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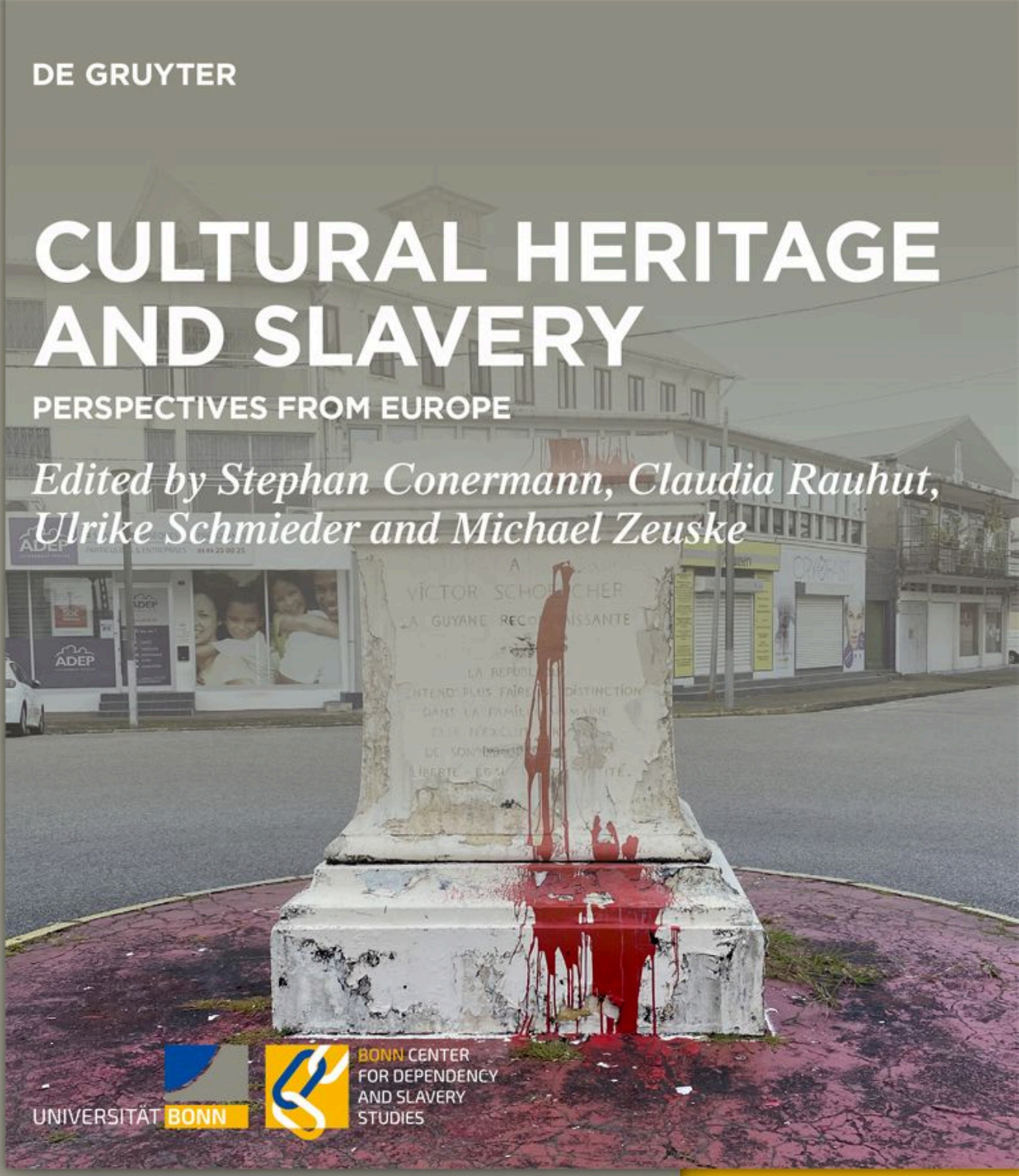
CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SLAVERY

PERSPECTIVES FROM EUROPE

Edited by Stephan Conermann, Claudia Rauhut, Ulrike Schmieder and Michael Zeuske



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Dependency and Slavery Studies

Edited by
Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann

Volume 10

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Cover image: French Guiana, Cayenne, Place Victor Schœlcher, with the base of a statue of Victor Schœlcher (1804–1893). He was shown with a slave whom he points towards liberty (or with whom he celebrates liberty), following the definitive abolition of slavery in 1848 in France. The monument with the statue by the French sculptor Louis-Ernest Barrias (1841–1905) was erected in 1896, and has been listed as Cultural Heritage Monument since 1999. The statue was vandalized in 2020. Photo: Michael Zeuske.
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Preface

This volume of collected articles resulted from an online workshop on "Cultural Heritage and Slavery: Perspectives from Europe," held on July 1–2, 2021. It was organized by Stephan Conermann, Karoline Noack, Claudia Rauhut, Ulrike Schmieder and Michael Zeuske and hosted by the Cluster of Excellence "Beyond Slavery and Freedom. Asymmetrical Dependencies in Pre-modern Societies" (www.dependency.uni-bonn.de). The Cluster of Excellence at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) aims to overcome the binary opposition of "slavery versus freedom." It approaches the phenomenon of slavery and other types of strong asymmetrical dependency from methodologically and theoretically distinct perspectives. In the context of the global Cultural Heritage boom, where local, national, and global identity constructions are enmeshed with cultural tourism interests, sites of memory associated with colonialism and slavery, and with notions of accountability, have become a field of social conflicts. The tensions between different actors and interests around the central issue of how to deal with the slavery past became visible in the global Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020, and found their expression in the toppling of statues and monuments.

