother, living in Sevilla, Cádiz, and Madrid. By the 1840s she had fully entered the Spanish literary scene, and she published a number of important works for Spanish and Latin American Romanticism (she is often referenced as part of both), including *Sab* (1841), *Dos mujeres* (1842), *Guatimozín, último emperador de México* (1846), multiple *Tradiciones*, poems, letters, and an autobiography, with these last works going to press posthumously. Returning to Cuba in 1860 with her second husband, Gómez de Avellaneda also established a periodical called *El Álbum Cubano de lo Bueno y lo Bello* that was influential for female intellectuals in Cuba. As Fernández Marcane has traced, Gómez de Avellaneda was a trailblazer, but her works were shaped by those of some of her contemporaries, as well as those of other writers in Europe and the Americas, particularly Madame de Stäel, Walter Scott, François-René de Chateaubriand, and Alphonse de Lamartine, among others (26). *Sab*, of course, was not the first novel to examine slavery, and Victor Hugo's *Bug-Jargal* (1826), may have been among the novel's important influences, along with some of the writings by Domingo del Monte's literary circle in Havana during the 1830s.[69] Many of these

[69]Discussed by critics such as Salvador Arias and William Luis, A whole portfolio of Cuban texts that criticized the slave trade was assembled by the Del Monte tertulia with the collaboration of British abolitionist Richard Madden. Their collection and the abolitionist sentiments of the literary circle also stemmed from José Antonio Saco's writings on the subject. As many critics and historians have documented, these texts included Anselmo Suárez y Romero's *Francisco* (1880), Juan Francisco Manzano's *Autobiografía de un esclavo* (1840), and Pedro José Morrilla's "El ranchador" (1856), which is regarded by modern critics (such as William Luis) as more pro-slavery than the other works in the portfolio. Manzano's *Autobiografía*, while tampered with by Madden, still provides us with one of the few direct accounts of slavery, since the author was a slave himself. Most of these texts were not published until significantly later, once Cuba had abolished slavery. Other texts connected to the intellectual theory

texts were banned in Cuba because of their commentary on slavery, but Avellaneda likely was exposed to their ideas and to some of the novels themselves in Europe. Of note, *Sab*, one of her most important works, was also banned in Cuba when it was initially released in 1841 because of its percieved critique of slavery. Gómez de Avellaneda influenced a generation of writers, and this is particularly evident in novels and poetry that continued to use a Romantic aesthetic during much of the mid-nineteenth century. Direct commentary on her works was offered in both Spain and Cuba by many important writers, such as José Martí.

While some critics have argued that *Sab* is an abolitionist novel, others are hesitant to use such strong terminology to describe a work that does not overtly advocate for the end of slavery and shows some racist and problematic elements that situate it in its historical period and keep it from being labeled so specifically. Pedro Barreda Tomás believes that the novel is both feminist, seeing women as domestic slaves in marriage, and also anti-slavery as the two are "dos caras de una misma moneda; dos manifestaciones de la injusticia de un sistema" (88). Similarly, Sharon Romeo Fivel-Demoret in "The Production and Consumption of Propaganda Literature: The Cuban Anti-Slavery Novel" (1989) also argues that the novel is critical of slavery, unlike many of the other novels from the time period that purport to have similar attitudes, but have more blatantly racist or unrealistic characterizations of their slave characters, such as *Francisco* (1880) by Anselmo Suárez y Romero. Also of import, William Luis, in *Literary Bondage* (1990), argues that, while problematic elements and racist attitudes are pervasive in Cuban anti-slavery narratives, such as those of the del Monte literary *tertulia*, such works were effective in their time at raising awareness of the evils of slavery (54-55).

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espoused in the circle also included Cirilo Villaverde's *Ceclia Valdés* (1839, 1882) in its earliest iteration, and José Ramón de Betancourt's *Una feria de la Caridad en el 183…* (originally 1841), which I will discuss in the next chapter of this dissertation.

However, other critics have focused further on the novel's troubling treatment of race, including Jerome Branche, who contends that a problematic elevation of the bourgeois female protagonist and the promotion of women's rights ultimately still leaves the slave figure as subject to his master (15). By focusing on Carlota and Teresa as the women the novelist deems worthy of liberation rather than any slave women and by exploring how Gómez de Avellaneda distances Sab from other slaves in the narrative, making him above the nameless laboring masses, Branche finds complex issues in the novel's politics on race and gender (15). He also astutely posits that the questioning of white-male hegemony in dictating female desire is what truly made the novel scandalous for its time, but the subjugated position of the slave protagonist in the narrative did not make a potential relationship between Sab and Carlota or Sab and Teresa egalitarian (16). Of course, these are valid critiques of the novel that are supported by the racist language present in its pages and the characterization of Sab as a "noble savage" figure. These complexities underlie many of the narratives from this period treating race and will continue to be debated in the criticism. Hopefully too, such criticism will begin to better explore marginalized voices of nineteenth-century slaves themselves or of freed Afro-Cubans and mulattos as an integral part of the literary canon through the study of narratives such as *Autobiografía de un esclavo* by Juan Francisco Manzano, or poetry by Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (Plácido).[70]

The novel's Romantic features have also been extensively examined by critics. These include themes such as idealism, sentimentality, and the discussion of women's roles. Lucía Guerra Cunningham argues, for example, that Sab is an idealized romantic hero because "es precisamente su capacidad de amar y morir por amor la que hace de Sab un personaje sublime"

[70]In light of arguments of the last few decades about canon formation (ie. in Fredric Jameson's "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" [1986]), this shift for the reevaluation of literary history and cultural products outside of the official canon is increasingly relevant. For this reason, among others, several novels that I discuss in this dissertation, such as those by Orrego and González de Fanning in the previous chapter, are outside of the standard canon, although many texts still lie forgotten.

(713). Other scholars, such as Irene Gómez Castellano and Brígida Pastor, have focused on love triangles and changing women's roles in the novel.

While previous criticism is vital to comprehend when approaching this text, my analysis will offer a new lens through which to view the novel by focusing more specifically on speculative financial activities in *Sab*, namely, the lottery and investments and their relationship to social class discourse. Some critics, such as Thomas Ward, have mentioned the novelist's condemnation of foreign capitalists, such as the Otways, in *Sab* (94). These ideas link to a larger, financially-critical discourse employing the lottery that Gómez de Avellaneda nurtures in the text, as I will explore. Working from the symbolic representation of the slave character and the critique of marriage and slavery found in the novel's pages, the lottery itself becomes an enterprise of class mobility that sheds light on inherent inequalities in colonial Cuban class structure and the slavery-driven economy. The representation of the lottery here will later also tie in to that of upper-class gambling and investing among the sugar oligarchy in Cuba, which will briefly be treated in the second half of this chapter when aspects of *Martín Rivas* connect with Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* (1839, 1882).

While much critical analysis remains to be done on the lottery in *Sab*, as it has never been at the center of an analysis of the novel, an article titled "The Gift in *Sab*" by Catherine Davies has examined the lottery ticket as one of several presents as part of a system of gift-giving at the heart of the story's plot. In Davies' view, Sab's arrangement for Carlota to have his the lottery ticket, which might be viewed as an altruistic gesture on his part, is actually a selfish ploy that sells her into the horrific commodities exchange that exists surrounding the buying and selling of women in matrimony. As Davies describes of Sab, "He seems to epitomize natural goodness and selfless passion, but it soon became clear that Sab is not the resigned victim of injustice; he is the

author, the mover, the controller of events and characters in the novel. In many ways he signifies threat" (51). For Catherine Davies, the "gift" of the lottery ticket is insidious because it forces Carlota into the same financial arrangements that Sab is subject to as slave:

> Sab therefore represents passion and desperation but also madness and tangible threat. He is a Romantic, self-deluded man; a manic victim of his own obsessions. In this reading [. . .] the point is not that Sab is a slave or a mulatto but that Carlota feels no desire for him. At the end of the day, Sab colludes with commodity relations to put Carlota on the market to be purchased, as were slaves at the time. More insidiously, he does this from within a family relationship. He uses the insidious paternalism of slave relations for his own purposes. (52)

From Davies's perspective, the lottery ticket and the letter, which she describes as "pure poison" are both backhanded and pernicious presents that Sab uses to manipulate Carlota and cause her emotional pain (52). While this seems to be a tempting reading based on the novel's outcome and Carlota's angst at the story's conclusion, the reality of what the lottery ticket represents appears to be quite different, in my view.

As I will develop using the plot points, theory, and historical context, the lottery ticket represents, among other things, an unlikely, but possible means to social class mobility in an unjust, stratified society characterized by unequal opportunities, rather than a manipulation tool. Since Carlota chooses to marry Enrique, she is not being sold in a goods exchange in the same way that Sab and other slaves are. While the parallels that Gómez de Avellaneda draws between marriage and slavery are of import, Carlota willingly desires to enter into the union, even if she is later unhappy, because she naively believes that their love will prevent her manipulation as Enrique's wife. Carlota also has the freedom of this choice because of the winnings from the lottery ticket that Sab has (problematically) secretly given her, which means that money, while shown as a corrupting force in the novel, is also still the means by which characters may attempt to change their fate in an unjust society, as I will explore. Finally, it is important that Sab,

Teresa, and Carlota were all playing the lottery to try to better their social standing or that of their loved ones. In other words, Carlota is not an innocent victim of Sab's manipulation in a financial exchange in which she is sold to Enrique when Sab arranges for her to have his lottery ticket because of the fact that she too had bought a ticket herself. Ultimately, the historical realities of the period (as previously detailed by Ann Fabian and others) also show that lottery winnings actually could offer financial power to buy oneself out of slavery, start a new life, or save one's family's finances in a unique way based on luck alone and not current social standing, although the odds of winning were very low.

Rather than critiquing Carlota or Sab for their materialism, or claiming that Sab is exploiting Carlota, the subtext of the narrative surrounding the crucial plot device of the lottery ticket appears to highlight the unequal distribution of wealth based on unjust factors, such as race and gender, alongside exploitative capitalist expansion and imperialism. While both characters try to escape from their circumstances, endeavoring to do so through both the lottery and through love (Carlota's for Enrique and Sab's for Carlota), the realistic social and financial inequalities of the period later leave them bound to their roles, even in spite of the opportunities that lottery winnings might offer either one. Ultimately, although Carlota profits from the lottery ticket, she is unable to find happiness in her restrictive marriage to Enrique because of society's inequalities between men and women. Sab, perhaps sensing the inescapability of racism in early nineteenth-century Cuba, is unable to wed Carlota and find the happiness he believes he could achieve through their union, not because of a lack of money, but because of the injustices of slavery and prejudice, as Carlota ignores his attentions. The tragic destiny of these characters is linked too to the unusual luck of winning the lottery, an act of fate relevant also as a Romantic trope and as part of an emerging discourse on probability versus luck and divine providence. These codified

components of the lottery come to underscore key questions at the novel's heart regarding inequality.

In the text's opening pages, readers meet Sab and first hear of the financial and social disparities that separate him from his beloved Carlota, alongside the roles of investing and gambling that build throughout the novel. Carlota's family's fortune is based on sugar commerce from plantations that use slaves to produce "doce mil arrobas de azúcar cada año," making the family's business investments morally troubling (42). The impoverished slave Sab, on the other hand, is depicted as kind and impassioned with his love for Carlota, and a contrast quickly develops between his good nature and internal wealth of character, with his overall air described as "grande y noble" in a way that "llamaba la atención," and Enrique Otway's materialism (43). The narrator describes the young, English businessman, Enrique, with a story of the fleecing of the island by foreign capitalists, including him:

> Sabido es que las riquezas de Cuba atraen en todo tiempo innumerables extranjeros, que con mediana industria y actividad no tardan en enriquecerse de una manera asombrosa para los indolentes isleños, que satisfechos con la fertilidad de su suelo, y con la facilidad con que se vive en un país de abundancia, se adormecen, por decirlo así, bajo un sol de fuego, y abandonan a la codicia y actividad de los europeos todos los ramos de agricultura, comercio, e industria, con los cuales se levantan en corto número de años innumerables familias. (55)

Jorge Otway, Enrique's father, "fue uno de los muchos hombres que se elevan de la nada en poco tiempo a favor de las riquezas en aquel país nuevo y fecundo" (55). These two foreign capitalists represent new models of global investment that find much of their basis during the late-colonial and independence periods in Latin America, in line with Thomas Ward's argument that *Sab* criticizes neocolonialism and materiality through Enrique's representation (97). Gómez de Avellaneda, rather than praising such capitalistic endeavors, calls them into question

alongside the reprobation of inherited wealth divisions of social class and inequalities in the novel, as we will see.[71]

Money is the prime mover for the Otway family from the novel's beginning. Enrique's father, once a money-lender, is now in debt because of risky investments (harkening back to depictions of business in the previous chapter). The narrator describes the loss of the Otway's family fortune: "Habíase comprometido en empresas de comercio demasiado peligrosas y para disimular el mal éxito de ellas, y sostener el crédito de su casa, cometió la nueva imprudencia de tomar gruesas sumas de plata a un rédito crecido. Él que antes fue usurero, vióse compelido a castigarse a sí mismo siendo a su vez víctima de la usura de otros" (56). Here, investing among the wealthy, a risky endeavor that is also speculative and linked to gambling, is not depicted as a positive act, since it fosters greed and economic volatility among society's upper crust. This particular point is a direct critique of the rich who engage in speculative commerce, and, crucially, this discourse will link the novel to *Martín Rivas* later in this chapter and to other stories depicting foolhardy investing representative of the risky economy of the times, such as Teresa González de Fanning's novel in the last chapter. Money is also behind Enrique's attempts to woo Carlota, since he needs her family's fortune to protect his own, and money threatens to separate Carlota from the man she passionately desires when her family disowns her, as Enrique considers marrying "una mujer menos bella acaso, menos tierna, pero cuya dote pudiera restablecer el crédito de su casa decaída" (70).

As the novel progresses, a series of plot events further prove Sab's disinterest in money and his nobility of character in contrast to Enrique. He rescues Enrique after he is thrown from

[71]Historian Alfonso W. Quiroz has examined primary source documents of trade corruption in Cuba during the nineteenth century in his article, "Implicit Costs of Empire: Bureaucratic Corruption in Nineteenth Century Cuba" (2003). The corruption described in the texts included "bribing, graft, connivance in the contraband of goods and slaves" (475) and "gambling" (483). The Otways, then, are representative of a larger social problem involving foreign trade playing out during the early nineteenth century, of which Gómez de Avellaneda was likely aware.

his horse, a heroic act for which Carlota frees him from slavery: "¡bendígate el cielo! …, ya eres libre. Yo lo quiero. […] Eres libre–repitió ella" (74). He again saves Enrique when the family visits some nearby caves (a *costumbrista* inclusion of landscapes in Eastern Cuba), and he takes the other characters to visit his adopted mother and brother, whom he cares for with what little money and resources he possesses. Of course, Sab's indifference to material goods as someone so impoverished is not without problematics, as probably only a member of the wealthy, upper classes, such as Gómez de Avellaneda, could so comfortably envision his impoverished lifestyle in such an idealized fashion, which is in line what Branche argues about the author's privileged position (16).

The lottery trope is introduced to the story shortly after readers learn of how "la fortuna" disrupted plans for Carlota and Enrique to wed, with the dual implication of the term "fortuna" as financial and also as fated (59). First, Carlota's family rejects the Otway's proposal: "Noticioso Jorge del feliz éxito de las pretensiones de su hijo pidió osadamente la mano de Carlota, pero su vanidad y la de Enrique sufrieron la humillación de una repulsa. La familia de B… era de las más nobles del país y no pudo recibir sin indignación la demanda del rico negociante," and then when Carlota decides to marry Enrique anyway, she is written out of the inheritance (58). This act threatens the possibility of the union between the greedy Enrique and the passionate Carlota, and readers see the young man's materialistic qualms with the marriage and internal debate about what to do: "Pensaba, pues, alejándose de su querida, en la felicidad de poseerla, y pesaba esta dicha con la de ser más rico, casándose con una mujer menos bella" (70). In this window into Enrique's inner world, the author illumines his allegiance to the bottom line and the negative side of merchantry.

While an unequal, stratified society has placed money above all else, Carlota realizes that some people have noble souls, a Romantic notion, that are rich with emotion, rather than money. Carlota senses Enrique's detachment from her, but does not understand fully its link to financial matters. The tragic devaluing of humans to monetary concerns is largely to blame in the inequalities of Cuban society in the first place. As the narrator describes, Carlota breaks down when she discovers that Enrique may not be capable of the same level of love as she:

> Cubrió sus ojos llenos de lágrimas y gimió: porque levantándose de improviso allá en lo más íntimo de su corazón no sé qué instinto revelador y terrible, acababa de declararle una verdad [. . .]: que hay almas superiores sobre la tierra, privilegiadas para el sentimiento y desconocidas de las almas vulgares: almas ricas de afectos, ricas de emociones … para las cuales están reservadas las pasiones terribles, las grandes virtudes, los inmensos pesares … y que el alma de Enrique no era una de ellas. (68)

The scene highlights and impugns societal placement of money over love and equality, as Carlota worrries that Enrique's motives are not pure, and this financial theme recurs throughout the novel, especially in the story's conclusion, with the author's use of the lottery ticket as a multi-faceted tool to question unfairness. This scene also serves as a harbinger of Carlota's unhappiness with the Otway family's insatiable need for currency after she weds Enrique later in the story. As the plot thickens, the lottery, a key financial endeavor, will come to play a central role in the aspirations of multiple characters, who view this pastime and the possibility of winning in diverse ways. The fact that the lottery is one of the few money-making endeavors offered across the board to all members of society is what makes it somewhat subversive to the forced differences of social class in an unequal capitalist environment. Namely, the lottery's unique accessibility allows it to query accepted wealth divisions (from inheritance or business schemes) through plot events.

While nearly all major characters participate in this gambling activity, the first mention of the lottery tickets that the characters possess is in the money-hungry Otway's house, as they discover the winning numbers from the local newspaper, creating some suspense for readers. As Jorge Otway anticipates the post with news of the winner of the national lottery, he ruminates on the possibility of incredible fortune from a lucky break, saying he had a dream about the lottery winnings in their grasp with a certain sense of entitlement:

> El viejo hizo una mueca que parodiaba una sonrisa y añadió en seguida frotándose las manos, y abriendo cuanto le era posible sus ojos brillantes con la avaricia.—¡Oh! ¡Y si se realizase mi sueño de anoche!... Tú, Enrique, te burlas de los sueños, pero el mío es notable, verosímil, profético… ¡Soñar que era mía la gran lotería! ¡Cuarenta mil duros en oro y plata! ¿Sabes tú que es una fortuna? ¡Cuarenta mil duros a un comerciante de caído! … Es un bocado sin hueso, como dicen en mi país. El correo de la Habana debía llegar anoche, pero ese maldito correo parece que se retarda de intento, para prolongar la agonía de esta expectativa. Y en efecto pintábase en el semblante del viejo una extremada ansiedad. (84)

Enrique, torn between Carlota's beauty, and his desire for riches, muses on how wonderful it would be if he were to strike it rich as his father opens the mail: "Si habéis de ver burlada vuestra esperanza dijo el joven—, cuanto más tarde será mejor. Pero en fin, si sacabais el lote bastaría a restablecer nuestra casa y yo podría casarme con Carlota." (84). This first representation of playing the numbers is one of its relationship to luck, as well as financial greed. However, this moment opens the idea of the possibility of changing one's fortune through the luck of winning vast sums of money, a theme that the text continues to explore as different characters come close to the possibility of striking it rich.

Readers are led initially to speculate about whether or not the Otways will win the fortune themselves, but when the newspaper arrives, new questions emerge as Gómez de Avellaneda sets up suspense of who has the winning ticket. The narrator describes Jorge Otway's actions and stress to the reader:

> Por último rompe un sobre y ve lo que busca: el diario de la Habana que contiene la relación de los números premiados. Pero el exceso de su agitación no le permite leer aquellas líneas que deben realizar o destruir sus esperanzas, y alargando el papel a su hijo: —Toma —le dice—léele tú: mis billetes son tres: número 1750, 3908 y 8004. Lee pronto, el premio mayor es el que quiero saber: los cuarenta mil duros: acaba. (86)

For Jorge Otway, the lottery represents, rather than a game (remember that we commonly call it "playing" the lottery), a stressful, money-making endeavor, which he believes he should win.

