Isanilda Conceição Ferreira Silva Soares

Racial Stereotypes in Fictions of Slavery:
Uncle Tom´s Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe and *O Escravo* by José Evaristo D' Almeida

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Autora	**Isanilda Conceição Ferreira Silva Soares**
Orientadora	**Doutora Maria Isabel Carvalho Gomes Caldeira Sampaio dos Aidos**
Júri	**Presidente: Doutora Maria José Florentino Mendes Canelo** **Vogais:** **1. Doutora Catarina Isabel Caldeira Martins** **2. Doutora Maria Isabel Carvalho Gomes Caldeira Sampaio dos Aidos**
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The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory.

Antonio Gramsci

As objects one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others, one's history named only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject.

bell hooks

Abstract

Most stereotypes about Africans and their descendants started with colonialism in the fifteenth century. The encounter between Africans and Europeans facilitated the creation of myths and stereotypes about the colonized peoples, which were made effective through the naturalization of differences. The relationship between skin color and slavery developed to produce a racialized system of forced labor on which colonialism depended for its survival. Stereotypes functioned to legitimize colonial authority by building the notion that the colonizer ruled over the colonized because of an innate superiority. Therefore, stereotyping is an effective "discursive strategy" (Bhabha) based on fixity and repetition with the aim of controlling the other.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and José Evaristo D'Almeida *O Escravo* both denounced the evils of slavery in the United States of America and Cape Verde respectively, claiming for the end of the institution. However, they are both ambivalent towards slaves and blacks, being unable to envisage social equality for the two races. Both authors construct their black characters as stereotypical others, but they depict the light-skin characters as superior both culturally and physically. The bi-racial characters are portrayed as the ones who possess beauty and intelligence as an inheritance from their European ancestry, while blacks are relegated to the margins.

We need to consider, however, that slavery in Cape Verde had different characteristics from its counterpart in the United States of America. In Cape Verde the Africans outnumbered the Europeans and that circumstance favored miscegenation and the emergence of forms of mixed culture, which came to be seen as positive and natural. In the United States of America miscegenation was regarded as a taboo since early. And even after Emancipation, "the one-drop rule" made the offspring of an African descendant black, however 'white' he or she might be.

Keywords: slavery, stereotypes, otherness, miscegenation, racism, blacks, mestizo, whites, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *O Escravo*, The United States of America, Cape Verde.

Resumo

A maioria dos estereótipos sobre os Africanos e os seus descendentes começou com o colonialismo no século XV. O encontro entre Africanos e Europeus facilitou a construção de mitos e estereótipos acerca dos povos colonizados, os quais foram eficazes através da naturalização das diferenças. A relação entre a cor da pele e a escravidão foi desenvolvida para criar um sistema racial de trabalho forçado do qual o colonialismo dependia para sobreviver. Os estereótipos funcionaram para legitimar a autoridade colonial através da concepção da noção de que o colonizador governava o colonizado por causa de uma superioridade inata. Portanto, os estereótipos constituem uma "estratégia discursiva" eficaz (Bhabha) com base na fixidez e repetição, com o intuito de controlar o outro.

Ambos os romances *Uncle Tom's Cabin* de Harriet Beecher Stowe e *O Escravo* de José Evaristo D'Almeida denunciaram os males da escravidão nos Estados Unidos da América e Cabo Verde respectivamente, reivindicando o fim da escravatura. No entanto, ambos são ambivalentes em relação aos escravos e negros, sendo incapazes de prever a igualdade social para as duas raças. Ambos os autores constroem as suas personagens de raça negra como o outro estereotipado, mas descrevem as personagens de pele clara como indivíduos superiores quer culturalmente e fisicamente. As personagens bi raciais são retratadas como aquelas que possuem beleza e inteligência como uma herança de sua ascendência europeia, enquanto os negros são marginalizados.

Precisamos considerar, no entanto, que a escravatura em Cabo Verde tinha características diferentes da sua análoga nos Estados Unidos da América. Em Cabo Verde, os africanos excederam em número os europeus e essa circunstância favoreceu a miscigenação e o aparecimento de formas de cultura mista, que veio a ser encarado como algo positivo e natural. Nos Estados Unidos da América a miscigenação foi encarada como um tabu desde o início. E mesmo após a Emancipação, "the one drop rule" fez negra a prole de um descendente Africano, por mais 'branco' que ele ou ela pudessem ser.

Palavras-Chave: escravatura, estereótipos, alteridade, miscigenação, racismo, negros, mestiços, brancos, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *O escravo*, Estados Unidos da America, Cabo Verde.

For Adriano,

I love you son!

Acknowledgements

Notes on references and abbreviations

I have followed the MLA guide to referencing in this thesis.

The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

UTC – Uncle Tom's Cabin

*UTC*I - *Uncle Tom's Cabin* - Volume I

*UTC*II - *Uncle Tom's Cabin* - Volume II

OE – O Escravo

Introduction

In this thesis I shall explore stereotypes in two novels: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe and *O Escravo* by José Evaristo D'Almeida.

My main motivation in choosing novels on slavery has to do with a seminar I attended during my master's course, but also stems from the fact that I found the study of African American literature very challenging. Fictions dealing with slavery call my attention because of my background as a Cape Verdean woman. Reading about the horrible effects of slavery in the United States of America has made me wonder about the nature of slavery in Cape Verde.

My thesis focuses primarily on racial stereotypes (its causes and consequences) in *O Escravo* (1856) by José Evaristo D'Almeida and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Both novels discuss the same theme: slavery and the evils inherent to the system. Through the novels we can infer several similarities and differences between the slavery systems and the representation of blacks and their descendants in the United States of America and in Cape Verde in the nineteenth century.

My thesis is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter, I provide a historical and social overview of slavery in the United States, from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. I trace a similar overview of slavery in Cape Verde from the fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.

Homi Bhabha and Michael Pickering are central to my analysis of the stereotype and the concept of the other.

In the second chapter, I focus on Harriet Beecher Stowe's relevant biographical aspects and I analyze her use of stereotypes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* discussing the representation of blacks, mestizos, and whites characters in the novel.

The third chapter is about José Evaristo D'Almeida. As we don't know much about his biography, my main concern is also the analyzis of stereotypes in the representation of blacks, mestizos, and whites characters in *O Escravo*. The origin of Cape Verdean society and identity in a system of slavery is relevant to build the context for the novel and understand the main differences and similarities with American society.

I conclude by using Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on dialogism, and I lay out the similarities and differences between the two novels. I focus on the character of the

institution of slavery in the two slave societies and the way they deal with miscegenation.

Chapter 1

Slavery in the United States of America: a historical and social overview

Slavery has existed since ancient times. Its history predates written records. It was practiced in ancient societies such as in Ancient Egypt, Ancient India, Ancient China, the Akkadian Empire, Assyria, Ancient Greece, Islamic Caliphate, and the Roman Empire. Normally the enslaved people were prisoners of war, debtors, people being punished for a crime, and the children of slave mothers (Britannica Encyclopedia).

In the fifteenth century, a second revival of slavery took place. The European demand for African products started the intercontinental trade on the African coast. This intercontinental maritime trade began in the middle of the fifteenth century with the Portuguese voyages. Because of the deficit of gold in Europe in the fourteenth century, European merchants looked to Africa for supplies (Kilson). The search for gold was not the only objective of the exploration in Africa. Europeans also wanted to expand European geographic knowledge and to find a possible sea route to Asian spices.

At the close of the fifteenth century, with the discovery of the Southern hemisphere, the slave trade was inaugurated.[1] During the centuries of intercontinental trade on the sub-Saharan Atlantic coast, various European powers competed for commercial supremacy. The Portuguese monopoly of African trade in the fifteenth century was replaced by British and French traders in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the most important European power in the Guinea Coast was Holland and by the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century England became the most important European trading power in the region (Kilson).

Herbert Klein writes that because the European laborers (except those from northern Europe) were unwilling to travel in large numbers, and because of the high costs of transportation and settlement of those who migrated, the colonizing regimes decided to turn toward slave labor on a massive scale. Although only the Iberians actively practiced slavery in Western Europe, slavery in the Old World was an ancient

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[1] According to Basil Davidson in *The African Slave Trade* (1961), when Europeans arrived in the West African coast slavery already existed on the continent. However, the kind of slavery practiced in the African continent was different from the one that developed in the Americas. The African slavery was similar to European serfdom of the fifteenth century.

institution. In the fifteenth century Jews, Moors, Berbers, Arabs, and Eastern Europeans were part of the slave labor force of the Mediterranean world. The kind of slavery practiced in Europe was known as indentured servitude. The slaves could buy their freedom by paying their debt. This indentured slavery was a kind of punishment. When these traditionally enslaved peoples were replaced by African peoples, the regime of slavery changed (Klein).

The main African products sought by the Europeans were gold in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, slaves from the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries, and agricultural products in the second half of the nineteenth century. Slaves constituted the primary African export. It is estimated that a range of eight to fifty million people were directly affected by the slave trade, which engaged both African and Europeans sellers for almost five centuries (Kilson). The various types of enslavement were through kidnapping, sale by relatives or superiors, discharge, judicial process, debts, among others (Hair).

The institution of slavery in the United States began not long after the settlement of Europeans in America. Specifically, it began in 1614 when the first Africans were taken to Jamestown, Virginia, to work in the plantations of tobacco, sugar cane, indigo, hemp, rice, cotton, coffee, and corn. In the beginning the blacks were indentured servants. Many Africans and poor Europeans worked together. Gradually the perspective of the plantation owners changed and, relying on the argument that blacks were "lesser" because they were not Christian, they forced blacks to work for the rest of their lives. Thus the type of slavery practiced in the New World was different from the one that existed before in Europe and Africa. A person could become a slave by purchase and could stay in bondage for life. And the African was made a slave.

By 1800, ten to fifteen million blacks had been transported as slaves to the Americas (Zinn). Massachusetts became the first colony to legally recognize slavery in 1641, and in 1662 Virginians declared that all children born from a slave mother would be slaves too. Capitalism increased the degree of dehumanization of slavery so that blacks were seen just as a piece of property. Slavery became a life-long condition that could be passed from one generation to another. There were essentially two groups of slaves in the United States of America: the field and the house slaves. The field slaves

harvested, sowed the crops, tended livestock while the house slaves cooked, cleaned, did the laundry and took care of the master's children.

Most Negroes[2] who were taken to North America came from the African West Coast. The slave raiders, known as the Dahomey, rarely went more than two hundred miles inland; therefore most of their victims lived close to the coast. Most of the Negroes were from the following tribes: Dahomey, Ashanti, Yoruba, and Bini (Herskovits). Over the years, European colonists in the New World developed various preferences for slaves originating from certain areas on the African coast, which led to the development of stereotypes about the desirable qualities of these African peoples in later generations. As Marion Kilson argues, the colonists in America preferred Gold Coast slaves, especially Fanti and Ashanti because they were considered hard workers. The French West Indian planters preferred slaves from Whydah and Jaquem because they believed that those slaves were of higher quality. The Portuguese in Brazil preferred Bantu slaves from central African ports because they were thought to be less independent and consequently more submissive to slavery and more talkative and adaptable than other Negroes.

The operation of the slave trade, Philip Curtin points out, can be divided into three functionally and institutionally distinct segments. In the first stage the slaves were captured in Africa with the help of African kings and merchants. In the beginning of the trade, the European slave traders occasionally went themselves to capture people in Africa, but they realized that it was dangerous for their health and started doing it with the help of an African merchants. The second stage was the transportation of the captives to a coastal trading point and the accumulation of enough slaves to create an attractive market for European slave ships. The third and last stage was the shipment of the slaves by sea to the Americas. The transportations of slaves across the Atlantic became known as the "middle passage" (Curtin).

The main reason why the system of slavery became a huge institution has to do with economic factors. Slave labor was used to increase profits but we have to understand it as part of the development of the capitalist system. As Eugene Genovese notes in *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1989), slavery in the American colonies

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[2] Throughout this thesis, I use the terms Negro and black interchangeably to refer to African-Americans. The term "negro" is used in this thesis without any derogatory meaning but according to some of the authors quoted and the time they wrote in.

provided the foundation on which the South rose and grew. He describes the South during slavery as a pre-bourgeois and a pre-capitalist region. He wrote: "the slave economy developed within, and was in a sense exploited by, the capitalist world market; consequently, slavery developed many ostensibly capitalist features, such as banking, commerce, and credit" (19). Capitalism later absorbed many kinds of pre-capitalist social systems, such as, serfdom, slavery, Oriental state enterprises, and others (Genovese, 1989). Furthermore, Genovese stresses that:

> The economic process propelling the slave South along expansionist paths had its political and social parallels, the most obvious being the need to re-establish parity in the Senate or at least to guarantee enough voting strength in Washington to protect Southern interests. In an immediate political sense the demand for more slave-state Congressmen was among the important roots of expansionism […]. A second political root was the need to protect slavery where it was profitable by establishing buffer areas where it might not be (1989: 247-248).

The slave system was so important that it formed the basis for the whole society in the South. Trying to make more money and afraid of the expansive capitalist North, the South was eager to buy more slaves and to expand slavery to the West. By the 1850's, the South was defending slavery and its expansion into other territories. The need to expand was the reason for an increasing political aggressiveness of the Southerners because slaveholders thought that way they could guarantee the sustenance of the slave system once they had convenient representation (Genovese, 1989).

In relation to colonialism, power is one of the most relevant issues. In Aníbal Quijano's and Walter Mignolo's opinion,

> Major constitutive elements of the coloniality of power are the racial reclassification of the world's population […], and the development of the corresponding Eurocentric institutional structures (state apparatuses, universities, church) and epistemological perspectives to reinforce the global racial/ethnic hierarchy associated with such classification" (apud Grosfoguel & Rodriguéz, xii).

Colonialism and the rise of capitalism are intrinsically linked. The origin of capitalism is related to the Portuguese and Spanish expansion in the sixteenth century. With it came the dichotomies and racial categories which marked the supposedly

differences and then were generalized to the whole world. Besides, "the formation of a global racial/ethnic hierarchy was contemporaneous with the development of the international division of labor" (Grosfoguel & Rodriguez, xii). The world division of labor happened simultaneously with the formation of racial hierarchies. Consequently we have the construction of the myth of the superiority of the Europeans over the uncivilized non-Europeans. It is worth pointing out that with the end of formal colonialism those categories based on race still remain which showed the categories were stable.

Aníbal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein reinforce this idea in "Americanity as a Concept" by saying that the Americas as a geosocial construct was born in the sixteenth century; and it was the constitutive act of the modern world-system. As they say "the Americas were not incorporated into an already existing capitalist world-economy. There could not have been a capitalist world-economy without the Americas" (Quijano & Wallerstein, 449). As Immanuel Wallerstein argues in *The Modern World System*:

> [...] three things were essential to the establishment of such a capitalist world economy: an expansion of geographical size of the world in question, the development of variegated methods of labor control for different products and different zones of the world economy, and the creation of relatively strong state machineries in what would become the core-sates of this capitalist world-economy (38).

The Americas offered two of these needs which were space and they became the locus and prime testing-ground of "variegated methods of labor control" (Quijano & Wallerstein, 549). Americanity then became the synonym for modernity and the "New World became the pattern, the model of the entire world-system" (Quijano & Wallerstein, 550). This newness was linked to coloniality, ethnicity, racism, and the concept of newness itself, each one of these characteristics linked to each other (Quijano & Wallerstein). Furthermore the authors argue that:

> Ethnicity was an inevitable cultural consequence of coloniality. It delineated the social boundaries corresponding to the division of labour. And it justified the multiple forms of labour control, invented as part of Americanity: slavery for the Black Africans, various forms of coerced cash-crop labour (*repartimiento, mita, peonage*) for Native Americans, indentured labour (*engages*) for the European working class. As we came

into the post-independence period, the forms of labour control and the names of the ethnic categories were updated. But an ethnic hierarchy remained (550-55, emphasis in the original).

Ethnicity was reinforced by a conscious and systematic racism. Explicit racism was a creation of the nineteenth century as a way of sustaining cultural and economic hierarchy and it persisted after the end of slavery the United States in the nineteenth century. It became the first country to enact formal segregation (Quijano & Wallerstein).

Some stereotypes about African in the United States came about with the institution of slavery. Africans made slaves were dehumanized both for the purposes of slavery and the development of capitalism. Slavery was justified on the basis of the need for cheap labor, therefore it needed a racist ideology to support it. In Eric Williams's opinion, the turning of Africa into a warren for the hunting of slaves marks the dawn of capitalism production and racism was a consequence of slavery. The relationship between skin color and slavery developed to produce racist social formations and ideologies (William). Kenan Malik also seems to have the same opinion in *The Meaning of Race* (1996). He says that the main arguments behind the institution of slavery were not racial but centered on the practicality or economic utility of the use of slaves. He argues that blacks were regarded as the only available labor to work in the American plantations and as best suited to work in the tropics (Malik). Racist ideology was needed along the process to justify the slave trade. The myth of black inferiority arose and became part of the dominant ideology. Homi Bhabha states in *The Location of Culture* (1994) that the construction of racial stereotyping started with colonization and its myths and it "is a sign of negative difference" (108).

Attitudes of racial superiority prevailed in the nineteenth century with different ideologies claiming white superiority towards blacks. On one hand, abolitionists defended the idea that whites needed to overcome their prejudices towards blacks because slavery was morally wrong and incompatible with Christian brotherhood. On the other hand, the proponents of slavery defended the innate racial inequality and the inferiority of blacks as a justification for slavery. There were also the romantic racialists who believed that backs people were natural Christians and willing to serve whites.

Scientific theories emerge to support the ideology of the innate inferiority of the slaves with polygenists defending the separate creation of races (Fredrickon, 1987).

As Fredrickon puts it, for its full growth, intellectual and ideological racism required a body of scientific and cultural thought which would support the notion that the blacks were morally and intellectually inferior to whites, and thus gave legitimacy to negro slavery or other forms of white supremacy. Pro-slavery advocates portrayed Africa as the land of savagery, cannibalism, devil worship, and licentiousness. Biological arguments were also used based on actual or fallacious physiological and anatomical differences, such as cranial characteristics and facial angles, which allegedly explained mental and physical inferiority (Fredrickson, 1987). Eighteenth century ethnologists such as Carl Linnaeus and Johann Blumenbach opened the way to secular racism by considering human beings part of the animal kingdom (Fredrickson, 2002). Blumenbach, for instance, was the first to trace the white race as the Caucasians on account of the alleged beauty of the inhabitants (Williams). Scholars and philosophers began using science to explain the biological differences between races. This period marks the beginning modern racial thinking.

The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* coincides with the publication of Arthur de Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853). This essay is credited to be one of the most important works on racial ideology in the mid-nineteenth century and consequently of scientific racism (Bousquet). Romantic racialists acknowledged that women and Negroes were alike in the gifts they brought to the world. The innate superiority of the Negro was only found in his strong religious tendency (Fredrickson, 1987).

It is certain that one of the hardships of slavery was that the slaves were considered property. As such they were inherited along with furniture, houses, cattle and land when their masters died. Slaves were by law inferior to whites and they could not be a witness in any civil or criminal case in which a white was involved (Genovese, 1989). Slaveholders used many methods to dehumanize the slaves such as prohibiting them of learning how to read and write, and the slave states even made it a crime to teach the slaves to read. Furthermore, the slaves were also denied the knowledge of their age and birthday. Whipping and being forced to watch their kinship being beaten, disregard for the family relationships as well as forced breeding and the destruction of

the ties of affection between mothers and children were methods used to dehumanize them. Children had to follow the condition of their mothers, even when fathered by the master. As Frederick Douglass says in *The Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass* that "slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable" (23). The slaveholders were frequently masters and fathers of the slaves and this was a way of having more slaves without purchasing them. This shows the roots of capitalism in the institution of slavery. It was the major economic institution in the ante-bellum south.

Slavery was a devastating experience for men and women but it was far worse for females than for males as illustrated in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861)*, a* slave narrative by Harriet Jacobs under the pen name of Linda Brent, and later in *Beloved* (1987) by Toni Morrison. In *Incidents* Jacobs states that "slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women. Superadded to the burden common to all, they have wrongs, and sufferings, and mortifications peculiarly their own" (79). Jacobs denounces the sexual exploitation of female slaves under the institution of slavery and in her opinion, the institution destroyed the morality of slave masters. In *Beloved*, Sethe, the main character, says she was denied the right to drink her mother's milk because her mother had to feed the white babies first and she only had to drink what was left. Sethe also describes the painful episode of her own milk being stolen by Schoolteacher's (a slave master) two nephews. As we can see, slavery followed patriarchy as institutionalized sexism, and racism had negative impact on the lives of slave women. bell hooks points out in *Ain't I a Woman* (1981) that in relation to black female slave experience "sexism booms as large as racism as an oppressive force in the lives of black women. Institutionalized sexism – that is, patriarchy – formed the base of the American social structure along with racial imperialism" (15). She argues that the vulnerability of the female slaves was related to their sexuality which involved rape. The nineteenth century ideal of white women as virtuous and pure prevailed at the same time as mass exploitation and corruption of female slaves. Furthermore, hooks states that "black women were naturally seen as the embodiment of female evil and sexual lust. They were labeled jezebels and sexual temptresses and accused of leading white men away from spiritual purity into sin" (33). Along with rape, breeding and sadistic floggings of

naked female slaves were also used to de-humanize the female slaves (hooks, 1981). Therefore sexism made the condition of female slaves worse than their male counterpart's.

Throughout the history of slavery in the United States occurred some opposition to the system. Slave uprisings and running away to freedom through the Underground Railroad were ways the slaves used to resist their enslavement. The best known slave rebellions were the Gabriel Prosser's rebellion in 1800, the Denmark Vesey's rebellion in 1822 and Nat Turner's rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831 (Apteker, 1993). Nat Turner rebellion became the most famous one. Fifty-seven whites were massacred during the rebellion. Soon after the rebellion, Virginian legislators forbade the teaching of reading and writing to any African Americans and preaching by slaves and free blacks was forbidden too.

In the eighteenth century the Quakers, who believed in humanitarian and egalitarian principles, started denouncing slavery as a temptation for the slave masters and an injustice to the slaves. For them slavery was morally wrong.

During the Civil War, on January 1st, 1863, Abraham Lincoln freed some slaves in the rebel areas through the Emancipation Proclamation but he did not put an end to slavery in the United States. The total abolishment of slavery was accomplished through the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified on December 6th, 1865, which freed the remaining slaves in Kentucky that were not covered by the Emancipation Proclamation.

Slavery in Cape Verde: a historical and social overview

The discovery of the Cape Verdean islands is linked to the maritime expansion of the Portuguese. Elisa Andrade argues in *As ilhas de Cabo Verde da "descoberta" à independência nacional* that in the mid-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there was development in domestic business in Portugal. This helped to form a class of traders who increased in numbers and gained economic power. They started their Atlantic adventures with some improvements of the nautic facilities. Combined with the knowledge the Europeans learned from the Chinese in relation to the use of the needle,

the invention of the canon gave them military superiority. With the invention of the compass the conditions for the maritime adventures were reunited.

Portugal had some favourable circumstances such as the natural geography, good ports, and good and experienced sailors (including some Italians who were working in Portugal's ports) (Andrade). The motivations behind the Portuguese exploration was the desire for gold, fur and leather and the eagearness to make money easily. Moreover, the downfall of the Arabs gave Portugal better chances to expand business on the African coast. The burgeoisie and the aristocracy made an alliance, with the support of the church, for colonial exploration (Andrade). It was in this context that Portugal discovered the Canary islands, the Azores, Madeira and Cape Verde.

The previously uninhabited islands of Cape Verde were "discovered" in 1460. As Andrade puts it, "embora os portugueses reclamem para si, a 'descoberta'[3] das ilhas, na opinião de muitos historiadores, estas já eram conhecidas das populações do continente africano e até mesmo dos gregos e dos geógrafos árabes" (32, emphasis in the original). In Jaime Cortesão's opinion, the islands were already known by some cartographers in the first half of the fifteenth century (*apud* Andrade, 32). Despite some controversy, the archipelago of Cape Verde was officially "discovered" by the Portuguese over two voyages.

The Republic of Cape Verde, an independent country since 1975, is formed by ten islands: the windward islands Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal, Boa Vista and the leeward islands: Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava. It is located in the Central Atlantic Ocean, 570 kilometers off the coast of Western Africa. Santiago, Maio, Boa Vista and Sal islands were discovered in 1460 by Antonio de Noli (a Genovese working for the Portuguese crown) and Diogo Gomes. The other islands were discovered two years later by Diogo Afonso (Barcelos). The Portuguese founded Ribeira Grande, now Cidade Velha, the first European settlement in the tropics. The intention of the Portuguese colonial rulers was to have a European based settlement on the islands similar to the one in Azores and Madeira, but it did not work on the islands.