The workshop approached the topic of traces of slavery in European towns, and the tangible cultural heritage left by enslavers. The participants included scholars, museum experts, and scholarly activists working on the European context. The workshop aimed to approach the heritage of slavery in Europe from a multidisciplinary perspective including history, social and cultural anthropology, and social science. It addressed key issues such as: What role does transatlantic slavery play in the cultural heritage of European cities and territories? Which legacies have been identified and remembered in public or in private spaces – and how, where, by whom, for what purpose? Which potential forms of public redress and reparations can be identified? We established connections to a diverse set of actors from the worlds of academia, civil society activism, local, national and international politics, museums and heritage institutions, tourism, and the media; all of whom are engaged in uncovering the heritage of slavery. They related their various experiences in terms of collaboration, networks, strategies, and conflicts of interest. The workshop also discussed what scholars could (or should?) do about the issue of cultural heritage tainted by an association with slavery, and the general public and political impact of research into this complicated subject.

This was the first in a series of conferences on cultural heritage and slavery. In March 2022, we held a second conference on "Cultural Heritage and Slavery: Perspectives from the Caribbean" (March, 24–26 2022). Four months later Claudia Jarzebowski and Pia Wiegmink, together with two colleagues from the universities of Würzburg (Heike Raphael-Hernandez) and Freie Universität Berlin (Susanne Lettow), organized the international symposium "Slavery and Dependency: New Perspectives on German Global History and Cultural Heritage" (July 6–8, 2022). At the time of writing, the Cluster of Excellence is planning to host two more events during the spring of 2023: a confer-

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ence on “Competing Memories: The Politics of Remembering Enslavement, Emancipation and Indentureship in the Caribbean,” on March 29–31, 2023, organized by Sinah Kloß, Andrea Gremels (Goethe University Frankfurt) and Ulrike Schmieder (Centre for Atlantic and Global History at Leibniz University Hannover) together with the Society for Caribbean Research (SOCARE e.V.); and a symposium about “Public Narratives of the History of Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian Slavery” hosted by Stephan Conermann and Paulo Terra (Fluminense University, Niterói, Brazil) on May 22–23, 2023.

Other conferences with a focus on African, US American and Latin American perspectives are planned.

We would like to thank the participants of our workshop for their inspiring talks and discussions, the event and publication management teams of the BCDSS for their fantastic work behind the scenes, the German Research Foundation for funding this publication, and De Gruyter for their support in publishing this book.

Stephan Conermann, Claudia Rauhut, Ulrike Schmieder and Michael Zeuske

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Ulrike Schmieder

Dealing with Dissonant Cultural Heritage: Traces of Enslavers in European Cityscapes

1 Introduction

This volume includes contributions to a virtual international conference about "Cultural Heritage and Slavery: Perspectives from Europe" (held in July 2021) and two chapters from authors (Gunvor Simonson and Holger Weiss) who were asked to participate later in that publication. The organizing colleagues of the Bonn Center of Dependency and Slavery Studies (Stephan Conermann, Karoline Noack, Claudia Rauhut, and Michael Zeuske) asked the author of this inaugural chapter to become a co-coordinator because the topic of this conference represents the core of her investigations about "Memories of Atlantic Slavery. France and Spain, the French Caribbean and Cuba Compared in the Context of Global Debates about the Commemoration of Slave Trade and Slavery." The conference opened a series of conferences focusing on the cultural heritage of enslavement. In March 2022, the conference "Cultural Heritage and Slavery: Perspective from the Caribbean," coordinated by Stephan Conermann, Claudia Rauhut, Ulrike Schmieder, and Michael Zeuske, followed. This second conference gave the floor to (circum-) Caribbean researchers working on the Caribbean. With respect to the first conference and this volume, the organizers tried to cover research on as many European countries involved in the enslavement of persons of African descent as possible.[1]

In the context of the cultural heritage boom, where community-based and national identity projects are involved and intertwined with interest in cultural tourism and sites of the memory of enslavement, questions of historical guilt and present responsibility are a source of social conflict, particularly in multicultural societies with

1 Lamentably, Isabel Castro Henriques, whose works about Portugal are quoted in this chapter, could not come, while the conference participant Antonio De Almeida Mendes has not delivered a chapter. Thus, the most important nation in human trafficking from Africa to America does not have a dedicated chapter.

Note: This article is based on the research project Memories of Atlantic Slavery, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG; German Research Foundation, reference: SCHM 1050/5-1, 2, project number 393718958). The research presented here is based not only on academic publications, the media, and an analysis of memorial sites, but also on interviews. I wish to thank the 152 persons, some in couples or groups, who were so kind as to grant me an interview. The conversations will be interpreted in my forthcoming book about the sites of memory and the sites of oblivion of enslavement in Europe (with a focus on France and Spain) and the Caribbean (with a focus on Martinique and Cuba).

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an enslaving past.[2] This was revealed in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, when statues of enslavers and colonizers were toppled, controversial debates about streets and places named after them re-ignited,[3] and the European Union apologized for slavery after the racist murder of George Floyd.[4] Connected debates focus on museums and artworks acquired unjustly in societies under colonial rule,[5] the question of whether and how museums or museum galleries should narrate the hidden past of enslavement[6] and colonialism, including their own colonial origins with respect to narratives about presumed European supremacy,[7] and the need to establish new monuments for the enslaved, their resistance, and abolitionists of African descent.[8]

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2 This paragraph resembles the conference description because this description was partially copied from Ulrike Schmieder's project summary, not vice versa.