Building dramatic tension, readers find out from Enrique that the winner is also in their city: "El premio mayor ha caído en Puerto-Príncipe —exclamó el joven con alegría" (86). Just as the number is about to be read, Sab interrupts the conversation, a foreshadowing of his interruption to the economic system, as he will later be revealed as the winner. For now though, he merely listens on as an outsider to the aristocrats' conversation after Jorge initially yells at him for his inconveniently timed arrival and then Enrique frantically reads the winning digits:

> Sab se detiene atónito a tan brusco recibimiento, fijando en el inglés los ojos mientras se cubría su frente de ligeras arrugas, y temblaban convulsivamente sus labios, como acontece con el frío que precede a una calentura. [. . .] Pero el viejo no atendía a estas disculpas, porque habiendo arrancado de manos de Enrique el pliego deseado, lo devoraba con sus ojos; [. . .] Jorge acababa de despedazar entre sus manos el pliego impreso que leía, en un ímpetu de rabia y desesperación. —¡Maldición! —Repitió por dos veces—. ¡El 8014! ¡El 8014 y yo tengo el 8004!... ¡Por la diferencia de un guarismo! ¡Por solo un guarismo! ¡Maldición!...—Y se dejó caer con furor sobre una silla. Enrique no pudo menos que participar del disgusto de su padre, pronunciando entre dientes las palabras fatalidad y mala suerte, y volviéndose a Sab le ordenó seguirle a un gabinete inmediato, deseando dejar a Jorge desahogar con libertad el mal humor que siempre produce una esperanza burlada. Pero quedó admirado y resentido cuando al mirar al mulato vio brillar sus ojos con la expresión de una viva alegría, creyendo desde luego que Sab se gozaba en el disgusto de su padre. Echóle en consecuencia una mirada de reproche, que el mulato no notó, o fingió no notar, pues sin pretender justificarse dijo en el momento: —Vengo a avisar a su merced, que me marcho dentro de una hora a Bellavista. (86-87)

Of course, readers are left to wonder if Sab's strange expression of joy is related to disturbing the Otways' conversation, hearing the numbers, or both, as the upset of the discussion between the

wealthy men parallels the upset of the financial and social system that a slave winning the lottery might cause. Also of interest, is that, while luck appears to have abandoned the Otways, readers are left wondering if it may have found another character in the novel, since the lottery was won by someone in Puerto Príncipe. In fact, Sab's highly improbable triumph will come after we discover that Carlota, her father, and Teresa all possess tickets, again showing the lottery as an activity that transcends traditional social class boundaries.

The lottery appears again when Don Carlos, another financially-troubled character who is concerned about Carlota after she is cut out of the family inheritance, also wonders about the news from the city and whether or not he has the winning ticket. Here again, the monetarily-consumed father is shown dreaming of what financial opportunities he might have from the winnings. The primary difference this time, however, is that such fantasies involve his children's future. The narrator again depicts Sab in the context of possible lottery winnings, as he works as Don Carlos's messenger back from the city. Sab, then, is "interrupting" the novel's discussion of this financial activity once more:

> Sab, que había ido a la ciudad, como sabe el lector, llevando entre otros el encargo de sacar las cartas del correo, había declarado al llegar […] que no había carta ninguna para el señor de B…. Extraño era este silencio de su hijo que no dejaba de escribirle un solo correo, y extraño también que su corresponsal de negocios no le mandase, como acostumbraba, los periódicos de la Habana, mayormente cuando debían contener la noticia del sorteo de la gran lotería; que ya sabía D. Carlos por Enrique haber caído el premio mayor en Puerto-Príncipe. Deseaba, pues, con toda la impaciencia de que era susceptible su carácter, tener noticias de su hijo, cuyo silencio le inquietaba, y saber cuál era el número premiado. (121)

Here, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda again subtly places the slave protagonist next to the symbolic, social mobility trope of the lottery, foreshadowing his later appearance as winner.

While the Otways are primarily concerned with lining their own pockets with the prize money, Don Carlos wants to preserve his family's name by enabling his daughter or Teresa to

wed in a financially-beneficial manner. The narrator describes Don Carlos's excitement and the imaginative scenarios of who could have won the lottery that play out in his mind:

> Aunque, como ya hemos dicho, no era don Carlos codicioso, ni diese demasiada importancia a las riquezas, no dejaba de conocer con dolor cuánto las suyas estaban desmembradas, y cuán bello golpe de fortuna sería para él sacar 40.000 duros a la lotería. Por tanto, al saber que este premio cayera en Puerto-Príncipe, latió su corazón de esperanza y acordándose que tenía dos billetes, y Teresa y Carlota cada uno otro: ¿quién sabe, dijo, si uno de estos cuatro billetes será el premiado? ¡Oh, si fuese el de Carlota! ¡Qué felicidad! Pero, no, añadió prontamente el generoso caballero; más bien deseo que sea el de Teresa: Ella lo necesita más. ¡Pobre huérfana, que no ha heredado más que un mezquino patrimonio! Carlota será sin la lotería bastante rica, mayormente casándose con Enrique Otway. (121)

Of course, Don Carlos believes that Enrique will bring enough money into the marriage to resolve Carlota's financial dilemma, and so he wishes for Teresa to win, believing that she has more at stake. Readers know the truth about Enrique, so the scene reads as rather tragic, setting up the final plot events to end in misfortune, which, of course, will play out through these lottery winnings and the financial mobility they offer to the character who claims them.

Ironically, although neither of these young ladies won the prize, Sab, knowing the importance of the lottery winnings in a money-hungry economic system, will arrange for Carlota to have the ticket, from which the Otways will ultimately profit as well. After seeing how all the other characters have bought tickets, Gómez de Avellaneda affirms that the lottery transcends boundaries of race, gender, and social class by offering an unlikely opportunity to multiple characters for fortune when she finally reveals that Sab also has a ticket. It is in this scene too that the true nature of the lottery is ironed out, alongside the representation of its universality among the characters. Specifically, the activity offers a chance at mediating and changing one's fate (already alluded to by the wealthier, white gentlemen who play it, Jorge and Carlos). Slaves

and female characters who have purchased tickets may also have a shot at changing their destiny through its winnings.

Gómez de Avellaneda likely employed the lottery, rather than any other financial endeavor, precisely because of what it symbolizes in a codified class mobility context. The lottery is inherently both chaotic (because it is chance-based) and disruptive (because it calls into question monetary stratification based on other unjust factors, such as race and gender), and thus such a fiscal activity adds a particular ambiance to *Sab.* All citizens could play the lottery, and, while the probability of winning was minimal, the tickets were not prohibitively expensive, and anyone could buy them, making the activity more accessible than gentleman's parlor games, which were often restricted to the middle and upper classes. In this context, the lottery works to some degree as a subversion of both a feudalist system and a capitalist labor system, since it circumvents existing class mobility structures because one could potentially radically change their social class through luck.

While the lottery is often unflatteringly portrayed by some reformists during the nineteenth century, as Fabian documents in historical criticism, it also was the only activity of its type that crossed socio-economic status, race, and gender for an unlikely chance at fortune (111). The act of purchasing a lottery ticket by a person in a marginalized social position also requires a variety of questioning of the established status quo of the stratified economic system in nineteenth-century Cuba, particularly that of slavery itself, because winning the lottery may imply that the existing system is unfair, and lottery players theoretically must desire to escape their economic class category or buy their freedom. Buying a ticket, then, is an attempt at subverting a stratified class system.

Near the novel's finale, Sab meets with Teresa in secret to offer her his lottery ticket, which he says has the winning numbers. The narrator reveals him as the prize winner, but he shocks readers by not cashing in on the winnings himself. We are again reminded that almost all of the major characters in the text have tried their luck in the drawing, and Sab suggests that he and Teresa exchange tickets, wanting her to use his to marry Enrique with the money, thereby showing Enrique's greedy nature to Carlota. This winning ticket represents a path to an easier life, at least in terms of overcoming financial hardship. Sab describes this to Teresa in their conversation, revealing that a woman could assure a more secure future through a dowry in Cuba's unequal society with the lottery money:

> No me burlo de vos, señora—respondió él con solemnidad—. Decidme: ¿no tenéis un billete de la lotería? Le tenéis, yo lo sé: he visto en vuestro escritorio dos billetes que guardáis: el uno tiene vuestro nombre y el otro el de Carlota, ambos escritos por vuestra mano. Ella, demasiada ocupada de su amor, apenas se acuerda de esos billetes, pero vos los conserváis cuidadosamente, porque sin duda pensáis, <<siendo rica, sería hermosa, sería feliz…, siendo rica ninguna mujer deja de ser amada>>. — ¡Y bien!—exclamó Teresa con ansiedad—, es verdad…, tengo un billete de la lotería… —Yo tengo otro. — ¡Y bien! —La fortuna puede dar a uno de los dos cuarenta mil duros. —Y esperas… —Que ellos sean la dote que llevéis a Enrique. Ved aquí mi billete —añadió sacando de su cinturón un papel—, es el número 8014 y el 8014 ha obtenido cuarenta mil duros. Tomad este billete y rasgad el vuestro. Cuando dentro de algunas horas venga yo de Puerto Príncipe, el señor de B… recibirá la lista de los números premiados, y Enrique sabrá que sois más rica que Carlota. Ya veis que no os he engañado cuando os dije que había para vuestro amor una esperanza, ya veis que aún podéis ser dichosa. ¿Consentís en ello, Teresa? (142)

Sab offers this ticket to Teresa, of course, wishing that she marry Enrique, but such an act is impossible for the noble young orphan, since she claims that Carlota's misguided love for Enrique is so great that Carlota would be unable to survive without him.

Although they are problematic, Sab's action highlights hidden social critiques in the novel. Specifically, the project of social class role subversion through lottery winnings fails in the story's conclusion, since Sab gives his lottery ticket up, and Carlota finds only an unhappy

marriage by cashing in on the winning numbers. The novel thus elucidates a great tragedy at the heart of Cuban society: the inescapability of stratified and unjust race and gender roles, which prevent the text's happy ending and are decried by Sab himself in the famous letter comparing slavery to women's roles in marriage at the novel's conclusion. The lottery operates as an activity to subvert such systems through financial means, but this subversion cannot fully be realized in the writer's contemporary social climate, unfortunately, because of the prejudiced restrictions on the characters' lives. Sab has won the lottery, but, ironically, money will not buy him the one thing he wants in an unequal society where racism prevents him from being considered a good match for Carlota: her heart. However, Gómez de Avellaneda appears to use the lottery ticket, already subversive since all members of society could play with equal odds, as a means to highlight injustices. The character Sab thus focuses in on Enrique's obsession with money, as it is one of the greatest weaknesses of his character, and it stands in stark contrast to Sab's own value system.

Sab wishes to highlight differences between himself and Enrique in greed and morality in his secret meeting with Teresa, and, arguing that Enrique will look bad to Carlota because he will be revealed as only interested in money, he begs Teresa to take the ticket:

> Enrique es tan indigno de vos como de ella; ¡lo conozco! Pero, Teresa, vos podéis aparentar algunos días que os halláis dispuesta a otorgarle vuestra dote y vuestra mano, y cuando vencido por el atractivo del oro, que es su Dios, caiga el miserable a vuestros pies, cuando conozca Carlota la bajeza del hombre a quien ha entregado su alma, entonces abrúmenle vuestros desprecios y los suyos, entonces alejad de vos a ese hombre indigno de miraros. ¿Consentís, Teresa? Yo os lo pido de rodillas, en nombre de vuestra amiga, de la hija de vuestros bienhechores… ¡de esa Carlota fascinada que merece vuestra compasión! No consintáis en que caiga en los brazos de un miserable ese ángel de inocencia y de ternura… no lo consintáis, Teresa. (143)

Interestingly, in this act Sab is also attempting to use the lottery ticket to improve his lifestyle, although not through his own use of the prize money. Specifically, he first wishes to leverage the

winnings as an instrument to prevent the marriage of Carlota and Enrique, whom he so disdains, by showing Enrique's materialism. The ticket operates as a symbolic tool for changing his fate, even if not in the obvious way we might imagine (through personal use of the funds). However, such use of the money cannot circumvent larger issues at play: those of Carlota's desire, and, of course, those of a society that marginalizes people based on their race or gender.

Sab first believes that giving the money to Teresa will prevent Carlota's suffering when Carlota realizes that Enrique's motives are not pure, but, unfortunately, Carlota loves Enrique and has bought into the unequal social system that she has been too blind to question. Teresa reveals these truths to Sab,

> Pero ¡ay! … ¿es la felicidad a que quieres darla? … ¡triste felicidad la que se funde sobre las ruinas de todas las ilusiones! Tú te engañas, pobre joven, o yo conozco mejor que tú el alma de Carlota. Aquella alma tierna y apasionada se ha entregado toda entera: su amor es su existencia, quitarle el uno es quitarle la otra. Enrique vil, interesado, no sería ya, es verdad, el ídolo de un corazón tan puro y tan generoso: ¿pero cómo arrancar ese ídolo indigno sin despedazar aquel noble corazón? (143)

The two realize that Carlota will be heartbroken if she cannot marry Enrique, so Teresa, not wanting to steal her friend's betrothed, tells Sab that he should take the money himself to start a new life, demonstrating that, in their society, wealth would help him improve his lifestyle:

> Tu corazón es noble y generoso, si las pasiones le extravían un momento él debe volver más recto y grande. Al presente eres libre y rico: la suerte, justa esta vez, te ha dado los medios de elevar tu destino a la altura de tu alma. El bienhechor de Martina tiene oro para repartir entre los desgraciados, y la dicha de la virtud le aguarda a él mismo, al término de la senda que le abre la providencia. (144)

Luck has favored Sab through winning the lottery, as Teresa says, but alas, Sab desires love rather than money, the grand irony of the novel's course of events. Teresa begs Sab a final time to keep the ticket, "Sab toma tu billete, él te da riquezas … ¡puedes también encontrar algún día

reposo y felicidad!," but he does not do it, as the characters are concerned that Carlota will be heartbroken if she does not wed Enrique (144).

Ultimately, understanding the economic motivations of Enrique, Sab will have Teresa replace Carlota's ticket with the winning one so that she has a dowry to marry this villain because he does not want Carlota to be destroyed by heartbreak, as he is. As Teresa argues of Carlota, "acaso no sobrevivirá a la pérdida de su amor" (144). Sab explains his motivations and claims he does not value money in the same way that other characters (namely Enrique) do, saying he originally sought the funds for his adopted mother, but, supposedly seeing her more comfortable, he no longer wants the ticket. He states: "Cuando tomé ese billete—respondió él—, y quise probar la suerte, Martina, la pobre vieja que me llama su hijo, estaba en la miseria: al presente goza comodidades y el oro me es inútil" (150). This brief statement speaks volumes: first, that Sab's self-sacrifice even already extended to his use of the lottery winnings, since he wanted to give them to Martina. Second, it highlights another subtle message present in the text: that even though Sab has won, he cannot fully enjoy the money himself in his present circumstances. As a tragic figure, Sab was shackled to Carlota's family in slavery, and this not only cost him his physical freedom, but also his ability to love who he desires in his prejudiced society. He fears Carlota cannot love him or view him as an equal, and such inequalities and prejudices on a societal level cannot be rectified simply through his winnings. Sab thus gives Teresa the ticket to secretly replace Carlota's.

In Gómez de Avellaneda's novel, Sab thus problematically sacrifices his own chance at happiness and wealth. Enrique, focused on the financial bottom line, was about to break off his engagement to Carlota when he receives the news that she has won a large sum of money: "Amor, celos, todo desapareció entonces, o todo sucumbió a un poder superior: porque la

ambición de riquezas, lo mismo que todas las ambiciones es una pasión fuerte y enérica" (156). Of course, guided by his lust for gold, when Enrique recives a letter from Carlota's father that Sab delivers, the selfish capitalist fervently reads the crucial financial information and changes his mind:

> Enrique lleno de turbación y desconcierto, apenas pudo leer la posdata que seguía a las últimas líneas de la carta de don Carlos, y que el mulato le indicó con un gesto expresivo. La posdata, decía: <<La suerte, por una cruel irrisión, ha querido compensar el golpe mortal dado en mi corazón con la pérdida de mi hijo, otorgando fortuna a mi hija mayor. Carlota ha sacado el premio de cuarenta mil duros en la última lotería: Enrique, tú que no pierdes un hijo, puedes dar gracias al cielo por este favor>>. (159)

Learning he will share in Carlota's wealth if he honors their engagement, Enrique abandons his departure plans and rides to Carlota's plantation now that she has a large dowry.

After a perilous journey at a frenetic pace to deliver the letter to Enrique, Sab's pony perishes, and the emotionally devastated mulatto protagonist collapses and becomes violently ill. With the aid of a local man, he mounts another horse to return to Martina's hovel, where he succumbs to his heartbreak overnight. However, on his deathbed he writes the letter to Teresa that explains his amorous feelings and the sacrifices he made for Carlota, which Carlota reads years later. Sab's decision to give up the ticket elucidates how the economic system of Cuba itself under a colonial structure, slavery, and the sugar oligarchy created nearly insurmountable obstacles for those born at the bottom rung of society. Had he taken the funds, racism would likely still have prevented Sab from marrying Carlota. Although Sab's sacrifice is problematic because Gómez de Avellaneda does not allow him to personally use the winnings, this plot device does highlight the social and racial inequalities of a money-hungry society. The protagonist's decision to give up the winnings thus calls into question monetary mania at the sacrifice of morals and rights, since Sab places love over money and dies embodying his values.

As previously established, playing the lottery is a somewhat subversive activity because anyone can participate; Sab's decision of what to do with his winning ticket further critiques the traditional wealth system and its stratified inequality. It is the intentional negation of his own winnings in the novel that may attract Carlota to his non-materialism, since Sab represents the exact opposite of Enrique because he does not care about money. In the novel's conclusion, Carlota's attention to Sab years after his death represents some ideological triumph over the dogma of an unequal social system that Carlota had previously bought into. In the final scenes, she too appears to question injustices, as must readers, as I will explain.

Despite winning the lottery, it is no accident that Sab is unable to attain true freedom in a system where he, most Afro-Cubans, and many mulattos were bound by slavery, and it is also no accident that Carlota will use the money to marry, since marriage was a financial transaction. Carlota spends years as Enrique's wife, but friends and neighbors murmur amongst themselves about her unhappiness, since Enrique constantly ignores her for his business. While the lottery winnings allowed them to wed, their wedlock is still founded on inequalities of the typical spousal partnership of the nineteenth century, as many feminist critics have elucidaded, such as Brígida Pastor (68). Her disillusionment is described to readers thusly, "Carlota luchó inútilmente por espacio de muchos meses, después guardó silencio y pareció resignarse. Para ella todo había acabado. Vio a su marido tal cual era: comenzó a comprender la vida. Sus sueños se disiparon, su amor huyó con su felicidad" (184).

Teresa, on the other hand, renounces monetary wealth, as she takes holy vows, accepts poverty, and enters into the convent where she stays in prayer and contemplation until her death near the novel's conclusion. On her deathbed, she calls Carlota to her side, and it is there that she gives Carlota Sab's letter that he penned as he lay dying. Teresa also reveals that Sab loved

Carlota and that he provided, "el oro [. . .] que decidió a Enrique llamarte su esposa" (126). This letter reveals Sab's hidden emotions to Carlota and also ties together a few final words about his perspective on money for readers. Sab predicted Carlota's depressing marital servitude to Enrique in his letter, a view that resonates with her when he decries: "¡[. . .] las mujeres!, ¡pobres y ciegas víctimas! Como los esclavos, ellas arrastran pacientemente su cadena y bajan la cabeza bajo el yugo de las leyes humanas. Sin otra guía que su corazón ignorante y crédulo eligen un dueño para toda la vida" (194). This notorious quote, analyzed by critics such as Doris Sommer and others, encapsulates much of the author's feminist position and likely amplified disquiet about women's roles and slavery for Gómez de Avellaneda's contemporary readers (117).

It is in Sab's comprehension of Carlota's fate that I find further evidence for the monetarily-critical, albeit problematic, elements of Sab's relinquishment of the lottery ticket and Carlota's perspective on this action. As Gómez de Avellaneda has developed throughout the novel, and as I have shown, Sab appears to represent self-sacrifice and passionate emotion, whereas Enrique represents monetary ambition and frigidity. While Sab completes concrete labor and supposedly does not value wealth beyond his freedom and his feelings, Enrique and his father are constantly involved in financial schemes involving gambling, investment, and marriage, which connect in Franklin's view (55). Such behavior is critiqued by the narrator, who opines that their monetary obsession has corrupted them, highlighting their materialism. In such a debate, a focus on love, rather than material goods, is paramount, and it is in this debate that the lottery ticket brings up larger questions for readers in the novel's conclusion.

Crucially, Carlota, too, is disinterested in money. The young lady has spent the novel fantasizing about ideals such as love and justice, which she says she desires over monetary wealth, musing early on, for example, about how she and Enrique should live: "Daremos libertad

a todos nuestros negros. ¿Qué importa ser menos ricos? ¿Seremos por eso menos dichosos? Una choza con Enrique es bastante para mí, y para él no habrá riqueza preferible a mi gratitud y amor" (80). In another moment in the text, Carlota also sings a song about the importance of love over money (92-93), and it is worth reminding the reader that she did sacrifice her familial inheritance to blindly follow her heart. Carlota could be described as a selfish character, but she is more foolish than selfish, since the naïve heroine has no interest in money, but does mistakenly believe that Enrique is the man she desires. Carlota has love and ethical principles as her focus, and once she realizes the truth about Enrique and reads Sab's dying confession, she feels love for the deceased slave, another noble soul of the novel. For the value system the two share, Sab's negation of wealth is salient for Carlota, and the tragic protagonist's memory lives on through this ideological triumph.

