

Why Slavery Endures

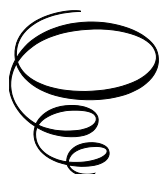
Why Slavery Endures:

Its Past, Present, and Future

Edited by

David W. Bulla

**Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing**



Why Slavery Endures: Its Past, Present, and Future

Edited by David W. Bulla

This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2020 by David W. Bulla and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-5804-5

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-5804-5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction vii
David W. Bulla

Part I: Historical, Journalistic, and Literary Approaches to Slavery

Chapter One..... 2
Revolutionary Sentiment in Slave Narratives: The Example of *Sab*
Karen-Margrethe Simonsen

Chapter Two 21
Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and Emancipation
David W. Bulla

Chapter Three 42
Colonization, Abolition, and State Building: The Creation of French
Equatorial Africa and the Issue of Slavery
Valerio Colosio

Part II: Slavery's Ethical and Legal Ramifications

Chapter Four 62
Our Roles in Today's Slavery
Karen E. Bravo

Chapter Five 79
Negative Duties and the Case of Modern Slavery: Appropriating Pogge's
Theory of Negative Duties in the Assignment of Responsibility for
Modern-Day Slavery
Tiffany R. Beaver

Chapter Six 100
Reparations, Restorative Justice, and the Impact of the 2007 Bicentenary
of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade
David Wilkins

Part III: Issues in Contemporary Human Trafficking

Chapter Seven.....	138
Labour Trafficking in Portugal: An Exploratory Study <i>Elisabete Pessanha</i>	
Chapter Eight.....	155
The Bijlmer Project: Developing a Psychological Treatment Service for Victims of Trafficking and Sexually Exploited Individuals in the Netherlands <i>Sheetal Shah and Tom Marfo</i>	
Chapter Nine.....	168
Assessing Human Trafficking: The Slavery Nexus and Its Impact on Migrant Domestic Workers <i>Daphne Demetriou</i>	
Index.....	193

INTRODUCTION

DAVID W. BULLA

Slavery is a human illness that is yet to be eradicated. This is the sober reality of the twenty-first century, and in recent years both national and international governments have begun to realise this, largely due to the work of first NGOs and then journalists. There has been an assumption in the West that slavery, if it had not ended across the globe in the nineteenth century, then it had almost certainly disappeared by the middle of the twentieth century, owing to national and international laws outlawing slavery. Yet it is not extinct. It has many forms in the twenty-first century, including human trafficking, extremely exploitative child labour, and slavery in supply chains. Millions are affected, more than half of them are women and children.¹ It is a blight that stands in stark contrast to the technological advances and progressive economic and social reforms of the modern period.

Globalism, seen as the cure for the world's economic ills for the past three decades, has had an unintended side effect: the exposure of new forms of slavery, often more nuanced and underhanded than historical chattel slavery, but every bit as odious and noxious. Or, rather, globalism itself has simply given energy to new forms of exploitative labour practices, and what has been exposed is that modern nation states are not policing these brutal and oppressive practices. In fact, nation states, as well as local authorities, often turn a blind eye to modern slavery practices. This, too, contributes to its existence. Like caste or class systems, slavery marches on. There are more slaves in the world now than at the end of the U.S. Civil War, which Americans see as the end point of that 'peculiar institution' in their history.² Yet Americans also have some modern slavery in their backyard, especially in agriculture where migrant and illegal immigrant labour faces extreme exploitation. The Global Slavery Index put the number of modern slaves in the United States at more than 57,000 in 2016—less than 1 per cent of the population. The Global Slavery Index gave the United States a BBB rating (AAA is the highest and D is the lowest) in terms of implementing policies to limit modern slavery.³

Slavery has been a staple of human existence for millennia. In the ancient world, it was found in Aztec, Chinese, Egyptian, Greek, Incan, Indian, Mayan, Roman, and Sumerian societies. In his defence of slavery, the Greek philosopher Aristotle claimed 'a complete household consisted of slaves and freemen' and added: 'For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing, not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection and others for rule'.⁴ Aristotle would go on to state: 'It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right'.⁵ The irony is that the champion of early democracy also rationalised the existence of slavery within the *polis* of Athens—a place of equals who possessed the unequal. Aristotle found slavery to be indispensable to democratic society, and to demonstrate that indispensability one scholar of ancient Greece estimates slaves to have represented between ten and thirty per cent of the Athenian population.⁶ Even the early Christians seemed to accept slavery and assumed liberation would only come in the afterlife. There was a train of thought that slaves were better off with the security of servitude and a stable master than with the chaos and uncertainty of freedom; therefore, it was wrong to teach slaves to despise their masters and yearn for freedom. Others argued that masters ought to treat their slaves humanely.

Globally, Aristotle's defence of slavery was an intellectual convention for centuries. It was assumed slavery was eternal; there was little thought of any other social order. Most laws protected the master. Occasionally, a law did give the slave some rights. For instance, Jews were not allowed to own Christian slaves in the Roman Empire. A slave serving under a Jew automatically earned his freedom.⁷ Generally, though, laws protected the owner.

Slavery would be indispensable to European society for at least a millennium. The French brought in slaves from Britain. In Spain, criminals were turned into slaves. In Charlemagne's empire the sale of slaves to the Spanish was rampant. The conquering Moors turned Christians into slaves. In Spain and Portugal, Christian monarchs had Muslim slaves. They also began to import West African slaves. The Portuguese looked at slaves as another commodity, no different really from gold or ivory, and as their colonial strategy expanded, they would need more slaves for agricultural and domestic labour. The Portuguese exchanged cloth, brass goods, and wheat for slaves.⁸ In Barcelona the rulers and merchants preferred Greek slaves. The slave trade also did well in the Italian port cities.

Sometime after the Enlightenment began in Western Europe, societies turned against slavery. For example, Great Britain would outlaw it in 1833, the United States in 1865, the Spanish in Cuba in 1886, and Brazil in 1888. Since abolition in these nations occurred more than a century ago, the impression today is that slavery is only a topic for historians and anthropologists—that it has little or no relevance for academic disciplines that examine contemporary problems. The understood belief is that slavery is dead.