As Antonio Carreira points out in *Cabo Verde: formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata* (2000), as a way to encourage the Portuguese people, who were

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[3] There are some controversies whether the islands were discovered or found. See *As ilhas de Cabo Verde da "descoberta" à independência nacional* (1996) or *Historia geral de Cabo Verde* (2001).

unwilling to travel and settle on the islands, the Portuguese government issued some prerogatives named "Carta de privilégios aos moradores de Santiago" in 1466, granted by D. Afonso V. The settlers were free to do business on the African coast (with the exception of Arguim), such as taking slaves and selling all goods but guns, ships and their equipment, and they had tax concessions when exporting their products to Portugal (Carreira, 2000). In return, the King was given a fourth of all the goods imported from Guinea, and the Portuguese in Cape Verde were free to sell the remaining parts either in Santiago or Portugal free from taxes (Andrade). In this way, some Portuguese found the necessary conditions to settle down. Soon after the settlement, the Portuguese started to bring slaves from the African coast. Andrade argues that "os primeiros escravos chegaram a Cabo Verde provavelmente em 1466, depois da concessão da Carta dos Privilégios" (37).

The Portuguese developed the so called "domestic slavery" found in African societies. In the "domestic slavery" practiced in Africa the enslaved were debtors, criminals who were enslaved as a punishment for their deeds, or prisoners of war. They were indentured servants. But with the new kind of massified slavery, as instituted by colonialism, Africans were captured by Europeans or bought from African traders and they were treated as chattel. Thus, in the fifteenth century we have then a revival of the practice of slavery in Africa. As João Lopes Filho puts it:

> […] reconhecendo que o sistema de escravidão era suportado por lutas entre os diferentes grupos étnicos, a situação ampliou-se quando os europeus se instalaram em África. Contudo, mais tarde a escravatura deixou de ser uma consequência da guerra ou do endividamento económico, passando a um comércio massificado e com acentuados contornos nas diferenças entre a situação de homem livre e escravo (10).

The Cape Verdean islands started playing a central role in the transatlantic slave trade because of Cape Verde's geographical position. As T. Bentley Duncan argues, Cape Verde "enjoyed a superb position, at the very crossroads of the Atlantic, where wind and current brought together the ships of Europe, Africa, the West Indies, and North and South America" (158). Cape Verde, located on the main intercontinental maritime routes functioned first as a shipping support for the maritime expansions for the European Empires, and then played a pivotal role in the slave trade among Europe, Africa and America. During the slave trade, the country played the role of a way station between Africa, Europe and America because of its strategic position, close to the

Western coast of continental Africa. In Duncan's opinion, in the seventeenth century, ships ran constantly short of beverages, nautical supplies, and food such as salted meat; often times, they needed repairs during their voyages in Cape Verde. Filho summarizes these strategic advantages of the archipelago:

> Localizado no centro das principais rotas marítimas intercontinentais, Cabo Verde serviu inicialmente, como ponto de apoio às frotas que em busca de novas terras aí aportavam, visto funcionar como local de reagrupamento de barcos, fazer a aguada, reparação de navios e descanso da tripulação, tornando-se assim fundamental para a navegação que cruzava o Atlântico.
>
> Na fase seguinte o arquipélago viria a atingir maior importância com o protagonismo alcançado quando se transformou num dos vértices do triângulo do tráfico escravocrata, porque a sua proximidade em relação à costa, facilitava os contactos com o continente africano, da mesma maneira que, como ilhas, constituíam seguros depósitos de mercadoria "humana" antes de ser loteada e exportada para diferentes destinos (17, emphasis in the original).

In the sixteenth century, the economy of Cape Verde was totally based on slavery, which was the most lucrative type of commerce on the islands. The trade bloomed in the first decades of the seventeenth century − 72% of Cape Verdean foreign exchange coming from the slave trade (Filho, 18) − and it continued until the abolition of the slave trade at the end of the nineteenth century. As Basil Davidson points out "the profits from the island system of slavery ensured that the system should continue, at least by the enatic force of its own momentum. It continued, slowly, chiefly on Santiago and Fogo (11).

During the first centuries of Cape Verdean colonization, the slaves were the most important "commodity" export in the country (Andrade, 62). The demand for slaves to work in the Americas intensified the capture of slaves on the African coast in the seventeenth century. The colonization of the New World required free labor and thus began the completely dehumanizing institution of slavery. The increase in the number of slaves had therefore to do with the increasing need for labor on the plantations in America. As Filho remarks, as a result "estabeleceu-se um comércio triangular, no qual participaram as várias potências europeias, fazendo com que a escravatura deixasse de ser uma consequência de simples guerras inter-étnicas, para se transformar num negócio massificado e com lucros chorudos para os comerciantes"

(12). Cape Verde, with its strategic localization in the Atlantic, had an important role in this slave trade.

There was a hierarchy of slaves on the archipelago. Cape Verde also had an important role in relation to the "treatment" of the slaves before exporting them to the Americas. The slaves were negotiated on the African coast, taken to Cape Verde where they were baptized and taught how to read and write, and then sold again to the colonial empires to work in the Americas or in Europe. Filho argues that:

> Quando o tráfico se intensificou, foi criada legislação regulamentando a obrigação do baptismo de escravos, que a princípio se processava num sistema rápido e colectivo, de forma a não prejudicar com as demoras os interesses económicos dos negociantes. Contudo, à medida que a classe sacerdotal se consolidava em Cabo Verde, a Igreja passou a ministrar, antes do baptismo, uma formação à generalidade dos escravos e aqueles que possuíam maior apetência para assimilar os conhecimentos fornecidos passavam a ser designados "ladinos", enquanto que os restantes ficaram conhecidos como "boçais" (20, emphasis in the original).

The "ladino" slaves had a western education. They learnt some Portuguese, thus their prices were higher than the "boçal" slaves. As we can see with the intensification of the slave trade and with the opening of a diocese of Cape Verde in the sixteenth century, legislation was made that obliged the baptism of slaves. As João Barreto puts it, "entre 1513 e 1515 chegaram a Santiago 2966 escravos provenientes dos rios da Guiné. […] O escravo que custava em media 3$617 réis em Cabo Verde, era revendido aos espanhóis por 8$000 réis" (*apud* Andrade, 62).

In Duncan's opinion, "Santiago […] aspired to be the major entrepôt in the slave trade; Spanish ships, in particular, sometimes preferred to pay a higher price for slaves in the islands, rather than hazard the difficulties and dangers of the disease-ridden African mainland" (4-5). Duncan states:

> The slaves at Santiago may have been expensive, but – as the Cape Verdeans claimed – they were "better" than the slaves available at Guiné. "Better" in the sense that the most unfit, the most sickly, and some of the most of the obdurate had already been culled. At Santiago the slaves had already endured trauma of their first sea passage; their bonds with the mainland were already loosened; their incentive for escape was weakened, and the opportunity to do so much diminished. The slave trader at Santiago found perhaps a

more resigned, a more bewildered, and a more manageable slave cargo than he would have found on the Guiné coast. Much of the preliminary work, particularly the exasperating bartering, had already been done (211, emphasis in the original).

The Portuguese were the pioneers in the slave trade, but they lost their monopoly when the English, Germans, and Dutch entered the business too. In the eighteenth century, the archipelago lost its position as a way station of the slave trade to Cacheu, which had a more strategic a position in the Portuguese slave trade in Guinea-Bissau (Filho). However, the institution of slavery continued as a clandestine trade.

Beginning in 1807, England began imposing rules on Portugal in order to cease the slave trade. While their objectives seemed humanistic, they were really about Britain's own interests. In 1839, England came up with the Bill of Palmerston as an ultimatum to Portugal to put an end to slavery. 1842 brought the Anglo-Portuguese treaty in which the two countries signed the end of the slave trade (Filho). Therefore, England tried to impose abolition by force. The goal was to divide Africa in spheres of influences with the aim of getting raw materials to supply its industries. Immanuel Wallerstein argues in *The Capitalist World Economy* (1979) that from 1815 to 1873 was the period of British hegemony in capitalist world economy. Its manufactured products were produced efficiently and cheaply so they could undersell similar products in other countries. Thus, freedom of the world market from political constrain would benefit British producers affording them maximum profit. It was in this context that Britain became the leading proponent of free trade and developed ideologies against the slave trade and its navy enforced its ideology against dissenters (Wallerstein,1979).

The law of 1836 passed by the Government of Sá da Bandeira forbade traffic in slaves, but at the same time it allowed the colonists who travelled from one colony to another to import and export slaves. Between 1815 and 1842, there appeared a number of Cape Verdean ship owners with a considerable number of ships used in the clandestine slave trade. The slaves were mainly exported to the Antilles (Cuba and Santo Domingo) (Estevão).

The economic and social deterioration in the nineteenth century led to some slave uprisings. The slaves were asking for manumission. In 1822 there was a rebellion in Ribeira dos Engenhos. In 1835 there were two revolts. One was led by the military forces, who plundered the city of Praia and killed a lot of officials; the other was led by

the slaves of Monte Agarro. The slaves decided to kill some whites and plunder their houses; they were denounced and three of the slaves were killed to serve as an example to prevent other uprisings (Andrade).

Under the pressure of England, on February 19th, 1810 in Brazil, the Portuguese signed a treaty of alliance and friendship with England which meant the first step towards the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese Empire. Portugal compromised to gradually abolish slavery. The English started supervising the slave trade mainly on the Guinea coast. As Andrade puts it:

> Uma mensagem do Parlamento inglês, datada de 1835, clamava a atenção do rei de Portugal sobre o estado em que se encontrava a abolição e impelia-o a diligenciar junto dos países aliados a fim de fazer observar os Tratados.
>
> As negociações com Portugal não tardaram e um ano mais tarde, o visconde da Sá da Bandeira encarrega-se da questão da abolição. A 10 de Dezembro de 1836 foi publicado um decreto que proibia o comércio de escravos em toda as colónias Portuguesas, a partir da data da publicação do mesmo em todas as colónias (120).

With this started the clandestine slave trade destined for Cuba and Brazil. The Governor of Cape Verde pointed out in a note to the Viscount Sá da Bandeira: "a oposição dos ingleses ao comércio de escravos em África, não era baseada nem na filantropia, nem na boa fé, […] os produtos utilizados neste tráfico eram manufacturados na Inglaterra e era do conhecimento público que este país possuía na Gâmbia grandes depósitos deles (Andrade, 121). The Governor of Cape Verde questioned why, if the English did not want the slave trade, they were creating ways to keep the system going.

The encounter between colonizer and colonized facilitated a creation of myths about the colonized and they had to fit into the categories which Western colonizers created to package them. In order to further dominate the slaves, the masters started spreading myths and stereotypes about them. Blacks became normally associated with wildness, sensuality, animality, emotionality, unattractiveness, uncleanliness, apathy, laziness, unintelligence, irresponsibility, dependency, docility, and humbleness, while whites were normally associated with reason, beauty, order, and cleanliness. They were seen as naturally different and inferior to whites.

Stereotypes as the dominant strategy of colonial power

The word "stereotype" was initially used to designate an aspect of the printing process in which a mold is made to duplicate patterns and pictures onto the page. It originated from two Greek words: *stereos* (solid) and *typos* (marks). It was Walter Lippmann, a journalist, who coined the term stereotype in the modern psychological meaning in his book *Public Opinion* (1922). He was the first one to use the term stereotype to describe how people use cognitive molds to reproduce images of people or events in their minds when he called those representations "pictures in our heads" (Brown,1995). These pictures are resistant to change, according to Lippmann. He also acknowledged people's strongly tendencies to categorize others into groups.

Rupert Brown seems to have a similar opinion as Lippmann, when he argues that "to stereotype someone is to attribute to that person some characteristics which are seen to be shared by all or most of his or her fellow group's members" (1995:82). Robert Heilbroner adds that "stereotypes economize on our mental effort by covering up the blooming, buzzing confusion with big recognizable cutouts. They save us the 'trouble' of finding out what the world is like – they give it its accustomed look" (373, emphasis in the original). Stereotyping someone is to assume that a group of people or a race has the same characteristics. It is a kind of generalization constructed through a discriminatory ideology.

As Lippmann puts it, the representations are the pictures inside the head and they function as maps guiding the individual and helping him deal with complex information. He characterizes these representations as something normal and inevitable. Chimamanda Adichie, on the other hand, says "the problem with stereotypes, however, particularly in literature, is that one story can become the only story about a group or a race and stereotypes straitjacket our ability to think in complex ways" (2008:43). Stereotypes do not account for the complex nature of human beings with unique attributes as they define people according to simplistic categories.

As shown above, stereotyping is commonly known as a process used to characterize social groups. Michael Pickering argues in his book *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (2001) that it is important to avoid using the two terms – stereotypes and categories – interchangeably because they have different meanings. He states that "they are not synonyms for each other, even if the two terms overlap at times.

We need to understand stereotypes as processes, carrying with them quite definite ideological values and views. Categories are "not fixed for all time and they can be used fixedly" (5). Gordon Allport shares the same opinion by stating that "a stereotype is not identical with a category; it is rather a fixed idea that accompanies the category" (191). In addition, Allport argues that people's tendency to generalize causes them to group other people according to their ethnic group. He defends that the process of categorization is important to the formation of prejudice and stereotype because human beings think with the help of categories. He argues that "man has a propensity to prejudice. This propensity is his normal and natural tendency to form generalizations, concepts, categories, whose contents represent an oversimplification of the world he experiences" (7). Stereotypes are not based on experience, they are social constructs. Lippmann adds that "any disturbance of the stereotypes seems like an attack upon the foundations of the universe. It is an attack upon the foundations of our universe, and, where big things are at stake, we do not readily admit that there is any distinction between our universe and the universe" (63). This is because "when a system of stereotypes is well fixed, our attention is called to those facts which support it, and diverted from those which contradict" (78). Stereotypes are resistant to change because they are culturally engrained and passed from generation to generation.

As I have already said, Lippmann compared the stereotypes with the *stereo*, which means something steady, because of the rigidity of the mental images. This idea of stereotypes as something fixed was later developed by others theoreticians, such as Homi Bhabha. Bhabha, who writes from the perspective of post-colonial studies, elaborated on the concept of fixity of the stereotype in *The Location of Culture*. Bhabha states:

> An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependency on the concept of "fixity" in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it denotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic representation. Likewise the stereotype, which is a major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is "in place" already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated (94-95, emphasis in the original).

The stereotype must be repeated as if it is a cliché because it cannot be proven and the attempt to fix it results in a problematic repetition. The stereotype proclaims rigidity and stability because it does not admit the possibility of change nor differentiation. Beyond the fixity of the stereotype Bhabha also argues that the process of ambivalence is central to the stereotype formation:

> […] it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategy of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically constructed. Yet, the function of ambivalence as one of the most significant discursive and psychical strategies of discrimination power – whether racist or sexist, peripheral or metropolitan – remain to be charted (95).

The stereotype is like a paradox because the agent of stereotyping has conflicting ideas about a person or a group of people; it has at the same time both positive and negative beliefs about the person being stereotyped. Bhabha defends that the contradiction between the illusion of difference and the reality of sameness of the stereotype leads to anxiety and consequently the stereotype appears as a response to that anxiety. Ambivalence because the stereotypical discourse depends on the recognition and disavowal of racial, cultural, and historical differences. The colonized is on the one hand constructed as the other; on the other hand, the colonized is something that is produced through the discourse of the colonizer with the aim of controlling the other. In this sense the colonized (the other) is "entirely knowable and visible" (Bhabha, 101). This means that a fundamental difference of the other is disavowed. According to Bhabha, you can never fully know another person. There is always something that exceeds what you think the other is or how you construe the other. This excess is what is denied in disavowal.

Bhabha also refers to the stereotype as a fetishistic mode of representation within its field of identification which denies difference. He says "the Imaginary[4] is the transformation that takes place in the subject at the formative mirror phase, when it assumes a *discrete* image which allows it to postulate a series of equivalences, samenesses, identities, between the objects of the surrounding world" (110, emphasis in

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[4] Bhabha is referring to the Lacanian schema of the Imaginary.

the original). He defends that narcissism and aggressivity as forms of identification form the dominant strategy of colonial power exercised in relation to the stereotype which "as form of multiple and contradictory belief, gives knowledge of difference and simultaneously disavows and masks it. Like the mirror phase[5] "the fullness" of the stereotype – its image as identity – is always threatened by "lack" (110). This lack is based upon stereotypes that are largely stigmatizing and obviously simplistic (Staszak, 24). Bhabha defends the reading of the stereotype in terms of fetish:

> […] the myth of historical origination – racial purity, cultural priority – produced in relation to the colonial stereotype functions to "normalize" the multiple beliefs and split subjects that constitute colonial discourse as a consequence of its process of disavowal. The scene of fetishism functions […] as a normalization of that difference" (106).

In Bhabha's opinion, the black is despised as "brutish" but at the same time desired – both derision and desire, love and contempt, or by using Freud's words: phobia and fetish. Within colonial power, according to Bhabha, the discourses of race and sexuality are similar because both do not admit the possibility of differentiation. It is like a fantasy of homogeneity. As Bhabha says, "In Freud's terms: 'All men have penises'; in ours 'All men have the same skin/race/culture' – and the anxiety associated with the lack and difference – again, for Freud "Some do not have penises"; for us "Some do not have the same skin/race/culture" (106-107). The skin is the fetish and it brings the idea that there is difference between blacks and whites but at the same time it brings the idea of similarity, unity and homogeneity. Thus we have affection and hostility in the treatment of the fetish. Fetishism masked over to restore presence. Bhabha summarizes the ambivalence of desire and derision as "the desire for an originality which is threatened by the differences of race, colour and culture" (107). Bhabha defends that the contradiction between the fantasy of difference and the reality of sameness leads to anxiety.

Stereotypes functioned to legitimize colonial authority by arguing that the colonizer ruled the colonized because of his innate superiority. "The construction of the colonial subject in discourse, and colonial power through discourse, demands an articulation of forms of difference – racial and sexual" (Bhabha, 110).

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[5] Bhabha believes that the concept of the mirror stage is similar to what happens in the stereotype production in colonial discourse. The mirror stage is a concept used in Jacques Lacan's reinterpretation of Freud's work.

It is also important to see how stereotypes are created in and through language. The process of stereotyping happens through the construction of signs. As Pickering points out:

> The location of the other is primarily in language. It is through language that selves and others are mediated and presented. The symbolically constructed other and the patterns of social exclusion and incorporations entailed by it are distributed in sign and language, discourse and representation. They do not exist primordially or as pre-given states, and in various unrecognized or partially recognized respects they are illusory" (Pickering 72-3).

Language as a semiotic system is very important in the construction of otherness.

Bhabha reflects on the "articulations of reality and desire" in racist stereotypes and the way a self-proclaimed democratic system tries to disguise its own contradictions:

> They are the effects of a disavowal that denies the differences of the other but produces in its stead forms of authority and multiple beliefs that alienate the assumptions of "civil" discourse. If, for a while, the ruse of desire is calculable for the uses of discipline soon the repetition of guilt, justification, pseudo-scientific theories, superstitions, spurious authorities, and classifications can be seen as the desperate effort to "normalize" *formally* the disturbance of a discourse of splitting that violates the rational, enlightened claims of its enunciatory modality (130-131).

Stereotypes tend to justify the relation of power of one group over the other. In Bhabha's opinion, one of the most important characteristics of the colonial discourse is the "ideological construction of otherness" (94). He argues that, otherness, which is the object of colonial discourse, is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity (96). Stereotypes construct some people as others and what is said about them defines them. The other is constructed through the discursive production of difference inscribed in a hierarchy. Pickering also delves into this idea by saying that "stereotyping is a tool for resisting threats to one's identity of a group by creating boundaries between 'me' and 'the Other', and the Other is in this way constructed as the outcome of stereotypical behavior" (48). As we can see, others are all those marked by social, ethnic, racial or sexual differences.

To oppose the self and the other is to divide people in two groups: one that follows the norms and another that is defined by its faults, lacks and susceptible to discrimination (Pickering). Only dominant groups can construct others as different. The other is always constructed for the benefit of the subject and "stereotyping attempts to translate cultural difference into Otherness in the interests of order power and control" (Pickering, 240). Therefore, asymmetry in power is very important in the construction of otherness and it leads to inequalities between the subject and the object of othering. The other also satisfies a wish for difference (Bhabha). The main difference between the subject and the object of othering is that the latter is homogenized (Pikering). This happens so as to achieve a desirable homogeneity and uniformity (Bhabha). By being stigmatized as others people are relegated to the margins of society. Othering consists of applying a principle that allows individuals to be classified into hierarchical groups: them (the out-group) and us (the in-group). The other is always created as object regardless of being positively or negatively constructed.

In Adichie's opinion, the single story creates stereotypes and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but they are incomplete. The main consequence of stereotyping is that it robs people of dignity. It makes the recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes our differences rather than our similarities (2009). While Adichie argues that the stereotypes are incomplete knowledge, Jean-Francois Staszak argues that they are simplistic. Bhabha on the other hand disagrees with these ideas and says that "the stereotype is not a simplification − it is a false representation of a given reality" (107). Similar to Bhabha, Pickering argues that the stereotypical other does not consist of the misrepresentations of some real or hidden essence and "it is not a simplification because it falsely represents an already existing reality" (73).

In relation to the colonial context, Adichie argues that colonialism was an economic enterprise, sustained by superior arms but it depended mainly on racism for its survival. The ideology of racism originated from ancient and medieval ideas, biblical references, and linguistic connections, all leading to the idea of black as "not as good as White" (Adichie, 2008). Blacks may be similar to whites but are not equal. By constructing stereotypes about blacks, white people were distancing themselves from them to facilitate dominion.

While some theoreticians such as Adichie are concerned with whether stereotypes are positive or negative, whether they are accurate or not, Bhabha's reading of colonial discourse suggests that "the point of intervention should shift from the *identification* of images as positive and negative, to an understanding of the *process of subjectivation* made possible (and plausible) through stereotypical discourse" (95). Because in Bhabha's opinion both stereotyper and stereotyped are affected by the stereotype.

Bhabha says that a characteristic of colonial culture is its hybridity, its "in-betweenness," the opposition between center/margin, civilized/savage, and enlightened/ignorant. Only when these traditional binary oppositions are subverted can cultures understand each other. For Lippmann only critical education is "the supreme remedy" for stereotyping. However, some theoreticians agree that some stereotypes are true. For instance, Charles Stangor argues that "cultural stereotypes about many social groups appear to have at least some kernel of truth" (7). On the other hand, Heibrones says that "impoverishing as they are, stereotypes are not easy to get rid of" (374). Only when people are in contact with the ones who are stereotyped do they realize that stereotypes are not accurate. Once the stereotypes are created, they are hard to change because people reinforce them even if sometimes in an unconscious way.

Chapter 2

Harriet Beecher Stowe

Because of the growth of abolitionist ideas in the beginning of the nineteenth century, slaveholders started claiming that the institution of slavery was a paternalist institution with benevolent characteristics. One of the arguments used by the southern propaganda was that the paternalist character of the master, and consequently his deep sense of responsibility for his slaves, generated by their dependence on him, guaranteed the slave against the kind of exploitation regularly experienced by the "wage slaves" of the North (Elkins). And after all the slaves were well fed, they had medical care and better conditions compared to the lives they had in Africa. Paternalism sold the image that whites and blacks were brought together as friends who shared affection and intimicy. There was interaction between masters, mistresses and their slaves but they were like exeptions to the rule (Genovese, 1976). As Kenneth Stampp points out, the kind of paternalism, which often arose from the master's genuine love for his slave, gave its recipient privileges and comforts but made the slave into something less than a man. The most generous master could be paternal only toward a fawning dependent because slavery, by its nature, could never be a relationship between equals. The relationship between masters and their slaves was compared to that of parent and a child, but infantilization meant dehumanization. As Stampp states:

> The slave who had most nearly lost his manhood, who had lost his confidence in himself, who stood before his master with hat in hand, head slightly bent, was the one best suited to receive the favors and affection of a patriarch. The system was in its essence a process of infatilization – and the master used the amiable, irresponsible Sambos of tradition, who were the most perfect products of the system, to prove that Negroes were a childlike race, needing guidance and protection but inviting paternal love as well. "Oh, they are interesting creatures," a Virginian told Olmsted, "and, with all their faults, have many beautiful traits. I can't help being attached to them, and I am sure they love us" (119 emphasis already in the original).

An argument to maintain slavery was that slaves were not able to take care of themselves. Another argument commonly used for the maintenance of slavery was that "blacks were subhuman, biologically inferior, hence naturally and rightly subordinate to

white" (Hedin). Since the slaves were considered inferior they needed to be guided by a master.

In order to enjoy the bounty of a paternalist master, a slave had to give up all claims to respectability as a responsible adult, all pretensions of independence. He had to be a Sambo in fact, or play the role of the Sambo with sufficient skills to establish his childish nature. Between paternalistic masters and submissive slaves there still remained a barrier that prevented either from being entirely candid with the other. A slave was always reticent, never completely at ease, except in the company of other slaves (Stampp). The slave wellfare depended entirely on the goodness of his master.