3 Saima Nasar, "Remembering Edward Colston: Histories of Slavery, Memory, and Black Globality," *Women's History Review* 29 (2020): 1218–25; Ulrike Schmieder and Michael Zeuske, eds., *Falling Statues Around the Atlantic* [= *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 31, no. 3–4 (2021)].

4 The European Parliament's resolution of 19 June 2020 on the anti-racism protests following the death of George Floyd called on its member states "to officially acknowledge past injustices and crimes against humanity committed against black people, people of colour and Roma; declares slavery a crime against humanity and calls for 2 December to be designated the European Day commemorating the Abolition of the Slave Trade; encourages the member states to make the history of black people, people of colour and Roma part of their school curricula." The European Parliament's resolution of 19 June 2020 on the anti-racism protests following the death of George Floyd (2020/2675, RSP), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2020-0173_EN.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

5 Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, "Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain. Vers une nouvelle éthique relationnelle," 2018, http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_fr.pdf [accessed 04.10.2022]; Dan Hicks, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (London: Pluto Press, 2020); Deutscher Museumsbund, Leitfaden, "Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten," 3rd Version, 2021, https://www.museumsbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/leitfaden-zum-umgang-mit-sammlungsgut-aus-kolonialen-kontexten-web.pdf [accessed 28.03.2023].

6 Laurajane Smith, Geoffrey Cubitt, Rose Wilson and Kalliopi Fouseki, eds., *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums. Ambiguous Engagements* (New York: Routledge, 2011); John McAleer, "'That Infamous Commerce in Human Blood': Reflections on Representing Slavery and Empire in British Museums," *Museum History Journal* 6, no. 1 (2013): 72–86; Astrid Nonbo Andersen, "Curating Enslavement and the Colonial History of Denmark. The 2017 Centennial," in *Museums and Sites of Persuasion. Politics, Memory and Human Rights*, ed. Joyce Apsel and Amy Sodaro (London: Routledge, 2020): 56–73.

7 Tony Bennett, *Pasts beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004); Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France. Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); André Desvallées, *Quai Branly: un miroir aux alouettes? A propos d'ethnographie et d'"arts premiers"* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007); Thomas Dominic, ed., *Museums in Postcolonial Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010); Alice Procter, *The Whole Picture: The Colonial Story of the Art in Our Museums and Why We Need to Talk about It* (London: Cassell, 2020).

8 Alan J. Rice, *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Ana Lucia Araujo, ed., *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Emmanuelle Chérel and Gabriela Brindis Alvárez, *Le Mémorial de l'abolition de l'esclavage de Nantes. Enjeux et controverses (1998–2012). Un*

We refer in this volume to this dissonant cultural heritage[9] in Europe, with a strong focus on the tangible remains of enslavement in the Atlantic space in Europe. This may concern, for instance, the castles and residences of royal, noble, and bourgeois enslavers; charitable and cultural institutions, universities, banks, and insurance companies, financed by traders in and owners of enslaved Africans; merchants who dealt in sugar, coffee, and cotton; and the owners of factories who profited from exports to the African and Caribbean markets related to Atlantic slavery. The enslaved Africans brought to Europe also left material traces,[10] rare and often difficult-to-find relics such as the coins embossed with the letter "S," a marker of enslaved persons, on the door of the San Ginés church in Madrid. Their religious confraternities adored black saints, as in the church of Graça in Lisbon. Enslaved Africans appear also in early modern paintings and sculptures.[11]

Whether the vestiges of the enslavers and enslaved become *lieux de mémoire* in Pierre Nora's sense, meaning that ritualized commemorations are regularly celebrated at sites,[12] depends on the outcome of public debates about how to deal with these remnants. This discussion is often initiated by committed scholars with expertise in the history of enslavement and by post-colonial activists of African, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-American descent who are often scholars themselves, which is why these actors in memorial politics should not be seen as mutually exclusive categories.[13] The contributions of Abdoulaye Gueye and Artwell Cain in this volume study

projet de Krysztof Wodiczko & Julian Bonder (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012); Renaud Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire: politique de la mémoire à Nantes, Bordeaux et Liverpool* (Paris: Dalloz, 2014); Bernard Michon and Éric Saunier, eds., *Les ports négriers et les mémoires de la traite et de l'esclavage* [= *Philanthrope* 7 (2018)]; Marcel Dorigny, *Arts & Lettres contre l'esclavage* (Paris: Cercle d'Arts, 2018).

9 The notion of "dissonant heritage," originally from George Ashworth and John Tunbridge (George Ashworth and John Tunbridge, *Dissonant Heritage. The Management of the Past as a Resource of Conflict* [Chichester: Wiley, 1996]), is discussed in Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006): 80–82. She distinguishes between an authorized heritage discourse and subaltern and dissenting heritage discourses (29–43).

10 For Sevilla, see Ana Moreno, "La Sevilla africana: una ruta histórico-turística por el patrimonio negro de la ciudad," in *La negritud y su poesía, Prácticas artísticas y miradas críticas contemporáneas en Latinoamérica y España*, ed. Andrea Díaz-Mattel (Montevideo: BMR Cultural-Sevilla, 2019): 401–22.

11 José Miguel López García, *La esclavitud a finales del Antiguo Régimen. Madrid, 1701–1837. De moros de presa a negros de nación* (Madrid: Alianza, 2020): images 1–11; Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Isabel Castro Henriques, *Roteiro histórico de uma Lisboa africana: séculos XV–XXI* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2021).

12 Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Fischer, 1990): 26–27.