However, as shown by research papers delivered at the Slavery Past, Present and Future Second Global Conference, in Prague, Czech Republic, in May 2016, slavery not only has not been extinguished from our societies it has also become a more sophisticated system of economic exploitation. The sheer number of enslaved people around the world may be at an all-time high, as the journalist E. Benjamin Skinner claims.⁹ As many as forty-five million people may be enslaved today. Approximately sixty per cent of them live in five countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan, according to the U.S. government.¹⁰ In 2016, India had more than 18 million slaves, according to the Global Slavery Index—about 1.4 per cent of its population, and residents of the Central African Republic are the most vulnerable to modern slavery among the world's nations.¹¹

The United States government now states that nearly every nation in the world is somehow or other involved in human trafficking. Of course, this is today; what went before in slavery is another issue, especially for those who examine the topic of reparations. Precise statistics on slavery are difficult today, and even more problematic historically. The Transatlantic Slave Trade brought eleven or twelve million slaves across the ocean, with almost half going to Brazil alone.¹² Of course, not all of the Africans being delivered to American shores even made it across the ocean. It is believed about a million or more died on the voyage, from sickness, starvation, or mistreatment.

Thus, today, more than a century and a half after the United States finally ended chattel slavery with its Thirteenth Amendment to its Constitution, modern slavery (e.g., human trafficking, forced labour, child slavery, extreme indentured servitude, debt bondage), as it is known, is advancing, not declining. The global economy has lit a fire under the need for incredibly cheap labour, and extreme exploitation exists in a number of industries, including agriculture, mining, textiles, and fishing, along with commercial sex exploitation. While modern slavery is most concentrated in Asia and Africa, it also exists in the Americas and Europe. Modern slavery is a global, not a regional, problem. Solutions are not easy

because of many factors, including the failure to enforce human rights laws, political instability, terrorism, poverty, debt, violence against women and children, and discrimination. The attempts to eradicate modern slavery have largely been left to transnational organizations and NGOs. The British Parliament, though, did pass the Modern Anti-Slavery Act in 2015. (Australia is considering a similar law.) It largely centres on holding corporations accountable by revealing how they are attempting to stop the suppliers in their supply chains from using slaves.

The research in the following chapters takes aim at both historical and contemporary slavery issues, including human trafficking, slavery in colonial societies, the Transatlantic Slave Trade, humane services provided for those caught up in trafficking, the literary and journalistic treatment of slavery, and the effort to provide some sort of restorative justice in regions where slavery has left its scars. There are also chapters devoted to untangling the legal meaning and implications of modern-day slavery and comparing it to slavery in the past; unravelling the shades of ethical culpability that denizens of the twenty-first century face in dealing with slavery; and exploring the legal solutions to the problems of contemporary trafficking and indentured servitude.

This is the second book devoted to the research emanating from the Slavery Past, Present and Future Global Conference. The first book was the result of the inaugural conference, held in July 2015 at Mansfield College, Oxford University, in England. The salient characteristic of both conferences is that slavery is being examined from a global perspective with authors coming from Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East. This alone shows the widespread interest in the topic, and the range of papers develops an understanding of slavery's complicated and revolting past, its persistent and slippery present, and its inevitable and regrettable future. The following chapters describe, explain, and interpret slavery—and the offshoot subjects, trafficking and indentured servitude—and offer both theoretical models for understanding the topic and practical solutions for solving the historical and contemporary problems related to slavery. What follows is a detailed look at the three main areas of slavery discussed in this book, along with a synopsis of each chapter.

Building on the First Slavery Past, Present and Future Conference

In the first *Slavery Past, Present and Future* book, edited by Catherine Armstrong and Jaya Priyadarshini, the researchers treated historical

variants of slavery, modern slavery, and African slavery. In the second *Slavery Past, Present and Future* book, presented here, the authors examine three main areas of the subject. These include: (1) Historical, Journalistic, and Literary Approaches to Slavery; (2) Slavery's Ethical and Legal Ramifications; and (3) Issues in Contemporary Human Trafficking. The first area deals with approaches to slavery from the humanities. The authors use historical, literary, and communication approaches to analyse and explain slavery. This section examines the historical background of slavery in the century when abolition was in the ascendancy. The second area uses legal and ethical methodology. The authors explore legal definition, nomenclature, and policy nuance, including a look at reparations and the ethical oddities in the legal fight to end slavery. The third section uses sociological methodology to explore contemporary human trafficking. It delves into the status of slavery in the twenty-first century.

In the first section of this book, Karen-Margrethe Simonsen interprets the 1841 Cuban novel *Sab* by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda; David W. Bulla examines the relationship between the journalist Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln as the U.S. president decided to emancipate the slaves during the American Civil War; and Valerio Colosio tackles de facto slavery in French Equatorial Africa in the nineteenth century and shows how it still has major effects on the modern nations of that portion of Africa. In the second section, Karen Bravo attempts to tease through the legal and rhetorical hodgepodge of contemporary slavery, with its sometimes confusing and overlapping terminology; Tiffany R. Beaver reflects on the negative duties required of individuals in attempts to defeat slavery; and David Wilkins looks at the nuances of reparations in terms of restorative justice, focusing on the Caribbean. Finally, in the third section, Elisabete Pessanha looks at contemporary human trafficking in Portugal; Sheetal Shah and Tom Marfo describe the Bijlmer Project in Amsterdam, a programme that attempts to help the psychologically scarred victims of human trafficking; and Daphne Demetriou looks at the interplay between legal concepts of slavery and trafficking, as the latter is defined by the United Nations, and its impact on migrant domestic workers.