Uncle Tom's Cabin appeared on March 29th, 1852. The announcement of a new story by Stowe had appeared in *The National Era* on May 15th, 1851 with the title "Uncle Tom's Cabin; or the Man that Was a Thing," but with the first installment on June 5th,1851, the title was changed to "Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life among the Lowly" (Prior). The book appeared at the crest of public indignation because of the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1950. Dwight Dumond, in the introduction to Stowe's novel, argues that at that time thousands of blacks were fleeing to Canada and thousands of Americans were helping them in their flight. Within the first week of its publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold 10,000 copies; within the first year it sold 300,000. It was the first American novel to sell more than a million copies; no book of any kind, except the bible, had ever sold so well (Dumond). The novel has been translated into 58 languages and dialects. The novel was also adapted to the stage (Euell). We can say that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the best-selling novel of the nineteenth century.

The reception of the book in the South was different from the North. In the South few people read it, and when asked if they had read the novel they would reply as a rule: "No; never expect to read it" (Shoup). Southerners criticized *UTC* for misrepresenting slavery. They were outraged by Stowe's novel because it deconstructed their view of Southern slavery as a paternalistic institution.

A few years after writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe felt the need to write *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853) in response to criticism of legal inaccuracies her novel had received from slavery apologists. In *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Stowe links characters and incidents in *UTC* to specific analogues and sources, including personal narratives, advertisements, and newspaper articles to prove *UTC*'s authenticity

(Korobkin). One of the slavery supporters that criticized Stowe's novel was William Gilmore Simms, an acclaimed Southern novelist, who declared her novel utterly false (Watson). Southern women such as Luisa McCord and Julia Tyler (wife of the ex-President) responded to *UTC* supporting the view of domestic harmony within the peculiar institution. Mary Eastman's *Aunt Philips's Cabin* and *Southern Slavery as it is* are Anti-Uncle Tom's Cabin novels. They were meant to depict slavery as a benign patriarchal institution. George Sand, in his review of *UTC,* argues that he "cannot say she [Stowe] has talent as one understands it in the world of letters, but she has genius, as humanity feels the need of a genius" (*apud* Pottelberghe, 2). George Holmes, on the other hand, could not see any sign of genius in Stowe's novel and he argues that women are not supposed to deal with the issues Stowe addresses (*apud* Pottelberghe, 2). Charles Dickens described *UTC* as a noble work but with many faults; in particular he criticized the novel's overstrained conclusions and violent extremes (*apud* Stone, 189). Henry James's *A Small Boy and Others* (1913) also criticized Stowe's novel, describing it as "a wonderful leaping fish" that suddenly appeared and was able to "fly anywhere" through different media" (O'Loughlin, 573). James was referring to the theatrical adaptations of *UTC*. In Robert Alexander's "I Ain't Yo' Uncle" (a play) the characters from *UTC* talk about their own experiences in slavery, putting Stowe on a trial for creating stereotypes about them and by deconstructing Stowe's representation of blacks (Allen). Later, authors such as Richard Wright wrote *Uncle Tom's Children* as a counter story. James Baldwin was one of those who most bitterly criticized *UTC*. In Baldwin's novel *The Notes of a Native Son* (1955) he states that Tom's emasculation was a sign of disrespect for male African Americans. *UTC* was also bitterly criticized for what George Fredrickson later coined as romantic racialism. As we can see, since the publication of *UTC*, there has been an extensive debate between supporters and opponents of the novel.

Twelve years after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the slaves were emancipated. It is believed that when Abraham Lincoln first met Stowe in 1862 he greeted her by saying "so this is the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war[6]".

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[6] Abraham Lincoln's comment is quoted in the introduction to the 1938 edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1938: vi.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was born on June 14th, 1811 in Connecticut to Roxana Beecher and Reverend Lyman Beecher, a Calvinist minister. She was a writer and a painter.

In the early years of her marriage, she suffered from poverty and illness. Her son Henry, to whom she was devoted, died from cholera in 1849. Before the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe was a moderately successful writer but the publication of this novel gave her national and international fame.

Stowe first came into contact with Africans and saw the effects of slavery while she was living in Cincinnati between 1832 and 1849. Many of Stowe's opinions and attitudes towards slavery were formed during those years. It was also during that period that William Lloyd Garrison, an American abolitionist, published his first edition of *The Liberator* (1831), and Nat Turner led his revolt in Virginia. It was also when she was living in Cincinnati that she met her husband, Calvin Stowe, with whom she had seven children and shared a strong belief in abolitionism. While living in Cincinnati, in close proximity to a slave state, she saw and heard about many painful incidents of inhuman treatment of fugitive slaves who escaped across the Ohio. During this period, Stowe and her husband harbored some slaves in their house (Guerry). She also opened a primary school for her children where she allowed colored children to attend her school. The years Stowe spent in Cincinnati were formative for her growth as an author and inspired her to write *UTC*. Since Cincinnati is located on the Ohio River (the border of the Mason-Dixon line, which separated slaveholding from free states), the city was faced daily with the plight of fugitive slaves and the slaveholders' attempt to recapture them (Reichart). Afterwards, when she was already living in Boston with her family, she met some blacks who were in a panic over the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), and many were fleeing to Canada. She felt that it was her duty to inform Christians in the North of the evils of the system of slavery, for she felt that if the Northerners knew of the evils, they wouldn't support it (Ipema). Stowe was thus appealing for non-violent resistance to slavery.

Historical Context to *Uncle Tom´s Cabin*

According to Stowe, the idea to write *UTC* began with a vision she had while in church in early 1851 of a slave being beaten to death. Stowe started writing the manuscript of the novel immediately after arriving home from the religious service (Railton). Ann Douglass in an introduction to the novel adds that the idea to write the novel began to form in Stowe's mind as she was taking communion in church in February 1851 (Douglass). *UTC* was originally written as installments for the *National Era*, a newspaper published in Washington which promoted the interests of the abolitionists. The death of Uncle Tom was the first scene she wrote, which helped her to maintain her focus and keep the installments from becoming just a short work. Stowe's purpose was to protest against the system of slavery and its evils. She began writing the installments as a response to the Fugitive Slave Law passed in 1850. The law made it a crime for anyone either in a free or slave state to help a fugitive slave in escaping his or her master. After the law was passed Stowe's sister Isabella Beecher Hooker, who was an abolitionist and an advocate of women's rights, also wrote to her a lot of times asking her to write about the evils of slavery (Kirkham).

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 served the interests of the slave owners who, under the former Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, had to find their slaves first and then prove in a legal trial that the slaves belonged to them. With the new law they were no longer required to prove their ownership before a judge and jury, having only to assert it before a federal commissioner appointed specifically for the task. Furthermore, with the new Fugitive Slave Law the people of the northern states were required to assist in capturing and returning fugitive slaves to their masters, and they were punished if they refused or avoided to do so. The new Fugitive Slave Law caused great indignation in the North. In addition, it opened the possibility to whites to claim as slaves black people who were not in fact slaves. Many black people fled to Canada because they were afraid of being enslaved.

During Stowe's life she met former slaves such as Rev. Josiah Henson and Theodore Weld who were in contact with other former slaves and slave owners. Thus, she acquired ideas and stories for her novel. She wanted Northerners to be acquainted with the institution of slavery in a way that they had never before experienced. Her main purpose was to call for an end to slavery, but her most important drive to write the novel

was her Christian faith. As a Quaker, the idea of owning human beings as property, treating them as things, and breaking families apart upset her deeply (Henson). In the novel she tries to show that slavery corrupted everyone, Christians and non-Christians alike. In spite of the limitations, we can now notice that it was a revolutionary text at that time.

UTC is written in the melodrama and sentimentality styles so popular in nineteenth century American literature. Melodrama, originated in the eighteenth century, is similar to sentimentality because of the focus on feelings but different in the sense that women are not necessarily the main characters. As a result of a rapid growth of a new middle class, a new ideology of the home and womanhood arose. This became known as the cult of domesticity or the cult of true womanhood. This new ideology is presented in the novel with the exaltation of female qualities such as submissiveness, pureness, piety, domesticity and sentimentality. As Richard Yarborough puts it, Stowe's "utilization of the sentimental novel – a literary mode of expression grounded in the presumption that emotion is superior to reason, sensibility to logical ratiocination, and feminine to masculine" (62-63). The domestic sphere thus is empowered in the novel and women are seen as morally superior to men.

Stowe's ideological frame of mind, built as I exposed before on her Christian values and abolitionist sensitivity, explains the author's focus on the following aspects of slavery: treatment of slaves as property, separation of families, physical psychological abuse of slaves, the deterioration of American religion, the unjust American economic order, in short the evils in American society. In Jane Tompkins' opinion, Stowe uses a popular formula – the sentimental novel – to reach her audience and the novel had such a popularity in the nineteenth century because readers believed in the efficacy of what is spiritual in general and specially because the novel reaches the core of American society through the depiction of its main values: the importance of motherhood, the family, and the need for the world to be ruled by Christian love instead of force. The novel also reaches its main audience – the feminine audience – through the suggestion that society should be controlled by women instead of men (Tompkins). As Elizabeth Ammons points out, Stowe "heartily embraced the Victorian idealization of motherhood and channeled it into an argument for widespread social change" (1986:159). In Stowe's opinion women could make social change through motherhood.

Tompkins argues that the problems that *UTC* deals with such as the relations among people of different sexes, races, social classes, ethnic groups and economic levels require a narrative structure different from other well-known novels and it is this feature that makes it seem sensational and contrived in comparison with other novels of its time such as *The Ambassadors* or *The Scarlet* Letter, for instance. The topic of the separation of families in *UTC* "while violating what seem to be self-evident norms of probability and formal economy, serve as a means of stating and proposing solutions for social and political predicaments" (Tompkins, xvii). Stowe's objective was not to describe in detail the events as they actually happen but rather provide a basis for depicting the social and political order in which the events took place (Tompkins). The portrayal of the sacrificial mother, for instance, mimics reality while it teaches its readers what types of behavior should be emulated or shunned (Tompkins, xvii). Jane Tompkins studies *UTC* in her book *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction* (1985). She addresses the aspects most criticized in the novel and reevaluates them in a cultural perspective: the sensational plot, the trite expressions, the stereotypical characters, all concur to Stowe's critique of American society and to her attempt to change the values of her time. In Tompkins's opinion, Stowe was more devastating than any other well-known author such as Hawthorne or Melville. As Tompkins notes:

> The inability of twentieth-century critics either to appreciate the complexity and scope of a novel like Stowe's, or to account for its enormous popular success, stems from their assumptions about the nature and function of literature. In modernist thinking, literature is by definition a form of discourse that has no designs on the world. It does not attempt to change things, but merely to represent them, and it does so in specifically literary language whose claim to value lies in its uniqueness. Consequently, works whose stated purpose is to influence the course of history, and which therefore employ a language that is not unique but common and accessible to everyone, do not qualify as work of art (125).

In Tompkins's opinion theoreticians and writers have despised *UTC* and other sentimental novels, not considering them great literary art, and claiming their authors to lack literary talent. James Baldwin was of one of those writers who criticized Stowe's uses of sentimentality in her novel. In Baldwin's opinion, "Uncle Tom's Cabin is a very bad novel, having, in its self-righteous, virtuous sentimentality, the ostentatious

paradigm of excessive and spurious emotion, the mark of dishonesty, the inability to feel; the wet eyes of the sentimentalist betray his aversion to experience, his fear of life, his arid heart"(14). He goes further in his critique by saying that Stowe "was not so much as an impassioned pamphleteer [and that] her book was not intended to do anything more than prove that slavery was wrong; was, in fact, perfectly horrible" (14). For Baldwin, Stowe fails to make a realistic description of slavery in *UTC*.

More recently, Eric Sundquist, in the introduction to *New Essays On Uncle Tom's Cabin*, remarks that, differently from the standards defined by Hawthorne and Melville, *UTC* appears "to be awkwardly plotted, overly melodramatic, and naively visionary – o book for children and […] women readers who, from Stowe's day on into the twentieth century, have formed the largest part of the popular reading public" (3). For Sundquist *UTC* lack literary value in comparision to other American masterpieces which were part of the canon.

Therefore, Tompkins's reassessment of the novel is a counter discourse in relation to other critics who considered Stowe's novel as trash. In her opinion Stowe made a great effort to show and prove that women can change society's status quo. Stowe wants to draw sympathy for anti-slavery sentiment in a profoundly Christian society. The sentimental and melodramatic style often used in the nineteenth century served that purpose to perfection. Sentimentality works through a process of identification. Stowe tried to catch the reader's sympathy by showing that he or she can identify with the characters above and beyond racial differences. Stowe tried to humanize the slaves by emphasizing their feelings and family ties, something that they have in common with their white masters. Stowe depicts the slaves in their family roles and responsibilities − as fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers. This strategy is an attempt to lead readers to realize that blacks are actually similar to them, i.e. they are full human beings, capable of loving, suffering, and complying with their responsibilities. She also depicts Eliza's maternal instinct with the purpose of appealing to the sympathies of her readers (mainly women and mothers, putting them in a position of imagining the loss of their children). As Tompkins puts it, "novelists have designs upon their audiences, in the sense of wanting to make people think and act in a particular way" (xi). As *UTC* was able to focus on fundamental values of American society, *UTC* changed the way most Americans (at least in the North) looked at slaves and slavery in general.

Tompkins argues that the power of a sentimental novel to influence its audience depends on the audience's identification of "conceptual categories that constitute character and event […] and it includes attitudes toward the family and toward social institutions; a definition of power and its relation to individual human feeling; notions of political and social equality; and above all, a set of religious beliefs" (127). Religion was so strong in the novel that Eva and Uncle Tom die in the same way Christ died to save the sinners and the characters' death lead to the redemption of other characters. *UTC*, Tompkins argues, "retells the culture's central religious myth − the story of crucifixion − in terms of the nation's greatest political conflict − slavery − and of its most cherished social beliefs − the sanctity of motherhood and the family" (134). The good reception the novel had also to do, in Tompkins' opinion, with the language used because in the nineteenth century readers believed in the spiritual elevation of a child. Stowe took advantage of religion, which was so important in the nineteenth century, to create characters such as Uncle Tom and Eva whose actions resemble Christ, and the novel is thought to make connections with the bible, the most read book of that time. Religious belief and spirituality were seen as weapons of social change. In this sense we can say that Stowe was successful and the enormous popularity the novel had was because she paid close attention to these issues and because the text was received as a realistic one. The impact is generally thought to have been incalculable and it finds its explanation in the fact that *UTC* was expressive of the values of its time. As Tompkins puts it:

> *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is not exceptional but representative. It is the *summa theologica* of nineteenth-century American's religion of domesticity, a brilliant redaction of the culture's favorite story about itself − the story of salvation through motherly love (124-5 emphasis in the original).

Tompkins argues that *UTC* was misinterpreted in the American literary canon and she makes positive criticism about it. As most sentimental novels were written by women of the middle class, they represented the middle class understanding of the world. *UTC* values the nineteenth century cult of womanhood, focusing on female qualities such as sentimentality, domesticity, piety, and pureness. Women, children and slaves are the characters linked to emotion and morality. Stowe glorifies the cult of motherhood, and women are depicted as morally superior to men. Furthermore, Elizabeth Ammons (1977) states that Stowe's idea of "femininity true womanliness −

means unshakable allegiance to the Christian virtues of faith, hope, charity, mercy, and self-sacrifice; purity in body and mind, ethical dependence more on emotion than on reason" (164). Stowe saw the need to influence the feminine reader against the evils of slavery by denouncing the injustices of the institution of slavery. It was in this context that *UTC* became an early example of protest novel in the United States of America.

UTC as a social protest novel had an extensive effect on the American society as a whole, not just on the middle class as was intended. Tompkins defends that it influenced the course of history and its language was accessible to everyone. *UTC* was successful because it did not only inform the Americans about the evils inherent in the system of slavery but pushed them to take action against it.

UTC was a sentimental novel makes an appeal to the reader's emotions. Glenn Hendler explains sentimental identification in this way:

> The reader is asked […] to compare his or her emotional experiences analogically with those of the protagonist, but in a way that maintains a degree of difference between subject and object of sympathy. At the same time, sympathy demands a still closer connection between reader and character, the former is asked to feel *with* the latter […] in order to transform partial sameness into identity" (*apud* Halpern 564-5 emphasis already in the original).

The readers must identify with the characters' personality so that they can identify with the characters' troubles. If the readers feel that the slaves are human beings and not things, they can recognize their right to liberty and stand against the institution of slavery. Moreover, Hendler says that sentimental writers try to demonstrate the similarities between whites and blacks but that similarity is not a total one. Blacks are similar to whites because they also have feelings, but they have feelings out of animal instinct (*apud* Halpern). Thus whites and blacks are only identical, but not equal in this sense.

Stowe speaks directly to women, "you mothers of America" (*UTC* II, 310). She wants the women in the North to join the abolitionist cause by appealing to their feelings and encouraging solidarity in relation to the suffering of the slaves. Stowe speaks to women because she believes that "Christian love fulfills not in war […] but in motherhood" (Tompkins, 141). Motherhood is one of the important themes dealt with in the novel. Stowe empowers women through their roles as mothers. Characters such as

Rachel Halliday and Mrs. Bird are depicted positively both as having motherly conscience and as being opponents of slavery. Stowe emphasizes the importance of cooperation, mutual support and the Quaker community represented through the Hallidays is a good example of that. Similarly Mrs. Bird and her husband, a senator, help Eliza escape slavery although Mr. Bird had previously helped pass the Fugitive Slave Act. The Halliday family supports Eliza, her husband and son and helps them escape to Canada. The idea of a shared motherhood between white and black women serves the objective of transcending race. Stowe herself believed that the mission to write the novel came to her because she was a mother. Women's roles as mothers and wives are exalted as a way to change society through the moral drive. This empowerment of women as morally superior to men has to do with an "alternative system of values in which woman figures not merely as the moral superior of man, his inspirer, but as a model for him" (Ammons, 1980:163). This empowerment of women is limited to the private sphere and reinforces the patriarchal power structure of the Victorian period because everything still depends on the power of the husband.

Stowe also wrote another anti-slavery novel named *Dred* in 1856 partly in response to the criticism about *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Stereotypes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel (volume I) is also titled *Life Among the Lowly*, which in Aretha Phiri's opinion, suggests the "lowly" status of African Americans in American society. The title implies, therefore, the idea of hierarchy. In the preface to the novel, Stowe describes the African Americans as "an exotic race, whose ancestors, born beneath a tropic sun, brought with them, and perpetuated to their descendants, a character so essentially unlike the hard and dominant Anglo-Saxon race, as for many years to have won from it only misunderstanding and contempt" (*UTC*I, v). Both these groups have distinct descriptions throughout the novel, the differences being evident in abilities, beauty, and accomplishments.

In Stowe's opinion, the objective of the novel was "to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust" (*UTC*I, vii). As Sara Duckworth puts it, some people think, without reading *UTC*, that the novel may contain a vision of

humanity that encompasses racial equality and brotherhood. But when we read the novel we realize that, although Stowe is sincere in her writing and condemns the institution of slavery, the novel does "not include notions of racial parity between white and black people; and [that] her real concern in writing the novel was not to raise lowly Africans up to a position of equality in American society, the real aim was to help bring an end of slavery for the sake of salvation of the whites" (Duckworth, 205). Stowe finishes the novel by asking the reader to be honest, faithful and Christian and the slaveholders not to abandon their religious faith. Stowe wants them to be aware of incompatibility of Christian values and slavery.

Uncle Tom, the protagonist in *UTC*, is portrayed as having female characteristics. As Ammons puts it, for Uncle Tom to be the protagonist of the novel he has to be a hero, a Victorian hero, to fit in Stowe's ideal person who must be "pious, pure, noncompetitive, unselfish, emotional, domestic, and outwardly submissive" (1977:164). He speaks "in a voice as tender as a woman" (*UTC*I, 151). And he is described by virtue as women are. In the novel it is clear that the women are the ones who give the institution of slavery a more humane face. For instance, men are more interested in doing business, by selling and buying slaves. Although women are empowered in the novel this empowerment is limited because in the end they have no voice when it comes to the public sphere as seen in the episode when Mr. Shelby sells Tom and Eliza's son in spite of his wife being against it.

In the novel, alongside this ideology of domesticity we also have racist ideas. As Phiri argues, melodramatic novels of the nineteenth century, including *UTC* "inadvertently and deliberately reinscribe the primacy and supremacy of whiteness through their authors' representation of an Africanist, African-American presence" (8). The United States of America became a racialized society supported by the ideology of black inferiority and white supremacy.

In *UTC*, in spite of Stowe's purpose to denounce the evils of slavery, she couldn't escape the ideological frame of her mind in consonance with her class and time. In the characterization of the novel's main figures stereotypes are visibly present as well as the slave's internalization of white myths.

One of the most well-known stereotypes concerning blacks in *UTC* is that of the mammy. Aunt Chloe, Dinah and Mammy are constructed as mammies, the ideal

servant. The mammy stereotype is one of the most well-known stereotypes about slave women in the United States. The mammy was generally portrayed as a contented slave: overweighty, overbearing, coarse, and asexual, with special emphasis on her ability to endure hardship (Myles). This is the way Stowe describes Aunt Chloe:

> A round, black, shining face is hers, so glossy as to suggest the idea that she might have been washed over with white of eggs, like one of her own tea risks. Her whole plump countenance beams of satisfaction and contentment from under her well-starched checked turban, bearing on it, however, if we must confess it, a little of that tinge of self-consciousness which becomes the first cook of the neighborhood, as Aunt Chloe was universally and acknowledge to be (*UTC*I, 39).

Aunt Chloe's round, black, shining face, of course does not fit in the ideal type of the beautiful Victorian woman. The mammy stereotype normally was constructed in a way that suggested ugliness and she offered no threat to the mistress's marriage. As Khamsa Qasim argues in "Black Women and Racial Stereotypes":

> The white standard of beauty dominates American society. Straight hair, blue eyes and white skin are the symbol of beauty while dark skin is "associated with ugliness and lack of morality"[7]. Patricia Collins says that the derogatory representation of black women enhances the value of white women. In binary thinking, "blue-eyed, blond thin white woman" cannot be called beautiful without black women. They are others and their African features, kinky hair, lips, noses are associated with ugliness. It is almost impossible to live in any society without internalizing its standard of beauty. Black women are forced to accept the white standard of beauty which is accepted by both white and black men (213).

These standards of beauty still have damaging effects on the self-esteem of black women and they sometimes resort to artificial processes such as, the straightening of their hair to be "closer" to this white standard. As Barbara Christian points out, the mammy normally has her "head covered with a kerchief to hide her nappy hair" (11-12). Stowe describes Topsy's hair in particular as: "her woolly hair was braided in sundry little tails, which stuck out in every direction (*UTC*II, 1-2). Stowe description of Topsy's hair suggests that it is unkempt and "bad". This idea is reinforced by the fact that Topsy's hair is cut and the girl herself is washed by Miss Ophelia in order for her to look as a clean and "civilized" girl.

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[7] The authors quote Linda Peach, in *Toni Morrison*, Macmillan,1998

The mammy type came from the view of black slaves acting as nurturers and caretakers of their master's family. They are kind, faithful and obedient slaves. Stowe also describes Aunt Chloe as being very proud of being a good cook which suggests the idea that she is a contented slave. Aunt Chloe remembers a day when her master's family received a General, who loved her food, for dinner "And wan't I behind the dinin' – room door dat very day? And didn't I see de General pass his plate three times for some more dat bery pie? – and, says he, 'You must have an uncommon cook, Mrs. Shelby'. Lor! I was fit to split myself'" (*UTC*I, 46). Aunt Chloe identifies herself in terms of the domestic affairs she performs. She is very proud of nurturing her master's family. The white family welfare is her main goal and Stowe describes her as less caring and impatient towards her own children.

As Christian says "the black slave women were not identified, as white women were, with the roles of mother and worker. Not surprisingly then the black women as mammies was one of the most dominant images to emerge in the southern life and literature" (7-8). Stowe reinforces the myth that Africans are good cooks by saying that Chloe and Dinah are excellent cooks because cooking is "an indigenous talent of the African race" (*UTC*I, 296). This implies the idea that black women were suited to be mammies. Patricia Collins argues that:

> The first controlling image applied to U.S Black women is that of the mammy – the faithful, obedient domestic servant. Created to justify the economic exploitation of house slaves and sustained to explain Black's women's long-standing restriction to domestic service, the mammy image represents the normative yardstick used to evaluate all Black women's behavior. By loving, nurturing, and caring for her White children and "family" better than her own, the mammy symbolizes the dominant group's perceptions of the ideal Black female relationship to elite white male power. Even though she may be well loved and may wield considerable authority in her White "family", the mammy still knows her "place" as obedient servant. She has accepted her subordination (72-73).

The mammy is seen as having a negative meaning because the mammy was seen as a slave whose only joy was to love and nurture the master's family. The mammy was the antithesis of the beautiful western woman and the image was created to justify the institution of slavery as a benign one.

The image of the ideal servant, in Augustine St. Clare's house, is Mammy, Eva's surrogate mother. She is the stereotype of the contented slave. Stowe says that Mammy, "did not tell her [Eva] that she made her head ache, but on the contrary, she hugged her, and laughed, and cried, till her *sanity* was a thing to be doubted of" (*UTC*I, 238 my emphasis). Stowe depicts Mammy as having an infantile behavior. The mammy stereotype worked as a proof of the supposed humanity of slavery as she was believed to have a great love for the master's family. But how can, for instance, Mammy be so devoted to St. Clare's family when Marie St Clare forced her to leave behind her husband and children to follow her after she got married? Aren't the frequent headaches Mammy is always complaining about signs that she is unhappy and uncomfortable?