13 For the historiography on memorial activism, see Madge Dresser, "Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol," *Slavery & Abolition* 30 (2009): 223–46, Jennifer Moody, *The Persistence of Memory: Remembering Slavery in Liverpool, 'Slaving Capital of the World'* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), and Olivette Otele, "Mourning in Reluctant Sites of Memory: From Afrophobia to Cultural Productivity," in *Post-Conflict Memorialization: Missing Memorials, Absent Bodies*, ed. Olivette Otele, Luisa Gandolfo and Yoav Galai (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 35–54 for the UK; Johann Michel,

the protagonists of the memorialization of transatlantic slavery. Gueye refers to the conflicts over the selection of a site for the National Foundation for the Memory of Slavery and the establishment of a Slavery Museum in Paris, explaining the outcome of struggles in terms of the different material and symbolic capitals the competing actors (white French politicians, associations, and members of the African and Antillean diaspora) can dispose of. Cain points to the dilemma of the Afro-Dutch vis-à-vis a cultural heritage context where monuments of their ancestors do not exist and the acknowledgement of Dutch involvement in Atlantic slavery (and the anti-Black racism that is its legacy in Dutch institutions) has not gone beyond the very first steps. The interviews his chapter is based on reflect the complications of identity resulting from the exclusionary message of Dutch cultural policy and heritage.

State and community commemorative ceremonies in France on May 10 and 23 (the National Day of Remembrance of the Slave Trade, Slavery, and their Abolitions; National Memorial Day for the Victims of Colonial Slavery) and in the United Kingdom on August 23 (the beginning of the Haitian Revolution and the International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition) often take place at new monuments honoring Black survivors and abolitionists of European and African descent. This is the case, for example, with the monuments Le cri, l'écrit, and Fers in Paris, the Mémorial de l'Abolition de l'Esclavage in Nantes, the statues of Modeste Testas in Bordeaux (Fig. 1) and Solitude in Bagneux, and other monuments in the suburbs of Paris. Commemorations are also held in front of museums, such as the International Slavery Museum (ISM) in Liverpool and the National Maritime Museum (NMM) in London.[14]

Devenir descendant d'esclave. Enquête sur les régimes mémoriels (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), and Abdoulaye Gueye, "The Past is a Contentious Field. The Memory of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the Black French Organizational Dynamic," in *A Stain on our Past. Slavery and Memory*, ed. Abdoulaye Gueye and Johann Michel (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2018): 91–114 for France; Kwame Nimako and Glen Willemsen, "The Legacy of Slavery: The Unfinished Business of Emancipation," in *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, ed. Kwame Nimako and Glen Willemsen (London: Pluto Press 2011): 149–83, and Artwell Cain, "Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?" *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4, no. 3 (2015): 227–42 for the Netherlands; Astrid Nonbo Andersen, "'We Have Reconquered the Islands': Figurations in Public Memories of Slavery and Colonialism in Denmark 1948–2012," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 56, no. 1 (2013): 57–76 for Denmark; Marta Araújo and Anabela Rodrigues, "História e memoria em movimento: escravatura, educação e (anti)racismo em Portugal," *Revista história Hoje* 7, no. 14 (2018): 107–32. for Portugal; and Antumi Toasije, "La memoria y el reconocimiento de la comunidad africana y africano-descendiente negra en España: el papel de la vanguardia panafricanista," *Nómadas. Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas* 28, no. 4 (2010): 277–316 for Spain.

14 Participant observation of the author: May 10, 2018, state ceremony at the Jardin du Luxembourg (Le cri, l'écrit monument), and communal commemoration at the Place Cartroux (Fers monument), May 10, 2017 and 2019 on the quaysides of Bordeaux, May, 23, 2018, state ceremony in the Overseas Ministry, protest march of Antillean associations in Paris, and August 23, 2019 in front of the ISM.

Fig. 1: Inauguration of the monument to Modeste Testas on the quaysides of Bordeaux, 10.05.2019 (photo: Ulrike Schmieder).

The architectural heritage of enslavement often remains hidden or half-hidden, meaning that only a few of the many still existing former residences, company seats, or charitable institutions built for and/or financed by enslavers are identified during guided tours (for example, in Liverpool, Bristol, Bordeaux, other French port towns, and Barcelona)[15] or on flyers or websites referring to the history of enslavers (for instance, in Lancaster, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and Barcelona);[16] on site, there is often no plaque commenting this past. Only in Nantes, with its urban trail between the History Museum and the Memorial (Le memorial dans la ville), along the traces of enslavement, are there plaques fixed near enslaver residences.

15 Slavery Walking Tour by Laurence Westgaph, Liverpool. Bristol Transatlantic Slavery Walk. Guided tours by the NGOs Mémoires & Partages (Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Le Havre, Bayonne), Memoria in La Rochelle, and Asociació Coneixer Història, Barcelona.

16 Lancaster Slave Trade Town Trail. Mémoire de l'esclavage et de la traite négrière (Bordeaux). Mémoires rochelaises du commerce triangulaire (La Rochelle); Aymara Arreaza and Lorena Bau, *Indians/ BCN* (Barcelona: Ayuntament, 2016); Ralat Guzmán, Omar R., Enric Berenguer and Javier Laviña, *Barcelona, Llegats de l'esclavatge i l'abolicionisme* (Barcelona: CCOO, 2018); Barcelona y América: una cartografía del relato colonial (Barcelona).

2 Gaps in Historical Research on the Material Vestiges of Enslavement, and Some Recent Achievements

With respect to the dissonant cultural heritage of enslavement, what has been investigated and what not, what is commemorated and what is silenced? When I began my research project, I thought that the problem was that white mainstream society and local politicians were hesitant about or openly opposed to the decolonization of memorial cityscapes, but that historians had done their work, at least in identifying local connections to slavery-based economic activities and their tainted cultural heritage. In seeking to follow the traces of enslavers and enslaved in France and Spain, the main objects of my research, and occasionally in Britain and Portugal (to compare the case studies), I noticed in many instances that not all the necessary research had been carried out. As we can only remember what we know, this is a problem for the decolonization of European cityscapes.