Section One: Historical, Journalistic, and Literary Approaches to Slavery

Karen-Margrethe Simonsen's discussion of the Madrid-published novel *Sab*, which is the Spanish-Cuban equivalent of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (even though it was published more than a decade before the American

novel), looks at the sentimentality of the work, with an emphasis in crossing racial boundaries. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Sab* operates on a level of empathy. The protagonist, Sab, is a mulatto slave who falls for his white master's daughter, Carlota. One of the things that worked against such pro-abolition novels as *Sab* is the over-emphasis on the reader's emotional attachment to the main character. Obviously, Sab deserved a better fate. Since this was a staple of such nineteenth-century novels, the various abolitionist authors failed to properly show how individual slaves suffered in different ways. However, Simonsen points out that authors and their abolitionist friends assumed that sentimentality as a rhetorical device was the most persuasive way to change public opinion about slavery. With this as a starting point, Simonsen goes on to compare *Sab* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and comes to the conclusion that Gómez de Avellaneda was a revolutionary sentimentalist and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* author Harriet Beecher Stowe was a conservative sentimentalist. This is based on Simonsen's assessment that *Sab's* sentimentality is steeped in natural law, which says naturally that all human beings are equal and that human hierarchies are man-made. Simonsen says an author like Gómez de Avellaneda wants readers to see that Sab is a revolutionary, one who breaks down social boundaries. Stowe, on the other hand, wants readers to see the main character as achieving personal redemption.

David W. Bulla shows how Frederick Douglass criticised President Abraham Lincoln for his gradualism on abolition and yet the journalist came to see that President Lincoln's contributions to the cause of eradicating American slavery were significant—and even decisive. Bulla looks at the context for their relationship during the U.S. Civil War. Since Lincoln defeated the architect of popular sovereignty in Stephen A. Douglas and two Southerners in the election of 1860, the journalist Douglass believed the new president had every right to subdue the rebellion in the South that began with South Carolina seceding on 20 December 1860. Douglass had also hoped that Lincoln would be more of a radical Republican than a moderate and he expected the president to abolish slavery. Yet once events started unfolding in the South and Lincoln kept quiet, Douglass began to despair. For Douglass, Lincoln could not let the South go in silence, as some editors in the North counselled. The slave-turned-journalist believed either Lincoln would put down the rebellion or he would be seen as overseeing a 'defied and humbled government'. Douglass saw this as no real question: Lincoln must fight the slave owners vigorously and expeditiously. The criticisms would continue in the first year of the war, over President Lincoln's insistence on colonization and his refusal to arm black men who wanted to

fight for the Union Army. All of that changed in September 1862 when the president announced the Emancipation Proclamation. Now Lincoln was clearly in the abolitionist camp, and while Douglass never totally saw eye to eye with the president, they grew much closer in terms of the purpose of the war and the policies of that war on the Union side. By the time Lincoln and Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment in the winter of 1865, Douglass would call their handiwork ‘sacred’ and would begin to think about how Reconstruction would play out, advising abolitionist societies not to disband but to turn attention to how Southern states would treat black citizens after the war.

Valerio Colosio uses historical methodology to examine slavery in French Equatorial Africa. The author follows the line from pre-colonial to colonial to contemporary times. Colosio notes that while abolitionism had preceded much of the fervent colonization of Africa in the nineteenth century, nonetheless the imperial governments struggled to restrict slavery. Indeed, abolition was one of the moral arguments used by the European powers to defend their conquering of the vast continent. The argument to the natives went something like: ‘We will end slavery, so trust us to make your land part of the empire. We will help civilize you’. However, Colosio demonstrates that nineteenth-century European concepts of equality did not translate very well to this part of Africa. The anti-slavery policies were difficult to enforce in Equatorial Africa, and there would be a carry-over effect into the twentieth century and beyond in terms of the social structures in the former French colonies. Often, colonial governments in theory thought that slavery should be—or was by law—eradicated, but the practice among various tribes was something different altogether. Because of at best mixed results, the colonial governments were frequently indifferent to the enforcement issue. They would hold French colonials to one standard but would allow the tribal chiefs to maintain their traditional social systems. The slave trade, which extended into Libya, was usually outlawed and other restrictive measures were put in place, yet slavery would be allowed to continue to exist. Some Muslim resistance groups sold slaves so that they could purchase arms to fight back against the French colonial government. In the long run, slavery would not completely end in this part of Africa until the 1930s. Thus, Colosio’s chapter looks at the effects of this historical context on the Lake Chad area and the Sahel, the land between the desert of the north and the greener equatorial lands to the south—what today is, in addition to Chad, the nations of Gabon, Central African Republic, and the Congo. Also, Colosio provides a historical look at how slavery came to this part of Africa, starting with the Arab slave trade along the Mediterranean in the seventh century, then

moving forward to the attempts by the French in the nineteenth century to eradicate slavery along the trade routes in the Sahel, and finally to the existence of forced labour in Chad today as a legacy of the indifference to colonial slavery. Today, the legacy of slavery remains divisive in this part of Africa, according to Colosio.

Section Two: Slavery's Ethical and Legal Ramifications

Karen E. Bravo, a law professor in the United States, tries to unravel the meanings of various terms related to slavery and at the same time helps the reader to see her/his role in the maintenance of contemporary human trafficking. Today, human trafficking is a term used with almost as much emotional and political potency as that of slavery in the nineteenth century. Bravo notes that in public discourse, various types of human trafficking are referred to as 'modern-day slavery', 'contemporary forms of slavery', and/or 'modern forms of slavery'. Human trafficking is denounced all over the world by social and political commentators; however, what exactly is it, and how is it similar to and different from historical slavery? Bravo examines how the contemporary framing of human trafficking makes it seem tantamount to slavery, but it also may mean that such framing oversells extreme exploitative labour practices today in aligning them with slavery. Indeed, it may ironically dilute historical (chattel) slavery and at the same time cast doubt on the significance of these contemporary social problems by the overuse of a comparison to slavery. Bravo starts with the 2000 definition of human trafficking by the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and she teases through the legal language from there. The author goes on to discuss how we contemporary human beings benefit from and help support this contemporary form of exploitation. In the end, Bravo makes the recommendation that ordinary citizens of the world must participate in anti-exploitation responses to the structural realities of the extreme forms of contemporary human trafficking. In other words, the individual must have moral agency to counter those social and economic structures that keep human trafficking in place.

Tiffany R. Beaver follows Bravo's chapter with a look at what moral imperatives we have today with human trafficking. She takes a different approach, though, looking at the negative behaviour that might help ameliorate human trafficking—namely, the actions we avoid so as not to participate in the harming of others. This might include not purchasing products or services that are the result of labour that has been trafficked.