In *UTC* there are many instances of othering, as Pickering describes it in *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*, and as Bhabha describes it in *The Location of Culture*. One of the instances of othering is seen in the dialogue between Miss Ophelia and Marie St. Clare about Mammy in which Marie constructs Mammy as completely different from her:

> "Don't you think they've got immortal souls?" said Miss Ophelia, with increasing indignation.
> "O, well," said Marie, yawning, "that, of course – nobody doubts that. But as to putting them on any sort of equality with us, you know, as if we could be compared, why, it's impossible! Now, St. Clare really has talked to me as if keeping Mammy from her husband was like keeping me from mine. There's no comparing in this way. Mammy couldn't have the feelings that I should. It's a different thing altogether, – of course, it is, – and yet St. Clare pretends not to see it. And just as if Mammy could love her *dirty* babies as I love Eva! Yet St. Clare once really and soberly tried to persuade me that it was my duty, with my weak health, and all I suffer, to let Mammy go back, and take somebody else in her place. That was a little too much even for me to bear (*UTC*I, 251-2, my emphasis).

Marie is constructing Mammy as the other and consequently distancing herself from her. She is denying Mammy's humanity. Mammy is not able to have the same feeling as she does. Marie refers to Mammy's children as being dirty to distance Mammies children from her daughter Eva, who is described throughout the novel as being an angel, pure, beautiful and clean. This fits in Ludmilla Jordanova's description of othering as "the distance of what is peripheral, marginal, and incidental from a

cultural norm, of illicit danger safe legitimacy" (109). Marie is trying to deny Mammy's humanity by trying to make the difference between herself as the mistress and Mammy as the slave through the production of difference, that is, difference here is established as natural. This kind of social construction reinforces myths about blacks as different and it is a strategy of excluding the other.

Marie's behavior fits in Lippmann's opinion about the objective of stereotyping. Pickering argues that stereotypes allow the individual to protect their values, interests, and ideologies. "It is the guarantee of our own self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense, of our own value, our own position and our own rights" (64). He goes on to say that "the systems of stereotypes may be the core of our personal tradition, the defenses of our position in society. In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things" (63). The stereotypes help the individuals secure their interests and they only benefit who uses them. Similar to Lipmann, Pickering states that othering reinforces power relationships since "those who are 'othered' are unequally positioned in relation to those who do the othering. The latter occupy a privileged space in which they can define themselves in contrast to the others who are designated as different (Pickering). These representations try to translate cultural differences into otherness as a way to legitimate subjugation. Marie is constructing her identity as subject by making the differences between herself and Mammy. When Miss Ophelia asks Marie "Don't you believe that the Lord made them of one blood with us, Marie answers "No, indeed, not I! "They are a degraded race" (*UTC*I, 251). This exemplifies Pickering's statement that we define ourselves in relation to what we are not. We can clearly see that Marie is constructing a positive self-identity by stigmatizing Mammy and the other slaves as others. Therefore, the concept of the other is present in the way masters behave in relation to their slaves. The dualism between me and not me is needed to maintain the strength of the subject's identity, as well as to try to balance the relation between "us and them" (Pickering, 72).

Marie's opinion about the slaves is imbued with stereotypes: "these servants are nothing but grown-up children" (*UTC*I, 251). She continues: "you don't know what a provoking, stupid, careless, unreasonable, childish, ungrateful set of wretches they are" (*UTC*I, 251) and "they are the plague of my life, I believe that more of my ill health is caused by them than by any one thing; and ours, I know they are the very worst that ever anybody was plagued with" (*UTC*I, 243). She adds that "they are selfish and act

like spoiled children (*UTC*I, 246). Marie's discourse is a dense construction of alterity. She is demonizing the slaves. She is reinforcing the dichotomy between herself and the slaves, that is, between whites and blacks, as Frantz Fanon ironically concludes in *Black Skin White Masks* "Sin is Negro and virtue is white" (139). This stereotyped characteristics that Marie assigns to the slaves deny them their humanity and deprive them of their identities because she homogenizes them. She is reinforcing ideas of the inferiority of blacks by stating that they are essentially different. This kind of stereotypes not only became fixed in the minds of whites but were also internalized by blacks so that still today we can find sequels of them.

These stereotypical constructions, as Lippmann stresses, are derived from misconceptions and they provide a distorted mental picture of reality because "we are told about the world before we see it" (59). According to him, "for the most part we do not see and then define; we define first and then see. In the great blooming of the outer world we pick up what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture (54-55). The representations are not disinterested because they depend on who observes the object since we define before we see. Practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the position of enunciation. As Pickering stresses, this dichotomy between the self and the other is a refusal to show empathy towards the other. This reluctance to show empathy is based on the assumption that since the other is not human, he does not deserve to be treated as such.

As I have shown, stereotype is a form of naming or labeling a group in reductive terms and they are one sided characterizations of others. For instance, Marie's discourse is an attempt to distance herself from what she finds marginal and peripheral. The recognition of difference "is thereby made innocent, made to appear natural" (Pickering, 70). The dialogue between Marie and Ms. Ophelia in which the former constructs Mammy as the other reveals more about the self, that is, it reveals more about Marie than about the other, Mammy. This fits in Pickering's analysis "the Other says and reveals far more about the "self" and its conditioned and self-directed possibilities than about the apparently all-determined Other" (74, emphasis already in the original). Mammy is voiceless. She is both silenced and spoken for. "Representation involves process of "speaking for and "speaking of" those who are represented" (Pickering). The

mammy stereotype was constructed to justify social and economic exploitation and it represented the dominant group's perception of the ideal black female slave.

The mammy stereotype is central to illustrate oppressions of race, gender, sexuality, and class, and consequently marginality. Stampp adds that "many domestics did adopt part of the white pattern of respectability, were proud of their honesty and loyalty to the white family, and frowned upon disobedient and rebellious behavior" (121). Because of the nineteenth century ideal of true womanhood, the mammy[8] was not as bad as the Jezebel which was the opposite of the ideal woman. The "mammy" was after all the most refined role for the black slave women and "the jezebel" was the counter image of the ideal Victorian lady of the mid-nineteenth century.

In *UTC* there are some instances of internalized racism as a result of the slaves' taking for granted the negative stereotypes constructed about them. Karen Pyke defines internalized racism in "What is Internalized Racial Oppression" (2010) as "the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the white dominant society about one's racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (553). We can see how stereotypes can be constructed through internalization in *UTC* in relation to Topsy, the slave girl St. Clare buys for Miss Ophelia to educate. Topsy is the stereotype of the "pickaninny". She is disrespectful to whites and she is portrayed as the essence of black people without being educated by whites or converted through religion. She is "dreadfully dirty" (*UTC*II, 5). She does not know anything about her personal life such as, who her parents are, her age, conceptions of time; Stowe describes her as "one child, who is the specimen of thousands among us" (*UTC*II, 16). She was bought when she was a little child and raised for the auction block. Topsy believes she was not born. She says: "I'spect I grow'd: Don't think nobody never made me" (*UTC*II, 7). Miss Ophelia's theories on education do not work on her. She steals gloves, earrings, and ribbons.

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[8] In Barbara Christian's opinion the mammy stereotype has proved to be the most enduring one up to the present. The mammy became a popular type in sentimental novels, popular films, and advertisements. The mammy image was used to advertise household items and it appeared in bottles, cans, coffee packaging, detergent bottles, and baking powder. This servant-role associated with blacks still remains in the literature of the white canon.

Topsy also became known as the stereotype of the "round face", with "a white and brilliant set of teeth", "big eyes" that still nowadays are associated with black people. Topsy's internalization of white myths as can be seen in the following passage being rebuked by St. Clare after being disrespectful to Miss Ophelia:

"What makes you behave so?" Said St. Clare.

"Spects it's my wicked heart," said Topsy, demurely; "Miss Feely says so".

"Don't you see how much Miss Ophelia has done for you? She says she has done everything she can think of".

"Lor, yes, Mas'r! old missus used to say so, too. She whipped me a heap harder, and used to pull my har, and knock my head agin the door; but it didn't do me no good! I 'spects, if they's to pull every sper o'har out my head, it wouldn't do no good neither – I's so wicked! Laws! I's nothing but a nigger, no ways!" (*UTC*II, 66).

The only things Topsy knows about herself are the ones that other people say about her. As the slaves have internalized their master's stereotypes, they start constructing their identities following the master's ideas of goodness and evil. This ideology imprisons and defines them.

I rely on Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony to describe the way the masters as the ruling class behave in order to keep the slaves oppressed through ideology. Stowe portrays a society which maintains the rules and standards of white supremacy based on hegemonic discourse, that is, the dominant group exercises hegemony throughout society with the consent given by the whole masses. This consent derives from the prestige and the consequent confidence enjoyed by the dominant group or by the apparatuses of state coercive power (Gramsci). Gramsci uses the term cultural hegemony, that is, a culturally diverse society can be ruled by one class through the manipulation of people's beliefs. Because of this, the ideology of the ruling class is perceived as valid by the whole society, thus benefiting only the ruling class, in this case the masters. The oppression is internalized and the master's ideology promotes and keeps power relationships reinforcing not only oppression but also alienation (Gramsci).

We can realize that Topsy has internalized the white's idea of blackness as something negative. She says: "couldn't never be nothin' but a nigger, if I was ever so good [...]. If I could be skinned and come white, I'd try then" (*UTC*II, 67-68). In George Yancy's opinion, "the white colonialist strategy was to get the colonized Black

to undergo a process of epistemic violence, a process where the Black begins to internalize all the colonizer's myths and thus begins to see his/her identity through the paradigm of white supremacy/Eurocentricity" (7). Topsy perceives herself as the other, consequently she has a negative image of herself.

For the slaves, as seen in Topsy's words, the idea that slaves are evil becomes part of their ideology and they accept it as something natural. As an object of othering, one starts to perceive oneself as the other as well, which leads to an identity torn "between yourself […] and the radicalized object that represents you" (Pickering, 77). Attitudes of inferiority become part of Tospy's way of thinking. This is a consequence of the internalization of the negative stereotypes. It makes people feel anxiety and shame and consequently low self-esteem. As Pickering puts it:

> Western societies [of the late 19th century] classifying themselves as modern and civilized relied heavily on the contrast between their own sense of advancement and the idea of racially backward and inferior societies. Those who were conceived as *inferior* in this way became interior to national identity in the West by becoming its *Other*, its decivilised counterpart (51, emphasis already in the original).

Western societies considered themselves advanced and consequently superior. The "inferiority" of the other legitimized Western supremacy. Moreover, Pickering claims that "the conceptions of the Other and the structures of difference and similarity which they mobilize do not exist in any nature form at all. There is no pristine, real other out there" (72). They are social constructions.

The slaves in Augustine St. Clare's house are not happy with the arrival of Topsy. They also have internalized white values and they have created a hierarchy within their own group. They divide slaves in the categories of "high and low Negroes". Rosa and Jane, the two chambermaids of the Augustine St. Clare's estate react in the following way in relation to the arrival of Topsy: "What in the world mas'r wanted another of these low niggers for, I can't see!" (*UTC* II, 5). The slave masters helped to create a social hierarchy among the slaves by keeping domestics and artisans apart from the field hands. The stratification of the slave society also resulted from an impelling force within the slaves themselves, a natural yearning for some recognition of their worth as individuals, if only from those in their own social orbit. The slaves' success, respectability, and morality were measured by their own standards and prestige

(Stampp). Rosa and Jane perceive themselves as high Negroes but on the other had they see Topsy as a low Negro: Jane says: "Those low negroes […] don't know anything about time (*UTC*II, 7). Topsy is the stereotypical other even in the perception of her own group.

As I have shown, the black characters have internalized the dualistic thinking of whiteness and blackness. This happens because as Peter Barry says "hegemony is like an internalized form of social control which makes certain views seem "natural" or invisible so that they hardly seem like views at all, just "the way things are" (164-165). The slaves translate their internalized ideas into their own social group. The division of slaves in high and low blacks is clearly seen in St. Clare's house. They try to reproduce the discrimination they suffer from others by doing the same in relation to Topsy and they relegate her to the place of the other. The slaves construct Topsy as an object, they exclude her by considering her a "low nigger." This shows that Jane and Rosa are othering Topsy for the sake of making themselves subjects. They want to show that they are not bad as Topsy is. They want to follow the ideals of the whites in order to distance themselves from Topsy. This shows that the slaves evaluate themselves reproducing the dualism between self and other.

As Tuire Valkeakari states, "living in a cultural environment that scorns and ridicules blackness, they have learned to survive by imitating whiteness" (83). The slaves in St. Clare's house have internalized the western values – the whites at the center and the blacks at the margins of white culture. Since backs are constructed through stereotypes, they view and treat each other in ways based on stereotypes. They accept the negative stereotypes about them. They believe the myths about themselves are true.

As stated by Adichie in "The Danger of a Single Story", stereotypes rip our ability to think in complex ways, that is, we assume that the single story about a race or a group is true (2009). For her, the danger of a single story is that it creates a single view about a story, a thing, a race, or a people and it becomes the only representation about them. She argues that the single story about Africans continues nowadays because the stereotypes have not been challenged.

Slavery was such a traumatic experience that still nowadays the quest for a self-identity has been a complex issue for African Americans. Various terms have been used

to identify them: Negro, colored, black, Afro-American, African-American, and African American. The African American feel divided between two cultures: their western upbringing and their African heritage. They are neither African nor completely American. This dualism creates a dual perspective about them. W.E.B. Du Bois states that the white domination in the United States affects the conscience of African Americans. He coined the phrase "double consciousness" to describe the African American dual vision of the world. This was due to the fact that blacks were taken from their homeland and had to define a new self as African Americans. The African American dual vision of the world was first described in Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903):

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world − a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself tough the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One never feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled striving; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (12-13).

This double consciousness, the two different visions of the world, is described as an identity crisis, and the person who faces this normally tries to merge his or her double self into a better and truer self (Du Bois). The problem implied is that people who face this dualism see themselves as others see them, that is, through other people's perspective.

Another case of internalization of white values in *UTC* is the case of Adolph, St. Clare's slave. He is the Sambo, the stereotype of the simple-minded, childish, and docile slave. He seems fascinated by the white way of dressing. This seems related to Fanon's statement "I am white: that is to say that I possess beauty and virtue, which have never being black" (45). Fascinated by white standards of dressing, Adolph dresses his master's clothes trying to pass for white. Stowe writes "it must be observed that, among other appropriations from his master's stock, Adolph was in the habit of adopting his name and address; and that the style under which he moved, among the colored circles of New Orleans, was that of *Mr. St. Clare* (*UTC* I, 308 emphasis in the

original). On account of Adolph's behavior St. Clare says "as to Dolph, the case is this: That he has long been engaged in imitating my graces and perfections, that he has, at last, really mistaken himself for his master; and I have been obliged to give him a little insight into his mistake" (*UTC*I, 254).

When St. Clare rebukes Adolph for using his clothes Adolph says "O! Master, this vest all stained with wine; of course, a gentleman in Master's standing never wears a vest like this. I understand I was to take it. It does for a poor nigger-fellow, like me" (*UTC*I, 239). He accepts that image of a Sambo. Stowe writes: Adolph "had fallen into an absolute confusion as to *meum tuum* with regard to himself and his master, which sometimes troubled even St. Clare" (*UTC*I, 292 emphasis in the original). Adolph wants to distance himself from the other slaves by following the myth of respectability and beauty. Adolph's behavior is due to the dual vision described by Du Bois and Pickering. On one hand, he is struggling to have a positive self - identity but on the other he is aware that he is racially oppressed because he is the other. By adopting his master role he is trying to defend himself against racial discrimination.

This shows that Adolph is searching for a positive self-identity by imitating his master. This is what Bhabha calls mimicry in *The Location of Culture,* "the desire for a reformed, recognized other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same but not equal". This concept is ambiguous because there is difference and repetition together. Bhabha says "mimicry is at once resemble and menace" (123). This menace has to do with the ambivalence of the colonial discourse. Mimicry is the way that the other appropriates the discourse of the colonizer or his lifestyle, in Adolph's case, the master's dress style, trying to be like him. Adolph tries to pass as white. Although Adolph tries to challenge the color boundaries through mimicry, he is also totally dependent on his master. In Adolph's case the mimicry does not menace or threat what he copies. Mimicry brings the idea of ambivalence in the encounter between the white presence and its black mimic (Bhabha, 129). In the context of *UTC*, we have the white presence in the character of St. Clare and his black's resemblance, Adolph. Bhabha goes on to say that "mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (122). Mimicry works as a repetition and like any repetition is singular, not equal to the original because it is always a copy. The whites may accept being objects of imitation, because it just proves their superiority, but would never accept blacks as equals.

As Du Bois argues, since the other is stereotyped negatively, they struggle to build a positive identity. Quoting Du Bois:

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face (12-13).

Adolph does not want to be cast as the other. Continuing with Adolph, when St. Clare returns home after some months in the North, he greets Adolph by saying "how are you boy?" (*UTC*I, 237). When St. Clare explains Adolph that he wants to keep some of his clothes for personal wearing, St. Clare says: "Dolph was particularly huffy about it, and I had to talk to him *like a father*, to bring him round" (I, 254 my emphasis). The phrase "like a father" reinforces the idea of slavery as a paternalist institution. This idea of the slaves acting like children is everywhere in the novel and it is intended to demonstrate the inherent childlike nature of the slaves and the responsibility of the master towards the slaves because as children they are totally dependent on him. It may be read as an evidence of the so-called humanity and benevolence of the institution of slavery.

Tom, the main character in the novel, is the stereotype of the Sambo, the obedient and contented slave who is eager to please his master. Uncle Tom is removed from his family to settle the financial debt of his master. He is a faithful and an excessively subservient slave. Uncle Tom experiences happiness, pain, and despair but his goodness and altruistic personality does not change. He endures physical pain in Simon Legree's hands because he refuses to punish another slave and become an overseer. Legree beats him to death but Tom "felt strong in God to meet death" (*UTC*II, 261). Before Tom dies he even forgives Legree. Furthermore, when Tom discovers that Marie is going to sell him along with the other slaves after St. Clare dies, he passively accepts his fate by saying "The Lord's will be done" (*UTC*II, 127). He behaves subserviently in relation to whites. He loves his masters in spite of the harm they inflict on him. Mr. Shelby sells him but his love towards his master prevails. We can say that

he is an accomplice of his own oppression. He is self-sacrificing for the own good of his masters.

The Sambo figure is also portrayed as an eternal child, who is incapable of living as an independent adult. Uncle Tom is responsible, trustworthy, a good husband, a good father, and a man respected in the community of slaves. Stowe often describes him as "big", "friendly" "*childlike*", "simple-minded", and "*black dog*" (my emphasis). Stowe's depiction of Tom as a child is common in the novel. For instance, Stowe writes: "she [Eva] and the simple friend, the *old child* and the young one, felt just alike about it "(*UTC*II, 34 my emphasis). This also reinforces the idea of slavery as a paternalistic institution. The slaves as children need a master to guide them. As Kenneth Stampp argues, the Sambo type was to show that in order for a slave to enjoy the bounty of a paternalist master, a slave had to give up all claims to be free. He had to be a Sambo or to play the role of the Sambo with sufficient skills to establish his childish nature. The slave welfare depended entirely on the goodness of his master. The kind of paternalism, which often arose from the master's genuine love for his slave, gave its recipient privileges and comforts, but made the slave into something less than a man. The most generous master could be paternal only toward a fawning dependent, because slavery, by its nature, could never be a relationship between equals. Ideally it was the relationship of parent and child (Stampp), as I explained above in chapter two. This argument of the paternalist character of slavery was used by anti-abolitionists who claimed that blacks were unequipped to be free. Tom is described as "simple-minded and child-like" which implies the idea that he is intellectually inferior to whites being only "superior" to them in relation to religion.

The metaphor of the "black dog" is also relevant because Stowe is comparing the slaves to animals. This type of comparison is also seen when Halley advertises Tom in the auction block. He says "just look at them limbs, − broad-chested, strong as a horse" (*UTC*I, 217). Herman Melville argues that Stowe and other sentimental writers' insistence on presenting the black family as having feelings that are common with the whites might derive from the assumption of the blacks' animal nature. On the one hand, those writers wanted to show their white readers how similar blacks are to them, that is, they also love their families. On the other hand it was a way of asserting black's difference, that is, blacks love their families out of animal instinct, not as white people do (*apud* Halpern). This metaphor of slaves as animals was common in antebellum

America and it was related to the belief that slaves had animal instincts and that they did not have the ability to think and thus they were mentally inferior to whites. Stowe used the word creature many times in the novel too. That seems to reinforce the idea of blacks as natural beings but not quite human beings animals. This argument was also used to deny them the right to learn to read and write as can be found in the *Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass* (1845). It is after all another denial of the humanity of the Africans.

Baldwin was one of the critics that most bitterly criticized the servile role of Uncle Tom. In his opinion, "Tom […] has been robbed of his humanity and divested of his sex. It has been the price for the darkness with which he has been branded" (18). For him Tom's feminine nature or his emasculation was disrespectful to male African Americans.

In Ammons's opinion Stowe made Tom a heroine instead of a hero. She argues that Stowe "displays in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a facility for converting essentially repressive concepts of femininity into a positive (and activist) alternative system of values in which woman figures not merely superior of man, his inspirer, but also as a model for him" (1977:163). This has to do with melodrama and sentimentality influences. As Ammons puts it:

> […] femininity – true womanliness – means unshakable allegiance to the Christian virtues of faith, hope, charity, mercy, and self-sacrifice; purity in body and mind; ethical dependence more on emotion than on reason; submission to mundane authority except when it violates higher laws; and protection of the home as a sacred and inviolable institution" (1977:164)

In order for Tom to be good, he has to be like a woman. He must be a religious person, and submissive to his master. Concerning this idea Stampp also says that:

> The slave who had most nearly lost his manhood, who had lost his confidence in himself, who stood before his master with hat in hand, head slightly bent, was the one best suited to receive the favors and affection of a patriarch. The system was in its essence a process of infatilization – and the master used the amiable, irresponsible Sambos of tradition, who were the most perfect products of the system, to prove that Negroes were a childlike race, needing guidance and protection but inviting paternal

love as well. "Oh, they are interesting creatures," a Virginian told Olmsted, "and, with all their faults, have many beautiful traits. I can't help being attached to them, and I am sure they love us" (119).

Tim Ipema argues that Stowe wanted all blacks to be similar to Tom, the Christian protagonist which she has created. Blacks should not be "hard and dominant," but soft, sympathetic, and passive. And Tom leads a sympathetic and passive life, for Stowe creates this ideal to demonstrate her moral purpose − that Christianity is the answer to slavery (22). Tom internalized the values of the white culture and this is clearly seen the in the way he follows Christianity.

Uncle Tom also internalized the values of his masters, such as religion. Tom was a Christian slave and he was considered "a sort of patriarch in religious matters" (*UTC*I, 52). He is the perfect slave in the sense that he corresponds to what a master expects from a slave: obedience. Mr. Shelby says to Halley that Tom has got "religion at a camp-meeting, four years ago; and I believe he really *did* get it. I've trusted him, since then, with everything I have, − money, house, horses, − and let him come and go round the country; and I always found him true and square in everything (*UTC*I, 14 emphasis in the original). Religion is used in the novel as having a healing role for the slaves and as a way to help them cope with the hardship of the institution. On the other hand masters believed that religion would make the slave more obedient and trustworthy.

Stowe's racist ideas are also spread in the whole novel as illustrated in the following examples: "the negro, it must be remembered, is an exotic of the most gorgeous and suburb countries of the world and he has, deep in his heart, a passion for all that is splendid, rich, and fanciful; a passion which, rudely indulged by an untrained taste, draws on them the ridicule of the colder and more correct white race (*UTC*I, 236). Stowe expresses her racialist ideas about blacks in relation to religion:

> It is the statement of the missionaries that, of all races on the world, none have received the Gospel with such eager docility as the African. The principle of reliance and unquestioning faith which is its foundation is more a native element in this race than any other; and it has often been found among them, that a stray seed of truth, borne on some breeze of accident into hearts the most ignorant, has sprung up into fruit, whose abundance has shamed that of higher and more skillful culture" (*UTC*II, 235).

Stowe's ideas are strongly centered on religion. For her, religion is so important to African-Americans because they are by nature religious people and it can change them for the better. She argues: "I trust that the development of Africa is to be essentially a Christian one. If not a dominant and commanding race, they are, at least, an affectionate, magnanimous, and forgiving one" (*UTC*II, 295). Stowe believed that Africans were gentle, devoted to the family, more loving and potentially better Christians.

Racialism was one of the first attempts to describe the differences between cultures (Shoup). George Fredrickson coined the phrase romantic racialism[9] in his book *The Black Image in the White Mind* (1987) to describe the romantic racialist's belief that blacks were intrinsically different from whites in temperament and psychology, more spiritual and less aggressive. They attributed to blacks innate qualities and their view confirmed the "child" stereotype that sees the blacks as children who needed guidance from whites. The racialists were against slavery because they believed it took unfair advantage of the Negro's innocence and good nature (1987). Stowe depicts the blacks with innate qualities that she thought belonged to their nature: affectionate, magnanimous, and forgiving, loyal, servile and childlike.[10] In this view they are not naturally daring, and enterprising but home loving and affectionate, similar to the way women by virtue are (*UTC*I, 143).