Since Sab gives up the winnings (problematically), this helps him gain Carlota's affections when she learns what he did, especially since they both place emotions over money. Even though both characters (Sab and Carlota) are unable to find happiness while living in an unjust society, in the end it is Carlota's discovery of Sab's relinquishment of the lottery ticket and his emotional love letter that brings her to his grave in the novel's final scenes (197). The lottery, as one of the few subversive activities to the unequal capitalist structure, while not directly buying happiness for the characters, thus does facilitate Carlota's questioning of the exploitative soicio-economic system. Carlota was somewhat oblivious to such social injustices earlier in the story, but after her unhappy marriage to Enrique, Teresa's confession that the lottery ticket was Sab's, and her receipt of Sab's letter, her eyes are opened. The novel's message is problematic because Sab relinquishes his own chance at happiness for Carlota's, and is placed in a position of servitude repeatedly in the story, but this appears to be the subtext nonetheless.

The tragic consequences of prejudices based around social class, gender, and race thus prevent both Sab and Carlota from finding happiness and escaping the roles that society expects of them. This is explicitly highlighted in Sab's questioning of these systems, decrying "las leyes de los hombres" and arguing that "[e]l día de la verdad amanecerá claro y brillante," in the letter revealed to readers (194). The lottery itself ultimately cannot overcome the structural inequalities of nineteenth century Cuba that it calls into question, even though it offers one of the few ways that the marginalized characters, such as slaves and women, can try to overcome their assigned roles. However, by negating both characters happiness during their lifetimes from the lottery winnings, Gómez de Avellaneda highlights other social injustices, and the importance of love over money. Gómez de Avellaneda thus uses the lottery ticket as a tool to question and undermine social systems, since Sab's winning and subsequent sacrifice of the ticket likely would have had more shock power for Carlota and wealthy readers (and is more memorable) than keeping the funds for himself might have been.

While the lottery serves as a financially disruptive activity, and later as part of a message of financial and social critique, of course the text's message is still problematic because Gómez de Avellaneda denies her main character the freedom and love he desires. The trope of selflessness likely did elicit compassion from readers and helped promote the novel's ideological aims, although modern readers should find it troubling. As is shown through the comparisons between Sab and Enrique, money talks and controls people and things in Cuban society, but it also can corrupt in a dangerous fashion. It is no surprise, then, that Gómez de Avellaneda's conflicted, but kind, protagonist chooses to give the money away to Carlota to give her a chance with Enrique, rather than spending it himself, since money has a tendency to corrode away the goodness in people and relationships in the novel.

In the end, the text's most obvious problematics come more from the stereotyped portrayal of Sab as a self-sacrificing, innocent character who gives up his own happiness for his female master, as well as from the power differentials assumed in the relationship between Sab and Carlota, rather than from some perceived trickery of Carlota by Sab via the lottery ticket like Davies argues. For the modern reader, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda also utilizes stereotypes and negative characterizations of her protagonist that Branche and other critics have highlighted. Furthermore, many images and ideas stand out as blatantly racist in today's world, even as they may have been accepted during Gómez de Avellaneda's lifetime, when the novel was scandalous, not for its problematic descriptions of slaves, but for its perceived critiques of the institutions of marriage and of slavery. When reading the novel, it also becomes apparent that the writer's primary motivations were for the propagation of early feminist thought, rather than for the crique of slavery.

The lottery, however, still emerges as a unique activity that offers one of the few ways that slaves or women might change their social or financial standing in Gómez de Avellaneda's seminal novel. Nonetheless, the lottery still cannot overcome the full extent of the structural inequalities at play in Cuban society, and Sab's tragic death and letter illustrate that concrete discrimination and sexism are some of the larger hurdles stacked against the title character and Carlota.[72] That such questions of social mobility do not get put to the test in Gómez de Avellaneda's novel because Sab gives away the winning ticket is an indication of larger social inequalities as well as the greater power of love over money when it comes to Romantic fiction. When faced with the option, Sab chooses the chance for Carlota's well-being, and, in this novel at least, the questions of social class mobility and economic transformation remain an unresolved

[72]Of course, the lottery is ironic as a subversive tool because it is still a money-making activity. However, it does, theoretically, operate outside of inheritance, business, or labor-based class divisions, so it is disruptive.

theoretical issue. Nonetheless, the chaos of a chance-based wealth system conceptually calls into question social-class stratification and prejudice based on unjust factors, such as inheritance, race, and gender through the novel's plot events and the idea of the lottery winnings.

Social Class Mobility and Gambling in* Martín Rivas *(1862)

While it was through the lottery and risky investments that *Sab* showed the negotiation of economic standing and social class, in Alberto Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas* (1862), it is investments and card games, rather than the lottery that will serve a similar purpose. The novel, from the outset, describes several characters engaged in negotiations of wealth. Some are members of the upper crust Santiago society; some are aspiring social climbers, and for both groups gambling emerges as a favored leisure pursuit, with investments added for the wealthy class. Unlike these secondary characters, Martín will stand out as the one character who participates in neither endeavor and instead climbs the social ladder through work, passion, commitment, and service to other characters.

To aid with the business accounts and bookkeeping, the title character comes to Santiago, Chile after his father's death and moves in with his father's former business partner, don Dámaso Encina. There he befriends don Dámaso's wealthy and wasteful son Agustín, and a tortured dreamer named Rafael San Luis. Martín frequents the houses of both the wealthy, particularly that of the Encina family, and the less fortunate families in Santiago, including the aspiring social climbers, doña Bernarda and her children. In these interactions, gambling emerges as a favored leisure pursuit for the bourgeois and for families aspiring to riches, and its presence alongside investing also highlights key renegotiations of wealth among the upper class residents of Santiago. Martín also falls in love with don Dámaso's daughter Leonor and spends his evenings in conversation with Edelmira, the youngest child of doña Bernarda.

In both settings, gaming activities and financial discourse rule the house. In the Encina's salon, corrupted wealthy gentlemen gamble with don Dámaso as they talk politics and investing. In doña Bernarda's parlor, a space of lower socio-economic status, her devious son Amador, the brother of Agustín's girlfriend Adelaida, makes most of his money off duping gentlemen at cards at the family's parties. While both the gentry and the lower middle class try their hand at cards, the novel also negotiates ideas of commodities trading and investments among the rich. The *Sociedad de la Igualdad* and their attempted uprising that questioned the nation's monetary inequality and the wealthy ruling class helps to contextualize a debate occurring among Alberto Blest Gana and his contemporaries regarding Chile's changing social structure, gambling, investing, and newer ways of making money off of chance-based activities. Finally, gender also intersects with speculative commerce in this novel, since doña Bernarda also participates in the games that take place in her salon. Since *Martín Rivas* demonstrates early Realist traits, I view the novel's treatment of gambling and investing as timely for questions of economy and finance being negotiated in the late-nineteenth century alongside social class.

Alberto Blest Gana (1830-1920) was a Chilean writer, politician, and diplomat from Irish and Basque heritage. Born in Santiago, Chile and educated both in the capital and abroad in France, the young Blest Gana embarked on a career in politics. Beginning with an interest in military tactics, the author studied this and other subjects in France, becoming well-versed in army strategy and witnessing the Revolution of 1848 in Paris. Shortly after, Blest Gana returned home to Chile to mourn his mother's death, and he took a post teaching at the *Escuela Militar* in Santiago. He began writing seriously by the 1850s and published his earliest works as *novelas de folletín.* Named to various political posts during the 1860s, such as Supervisor or *Intendente* of the Colchagua Province, he crowned his political achievements as Chile's representative abroad

working as a diplomat to the United States, England, and France. Blest Gana is heralded as one of the earliest Chilean novelists, although Rosario Orrego in the previous chapter was also an early novelist who has largely lived in his shadow among critics. However, Blest Gana was also one of the first writers in Latin America to employ Realist techniques. Some of his most important novels include: *La aritmética del amor* (1860), *Martín Rivas* (1862), *El ideal de un calavera* (1863), *Durante la Reconquista* (1897) and *El loco estero* (1909). Of note, *El ideal de un calavera* is another text that explores gambling and a gentlemen's lifestyle within wealthy homes, following the wayward youth, Abelardo, in the Chilean countryside. *Martín Rivas*, like *Sab*, has traditionally garnered praise and attention from critics, to which I will now turn.

Much of the previous scholarship on *Martín Rivas* has centered on the novel's costumbrista elements in its depiction of Santiago, as it is a self-described "novela de costumbres político-sociales." Such components, ultimately, also provide rich detail for an analysis of gambling pursuits in Chile. Additionally, many critics have analyzed how the novel adapts literary trends, such as Realism, for Latin America. As Doris Sommer argues of *Martín Rivas*, for example, the novel showed some level of foundational justice in its realist style, moralizing readers in the process: "*Martín Rivas* was modern (even precociously realist), seductively melodramatic, and yet managed to be relentlessly moralizing as well. Even when things end badly in the subplots of this novel, the infallible justice meted out produces a kind of readerly happiness derived from our satisfaction with the book's, and the country's, narrative logic" (209). This innate justice in the narrative also relates to its questions of gambling to some degree.

The aforementioned development of Marxist theory permitted writers and thinkers to reassess how money should be made and distributed among the proletariat populace. The *Sociedad de la Igualdad*, which Martín joins alongside Rafael San Luis, was at the forefront of

social class negotiations in Chile during this era. As Naomi Lindstrom argues, the novel's focus on the relationship between Leonor and Martín at the center of the narrative questions social class stratum as well, as Leonor is less "fragile" than the average romantic heroine (129).[73] While social class is a focus of the narrative, in *Martín Rivas*, the action centers on the male characters involved in the social class revolution, with female characters (Leonor and Edelmira) away from the center of the action. However, while some critics have focused on gendered presentations of social class, there has not been a large-scale analysis of gambling in the novel.

Martín's social and economic aspirations have been debated by critics. Some see him as representative "el triunfo de la medianía social sobre los prejuicios del dinero y la alcurnia" (Poblete Varas 108); others as "bourgeois" save for the possession of money and property (Concha xxviii). Concha, in fact, argues that the definition of such class concerns is a central tenant of the narrative (xxxii), and, María Luisa Martínez, Fernando Ibáñez, and Edson Faúndez extend this mimetic desire for money and status to other characters such as Agustín (53). These reflections on social class in *Martín Rivas* explore the way in which financial wealth was re-conceptualized during the nineteenth century and provide some foundation for the argument that I will extend to ideas of speculative commerce and gambling as they relate to the social climbing previously established by critics.

The shift towards a realist style and the central social class questions at play in the novel also alter the representation of gambling as Blest Gana endeavors to show day-to-day life more accurately, since gambling was a popular activity for some members of society. *Martín Rivas* was not written in isolation from the rest of the Hispanic literary world, and key negotiations of wealth and finance as part of global financial markets tie the novel to others in an emerging

[73]In contrast, Alicia G. Andreu has argued that women in the Realist novel are sometimes used to frustrate the male protagonists, and are not developed as direct players in their own fate (35).

Realist tradition. Novels in this category are *La gaviota* (1849) by Spaniard Cecilia Böel von Faber (Fernán Caballero), which shows scenes of gambling at *tertulias* among the wealthy, *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887), by Benito Pérez Galdós, which also discusses the lottery and social class divisions, and *La Regenta* (1884, 1885) by Clarín or Leopoldo Alas, which illustrates business and financial schemes at the gentlemen's club where some members come to turn a profit by working as professional gamblers. In the Americas, Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), is another salient example that depicts gambling between wealthy men of the sugar oligarchy. On a larger scale, other European works of realist literature, such as Fodor Dostoevsky's *The Gambler* (1867), demonstrate that gambling's rendering among the elite was increasingly popular during the second half of the nineteenth century globally.

Some of the most useful critical theory for understanding connections between gambling and investing in Realist narratives comes from Leigh Mercer's recent critical tome, *Urbanism and Urbanity* (2013), which focuses on Spain. She argues that a renewed interest in games of chance during the mid-nineteenth century was caused by shifting global economic structures (which I have previously detailed), and the publishing of the serial novel, *Treinta años o la vida de un jugador* by Angelón in 1862. As evinced by my dissertation, however, a discussion of gambling occurred throughout the nineteenth century in various literary movements, although she is right that a specific representation of gambling and the stock market emerges in Realism.

In this vein, Mercer outlines some theoretical constructs of import that connect gambling to finance that are relevant to the social class representations in *Martín Rivas*. Namely, she argues that the stock market emerged as a new means to wealth that was not based on inheritance in the Realist novel, later connecting speculative investing back to the longer-standing tradition

of gambling. The large-scale global investment markets became particularly important among those aspiring to wealth during the second half of the nineteenth century. As she describes:

> In this reality unhinged from materiality, risk-takers—those who explored new avenues of economic development and who circulated and grew their money in a market economy, unlike those who rested on past laurels and inherited fortunes—became the representatives of the new bourgeois ideal of self-invention. And the stock market, the most significant forum for financial speculation and a context that rewarded high stakes transactions, became a playground for this new male breed. (107)

Because such money was primarily representative (on paper record only), such a shift marked a new interest in the idea of wealth, rather than wealth itself. Money and wealth were more conceptual than they previously had been, particularly when the austere spaces of *la bolsa* were taken into account (Mercer 108).

Even more importantly, gambling and investing are conceptually intertwined for some intellectuals of the period, as both were initially viewed with some measure of skepticism (Mercer 111). This attitude pervades Blest Gana's novel, as Martín's father, for example, loses vast sums in ill-advised mining investments. Because of a fear of conceptual financial wealth from speculative commerce outstripping work-based or nobility-based wealth systems, both gambling and investment were often juxtaposed to actual labor in the literature of the period (Mercer 112). As Mercer puts it, "the stock market appears in opposition to the economy of hard work, real production and commerce" (112).[74] Without a doubt, similar ideas are at play in *Martín Rivas*, not only with mining and business investments, but also with the concrete act of gambling itself. As Mercer explains, "[d]espite the apparent differences between these two spaces, the casino is conceptually approximate to the stock market. Social critics and historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries certainly described the two contexts in parallel

[74]For this argument, Mercer pulls from the representations of gambling and stock investments in the Spanish novels *La bruja de Madrid* (1849-1850) by Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and *Barcelona y sus misterios* (1844) by Antonio Altadill.

terms" (124). Accordingly, gambling and investing abound in *Martín Rivas* and become codified symbols of larger, contemporary, financially-speculative trends.

While social class was being renegotiated as modern financial markets emerged and as intellectuals re-conceptualized the definitions of concepts like "equality," harkening back to the Marxist thought previously mentioned, the middle class and those aspiring to wealth may have felt threatened by a representative monetary system (ie. investments and paper money) and by the possibility of making money without any direct labor. Namely, "[f]or the growing middle class, the casino, like the stock market, could be a dangerous context, where large sums of currency might be won or lost and where the instant creation of unearned affluence boldly questioned the work ethic and the affirmation of tangible wealth" (Mercer 125). Of course, any "work ethic" basis to wealth was also questionable, since historical inequalities persisted in the post-independence era, but Mercer's assertions that gambling and investing sparked anxieties among the middle class and nouveaux riche is relevant for Blest Gana's novel, as I will explore. Namely, a hard-work paradigm is espoused by the novelist, as Martín does not gamble, and *Martín Rivas* thus continually questions both investing and gambling for their dangers to market stability and for the corruption of the people who rely on them.

***Gambling Among the Upper Class in* Martín Rivas**

In *Martín Rivas*, Blest Gana negotiates social class by representing gambling in a variety of contexts, starting with wealthy salons. Martín begins the story as he, significantly, is put in charge of the family's accounting after his arrival at don Dámaso's home. Martín will receive a small monetary allotment to attend school in exchange for the work he does to balance the books. Readers quickly learn about the family's investments and why Martín's father lost his fortune and came to the Encina household. Specifically, Martín's father was heavily invested in a

silver mine that had produced nearly nothing. As discussed in the previous chapter, mining was a key piece of the long-term economic foundation of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, although individual mines were certainly a gamble in terms of their output.[75] This mine is also the source of the Encina family's fortune because don Dámaso helped bankroll the continuation of its drilling when it was in financial trouble, later slowly buying the business out from Martín's father. As luck would have it, the mine struck a huge silver ore vein shortly after its ownership was transferred to the Encina family, demonstrating the dangers and the incredible potential of investment in the mining industry. The narrator describes Martín's father's initial speculative business deal with don Dámaso thusly:

> Usted puede ejecutarme: no tengo con qué pagar. Mas, si en lugar de cobrarme quiere usted arriesgar algunos medios, le firmaré a usted un documento por valor doble que el de esa letra y *cederé a usted la mitad de una mina que poseo* y que estoy seguro hará un gran alcance en un mes de trabajo. Don Dámaso era hombre de reposo y se volvió a su casa sin haber dado ninguna respuesta en pro ni en contra. Consultóse con varias personas, y todas ellas le dijeron que don José Rivas, su deudor, era un loco que había perdido toda su fortuna persiguiendo una veta imaginaria. (9)

Don Dámaso, seeing an opportunity, agrees to Rivas' deal, and, crucially, this debt-relief plan bankrupts the Rivas family when the Encina family strikes it rich after years of digging. Investment, which is an upper class gamble, can turn out with spectacular results, but it is highly risky, as evinced by the loss of the Rivas family fortune.

Of course, Martín's father risked the family's fortune through investment in the mining industry, which pushed the family to ruin, in a series of events that is reminiscent of the Otway's loss of capital in *Sab* through risky investments. Martín, however, has not been a part of such bad

[75]As José Deustua, who has specialized in historical data regarding mining in Peru, has shown, silver mining was an important income-generator for the nations lucky enough to have mineral natural resources, such as Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Deustua's data shows that, while silver production did decline in the post-independence era, it was still a key resource, although individual mines could be volatile in their production rates. For more information, see Deustua's *The Bewitchment of Silver* (2000) or "Producción minera y circulación monetaria en una economía andina: El Perú del siglo XIX" (1986), also cited in Chapter 2.

business deals, and he will manage to save himself from the family's imminent destitution through work, study, and service to other characters throughout the novel, as I will demonstrate. The wealthy Encina family is not depicted as necessarily deserving of their money, as the narrator often critiques the frivolity of the household, but rather as extremely lucky, wealthy capitalists. On the other hand, Martín is a wise man who figures out how to work the system through labor, and he will be shown to be deserving of his social climbing as the plot continues.

Don Dámaso's speculative endeavors extend beyond the mining sector into gambling in his household and into making economically-wise marital matches for his children, Agustín and Leonor. The family hosts regular *tertulias* that feature card games where the men talk politics and negotiate questions of finance and political power, largely excluding the women and the less-wealthy, like Martín, from such exchanges. As Martín subtly flirts with Leonor, don Dámaso's daughter, the narrator sets up the following scene in a Realist style: "En un rincón de la pieza vecina rodeaban una mesa de malilla don Dámaso y tres caballeros de aspecto respetable y encanecidos cabellos. Al lado de la mesa se hallaba como observador el joven Mendoza, uno de los adoradores de Leonor" (27).[76] The game-playing depicted here extends to political and economic power games as well, as the men negotiate political posts and investments while they play, and don Dámaso is constantly in vascilation on both his political beliefs and investment plans. Notably, Martín does not partake in the *malilla* game, and the characterization of the gentlemen at the card table is largely negative:

> Un criado anunció que el té estaba pronto, y todos se dirigieron a una pieza contigua a la que ocupaban los jugadores de malilla. Dijimos que éstos eran tres

[76]This particular card game is defined in the 1822 *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* as "Juego de naipes que comúnmente se juega entre cuatro, repartiendo toda la baraja. Cada mano hay un palo de triunfo, que es el de la última carta. Los nueves son las cartas superiores en sus palos respectivos, y se llaman también malillas" (509). The game is a trick based game where four players work in pairs, much like some other popular games in Spanish culture (such as *Mus*). It is closely related to the French game *Manille*, and is still played regionally in some variation, particularly in Mexico, according to John McLeod, who maintains a database of world card games.

> con el dueño de casa. Los otros dos eran un amigo de don Dámaso, llamado don Simón Arenal, y el padre de Matilde, don Fidel Elías. Estos últimos eran el tipo del hombre parasítico en política, que vive siempre al arrimo de la autoridad y no profesa más credo político que su conveniencia particular y una ciega adhesión a la gran palabra *Orden*, realizada en sus más restrictivas consecuencias. La arena política de nuestro país está empedrada con esta clase de personajes. (29)

The repugnant, conniving nature of the players and the negotiation of societal control that occurs in this context mark speculative activities among the upper crust as calculating power plays. Martín, the story's hero, is untainted by such gambling endeavors by choosing other pursuits in the Encina home, which offers some clues as to the novelist's conceptions of gambling.