This negative approach is over and against positive actions, such as helping those being exploited with contributions to agencies that fight human trafficking. The bottom line, Beaver points out, is that we do not do harm to others. The positive duties usually require more of a commitment from the individual than the negative. How do we unravel ourselves from a global economic order that certainly exploits labour through human trafficking and other extreme exploitative practices? Can we really negatively counter such exploitation? Indeed, Beaver argues, we must see positive obligations that come out of these negative duties. It starts with knowledge of what global economy products are produced by exploited labour. The U.S. Department of Labor identifies links to child or forced labour. This is the start. Then the application of this knowledge is to choose products where exploited labour is not in the pipeline. However, as Beaver points out, this is often expensive for the consumer—not the ascertaining of the proper information; rather, products made by less exploited labour are usually more expensive.

David Wilkins tackles the issue of reparations for the transatlantic slave trade. Wilkins audits the subject through the lens of restorative justice. A recent restoration justice movement began in 2014 when the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) of nations made reparation claims to European nations. The claims have been supported by the British legal firm Leigh Day, which gained compensation for the Mau Mau victims in Kenya during the anti-colonial uprisings that occurred there in the 1950s and early 1960s. The CARICOM nations are looking for financial compensation for an array of initiatives that they claim are directly attributed to the legacy of slavery. Such programmes come in the fields of education, commemorative and memorial projects, and debt transfer. In his analysis, Wilkins works backwards, starting with the origins of the transatlantic slave trade. He reminds us that more than twelve million Africans were transported to the Americas to serve as slaves, mainly in agricultural endeavours. Although no exact figure has been amassed, more than a million slaves were killed in the process of moving them across the Atlantic. About eleven million would end up working in the sugar cane, tobacco, and cotton fields of the Americas, among other industries. Mostly serving on sugar cane plantations, the Caribbean slaves were not self-sustaining as they were in North America, and the ships in the slave trade consistently had to sail back to Africa to gather more slaves. Wilkins notes that slavery was widely accepted in the Mediterranean, in North Africa, and today's Middle East. For instance, Muslim tribes in the Arab world traded slaves with Africans and Europeans. Thus, slavery was well accepted in the Mediterranean world, and Portugal in the fifteenth century

became the first European nation to trade in slaves. The Portuguese traded with tribal chiefs along the western coast of Africa. As the Enlightenment spread in Europe, slavery began to die there. However, slave labour would be crucial to the development of colonies across the Atlantic. In the face of Europeans, generally Protestants, beginning to criticise any practice of slavery, including what was occurring in the Americas, an alternative theory of the institution began to take shape. This was the concept that Africans were inferior to Europeans—that they were lazy, unreliable, and ill-disciplined and therefore needed white European management to make them productive labourers. This provided the rationale as slavery continued to grow and rapidly developed in North America just as it seemed to die off because of the invention of the cotton gin in 1794 allowing for the much more rapid production of cotton. The contemporary reparation claims by Caribbean nations, Wilkins states, follow the example set in South Africa after the end of apartheid, when a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established. There was an attempt to consider the effects of historical racial separation in South Africa and to accordingly ensure the dignity of all South Africans. This would mean certain forms of reparations, including restoring farmland from Afrikaner industrial farmers to African subsistence farmers. The main areas for understanding the past toward the goal of reconciliation include factual, personal, social, and healing truths. Wilkins believes these categories can also be applied to the CARICOM claims against the European colonial powers.

Section Three: Issues in Contemporary Human Trafficking

Elisabete Pessanha examines human trafficking in contemporary Portugal, which was the first European nation to take part in the African slave trade half a millennium ago. Pessanha, who used both qualitative and quantitative methods in her study, found that human trafficking was on the uptick in Portugal. She observes that exact figures are difficult to come by; however, what is reported tends to be human trafficking in agriculture, including olive and chestnut picking, as well as in construction and the restaurant business. Another facet of human trafficking in Portugal is the fact that Chinese people there often smuggle labour into the country, but local and national law enforcement agents look the other way because they see the Chinese communities as being closed. Thus, exact figures on how much human trafficking exists in these communities are hard to ascertain.

Pessanha also discusses the strategies that traffickers use to entrap foreign individuals in exploitative labour situations.

Sheetal Shah and Tom Marfo apply a social science methodology in their study of labour exploitation in Amsterdam. In particular, Shah and Marfo look at the deleterious psychological effects of modern-day slavery. Drawing on research that one might expect to find directed at veterans of war, Shah and Marfo investigated Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in the victims of sex trafficking in Amsterdam's Bijlmer district. The authors focused on one particular type of victim: One who had reported being trafficked but refused to name their traffickers and therefore by law they are denied legal status. Using qualitative methods, Shah and Marfo interviewed forty victims with an average age of nearly 40 years old. Most were from Africa and stayed in the Netherlands on average for seven years. The majority freely left their homelands to come to work in Europe. Most did not know their traffickers, but a third said their trafficker was a friend. The majority said their family back home had been threatened by their trafficker. The vast majority said they faced the threat of violence. Almost all were scared to report their bosses to the police as they feared retaliation. Shah and Marfo then asked standard questions about symptoms of PTSD and found high indicators with an average score of about 70 on an 85-point scale. From there, the authors make recommendations for therapy, including an improvement of health and nutrition, as well as basic survival skills.

Daphne Demetriou concludes this book with a discussion of how slavery and human trafficking play out in legal terms. Demetriou begins with definitions and uses the 1926 Slavery Convention and the 2000 United Nations Trafficking Protocol as baselines. The former told states to abolish slavery in 'all of its forms', and the latter defines trafficking in terms of exploitation and vulnerability. The UN Trafficking Protocol includes traditional slavery and similar practices as examples of labour exploitation. The Protocol, therefore, sees slavery as being subsumed under trafficking in a legal sense. Conversely, the European Court of Human Rights, Demetriou notes, concluded that trafficking was a form of slavery. Later, in the *Bellagio-Harvard* Guidelines of 2012, slavery was defined in terms of a single person being in control of another—or, in other words, owning the other person. This would include the withholding of documents (such as a visa) or psychological control over the other in order to 'own' that person. Demetriou then looks at whether these definitions shed any light on domestic migrant workers. They too have not only their work lives but also their personal lives controlled—owned—by another. Demetriou next considers whether this makes migrant workers

modern slaves, as they face loss of personhood and documentation, as well as bodily violence in the process of being exploited. Demetriou continues her chapter with an analysis of the historical and legal relationship between definitions of slavery and trafficking, and she concludes that, while judicial and scholarly interpretations suggest a connection, in the final analysis there is no concrete legal nexus, in large part because nations refuse to accept such an equivalency.