Blacks were seen as naturally different and inferior to whites on account of their skin color. W. F. Feuser says that the color of the skin of an African person, a symbol of evil, became the indelible mark of his inferiority (291). Bhabha also argues on the fact that Africans are easily identified as the other because of the color of their skin. He states that the fetish of colonial discourse – what Fanon calls the epidermical schema – is not a secret like the sexual fetish. Skin, as a key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype is the most visible of fetishes, recognized as "common knowledge" (112). Bhabha writes that skin as a signifier of discrimination must be produced as visible (113). The "colonial discourse produces the colonized as a fixed

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[9] The term derived from Gottfried von Herder's cultural nationalism. He believed that some ethnic groups and nations had distinctive cultural traits by virtue of which they might be considered unique and often superior compared to others (in "Jewett on Race, Ethnicity, and Imperialism: A Reply to Her Critics" by Josephine Donovan *www.public.coe.edu/~theller/soj/ess/donovan02.html*, accessed on November 28th, 2012).

[10] Stowe's notions of racialism might be an influence of Alexander Kinmont, who gave some lectures on the topic in Cincinnati when she was living there (cf. "Uncle Tom's Cabin Forty Years Later" by Francis Shoup, *The Sewanee Review* 1893: 88 -104).

reality which is at once 'an other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (101). As Fanon says, "whenever he [the Negro] goes, the Negro remains a Negro" (173). In relation to blacks perception is crucial in the recognition and production of racial difference and consequently the construction of otherness.

Slaves were perceived by the masters both as savages and innocent children. This is a paradoxical portrayal of blacks. Bhabha talks about this ambivalence of the colonial mind in relation to blacks, expressed through stereotypes: "those terrifying stereotypes of savagery, cannibalism, lust and anarchy which are the signals points of identification and alienation, scenes of fear and desire, in colonial texts" (104). It is precisely this function of the stereotype as phobia and fetish that, "threatens the closure of the racial/epidermal schema for the colonial subject and opens the royal road to colonial fantasy" (Bhabha, 104). Bhabha says that "as a form of splitting and multiple beliefs, the 'stereotype' requires, for its successful signification, a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes" (110). Bhabha goes on to say that:

> It is recognizably true that the chain of stereotypical signification is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, and articulation of multiple beliefs. The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical; primitive, single-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatized is a separation – between races, cultures, histories, within histories (118).

As we can see in relation to blacks there is a "wide *range* of the stereotypes, from the loyal servant to Satan, from the loved to the hated" (Bhabha, 113). We have the subject of othering and its opposites.

Some of Stowe's ideas present in her novel reinforced the existing ideas of the supposedly inferiority of blacks. The term "Uncle Tom" is still used nowadays to name African Americans or blacks in general who are considered to be subservient in relation to whites. With the Civil Rights movement there was a revival of anti-slavery fiction and *UTC* again became widely read. However, by the 1960's and 1970's the new black consciousness rejected attitudes of passivity and subalternity and some of the leaders were labeled Uncle Toms which meant an insult to them. As Sara Duckworth puts it: "Uncle Tom is commonly used to describe the self-denigrating behaviour of some

African Americans who pander to the will of white people: the biggest idiot in the black world becomes known as an Uncle Tom, a model for every emasculated, servile, simple-minded, self-hating black person in America (*apud* Phiri, 25). The phrase Uncle Tom[11] became a synonym of being subservient, accomplice of one's own oppression.

Another instance of Stowe's racist attitudes is seen in the way she describes Evangeline St. Clare and Topsy. Stowe puts emphasis on the race differences between the two girls as this passage illustrates:

> Eva stood looking at Topsy. There stood the two children, representatives of the two extremes of society. The fair, high-bred child, with her golden hair, her deep eyes, her spiritual, noble brow, and prince-like movements; and her black, keen, subtle, cringing, yet acute neighbour. They stood the representatives of their races. The Saxon, born of ages of cultivation, command, education, physical and moral eminence; the Afric, born of ages of oppression, submission, ignorance, toil, and vice! (*UTC*II, 13).

Stowe deliberately describes them as being in polar opposites as representatives of the white and black races. She continues:

> Her [Eva] form was the perfection of childish beauty, without its usual chubbiness and squareness of outline. There was about in an undulating and aerial race, such as one might dream of some mythic and allegorical being. Her face was remarkable less for its perfect beauty of feature than for a singular and dreamy earnestness of expression, which made the ideal start when they looked at her, and by which the dullest and most liberal were impressed, without exactly knowing why" (*UTC*I, 211-212).

Eva is portrayed as the archetype of beauty while Topsy, on the other hand, is described as:

> […] the blackest of her race; and her round shining eyes, glittering as glass beads […]. Her wooly hair was braided in sundry little tails, which stuck out in every direction. The expression of the face was an odd mixture of shrewdness and cunning, over which was oddly drawn, like a kind of veil, an expression of the most doleful gravity and solemnity (*UTC*II, 1-2).

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[11] The newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* published an article in May 2008, one day after Barack Obama's election, under the head of Uncle Barack's Cabin (Onkel Baracks Hütte) meaning that the USA president was going to be subservient to white people (Phiri). The phrase is loaded with pejorative meaning.

Collins argues that "within binary thinking that underpins intersecting oppressions; blue-eyed, blond white women could not be considered beautiful without the Other − black women with African features of dark skin, broad noses, full lips, and kinky hair" (289). Thus, the negative representation of blacks enhances the value of whites. Although Stowe is describing social differences between the two girls it is not just that. In the passage it is also evident that she uses a racist language to describe the physical characteristics between Eva and Topsy. Eva is being described as a superior being in relation to Topsy.

Cassy, a bi-racial slave in Legree's estate is depicted as the stereotype of the jezebel which conforms to the description of slave women as evil, treacherous, bitchy, stubborn, and hateful (Myles). She is described in the novel as a mad woman with the strength of a man when working in the fields. She picks "like all the devil and all his angels" and her eyes are described as "wildly" with an insane glance. Stowe writes that Cassy, who saw her two children being sold into slavery, commits infanticide with her third one. Cassy describes the scene of the infanticide: "I would never again let a child live to grow up! I took the little fellow in my arms, when he was two weeks old, and kissed him and cried over him; and then I gave him laudanum, and held him close to my bosom while he slept to death" (*UTC* II, 193).

Cassy also intends to kill her evil master, Simon Legree but Tom refuses to help her because he says "The lord hasn't called us for wrath." In the character of Cassy, Stowe portrays the sexual exploitation of slave women. Cassy is portrayed as a strong woman, one of the few characters who resist the institution of slavery. She resists it because she is a mestiza. Only the bi-racial characters resist the institution of slavery. I will later develop this argument.

Although the slaves in Mr. Shelby's house and the ones in St. Clare's house are under a more subtle enslavement, almost without physical violence, we can notice that the internalization of the master's ideas and models served their consequent regulation, which was carried out in subtle and invisible ways. This was done by the master's family by converting the slaves into Christians and consequently submissive slaves. Topsy, the mischievous girl is converted into a good slave by Eva's love and religion. Tom was also converted Quimbo, Sambo, and Topsy, initially described as uncivilized, are all educated through religion. In Phiri's opinion Christianity in the novel is "an

evidence of an ideological and psychological whitewashing" (51).The slaves are converted in order to be obedient slaves. Religion and the white families' worked as institutions used to mold the blacks into good slaves. Through internalization the slaves reproduced the ideals and standards of the dominant society because they were indoctrinated by the dominant discourse. This way they were used to reproduce the hegemonic ideology and power and maintain the status quo. This might be done in subtle and non-coercive ways as in St. Clare's estate.

To summarize, bell hooks notes in that stereotypes, however inadequate, are one form of representation. Like fictions they are created to serve the institutions, standing in for what is real. She argues that "significantly stereotypes abound where there is distance. They are an invention, a pretense that one knows when the steps that would make real knowing possible cannot be taken − are not allowed" (1992:341). Although Stowe's intention was good, we cannot ignore the damage the novel did because it constructed and reinforced racist stereotypes. It gave validity to white's ideas of Africans being inferior by the negative portrayal of them. The theatrical adaptations of the novel known as "Tom shows", which were similar to minstrel shows, were also responsible for perpetuating stereotypes about blacks.

Although some characters in *UTC* conform to stereotypical images of blacks, Stowe was the first white American writer to portray blacks as human beings, with morals, dignity, and family values, allowing Northern whites, particularly mothers, to sympathize with African American characters (Euell, 1997). It is true that *UTC* changed the way Americans viewed slavery and slaves. As I have shown, however, *UTC* is not only about abolitionism. It also portrays the interests of the American middle class; the way women interpreted the political and social issues and the modes of expression they used to have a voice about enslavement which in their opinion corrupted human morals. The depiction of blacks as mammies, Sambos, pickaninnies, sapphires denied them their subjectivity and justified their oppression in the slavery context. This can be read as a result of the racism embedded in American society and Stowe, as a woman of her time helped to reinforce racialized ideas of the inferiority of blacks in the United States of America.

My reading of *UTC* in relation to other novels that deal with slavery in the United States of America is that the core of the novel is not on physical violence

towards the slaves emphasizing instead the psychological level of enslavement, i.e. the internalization of white myths. The internalization of the myths has negative consequences because it prevents blacks from claiming positive identities for themselves, but the novel offers contemporary readers an interesting representation of how ruling ideologies exert their social control.

Myles supports the idea that part of the negative stereotypical images of African American slave women such as the mammy, jezebel, the tragic mulatto[12], or the witch, the conjure woman, the black sexual active woman, the sapphire, and the stereotypes of slave men as infantile, naïve, lazy, simple-minded, strong bodied, irresponsible, submissive, and promiscuous lead them to be seen as immoral and inferior (Myles). This process of ambivalence of the stereotype, that is, the co-existence of opposing attitudes or feelings towards the person being stereotyped need to be challenged and deconstructed because they lead to feelings of shame, low self-esteem and anxiety. We should get beyond stereotypes by subverting and inverting them because they feed racism and sexism and dangerously appear natural and part of our daily life.

On account of the stereotypes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, some African American writers have felt the need to revisit Stowe's novel and make positive representations of African Americans. Authors such as Richard Wright (*Uncle Tom's Children*, 1938), Toni Morrison (*Beloved*, 1987), Robert Alexander (the play *I Ain't yo' Uncle,* 1992) felt the need to revisit slavery as a way to give voice to the ones who were silenced and distorted. They have been showing that stories matter and that they can be used to empower the victims, give them dignity, humanize them, to give voice to the silenced, and celebrate plurality and difference. Richard Right's *Uncle Tom's Children* (1940) and Ismael Reed's *Flight to Canada* (1976) are the two literary works that most bitterly criticize Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because of its stereotypical representations.

I think that *UTC* did not accomplish with honor the goal it was meant for. Politically speaking her effort may have helped the abolitionist cause but it certainly reproduced racist ideas, reinforced myths − and even constructed new ones − about African-Americans, which affect the way whites see and evaluate them still today. Stowe's characters are still remembered nowadays because of the popularity of the

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[12] Throughout this thesis, I use the terms "mulatto" without any derogatory meaning but according to some of the authors quoted and the time they wrote in.

novel and its theatrical adaptations − the minstrel shows, being George Aiken's adaptation one of the most famous.

The representation of blacks, mestizos and whites

Early in the first paragraph of the preface of *UTC*, Stowe states her preconceived ideas about racial differences. She writes:

> The scenes of the story, as its title indicates, lie among a race hitherto ignored by the associations of polite and refined society; an exotic race, whose ancestors, born beneath a tropic sun, brought with them, and perpetuated to their descendants, a character so essentially unlike the hard and dominant Anglo-Saxon race, as for many years to have won from it only misunderstanding and contempt (*UTC*I, vi).

The blacks are described as an exotic people. Throughout the novel Stowe marks differences between white, black and bi-racial characters through the way she describes them physically and psychologically, as well as their deeds. The characters are thus grouped within these three categories according to their ancestry and biological traits. Stowe made an effort to avoid racism in the novel, but she romanticizes prevailing racialist theories, which work as a reinforcement of the ideas of difference. The bi-racial slaves are depicted positively in the novel because they have Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins, while the blacks are depicted as childish human beings who need guidance from a master. Stowe marks the differences among these three groups throughout the whole novel although asserting that, in spite of their differences, blacks are still human beings. Her opinion about the inequality of whites and blacks was in line with American mainstream ideas about race, and perhaps that was the reason why her novel became so popular when it was published. Her public probably identified with Stowe's depiction of the characters.

Stowe calls blacks "full blacks". The main representative of the blacks is Uncle Tom. He is described as "a large, broad-chested, powerfully-made man, of a full glossy black, and a face whose truly African features were characterized by an expression of grave and steady good sense, united with kindliness and benevolence" (*UTC*I, 41). Black Sam, a slave in Mr. Shelby's estate, is "about three shades blacker than any other son of ebony on the place" (*UTC*I, 70). "Full black" slaves are depicted as passive,

childish, silent sufferers, with nappy hair sometimes hidden in turbans or rags, round faces, and big eyes.

On the other hand, white characters are described as beautiful, possessing qualities such as "nobility, generosity, and humanity (*UTC*II, 308). Mr. Shelby is a good example of these qualities. St. Clare. "[...] was a fair average kind of man, good-natured and kindly, and disposed to easy indulgence of those around him, and there had been a lack of anything which might contribute to the physical comfort of the negroes on his estate" (*UTC*I, 24).

Augustine St. Clare is described in the novel as a gentleman. His aristocratic heritage and that of his twin brother are emphasized in the following passage: "no sight could be more singular and beautiful than that of these twin brothers. Augustine is portrayed as having "blue eyes and golden hair, his ethereally flexible form and vivacious features" and his brother Alfred is described as having "dark-eyed, with haughty Roman profile, firmly-knit limbs (*UTC*II, 42). Stowe describes the nobility of white characters such as Old John Van Trompe, a land-holder and slave-owner in the State of Kentucky, who emancipated his slaves. As Stowe argues, he emancipated his slaves because he was "gifted by nature by a great, honest, just head, quite equal to his gigantic frame" (*UTC*I, 137). And Eva is depicted as the "perfection of childish beauty" (*UTC*I, 211). Henrique, the eldest son of Alfred, is described as "a noble, dark-eyed, princely boy, full of vivacity and spirit" (*UTC*II, 42). Mrs. Shelby was a woman of high class, both intellectually and morally. Stowe states about Mrs. Shelby: "to that natural magnanimity and generosity of mind which is often a characteristic of the women of Kentucky, she added high moral and religious sensibility and principle, carried out with great energy and ability into practical results" (*UTC*I, 26). The white are described as beautiful human beings, benevolent, (with the exception of Simon Legree who is a Northener). Sometimes they are not fair with their slaves as in the case of Mr. Shelby, but that is justified because of his economic difficulties.

Slave women's sexual intercourse with their masters or overseers, which normally meant rape, created a new category of slaves of bi-racial ancestry. hooks (1981) argues that the mulattoes meant an increase in stock for the masters, they were more expensive and sold well. She also adds that rape in slavery was not just a tool of violence but it was an institutionalized crime. hooks wrote about the effects of racism

and sexism on the slave women, and in her opinion the stereotype of slave women as whores justified their rape during slavery. As Amanda Claybaugh states: "the rape of slave women by their masters has created a hybrid race − the mulatto, and Stowe must create new racialist categories to account for that" (xxx). Stowe used the expressions such as quadroons[13] or octoroons,[14] to describe the bi-racial characters. In opposition to "full blacks," the mestizos are beautiful, virtuous, intelligent, have good manners, and speak well without using dialects. The bi-racials slaves are described as beautiful because they look more like the whites. Light-skinned slaves have a positive representation in *UTC* as can be noticed in the case of George Harris, a talented mestizo slave, who is described in the following paragraph:

> We remark, *en passant*, that George was, by his father's side, of white descent. His mother was of one those unfortunates of her race, marked out by personal beauty to be the slave of the passions of her possessor, and the mother of children who may never know a father. From one of the proudest family in Kentucky he had inherited a set of fine European features, and a high, indomitable spirit. From his mother he had received only a slight mulatto tinge, amply compensated by its accompanying rich, dark eye. A slight change in the tint of the skin and the color of his hair had metamorphosed him into the Spanish-looking fellow he then appeared; and as gracefulness of movement and gentlemanly manners had always been perfectly natural to him, he found no difficulty in playing the bold part he had adopted – that of a gentleman travelling with his domestic (*UTC*I, 161-162 emphasis in the original).

We can notice that George receives from his mother "only a small mulatto tinge" and so he can pass for white. He invents a machine "for the cleaning of the hemp, which, considering the education and circumstances of the inventor, displayed quite as much mechanical genius as Whitney's cotton-gin. He was possessed of a handsome person and pleasing manners, and was a general favorite in the factory" (*UTC*I, 27-28). We can infer from Stowe's depiction of George that from the Anglo-Saxons ancestry he inherited all positive qualities: handsomeness, intelligence, not to mention rebelliousness. George's master is jealous of him because of his invention and decides to sell him, but George runs away. As evidenced by the following passage we can see that George questions his master's possession of him:

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[13] Quadroon was a slave of bi-racial ancestry whose ancestry includes three grandparents of European descent and one of African descent.

[14] Octoroon means a slave of bi-racial ancestry who is one-eight black, that is, someone who has one black great grandparent.

My master! And who made him my master? That's what I think of – what right has he to me? I'm a man as much he is. I'm a better man than he is. I know more about business than he does; I am a better manager than he is; I can read better than he can; I can write a better hand, – and I've learned it all myself, and no thanks to him, I've learned it in spite of him; and now what right has he to make a dray-horse of me? – to take me from things I can do, and do better than he can, and put me to work that any horse can do? (*UTC*I, 33).

George Harris claims to be better than his master. This attitude is clearly different from the black contented slaves like Uncle Tom. George, instead of enduring hardship, is self-assertive and chooses to escape slavery. Eliza, George's wife, a light skinned mestiza, is also depicted as a beautiful woman. Stowe describes her in the following way:

The travelers of the south often have remarked that peculiar air of refinement, that softness of voice and manner, which seems in many cases to be a particular gift to the quadroon mulatto women. These natural graces in the quadroon are often united with beauty of the most dazzling kind and in almost every case with a personal appearance prepossessing and agreeable. […] Safe under the protecting care of her mistress, Eliza had reached maturity without those temptations which make beauty so fatal an inheritance to a slave. She had been married to a bright and talented young mulatto man, who was a slave on a neighboring estate, and bore the name of George Harris (*UTC*I, 27)

Eliza is also portrayed as a strong woman, driven by motherly love; she runs away to prevent her little son from being sold into slavery. When Eliza runs away from her son's new master, Stowe writes: "her shoes are gone – her stockings cut from her feet – while blood marked every step; but she saw nothing, felt nothing, till dimly, as in a dream, she saw the Ohio side, and a man helping her up the bank" (*UTC*I, 94). After escaping to Canada for freedom, Eliza, her husband and son travel to France where they stay for four years and George attends the university. Stowe makes it clear that, although Eliza was so beautiful, she didn't endure sexual exploitation. She reinforces the idea of black women as sexually attractive.

Harry, Eliza's son, is depicted as a quadroon boy who has "something in his appearance remarkably beautiful and engaging. His black hair, fine as floss silk, hung in glossy curls about his round, dimpled face, while a pair of large dark eyes, full of fire

and softness looked out from beneath the rich, long lashes (*UTC*I, 16). As we can see bi-racial slaves were thought to be more beautiful. They were also more expensive as we can see when Haley, a slave trader, says that he has a friend who "wants to buy up handsome boys to raise for the market […] and to sell to rich 'uns, that can pay for handsome 'uns (*UTC*I, 18). This idea of mestizo slaves being more beautiful and more valuable than the "full blacks" is clear in the description of Dodo, a mestizo slave boy who belongs to Alfred St. Clare: As Stowe puts it, Dodo "was a handsome, bright-eyed mulatto […] and his curling hair hung round a high, bold forehead. He had white blood in his veins, as could be seen by the quick flush in his cheek" (*UTC*II, 43). The same goes for Rosa, depicted as a pretty young quadroon (*UTC*II, 123). Emmeline (sold separately in the auction block from her mestiza mother Susan) when in the action block waiting to be sold, her master asks her: "where is your curls girls?" Them curls may make a hundred dollars' difference in the sale of her (*UTC*II, 141). Emmeline is also described as an educated girl who knows how to read and write.

As Fredrickson puts it, "the romantic conception of racial differences was also useful in explaining the supposed consequences of race mixture" (1987:117). All the bi-racial characters such as Eliza, George Harris, Harry, Cassy, Dodo, Emmeline, are described as being strong, intelligent, beautiful, and active. They are the ones who resist the institution of slavery driven by a strong will to be free. They resist it by being rebellious, by running away, and by cheating their masters. The differences between bi-racial characters and blacks are very marked in the novel. The mestizos do not have the docility of the full blacks, they are not childlike, servile, and loyal.

In *Notes of a Native Son*, Baldwin refers to Stowe's depiction of the characters as following:

> It is interesting to consider one […] aspect of Mrs. Stowe's novel, the method she used to solve the problem of writing about a black man at all. Apart from her lively procession of field hands, house niggers, Chloe, Topsy, etc. – who are the stock, lovable figures, presenting no problem – she has only three other characters in the book. These are the important ones and two of them may be dismissed immediately, since we have only the author's word that they are Negro and they are, in all other respects, as white as she can make them. The two are George and Eliza, a married couple with a wholly adorable child – whose quaintness, incidentally, and whose charm, rather put one in mind of a darky bootblack doing a buck and wing to the clatter of condescending coins.

Eliza is a beautiful, pious hybrid, light enough to pass – the heroine of *Quality* might, indeed, be her education only in the respect that she is a servant. George is darker, but makes up for it by being a mechanical genious, and is, moreover, sufficiently un-Negroid to pass through town, a fugitive from his master, disguised as a Spanish gentleman, attracting no attention whatever beyond admiration. They are a race apart from Topsy (16-17).

The bi-racial slaves are so light that they even run away disguised as whites. Cassy escapes slavery "dressed after the manner of the Creole Spanish ladies" (*UTC*II, 279). And Emmeline escapes desguised as Cassy's servant. As Balwin puts it, Uncle Tom is "jet-black, wooly haired, illiterate; and he is phenomenally forbearing. He has to be; he is black; only through this forbearance can he survive or triumph" (17). As we can see, the bi-racial slaves are completely different from the archtype of the contented slave represented in the character of Tom. Tom is the archetype of the submissive black slave while George is the archetype of the bi-racial slave.

In a dialogue between Augustine St. Clare and his brother Alfred, we realize that Augustine St. Clare seems worried about the new category of slaves, the mestizos. In his opinion, the mestizos can rebel against the institution of slavery in the South in a similar way to the Haitian slaves who rebelled in 1791 in the former San Domingo. His brother Alfred refutes this theory by saying: "Oh, come Augustine! As if we hadn't enough of that abominable, contemptible Hayti! The Haytians were not the Anglo-Saxons; if they had been, there would have been another story. The Anglo-Saxons is the dominant race of the world, and *is to be so.*" (*UTC*II, 48 emphasis in the original). But Augustine argues:

Well there is a pretty fair infusion of Anglo-Saxon blood among our slaves now," said Augustine. "There were plenty among them who have only enough of the African to give a sort of tropical warmth and fervor to our calculating firmness and foresight. If ever the San Domingo hour comes, Anglo-Saxon blood will lead on the day. Sons of white fathers, will all our haughty feelings burning in their veins, will not rise, and raise with them their mother's race (*UTC*II, 48).

In this excerpt Augustine St. Clare means that the mestizos are not docile as the blacks are. They are not docile because as the Anglo-Saxons are the dominant race of the world and the mestizos have a "pretty fair infusion" of their blood in them therefore they cannot be docile. We can see that behind St. Clare's voice, Stowe is reinforcing the

racialist idea of differences between the races. Stowe's intention might be to call the Southerners' attention to the possibility of a slavery uprising if they would not abolish it soon.

Indeed this idea of docility of the blacks and the rebellious character of the mulattoes is reinforced in the novel by the passivity of the black characters and the subversive character of the mulattos. Uncle Tom, for instance, accepts and endures all kind of suffering; Mr. Shelby decides to sell Tom and Harry. Eliza runs away with her son when Mr. Shelby decides to sell Uncle Tom and Harry, while Uncle Tom keeps on being submissive. The "full black" characters rely on the paternalist character of their masters, as Stowe insistently describes them as childlike creatures needing a father to protect them under the institution of slavery or an abolitionist father to save them from the horrors and dehumanizing character of the system. On the other hand, the mestizos do not need a father to take care of them, they can subvert the system because they are different from the "full blacks". They have the characteristic of leadership that they have inherited from their Anglo-Saxon father. As Alfred St. Clare states, "they [the black slaves] that cannot govern themselves cannot govern others (*UTC*II, 49). But the bi-racial slaves can. At the time that Stowe was writing the novel, Nat Turner, who was a bi-racial slave, had already led a rebellious act in the South.