As the novel continues, Blest Gana further critiques scheming businessmen making speculative investments, such as don Fidel Elías, who was pictured as a slimy character at the gambling table in the previous scene. Such men are more concerned with material goods than with love or happiness, a posture that Blest Gana appears to disdain. Don Fidel's obsession with money and his manipulation of others for personal gain is negatively highlighted by the narrator, who records his thoughts after a conference with don Dámaso about Matilde's marriage prospects:

> Don Fidel Elías regresó a su casa felicitándose, como dijimos, de su actividad y maestría para conducir los negocios. Entre nosotros es bastante conocido el tipo del hombre que dirige a este fin todos los pasos de su vida. Para tales vivientes, todo lo que no es negocio es superfluo. Artes, historia, literatura, todo para ellos constituye un verdadero pasatiempo de ociosos. La ciencia puede ser buena a sus ojos si reporta dinero, es decir, mirada como negocio. La política les merece atención por igual causa y adoptan la sociabilidad por cuanto las relaciones sirven para los negocios. [. . .] Entre estos sectarios de la religión del negocio se hallaba, como ha visto el lector, don Fidel Elías por los años de 1850; es decir diez años ha. Y en diez años la propaganda y el ejemplo han hecho numerosos sectarios. (179)

This scene, of course, is representative of don Fidel's monetary obsessions, and the narrator takes a moment to critique the propagation of such men in recent years. Without regard for his daughter's happiness, don Fidel will promise her in marriage multiple times throughout the

course of the novel to preserve his investments. Of course, this attitude of marriage as a business transaction relates back to similar concerns over monetarily-motivated matrimony in other novels treated in this dissertation and J. Jeffrey Franklin's comments on marriage and money (55). *Sab* demonstrates the harm of financial obsessions dictating marriage (shown through Carlota and Enrique's unhappy domestic partnership), and texts in the previous chapter, such as Orrego's *Alberto el jugador*, convey the dangers to women of making money and debt a central part of romantic exchange. Overall, both don Dámaso and don Fidel are shown as financially manipulative gentlemen who, rather than having earned their wealth, have merely been lucky and keen in speculative investing. With extra cash on their hands, they pass the days making business and political deals around the card table with other people's fortunes on the line.

Having learned about Martín's father's bankruptcy from the narrator, readers also get to know another young man of the upper class whose family has been ruined through bad luck in speculative investment endeavors. Rafael San Luis is a tortured soul who Martín meets in school and befriends over the course of the novel. Like Martín, this young man's family lost their fortune in mining investments, specifically through buying stock in the Californian gold rush. The mining boom in Chile, Peru, and the Western United States during the mid-nineteenth century caused a few to strike it rich and many to lose their cash on failed and unproductive digs (Deustua, "The Bewitchment" 60). Investment in such sectors was likely dangerous, and these same themes (shown in the previous chapter in *Regina*), again speak to larger questions of speculative finance among the wealthy and those aspiring to wealth, as they were truly risky business. As Rafael San Luis explains to Martín regarding his father's lost fortune,

> Mi padre me llamó un día a su cuarto y al entrar se arrojó en mis brazos [. . .] sus primeras palabras fueron éstas: '— ¡Rafael, todo lo he perdido!' Le miré con asombro, porque la sociedad le creía rico. '—Pago mis deudas—me dijo—, y sólo nos queda con qué vivir pobremente.' 'Y así viviremos—le contesté con cariño—.

> ¿Por qué se aflige usted? Yo trabajaré'. —Explicarte la ruina de mi padre sería referirte una historia que se repite todos los días en el comercio: buques perdidos con grandes cargamentos; trigo malbaratado en California; ¡esa mina de pocos y ruina de tantos! En fin, los percances de las especulaciones mercantiles. Aquella noticia me entristeció por mi padre. (82)

The mention of the failure of varied commercial investments in this scene again highlights the novel's perspectives on the risks of speculative commerce. At this time Rafael was courting Matilde, Agustín's cousin, and the loss of Rafael's family fortune subsequently also caused don Dámaso to put a stop to the marriage arrangement between them. Of course, although Matilde continued loving San Luis, this loss of wealth separated them, as money, again, was still joined directly with marital arrangements. The loss of his fiancé after losing the family fortune devastated Rafael, and the echoes of the fall of this relationship reverberate through the decisions he makes throughout the remainder of the novel.

Rafael San Luis and Martín Rivas become fast friends and members of the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* together, an ideological political cause that undermines the manipulation of economic funds by the wealthy through Marxist theory of social class. These concepts do not triumph at the end of the novel, as the society is defeated, but the messages are still present to some degree, as I will explore. The representation of the wealthy investors (don Dámaso and don Fidel) as cunning and undeserving of their money, which came from good fortune in speculative commerce and from business deals around the game table contrasts with the representations of Martín and Rafael, whose family fortunes were ruined through those same speculative financial endeavors. Martín, in particular, is shown to be deserving of fortune, and his dedication throughout the novel underpins Blest Gana's affirmation of the hard work paradigm in this way. As Leigh Mercer has shown, gambling and investing can become linked and critiqued in the Realist tradition (124).

***Gambling among the Middle and Lower Socio-Economic Classes in* Martín Rivas**

Martín Rivas offers an interesting look at gambling across social class because Blest Gana examines a range of characters of differing financial means participating in gaming and luck-based commerce, including those of a lower socio-economic status. Martín's connections between the upper crust and the less wealthy in Santiago's city center are Rafael San Luis and Agustín Encina, who frequent parties at the homes of the capital's less fortunate to engage in lively conversation, flirtation, drinking, and gambling. Rafael San Luis first mentions his personal penchant for gambling to Martín when he explains how his love affair with Matilde crumbled after he lost his family fortune. This tortured romantic character, who shares many similarities to the Romantic rogue figure in the first chapter, tries to find respite in speculative games, such as billards, to forget about his failed marriage prospects. Rafael explains his sad lifestyle to Martín in this way: "En lugar de asistir a las clases, frecuenté los cafés y maté horas enteras tratando de aficionarme al billar. Allí contraje amistad con algunos jóvenes de esos que gritan a los sirvientes y hacen oír su voz cual si quisieran ocupar a todos de lo que dicen" (84). In other words, Rafael identifies himself with Santiago's wayward, gambling youth. Because he passes his days in the pool hall trying to distract himself from his woes, he earns a reputation as a troublemaker: "Mi reputación de tunante principiaba a cimentarse, sin que hubiese perdido ni la virtud ni el punzante recuerdo a mis amores perdidos" (84). This vice-filled lifestyle is new to Martín, but he is intrigued by what Rafael describes, even though he will not take part in such behavior himself.[77]

[77]Of note, Rafael shares traits in common with Luciano, a character in Blest Gana's earlier novel *El pago de las deudas* (1861), which depicts the wayward youth gambling to try to change his luck when he wants to marry his beloved but is overwhelmed by debt (148). Like Rafael, Luciano also dies at the novel's conclusion, committing suicide by drowning himself and marking the sentimental novel as more influenced by Romanticism.

As the novel continues, Martín is frustrated by social class differences that separate him from Leonor and is frustrated that they will never be together since Leonor's family has made a fortune off of their mines through their luck in investing. As a solution to Martín's lovesickness, Rafael explains to him that one way to relieve his current agony is through distraction, thus prescribing the same methods that he followed himself after his breakup with Matilde, such as gambling and flirtation. The two men go to visit with two beautiful girls, Adelaida and Edelmira, at the house of their mother, doña Bernarda Cordero de Molina, setting the stage for further representations of gambling in the novel. This family is of a lower socio-economic status, and the two young men, alongside Agustín, who also frequents the house, make some negative observations about the family that are very telling for the novel's discourses surrounding financial matters. In this setting, Blest Gana casts gambling among those of a lower socio-economic status primarily as card games (63). Whatever investment endeavors the family seeks are merely schemes orchestrated by doña Bernarda's son, Amador, whose corrupt nature casts both his card shark skills and his back room deals in a negative light.

In doña Bernarda's house, a space of gambling, both she and her son scam their guests who come to play cards, making the matriarch one of the few examples of female literary characters of the period to gamble at the card table (69). While women participated in the lottery in *Sab*, card games in Cuban society, like in Chilean society, were more often depicted among men and in gentlemen's spaces. However, since this is a private residence that actually belongs to doña Bernarda, she is at liberty to participate in card games there if she chooses. In fact, women sometimes did play cards in the home space, as I observed in the chapter on the Romantic rogue, although their play may have had negative connotations. As discussed, it is also worth remembering that the *pícara* figure too is sometimes depicted in such scenarios. In this

case then, perhaps unsurprisingly, doña Bernarda is characterized poorly, and the ambiance of her home is corrupting. As Rafael San Luís details of the family, "[s]e compone de una viuda, un varón y dos hijas. Daremos primero el paso al bello sexo por orden de fechas. La viuda se llama doña Bernarda Cordero de Molina. Tiene cincuenta años mal contados y se diferencia de muchas mujeres por su afición inmoderada al juego, en lo que también se parece a ciertas otras" (62). The "ciertas otras" seems to refer to a corrupted or lower class of impure women who were associated with monetary activities, as I have discussed in previous chapters. Since gambling, again, was associated with gentlemen's spaces and money, when women came into contact with gambling or money, it may have incited subtle implications of their immorality, perhaps extending to their virtue and chastity (Labanyi 131). Predictably, then, doña Bernarda lacks control over her household and readers discover that Amador is driving the family to ruin, while Adelaida has birthed Rafael's illegitimate child out of wedlock.

Such corrupt connections all link back to the family's gambling activities and their lack of financial, and thus moral, integrity. As Rafael San Luis explains, Amador is a prime architect of the family's gambling income and of their manipulative business schemes. San Luis offers this characterization of the eldest of doña Bernarda's offspring to Martín: "El primogénito, después de derrochar su haber paterno, vive a expensas de la madre y costea con los naipes sus menudos gastos. En tiempo de elecciones es un activo patriota si la oposición le paga mejor que el Gobierno, y conservador neto si éste gratifica su actividad" (63). In other words, Amador is characterized as a man without principles whose gambling and meager money scarcely pay the bills, while he fritters away the family's remaining capital on wasteful expenditures.

When the two young men enter doña Bernarda's house, an important gambling space, for Martín's first party there, they find a lively card game proposed by the matriarch herself. As the

narrator explains: "Terminada la cuadrilla, doña Bernarda llamó a algunos de sus amigos. —Vamos al montecito—les dijo—; es preciso que nosotros también nos divirtamos. Varias personas rodearon una mesa sobre la cual doña Bernarda colocó un naipe, y las restantes, con Rivas y San Luis, entraron al salón, donde se oía el sonido de una guitarra" (69). The family's gambling room, the scene of regular drunken revelry with doña Bernarda and Amador at the helm, will drive the honor of her children into the ground. While Rafael stops at the gaming table, Martín is disinterested in the game and continues into the other room: "Rivas se separó de su amigo, que se había detenido junto a la mesa en que doña Bernarda jugaba al monte" (73). Interestingly, the game of choice in this scene is *monte*, a card game mentioned in previous chapters as a popular money-making racket during which it is easy for players, especially the dealer, to cheat. With doña Bernarda and Amador leading the table, readers may already suspect that the play is not entirely fair.

As the other characters wager money on *monte*, Martín chats with the innocent youngest daughter, Edelmira, whose honor and happiness are at risk because of the family's schemes to use her as a pawn in arranged matrimony for financial reasons. Although such problems are always viewed from Rivas's masculine perspective, later in the novel Martín does help Edelmira escape from the altar when she is going to be forced into wedlock for money, harkening back to the monetarily-motivated marriages of other novels in this dissertation. Edelmira is delineated as outside of the family's corrupting influence, but the other members of the Molina clan are fully subsumed by monetarily-speculative endeavors, particularly gambling and extortion.

Multiple return trips to doña Bernarda's home throughout the novel reveal more about Blest Gana's characterization of lower-middle class gambling. When Martín goes with Agustín, the card sharps meet them by preparing the card table to try to scam the wealthy Encina heir, in a

scene that makes interesting observations about gamblers as either scamming others, or foolishly falling victim to tricks. As the narrator describes their arrival, "Rivas y Agustín entraron en casa de doña Bernarda en circunstancias que la señora preparaba la mesa de juego y llamaba a dos amigos de Amador, que con éste y el oficial de policía rodeaban a las niñas. [. . .] Los dos amigos de Amador acudieron al llamado de la dueña de casa, que recibió a los que llegaban en ese momento con el naipe en la mano" (115). Attracted by the setup of the game, Agustín is happy to participate, as the family had hoped. While Martín sits on the sidelines again talking to Edelmira, the other men gamble fervently: "Todos rodearon en ese momento la mesa de juego y Amador tomó el naipe que dejaba doña Bernarda, contenta con haber ganado cien pesos" (119). Predictably, the foppish Agustín will lose at *monte* over the course of the evening, as the scene depicts the aspiring wealthy scamming the upper crust. Amador represents the negative route to social climbing and Agustín, the Encina firstborn, shows the foolishness of wealthy gentlemen who did not have to work for their fortune.[78] Agustín, trying to impress Adelaida, loses vast sums of cash as Amador plies him with liquor: "Él que perdía la mayor parte era Agustín Encina, que, entusiasmado con el buen éxito de sus amores, desafiaba a todos los circunstantes al juego, después de haber perdido, para manifestar delante de Adelaida su desprendimiento del dinero" (119).

Unsurprisingly, Amador knows exactly what he is doing in getting Agustín intoxicated and encouraging him to continue playing. He orders another bottle brought to keep the game lively, and readers learn that his sleight-of-hand tricks in play are granting him an advantage through cheating, much like we saw among the rogue figures in previous chapters (such as Periquillo). As the narrator describes it, "[s]in duda el hijo de doña Bernarda conocía alguno de

[78]These depictions of Amador are similar to those of the foolish, wealthy Leonardo de Gamboa in *Cecilia Valdés*, as both characters play and lose money recklessly at the gambling table (160).

los métodos con que cierta clase de jugadores se apoderan del dinero de los demás, con más cortesía pero no más honradez que los salteadores de camino; porque parecía haber avasallado a la fortuna ganando cada vez cantidades que al cabo de un cuarto de hora habían agotado el dinero de Agustín" (119). Out of money, Agustín declares he will, "Jug[ar] sobre [su] palabra," and, after losing 2,000 pesos that he signs a promise to pay, Martín puts a stop to the game to prevent further losses: "Al cabo de una hora había perdido mil pesos, que en media hora más se doblaron. Martín intervino entonces, y puso término al juego" (120). When Agustín is unable to control his gambling, Martín intervenes, which is again significant in that he actively avoids and interrupts the risky play.

Highlighting the negative depiction of doña Bernarda and her son as scammers who try to take money through gambling and trickery, the narrator describes how, after the game, Doña Bernarda, Adelaida, and Amador scheme to trap Agustín in an attempted amorous liaison with Adelaida to force the dandy to marry Adelaida for financial purposes. Amador, the architect of such schemes, is depicted as a vice-filled miscreant, who endeavors to forcibly extort as much money as possible from Amador in order to pay his debts. He first collects Agustín's gambling arrears, and then attempts to blackmail Agustín to keep the marriage quiet temporarily. Here the schemer's lack of work ethic is again mentioned, as Blest Gana seeks to highlight Amador's laziness, gambling obsession, and penchant for easy money:

> Con decidido amor al ocio, sin profesión ninguna lucrativa y sin más recursos que el juego, Amador se hallaba siempre bajo el peso de un pasivo muy considerable a sus eventuales entradas. [. . .] Con un reloj que debía a su habilidad en hacer trampas, y una gruesa cadena que acababa de comprar, Amador había adquirido gran importancia a sus propios ojos y aparentaba aires de caballero en el café que le hacían notar de toda la concurrencia. (154)

Obviously, through these examples, gambling and financial schemes among the lower-middle class are negatively depicted and synonymous with corruption, laziness, and manipulation.

With reckless spending and machinations among the wealthy who did not earn their money by working and with scams and tricks among the lower middle class, Blest Gana criticizes speculative finance, particularly gambling, across social classes, although in distinct ways. The upper class appears foolish, wasteful, and money-hungry as they fritter away cash at the gambling table and on frivolities.[79] In the case of don Dámaso's family, this money only came to them through luck in the mining industry and somewhat ruthless business decisions, rather than through any kind of labor or merit. Blest Gana depicts the aspiring social climbers, such as Amador and doña Bernarda, even more negatively, as they try to win a fortune by scamming the wealthy at cards and trapping them into extortion schemes.[80] Another level of society, the extremely poor, who formed a significant portion of the Chilean population, are hardly mentioned in the novel, and readers can only assume that the shapeless, nameless labor force behind the mining and agricultural industries from which the wealthy have capitalized is composed of Chile's indigenous population and the financially underprivileged. Blest Gana's ignorance to this working class is interesting, considering that the novel intentionally explores social class concerns, especially as represented through the growth of the *Sociedad de la Igualdad*.

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[79]The theme of the ephemerality of money coming from speculative capitalist endeavors (such as mining), plays out in Agustín's losses at the gambling house and in Amador's reckless spending habits. In Brazilian writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, a more extreme version of such expenditures is offered in the story "Terpischore" (1886), which depicts a couple winning the lottery and spending everything on a party (60). These tragic stories make some critique of the social forces enabling compulsive spending.

[80]Another concern present to some degree in the novel is the problem of addiction, which drives characters such as Agustín to continue playing despite their losses. This representation was also common in Realism. As Lorne Tepperman argues, looking at Dostoevsky's novel *The Gambler*: "in nineteenth-century Russia, gambling could bolster a person's reputation as honorable and respectable, and could signify wealth, prestige, and high social standing. Gambling also let ordinary people (especially those who couldn't engage in battles or duels) show off their bravery, thereby gaining an honorable reputation" (61). However, a darker side of this reputable gambling between gentlemen was the possibility of addiction, and Dostoevsky himself was a gambling addict who used profits from his writings to pay for his gambling. As Tepperman puts it, "an addict with artistic talent can glorify the banality of addiction" (5).

While the novel is not blatantly anti-gambling, it is worth noting that gambling and speculative commerce are generally negatively depicted across social class lines in *Martín Rivas*. Since the novel was published around the same time as that of Blest Gana's contemporary, Rosario Orrego's *Alberto el jugador*, gambling and monetary speculation were clearly a central part of Chile's national discourse. Ultimately, having money is not enough to make characters good people in Blest Gana's narrative. Instead, it is hard work and intelligence that ennoble the main character who does not participate in gambling schemes, Martín. Throughout the novel, Martín is the voice of reason who saves the Encina family from ruin or scandal, showing the value of his hard work and service to others. By helping Amador to void the arranged marriage, by assisting don Dámaso with his bookkeeping, by trying to give the wayward Rafael San Luis another chance at love, by stopping Agustín's gambling and Amador's manipulations, and by rescuing Edelmira from an arranged marriage she does not want, Martín repeatedly is presented as the novel's righteous protagonist who actually earns his money and the respect of others. The novel, while not directly condemning gambling, clearly favors the hard work paradigm and critiques abuses common to gambling and other speculative, capitalist activities. Because of Martín's work and service to others, he manages to escape execution for his participation with San Luis in an attempted coup to establish "equality" at the novel's climax, as the other characters bail him out because he has been "of service" to them. Labor and service are thus depicted as the best means to improve one's standing.

Showing a failure of the ideals espoused by the *Sociedad de la Igualdad*, their uprising flounders and Rafael perishes in the *Sociedad*'s assault on the barracks. Martín goes into exile after his friends break him out of prison, but he continues to correspond with his family and with Leonor, whom he courts in marriage. The two are reunited at the story's end, and Martín

successfully obtains don Dámaso's permission for her hand in marriage. In this union, Blest Gana shows Martín's break with his assigned socio-economic category (Concha xxxii). Matilde is betrothed to her cousin Agustín and business continues as usual around the Encina household, with Martín taking more responsibility for managing don Dámaso's business affairs, so that the patriarch can enter the political sphere. Martín's excellent fortune for the future has been secured, not through his own gambling and investment, but through his labor and gentlemanly attitude.

Unlike *Sab*, which gave some acknowledgement of the injustice of institutionalized social inequalities (through social class, slavery, racism, and sexism), *Martín Rivas* seems to present a more general, privileged view of the path towards wealth, since it shows Martín's advancement through diligent labor, without accounting for the privileged position in which he began. Since the novel hardly discusses non-white characters, and since its solution for female characters wanting to change their financial position seems to simply be marital arrangements, its promotion of the hard-work paradigm is ultimately blindly recommended from the author's privileged position, without taking into account the realities of social inequalities.

However, as in *Sab*, for true love, money is not of central importance, despite what society might dictate, because, as Leonor puts it to Martín, "a mis ojos un hombre no vale ni por su posición social, ni mucho menos por su dinero" (163). Martín's noble character is the focus of the narrative and route to self-improvement. Among the rich, gambling and investing can be profitable (if you are also lucky), but they do not make you noble. Gambling, similarly, allows Amador to win large sums of money regularly, but he is not a virtuous man, and he manages to let his winnings slip through his fingertips by spending foolishly. While both the wealthy and the aspiring wealthy engage in monetary speculation, Martín is the only major male character who is

untainted by these activities. His intelligence helps him directly problem-solve his way out of predicaments, and he eschews risky commerce for financial gain alone. Rivas, then, is portrayed as the meritorious character who deserves the social class change to which he aspires throughout the novel. A gentleman with morals, Martín is the character who earns his new position, with the implication that intelligence and work should be the tools to changing one's status. The novel appears to support a labor-based economy, and critiques, to some degree, the gambling and investing that make some people privileged over others when they are not, in fact, more noble. For this reason, and for the liberal ideology more blatantly espoused in the novel, Blest Gana again looks towards a mobile middle class, and away from traditional models of nobility, although such gains largely exclude the poor, women, and non-white Chilean citizens.