Slavery's Remnants: What Next?

While abolition movements reached fruition in a large portion of the world in the nineteenth century, it is worth remembering that even in the United States, the so-called land of the free, the former masters did not exactly allow the old way of living to vanish with the wind. Ira Berlin notes that, after the U.S. Civil War, 'Southern planters and their allies proved extraordinarily resourceful in inventing new forms of labour extraction and racial oppression'.¹³ Jim Crow would freeze the American South for a century until bus boycotts, sit-in movements, and Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights movement embarrassed the South before the nation and the world. Finally, President Lyndon B. Johnson would push through Congress a Civil Rights Act in 1964. Slavery held on into the twentieth century in some locales around the world, and yet total abolition has never been reached. Today, human trafficking is a serious international issue that seems to elude many of its legal and governmental remedies, and the tide is rising. In only two years, one figure for the total number of slaves in the world has risen from 35 to 45 million, although there is criticism of the methodology that led to these totals. The numbers in China, India, and Pakistan alone are significant. Today, in Libya, journalists have documented examples of the slave trade, with individuals being sold for \$400 (USD). The French President Emmanuel Macron decried this slave trade as 'a crime against humanity' and then the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley said the videos of men being 'treated like cattle' should 'shock the conscience all of us'.¹⁴ This led to a concerted effort by the governments of France, Germany, Chad, Niger, and Libya to plan to evacuate refugees who would potentially face such selling. The reason the slave trade has grown in Libya is the explosion of refugees in North Africa from conflict-torn nations, most notably Nigeria and Syria. Many of these refugees hear of a better life on social media if they can make their way north and west. The vulnerability of these refugees seeking freedom and a better life, presumably in southern

Europe, makes them easy pickings for the slave traders, who have flocked to Libya to increase their own wealth.

The late American historian Kenneth M. Stampp commented, ‘slavery had no philosophical defence worthy of the name— ... it had nothing to commend it to posterity, except that it paid’.¹⁵ This is still the case today, more than a century and a half after its abolition in the United States. Obviously, modern slavery—including human trafficking—continues to pay, as the research of contemporary forms of slavery published in this volume attests, but while all of the numbers, the description, and explanation show slavery and its after-effects in the abstract, they do not quite dramatise the story of slavery in the same way that the slave narrative or oral history today can capture the evil of the institution. The power of the personal account, as Solomon Northup noted in *Twelve Years a Slave*, is, as he put it, giving ‘a candid and truthful statement of facts: to repeat the story of my life, without exaggeration, leaving it for others to determine ...’¹⁶ It is in the testimony of slaves and former slaves that the moral bankruptcy of the institution finds its most cogent arguments. Northup gave a hint of slavery’s cruelty when he related that his master, Epps, asked the slave—Northup—if he could read and write.

On being informed that I had received some instruction in those branches of education, he assured me, with emphasis, if he ever caught me with a book, or with pen and ink, he would give me a hundred lashes. He said he wanted me to understand that he bought ‘niggers’ to work and not to educate.¹⁷

Frederick Douglass received much the same treatment from his master, who discouraged his wife from teaching the young Frederick to read and write. Any discussion of reparations—and a few positive signs have crept up on that front in the United States alone, including legal action against still existing insurance companies for insuring slave property in the nineteenth century—has to start with an understanding of the inhumanity of slavery as represented by the attitudes of men like Epps and the receiving-end experiences of slaves like Northup; that is, that slavery is inhumane and dehumanises its victims. President Abraham Lincoln understood this dehumanisation, and knew that slavery had to be defeated. Lincoln spoke to Ohio soldiers in the final year of the U.S. Civil War, commenting:

It is in order that each of you may have through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the

struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright—not only for one, but for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an estimable jewel.¹⁸

The role of non-profits and journalists in exposing slavery should not be underestimated. In the nineteenth-century United States, it was the work of anti-slavery societies and advocacy—and even mainstream—journalists, as well as novelists and former slaves themselves, that kept the topic in the public eye. The anti-slavery societies, usually with some religious connection, came first and were even stronger in the South than the North of the United States for a time. Abolitionism was also strong in Great Britain, and British abolitionists often invited Americans over for lecture tours to discuss the topic. Journalists, because they were political in nature in nineteenth-century America, injected slavery into the national agenda. For example, the work of William Lloyd Garrison (a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society), the former slave Frederick Douglass, and Gamaliel Bailey pushed the boundaries of American political journalism by calling for abolition. Then when the pro-slavery faction in Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court pushed back, some of the advocacy journalists even began to promote the idea of resistance in the form of the Northern states seceding. They also had help from mainstream editors like Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, which at the time was the nation's most prominent newspaper, and Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*. Of course, there was a vitriolic response to those journalists by pro-slavery journalists who blamed slave revolts on the pro-abolitionist forces.¹⁹

Similarly, today, the personal stories revealed to journalists and NGO workers by those caught in human trafficking and modern slavery are significant for the very reason Ambassador Haley mentioned: Consciences are being affected. Social media, too, are priming the pump. In 2015, the Nestle corporation began to investigate reports of slave-like conditions for workers within its supply chain. Adidas, Apple, Intel, and Walmart have all followed Nestle's example in investigating their own supply chains for modern slavery practices. Scarlet Alliance, an association for workers in Australia's sex trade industry, is urging nations to decriminalise prostitution in order that those caught up in human trafficking will have the legal standing to file a grievance with law enforcement. Under current law, criminalised behaviour is not protected; thus, sex workers are mute on reporting exploitative practices by their employers. Law enforcement is also beginning to take an active role in countering modern slavery. In the UK, the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA) has begun targeting those exploiting labour with extreme practices. In December

2017, GLAA agents in Oldham (Manchester) found a middle-aged man from Hungary who alleged he had been forced to work without wages for six years.²⁰ Now the United Nations has set an idealistic goal for eliminating modern slavery by 2030. The raising of awareness is beginning to pay dividends, but it is only a start. In the United States, the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020 while he was in police custody has brought discussions of the nation's slavery past back into public discourse as part of the Black Lives Matter campaign. One of the main topics of public discourse has been the removal of statues of Confederate leaders and slave owners in public spaces, especially in the South. This is another sign that slavery remains an important subject for Americans to reflect upon, and it may lead to a more candid discussion or reparations.