In recent years, there has been a revival of the debate about Eric William's thesis regarding the interdependence between slavery and capitalism.[17] For decades, those who claimed that Atlantic slavery contributed little to Europe's capitalist economic development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries dominated academic discourse,[18] with some remaining Marxist historians such as Barbara Solow and Dale Tomich and experts in African history like Joseph Inikori disagreeing.[19] The means for maintaining the view that European progress was self-achieved and not obtained by exploiting others was to focus research narrowly on the direct profits of trafficking in Africans and their investment in industrialization. This overlooked the gains from plantation slavery itself, which was abolished only decades later, and the broadness of slavery-based economic activities, such as shipbuilding, banking, insurance, the commerce in and processing of agricultural products made by enslaved Africans, and industries pro-

17 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994 [1944]).
18 Stanley B. Engerman, "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis," *Business History Review* 46, no. 4 (1972): 430–43; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760–1810* (London: Macmillan, 1975); Patrick O'Brien, "European Economic Development: The Contribution of the Periphery," *The Economic History Review, New Series* 35, no. 1 (1982): 1–18; Henk den Heijer, "Roundtable. Reviews of Joseph Inikori, 'Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development' with a Response by Joseph Inikori," *International Journal of Maritime History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 305–11.
19 Barbara L. Solow, "Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 4 (1987): 711–37, and Dale Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery. Labor, Capital, and Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), and Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England. A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2002).

ducing for African and Caribbean markets.[20] Furthermore, the new economic history of slavery argues that slavery was the core of capitalism, not something merely related to the capitalist economy; enslaved human bodies were capital, enslavers were the first capitalists, plantations were sites of industrialization.[21] How do we come from this research on macrostructures and global capital flows to the tangible urban heritage of slavery? For this, it is necessary to know not only which merchants traded in enslaved Africans, but also where they lived, where they built their country houses, in which economic branches and means of social distinction they invested the gains, in which family and socio-economic networks they were involved, and to which charitable institutions they donated. That means doing intensive empirical research on notarial deeds, censuses, and company archives if accessible.

20 For a reassessment of Eric William's thesis in relation to the UK, see Pat Hudson, "Slavery, the Slave Trade and Economic Growth: A Contribution to the Debate," in *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World*, ed. Catherine, Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014): 36–59. Nicholas Draper. "Helping to Make Britain Great: The Commercial Legacies of Slave-Ownership in Britain," in ibid: 78–126; for the Netherlands, see Armand Zunder. "A New Approach to the Economic History of Suriname Including a Methodology to Calculate Reparations for Damage Caused by Dutch Colonial Rule," in *New Perspectives on Slavery and Colonialism in the Caribbean*, ed. Marten Schalkwijk and Stephen Small (The Hague: Amrit/Ninsee, 2012): 149–83. Karwan Fatah-Black, and Matthias van Rossum. "Beyond Profitability: The Dutch Transatlantic Slave Trade and its Economic Impact," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 1 (2015): 63–83; and for Switzerland, see Marcel Brengard, Frank Schubert and Lucas Zürcher, "Die Beteiligung der Stadt Zürich sowie der Zürcherinnen und Zürcher an Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel vom 17. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert, Bericht zu Händen des Präsidialdepartements der Stadt Zürich," 2020, https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/190541/ [accessed 01.04.2023]. In Tamira Combrink and Matthias van Rossum, "Europe and Slavery: Revisiting the Impact of Slave-Based Activities on European Economies, 1500–1850," *Slavery & Abolition* 42, no. 1 (2021): 1–14, the role of "slave-based economic activities" for the development of capitalism is explained for Prussia (Anke Steffen), Portugal (Filipa Ribeiro da Silva), the Netherlands (Tamira Combrink, Ulbe Bosma & Pepjin Brandon), and Britain (Klas Rönnbäck). In Michael Zeuske and Stephan Conermann, eds., *The Slavery/ Capitalism Debate Global: From 'Capitalism and Slavery' to Slavery as Capitalism* [= *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)], the interdependence of slavery and capitalism is revealed vis-a-vis the Netherlands by Pepjin Brandon and Spain by Martín Rodrigo and Enrique Martino.

21 Walther Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams. Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (London: Penguin Books, 2015); Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen, eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im Atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Sven Beckert and Seth Rockmann, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Calvin Schermerhorn, *The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American Capitalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016); Dale Tomich, ed., *Slavery and Historical Capitalism during the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017); Zeuske and Conermann, *The Slavery/ Capitalism Debate Global.*

In the case of Britain, this empirical research has, in general, been done. The tangible cultural heritage of slavery in specific towns[22] and the country houses of enslavers[23] has been identified in many studies. The database Legacies of British Slave Ownership and related publications have been an important cornerstone of the research into the history and traces of enslavement. The new research of the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery will focus on Black survivors, as Matthew J. Smith and Matthew Stallard explain in their contribution to this book. The reconstruction of the life of enslaved people on the basis of the "Return of Register of Slaves" intends to count the life histories of non-indemnified Black survivors of enslavement. The researchers conceive of this work as an effort of reparative history and restorative justice for enslaved people and their descendants.