Conclusions

To connect the dots, both *Sab* and *Martín Rivas* show gambling across social class and gender divisions, although to different ends. In *Sab*, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda uses the lottery as a potentially disruptive tool to the stratified socio-economic environment of nineteenth-century Cuba. The chance-based lottery brings into question Cuba's economic systems, but it is not depicted as the true route to social mobility. Of note too, speculative business pursuits, such as those of the Otway family, are shown to be disreputable and end badly. Sab's decision to give up his lottery ticket, while problematic, may heighten readers' awareness of social inequalities, making the ticket an ideologically disruptive tool. The novel's message that love is more important than money is present through monetary critique and in the story's conclusion. *Martín Rivas* also questions social class stratification, but generally supports the hard-work paradigm, without the recognition of genuine prejudices and legalized injustices (such as racism and sexism) in nineteenth century Chilean society that keep it from being implemented in a just

manner. Both gambling and speculative investing are subtly critiqued in the novel, and Martín, the character who does not participate in either activity, is the character who "earns" a social class status change at the end of the story. While the novel's interest in rewriting familial wealth divisions could be considered progressive in some ways, its blindness to the predicaments of others (such as non-white or non-male Chileans) prevents *Martín Rivas* from being truly progressive in terms of its attitudes towards race or gender. Ultimately, both novels examine gambling to elucidate speculative commerce in their societies, negotiating different means to financial wealth and social station.

CHAPTER 4: GAMBLING AND THE CITIZEN: ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND THE VISION OF AN IDEAL NATION

> La fiebre abrasadora del juego consume los sentimientos más preciosos que la naturaleza, el honor y la religión infunden en el corazón humano, genera nuestra especie hasta el grado de hacerla instintiva, si se nos permite decirlo así, y nos impele a sacrificar a esas nefandas cartas los principios más puros de deber y de delicadeza.
>
> — José Ramón de Betancourt,
> *Una feria de la Caridad en 183….* (103)

Strong nationalistic sentiments pervade some nineteenth-century Latin American narratives, as Doris Sommer and other critics have argued. Informed by a nation-building perspective, in this chapter I consider how certain texts debated gambling's role and legal standing in nascent nations of the Americas or in territories striving for independence from Spain. Having discussed in previous chapters how gambling connects to gender roles, family roles, race, and social class, this section takes a macro-view by exploring narratives that query gambling's overall place in societies in transition during the nineteenth century. In this vein, I examine texts that condemn gambling as a blight that corrodes and degrades the citizenry through a connection to criminality and addiction. Gambling, then, stands as a threat to social order and national aims of independence and stability in these novels. Since game-playing is a chaotic, chance-based endeavor, as I discussed in previous chapters, it was connected by authors fearful of its distructive power to criminality and threats to social morality. These authors take a substantially more negative tone than those in the chapter on social class by connecting gambling to banditry and even mortal peril.

Here, the gambler emerges as an outlaw who is a menace to society in a way that contrasts with the romanticized rogue figure in the first chapter. As an entropic force, the gambler threatens to destabilize national independence projects and the establishment of an orderly society. Ironically, these fears also appear to stem from deeper anxieties of societal restructuring or social class uprisings, which could upset the wealth enjoyed by the privileged few who have benefitted from such systems. To illustrate gambling's relationship to citizenry and the construction of models of both good and bad citizens, I will center my analysis on two novels: José Ramón de Betancourt's *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* (1841, 1858), which emerged following the publication of texts criticizing various social issues by participants in Domingo del Monte's literary circle in Cuba, and José Milla's *Los Nazarenos* (1867), which is an understudied Guatemalan historical novel that documents a failed uprising during the Spanish colonial period.

In *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* (1841, 1858), José Ramón de Betancourt traces events in a town suffering the financial fallout from their losses to a gambling racket led by César Morgán, or "el Rubio," a notorious criminal. However, rather than focusing on "el Rubio," the narrative is framed by the actions of the story's hero, Fernando, a brave and honorable young man who tries to save his family and his love interest from falling victim to the criminal mastermind. Unlike the texts in the chapter on the Romantic rogue, which centered on the gambler as a romanticized anti-hero character, this novel focuses more on other characters who model proper behavior for citizens, while César Morgán is outlined as a threat to society. The struggle in *Una feria*, rather than between a woman trying the protect her family and the gambler, as in the chapter on women's reform writing, is between men who are trying to either establish or demolish the tenets of social order through the propagation or suppression of

gambling and its related criminal activities. For Cuba, this debate speaks to the larger questions of modernity and liberty from Spain, as the island attempted to envision an independent version of itself.

In a similar fashion, José Milla's *Los Nazarenos* (1867) also brings up issues relevant to Milla's society. This historical novel elucidates struggles between conservative and progressive elements in Guatemala's post-independence era by returning to the late-seventeenth-century to explore how a power struggle between two important families that plays out in a violent fashion. An uprising against the colonial regime, planned by one of the families and a secret society called "los Nazarenos," ultimately fails because of its link to the government-run gambling house and the arrears of Nazareno members there. Plot events connect gambling to theft, extortion, and other criminal acts, and the novel suggests that Spain uses it to prevent social progress, morality, and freedom from colonial rule. Since Milla wrote the novel during the country's restructuring after Rafael Carrera's post-independence regime, the protagonist's personal decision not to gamble and his allegiance to the Catholic faith reveal conservative values that echo Milla's solution for Guatemala's political turmoil.

Gambling, Corruption, Criminality, and National Discourse

To reflect upon identity and nation-building themes that emerged in nineteenth-century novels, I employ Doris Sommer's theory in *Foundational Fictions* (1989) that national identity discourse was founded in the Romantic novels of Latin America, which rewrote historical events and used sentimentality to articulate nationalistic goals (12). The novels in this chapter follow this paradigm to an extent, as they attempted to unify the populace of the authors' homelands behind a nationalistic vision that called for pro-social action. In the case of Cuba, which had still not gained its independence from Spain during the 1830s, when Betancourt first penned his

novel, the social issues of the colonial period are critiqued with the apparent goal of envisioning an independent nation. Milla, looking back on the errors of the colonial past, finds lessons for Guatemala's instability of the 1860s. The objectives of such discourse seems to be to advocate for the independence brought about by moral citizenship and to denounce colonial-sanctioned monetary pursuits, such as gambling, which are linked to corruption and criminality.

The desire to control gambling and other immoral activities among the populace highlights an entropic pushback occurring simultaneously to these strides towards social order. In *On the Dark Side of the Archive* (2009) Juan Carlos Gónzalez Espitia examines, for example, how some nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Latin American narratives are plagued by disease and corruption, and they characterize the nation as "overflowing with unproductive relationships [. . .] condemned to death by its own hand, and especially disturbed, at its root, by disease" (149). The same forces emerge in Betancourt and Milla's novels, where the chaos of chance present in gambling is condemned and linked to dangerous characters, illness, depravity, and erratic, anti-social behavior.

As I delineated in the previous chapter, ideas of luck, fate, and the science of probability linked gambling to chaos and risk, which ran contrary to the establishment of functional, autonomous nations for some thinkers.[81] Economic volatility could be sparked by wins and losses in risky commercial enterprises and at the gambling table. The poor odds of winning led many to question the activity's safety, as I explained in the chapter on women's reform writing. The continued debate between rationality and the forces of destiny, emotion, and fate, a defining characteristic of Romanticism's interplay with its predecessor, Neoclassicism, likely contributes to the apparent anxiety of writers and thinkers surrounding speculative commerce, as gambling

[81]See Gerda Reith's *The Age of Chance: Gambling in Western Culture* (1999) or Ian Hacking's *The Emergence of Probability* (1975) for detailed histories of the mathematical understanding of chance.

can be viewed from a perspective of luck, or divine providence, or the mathematics of probability. While these fundamentally conflictive forces (of entropy and order, and of reason and emotion) found a manifestation in the chance-based activities of gambling and related risky commerce, other, larger questions of societal structure and the representative value of currency also came into play.

As such, some of the pushback on chance-based games like gambling was likely linked to a desire among the wealthy to preserve the financial status quo. In line with this desire, J. Jeffrey Franklin posits of British writers of the nineteenth century, "Money in general and gambling in particular were so troubling to the Victorians in part because they emphasized the association between value and values" (35). The problems with gambling stemmed from the conceptualization of this relationship and what it called into question, namely, the way that money had been traditionally distributed, querying both the hard work paradigm and the tradition of inherited wealth. As Franklin describes: "First, the play of gambling functioned as a boundary marker between different sources of value, particularly in relation to work. Second, gambling was troubling in this regard especially because of its multifold relationship to money. Gambling places the value that money represents under the sign of fortune, chance, fate" (37). For writers of this period, then, gambling embodied a real fear of shifting monetary distribution among the general populace and concerns about speculative commerce and banking on a larger scale: "gambling threatened to reveal its analogical relationship to paper money and to the chancy flow of abstract value in the speculative channels of market capitalism" (Franklin 37).[82] In a changing

[82]Of course, today we still live with this tension in a global economic system that suffers volatile changes in the value of different goods and services based on supply, demand, speculation, and mathematical models governing the stock market. The imaginary value of representative currency, such as paper money or electronic funds, is continually questioned by processes such as inflation, volatility in the stock market, debt, and dramatic changes of the value of property that remind us that global economic financial inequality and the value of money itself is of our own construction.

economic landscape, a new-found tension related to the "cultural and economic shift to capitalism inspired by and dependent on gambling" was under debate in these narratives (Richard 3).

While both authors wanted nations that were free from Spain, with Betancourt being linked to Cuba's underground independence movements, it is clear that a break from colonial order involved restructuring. *Una feria de la Caridad* and *Los Nazarenos* exhibit real concerns about the dangers of gambling, and both authors appear to advocate a hard-work or familial-inhertance paradigm, rather than a chance-based model. While Milla and Betancourt directly engage with specific questions for their home countries of Guatemala and Cuba, their subtle skepticism of larger, shifting forces of global capitalism suggests that their works fit within a larger discourse (described by critics such as J. Jeffrey Franklin in a British context and Leigh Mercer for nineteenth-century Spain) concerned with the international economic changes of the nineteenth century.

Beyond the interplay between gambling and broader questions of the economy and the nation, lies the connection between gambling and organized crime, which was being heavily promoted by some authors during this period, and is present in both novels in this chapter. Interestingly, the popular conception of bandits espoused by these texts is one that was defined according to classist parameters. As legal scholars such as Gregg Barak, Paul Leighton, and Allison Cotton argue, crime itself is defined by those who control society, and "[c]riminal law emphasizes the harms commonly perpetuated among the marginal members of society while it leaves socially analogous harms committed by the more powerful well beyond incrimination" (292). For example, the wealthy, who sometimes exploit the labor of others for personal financial gain, are often permitted to extract money from others without serving jail time, whereas lower-

income petty thieves are often incarcerated. In other words, if crime is defined by the wealthy, it is thus harder on the poor, and this serves to maintain social division (Barak, Leighton, Cotton 292). Perhaps it is for this reason that the novels in this last chapter are more concerned with criticizing gambling rather than investment and other types of capitalist commerce, as some other novels in this dissertation have done. This again fits within the larger anxieties of class restructuring that appear in Betancourt and Milla's novels.

Novels depicting criminality were also extremely popular during the nineteenth century, as I described in the first chapter. Aside from those that glorified miscreant leading characters, other novels followed such characters from the perspective of heroes fighting against them to protect society at large. Juan Pablo Dabove, in *Nightmares of the Lettered City: Banditry and Literature in Latin America 1816-1929* (2007), has done an excellent job cataloguing these texts. While he focuses on banditry rather than gambling, he does link gambling to other activities run by bandits during the post-independence period. It is this connection that Betancourt and Milla highlight, as they appear to argue that gamblers could negatively impact the public at large. Of course, from the perspective of nation building, such behaviors were potentially detrimental to establishing orderly societies.

Finally, Betancourt and Milla both characterize gambling as a kind of sickness. Michael Flavin, in *Gambling in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (2003), highlights depictions of gambling as a disease in British novels of this same period, which shows the popularity of such characterizations (192).[83] A gambling addiction puts the community in danger and causes the murder of one such addicted character after he is unable to pay but continues to play in Betancourt's novel. In Milla's *Los Nazarenos*, the gambling addiction suffered by the patriarch

[83]Flavin also cites anonymous verses from 1905 tellingly equating gambling with leprosy, a characterization that appears in Betancourt's novel in this chapter as well (222-23).

of one of the families leads characters to commit theft and other crimes, as they try to cover up and erase the community's gambling debts. As a result of these actions, the community suffers as well, since a clandestine rebellion fails in the aftermath of the robbery, thus causing the country's colonial rule to continue. Not only do these debts cause obvious social problems, but they cause personal problems and lead to deaths in both novels, which also highlights larger national concerns for the future of the populace.[84]

Also apparent in these nation-building narratives are the roles of national space and customs, which interact with gambling both by defining the setting of the activity (typically in depraved urban spaces in both novels), and the depictions of daily life and leisure pursuits. Both texts display key elements of *costumbrismo*, and the individual stories and traditions of the authors' home countries help to craft a nationalistic presentation of their ideas. Debates about gambling figure into larger questions about the role of popular pastimes in the lives of the citizenry, with the authors both critiquing the health of this activity and proposing the help of religion as an alternative.

At play here too, are larger questions of spaces and communities, with the idea of the national space as an imagined community, to use Benedict Anderson's term, as central for these authors. The casino space, the home environment, and public venues all serve as important places linked to the construction of national imaginaries that the authors pursue as part of their condemnation of gambling. While domestic and religious places in both texts appear to provide some solace, the casino space is powerful enough to contaminate public spaces, with acts of violence taking place in the streets. For authors trying to exorcise colonialism, the connection between colonial ills and financial corruption is essential to establish, and the casino is aligned in

[84]Doris Sommer signals a connection between financial problems and illness that threatens the national project in her discussion of *María* (1867) by Jorge Isaacs, although she does not connect it to many of the larger economic discourses of the period (187).

opposition to private homes and religious spaces to emphasize its threat to the social order. Finally, while it might seem that gambling's establishment in the city would reverse the locus of the civilization versus barbarism paradigm espoused by some other texts of the period, gamblers and criminals in both novels (such as el Rubio in Betancourt's text, and Macao and don Dieguillo in Milla's text) escape to the countryside as they flee from police, highlighting how the untamed rural areas do continue to foster barbarism in the two novels because they are out of reach of civilizing forces, in line with Dabove's comments on rural banditry (55-73).

In short, in scenes where national space and the physical layout of the country come into focus, other important issues such as abolition, independence, religion, and appropriate punishments for crime also appear. Gambling, which is emblematic of entropy because of its connection to chance, endangers national stability, and the sickness of addiction is counterbalanced with hard work and order. These two societal paths (of entropy and sickness or of order and health) provide cautionary tales with divergent options for the national projects of Cuba and Guatemala as they scrutinize their colonial conditions. Betancourt and Milla both appear to support order and religion in government, as gambling is depicted as the cause of social evils, criminality, and chaos in *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* and *Los Nazarenos*, to which I will now turn.

Gambling and the Citizen in Betancourt's* Una feria de la Caridad en el 183… *(1841)

José Ramón de Betancourt was born in Puerto Príncipe in Camagüey, Cuba in 1823. The young author studied law at the Universidad de La Habana, and joined some of the important literary and political groups of the period through the connections he made at school. Betancourt began his publishing career with articles in the *Gaceta de Puerto Príncipe*. He later published his novel *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* in 1841, and this printing was followed by later editions

during the nineteenth century in Havana and Barcelona (Viter). Betancourt later became the director of the Liceo Artístico y Literario de La Habana and established a career in politics in Havana during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

While Betancourt was somewhat younger than the members of Domingo del Monte's (1804-1853) literary *tertulia*, these important Cuban thinkers of the mid-nineteenth century clearly influenced his writing. Del Monte's circle was critical in bringing Romantic and liberal ideologies to Cuba, and the members wrote important news and opinion pieces, as well as longer narratives.[85] Del Monte gathered together young intellectuals through meetings of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País*, a political, economically-concerned organization, and later on at private meetings (Aguilera Manzano 70). In del Monte's original circle were Félix Varela (1787-1853), José Antonio Saco (1797-1879), and José de la Luz y Caballero (1800-1862), and these authors helped champion many progressive causes. These liberal thinkers, who had traveled through Europe and read extensively, wrote crically of elements they considered retrograde to progress, including the slave trade, vagrancy, alcoholism, and gambling. The literary circle also focused on Cuba's artistic and cultural production, and drew in other important writers and intellectuals such as Ramón de Palma (1812-1860), Cirilo Villaverde (1812-1894), Anselmo Suárez y Romero (1818-1878), and José Jacinto Milanés (1814-1863). These intellectuals facilitated the publishing of poetry and other works by Plácido, or Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (1809-1844), and they organized the anti-slavery materials that Richard Madden (1798-1886), a British abolitionist, brought out of Cuba during the 1830s, which included Juan

[85]See José M. Aguilera Manzano's "The Informal Communication Network Built by Domingo del Monte from Havana between 1824 and 1845" (2009) for more information about del Monte's contacts and the social issues discussed by the group.

Francisco Manzano's (1797-1854) aforementioned *Autobiografía de un esclavo* (1840, 1937), as William Luis describes (36-37).[86]

Betancourt published in several newspapers at the start of his literary career, and shortly after he shifted to writing longer works, with *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…* as his seminal work. In this *costumbrista* text, Camagüey and the nearby countryside become the center of the novel's action, as a notorious criminal, César Morgán ("el Rubio"), sets up a gambling operation to scam other characters in the town. Carlos, a young family man whose wife and sister are put at risk by his financial mismanagement at the gambling house, is ultimately murdered by el Rubio, inciting Fernando, Carlos' heroic brother-in-law, help track down the criminal, who flees and is executed in the end. The death of the gambler and the happy resolution for his innocent victims (excluding Carlos), speak to the novels message of condemnation of gambling and criminality.

The novel was clearly inspired by the discourse in del Monte's group, as it treats the same themes that Saco and Ramón de Palma discussed in their indictments of vagrancy and gambling. In the long essay, "La vagancia en Cuba" (1831), Saco describes the causes of the perceived issue of vagrancy in nineteenth-century Cuban society. In his view, institutions such as the lottery, the popularity of gambling and billiards, and a lack of discipline among wrongdoers created a society riddled with idle miscreants. As Sáenz Rovner has highlighted, Saco's text likely inspired other novels of the period that also critiqued perceived gambling or vagrancy (84). In Ramón de Palma's *Una Pascua en San Marcos*, a corrupt dandy rapes his young female admirer, and his dangerous behavior is shown to be connected to his drinking and constant card playing. This text also inspired María de las Mercedes Santa Cruz, or the Condesa de Merlín's

[86]The anonymous English edition was published in 1840 by Madden, and the Spanish version was not published until the early 20th century (Luis 83). Both versions have been heavily edited, but are still very valuable in that they provide readers with Manzano's perspective and autobiographical account (Luis 84). This was one of the most important texts to emerge from Del Monte's writing group.

"Costumbres íntimas, las pascuas" in *Viaje a la Habana* (1841), which is a somewhat more feminist retelling of the same events. Both of these texts likely gave Betancourt fodder for critiquing gambling in *Una feria*, and the author also includes other reformist ideologies in the novel that clearly stem from del Monte's group. Namely, Betancourt references a need for educational reform in the first chapter, and he offers a critique of the slave trade through an example of a former plantation in the novel's second half. These specific causes were among those touted by del Monte's circle in their own literary works, such as *Francisco* by Anselmo Suárez y Romero and *Cecilia Valdés* by Cirilo Villaverde, and Betancourt likely read these texts and interacted with their authors.

Of course, Cuba's status as a Spanish colony during this period is also an important factor in understanding the critique of vagrancy and gambling activities that the novel presents. Betancourt, along with many other important intellectuals and members of the del Monte group, was interested in the re-definition of the island and the condemnation and removal of corruption, which was largely associated with Spanish colonial power.[87] Since most of Latin America had already broken off and found freedom by the 1830s, Betancourt and other writers critiqued Cuba's continued colonial status and the corrupt elements of Cuban society, wishing to eliminate such threats to its populace and to strengthen Cuba's potential for becoming an autonomous country. Activities that damaged this vision such as those involving luck and wasteful expenditures were viewed as dangerous and even as contagious illnesses or cardinal sins. Such an interpretation linked the illness of addiction to sin and corruption, a connection in line with what Susan Sontag has decried about historical depictions of disease in *Illness as Metaphor* (1978).

[87]While writers had to be subtle in such critique to avoid problems with authorities, books like *Cecilia Valdés* (1839, 1882) by Cirilo Villaverde and *Mi tío el empleado* (1887) by Ramón Meza both exemplify criticisms of colonialism in trade, business, and other aspects of Cuban society that were present in novels throughout the nineteenth century.