Freedom and equality are estimable jewels, and the history of slavery is that freedom and equality require eternal vigilance. The chapters written by the researchers at the Prague conference in 2016 continue that vigilance. Their research was shared again in the summer of 2018 with a third conference on slavery past, present, and future, this time in Berlin, Germany and a fourth in the summer of 2019 in Innsbruck, Austria. The fifth conference will be held in June 2021 in Leiden, the Netherlands.

Notes

¹ May Bulman, 'Women and girls make up "nearly three quarters" of modern slavery victims', *The Independent*, London, UK, 19 September 2017. URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/modern-slavery-victims-women-girls-majority-world-report-a7954066.html>. Accessed: 1 January 2018.

² 'Peculiar domestick institution' was first used by the South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun in 1830, and on 6 February 1837 he used the term 'peculiar institution' in a U.S. Senate speech. It became the American euphemism for slavery leading up to and through the U.S. Civil War.

³ Global Slavery Index. URL: <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/index/>. Accessed: 30 December 2017.

⁴ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Politics*, Benjamin Jowett, translator (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1920), 30 and 32.

⁵ Jowett, 34.

⁶ Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), 138.

⁷ Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (London: Picador, 1997), 31.

⁸ Thomas, 69.

⁹ E. Benjamin Skinner, *A Crime So Monstrous: Face-to-Face with Modern-Day Slavery* (New York: Free Press, 2009), xv.

¹⁰ Global Slavery Index. URL: <<http://www.globalslaveryindex.org/findings/>>. Accessed: 29 December 2017. The Global Slavery Index estimates that there are 45.8 million slaves and that they are spread over 167 nations around the world.

¹¹ Global Slavery Index. URL: <<https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/index/>>. Accessed: 30 December 2017.

¹² Thomas puts the number at eleven million. See Thomas, 805. M. A. Dodge puts it at twelve million. See M. A. Dodge, 'The Search for Resistance: A Layperson's Reflections on the Historiography of Slavery in the African Atlantic,' *The History Teacher*, Vol. 47, No. 1, (November 2013), 78. Brazil alone imported five million slaves. See Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition in Latin America and the Atlantic World* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 5.

¹³ Ira Berlin, 'American Slavery in History and Memory,' in *Slavery, Resistance, Freedom*, Gabor Borrit and Scott Hancock, eds. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 27.

¹⁴ Casey Quackenbush, 'The Libyan Slave Trade Has Shocked the World. Here's What You Should Know', *Time*, New York, 1 December 2017. URL: <<http://time.com/5042560/libya-slave-trade/>>. Accessed: 25 December 2017.

¹⁵ Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), 422.

¹⁶ Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1970), 18.

¹⁷ Northup, 229-230.

¹⁸ Abraham Lincoln, speech to the 166th Ohio Regiment, 22 August 1864, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler et al., eds. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955), Vol. 7, 512.

¹⁹ Brian Gabriel, *The Press and Slavery in America, 1791-1859: The Melancholy Effect of Popular Excitement* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), 51.

²⁰ 'Three arrests in Oldham modern slavery raids', BBC, 19 December 2017. <URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-manchester-42416796>>. Accessed: 20 December 2017.

PART I:

**HISTORICAL, JOURNALISTIC, AND
LITERARY APPROACHES TO SLAVERY**

CHAPTER ONE

REVOLUTIONARY SENTIMENT IN SLAVE NARRATIVES: THE EXAMPLE OF *SAB*

KAREN-MARGRETHE SIMONSEN

Abstract

The premise in this chapter is that discourses about slavery are determined not only by the immediate political and legal contexts but also by available styles and rhetorical modes and their assumed effect on different kinds of spectators, non-slave authors. Many of the texts about slavery are ambiguous in terms of genre and are written not by the victims but by ‘spectators’, political or human rights agents, historians or literary writers who are in a distanced position from the actual slavery. In order to understand the role of feelings in slave narratives, this chapter will discuss the romantic novel by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda: *Sab* (the Cuban/Spanish equivalent of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*), written in the early 1830s and published in 1841 in Spain. The chapter will argue that the ‘sentimentalism’ of *Sab* is of a revolutionary kind, based on a conception of natural law and that its aim is a radical transformation of social hierarchies. The essay will be divided into three parts: First, I will discuss the relation of feelings and empathy to ethics and politics, e.g., abolitionism in the nineteenth century; second, I will analyse *Sab*’s genre trying to establish the different functions of sentiment, discussing the tragic modes of telling, the character of natural law, the structure of identification, and the importance of feeling for politics; and, finally, I will end the essay by discussing whether *Sab* is to be seen as a conservative or a revolutionary novel and what role sentiment plays in this.

Key Words: Slavery, sentiment, sentimentalism, social romanticism, slave narratives, Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*, abolitionism, mulatto, Cuba, sentimental novel

The Rhetorical Mode of Slave Narratives

The premise in this chapter is that discourses about slavery are determined not only by immediate political and legal contexts but also by available styles and rhetorical modes and their assumed effect on different kinds of spectators. Many of the texts about slavery are ambiguous in terms of genre and are written not by the victims but by 'spectators', political or human rights agents, historians or literary writers who are in a distanced position from the actual slavery.

The sentimental novel played a huge role in the abolitionist period. In order to understand the function of sentimentalism, I will discuss *Sab*, the romantic novel by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. *Sab* was written at the beginning of the 1830s and published in 1841 in Spain.¹ It is the Cuban-Spanish equivalent of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) but it is earlier than that novel and the function of sentiments and feelings is different.