Referring to the perpetrators' side, it is important to note the inclusion of the indemnification of enslavers in 1838 in research on capital flows and investments in urban and rural architecture, which proves the influence of profits from Atlantic slavery on the development of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century.[24] The material vestiges of enslavement in the port towns involved in human trafficking are represented in the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, the London, Sugar, and Slavery Gallery in the Docklands Museum, the Atlantic Gallery in the National Maritime Museum in London-Greenwich, and some rooms in the Maritime Museum in Lancaster. While the museum in Liverpool and the galleries in London include the perspectives of the enslaved, the presence of Africans in Britain, the resistance of the descendants of the enslaved against the legacies of enslavement in racism and racialized social inequality, the stories of black achievers, in the Maritime Museum of Lancaster

22 Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London: Continuum, 2001); Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley and Jessica Moody, eds., *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a "National Sin"* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016); Moody, *The Persistence of Memory*.

23 Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann, eds., *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013); Sally Huxtable, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas and Emma Slocombe, *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery* (Swindon: National Trust, 2020); Mary Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit* (Fort Cumberland: Historic England, 2020); Corinne Fowler, *Green Unpleasant Land: Creative Responses to Rural England's Colonial Connections* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2021): 125–82.

24 Physical legacies (country houses, estates, public buildings, churches, town houses, castles, monuments), cultural legacies (paintings, donations/ patronage), and commercial legacies (investments in firms, railways) can be researched here: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/; https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/cultural/; https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/commercial/ [all accessed 28.03.2023]; Publications: Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

the perspective of the enslaved is missing.[25] The difference has something to do with the degree of participation of Afro-Caribbean communities in the development of museology, which is normally the result of the long struggle of Black civil rights movements to be included in decisions about the politics of memory.[26] In this volume, Katie Donington refers to the "culture wars" about the representation of enslavement in English country houses, the strong resistance against such a representation, and the decolonization of museums in general. She also points to the lack of diversity in the upper ranks of museum staff and describes this as an important obstacle to making enslavement visible in country houses seen as cultural institution incarnating Englishness.

In Liverpool's ISM, one small screen referred to the indemnification of enslavers: for more information, one had to buy the accompanying book by Anthony Tibbles.[27] In the National Maritime Museum in London-Greenwich, some sentences are dedicated to this topic.[28] In both cases, the importance of these capital flows is not represented in full, though any reference is better than the silence in French museums resulting, among other reasons, from a lack of research. Enslavers from Saint-Domingue received compensation in 1825, paid by the Haitian state as a precondition to being recognized as sovereign, which was a heavy burden for the island throughout the nineteenth century.[29] In 1849, enslavers in all other colonies were indemnified for the loss of their enslaved workers. Research on this compensation had been neglected for decades in France, especially the payments after 1849 and their influence on nineteenth-century economic development in the French Antilles and mainland France. A doctoral thesis from 2004 on this topic that included references to capital transfer to France aroused no public debate.[30] A first step to overcoming this gap in public knowledge in France

25 Observations and documentation by the author in Liverpool (ISM, August 19 and 23, 2019), London (Docklands Museum, June 6, 2017, NMM, June 10, 2017), and Lancaster (August 21, 2019).

26 Richard Benjamin, "Museums and Sensitive Histories: The International Slavery Museum," in *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo (New York: Routledge, 2012): 178–96; Moody, *The Persistence of Memory*: 181–216.

27 Anthony Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018).

28 Ulrike Schmieder, "Museos marítimos europeos y esclavitud: ¿memoria u olvido deliberado? Barcelona, Londres (Greenwich), Lisboa (Belém) y Flensburgo," in *Del Olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 300–304.

29 François Blancpain, *Un siècle de relations financières entre Haïti et la France (1825–1922)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001); François Blancpain, "Note sur les 'dettes' de l'esclavage: le cas de l'indemnité payée par Haïti (1825–1883)," *Outre-mers* 90, no. 340–341. (2003): 241–45; Eugène Itazienne, "La normalisation des relations franco-haïtiennes (1825–1838)," ibid.: 139–154; Frédérique Beauvois, "Monnayer l'incalculable? L'indemnité de Saint-Domingue, entre approximations et bricolage," *Revue historique* 312, no. 3 (2010): 609–36.

30 Cécile Ernatus, "L'indemnité coloniale en Guadeloupe, Guyane et Martinique entre 1848 et 1860. Monnaie de pierre, monnaie de sable, monnaie de sang" (PhD diss., Université Paris X Nanterre, 2004); Cécile Ernatus, "L'indemnité coloniale de 1849, logique de solidarité ou logique coloniale?" *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 152 (2009): 61–77.

was taken when the database of the recipients, developed by the research group REPAIRS, went online in May 2021.[31]

In the French Overseas Departments, the memories of enslavement are closely connected with the indemnification of 1849, the basis for demands for reparations, conflicts over the cult of white abolitionist Victor Schœlcher, and the long-term consequences of enslavement. The continuity of the economic power of the *békés* (the white caste of the descendants of enslavers) particularly in Martinique and a racialized social hierarchy belong to these legacies.[32] In contrast, displays about the role of port towns in the enslavement of Africans in the Château des Ducs de Bretagne/ Musée d'Histoire in Nantes, the Musée d'Aquitaine in Bordeaux, and the Musée du Nouveau Monde in La Rochelle about slavery focus strongly on the far-off eighteenth-century commerce in African captives and end happily with the abolition of slavery in 1848. The exception is the museum in Bordeaux, which includes a reference to today's multicultural society as a legacy of enslavement.[33] They all ignore the compensation to enslavers in 1825 and 1849 and the fact that slavery was replaced by racialized colonial forced labor, not by free labor and the landownership of the formerly enslaved.[34] A change will come in Nantes