In *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…*, gambling is connected to vagrancy and criminality from the opening pages. The text starts with a brief letter from the author to Sr. D. P. Emilio Peyrellade that describes the intentions of the novel to critique "el cáncer del juego" and the ignorance and vice of envy, in contrast to civilized Camagüeyan society (I: 3). Furthermore, he tells Peyrellade the novel is meant as a moralizing attempt at crushing this suspect activity, which, as we just saw, had come under fire by Saco and other intellectuals associated with the del Monte circle. Betancourt writes,

> Describir esa época, pintar ese elemento bueno y civilizador, abriéndose paso entre la sencillez de nuestras costumbres, luchando con la ignorancia, con la envidia y con el vicio, bosquejar algún tipo, atacar el cáncer del juego, introduciendo la cuchilla hasta sus ramificaciones más profundas, escribir en fin un cuadro Camagüeyano que pudiese leer sin rubor nuestra virgen más pura; he aquí mi objeto. (I: 3)

The use of the cancer metaphor speaks to the idea of gambling as a disease that is spreading and killing Cuba and must be extirpated through the dramatic means of surgical operation of the deepest affected areas. The mention of virginity also demonstrates Betancourt's desire to contrast the purity of his novel, also written for the young women of Camagüey, with the depravity of ignorance, envy, gambling, and other vices to demonstrate that there is room to "luchar" and "atacar" (I: 3). It is the foreign, injurious elements that Cubans must fight against in order to preserve what is good in their ("nuestras") society (I: 3).

Immediately after the description of Betancourt's goals, the edition also offers Cirilo Villaverde's summary of the novel, which he prefaces by offering his own beliefs regarding the dangers of gambling, particularly cautioning women against the activity's allure: "la opinión en ninguna sociedad hoy día considera como señora, sea cual fuere la cuna en que se haya mecido su infancia a la que arriesga, aún en broma, a un naipe su dinero" (I: 26). This re-articulates the subtext of several novels seen in earlier chapters that women's open pockets at the gaming table

and the free flow of cash were synonymous with loose morals, regardless of a female participant's social standing (Labanyi 131). With the novel's goal of criticizing gambling already outlined from the outset, readers are prepared for the plot's censure of the activity throughout the novel and for the proposal of theoretically better, more civilized paradigms of comportment.

A *costumbrista* sketch of the countryside and the natural beauty of Camagüey segues into a depiction of the *feria de la Caridad* and the gambling of the townspeople on the story's first page. The yearly religious festival was meant to honor the Virgin Mary, and the narrator quickly juxtaposes the pious intentions of the event with the vice-filled pursuits of some of the townspeople, such as "el juego" (I: 41).[88] Gambling, the text explains, was supposed to be laid aside by the populace during the span of several weeks surrounding the yearly celebration: "Tal era la devoción que esta Señora inspiraba, que se hubiera reputado como un crimen entregarse al juego y a diversiones puramente mundanales en esos días, y tal era el entusiasmo de los camagüeyanos por la feria de la Caridad, que no bastaron las casas de la plaza a contener el gentío y se fabricaron otras que en breve han formado esta calle" (I: 41-42). However, readers soon discover that some residents have little respect for religious tradition, and insist on betting throughout the festivities.

In a conversation between the town priest padre Vreaidieu, who represents moral righteousness, and a wayward parishioner named Carlos Alvear, the narrator depicts a conflict between tradition, progress, and immorality surrounding betting that will be debated throughout the novel. This dialogue exposes readers to the dangers of gambling to social order and allows Betancourt to argue for a more "civilized" manner of comportment, which will be embodied by Fernando, the novel's hero. As the priest explains, progress can be a wonderful thing for the

[88]Of interest, Jalane D. Schmidt, who mentions Betancourt's novel, traces the origins of this celebration and the Virgin of Charity Church to determine that followers were largely Cuban mulattos and that the celebration became a major part of popular culture in some areas of Cuba during the nineteenth century (52).

nation, but only so long as the citizens do not lose sight of the importance of religion and a morally-righteous lifestyle (49). Padre Vreaidieu also concerns himself with the working class and the education they receive at school, as they embody hopes for future Cuban society. While Carlos takes a positive stance on schools in Camagüey, Padre Vreaidieu calls for their reform, as he believes they encourage idle pursuits and gambling, rather than a love of learning and labor: "Pues por más que habléis de vuestros colegios, lo que yo noto es que los niños salen de ellos para entrar en los billares y casas públicas, para pasar en el ocio la mejor parte de su vida, perdiendo así el hábito del estudio y del trabajo y contagiándose con la lepra de la inmoralidad y del vicio" (I: 48). This argument for morality thus singles out the dangers of gambling from the outset of the novel and links billiards and pubs with disease, calling it a type of leprosy, or a more general plague, in line with these leprosy connections Flavin has cited (197). The introductory letter's connection between gambling and cancer thus reappears in another physically destructive permutation of infirmity. As Juan Carlos González Espitia has argued, the illness of the national project itself can be present in the representation of such themes and their metaphorical meaning (I: 15).

While card playing at César Morgán's house forms the crux of the novel's negative gambling activities, Betancourt, as we just saw, mentions other types of gambling, such as billiards, while describing the *feria* that are also in flagrant defiance of religious ordinances governing the festivities. In the middle of the town, revelers play dice games, roulette, and bowl, while they simultaneously buy lottery tickets, highlighting cause for the priest's concern. The narrator thus depicts the town as overrun with games, rather than with religious activities:

> A uno y otro lado de la acera innumerables mesas iluminadas con faroles de papel de distintos colores, veíanse cubiertas de sabrosos dulces, tostadas panetelas e hirviente ponche: en otras la perinola, la roleta y el boliche formaban grupos de muchachos y negros. Destacábanse dos de estos de los ángulos de esas mesas para

> vigilar, mientras que otro tiraba con indecible maestría un par de dados. Aquí el pregón de la lotería confundíase con el de la trova cubana, acompañada de una arpa o de un bien punteado tiple; allá el disparo de los cohetes y el repique de las alegres campanas del templo vecino, ahogaban el rezo de los devotos, las imprecaciones de los jugadores y los chillidos de los pilluelos. (II: 106-107)[89]

In this way, the fair's main festivities have become a celebration of games, music, and fireworks, which drown out the sound of prayer, the original focus of this religious event. The scene is emblematic of the problem of a national obsession with vice that is degrading and distracting from morality and progress, the primary issue that Betancourt wishes to illuminate. The chaotic nature of the festivities shows how leisure pursuits can overshadow the moral, religious activities that should be at the center of the celebration, a microcosmic reflection of society's greater problems that Padre Vreaidieu previously outlined to Carlos regarding education and progress.

Readers are invited into the gambling house that Morgán runs when several members of Carlos' family attend a dance there. While they are there for an apparently innocuous event, the young men soon move to the card table in a room apart, while other unsuspecting members of their families are involved in celebrating at the party, not knowing that their fortunes are being squandered. Carlos spends hours at play, trying his luck in the gaming den hidden on the side of the house:

> El baile concluyó, las puertas se cerraron; pero cualquiera que a esas horas y aún más tarde hubiera pasado por la calle, habría observado una ventana iluminada en uno de los costados de la casa, y bajo de ella paseándose un bulto negro que se acercaba por momentos a oír el ruido del oro, que corría sobre el tapete y la baraja, y con él la suerte de aquellas mismas familias, que en el seno de la más cordial alegría, se entregaban a los placeres de la cubana danza. (I: 76-77)

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[89]The representation of "muchachos y negros" as participants in the gambling activities in the square is of interest, since both might be barred from participation in the card games of the wealthy, white gentlemen in private homes, but Betancourt apparently still wishes to demonstrate that the activity attracts gamblers from all levels of society, albeit in different ways (I: 106). Additionally, the race and class implications of this description show the stratification of types of gambling across racial and socio-economic lines, as I discussed in the chapter on *Sab* and *Martín Rivas.*

The bleak scene shows the novelist's perception of how the temptation of easy money at the gaming table steals the gold and good fortune of the men who give themselves over to vice and pleasure without heeding the dangers of this idle pursuit. The next chapter, which opens with a quote from Saco, a major critic of gambling and supposed vagrancy, again reminds readers of the importance of hard work for making a living, as opposed to speculative commerce. Here, Morgán's gambling den is connected to organized crime.

A direct connection is established between gambling and other types of crime when Morgán schemes to plunder as much capital as possible from the residents of Camagüey to prove he is as tough as the other criminals. This highlights key factors about gambling's danger to social order that the novel endeavors to impart to readers. Morgán points out he is just as knowledgeable about crime as the other men to assert his experience and authority over his band of miscreants by attacking a man who questions his command, reminiscent of the gauchesque depictions in the first chapter, saying:

> Te has vuelto filósofo, y moralista, Jorge, y quiero cortarte el discurso antes que lo concluyas con las quejas de siempre. Que yo paso la vida en el regalo, mientras que ustedes la arrastran en la montaña como si no fuera lo mismo robar en el garito que en el camino, como si hubiera diferencia entre el manejo del puñal y el trabuco, y las emboscadas del matojo, los pases de las brujas y los lances del juego. ¿Estaréis vosotros más expuestos allí que yo, que vivo entregado a mis enemigos y que velo y trabajo incesantemente para que holguéis? Sois unos bestias, y si no os sujetáis a mis órdenes, os apretarán el cuello. Es necesario discreción, prudencia. (I: 83)

Morgán is a con artist who uses lies and flattery to bring the gamblers to the table. The narrator remarks that all the men have different motives for playing, but Morgán employs specific, individualized tricks to hook them: "Para el enamorado, algún recuerdo o noticia de su amante: para el jugador cínico alguna fábula de feliz fortuna ofrecida por los naipes" (I: 84). Having established Morgán's immorality and contemptable intentions, Betancourt shows the villain to be

an agent of the larger social ill of gambling on the island who will further drive the Camagüeyan populace towards bankruptcy.

The effects of Morgán's villainy through gambling are wide-reaching and negatively affect the other characters in the story. Carlos' downfall is a direct result of his gambling addiction, and he's not alone in his fate. A sizeable number of the townspeople head over to Morgán's house to play cards, seduced by the possibility of winning back their previous losses. However, many people question the judgement of gamblers who continue to return to the table despite huge arrears (I: 87). The other characters speculate that Carlos is probably driving his family to hunger, and they describe how he even desperately pawned off his railroad shares and property deeds to players at the downtown billiard tables to try to get more money for cards (I: 88). Carlos' gambling addiction is thus literally shown to be detrimental to national progress, as he is unable to maintain his own backing of Cuban infrastructure.[90] When Carlos explains that his "honor" is at risk if he does not make good with his gambling creditors, another man points out to him that the improvement of the country through investments in public works and the time spent caring for his family are the only true avenues to honor for men in their society (I: 88). In this example, Carlos' sickness, his gambling addiction, is undermining his and his nation's stability and honor and serving as an impediment to national progress.

Here is how "la fiebre abrasadora del juego" is described in terms of its effects on Carlos: "consume los sentimientos más preciosos que la naturaleza, el honor y la religión infunden en el corazón humano, genera nuestra especie hasta el grado de hacerla instintiva, si se nos permite decirlo así, y nos impele a sacrificar a esas nefandas cartas los principios más puros de deber y

[90]Carlos' short sale of his real estate and stock holdings is a nod to the debate in the novel's first chapter, where padre Vreaidieu argues that gambling undermines national progress (I: 48-49), a fact borne out by the railroad in this scene, a common trope in nineteenth-century Latin American fiction (I: 88).

de delicadeza" (I: 103). This malady is also compared to alcoholism, demonstrating Betancourt's awareness of the addictive properties of the activity (I: 104).

Another casualty of Carlos' addiction is his wife Luísa, who must sell all of the familys valuables to keep the family afloat. The narrator uses her religiosity to again delineate a contrast between morality and corruption as part of the subtext begun in the novel's first chapter. Luísa is depicted in prayer for her husband, choosing to spend the *feria* in church, offering homage to the virgin, rather than celebrating in the plaza (I: 107). Fernando, Luísa's brother, also talks with her about Carlos' ruin, and thus realizes the severity of Carlos' gambling problem and the impact it has had upon the family. Specifically, Carlos has gambled away nearly all of their money and possessions, and they have sold their land and plantations to pay debts (I: 114).

Luísa has also had to endure the loss of her infant son, who died while Carlos was busy at the gambling house and was unable to pull himself away from the game, even after receiving news of his son's illness (I: 115). Luísa describes the tragedy:

> Leocadia, que había venido a verme inmediatamente que supo mi llegada, mandó buscar a Carlos; pero éste estaba jugando al lado de Morgán y el infame le obligó a despreciar nuestro aviso. ¡Ay! Su voz y el juego tuvieron más imperio que el grito de nuestro hijo infeliz [. . .] Después de una hora se presentaron Morgán y Carlos en la puerta de mi aposento…. ya no tenía hijo. Desde ese instante miré con horror a ese hombre y el deber y la opinión únicamente pudieran conservarme en esta casa. (I: 115-16)

In this explanation, readers again see how César Morgán is deleterious to all. Luisa refers to him as "el infame" and suggests that it is he who stops Carlos from rushing to her side, "le obligó a despreciar nuestro aviso" (I: 115). Without children, a nation has no future, so until Morgán and his control over the youth of the country are eliminated, there cannot be a happy outcome.

As Fernando describes of Carlos and other gamblers who are suffering from addiction, other responsibilities fade into the background: "para el jugador hay una afección más poderosa

que la de Dios y la de los hombres: la de las cartas. Carlos por el juego no piensa ya ni reflexiona; su esposa, su hijo, su hermana y acaso su madre no valen para él lo que un albur" (I: 117). Luísa realizes what Fernando will repeat to her, that while she cannot forgive Carlos for the part he played in the death of their son, "el deber y la opinión" keep her by his side. Unlike some of the women characters that we have encountered in this dissertation, mainly in novels penned by women writers, Betancourt's female characters that have flat personalities and stand on either end of a spectrum of the "ángel del hogar" or the fallen woman. Fernando asks Luísa to sacrifice herself in order to be there for Carlos when he returns "a ese ángel, a esa compañera que Dios le ha dado" (I: 117-18). While, in other chapters of this dissertation, writing by some women of the nineteenth-century still depicted the concept of the angel of the house, the women in novels by Orrego, González de Fanning, and Gómez de Avellaneda were the focus of more of the action, and were more actively involved in and affected by their husband's choices. Not surprisingly, women are primarily important for Betancourt because of the influence they have over the men of the future generation, as their mothers. As the novel describes, "Me agrada que eduquéis vuestras niñas, pero cuidad bien que esa educación sea sólida, para que ellas sepan formar vuestra felicidad, conservar vuestra honra, e infundir en el pecho de sus hijos amor a la patria, al pudor, a Dios y a los hombres" (II: 49). In other words, women are the bearers of societal and familial honor and are responsible for educating their sons, future Cuban citizens, who they should teach patriotism, moderation, faith, and care for their fellow man, in this view. In Betancourt's novel, Luísa is asked to sacrifice her own well-being, and the novel shifts away from her to focus on Fernando, the hero who tries to rescue others from gambling's clutches.[91]

[91]Not only are women destined for traditional roles as wives and mothers, the women are also depicted as unfit for leadership, while Fernando is the novel's masculine hero who saves society from the threat of gambling. As Fernando considers: "Pero las mujeres, pensaba otras veces, son débiles, Leocadia es tímida e inocente, tiembla ante su madre y acaso le faltará valor para cumplir lo que me ha ofrecido. No permitas, Dios mío, que ante tus aras santas

When Carlos finally wins at cards, Morgán further proves his depravity and puts the community's stability and safety at risk, while also showing how Carlos' gambling addiction leads to his demise. César Morgán cannot have Carlos or other card players bankrupting his operation, so when Carlos has a few lucky hands, Morgán and his henchmen murder him in cold blood as he is leaving the gambling den:

> Al llegar éste cerca de la esquina que da entrada a una de las calles trasversales que desembocan en la principal de la Caridad, Jorge se lanzó sobre el calesero. Morgán al carruaje. Un hombre saltó por el lado opuesto. —¡Ladrón! Gritó, cuando la mano férrea de Morgán apretándole el cuello ahogó su voz: el hombre volviendo sus brazos, asió fuertemente el pañuelo que cubría la barba de César, quien, al desviarse para impedir la acción, contribuyó en cierto modo a que se le arrancase ese disfraz. —¡Eres tú! Exclamó Carlos aterrado, y cayó instantáneamente al suelo, atravesado el pecho por el puñal de Morgán. [. . .] Morgán sacó dos talegos de oro que estaban en el carruaje y entregando uno al garitero, —A casa, le dijo, y oculto. (I: 162)

Carlos' murder cements for readers the dangers of gambling and other idle pursuits, while it also shows Morgán's criminality and threat to social order, linking him with Dabove's definitions of literary bandits (2). Not only does Morgán refuse to accept his own defeat at the gambling house, he kills Carlos to take back the money, making him nothing more than a murderer and thief. This scene is also interesting in that even when luck does favor Carlos, the plot events show that gambling is such a corrupt activity that the other gamblers will rob the winner of his money anyway, as occurred in Orrego's novel (179). In case any readers still believed that they were in a fair match without any cheating, Betancourt ensures through Carlos's death that they learn that even when honest players win things end badly.

As a counterpoint to Morgán's villainy, stand examples of Fernando's heroism and model behavior. Betancourt thus shows that, while gambling is connected with disorder and criminality,

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se pronuncie un juramento indigno, no consientas que en ellas se inmole a una alma cándida" (191). In contrast to Fernando, Leocadia is a weak, idealized object, and she is not a key player in resolving the social problems that Cuba is facing. This perspective stands in opposition to the novels in the second chapter.

other behavior outside of the gambling house can be lauded as positive for the family and the community. Carlos and the novel's true hero, Fernando, are negatively impacted by Morgán's conniving, money-hungry nature, but Fernando becomes the bearer of social order and good citizenship. First, Fernando saves his sister Luísa from the predatory Morgán, who pursues every beautiful woman he can, even if they are married. Since Fernando has fallen in love with Carlos's sister, Leocadia, who is betrothed to Morgán by her money-hungry mother, Doña Petrolina, Fernando also serves as the ideal, eligible bachelor and Romantic hero who is ennobled by love.

In stark contrast to the gamblers, Fernando and several other men also avoid gambling and explain this choice to readers. In one scene at Morgán's house when Carlos has lost a great deal of money, some characters try to convince Fernando to place a bet. He explains that he does not gamble: "Mi visita a esta casa no tiene objeto: yo, no juego, y aquí, por lo visto, no se hace otra cosa" (I: 92). Fernando's righteousness, as he is not swayed by the other gamblers and has decided not to gamble at all, is contrasted with Carlos's wayward behavior and that of the other gamblers, whom he subtly critiques. This indictment of the activity has a positive impact on another gambler, who decides to change his ways, as he feels bad when his gambling harms children or his friends: "me repugna jugar con muchachos y me avergüenza comprometer por pura diversión la fortuna del amigo, del esposo y del padre" (I: 92). Fernando's comments thus elicit reflection and social awareness, helping to spread the novel's message of positive social order amongst other male members of the populace or citizenry.

Attempts to stop gambling's influence by building schools and better instructing the populace are failing, and don Francisco, another charcter at Morgán's house, complains to Fernando that the citizens have to want to change: "los proyectos de que se habla, existen; pero

la inercia, la envidia y la ignorancia los combaten. Esas academias se han instalado: el primer día mucha gente, el segundo la mitad y luego nadie, mientras los billares y los garitos están llenos" (I: 94). Rather than just accept defeat, Fernando serves as the active counterforce to Morgán, and he responds by arguing that they should organize against gambling: "Conspiremos todos contra el juego: ese carácter hospitalario vuélvase irreconciliable con esos jugadores de profesión, con esos ladrones públicos, que con frac de caballero y baraja en mano andan visitando los pueblos de la Isla y arrastran la juventud a sus garitos disfrazados" (I: 94).[92] This establishes Fernando, repeating the priest's arguments from the first chapter, as the pro-social activist of the novel, a position that plays out during the remainder of the text.

Fernando repeatedly demonstrates his honor compared to the gamblers as the novel continues. When he catches Morgán trying to buy off Luísa (offering her money and trying to seduce her), he challenges him to a duel. While this test of honor is later cancelled, the point is made to readers that Fernando is willing to go to extensive lengths to preserve his family's honor and to keep the town behaving in a civilized manner. He also helps organize the pursuit and punishment of the notorious bandit as the novel continues. When talk that el Rubio, the bandit, is in Puerto-Príncipe, readers hear a description of his notoriety, which will again tie gambling to organized crime and robbery, as Morgán turns out the be the fugitive: "el Rubio, ese famoso bandido que ha asolado la jurisdicción de la Habana, está entre nosotros" (I: 101). Fernando and his friends realize that Morgán fits the description of el Rubio and he helps instigate the capture of the criminal as he flees into the forest.

In the novel's second half, the police chase of el Rubio leads readers on a tour of Betancourt's ideologies through a visit to the house of another intellectual figure in mid-

[92]The organization of the anti-gambling cause is reminiscent of del Monte's historical organization of such endeavors surrounding social issues, including vagrancy (and, by extension, gambling), as documented by Sánez Rovner (92).

nineteenth-century Cuban society, el Lugareño, or Gaspar Betancourt Cisneos, whose empty plantation has many books by important Cuban authors, such as Gómez de Avellaneda and Saco and whose art and manuscripts bear the mark of other important social issues of the times. While the pursuit of the bandit is still the focus of the text, the *costumbrista* elements of this and the author's opinions on political topics form a plan for Cuba's future that departs from perceived vagrancy and is defined by the author as "*Educación, Ferrocarril, Colonización blanca*" (II: 31).[93] The focus on increasing white colonists to Cuba was part of del Monte's project, as the intellectuals involved in his *tertulia* wanted to avoid having a slave rebellion in Cuba like the one Haiti experienced in 1804, as critics such as William Luis have highlighted. Thus, even though these authors were arguing for abolition of the slave trade, it was largely for racist reasons such as a desire to increase white immigration to Cuba and reduce the likelihood of a slave revolt (Luis 54).