The chapter is divided into three parts: First I will discuss the function of emotion and empathy in the nineteenth century, then I will analyse *Sab* trying to establish the function of emotions, and I will conclude by discussing whether *Sab* is conservative or revolutionary.

Sentimentalism: Empathy, Rights, and Social Change

It has often been claimed that sentimental fiction and emotional autobiographical stories of individual suffering under slavery helped the abolitionist cause.² However, in recent years, research into the more specific role of sentimentalism and emotionality in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has grown and so has the disagreement regarding the function of emotionality and its potential for creating empathy that can lead to social change. In the scholarly literature, it varies as to whether critics see emotionality in literature or the aesthetics of sentimentalism as mainly related to the creation of modern subjectivity (Kirkpatrick) or as influential in relation to social and political topics (Hunt, Samuels). While some critics think that emotionality helped the abolitionist cause, others thought that emotionality was not at all suited to discussions about slavery (Ross Brown), that emotionality upheld the power structures of colonial empires (Festa) or that economic reasoning was more important than or just as important as emotionality in ending slavery (Dobie). Some critics maintain that emotionality was strongest in the eighteenth century; others that it was strongest at the beginning and the middle of the nineteenth century

(Halpern). One critic makes a distinction between the sensibility of eighteenth-century enlightenment, where sentiment was connected with civilization, and the sentimentalism of the late eighteenth century and romantic desire of the nineteenth century. That same critic goes on to say that female writers in the first part of the nineteenth century made a palimpsest of these emotionally speaking successive historical moments.³ The functionality of emotionality is up for debate. Let us look at two contradictory views, first Lynn Hunt and then Lynn Festa.

In her 2007 book *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, Lynn Hunt claims that empathy is a precondition for the existence of human rights and that empathy was not fully developed until the eighteenth century when the epistolary, sentimental novel ‘enabled readers to empathize across class, sex, and national lines’ and she adds: across race.⁴ According to Hunt, sentimentality is not just an irrational feeling, and despite the fact that it is centred on and channelled through individuals, the effect of feelings is not just individual. Feelings have a social function of reaching out, creating solidarity among people, who do not know each other. Yet in order to raise empathy it is an absolute necessity that an identification is created with a unique person, like Pamela in Samuel Richardson’s novel by the same name, Julie/Heloïse in Jacques Rousseau’s novel *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, or Uncle Tom in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s later novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that raised a wave of collective indignation and ‘sudden’ identification with the sufferings of a black person.⁵

Empathy towards oppressed people seems especially necessary but also difficult in a society of radical social inequality. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—out of ignorance or to calm the guilty consciousness of white people—it was sometimes argued that black people did not suffer as much as white people would have done under the yoke of enslavement. Allegedly, the black people were made to withstand hard labour and did not have any sense of civil rights.⁶ Confronted with this kind of deceitful rationality, emotionality seemed like a good counter-strategy: if you could make white people *feel* the sufferings of the black people and *feel* that black people were human beings like the white people, it would be more difficult to deny their humanity and, by inference, deny them their rights as citizens. History tells us that though the system of slavery survived for more than four hundred years, for instance in Cuba, this emotional counter-strategy sometimes worked and it was often part of abolitionist rhetorical strategies, especially from the eighteenth century onwards. The question is how, why and to what degree it worked.

In a strangely quantitative evaluation of the positive effect of feelings, Lynn Hunt argues that strong emotions create strong effects that may

therefore lead to social change. She praises the ‘torrents of emotion’ that the readers of *Julie ou la nouvelle Heloise* went through. She refers to the reaction of contemporary readers who experienced that the reading of the novel was like ‘devouring fire’. They felt ‘emotions upon emotions, upheavals upon upheavals’. The emotions were so strong that one reader was ‘shrieking, howling like an animal’.⁷ Hunt argues that these strong feelings were meant to bring the sufferings of a young woman to life, just as the emotional stories of slaves had brought their sufferings to life.⁸

The ruthless character of slavery in itself seemed to call for strong feelings, and so did the willed or unwilled emotional immunity of white people to the sufferings of enslaved black people. This emotional immunity, or lack of interest in the sufferings of black people, derived partly from the economic and moral self-interest in slavery, partly from the difficulty of white people to identify with black people.

However, James Olney has argued that there was another and more surprising reason, namely that the sufferings of the slaves were often narrated in a form that made them uninteresting, repetitive and potentially boring. In “‘I Was Born’”: Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature’, James Olney makes the claim that many of the autobiographical life narratives written by former slaves follow the same narrative line. If a reader reads a dozen slave narratives ‘seldom will he discover anything new or different, but only, always more and more of the same.’⁹ He then goes on to systematise a long list of recurring elements and repetitiveness in the slave narratives.

As Olney himself hints, the patterns of repetitiveness are ethically worrying since they seem to undermine the uniqueness of life stories of suffering. For him, the repetitiveness primarily reveals that the texts don’t have any literary quality and he questions the often-claimed relation between these slave narrations and the birth of an independent black literature. However, for my purpose, these patterns are interesting for a different reason: they reveal a rhetorical necessity that must have historical reasons. The slave narratives must have been written in that particular way, because it was assumed—consciously or unconsciously, due to the author’s own choices or the instigation by abolitionist friends—that that kind of narration was the most persuasive.¹⁰ Far from being a documentation of the lack of literary abilities of the writer, the repetitive patterns are a sign of the political aim of the texts. They were made to create an impact and they used available styles of storytelling that seemed convincing.¹¹ Even Olaudah Equiano’s autobiography that certainly has literary qualities and its own individual style uses some of the narrative patterns that are known from other slave narrations or abolitionist texts.