The rebellious character of the mestizos seems to have been common in the nineteenth century. Moncure Conway, an American abolitionist, defended that "the mixture of blacks and whites [was] good; that the person so produced [was], under ordinarily favourable circumstances, healthy, handsome, and intelligent" (*apud* Fredrickson, 1987: 121). William Wells Brown's ideas in *Clotel or, The President's Daughter*, first published in 1853, also shared this view when talking about Nat Turner's rebellion:

> The evils consequent on slavery are not lessened by the incoming of one or two rays of light. If the slave only becomes aware of his condition, and conscious of the injustice under which he suffers, if he obtains but a faint idea of these things, he will seize the first opportunity to possess himself of what conceives to belong to him. The infusion of Anglo-Saxon with African blood connection with their owners, these mulattoes labour under the sense of their personal and social injuries; and tolerate, if they do not encourage in themselves, low and vindictive passions. On the other hand, the slave

owners are aware of their critical position, and are ever watchful, always fearing an outbreak among the slaves (219).

Augustine St. Clare's and Brown's opinions are similar in the sense that both saw the mestizo slave was a scandal both sexually and intellectually because it confounded the racial categories that were fundamental to the stability of social life in the United States (Bently). We can say that with the appearance of the bi-racial the binary between white and black was shaken. In relation to Stowe's contradictory ideas about race and slavery in *UTC*, Claybaugh states that:

> *Uncle Tom* will argue for sameness at some points and difference at others, just as it will contain traces of colonizationist, gradualist, and immediatist positions with no acknowledgement of the contadictions between them. And here we see that the novel's contradictory account of race must also be attibuted to the confusions within Stowe's own mind. It is possible for Stowe to hold conflicting beliefs at the same time because hers is not a genious for abstract theorizing, and hers is not a novel of systematic argument. She will argue that slavery is evil because it denies the essential similarities between races, and she will argue that slavery is evil because it exploits the essential differences, two conflicting arguments that neatly correspond to two alternate accounts she tended to give of the novel's genesis (xxiv-xxv).

In the last chapter of *UTC*, Stowe advocates colonization, that is, the slave characters should not be allowed to live in the United States. Uncle Tom dies, Topsy goes to Liberia, Cassy, Eliza, George Harris and their children also migrate to Africa. George becomes a leader of the colonization movement. He states that he has no wish to pass for an American, or to identify himself with them (*UTC* II, 292). In the end of the novel Stowe argues that "*Our nation* shall roll the tide of civilization and Christianity along its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall be for all coming ages" (*UTC* II, 293). In Ann Douglas's opinion, "Stowe's treatment of slavery hardly satisfied all in her own day, and "Uncle Tom" has since become a byword of racist complicity. Victorian abolitionists, white and black, sometimes hesitated to praise a novel that urged a procolonization policy and apparently emphasized black docility" (11, emphasis in the original). Stowe was criticized by her colonization ideas and racialism. The bi-racial slaves and Topsy, who was converted to Christianity, go to Africa to Christianize the Africans and in search of their African roots. In the preface to the novel Stowe had already described Africa as

"unhappy Africa […] who began the race of civilization and human progress in the dim, gray dawn of early time, but who, for centuries, has lain bound and bleeding at the foot of civilized and Christianized humanity, imploring compassion in vain" (*UTC*I, vi). Thus it was the duty of the Americans to spread civilization and of the African Americans to Christianize their brethren Africans.

Chapter 3

José Evaristo D'Almeida

There is little information on José Evaristo D'Almeida, the author of *O Escravo.* According to Manuel Ferreira in the introduction to the novel, Almeida was born in Portugal in the XIX century and he died in the beginning of the following century in Guinea-Bissau. He lived for a long time in Cape Verde and he left some descendants there. The precise years of his birth and death are unknown (Ferreira).

However, Alberto Lopes in "Uma Leitura do Romance *O Escravo*" (2010) refutes this information about his birth and death by stating that Almeida might have come to Cape Verde at the age of fifteen, and he might have lived in the archipelago for twelve years[15]. He also argues that in 1852, at the age of twenty-seven, Almeida returned to Portugal, thus proving that his birthday could not be after 1825. This also made his death unlikely to have been in the twentieth century. Furthermore, he adds that if we consider the narrated time (story time) in *OE* – it is six years later than the narrative time (discourse time), which is in 1941 – we realize that the information is not correct. Therefore, in his opinion, Almeida's birth and death had to be before the dates that Manuel Ferreira gives us. Lopes seems to rely on João de Oliveira's information that Almeida worked as an official and registrar in Cape Verde beginning on June 1st, 1884. João de Oliveira reinforces this idea stating in *A Imprensa Cabo-Verdiana* (1998) that Almeida worked as an editor of "Boletim Oficial" (the Cape Verdean official newsletter at the time), and that he was elected deputy of Cape Verde in 1849 (64).

Manuel Veiga in the preface to the second edition of *OE* argues that:

Não há dúvidas de que a obra de José Evaristo D'Almeida poderia, perfeitamente, ser escrita por um Caboverdiano. Aliás, se não tivéssemos aprendido com Manuel Ferreira, que ele era Português, nós, depois da leitura de *O Escravo*, não teríamos dúvidas sobre a

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[15] Lopes relies on three poems that Jose Evaristo D'Almeida published in Cape Verde to refute the information that Manuel Ferreira gives us about Almeida's biography. For instance, Lopes mentions that two poems by Almeida were published on the 5th and 12th of June, 1845 in "Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral de Cabo Verde" and the third one named "A Epístola" was published in 1852 in "Imprensa Nacional". Thus, in Lopes's opinion Manuel Ferreira is not correct when he states that "A Epístola" was published in the same year as *O Escravo*. Lopes also refutes Ferreira´s information that there was just one copy one the novel which belongs to Almeida's sons. Lopes states that at least there is one more copy in the Public Library of Oporto, Portugal.

sua Caboverdianidade. Cremos que, sendo ele originário de Portugal, a sua vivência, porém, era cabo-verdiana (*OE*, 24).

In his opinion, since the novel was written by a Portuguese person, there is credibility as to the depiction of the mestizo's social mobility in Cape Verdean society that I will later develop.

Beyond *O Escravo,* Almeida wrote other literary works, such as a pamphlet named "Epístola ao Ilmº. e Exmº Francisco de Paula Bastos". In this pamphlet, published in 1845, he praises Francisco de Paula Bastos who was a governor in Cape Verde. In 1852 he also published an epistle with reference to Cape Verdean daily life.

The novels *O Escravo* (1856) by José Evaristo D'Almeida and *Contos Singelos* (1867) by Guilherme da Cunha Dantas are credited as the founding texts of Cape Verdean fiction (Ferreira).

Historical Context to *O Escravo*

O Escravo was published in 1856 (it was written two years before) in Lisbon. The actions described in the novel took place in 1835. The novel was later published in Praia, Cape Verde in the newspaper "A Voz de Cabo Verde," from May 22nd ,1916 to May 21st, 1917 (from number 244 to 294) (Ferreira). Although the novel was published in 1856, it only became known to the public with the 1989 second edition by Manuel Ferreira.

The title of the novel is self-explanatory. It deals with the issue of slavery and the question of race, themes that were common in the nineteenth century. The society represented in the novel is formed by slaves, as seen in the characters of João, Luiza, Domingos, free slaves in the character of Júlia, masters and mistresses in the characters of Maria, D. Mariana, Cláudio Pimentel, Jerónimo Pimentel. There are also Miguel Gomes, Manuel Annes, Margarida, and Lopes.

Almeida does not focus on the economy of the institution of slavery. He seems to ignore that idea and focuses more on the racial issue. Almeida gives precise notions about the date and the setting of the actions he describes in an effort for his work to be plausible. The story begins on February 2nd, 1835, and finishes two months later with

the travel of Maria and her mother to Guinea-Bissau. It takes place on Santiago island, but we also have references to the islands of Santo Antão and São Nicolau. The reader has these references when the narrator describes the evil of slavery through its effects on Júlia during her time in Santo Antão. He also states that Maria's mother is from São Nicolau.

The literary production on the Cape Verde islands is linked to the image of Cape Verdean elites. In relation to formal education on the islands, it was in 1817 that the first primary school was installed on the archipelago, on the island of Santiago, and the first secondary school was only opened in 1869, on the same island. A religious school was also opened in 1866 on São Nicolau island (Oliveira). During colonization, which lasted until 1975 the few Cape Verdeans who had access to education belonged to the elite (Laranjeira). In Alberto Carvalho's opinion the school system in Cape Verde and education in general, in spite of being elitist, created a Cape Verdean intelligentsia. The Cape Verdean elite assimilated the Portuguese values and reproduced them in their works. He argues that "especially important in this regard was the Seminário-Lyceu [Seminary-Secondary School] on the island of São Nicolau, which made a definitive contribution towards the formation of "*uma classe media de grande poder aglutinador*" ["a middle of great cohesive power"]" (*apud* Brito, 63, emphasis in the original). The introduction of the primary school system in 1817 and the secondary one in 1866 helped to create the Cape Verdean elite, who later occupied important positions in the civil service and in the school system (Brito).

Literary production in Cape Verde is also linked to the first printing press on the archipelago (1842). The printing press of the "Boletim Official de Cabo Verde" was used to publish official issues, but was also used to publish literary works. The "Boletim", with a bimonthly publication, as Hélder Grames puts it, "foi talvez o que cumpriu um papel literário mais significativo, quer pela quantidade de matérias literárias publicadas, quer por ter sido o único veículo de escrita daquela comunidade até final da década de 1870" (*apud* Almeida, 2009: 21). Grames argues that from 1847 to 1850 "o "Boletim Official de Cabo Verde" apresentou uma seção literária digna de qualquer periódico lisboeta" (*apud* Almeida, 2009:21). It was in this context that literary production increased, with emphasis on poetry, written in Portuguese.

Sometimes authors like Almeida use creole[16] expressions, to show the uniqueness of the literature written on the islands.

It was only in 1877 that the first newspapers appeared, starting with "O Independente", then others such as "O Correio de Cabo Verde", "A Imprensa," "A Justiça". "O Almanaque Luso-Africano" appeared in 1894 and was published until 1899. It was written on the island of São Nicolau, but printed in Paris at Guillard, Aillaud & Cia. "O Almanaque" had the collaboration of other Lusophone authors from Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Brazil. In 1899, a magazine appeared on São Vicente island named "Revista de Cabo Verde." It had a monthly publication and was printed in Lisbon (Almeida, 2009). These newspapers and magazines represented Cape Verdean literary production in the nineteenth century, and the authors who wrote them were part of the elite.

It was in this context that the novel *OE* appeared. It is considered the first Cape Verdean-themed novel. We can identify in it some influence Romanticism and tragedy. It certainly follows Western literary patterns, although Almeida brought some innovation into the novel by using expressions of the Cape Verdean creole, as well as aspects of Cape Verdean culture.

We can identity influences of Romanticism within the novel. The rise of Romanticism as a literary, artistic and intellectual movement is located toward the end of the eighteenth century. The major characteristics of this movement are "the notion of a 'real' language of men, the focus on the barbaric Goths, the Middle ages, naturalism, religion and feelings" (Hepworth 2, emphasis in the original). Romanticism emphasized imagination and emotion over rationality and celebrated nature rather than civilization and there was a rebellion against social conventions. Its roots might be located in the late seventeeth and early eighteenth centuries, when the new philosophy of the scientific revolution "affected a change in men's sense of reality so great that it might claim as the most significant cultural event in the history of the West" (Hepworth, 2). The romantics were hostile to the effects of industrialization for human beings. Some English authors, such as Lord Byron and William Blake, considered the industralization inhumane and

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[16] Other Cape Verdean authors such as Manuel Lopes, Henrique Teixeira de Sousa, Baltasar Lopes da Silva, Pedro Cardoso, Eugénio Tavares, Germano Almeida, Manuel Veiga used *Creolo* in their works and nowadays it is becoming even more common.

unnnatural, and they wrote extensively about the psycological and social effects upon the individual. They call for a return to life and to the emotional, that is, a recovery of the ideas of the medieval past (Nikolov). It was also a reaction to the Enlightenment movement, and as such it rejected the scientific rationalization of nature. The emphases were put on the cult of emotions, the fascination for pure nature, the taste for the exotic, egocentrism, subjectivity, nationalism, freedom of expression and literary form, and the revival of medievalism.

The beginning of Romanticism in Portugal coincides with the fights between absolutists and liberals. After a coup d'état led by Dom Miguel, Almeida Garrett, who is believed to be the introducer of Romanticism into Portugal, was forced to seek exile in England. It was there that Garret wrote the poem called "Camões" in 1825. The publication of this poem is seen as the beginning of Romanticism in Portuguese literature. But it was only in 1837 that Romanticism is credited to exist in Portugal as a school (Barreiros). It is in this context that Almeida builds the protagonists of his novel: Maria, a mestiza, and João, a slave. We have the love of a slave for his mistress in a slavery society. Almeida portrays João as a slave of condition, but mostly a slave of love.

Some of the influences of Romanticism in the novel are seen in the Manichean dualism between good and evil, as well as in all of the suffering caused by unrequited love. In Romanticism we have the evocation of irrational emotions. The most popular emotion celebrated by romanticists is love. *OE* is basically about love. As Veiga puts it, *O Escravo*, "mais do que uma história de escravatura, é uma saga de amor" (*OE*, 12). João is portrayed as a romantic dreamer. His suffering from his unrequited love is so strong that he even thinks about suicide. João's love for his mistress is a Platonic one. The characters are led by their feelings. As Ameida writes, "ele [João] amava!... amava daquele amor que nos corrói a alma – que nos veda a vontade para tudo quanto possa afastar-nos do objecto querido! […] olhava sua ama, como senhora sim, mas senhora de seu coração, de seus pensamentos, e de sua vida; escravo pelo amor, mais que por nascimento" (*OE*, 36). As Veiga puts it in the preface to the novel:

> Lendo *O Escravo*, ficou-nos a sensação de que a obra, mais do que uma história de escravatura, é uma saga de amor. João, seu herói principal, é um escravo negro que se sente agrilhoado e despedaçado mais pela dor de um amor "impossível" do que pelo sofrimento da condição de escravo, cuja situação de impiedade é dulcificada pela

própria intensidade de um amor antes espiritual do que carnal. Curiosamente, apaixona-se por Maria, uma mestiça livre, neta de sua mãe negra, e sua própria "patroa" (*OE*,12).

The Romantic influence can also be seen in the way Almeida emphasizes the description of the Cape Verdean landscape. Almeida makes analogies between the feelings of the characters and the landscape. As Almeida writes, in relation to nature: "à força de regularizar, estraga muitas vezes a poesia dos campos, e torna monótono o que a natureza criara romântico, achasse mais novidade – e por consequência maior deleite – em contemplar a ribeira" (*OE*, 25). Almeida links nature with the feelings and behavior of the characters.

Maria is represented as the pure virgin, the angel of Romanticism. João dies while trying to save her. This also fits into the romantic, self-centered life, the exaltation of the local, the exotic. João feels deeply sad and desperate because of the love he feels. Another important characteristic of Romanticism is the exotic. Almeida's use of creole, the Cape Verdean native language, is also a mark of exoticism.

In relation to the classic tragic genre, we cannot dismiss the Greek philosopher Aristotle treatise on tragedy. Aristotle's analysis of the ideal form of tragic plays became an important guideline to Western playwrights and writers. As Aristotle puts it:

> A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself; in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions (15).

For Aristotle,[17] the issues dealt with in a tragic work must be serious and relevant, and the work must be structured in a way to prevent the audience from getting lost and feeling pity for the tragic hero. Moreover, Geoffrey Brereton states in *Principles of Tragedy* (1968) that: "a tragedy […] always implies disaster, usually resulting in death. When death occurs in the natural course of things and cannot fairly be called disastrous it is hardly a "tragedy". To qualify as one, it must take place in unexpected and striking circumstances" (8, emphasis in the original). Aristotle argues

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[17] Aristotle is considered to have written his comments about tragedy in *Poetics* at some time between 335 and 323 B.C., and also during the last thirteen years of his life. Aristotle considered tragedy and the epic as the highest types of poetry (*in Principle of Tragedy* by Geoffrey Brereton, 1968, University of Miami Press).

that the main items of a tragedy are: "the theory of catharsis; recognition; the tragic hero (neither wholly good nor wholly bad); the tragic error; action more important than character" (*apud* Brereton, 27). Aristotle argues that the structure of a good tragedy should not be simple but complex. The plot should be unified. In a tragic work "there is no prospect of a 'happy ending'" (*apud* Brereton, 8, emphasis in the original). As T. R. Henn points out, "death is the most satisfactory terminal point from the point of view of the tragic pattern" (257). A tragedy involves two elements which are failure and unforeseeability (Brereton). The tragic work must be structured in a way to make the audience feel sorry for the tragic hero. The hero, on the other hand should have good qualities to catch the audience's or the reader's attention and it should be portrayed realistically.

Beyond failure and unforeseeability, irony is also an important element of the tragic genre. As Brereton points out, "a course of action is undertaken which has opposite consequences to those intended. In still more general terms, success is expected but disaster results (14). As he states, "the more confidence in success, the more ironical his [the character's] failure will appear" (14). Brereton summarizes tragedy as: *"a final and impressive disaster due to an unforeseen or unrealized failure involving people who command respect and sympathy. It often entails an ironical change of fortune and usually conveys a strong impression of waste. It is always accompanied by misery and emotional distress"* (20, emphasis in the original). As a result we have suffering and unhappy ending as the outcome of the tragedy.

Some characteristics of the tragedy genre can be found in *OE*. For instance, the protagonist of the novel João has a disastrous fate. He is the example of the tragic hero who dies in order to save his beloved. He dies because of the passion he has for his young mistress. The characters' actions reveal a lot about his inner feelings and their characteristics. João's biggest mistake, which leads him to his tragic ending, is his entrance into his mistress's room while she was sleeping, without her permission. At the end of the novel, he fights with Lopes in order to save Maria from the villain, but he ends up in misery and situational irony. This kind of irony is typical of the tragic genre (Aristotle). The outcome of a situation is different from the reader's expectation, and a catharsis occurs, whose objective is psychological healing for the audience. Because of the audience's personal experience of pity and fear they feel empathy and consequently respond to the suffering of the characters.

Luiza, Maria's domestic slave, has also a tragic ending. Her death, as well as João's death, follows the tragic pattern. We feel pity for João and Júlia for all their suffering caused by the institution of slavery. Those feelings are the ones that a tragic work is meant to raise in the reader. João says: "ai de mim! Eu não julgava que a narração dos meus males merecesse um tão violento castigo! " (*OE*, 31). All the tragic events that happen in the novel are caused by the characters' deep feelings. It is the love that João feels for his mistress that leads him to his tragedy, and it is Luiza's love for João that leads her to her tragic ending.

OE criticizes the Cape Verdean *status quo*, the bad economic conditions on the islands. The tragic endings for João, Luiza and Júlia fit in the Cape Verdean context of that time. A context defined by the evils of slavery, the constant drought, the abandonment by the colonial government on account of the lack of natural resources and the decay of the slave trade. In the novel, Almeida criticizes, although in a subtle way, the evils of slavery and the prejudices inherent to the system. We realize that the colony was in a situation of abandonment by the colonial power, immersed in internal fights between the absolutists and liberals.

The setting of the narrative is Santiago island, although the author mentions through flashback actions that took place on the islands of Santo Antão and Fogo.

OE was a pioneer work in relation to other examples of literature on slavery produced in Lusophone countries. Other novels which dealt with this theme, such as Bernardo Guimarães' *A Escrava Isaura* (1875) and Aluísio de Azevedo's *O Mulato* (1881), came later (Lopes,). More recently, in 2008, a movie based on Almeida's novel was released under the name "A Ilha dos Escravos" directed by Francisco Manso. The movie was set in Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal.

The origin of Cape Verdean society and the formation of Cape Verdean identity

I think one of the important themes we can notice in *OE* is the formation of Cape Verdean society and identity. Throughout the whole novel we notice Almeida's depiction of a Cape Verdean identity with characteristics of its own, and thus different from the Portuguese. There is evidence of the degradation of the slavery society and the rise of a Cape Verdean identity. The formation of Cape Verdean identity is represented by the depiction of local habits and cultural traits, showing that the archipelago has developed its own culture based on its own specificities. The bi-racial characters themselves represent Cape Verdean identity, since the Portuguese colonial intervention in the archipelago didn't involve a large movement of colonists.

After the discovery of the islands in 1460, the Portuguese government focused its attention in the settlement of the archipelago. But the Portuguese government faced some problems in doing it because differently from the other colonies in the African continent the Portuguese people were unwilling to come to Cape Verde. The solution was to exile many convicted people from Portugal, as well as Jews expelled during the Inquisition. Of the amount of Europeans that went to Cape Verde few were women. The scarcity of European women in Cape Verde worsened the sexual exploitation of the female slaves. Gabriel Mariano argues in *Cultura Caboverdeana* (1991) that the scarcity of European women led some European masters to marry slave women and consequently miscegenation started soon after the settlement (Mariano). As Jorge de Sena points out, the Cape Verdean was "the only creole culture which the Portuguese Empire allowed to develop and mature, perhaps through absentmindedness" (233). There was thus a significant cultural, ethnic, and social hybridization in the archipelago. The Cape Verdean case was exceptional, since miscegenation was socially accepted. As Manuel Brito Semedo puts it:

> Todo esse ambiente terá proporcionado ao mestiço nascido desse cruzamento, ainda sem uma identidade étnica definida, o confronto entre as diferenças culturais dos seus progenitores – a europeia do pai e a africana da mãe – e criar uma identidade cultural própria, a cultura crioula, que se caracterizava, essencialmente, por um sentimento de diferença (69).

Intense miscegenation led to the creation of a specific Cape Verdean population and simultaneously to the creation of a specific native language, the "crioulo." Terefore,

the term creole refers both to the Cape Verdean language and to the Cape Verdean identity and culture. Mariano reinforces this idea by saying that:

> Desde as suas origens mais remotas que no arquipélago puderam o negro e o mulato apropriar-se de elementos de civilização europeia e senti-los como próprios, interiorizando-os e despojando-os das suas particularidades contingentes ou meramente específicas do europeu. Com efeito, os elementos introduzidos com os portugueses, tanto materiais como espirituais, puderam ser incorporados na paisagem moral do arquipélago, passando a ressoar com familiaridade, quer no comportamento do negro, que do mulato, influindo, por conseguinte, nas suas reacções mais íntimas. Da mesma forma que elementos levados pelos afro-negros foram assimilados pelo branco europeu, tornando-se irrediavelmente comuns aos dois grupos étnicos (47-48).

Although the miscegenation that occurred in Cape Verde was not the result of a Portuguese policy, its outcome and the mutual acculturation between the two groups resulted in a new language and a new people with its specific habits. In *OE* we can identify some of the Cape Verdean cultural expressions such as "batuque." It is a traditional dance of Santiago island that was harassed during colonialism because of its African origin. "Batuque" is thus a representative of native cultural resistance, since the colonial government tried to silence it without success. In the novel "batuque" is used for healing purposes, helping slaves to forget the evils of the institution that oppressed them. As the narrator states, it was "uma das poucas distracções concedidas aos escravos." (*OE*, 52) However, Almeida cannot help showing some prejudice when defining this musical genre: "a música era infernal! Sem cadência, sem harmonia, e sem gosto, julgareis ter na frente a cópia viva do quadro de Hoghar "O músico desesperado" (*OE*, 77).

The importance of a Cape Verdean creole language is irrefutable. It emerged from the necessity of communication between the slaves and their masters, since the slaves came from different ethnic groups and consequently had different native languages. Since the Africans were from different ethnic groups and consequently spoke different languages, there was a need to communicate; it was in this context that Cape Verdean creole appeared, as a solution to the need for homogenization of the different African and European languages. It worked as a unifying factor. The lexicon of Cape Verdean creole is mainly composed of archaic Portuguese but the influence of tribal and ethnic languages of the former slaves is also present. Almeida uses some expressions of

Cape Verdean creole in the novel. He uses expressions such as "Quem é bo?" (Who are you?), "é mim" (it's me), "gentes de nhô Goi" (Mr. Gregorio's family), "nhanhinha" (Miss), "mim" (I), "cheu" (a lot). However, throughout the novel Almeida states that he does not master the creole language. In the following passage the narrator says when reproducing the slaves' conversation that "isto foi dito em crioulo: nós porém não estamos senhores dessa linguagem a ponto de poder referir, no dialecto empregado pelos dois interlocutores" (*OE*, 50). Almeida reinforces this idea by stating that:

> Dissemos que lamentávamos não saber manejar a linguagem crioula, quando tratámos de reproduzir as frases de Luiza; não nos acontece porém o mesmo no que respeita ao crioulo dos homens. O crioulo passado por femininos lábios toma uma expressão doce, agradável, terna e própria a revelar o mimo, a ingenuidade e a meiguice da alma; porém, nas bocas masculinas, ela – não só perde toda a graça – senão que torna-se ridícula, se acaso – com a afectação – o homem busca dar-lhe uma suavidade, que, ainda assim, ele não pode prestar-nos (*OE*, 62-63)

Again Almeida seems to have some preconceived ideas about the creole language by stating that the language is only beautiful when spoken by females. This shows that he was not free of bias and that he was writing according to the dominant ideology.