The characters continue to track Morgán ("el Rubio") to restore order to their town and rid the region of the evils of gambling until an exciting climax when he is captured after a knife fight. The novel's final chapter follows his arrest and execution. Interestingly, Morgán's hideout in the countryside allows him to escape the civilizing forces of society present in religious, educational, and familial contexts, but the law eventually catches up with him and he is punished for his dangerous behavior. Morgán, who is the antithesis of civilized behavior in the novel, finally tells readers of his own unhappiness with his decisions. As he is on the run, he sees a family outside of their cottage and fantasizes what it would be like to live a productive life with a wife and children: "¡Qué feliz es ese hombre! Exclamó Morgán. Le esperan, le buscan, le aprisionan; mas le esperan el reposo y la dicha de su hogar, le persiguen su esposa y sus hijos, la

[93]Of note, the concern that Carlos has sold his railroad shares, previously mentioned in *Una feria* (I: 88), likely connects to El Lugareño's attempts to solify the Cuban national railroad, which Oscar Zanetti Lecuona and Alejandro García Alvarez have described (48).

aprisionan entre sus brazos. Yo jamás he conocido goces tan puros: a mí me persigue el remordimiento, me busca la justicia, me espera el cadalso" (II: 97). Lest any readers believe that Morgán leads an enjoyable life as a criminal and gambling house operator, Betancourt makes it clear that his existence, running from the law, is an unhappy one, and that the adaptive lifestyle of the father he watches is superior, by using parallel ideas of waiting searching, and imprisoning, with one version showing the man a prisoner of love, and the other, Morgán, a potential prisoner in jail.

The narrative culminates in Morgán's foreshadowed incarceration for his gambing scams and crimes, and readers see his pleas for forgiveness, and punishment from Fernando's perspective. As the novel focuses on ideal citizenship, Fernando's magnanimity permits him to forgive Morgán before he is executed. While the novels featuring the romantic rebel were interested in the subversion of order, this novel centers on Fernando, an ideal Cuban citizen, and on the hunt for el Rubio, a corrupt citizen, as it is interested in progress and Cuba's improvement.

In the end, the ideal model for citizens in Betancourt's novel revolves around heroic, morally upstanding (white) men, such as Fernando, who should fight corruption, such as gambling and criminality in their societies. Unlike Rosario Orrego and Teresa González de Fanning's novels, or even Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab*, which were discussed earlier in this dissertation, in Betancourt's *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…*, women do not appear to take a major role in the national future as citizens or in the redemption of male characters. Luísa who was forced to accept her unhappy role as Carlos' wife, which shows her as a submissive character. Similarly, Leocadia's ignorance at Morgán's schemes, and Doña Petrolina's greed and participation in gambling, do not show women as active players in improving the nation's future.

Instead, the town priest and Fernando are the moral leaders of the future, along with some of the other men in the novel's second half (such as El Lugareño). While the novelist mentions a desire to abolish the slave trade, slaves are not promoted as future leaders and only appear minimally in the story. Betancourt's national project thus preserves white male hegemony over other Cubans. While the desire for independence from Spain was progressive, as were calls for the halt of the slave trade (although the motivation for many abolitionists was problematic), many aspects of Betancourt's ideal citizen serve to preserve the control possessed by the the Cuban elite.

Once Morgán has been captured, the town can finally return to a peaceful, orderly state, although there is still much to be done with regards to eradicating gambling and vagrancy nationally. Religion and morality rule and offer guidance for Cuban citizans who have been led astray by gambling (II: 139). Even Morgán, on trial for his life, confesses his sins and offers an apology to all offended parties, asking for "perdón" and "piedad" (II: 131). In spite of his desire to make amends, Morgán is still executed. This is an interesting conclusion because, rather than showing Morgán as irredeemable, the narrator simply restores justice and order to the novel, while allowing Morgán to receive forgiveness for his sins, which is manifested through his confession to Padre Vraeidieau. The larger message for the nation that that gambling must be exorcised, gamblers and criminals must be punished, and then the righteous can lead Cuba towards a brighter future, in line with Saco's teachings.

In a letter of confession, that Fernando shares with other characters, Morgán explains the dangerous allure of gambling and how it caused his family's ruin, turning him to a life of crime: "Entre estos devaneos y el juego resbalaba felizmente mi vida, y aunque mi padre derrochaba por un lado y yo por otro, el refaccionista de nuestro ingenio era un hombre amabilísimo: los usureros abundan en la Habana, y así, teniendo dinero siempre que lo necesitábamos, jamás se

nos ocurría examinar el estado de nuestros negocios" (II: 121). Ironically, Morgán turned into the type of man he hated, contributing to the downfall of his father, and later becoming a criminal and casino operator. He also describes how he was involved in the slave trade and robbery (II: 123), and how he eventually settled on gambling as a major money maker: "No había clase de juego que yo desconociese: desde la ruleta hasta los dados, desde el vis-vis, hasta el golgo, todos tenían para mí un atractivo indescriptible: poco a poco empezaron a desaparecer mis onzas en el garito, a la par que se acrecentaba la fiebre devoradora del juego, alentada con la esperanza del desquite" (II: 125).[94] Morgán himself was thus initially drawn in by gambling through a compulsive obsession, again described as a form of illness, in line with what sociologist Lorne Tepperman has described of addiction (4), and a "fiebre devoradora" that consumes him and often leads to further criminal acts (II: 125).

We thus see that Morgán is Betancourt's mouthpiece as he offers the same suggestions for combatting the sickness of gambling and vagrancy posed from the novel's outset, "La ociosidad es el origen del juego, y no hay para él otro preservativo que la educación" (124). He gambled because of *el ocio*, a condition to be avoided by education and, as other nineteenth century positivist thinkers argued, hard work. As he details,

> Yo estaba en pleno goce de aquella [ociosidad], carecía de esta, y dejábame arrastrar por esos dos grandes estímulos. El primero es el placer de la adivinación, la lucha entre la suerte y el instinto del hombre; el segundo es el deseo de enriquecerse sin trabajo y pronto, la presunción de no ser jamás rendido. La juventud es naturalmente inclinada a todo lo que pone a prueba su osadía, y si a estos elementos se añade el de la moda, no hay quien pueda contrarrestar los impulsos de esa pasión tan halagadora en su origen como funesta en sus resultados. (II: 124)

[94]*Vis-vis* (brought up as "Bisbís" by Januario en *El Periquillo Sarniento* [197]) and *golgo* are both old games that appear to have been popular in the Hispanic world. While it has proven to be difficult to track down their rules, *vis-vis* (spelled "visvis") does appear in a book of Madrid's legal codes from the eighteenth century called *Tomo tercero de autos acordados* (1774) (34).

El Rubio's confession, not unlike Regina's husband's letter in the second chapter, serves to underscore the dangers that luck and unbridled passion can unleash. His miseducation at the hands of a mentor who teaches him sleight-of-hand tricks at the card table leads to the creation of an enterprise that is used to empty the pockets of ignorant men in each town (II: 126). His business turned into an organized crime circuit, involving spies, corrupt players in multiple towns, and even salaries for the scammers. As Morgán's confession describes,

> Más tarde dimos proporciones colosales a nuestra empresa, escogimos a los jugadores más aventajados, los asociamos a nosotros, repartimos empleos, asignamos sueldos: hubo directores, banqueros, exploradores, escuchas o espías, seguros, vigilantes y sacrificadores. Mandamos fabricar Barajas de distintas pintas [. . .] para distinguir estas Barajas de las sencillas, las llamábamos *brujas* y los triunfos que ellas nos daban eran cada vez más importantes y seguros. (II: 126)

This description definitively links the gambling ring to organized crime and also demonstrates how gamblers are tricking players out of their money. Those who go looking to play and win by luck are doomed to be disappointed because cheating and criminal conspiracy keep them from financial gain.

The letter explains the immensity of the gambling ring's operation. Above, el Rubio refers to its "proporciones colosales" (II: 126). Later, he will describe how it was poised to take over the island "Nuestra fortuna se hizo inmensa, terrible, nuestro poder y las formas gigantescas que tomó la asociación, contribuyeron a perdernos" (II: 127-28). El Rubio admits in his confession that, though immense, theirs was a terrible fortune and that the "formas gigantescas" of their business contributed to their ruin (II: 127). As he faces his death at the hands of justice, he begs for pardon as death personified awaits him: "Ella me espera, el alba penetra por esta reja, es la última de mi vida: ese ruido, esa tropa, ese hombre… ¡Dios mío, piedad! ¡Adiós!" (135). Morgán signs his name Juan Fernández, and readers realize that even the antagonist's name, as they knew it, was a pseudonym (135).

The novel concludes in a vision of Christian values a solution to gambling and social ills, by linking the morality described in the first chapter and other religious images depicted throughout, such as the feria's religious symbolism, Luísa's piety, and padre Vraidieau's guiding words of wisdom. Fernando, feeling sorry for Morgán, shares his apology letter with the rest of the family, and arranges for the priest to visit the prisoner, again promoting Christian values. Padre Vraidieau wants to offer him pardon, but Doña Petrona says she'd never pardon the man who killed her son. However, a moral for readers is offered by the clergyman, who reminds her that Jesus asked for pardon even for those who killed him. The characters decide to exculpate the misguided César Morgán shortly before he is executed.

Once the forces of entropy and danger that the gambler embodies are eliminated by Morgán/el Rubio/Fernández's execution, the civilizing forces of marriage and family, in line with Doris Sommer's concept of the national romances, prevail (211). Fernando and Leocadia are wedded by Padre Vraidieau before the altar of the "Virgen de la Caridad" at the novel's conclusion, showing the pro-social alternative to Morgán's lifestyle: "El siguiente domingo tuvo el padre Vreaidieu la satisfacción de bendecir también el amor de Leocadia y Fernando ante el altar de la Virgin de la Caridad" (139). The space of the church thus frames the nation's future in the novel's final lines, undermining again the sickness and criminality of gambling and presenting a pro-social vision for Cuba's future involving marriage, family, and religious piety.

Los Nazarenos *(1867) and Gambling in Guatemala's Historical Novel*

José Milla y Vidurre, or Salomé Jil, (1822-1882) was an important writer from Guatemala's independence period who also discusses gambling and financial questions in the context of national stability. Born in Guatemala City to a wealthy family, he had conservative leanings throughout the majority of his adult life, and he held public offices in the latter half of

the nineteenth century (Woodward 248). Milla also worked as an advisor for foreign relations under Carrera's government, further connecting him to their conservative ideologies (Woodward 249). While working for the Guatemalan government, Milla signed the controversial Wyke-Aycinena Treaty in 1859, which granted England control over Belize and further defined the national boundaries after the end of the Federal Republic of Central America and during Rafael Carrera's regime. Milla's *Los Nazarenos* (1867), interestingly, was written at the end of the Carrera administration, when Vicente Cerna y Cerna came into power. His regime was conservative, like that of his predecessor, and Milla's writings often espouse nationalistic sentiments with conservative leanings. Milla's desire for a religious Guatemala likely rebutted pushes for liberal reform and separations between church and state throughout much of Latin America that Chasteen documents in the mid-nineteenth century ("Blood and Fire" (161). Of import, Milla's Guatemala was undergoing major restructuring as the Central American states separated from each other. During this period, gambling was still permitted in Guatemala (Thompson 494). This would continue until a Penal Code of 1880 prohibited all gambling, with the exception of the National Lottery system (Thompson 494). The regulations on gambling would later be relaxed again into the twentieth century (Thompson 494). Accordingly, these questions of gambling's legality are reflected in the intellectual discourse of Milla's novels.

In terms of style, José Milla followed the *novela costumbrista* genre, but his works are also concerned with historical events in the colonial period in Guatemala. Milla's novels often query colonial history and work to contribute to nation-building currents of the period. While *Los Nazarenos* is the most pertinent for the present study, due to its reliance on gambling as a major plot device, Milla's other novels and *cuadros* also treat colonial themes and include

Cuadros de costumbres (1861-1871), *La hija del adelantado* (1866), *Los Nazarenos* (1867), *El visitador* (1867), *El canasta del sastre* (1871), and *Historia de un Pepe* (1887), among others.

Los Nazarenos is set in Santiago in the 1650s and shows the inner workings of the Real Audiencia de Guatemala. Milla's novel opens with some historical context and *costumbrista* description of the then-capital, Santiago de Guatemala, and its surrounding area. The introduction to the 1867 edition by Ricardo Casanova y Estrada provides relevant context to readers about the novel's purpose in defining some *leyendas* or *tradiciones* of the region (14). For this reason, the historical context is of import, and the novel seems to be influenced by the *novela histórica* genre popular during Romanticism and the popular *leyendas* and *costumbrista* narratives of the same period (Casanova y Estrada 14). However, the novel also has another major purpose. Since Guatemala was in a period of restructuring after Rafael Carrera's rivalry and open war with Francisco Morazán and his supporters, Milla's novel is timely despite its historical setting, as it depicts familial rivalries and rebellion against colonial forces. The novel ultimately appears to support an organized opposition to vestiges of colonialism, but also depicts a strongly conservative, religious path for Guatemala's success. Through the twists and turns of the narrative in *Los Nazarenos*, Milla clearly takes a stance against gambling, which is presented as a negative, exploitative facet of the colonial order that also degrades and undermines the organizers of the rebellion, the Nazarenos, who want to oust the Altamirano family from power but are too tempted by the royal gambling salon. *Los Nazarenos* is not Milla's only text treating the subject of gambling. Several of his leyendas in *El canasto del sastre* (1861-1871) also discuss this topic and the risk surrounding gambling, albeit from a light-hearted perspective.[95]

[95]In the *cuadro de costumbres* titled "Don Dinero," Milla discusses how money is something everyone wants, but it has a way of playing hard to get. He describes the institution of the lottery and gambling more generally and discusses how these activities are designed to gain money, although the odds are poor and gamblers know they may not win. He also discusses the ill repute of a woman who has to set up a *pulpería* for gamblers, again delineating the

Los Nazarenos comes at a key moment in Guatemalan history, and, perhaps, because it was a transitionary period for the new nation, Milla treats the subject in this novel with more serious and didactic intent.

To briefly summarize, *Los Nazarenos* chronicles the story of the failed uprising against Fernando Altamirano's position as *Capitán General*. Namely, the *Nazarenos*, a secret society that has appropriated the religious garb worn by the penitent members of the order in Seville, Spain, is planning to overthrow the colonial regime. Two families who were pitted against each other after an inheritance battle, the Padillas and the Carranzas, are on opposite sides of the plans for the coups. The Padillas have gambled away most of their money at Altamirano's palace and through failed business ventures. As a result, they owe a great deal of money in their financial ledger and the family's accountant, Silvestre Alarcón, proposes to Diego Padilla that they steal the book of gambling arrears from the palace. This act will ultimately throw the rebellion into jeopardy, and Alarcón is imprisoned, tortured, and executed. Meanwhile it is also revealed that Carranza's son is adopted and that the family lacks true claim to the inheritance they have held for years. It thus passes to the Padilla family, who are rescued from debt, but not from persecution by the Altamirano regime for the stolen gambling book. Since the Padillas were involved in the Nazareno uprising, the rebellion against colonial order ultimately fails because of their poor financial decisions, gambling, and the theft of the ledger book. Another chief agent in the uprising, don Rodrigo de Arias, a top official and the novel's protagonist, is heavily involved in the Nazarenos' plans until they are compromised. Ultimately he must abandon his project with

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activity as suitable only for men and adding to the gendered gambling debate that I have examined throughout this dissertation. Later, in the *cuadro* "La fortuna" Milla discusses how a personified fortune is chaotic and crazy, and she only dotes on who she wants. He argues that losing gamblers clearly do not have her favor. Finally, he describes the fickle nature of fortune using the example of buying a lottery ticket for 999 that comes back 666 where fortune that caused it to be read in one direction or another. While these narratives do not condemn gambling in the same way as *Los Nazarenos*, Milla clearly describes the concerning and dangerously fickle force of fate.

the Nazarenos and he joins a religious order at the conclusion of the text, in line with Milla's Catholic vision for the nation.

Other characters are also affected by the colonial regime and the gambling and inheritance ploys in the novel's complex historical subplots. Don García de Altamirano, the grandson of the President of the Captaincy General, is in love with his stepmother, Elvira de Lagasti, but is thwarted by his father and grandfather and is used in their corrupt plans. Don César de Carranza discovers that his parents adopted him and he is actually the illegitimate child of doña Leonor de Padilla and a surly, wealthy gentleman named don Juan de Palomeque, who is killed by an escaped slave who he has mistreated.[96] This puts him at the center of the family rivalry and makes his forbidden love interest, Violante Padilla, actually his sister. In the aftermath of this discovery, he kills don Fadrique, who revealed the truth of the inheritance, and descends into mental illness, ruin, and an inevitable death (422). Finally, love triangles form when don Rodrigo de Arias declares his love for the married Elvira de Lagasti, whom García de Altamirano (her stepson) also loves. Doña Guiomar de Escalante, the daughter of a top official and Altamirano supporter is also in love with Rodrigo de Arias, whom she rescues several times throughout the novel from certain death at Altamirano's hands. She dies of a broken heart from her unrequited love at the novel's conclusion, whereas doña Elvira, Rodrigo's love interest is resuscitated after God's sudden judgement of her attempted adultery when a priest comes to her side. Rodrigo is saved from further persecution when Fernando Altamirano is struck down by a bolt of lightning in an act of God as he is about to sign a warrant for Rodrigo's arrest. Of note,

[96]The troubling representation of Macao, the slave character, speaks to a continued racism in Guatemala, even after slavery was officially abolished in 1824. Milla's omission of the nation's rich Afro-Guatemalan history that includes autonomous communities such as the Garifuna living in costal Caribbean regions such as Livingston, Puerto Barrios, and Santo Tomás further highlights their omission from his version of national history. In *Los Nazarenos*, however, since Macao does kill his master in revenge for poor treatment, perhaps Milla does make some critique of the colonial system. This revenge story also contains subtle parallels to Guatemala's independence movement and break with colonialism in the nineteenth century.

even though Altamirano dies and the rebellion crumbles, the colonial period continues, as does the corruption associated with it. Through the laws governing Milla's narrative, readers discern that God ultimately determines who lives and dies, and the protagonist dedicates himself to a religious path.

While the plot is complicated, the gambling thread within the narrative appears repeatedly as a primarily negative force. From the novel's outset, gambling is a dangerous component of the colonial regime. The addiction to this activity and the debts it causes are also the primary forces holding back the rebellions from success, as we will see shortly. First, gambling is actually directed by the colonial order in the novel with the explicit purpose of exploiting and distracting the citizens, particularly the wealthy members of society who might question Altamirano's administration of the colony. In the first chapters, the narrator depicts card games as the primary pastime at the palace for the *Capitán General* during his Presidency of the *audiencia*, as Altamirano conducts nightly *tertulias* for the gentry. For example, at the palace of the President and *Capitán General* during Easter in 1655, the narrator sets the stage for this re-occurring theme by depicting the frequent gambling and revelry in the palace game rooms dedicated solely to the activity: "los otros dos salones, más pequeños y alhados con menos esmero, estaban destinados al juego" (38). The wealthy and most of the main characters are present, the narrator describes, as this was a key part of the social scene in Santiago: "Los de más edad habían acudido a las salas destinadas al juego, en una de las cuales estaba el Conde y en la otra su hijo el Adelantado. En el grupo de caballeros que rodeaban el estrado se veían tres jóvenes, como de veintidós años el mayor, y algo menores los otros dos, que conversaban, cogidos de las manos con amistosa familiaridad" (41). In this scene, the reader is introduced to several characters: don Fadrique de Guzmán, don García de Altamirano y Contreras, and don

César de Carranza y Medinilla, all of whom will be negatively affected by the financial battle between the Carranzas and the Padillas (41). Of note, the novel's heroic protagonist, don Rodrigo de Arias, is not depicted at the card table, as he will be developed by the author as a moral, tragic, and idealized character who is above such wasteful activity as the novel continues.

Not only is the gambling salon a centerpiece of colonial corruption, it also fosters sickness and addiction in a similar way to Betancourt's gambling house run by el Rubio. In fact, some characters are seen repeatedly at the game table in *Los Nazarenos*, despite their losses (48). Don Juan de Palomeque, who was blinded after he took back a golden chain he offered to God in the novel's opening scenes, obsessively bets with the aid of his servant, despite his losing streak and inability to see the cards (47). As he himself describes, "En menos de tres horas llevo perdidos cerca de quinientos doblones. Pero ¿qué queréis, don Diego? En el juego, como en todo lo de la vida, es menester que unos pierdan para que otros ganen" (48). Don Dieguillo acknowledges that it would take a pact with the devil to make a penny from gambler Tomás de Carranza, and yet he plays on: "Veo que está aquí don Tomás de Carranza, donde él se halla, es necesario hacer pacto con el diablo si se quiere ganar un solo albur" (48). Finally, the gamblers believe that the game is so powerful that it can make you forget you are starving or diseased (50). The development of addiction and obsession with gambling, portrayed through examples such as continued play despite major losses, dealing with the devil himself, and the distraction that the game provides from true physical and psychological needs only further underscores the danger gambling presents to society in Milla's novel.