One may argue, as Lynn Hunt does, that the epistolary sentimental novel was better at creating a sense of the protagonist's individuality and the uniqueness of his or her story. Hunt argues that it was successful because it used the intimate form of the letter and thereby created the sensation in the reader that he or she knew the protagonist intimately, that is, his or her most private thoughts and feelings. As Hunt says: the epistolary novel 'taught their readers nothing less than a new psychology and in the process laid the foundations for a new social and political order'.¹² Individual stories of suffering persuade more easily than repetitive stories and sentimental engagement increases the possibility of identification. Yet many of the stories about slavery were not first-person narrations but third-person narrations, told by a 'spectator' who had not been subjected to slavery him or herself but who chose a specific emotional register to narrate the story of slavery.

In order to understand how that works, it is necessary to analyse the function of emotionality in more detail, both the emotions that are described in the story and the emotions that are supposed to be created in the reader. The question is: What is sentimentalism, and what is its ethical and political function? Does sentimental fiction create solidarity or not?

While Lynn Hunt praises the ethical function of feelings in the eighteenth-century novel, Lynn Festa has made a radically different interpretation. In her book *Sentimental Figures of Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, she writes that sentimentalism did not bridge the gap between social and racial classes. On the contrary, she claims, sentimentalism in the eighteenth century upheld the unequal social structure rather than undermining it. She writes:

By designating certain kinds of figures as worthy of emotional expenditure and structuring the circulation of affect between subjects and objects of feeling, the sentimental mode allowed readers to identify with and feel for the plight of other people while upholding distinctive cultural and personal identities; it thus consolidated a sense of metropolitan community grounded in the selective recognition of the humanity of other populations. Sentimental depictions of colonial encounters refashioned conquest into commerce and converted scenes of violence and exploitation into occasions for benevolence and pity.¹³

This is what Festa calls the Janus-face of enlightenment: you feel sorry for the enslaved who suffer but support the power structure that keeps them in their place. And she continues: 'sympathetic identification creates difference rather than similitude; the reader is neither invited to meld ecstatically with these wretched people nor to change places with them'.¹⁴ Far from allowing

the reader an insight into the suffering of another authentic, individual human being, sentimental fictions draw on patterns of oppression that are typical of the colonial empire.

The analysis by Festa leads to a critical question: how does empathy work within a social structure of radical inequality? To what degree was it possible for white people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to feel real empathy towards the enslaved black population?

In this chapter, I will argue that Lynn Hunt's optimism is somewhat exaggerated, since it is very rarely possible to make a direct line of cause and effect between feeling (e.g., located in specific works of sentimental fiction) and social change. At the same time, it is necessary to qualify and moderate the pessimism of Festa. While she may be justified in the historical analysis of the (lack of) effect of pity and compassion, it is still possible to differentiate between different literary strategies of handling emotionality, some of which carry more potential for solidarity than others. In order to demonstrate this, I will make a reading of *Sab* that discusses the role of emotions in the novel in relation to the moral foundation of the feelings. I will argue that it is not enough that the reader feels strongly about the sufferings of an enslaved person. The reader must also be persuaded that the sufferings are unjust and that the social structure therefore ought to be changed. For the sake of clarity, I will make a general distinction between conservative and revolutionary sentimentality.

Despite the fact that no social change happens within the novel, I will argue that the novel *Sab* through its emotional and moral impact persuades (or tries to persuade) the reader that a radical social change is necessary. I thus read the novel *Sab* as different from for instance Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that I see as representative of conservative sentimentalism. The sentiment in *Sab* is located in the protagonists of the story, and their passionate lives, but it has its roots in natural law, that is, in a moral sense of radical natural equality. It is a deeply felt equality that is meant to break down any conventional order of hierarchy, to reevaluate the very foundations of society, and instigate action from below. The sentimentality is not leading towards peaceful redemption (as it is in Stowe) but potentially to conflict and even revolution. To borrow a term from Jacques Rancière: it is a sentimentality of *dissensus*. However, in order to understand this, it is necessary to analyse the novel and its love story.

Revolutionary Love—a Sentimentality of Dissensus

It has been argued that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial society, far from abolishing the relation between family and society that,

according to Michel Foucault, was so strong in the early modern period, rather strengthened it.¹⁵ This is true of colonial power that often builds empirical structures on the structure of family relations (the empire being both the benevolent and castigating father), and it is true of the literature in the period, namely, the romantic or the sentimental literature that treats family issues, especially threats to family structures that may undermine the political family-structure of the empire. The most obvious threat here is the marriage or a love relation between a black slave and a white woman, especially from a plantation family. Whereas sexual relations between white males, for instance plantation owners, and black female slaves only seem to confirm the power of the whites, the potential sexual relations between black slaves and white females from the upper class, are deeply erosive of the political structure of white society. Apparently, the topic was so dangerous that Avellaneda's book, published in 1841 in Spain, was censored in Cuba in 1844 for 'containing doctrines that are subversive to the system of slavery, to this island and contradictory to good morals and customs'.¹⁶ It was not published in Cuba until 1883, sixteen years after the end of the slave trade (1867) and three years before the final abolition of slavery on the island (1886).

The plot is simple: The mulatto Sab has been raised on a sugar plantation, in the house of Don Carlos B and has fallen in love with Don Carlos' daughter, Carlota. Unaware of this love, Carlota sees Sab as a kind of brother. She is engaged to be married to Enrique Otway, an English merchant who has risen quickly in the social hierarchy of society, due to economic talent. However, because of his father's unlucky economic transactions, the family has lost much of its wealth and Enrique Otway, who mistakenly thinks that the family of Don Carlos B is incredibly rich, considers marrying Carlota though he does not love her. As the reader knows, and Otway finds out, Don Carlos B, just like Otway's own father, has lost much of his wealth.

The novel thematises a moment of crisis for the two white families in the story. In this moment, the mulatto Sab comes to play a decisive role. By pure accident, he has a lottery ticket of enormous value, enough to restore the families to their former wealth. He considers giving the ticket to Teresa, a less attractive, white friend of the house whom he hopes Otway will marry if he knows she has money; but when she refuses to accept the offer, he decides to secretly swop Carlota's lottery bill with the winning one. Sab thus becomes a true hero, sacrificing not only his own happiness but also his hope of revenge, as he backs up the marriage between his enemy and the love of his heart. When Otway learns that Carlota has won a premium of forty thousand *duros*, he immediately decides to marry her. An apparently