31 REPAIRS, "Esclavage & indemnités. Empire colonial français du XIXe siècle," 2021, https://esclavage-indemnites.fr/public/ [accessed 28.03.2023]; Jessica Balguy, *Indemniser l'esclavage en 1848? Débats dans l'Empire français du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Karthala, 2020); Coumba Kane and Julien Bouissou, "Les compensations versées aux propriétaires d'esclaves par la France au XIXe siècle publiées en ligne," *Le Monde*, 08.05.2021, https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2021/05/08/les-compensations-versees-aux-proprietaires-d-esclaves-par-la-france-au-xixe-siecle-rendues-publiques_6079584_3212.html [accessed 28.03.2023]; Interview with Myriam Cottias, historian, founder of the CIRESC, president of the *Comité National de la Mémoire et de l'Histoire de l'Esclavage* (CNMHE) 2013–2016, 18.05.2018, Paris, 27.5.2021, via zoom.

32 Béatrice Béral, "La commémoration de l'abolition de l'esclavage en Martinique de 1998 à 2010" (master's thesis, II. Université des Antilles, 2013); *Statues de Schœlcher et de quelques autres . . . : récapitulatif provisoire de 82 contributions au débat*, *MADININ'ART*, 07.10.2020, https://www.madinin-art.net/statues-de-schoelcher-recapitulatif-provisoire/ [accessed 28.03.2023]; Ulrike Schmieder, "Controversial Monuments for Enslavers, Enslaved Rebels and Abolitionists in Martinique and Cuba," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 31, no. 3–4 (2021): 374–93. Rodolphe Solbiac, *La destruction des statues de Victor Schœlcher en Martinique. L'exigence de réparations et d'une nouvelle politique des savoirs – The Destruction of the Statues of Victor Schœlcher in Martinique. A Demand for Reparations and a New Knowledge Policy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2020).

33 Observations and documentation by author: Nantes (17 May 2016, 17 October, 2 November 2019), Bordeaux (10 May 2017), La Rochelle (7, 15 November 2019).

34 Armand Nicolas, *L'insurrection du Sud à la Martinique (septembre 1870)* (Fort-de-France. Action, 1971); Gilbert Pago, *Histoire antillaise. L'insurrection du Sud. Contribution à l'étude sociale de la Martinique* (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse le Mirail, 1974); Oruno Denis Lara, *La liberté assassinée: Guadeloupe, Guyane, Martinique et la Réunion en 1848–1856* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005); Nelly Schmidt, *La France a-t-elle aboli l'esclavage? Guadeloupe – Martinique – Guyane (1830–1935)* (Paris: Perrin, 2009); Céline Flory, *De l'esclavage à la liberté forcée. Histoire des travailleurs africains engagés dans la Caraïbe française au XIXème siècle* (Paris: Karthala, 2015); Ulrike Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei – Martinique und Kuba im Vergleich*, 2nd. ed. (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2017).

when the displays relating to local history in the temporary exposition "L'Abîme, Nantes dans la traite atlantique et l'esclavage colonial, 1707–1830" are integrated into the permanent collections. This large and excellent exhibition also focuses on the life stories of enslaved Africans in Nantes, including a wall with their names (written and read aloud) and audio-visual displays involving visitors emotionally in the fates of trafficked people and their present-day descendants. It mentions the reestablishment of slavery by Napoleon Bonaparte and the indemnification of enslavers, Nantais included, in 1825. The exhibition refers extensively to racism as the legacy of enslavement and modern slavery.[35]

In the port towns whose involvement in Atlantic slavery has been proven,[36] the studies of Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau have left their mark. He belongs to those insisting that the rise of capitalism in France had nothing to do with profits from slavery, often contradicting his own empirical findings.[37] Younger researchers are reversing this trend.[38] The material vestiges of the enslaving past have been documented for the French port towns.[39] The outcome of this research enables the three previously men-

35 16.10.2021–19.6.2022. Documented November 18 and 19, 2021. Krystel Gualdé, *L'Abîme. Nantes dans la traite atlantique et l'esclavage colonial 1707–1830* (Nantes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2021); Interviews with Krystel Gualdé, scientific director of the *Musée d'Histoire*, Nantes, and curator of the exhibition "L'Abîme," 17.10.2019, 18.11.2021; Interview with Krystel Gualdé and Bertrand Guillet, director of the *Musée d'Histoire*, 05.11.2019. See also Ulrike Schmieder, Review of *Exhibition: L'Abîme. Nantes dans la traite atlantique et l'esclavage colonial 1707–1830/The Abyss. Nantes's Role in the Slave Trade and Colonial Slavery 1707–1830. Château des Ducs de Bretagne/Musée d'Histoire, Nantes, 16 October 2021–19 June 2022*, by Krystel Gualdé, *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 32, no. 1 (2022).

36 Jean Mettas and Serge Daget, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Soc. Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, 1978); Jean-Michel Deveau, *La traite rochelaise* (Paris: Karthala 1990); Éric Saugera, *Bordeaux, port négrier, chronologie, économie, idéologie, XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 2002); Olivier Jean- Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Nantes au temps de la traite des Noirs* (Paris: Hachette, 1998); Marc Masseaut, ed., *Les ports et la traite négrière, Nantes* [= *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire* 10 (2007)]; Mickaël Augeron and Olivier Caudron, "La Rochelle, l'Aunis et la Saintonge face à la traite, à l'esclavage et à leurs abolitions. Un état des lieux," in *La Rochelle, l'Aunis et la Saintonge face à l'esclavage*, ed. Mickaël Augeron and Olivier Caudron (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012).