The emergence of Cape Verdean creole is an illustration that language is a reflection of its society. In the beginning of colonization there was the attempt to forbid its use because the Portuguese colonial power wanted to impose its own language and culture. Although during colonization there was the intention to give it a subordinate role, the cape Verdean creole is today the first language of all Cape Verdeans and it is preferred to Portuguese, which is the official language. Although Almeida used the Portuguese language to write the novel, the content and experiences he portrays in the novel are authentically creole.

In relation to the coexistence of Cape Verdean creole and Portuguese, Manuel Veiga argues that:

> O problema não deixa de existir mesmo quando se trata de uma cultura estrangeira (entenda-se língua) assumida, como é o caso do português em Cabo Verde.
> Não é exagero dizer-se que, enquanto a expressão (escrita) dos países "dominados" continuar subdesenvolvida e subvalorizada, a produção literária dos mesmos continuará

sendo uma tradução, com fortes riscos de originalidade e mesmo com possibilidade de deturpação (1994:71).

In Veiga's opinion there is a problem of authenticity when trying to use the Portuguese language to express the Capeverdeanity. He is one of the scholars who defend the oficialization of the Cape Verdean creole.

Almeida also mentions other important aspects of Cape Verdean identity such as "cachupa", "cuscus", "dança do torno" and the so-called "morabeza Cabo Verdiana". The word "morabeza" is used to characterize the welcoming hospitable way of receiving those who visit the islands. Almeida describes Cape Verdean "morabeza" when Lopes visits Maria's house for the first time and is well-received:

> Quem não tiver visitado as plagas africanas, achará, talvez, pouco versosímel esta hospitalidade – toda beduína – concebida por uma senhora a um estrangeiro, cujo fundo ela ainda não conhece bem. Mas nós – que escrevemos num país africano – podemos – por experiência própria – afiançar que o acontecimento com Lopes é menos do que costuma praticar-se aqui (*OE*, 42).

When talking about miscegenation in Cape Verde, there is normally the tendency to talk about the cultural and identity aspects of the Cape Verdeans but not about the ethnic one. Thus, there is a scarcity of works which deal with the ethnic issue in the formation of Cape Verdeans. In relation to the ethnicity behind Cape Verdean formation of its society, Cláudio Furtado states in "Raça, Classe e Etnia" (2012) that works about Cape Verdean history are not centered around the racial, social and ethnic dimensions when trying to explain the constitution of its society. Researchers normally deal with the analysis of social classes. He attributes this gap to the mutant identity markers and/or to a denial of an identity which is not hegemonic. He says that works about the so-called specificity of Cape Verde and its culture and society are common (Furtado). In Furtado's opinion the researchers tend to focus their work normally on identity issues while ethnicity and racial belongingness tend to be omitted. As Furtado states, "a multiplicidade de etnias, que teriam concorrido para o povoamento das ilhas de Cabo Verde e a sua diluição no espaço do arquipélago, é erigida como fundamentos da emergência de uma sociedade, de um povo e de uma cultura particulares" (145). Futhermore, José Carlos dos Anjos points out that:

A violência física e simbólica, que destruiu grande parte da memória étnica dos escravizados, tem sido lida pelos intelectuais cabo-verdianos como "fusão cultural dos africanos". Essa "fusão cultural" numa mestiçagem geral é percebida por uma parte da intelectualidade cabo-verdiana como positiva, no sentido de que teria constituído uma unidade nacional antes da implementação de um Estado nacional (*apud* Furtado, 145).

We can say then that there is a gap in relation to the history of Cape Verdean racial ancestry because this aspect of the origin of Cape Verdean society has been neglected. Cape Verdean identity has been regarded as exceptional, that is, just Cape Verdean. The main issues dealt with when analyzing Cape Verdean history are the creole language and miscegenation.

As Furtado states there is a " negação/sublimação/omissão da dimensão étnico-racial, tanto no discurso das ciências sociais, quanto na prática discursiva do quotidiano" (147). He also acknowledges that ethnic hybridization is more complex to analyze, as opposed to miscegenation, which can be understood as racial hybridization in the phenotypic sense of the term.

In a study carried out by researchers of the University of Oporto named "Genetic Architecture of Skin and Eye Color in an African-European Admixed Population" (2013), we can find the following remarks in relation to Cape Verde:

Across different islands, the distributions of African genomic ancestry exhibit substantial overlap in range but vary in their median values, from 50, 5% in Fogo to 74,4%, in the capital island of Santiago, which suggests a population history of extensive intercontinental admixture accompanied by reduced gene flow between islands (Beleza *et all*, 2) .

This study reinforces the idea that the miscegenation between Africans and Europeans in Cape Verde has unique characteristics in the whole world. The study became well known because it deconstructs the relation between the color of the eyes and the color of the skin by stating that "there is [in Cape Verde] a wide range spectrum of variation in both eye and skin color, and individuals with the dark skin and blue eyes are not infrequent (1). The extensive mixing between Africans and Europeans has given rise to a wide range of phenotypes in the archipelago.

As António Santos points out, Cape Verde differs from the other Portuguese colonies in Africa because the colonial system allowed the formation of a native Cape Verdean bourgeoisie through the granting of land and the access to positions in the administration to the natives. Thus, a social, economic and literary elite emerged in cape Verde (Santos). As António Carreira puts it in the end of the nineteenth century the different classes in Cape Verde were marked by wealth and social privilege rather than by the color of the skin (Carreira, 2000). In mid-nineteenth century fifty per cent of the total Cape Verdean population was formed by mestizos. It is worth saying that although at that time an intellectual elite was in formation in Cape Verde, ninety per cent of the population was illiterate. In Laranjeira's opinion "o analfabetismo devia-se à política Portuguesa de criar uma elite muito restrita de assimilados para servirem no sector terceário" (Laranjeira, 20). Education was just for a small and privileged group of Cape Verdeans.

In Cape Verde, the racial and ethnic identities are not given attention because it is assumed that colonization with its syncretic mechanisms built an ethnically homogeneous society (Furtado). Futhermore, Furtado says "a dimensão racial é […] sublimada pela negação assertiva tímida do europeísmo, levando a que se busque a superação na formulação vazia de significado e de capacidade heurística – "nem África nem Europa. Simplesmente Cabo Verde" (150, emphasis in the original). It is also alleged that the specificity of the Cape Verdean colonization lies in the fact that the nation precedes the state and the archipelago was uninhabited when it was "discovered".

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the number of freed slaves was higher in comparison to the slaves and the whites. At that period there was a decrease in the number of slaves and an increase in the numbers of free blacks. The number of free blacks in 1731 formed 51.1% of the total population on the archipelago (Almeida, 2009:15). The manumission of slaves began early on the archipelago and it became a systematic process.

In mid-nineteenth century we realize that the number of slaves who got free is very significant. In *OE*, we can infer that the institution of slavery in Cape Verde was disrupting. At that time there was also the pressure of countries such as England on other colonial powers such as the Portuguese government to abolish slavery. It is in this context that we can understand Almeida's choice to put as a slave and a mestiza

mistress as protagonists of his novel, although the level of emancipation suggested is very limited as above mentioned.

The novel praises Cape Verdean identity although it is not free of prejudice. This shows that he wrote the novel from a western perspective. However, the Cape Verdean tradition and habits that Almeida describes in *OE* are still present in the Cape Verdean society. With the levels of miscegenation on the islands the differences between the colonized and colonizer tended to be neutralized and a new identity arose with its own peculiarity. Cape Verde became a mestizo country in all aspects: a native language, a traditional music, and habits.

Ameida's perspective in the novel is that the future of the country would be in the miscegenation between "os filhos da terra" (the natives) and the (former) slaves. Almeida's choice to have a mestiza and a slave as protagonists of a novel that is about Cape Verdean society might be read as a foreshadowing of the Cape Verdean future as lying in the union of mestizos and freed slaves. The positive portrayal of the bi-racials and his identity and culture praises in general terms the Cape Verdean identity.

To talk about Cape Verdean identity is to talk about complexity. A lot of Cape Verdeans claim "caboverdianidade" to define their identity. They claim that they are neither Africans nor Europeans, but Cape Verdeans. Other Cape Verdean authors such as Baltasar Lopes da Silva and Manuel Lopes, who belonged to Claridade magazine (1936) (a literary and cultural magazine inaugurated in Mindelo), claimed that Cape Verdean culture is western. Their work reflected western ideologies and values. They considered Cape Verde a case of European regionalism (Laranjeira). These writers were bitterly criticized by Onésimo Silveira in *Consciencialização na literatura caboverdiana* (1963). In Onésimo Silveira's opinion, they created a stereotyped vision of the Cape Verdeans and ignored the African traits of the Cape Verdean people and culture. To Silveira, this was due to an inferiority complex of the Claridade authors.

Stereotypes in *O Escravo*

The title of the novel is ambiguous. João, the protagonist, is, as I mentioned before, both a slave of condition and a slave of love being slavery and love the main themes in the novel, the latter standing out more than the former, as I mentioned before.

We have the description of some dehumanizing effects of slavery, mainly in the character of Júlia. We see the consequences of the institution of slavery on the slaves, and the novel reproduces the dilemma of the so called racial differences generated by colonialism. One of the first things that call our attention in the novel is that all of the mestizos are free; that is, there are no bi-racial slaves. The mestizos had opportunities to improve their socio and economic status in the Cape Verdean social structure, a circumstance which characterized the Portuguese colonial policy.

Analyzing Almeida's bi-racial characters, we realize that he tries to make them "whiter," both culturally and physically. They are depicted as white gentlemen and ladies who possess intelligence and beauty and are very similar to whites in status and attitudes.

Maria, the bi-racial protagonist, is the stereotype of the beautiful and sensual mestiza. As Almeida puts it, she is "dotada de uma compreensão fácil – de uma penetração de causar inveja aos mais talentosos – possuía – além dos lisonjeiros dotes físicos – um coração de têmpera sumamente delicada" (*OE*, 34). Almeida also highlights her sensuality by stating that "a bela mulata substitui depois o roupão de chita […] deixando ver as lindas formas de um corpo, que se escondia debaixo de uma multidão de pregas" (*OE*, 37). Almeida continues the description:

> Um sapato de pelica preta foi cobrir uma finíssima meia de linha, a qual vestia um pé, que – por não ser mutilado – causara inveja à mais aristocrática china. Em seu rosto – que Eugénio Sue dissera – dourado por um raio do sol dos trópicos – havia a expressão de candura, manifestada por um involuntário sorriso, que amiúde brincava com seus beiços levemente purpurinos. Em sua boca, que podia chamar-se um mimoso cofre de onde se exalavam suavíssimos perfumes, haviam precisos dentes, com esse esmalte de brilhante alvura, que a arte não pode imitar (*OE*, 37).

Maria is described as a beautiful mestiza. She is described as fitting in the pattern of the beautiful and pure virgin, the ideal woman of the nineteenth century. She

is gifted in music; she knows how to play the piano and how to sing. She is well educated. She makes part of the Cape Verdean bourgeoisie defined by its European-based education and culture. When the narrator describes Maria, he does it in such a way that we feel that he is describing a European woman. Maria is part of the Cape Verdean elite formed by native people who are given the opportunity to ascend socially. The mestizos had an exceptional opportunity of social mobility in relation to the darker elements of the population. Maria is also depicted as being proud of her ancestry; she is proud of being a mestiza. When Lopes, a recently arrived Portuguese who works for the army states that he is in love with her only a few hours after meeting her, Maria responds:

> Julgastes que a mulata se sentiria orgulhosa por merecer as finezas de um branco. Entendestes que bastava um palavra de amor, uma manifestação, um indício de estima, para que eu caísse rendida a vossos pés, agradecendo-vos, talvez, a honra que lhe fazíeis de descer até ela. Enganastes-vos: nas veias da mulata gira um sangue mais nobre, mais puro que o vosso (*OE,* 46).

Besides being proud of her ancestry, Maria is self-confident. In relation to her hair, Almeida states: "confiou a cabeça à sua escrava Luiza, a qual tratou de alisar-lhe o cabelo, que – com *quanto áspero de natureza* – nem por isso deixava de obedecer ao pente, descendo-lhe às fontes em bandos ondeados" (*OE*, 36-37, my emphasis). We can see that Almeida is constructing racial differences based on the phenotype. Here, the hair texture is used to describe Maria as different. The adjective "áspero" (rough) used by Almeida to describe her hair, is not a positive one, implying the contrast with "macio" (smooth), which would describe a white woman's hair texture. All descriptions of Maria throughout the novel are similar to those of a European with the exception of her hair. It may be read that from her African ancestry Maria just inherited the texture of her hair, but beauty and intelligence she inherited from her European ancestry. To put it differently, the most positive characteristics were inherited from her European ancestry and the negative ones from her African ancestry.

Although we have the exaltation of the mestizo characters, we must notice that Almeida depicts them as similar to European people. This reveals an ideological stance Fanon identifies in *Black Skin White Mask*: "for the black men there is only one destiny. And it is white" (10). Colonial ideology linked blackness with inferiority, and consequently the aspiration of blacks was to be like whites. But it is worth saying that

only few had such an opportunity. The way to do that was to embrace the colonial culture. It is evident that in a slave society, the issue of race was always present and the ideology of the ruling class always prevailed. In Alice Walker's opinion, one of the painful legacies of fictions of slavery with mulatto heroines is the perpetuation of Western standards of beauty (Walker). Although Walker is talking about the American context, it also applies to the Cape Verdean one. Almeida's ideology implies that the European is the superior race. Almeida sees miscegenation in Cape Verde as mostly grounded on European values.

Although Almeida describes Maria as self-confident about her ancestry, Maria's attitude towards João is ambiguous. It seems that she does not accept João's love for her because of prejudice, yet at the end of the novel it seems that she does loves João. As Almeida writes, when Maria saw João dying: "E ela já o amava! Amava-o e de maneira, que, se lhe fosse possível arrancar o escravo das garras da morte, ela orgulhosa o apresentara ao mundo, como dono e senhor absoluto do seu coração" (*OE*, 150). As Bhabha says "identification is never an affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self-fulfilling prophesy* – it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image" (Bhabha, 45). Because of her bi-racial ancestry, and how its interpretation is inscribed in the social system, the relation between her and João is ambiguous. The impossible love between them is grounded on social differences.

Cláudio Pimentel, Maria's father, is also a mestizo. Cláudio had grown up without knowing the identity of his parents. The bishop, his uncle, had raised him. Almeida describes him in the following way:

> Havia nas Companhias de linha da Província um sargento indígena, a quem seus camaradas muito respeitavam, em razão do seu irrepreensível comportamento, e subida instrução de que dispunha. Não se sabia quem eram seus pais; apenas constava que viera de Santo Antão, de onde era natural, recomendado pelo Bispo dessa época ao Governador de então, o qual, tendo-lhe feito assentar praça, bem depressa o fez subir os postos inferiores, e a final o promoveu a Capitão, sem que tão rápido acesso arrancasse uma queixa àqueles a quem preteria; tal era a homenagem que prestavam ao muito merecimento do que recebia assim tão manifestas provas de protecção. Casara na idade de 18 anos, e na vida privada não desmereceu nunca do conceito que a pública lhe granjeara. Todo dedicado a sua esposa, que era uma linda mulata, filha de um rico

proprietário de São Nicolau – prodigalizava-lhe os maiores extremos, os quais ela de coração lhe retribuía. Ele era mestiço – porém bastante claro, de maneira a poder passar por um trigueiro europeu (*OE*, 33).

Almeida says that Cláudio had inherited the features of his father in that his skin is "clara que facilmente passaria por branca, se não fosse a aspereza do seu cabelo" (*OE*, 72). Here again we have phenotype as a way to construct racial differences, rather than genetic differences. Thus physical appearance, rather than ancestry, is determinant in marking racial identity. We find a mestizo occupying a military position. This shows that in Cape Verde the mestizos had access to vertical mobility.

The positive characteristics that Almeida ascribes to mestizos place him in a different perspective from most nineteenth century racist theories that saw the offspring of a white and a black as a degeneration. This is in line with Arthur Gobineau's idea that some mixture was "strategic", because the mulatto's natural degeneracy and tendency to acculturate could end in the disappearance of individuals of color (Santos, 2002). The mestizos are culturally constructed as comparable to whites, although *not* whites.

The relation between mestizo masters and their slaves in *OE* is a cordial one. The Portuguese had a tendency to interact with the Africans. The Spanish and the Portuguese colonialists were believed to be less tainted by racial prejudice than the British and the French. The Iberians were also thought to be more tolerant of racial mixing. In Immanuel Wallerstein's opinion (2011), as expansionism continued, Portugal and Spain lost their positions as dominant nations to Britain and Germany, and moved to the semi-periphery within the European colonial empire. Because of the shortage of European women, insularity and the absence of natural resources, the Africans and Europeans living in the colonies had to adapt to survive hunger and drought.

Maria and Cláudio Pimentel are described as benevolent and nice masters. They are the opposite of Pimentel, the Portuguese master. This may be an illustration of the kind of slavery practiced by bi-racial masters as a more benevolent one than the one practiced by the whites. Almeida implies that mestizos practiced slavery as a paternalistic institution. The relationship between Maria and her slaves is peaceful, she treats them well. Maria tells João: "o homem não tem culpa da condição em que nasceu:

as más acções, a ignorância e a maldade, é que deviam torná-lo indigno ante a sociedade. […] Teu coração é nobre, tua alma bem formada; pela inteligência és superior a muitos que nasceram livres; mereces pois a minha estima, nem me envergonho de ouvir-te" (*OE*, 31). Maria teaches João to read and write and she seems even to have abolitionist ideas.

Jerónimo Pimentel is the stereotype of the evil and lustful master. As Júlia says, "este muito nobre senhor entendia que as escravas deviam ufanar-se, quando escolhidas para servirem de joguete aos desejos sensuais do seu senhor" (*OE*, 71). Through Julia's words we can see the way he treats his slaves: "que prepare os ferros em brasa – ponha de molho o chicote – apronte as cordas – que a vítima está de à muito resignada ao martírio" (*OE*, 73). He sexually exploited the slave Júlia since she was thirteen years old. As a result of this relationship, Júlia had a mestizo son, Cláudio Pimentel, who is Maria's father. After Pimentel discovered that Júlia's second child was black, which meant that he could not be the father of the child, he ties Júlia to a bed and orders the slaves to rape her. As Júlia says, her master "mandou amarrar sobre o leito a infeliz Júlia, para que assim não pudesse resistir aos escravos, a quem ordenou que saciassem seus desejos brutais" (*OE*, 74). This illustrates all the dehumanizing and humiliating treatment she suffered at the hands of her master Jerónimo Pimentel.

Júlia is represented in a similar way to the jezebel stereotype associated with women slaves in the United States. The jezebel image was meant to legitimize the rape of the slave by maintaining that they were the ones to be blamed for their rape by whites because of their lascivious nature.

Júlia loves her black child João, son of her beloved Luís (a slave), but she hates the mestizo one because, as she says, he was imposed on her by her master Jerónimo Pimentel. As she says about her mestizo son, "não, o filho do alvoz não é meu filho: é tanto meu, como o peru o é da galinha que o fez nascer" (*OE*, 117). She wants to take revenge on all Pimentel's family including her son and granddaughter. Lopes takes advantage of her hate towards whites to make an alliance with her.

Júlia is the only slave who resists the institution of slavery. She tries unsuccessfully to kill her master. She is rejected by society, and society says "eis ali a escrava que quis matar o seu senhor! Depois todos me evitavam, todos me fugiam, como se tivessem receio de que meu hálito os contaminasse" (*OE*, 124). She was

marked as a witch by a slave: "Olhem, olhem, aquela é de certo uma feiticeira! E todos – em vez de me atenderem – fizeram-me figas" (*OE*, 125). The belief in ghosts and their interference in people's life is strong in African culture. After this episode, she starts eating raw crabs to survive. Almeida seems to demonize Júlia by depicting her as uncivilized, the marginalized other. As George Mosse puts it, "the iconography of insanity was transferred to outsiders, and the close connection drawn between Jews, blacks and madness provides a central argument for *Difference and Pathology*" (164). The aim is to cast out all those believed to stand outside the norms. We can see that Júlia, the black slave, and Maria, the mestiza, are described as polar opposites. Júlia is the personification of nature and primitivism, and Maria of civilization. The blacks who were not assimilated to dominant discourse were depicted as uncivilized. Almeida believes that Cape Verdeans should be like the mestizos; whitening the population is the solution.

Lopes is described as a resentful man. He uses Júlia's willingness to take revenge on the whites to keep the slaves indifferent to his rebellion against the colonial government. Before his coming to Cape Verde, everything seems peaceful. Lopes is an ambitious colonizer, eager to get rich in the colony. As Almeida says "Lopes no seu quartel – general – dava as necessárias ordens, e recebia parte do produto da rapina. Chamejavam-lhe os olhos, e na expressão do rosto notava-se-lhe uma alegria, qual a do capitão de salteadores, após a possessão de um magnífico espólio" (*OE,* 135). Lopes symbolizes the colonial power that wants to exploit the colony. He has an obsession with Maria. As he says, "prendeu-me uma *mulatinha*, que tem tanta soberba quanta pode possuir uma rainha de *alva* beleza" (*OE*, 83 my empahis). Throughout the whole novel Maria is depicted as if she were white.

Throughout the novel, João, the protagonist, is described as an intelligent slave: he is well-spoken and even reads literary masterpieces such as *Ivanhoe* by Walter Scott. João hears Lopes' words and understands that he was threatening Maria: "Ora pois, orgulhosa Rebecca, encontrareis em mim um outro Bois-Gilbert" (*OE*, 47). Brian de Bois – Guilbert is the main villain in *Ivanhoe*. He is an arrogant, proud and violent man. João is proud of the education he receives from Maria as he João himself says to his mistress, "é tratando convosco que se pode bem avaliar quanto é imenso o Deus que vos formou, e cujo culto vós me ensinaste; de esse Deus supremo, a quem eu dirijo incessantemente preces por vós, senhora; por vós, a quem eu devo a cultura de minhas

ideias" (OE, 27). João receives a western education. He assimilated the European values.

João is portrayed as the stereotype of the contended slave. He is always happy to help his mistress. João enters into Maria's room without her permission just to platonically contemplate her while she sleeps. Maria wakes up and her reaction is to cut him off as soon as possible and so she decides to emancipate him so that he can leave the house: "João és forro; dou-te a liberdade: sai desta casa, onde jamais buscarás entrar" (*OE*, 102). After hearing these words João desperately asks for pardon: "Piedade! Piedade! De que me serve a vida longe de vós? Oh dai-me a morte" (*OE*, 102). João internalizes the western values, and this is why he wants Maria. Maria has ambivalent feelings towards João. The obstacle to their love seems purely social. For Maria, João is the other. As I have explained, the feeling of ambivalence, which is important to the stereotype, requires the co-existence of opposing attitudes or feelings towards the person being stereotyped.

The mestizos, as neither white nor black, claimed for themselves the role of intermediates between blacks and whites. Maria as a benevolent mistress provides the slaves an opportunity to be closer to her and this way she acculturates them in the dominant ideology. João has access to education through his mistress, which he feels as a privilege that the institution of slavery usually didn't allow the slaves to have. This aculturation may explain João's passion for Maria. João questions his condition as a slave, but only because this condition is an impediment to his love; he has no real desire to be a free man. João says:

> Numa ocasião deparei com a história da revolta dos negros na ilha de São Domingos. Ah! Essa noite foi para mim de um prazer indefinível! A narração das proezas daqueles negros despertou em meu peito sensações, até então, para mim desconhecidas. A ambição da glória entrou no meu espírito; esqueci o que era: julguei-me livre!...Oh! e tão livre, que a meu lado pendia uma espada…o delírio apossou-se do meu cérebro…e eu corria…corria com o fim de libertar meus irmãos do cativeiro! De então para cá, mal podeis imaginar, senhora, de quantas dores tem sido vítima o meu coração! Desenvolvestes em mim sentimentos que se não compadecem com a condição de escravo – mostraste-me o caminho do saber, entrei nele – caminhei a passos agigantados – mas chegando ao meio, uma voz sinistra me brada: "escravo" e eu recuo horrorizado! Abristes-me as portas do entendimento, mas quando busco ler no livro do

meu futuro, encontro em todas as páginas a palavra "escravo" escrita em caracteres pretos, oh! Pretos como o meu semblante! […] Ai de mim, senhora! Para que desenvolveste o meu raciocínio a ponto de reconhecer que o escravo pode nutrir heróicos sentimentos? Para que clarificaste a minha inteligência de maneira, que ela me leve a considerar o coração de uma nitidez bem oposta à escuridão do meu rosto? (*OE*, 29-30).