The ills of the colonial regime, which are repeatedly discussed throughout the novel, are directly manifested in the corruption of the citizens who are involved in these pastimes. More broadly, the gambling that takes place at the palace is also a symptom of a larger problem with

the Altamirano administration. As the Nazarenos argue of the treatment of the citizens and the extraction of money from their accounts, "La situación de las cosas ha venido, pues, a hacerse insoportable; y si el presente es aflictivo, no es menos desconsolador el porvenir" (86). The representation of injustices, prison without cause, and the physical brutality of the Altamirano regime against multiple characters throughout the novel only serves to further critique the corruption of colonial new Spain, and the sickness of its actions (339). This argument furthers Milla's contemporary cause of improving Guatemala and questions forces that disturb the national project, such as gambling and financial mismanagement.

As the novel continues, gambling becomes a focal point for the plot's development. Speculation in the palace's game rooms connects reckless financial mismanagement and corruption to the colonial regime, and it also serves to keep down potential rebellions against the palace by surreptitiously promoting financial insecurity among the other wealthy government officials. In fact, in just a short time, the gambling salon sponsored by the Carranzas has irreprerably damaged the finances of other characters (97). Gambling in Milla's novel is thus a potential danger to those who are counting on it to improve their financial standing. The text's goal to show the activity as detrimental to the improvement of society is accomplished through the dismantling of the Nazarenos' plot against the colonial regime as a result of the financial losses and reckless behavior of key constituents in the secret society. Don Rodrigo and other members of the Nazarenos who had hoped to oust Altamirano are left with few options as the story continues.

Don Diego Padilla's excessive losses at the gaming table put the Nazarenos' hopes for resistance against the colonial regime into jeopardy. One night, pouring over balance sheets, don Silvestre Alarcón, the family's bookkeeper makes a shocking discovery. While fickle fortune

used to favor the Padilla family, poor business decisions, rivalry with the Carranzas, and gambling now undermine their power and influence. As the narrator describes, "pero la fortuna se cansó de ayudar a aquel hombre emprendedor e inteligente. La casa perdió dos o tres buques en expediciones lejanas; las sucursales que tenía en algunas de las principales ciudades de las provincias estaban mal administradas, y la rivalidad con la casa poderosa de los Carranzas causó graves pérdidas" (94). Beyond the failed business ventures, the family's gambling addiction is the main concern. As Alarcón describes it, once he has accounted for all the family assets and debts, "Estamos perdidos, arruinados [. . .] la bancarrota es inevitable" (96). The accountant confronts don Diego, who looks at the budget ledger and realizes that his gambling habit has essentially ruined the family fortune:

> [R]ecorriendo la lista de los créditos que pesaban sobre la casa, el pobre caballero se fijó en una partida que decía así: Por deudas de juego, inscritas en el libro de caja de Palacio, setenta y ocho mil pesos ($78,000). —¿Tanto es ya?— Exclamó don Diego con asombro—¿Todo eso he perdido en cerca de un año que ha transcurrido desde la venida de ese hombre? —Sí, señor—contestó don Silvestre consternado—; todo eso habéis perdido; o por lo menos esa es la suma que de vuestro propio puño está sentada en el libro verde. (97)

Gambling debts have turned the powerful don Diego into a "pobre caballero" who gambles so obsessively that he is unaware of how much debt he has amassed in just one year. Thinking that honor obligates him to pay up, as "las deudas del juego son sagradas" (97), don diego initially tries to figure out where to get the money, but Alarcón then comes up with the plot to steal the gambling ledger. As he suggests, "Señor—dijo entonces el cajero, bajando la voz y acercándose a su patrón--; y si ese libro desapareciese por casualidad, y tan sólo durante el tiempo necesario para redondear el negocio, ¿cómo podrían cobraros?" (98).

Gambling, thus leads to theft in this novel, much in the same way that we saw it connected to criminality in Betancourt's story. This is also one of the ways in which Juan Pablo

Dabove draws a connection between gambling and banditry (43). As the narrator describes of Alarcón's theft of the gambling book, as usual, the gambling salón is filled with players when he arrives: "Alarcón acudió como de costumbre, a la sala de juego, que a eso de las ocho, estaba llena de gente" (130). After the other characters retire for the night, Alarcón slips into the study with the aid of a servant. He quickly takes the book: "esto, levantar la tapa del arca y tomar el libro forrado de terciopelo verde, fue todo uno. Don Silvestre no cuidó de volverá cerrar; colocó el libro bajo su brazo derecho y se volvió para dirigirse a la puerta" (137). A minor hiccup as he is leaving the house does not stop him from his purpose, as Alarcón blackmails another gambler, don Dieguillo, who tries to stop him.

Not only does Alarcón steal, but he disturbs the sacred church crypt by hiding the gambling ledger book in a tomb. The act is labeled as profane by the narrator, who links the dangerous act of gambling with the desperation of theft and religious sacrilege by those who fall victim to its temptation (149). Of interest, the tomb itself refuses to release the wayward thief, foreshadowing his death at the hands of the Altamirano family later in the novel as a result of this action.

> Con bastante dificultad logró levantar la tapa, colocó en la cavidad el libro de los juegos de palacio y dejó caer la losa, que hizo un ruido [. . .] Trató de retirarse, buscó a tientas la estatua, tomó el sombrero, y luego quiso descolgar la capa; pero ésta se resistió, como si el Marqués hubiera querido conservar aquella prenda del que había ido a profanar su sepulcro, destinándolo a guardar un objeto robado. Alarcón era animoso; pero al sentir que le retenían la capa [. . .] no pudo dejar de estremecerse. (149)

Despite this hitch, Alarcón escapes from the crypt, leaving the book and the corner of his cloak behind. The theft shows the fear of the criminal (through his "sudor frío"), the depravity of the robbery (through the word "profaner"), and the desperation of the Padilla family, who the act

"había salvado" to avoid the extraction of their wealth by the regime, whose gambling salon is bankrupting the citizens of Santiago (149-50).

The inevitable discovery of the hidden book and the bit of Alarcón's cape leads the authorities to Padilla's mansion and begins to unravel the entire scheme that the Nazarenos have planned against Altamirano. The narrator describes the discovery thusly,

> Levantaron la tapa, y cuál no sería el asombro de los circunstantes, al hallar allí la lagartija, sobre un libro forrado de terciopelo verde [. . .] Abrieron y leyeron en la primera foja: *Libro de caja de los juegos de palacio*. Todos recordaron inmediatamente el robo de aquel libro, cuya desaparición había sido pública [. . .] Llamó igualmente la atención un retazo de paño negro, que parecía ser la esquina de una capa, que se encontró junto con el libro. (247)

As a result of the robbery, Alarcón is taken prisoner and tortured in conjunction with the theft. After his arrest, he is subjected to cruel punishments, such as the rack, and eventually executed (339). Diego Padilla has little ability to protect himself from questioning, and he perishes in the novel's conclusion. In the depiction of these deaths, the corruption of the regime is again highlighted by the narrator, who describes the execution of prisoners as simply another form of entertainment for the depraved populace, alongside gambling: "El pueblo necesitaba espectáculos, y nuestros respetables abuelos, que aún no alcanzaron los que ha inventado una civilización más refinada, se divertían con [. . .] los juegos de cañas, alcancías, estafermo, sortija, carretas de entrada y parejas con que se solemnizaban las fiestas reales; y cuando nada de esto había, tenían que contentarse con ver ahorcar" (345).

The corruption caused by monetary obsessions and the danger of debt is also explored in the Carranza family's fall from grace. After César Carranza's realization that he is adopted and is actually the brother of the woman he loves, he descends into madness and forces don Fadrique de Guzmán, who cruelly revealed this information for financial gain, to count and recount the 20,000 pesos won from the sale of this information (363). The characterization of César

Carranza's madness and its manifestation in the obsessive coin counting again speaks to the idea of gambling and financial obsessions as illnesses, which was mentioned earlier in this section with regard to Betancourt's novel and by various critics (ie. Tepperman). When don Fadrique can no longer continue counting the coins because of his fatigue, César himself continues without food or water: "El loco seguía imperturbable su cuenta. Cuando don César hacía la novena línea, Guzmán estaba ya en una verdadera agonía" (365). Don Fadrique eventually succumbs to his fatigue and perishes counting the coins, offering a disturbing cautionary tale about the dangers of putting money first, and ironically causing the coveted solution to his problems (money) to be the thing that directly causes his undoing and death (365).

As a result of the gambling debts and the theft of the record book, with the subsequent deaths of Padilla and his accountant, the Nazarenos begin to fracture as an organization. This, coupled with the traitorous denunciations of a few characters such as don Fadrique, and the secrets leaked by Altamirano's victims during their torture and imprisonment (322), has left few options for the secret society. Don Rodrigo de Arias tries to hold the Nazarenos together, but the Altamirano regime is on to their plots (367). The uprising ultimately fails because of the gambling debts and theft causing the downfall of Padilla, and the fear instilled in remaining Nazareno members through the torture tactics and executions that Capitan General employs (338).[97] Don Rodrigo, the valiant organizer of the Nazarenos, is ultimately defeated. As don Rodrigo describes to Elvira, "Sé que la Audiencia se ha decidido al fin a adoptar una resolución meditada mucho tiempo ha y que ciertas consideraciones no habían permitido llevar a cabo. En una palabra, han resuelto prenderme; esta misma noche me arrastrarán y se me instruirá un

[97]Examples of such tactics include things such as standing on hot coals, being hung upside down, and the wheel, all of which make the case of the regime's corruption (Milla 337-39).

proceso por traidor y sedicioso, como a Alarcón y los otros desgraciados que han acabado su vida en el patíbulo" (413).

Ultimately, the foolish gambling of the Nazareno members and the extortion that the colonial regime exacts upon them through the records of their gambling debts prevent Guatemala's progress in the novel and forces the populace to stay under a corrupt regime. In line with Sommer's theories of nation-building narratives, the novel clearly aims to espouse a moral vision for Guatemala's future, including prudent financial decisions, as reckless monetary ventures are linked to colonialism and are a threat to national autonomy. The romance between don Rodrigo and the married Elvira is impossible because she is legally bound to don Enrique de Altamirano, the son of the elder Altamirano, president of the Audiencia of the Capitancy General of the region. Interestingly, Elvira's literal marriage to the corrupt official of the colonial regime also prevents her romance with don Rodrigo; a symbolic message is given to readers through this wedlock, which prevents the extramarital union of the two lovers, as Elvira is trapped by an official of the colonial regime.

In the novel's final pages, Milla shows an alternative, religious vision for Guatemala when God directly intercedes to stop further wrongdoing. As the elder Altamirano is about to sign Rodrigo's arrest warrant, he is struck, as though by a bolt of lightning, and perishes, thus keeping Rodrigo from jail. The narrator describes the scene thusly: "Al tomar la pluma para firmar la orden de prisión contra don Rodrigo, el Conde había caído como herido por un rayo [. . .] era ya más que un cadáver" (422). A similar occurance keeps Rodrigo from committing adultery with Elvira. As she describes her love for him and not for her tyrannical husband, she is struck—again, by something that seems to be lightning—and narrowly escapes death: "Gritó la desgraciada con acento desgarrador, y levantando los brazos, los retorció con desesperación. Don

Rodrigo se estremeció al oír aquel grito, y más aún al advertir a la luz de la lámpara que alumbraba el dormitorio, la palidez mortal que cubrió de repente el rostro de la joven. (436). In the end, both Rodrigo and Elvira dedicate their lives to God, entering religious orders and, as Rodrigo puts it in stark contrast to al characters who have lived and died for money in the novel, renouncing, "gloria, honores, riquezas y afectos mundanos" and pledging to "servir a Jesucristo, consagrándole desde este instante todas las horas de mi vida" (441). The protagonist thus swears allegiance to his faith and renounces monetary wealth, with some interesting implications for Milla's vision of Guatemala. As I have previously mentioned, Milla supported a conservative government in the mid-nineteenth century and publically defended the Church's intersession into the nation's politics in his essays (Woodward 260). The novel's conclusion thus supports this religious path for the future and condemns gambling, monetary risk, and colonial abuses of power.

In the world of *Los Nazarenos*, gambling ultimately creates barriers to social improvement by undermining the rebellion against a corrupt form of colonialism. It is also a tool used along with torture and executions to entertain and control the populace. Since the rebellion is unable to succeed after the robbery of the gambling book and the subsequent dismantling of the Nazarenos's secret order, don Rodrigo, the valiant reformer protagonist, ultimately takes holy vows, refusing to live in an unreformed world and swearing his allegiance to his faith. While the novel is historical in its themes, it seems appropriate that it presents transitional temporality in Guatemala's history at a moment when the country is again undergoing political shifts during the mid-nineteenth century.

Conclusions

Ultimately, in *Una feria de la Caridad* and in *Los Nazarenos* gambling is directly employed to promote discussions of morality and reform and to offer both good and bad examples of citizens for their countries' futures. While the two authors utilize different perspectives, both show concerns with the potentially negative effects of gambling on their societies, particularly as they envision a post-colonial context for Cuba and Guatemala. While gambling is associated with illness, criminality, and depravity, the novels' heroes follow a moral, righteous, and religious path that condemns gambling's destructive effects on society. Finally, complex questions of finance and money's role in emerging Latin American nations are at play in this debate, and these novels show a certain anxiety in relation to gambling that may speak to the authors' concerns with the integrity of their societies.

CONCLUSION

Ann Fabian argues that "[g]ambling and ideas about gambling [. . .] helped people place themselves in the economy," and this, ultimately, is the centerpiece in gambling narratives that allows the social commentary I have detailed through my analysis in this dissertation (7). Individual authors coping with changing social roles, the foundation of new nations, and specific economic concerns stemming from unequal wealth distribution and varying ways to make money included gambling in their narratives with different intentions and messages. In this study, through close readings of novels, I have exposed differing perspectives on gambling and, on a larger scale, capitalist speculation, in order to demonstrate their centrality as shifting economic components of modernity. My analysis offers a new look at financial questions surrounding the revision of social roles through diverse, representative literary works of the mid-nineteenth century in Latin America.

Financial capital allowed for social mobility without regard to ancestry during Latin America's post-independence period. This time frame was defined by dramatic changes in societal divisions enacted through developments in areas such as women's education, abolitionism, and rights for indigenous peoples, as well as a departure from nobility-dominated power structures that prevailed during the colonial period. Such shifts were particularly represented in narratives of the mid-nineteenth century, when debates surrounding the production and distribution of wealth in Latin American nations abounded in society. For this reason, novels depicting gambling and other types of capitalist speculative commerce (such as investment, mining, and higher-risk trade) offer useful perspectives for exploring questions of wealth

distribution and money-making ventures during this period of increasing globalized commerce and investing. Through their analysis, moreover, contemporary readers can better understand the debates surrounding both financial inequalities and the negotiation of financial stability in the emerging nations of Latin America.

In the first chapter, on the romanticized rogue, I explored how novels that include a miscreant figure who makes money from gambling connect to questions of financial risk and masculinity in emerging nations during a period of transition. In *El Periquillo Sarniento*, Fernández de Lizardi cultivates a certain social critique of customs and social systems that prevent the productive labor of some Mexican citizens, while simultaneously finding a certain joy in the wayward actions of the protagonist. Periquillo's gambling, cheating, and lottery playing are used as attempts to establish his dominance over other characters in the novel, including members of marginalized groups, such as women. *Juan Moreira* and other *gauchesque* literature depicts other varieties of rogue figures that also find control over their surroundings through the financial manipulation of other characters in gambling contexts. The risk-taking behaviors of the rogue protagonists in these texts relate to a definition of masculinity in a modality in line with the rebel persona present in many traditional Romantic novels of the time.

In reaction to financially-risky business transactions and gambling ventures that put families in peril, and in light of their lack of financial power, some women who lived in male-dominated societies of the nineteenth century took up the pen to decry their unfair situations. The second chapter focuses on novels written by two novelists, Rosario Orrego and Teresa González de Fanning, who are able to enter the economic discourse of their day through their works. In novels such as *Alberto el jugador* and *Regina*, questions of gender roles emerge alongside larger themes of familial and, more broadly, national financial stability. These texts fashioned

honorable female protagonists who stood proudly in defense of their families and the integrity of their homes and whose actions contrasted with those of their male counterparts who fell prey to degrading activities such as gambling and dishonest behavior, putting their households at risk. Through such texts, these female authors also entered into public debate on economic questions.

The third chapter dialogued further with questions of gender roles and social inequalities by adding another layer to the renegotiation of financial divisions through the exploration of social class. In novels such as *Sab* and *Martín Rivas*, the authors approached shifting social class paradigms in slightly different ways. While Gómez de Avellaneda largely utilizes the lottery as a disruptive tool to question social class divisions, Blest Gana represented gambling across social strata to question both inheritance and luck-based models of financial division in favor of the hard-work paradigm. While both authors rely on Romantic or Realist tropes in their novels, they highlight the recurring theme of class struggle that underpins many novels of the mid-nineteenth century on a global scale. The debate surrounding social class divisions and their relationship to gambling and investing again relates to larger questions of inequalities and the establishment of national economic systems.

Finally, the last chapter of the dissertation discussed two novels, *Una feria de la Caridad en el 183…* and *Los Nazarenos*, concerned with gambling's impact on the authors' colonial or post-colonial societies. The depiction of the protagonists as ideal, Christian citizens who stand in stark contrast to the depraved gambler figures associated with illness and criminality promotes their comparison with national concerns. Economic structures such as gambling, supported by the colonial enterprise and dominating both Cuba and Guatemala in the two novels, must be contained or abolished if good is to triumph over evil. As Doris Sommers puts it, "nation-building projects invested private passions with public purpose" (7), and so it is with these

novels, whose plot-heavy twists resolve neatly when gambling and criminality are contained, the heroes marry or devote their lives to God, and order is restored.

While this project covered banner novels of the mid-nineteenth century that included gambling and financial speculation as key plot devices, or where these aspects were part of the characterization of major figures, there are, predictably, still some limitations to this study. While I selected the works that I believe to be the most representative, other texts from the nineteenth century also include gambling in their plots, and I tried to mention some of them as they connected to the different chapters. Closer analysis of these texts could yield interesting results, particularly in how they relate to the works already treated in this dissertation. Additionally, a comparison with texts of the eighteenth century, where Neoclassical reasoning helped authors negotiate themes of luck and commerce, could be useful to examine for a more comprehensive understanding of the novels treated here. The impending Naturalist wave that touches novels such as *Regina* in the second chapter was largely outside the scope of this dissertation, but this would be an important literary period to scrutinize, as Naturalist authors favored describing spaces where activities such as gambling likely took place. Finally, I would like the opportunity to further discuss particular themes in future research projects, such as the connections between finance, race and ethnicity, and the representations of gambling in nineteenth-century Cuban novels (*Sab*, *Cecilia Valdés*, and *Una feria de la Caridad en 183…*).

While I have chosen to examine financial speculation largely through the lens of social roles, there are, of course, other ways of looking at these novels and the economic arguments they present. Previous critics exploring gambling in other literary traditions (such as British, Spanish, or French) have approached gambling from the perspectives of addiction, stocks and global trade, reform, and modernity (including, for example, Lorne Tepperman, Leigh Mercer,

Michael Flavin, and J. Jeffrey Franklin), and I have tried to incorporate references to their useful theoretical frameworks wherever possible. Ultimately, this dissertation has provided a different approach by emphasizing a variety of social roles during or just before Latin American independence movements and examining how finance influenced the redefinition of those roles.

The themes of gambling, financial speculation, and social roles that are present in the novels treated in this dissertation continue to be discussed well into the late nineteenth century, including in Naturalist and Modernist novels. We find them in novels such as Eugenio Cambaceres' *En la sangre* (1887), Roberto Payró's *El casamiento de Laucha* (1906), and many others where modernity, often with a decadent or naturalistic aesthetic, is addressed. The prevalence of the topic in later works demonstrates that gambling still offers a unique perspective on questions of finance beyond the independence period and into the twentieth century. It would thus offer a solid foundation for future analysis while allowing for new, different questions grounded on some of the issues I treat in the dissertation.

This project, which encompasses eight novels from various countries of the Caribbean and Latin America, is unique because of its emphasis on gambling and social roles in mid-nineteenth-century narratives. It contributes to existing scholarship on gender roles, social class, and notions of citizenship and nation building by focusing on examples of gambling and other forms of speculative commerce as textually portrayed during this period. Through the lens of gambling, I have offered in the individual chapters new interpretations of well-known and lesser-known texts. In addition, I have demonstrated that Latin American women in the nineteenth century were, in fact, writing about economic topics to better engage with socio-political discourse, contributing in this way to the formation of their new nations. Finally, this study shows the value both in looking to fictional texts for understanding the negotiation of wealth and

money in society and in giving readers a window into the emergence of global capitalism and national economies in the nineteenth century. Through my analysis of texts presenting the interaction of speculative commerce and social realities, diverse perspectives emerged that included both progressive and traditional interpretations of economic and social roles. Gambling as a financially-risky endeavor introduces a fresh lens through which to analyze nineteenth-century literature, as it transects both social and financial topics and issues of economic stability during this defining period of transitional, nationalist fiction.

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