Prejudice acts as an impediment to the relationship between them. Thus we have class as obstacles to their union. João idealizes the western values which is why he wants Maria. He questions the barriers which impede his love to Maria based on the color of his skin. He says: "a cor é um atributo do corpo, e não da alma; a cor é um indício do país, e não do espírito; a cor não obsta a que a nossa pele seja tão acetinada como a deles – nem a que possuam nossas mulheres olhos e dentes tão belos como os seus mais belos" (*OE*, 57). In his opinion, only death can make him an equal to Maria.

João and Luiza are submissive, models of good, contented slaves willing to satisfy all the wishes of their masters and mistresses. They have internalized their oppression. Almeida represents the relation between slaves and masters as harmonious, conveying the idea that it was common in Cape Verde. At the "batuque" meeting, after Júlia tells about the dehumanization she suffered at the hands of her master, the slaves are very angry towards whites. But as they start partying they forget about it. As Ameida puts it:

Se Lopes se tivesse conservado por mais tempo entre os escravos, talvez estes lhes fizessem sentir toda a raiva que naquele momento os possuía contra os brancos; como porém não vissem sobre quem cevar a sua ira, os escravos – cujo número tinha crescido, pelos que entraram durante as histórias – esqueceram facilmente as ideias assassinas, para darem lugar a outras mais lisonjeiras, que a dança em expectativa devia sugerir-lhes (*OE*, 77).

Almeida shows sympathy towards the slaves. The slaves have a good temper, and the master lets them enjoy the party after having done their tasks.

Although Almeida depicts the bi-racial characters and the slaves in a positive way, seeming to have abolitionist ideas, he does not allow his mestiza heroine and his slave hero to have a happy ending. The author does not go beyond the societal prejudice that would not tolerate the relationship between a slave and his mistress. We can thus

conclude that Almeida's novel is not emancipatory and legitimizes the idea that western culture is superior to the African one. *OE* is an ambiguous novel in relation to race. Although Almeida chooses a-typical protagonists – a slave and a bi-racial mistress –, the way he describes his mestizo characters shows how dependent on the western ideology he is. This can be clearly seen in the way he whitewashes his characters.

Cape Verdeans seem to be less color-conscious in comparison to other ex-slave societies. However, there is still some racial prejudice in Cape Verdean society today, which is rooted in a past of slavery. This can be seen in the negative stereotypes used to categorize African people from the continent who are increasingly migrating to the archipelago. As Cláudio Furtado states:

> […] a partir da análise das relações sociais, podem ser surpreendidos comportamentos estereotipados. Com efeito, parece-nos que em muitos contextos, a etnicidade pode ser apreendida a partir de práticas populacionais provenientes de espaços sociais nacionais bem específicos, ou seja, a etnicização, no contexto do espaço geográfico interno, é associada a outro contexto específico, que provém do continente. Existiria, aqui, uma reapropriação e uma ressignificação do conceito de etnia, que não se caracterizaria, como sugere A. D. Smith, como "existência de um nome próprio comum, de mito de uma ancestralidade compartilhada, de memórias compartilhadas, de elementos de uma cultura comum, de um vínculo a uma homeland, e de senso comum de solidariedade, mas antes, como um outro, homegeneizado numa designação étnica única (mandjakus), legitimizada pela origem geográfica – continente – e por uma racialização disforme – negro. Da mesma forma, e mais actualmente, as dinâmicas interculturais resultantes da imigração de africanos provenientes da África Ocidental fizeram emergir, no discurso e nas práticas sociais e culturais dos cabo-verdianos, comportamentos assentes na diferenciação étnica e racial, com recortes que, por vezes, indiciam certa esquizofrenia comunitária (147-148, emphasis already in the original).

The stereotype "mandjaku" or "mandjako" is used to negatively categorize the immigrants from the continent. Cape Verdeans designate them as the others because Cape Verdeans believe themselves to be more "civilized" since their skin is thought to be "less dark". It is worth stating that "mandjaku" is an ethnic group in Guinea-Bissau but in Cape Verde it is used to categorize all immigrants from the Continental African coast, homogeneizing them and reproducing old stereotyping systems. As we can see, it is not just whites who perpetuate negative stereotypes about blacks. Blacks also judge one another through dualistic categories. As Eufémia Rocha argues:

As categorias etnia e raça sobrepõem-se e tornam-se sinónimos. Com o fito de homogeneizar os "outros", reforçando o "eu". Como refere Rocha, a categoria étnica "mandjaku" é transformada num marcador identitário racial, tornando todos os negros africanos continentais numa uniformidade étnica, não obstante a multiplicade de pertenças étnicas e, portanto, identitárias dos imigrantes (*apud* Furtado, 170).

In Rocha's opinion, with the new wave of immigration from continental Africa to the archipelago started a construction of alterity. As Furtado argues "os afro-continentais são reduzidos a um marcador étnico, *mandjakos*, que esconde um marcador racial, "negros"" (154, emphasis in the original). The immigrants are constructed as others and consequently relegated to the margins.

The representation of blacks, mestizos and whites in *O Escravo*

The bi-racial characters Cláudio Pimentel, Mariana and Maria are all depicted positively. When building his bi-racial characters Almeida seems to discard the deterministic ideas about the bi-racial so common in the nineteenth century. At that time polygenists argued that mestizos were seen as a degeneration of the human race. But he decides to whitewash them. For him the Africans as the inferior race could be absorbed by the superior one, the Europeans, and thus be elevated. We have an aristocratization of the mestizo in *OE*.

Maria, as we have seen, is depicted as a beautiful mestiza woman, intelligent, and acting according to the current moral codes. She was raised to identify as white. Besides, she is a benevolent mistress. Maria has a European education, and she wears European clothes. She only speaks Portuguese even with the slaves. This European education and tastes are the result of the whitening strategy used by Almeida and prevalent in the society. Fanon talks about this whitening in the context of the Antilles, but it can also be applied to the Cape Verdean context:

The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionally whiter – that is, he will be come closer to being a real human being – in direct – ratio to his masterly of the French language. I am not unaware that this is one of man's attitude face to face with being. A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that

language. What we are getting at becomes plain: Mastery of language affords remarkable power (18).

In Fanon's opinion, a Negro thinks that he is "whiter" when he masters the cultural tool that is the language of the colonizer. This whitewashing is a racist strategy. The whitewashing of the bi-racial characters is performed both culturally and physically. The bi-racial characters are healthy and the fever and the diseases of the tropical climate only affect the whites. This is also Almeida's denial of racial determinism in relation to the bi-racial characters.

In relation to blacks, Júlia is the only slave who resists being whitened. But she is depicted as uncivilized. The character of Júlia is in line with nineteenth century notion of primitivism about black people. She is driven by her instincts.

We notice that the only characters in the novel who use creole language are the slaves. Even Maria and her mother don't use it. This is part of the hegemonic discourse that tends to devalue the use of Cape Verdean creole.

The other slaves, João, and Luiza, for instance, are whitened by their mestizo masters through religion and education. João is black but his tastes and ideas are totally western ones. His love for his mistress, who is mestiza but was raised as a European lady, may show his desire to be whitewashed too.

The acculturated blacks are depicted as good and civilized. They are in line with the Jesuit priest Padre António Veira's[18], depiction of blacks in Cape Verde in 1652 when he arrived there on his way to Brazil. He wrote to the Portuguese colonial government and to the religious authorities in Portugal about the necessity to open a school for the inhabitants who, in his opinion, had a peculiar intelligence. As he points out,

> É o caso, que nesta ilha de Santiago, cabeça de Cabo Verde, há mais de 60,000 almas; e nas outras ilhas, que são oito ou dez, outras tantas, e todas ellas estão em extrema necessidade espiritual; porque não há religiosos de nenhuma religião que as cultivem, e os parochos são mui poucos e, mui poucos zelosos, sendo o natural da gente o mais disposto que há entre todas as nações de Novas Conquistas, para se imprimir nelles tudo

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[18] António Vieira (his real name was Cristovão Vieira Vasco) was a Jesuit priest born in Alentejo to a Portuguese father and a bi-racial woman (born in Portugal but descendent of one of the first families who were taken to Portugal from Cape Verde).

o que lhes ensinarem. São todos pretos, mas somente neste acidente se distinguem dos europeus. Tem grande juiso e habilidade, e toda a politica que cabe em gente sem fé e sem riquezas, que vem a ser o que ensine a natureza.

Há aqui clérigos e conegos tão nègros como azeviche; mas tão compostos, tão auctorisados tão doutos, tão grandes músicos, tão discretos e bem morigerados, que podem fazer inveja aos que lá vemos nos nossos cathedraes (2).

The blacks are portrayed positively, being different from the whites only in relation to the color of the skin. Some years later the first missionary school in Portuguese Africa was built in Cidade Velha, on Santiago island because of Vieira's request. Although ther author shows sympathy towards the blacks, he puts them in the margin.

In Almeida's novel, Lopes, a Portuguese man, is described as follows:

O Sr. Lopes era um homem alto e grosso em proporção. Ilhéu de nascimento, havia em suas maneiras alguma coisa que revelava uma educação acima do vulgar. Sua fisionomia masculina era o verdadeiro tipo português: faces proeminentes – olhos pequenos e muito vivos – a testa alta deixava ver, pela ausência de cabelos as características bem pronunciadas de audácia desmedida, ambição e orgulho. A barba e bigodes espessos, fortes e pretos como azeviche, dariam a seu rosto – de um trigueiro sanguíneo – o aspecto da ferocidade, se um sorriso – que podia tomar-se indistintamente por ironia, ou bondade – não modificasse a aparência repulsiva, que exercia seu rosto – quando sério (*OE*, 39).

Lopes is depicted as an ambitious, proud, and audacious man and in Almeida's opinion these characteristics are representative of most Portuguese people. The Portuguese are generally negatively portrayed in the novel. For instance, Jerónimo Pimentel is depicted as an evil master and Tio Tesoura, an owner of a bar, is depicted as rude and ugly: "esta taverna pertencia a um degredado, que dava pela alcunha de tio Tesoura. Imaginai um homem alto, bastante gordo, feições grosseiras, tez doentia, e tereis o fiel retrato do dono da taverna" (*OE*, 81). The colonists are greedy and eager to take economic and social advantages that the institution of slavery affords to them. In contrast with the love João feels towards Maria, Lopes if driven by sexual desire for her.

As Francisco Portugal argues in "O Escravo: literatura de fundação": "os confrontos entre liberais e miguelistas que dominam a cena política nas décadas de 20 e

30, terão o seu reflexo na política colonial e será nesse contexto que, no seio do sector liberal cabo-verdiano, apareça um movimento separatista" (48). In Portugal's opinion, Lopes's unsuccessful attempt to rebel became a symbol of the failure of miguelism, and, by extension, the failure of the slave system in Cape Verde.

At the end of the novel the bi-racial characters Maria and her mother go to Guinea-Bissau to meet their father and husband and all the main black characters die.

Almeida rejects the determinist ideas of the nineteenth century in regard to the bi-racial characters. To summarize, we can say that the novel is about the suffering of blacks, the white's evil deeds and their decaying institution of slavery, and the rising of the mestizo.

Conclusion

The Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bahktin developed the concept of dialogism in his work of literary theory. In Bakhtin's essay "Discourse in the Novel," he approaches texts as dialogical constructions, in his opinion the basic distinguishing feature of the style of the novel. A text can only be better understood in relation to a broader context, that is, through dialogism. He defines dialogism as the plurality of meanings that exist in texts.

Bakhtin argues that every genre and every language in a text carries a way of perceiving and representing reality. Any literary work carries with it its own ideology. He developed the concept of "heteroglossia" to describe the way texts represent many social voices, which consequently creates a wide variety of relationships and speech diversity inhabiting literary works. As he puts it, "it is in fact out of this stratification of language, its speech diversity and even language diversity, that he [the author] constructs his style, while at the same time he maintains the unity of his own creative personality and the unity […] of his own style" (298). The heteroglot nature of language is important to understand Bakhtin's dialogism. He defends that:

> Heteroglossia, once incorporated in the novel (whatever the form for its incorporation), is *another's speech in another´s language*, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of *double voiced discourse*. It serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings, and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are are dialogically interralated […] as if they actually hold a conversation with each other (324, emphasis in the original).

For him it is important the way languages intersect and interact with one another. He created a differentiation between two kinds of textual interpretations: the authoritative and monologic and the dialogic and intertextual. The authoritative texts emphasize only one point of view or one ideological position. He challenges the idea of authority in texts. In his opinion, in contrast with authoritative texts, dialogical texts are heterogeneous. They are "half-ours and half someone's else" (345). Language for the individual consciousness lies on the boundaries between oneself and the other. A specific point of view in the world is represented in each voice of heteroglossia. As he points out:

heteroglossia-in-itself becomes, in the novel and thanks to the novel, hereroglossia-for-itself: languages are dialogically implicated *in* each other and begin to coexist *for* each other (similar to exchanges in dialogue). It is precisely thanks to the novel that languages are able to iluminate each other mutually; literary language becomes a dialogue of languages that both know about and understand each other (400 emphasis in the original).

Bakhtin's views texts in relation to the exterior space, as part of a broader social and cultural environment. He connects textual dialogism with social struggles and pluralism:

Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to button: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradiction between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These "languages" of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying "languages" (291, emphasis in the original).

By connecting the idea of textual heteroglossia with that of social pluralism, Baktin defends that there is social ideological dialogue between the present and the past, and between different groups in society. He further adds that languages do not exclude each other. Instead, they intersect each other in many different ways. He says that "all languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific point of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meaning and values" (292). In this way, Bakhtin sees dialogic texts as being always contemporary. In his opinion dialogic texts are semantically infinitive. They are open to new discourses and to new social circumstances and contexts.

Dialogism in language is possible only in a world dominated by heteroglossia, that is, variety of cultures, ideologies, and languages are put together to name the diversity of discourse. In his opinion the dialogic work of literature perpetuates continual dialogue with other authors and literary works.

Difference, variety and alterity were important concepts for Bakhtin because he wanted to find a relationship with all degrees of otherness and plurality. His concept of dialogism is very important for conversation over time and space (Folch-Sena).

Dialogism and intertextuality foster a plurality of voices on questions of difference and otherness. Dialogism can be used as a tool to understand the way an author or a nation use to respond to a particular situation and the way people relate to each other in determined spaces and situations. In this sense dialogism and intertexutality is also culture analysis. It is in this context that I analyze slavery in The United States of America and in Cape Verde through literature. As M. Folch-Serra argues "authors and listeners or readers may be (an often are) located in differing time-spaces, but nevertheless they are all located in a real, unitary, and yet incomplete, historical world" (262). Heteroglossia is important as the mingling of a variety of cultures, languages, and ideologies to reach a diversity of discourse. For Bakhtin a true novel should take others and otherness into account, and continue to emphasize plurality and variety. It is in this context that I proposed to analyze *UTC* and *OE*.

Dialogic literature is in communication with multiple works. Harriet Beecher Stowe and José Evaristo D' Almeida expressed in their works ideas that might have reinforced the idea of the inferiority of blacks which was so common in the nineteenth century. There is also the dialogical relation with otherness which cross-cut both novels and the idea of white superiority both aesthetically and morally. They both wrote according to white dominant ideology.

Uncle Tom's Cabin and *O Escravo* were written by white authors in the nineteenth century, a period in which there occurred the rise of the novel. The importance of the novel is strictly linked to the emergence of the bourgeoisie. Both authors use historical events in their novels to give verisimilitude to the works. As Almeida says, calling attention to the veracity of his work, "e não cuide o leitor ser isto pura ficção de romance; nem tão pouco creia haver poesia na descrição que temos feito: por quanto infelizmente tudo aconteceu como deixamos relatado" (*OE*, 133).

Miscegenation is an important theme in both novels. In both of them, the mestizo characters are depicted positively suggesting that they inherited the positive characteristics from the European race. But their strategy to have light-skinned characters as beautiful and intelligent in opposition to the black characters reveals their racist ideology. In *UTC* the mestizos are slaves but in *OE* they are part of the elite because in Cape Verde the mestizos followed the condition of the father and not that of the mother as in the United States of America. Moreover, in *OE* we have the mestizos

performing the functions that in America were assigned to whites. The Portuguese colonists on the islands gave their names to their children and they assumed the role of mediators between the different cultures. Social mobility of the Cape Verdeans was based on the status of each individual's father. As Duncan puts it, Cape Verde is racially and socially the result of the slave trade. There was the formation of a hybrid and syncretic society in Cape Verde, although with some resistance in the beginning of the settlement. This was seen as natural and it seems that later it became something that the Portuguese felt proud of. So, the main difference between the two slave societies was the acceptance of the mestizos and their social mobility in the Cape Verdean society.

The Portuguese became more tolerant than the New Englanders concerning the acceptance of the bi-racial descendants. In Isabel Caldeira's opinion, this was due to the "proverbial pobreza do colono português, mais tendente a abrir-se ao contacto com o africano" (1993:610). In the United States, the "one drop rule" made anyone with black heritage a black person, thus eliminating the distinction of the mestizo. The insistence on race purity in the United States was different from the Cape Verdean case. In the United States any person who was born to a black mother was considered black and the hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon culture is evident. Blacks formed the minority group, designated as different from the immigrants. Even today there is still racial discrimination towards blacks in the United States, so they are still excluded and relegated to the margins.

The blacks in the United States, unlike those in Cape Verde, did not have access to social mobility. As Caldeira puts it in "O Afro-Americano e o Cabo-Verdiano: Identidade Étnica e Identidade Nacional", "ao contrário do que sucede nas outras áreas da África Negra, incluindo as ex-colónias portuguesas – o problema da cor, o da origem racial, deixou literalmente de ter significado no Arquipélago (1993:45). In her opinion, it is the social class of the individual that gives a person's place in the social hierarchy, rather than the color of his or her skin. Baltasar Lopes da Silva is of the same opinion:

> […] mobilidade vertical tirou em Cabo Verde qualquer sentido ao conceito de raça. Assim, a expressão "gente branca", tão corriqueira no arquipélago não significa gente etnicamente branca, mas, sim, gente que ocupa bons lugares na escala social. O patrão do serviçal branco puro, ou simplesmente brancarana, ou "light-skinned", pode ser negro retinto: no entanto, o criado serve em casa de "gente branca". Aqui, deste modo, o factor social e o económico esvaziaram a expressão de todo o conteúdo étnico (9).

As we can realize Cape Verdean social structure is based more on the social class rather than on racial origin.

In Davidson's opinion, by the year 1700 or so came "the creation of Cape a Verdean people, creole in its destiny and language, which was no longer a mulatto people, nor a *mestiço* or a mongrel such as could belong anywhere else, but a people of its own, specific and original to its place" (11). Caldeira reinforces this idea by saying that:

> Cabo Verde surge, no quadro das relações político-culturais entre Portugal e as suas colónias, como um caso interessante, na medida em que suscita paralelos e contrastes inesperados com uma situação à partida tão díspar como é a da comunidade negra nos Estados Unidos. É que, apesar das muitas e profundas diferenças, o certo é que a comunidade cabo-verdiana e a sua cultura partilham com os negros americanos trilhos de uma busca da identidade presa a uma duplicidade de apelos: uma África que é a origem, mas que está afastada no tempo e no espaço, ou um mundo ocidental originalmente alheio mas imponente na sua ideologia e prática política, económica e civilizacional (1993: 609).

Caldeira highlights the peculiarity in the colonization of the archipelago since all Africans and Europeans who peopled the islands were strangers to the land. The Africans outnumbered the Europeans and that favored miscegenation, which is determinant to the cultural identity of the Cape Verdean people on the islands. Europeans and Africans shared the same condition of separation from their homeland and culture, which required a mutual effort to adapt to the new conditions. In addition to the insularity, the isolation led to some harmonization between the two groups. The smaller European population size in comparison to the African population lessened the European cultural domination and this led to cultural reciprocity. Caldeira also argues that "a ironia dos resultados é por demais significativa: diminuindo a necessidade de resistência cultural em relação ao colonizador, Cabo Verde ficou praticamente entregue a si próprio, desenvolvendo com muito maior liberdade uma cultura própria" (1993:610). The subaltern character of the Portuguese colonization explains the peculiarity in the settlement of the islands.

In relation to the United States, the African Americans theoreticians such as Du Bois describe African Americans as having double consciousness. Ralph Ellison talks about double vision – the dualism of identities, the African and the American in *Invisible Man* (1952). The African Americans were heavily acculturated under a dominant ideology that hedged their ties with their ethnic culture and separated them forever from their homeland. Their relation with Africa is based only on a reinvention of Africa (Caldeira, 1993). In relation to the archipelago, the mestizo in Cape Verde never felt divided into two cultures. They have always had a homeland, a language and they are proud of their culture (Davidson). In Caldeira's opinion, the Portuguese could not impose their power on the islands, which allowed a cultural permeability (1993:193). Thus, the emergency of a bi-racial people was not a result of a policy but a side effect.

Both novels deal with political issues related to Cape Verdean and American realities as slave societies. The authors denounce the evils of slavery in both societies trying to change the status quo. In this sense they are both abolitionists. They depicted the physical and psychological violence exerted upon the slaves situation which was inherent to the institution of slavery. The slaves in both novels are constructed as others in relation to the white dominant ideology which sees them as sub-human, even as cattle. It is true that they reinforced existing theories of the inferiority of blacks, but they are also victims of a racialized social system in which they lived.

However, slavery in Cape Verde was far different from that of the United States of America. The institution of slavery in Cape Verde seemed to be humane and benevolent than its counterpart in the United States of America. The cultural and biological miscegenation became a characteristic of the Portuguese colonial power in Africa on account of its peripheral location and its intermediate position in the world economy. After the abolition of slavery in the United States, racial segregation, or Jim Crow laws as they became known, were enacted in public facilities in the South to keep blacks apart from whites. This contributed to the perpetuation of race-based discrimination and of a racially stratified society. However, in Cape Verde, there was an absence of such laws and blacks were able to achieve status and success in church and public service. In addition, after abolition there was an incorporation of the ex-slaves into the social texture, and race mixture formed the basis of Cape Verdean racial ideology, creating a hybrid race. Miscegenation was seen as something positive.

The social status of a person, rather than the color of the skin, determines his/her social status. Slavery was defended less on racial grounds than the case of the United States of America. Contrary to what happened in the United States of America, in Cape Verde racism took the form of a caste system. The construction of race in Cape Verde is also different from the United States. In the United States anyone from African ancestry was black even if he or she appeared white.

In *OE* we realize that the construction of race is normally based on phenotype differences. One of the main characteristics of Uncle Tom, the protagonist of *UTC*, is his description as a child, but in *OE* we do not find the infantilization of João, the protagonist. As a matter of fact we do not notice the infantilization of the slaves in *OE*. The Manichean view in which the whites are represented as evil, the mestizos as good and the blacks in between them as victims is present in *OE* but in *UTC* it is not that clear. But there is an identical whitewashing of the bi-racial characters in *OE* and *UTC*.

Both authors wrote following western ideology. Edward Said argues in his book *Orientalism* (1978) that many writers of the nineteenth century and even earlier were aware of race, empire and otherness, but they reproduced the idea of superiority of the European over the colonized peoples whom they considered less civilized and racially inferior (Said,14). Westerners perceived themselves not just as different but as superior in comparison to non-Westerners. This idea became hegemonic and was naturalized.

The rebellion in Haiti, the former San Domingo island, is mentioned in both novels. I think both authors mentioned the rebellion to call attention to the possibility of the slave uprising in both slavery societies. Their decision to talk about an event which was not seen lightheartedly by authorities functioned as a warning about the possibility of it happening in their societies too. Furthermore, it shows that Stowe and Almeida are aware of the abolitionist texts.

At the end of both novels the bi-racial characters go to Africa (in the case of the *OE*, I mean continental Africa) which may mean a search for their African roots. Although both authors whitewash their bi-racial characters, they must be praised for their courage to challenge the government and the institution of slavery in Cape Verde and in the United States of America.

In *UTC* the blacks are infantilized. Stanley Elkins in *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1976) argues that the slaves in the United States were transformed into Sambos and consequently totally dependent on their masters. In both novels the blacks are the ones who are marginalized. Although their works may have had abolitionist purposes they did not claim for racial equality.

Stereotypes must he challenged because they ignore the complexity and subjectivity of individuals. We should start thinking that difference does not mean inferiority. Education and information are determinant concerning racial discrimination. It must be a key to breaking down barriers against hegemonic discourses because until now race, otherness, and dualistic thinking tend to mold the relation between individuals all over the world.

Rosi Braidotti argues that people should think about difference in non-negative and non-pejorative terms, that is, we should think about difference in a positive way. Otherwise we can have bad consequences as the Nazi holocaust. She says that we need to revise the negative connotations of the concept of difference which is hierarchical and of marginalizing because normally difference is seen as inferiority (2006). We should start thinking that the idea of difference should not necessarily mean either better or worse and we should claim for the equal humanity of people.

Alice Walker, paraphrasing Du Bois, who wrote that the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color-line, says that "the problem of the twenty-first century will still be the problem of the color line, […] the relations between the darker and the lighter people of the same races, and of the women who represent both dark and light within each race (310-311).

In my personal case, the history of slavery relates to a quest for my identity and an opportunity to understand the hidden aspects of history. It is also a means through which I enlarge my knowledge on postcolonial studies.

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