37 Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, *L'argent de la traite. Milieu négrier, capitalisme et développement: un modèle* (Paris: Aubier, 1996).

38 Yves Benot, *La modernité de l'esclavage. Essai sur la servitude au cœur du capitalisme* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003); Caroline Le Mao, "L'argent de la traite et de l'esclavage," in *Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Rochefort, Bayonne, Mémoire Noire. Histoire de l'Esclavage*, ed. Caroline Le Mao (Bordeaux: Mollat, 2020): 93–116.

39 For Nantes: Jean-Louis Bodinier, ed., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Nantes-Europe, Afrique et Amériques* (Nantes: Château des Ducs de Bretagne, 1992); Jean Bretau, Jean Paul Cohen, Marion Touzé and Sébastien Chetanneau, *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf: sur les traces de la traite négrière* (Nantes: Les Anneaux de la Mémoire, 2008); for Bordeaux: Danielle Pétrissans-Cavaillès, *Sur les traces de la traite des noirs à Bordeaux* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); Éric Saugera, *Bordeaux et la traite des noirs* (La Crèche: Geste Éditions, 2018); for La Rochelle: Brice Martinetti, *La traite négrière á La Rochelle* (La Crèche: Geste Éditions, 2017).

tioned museums to refer to the tangible urban remains of enslavement. Surprisingly, there has been little research on the traces of slavery in Paris[40] and profits of enslavement that went to the capital of the French Empire, although the presidential palace, the Palais de l'Elysée, was built by the enslaver Antoine Crozat for his daughter and son-in-law in the eighteenth century.[41] French memory regimes in relation to enslavement have become an important object of study inside and outside France. However, for the most part they do not focus on the handling of the material vestiges of slavery, but on political and societal debates and conflicts about the remembrance of enslavement and its place in museums.[42]

Over the last few years, Dutch historians have made advances in a critical history of the role of the Netherlands in the enslavement and exploitation of Africans and Asians, including a critical view of post-slavery colonialism.[43] Thus, they overcame the older historiography, which minimized the influence of the commerce of African cap-

40 Marcel Dorigny, "Esclavage et première colonisation dans le paysage parisien d'aujourd'hui," in *La route de l'esclave. Des itinéraires pour réconcilier histoire et mémoire, Actes du colloque international. Guadeloupe 10–13 décembre 2014*, ed. Matthieu Dussauge, Le Conseil départemental de la Guadeloupe (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016): 245–51.

41 Pierre Ménard, *Le Français qui possédait l'Amérique. La vie extraordinaire d'Antoine Crozat, milliardaire sous Louis XIV* (Paris: Tallandier, 2019); Benoît Grossien, "L'Élysée, le plus grand symbole à Paris du passé esclavagiste de la France," France Culture, 02.08.2020 [including an interview with Marcel Dorigny], https://www.franceculture.fr/histoire/lelysee-le-plus-grand-symbole-a-paris-du-passe-esclavagiste-de-la-france [accessed 28.03.2023].

42 Myriam Cottias, "'L'oubli du passé' contre la 'citoyenneté': troc et ressentiment à la Martinique (1848–1946)," in *1946–1996. Cinquante Ans de Départementalisation Outre-Mer*, ed. Fred Constant and Justin Daniel (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997): 293–313; Françoise Vergès, "Les troubles de mémoire-Traite négrière, esclavage et écriture de l'histoire," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 3–4, no. 179–180 (2005): 1143–77; Charles Forsdick, "The Pantheon's Empty Plinth: Commemorating Slavery in Contemporary France," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9, no. 3 (2012): 279–97; Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*; Nicola Frith and Kate Hodgson, eds., *At the Limits of Memory: Legacies of Slavery in the Francophone World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); Michel, Devenir descendant d'esclave. Mickaël Augeron, "La mémoire de la traite des Noirs, de l'esclavage et de leurs abolitions á La Rochelle: les initiatives municipales (1979–2015)," *Philanthrop*e 7 (2018): 73–97; Krystel Gualdé, "Musée versus mémorial?" *Philanthrop*e 7 (2018): 99–109; François Hubert, "Traite, esclavage et enjeux patrimoniaux dans la Région Nouvelle-Aquitaine," in *Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Rochefort, Bayonne, Mémoire Noire. Histoire de l'Esclavage*, ed. Caroline Le Mao (Bordeaux: Mollat. 2020): 223–44.

43 Nimako and Willemsen, "The Legacy of Slavery"; Sandew Hira, "An Alternative Framework for the Study of Slavery and the Colonial Society in Suriname," in: Schalkwijk and Small, *New Perspectives on Slavery and Colonialism* (The Hague: Amrit/Ninsee, 2012): 225–45; Kwame Nimako, Amy Abdou and Glenn Willemsen, "Chattel Slavery and Racism: A Reflection on the Dutch Experience," in *Dutch Racism*, ed. Philomena Essel and Isabel Hoving (Amsterdam: Rodopi. 2014): 31–51; Matthias Van Rossum, "Labouring Transformations of Amphibious Monsters: Exploring Early Modern Globalization, Diversity, and Shifting Clusters of Labour Relations in the Context of the Dutch East India Company (1600–1800)," in *Free and Unfree Labor in Atlantic and Indian Ocean Port Cities (1700–1850)*, ed. Pepjin Brandon, Niklas Frykman and Pernille Røge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 19–42; Alex Van Stipriaan, *Rotterdam in Slavernij* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2020).

tives and plantation slavery in Berbice, Demarara, Essequibo (lost to the British in 1814) Suriname, and the Dutch Antilles on Dutch economic development. The authors of earlier works denied its profitability, downplayed the negative effects of the deportations of Africans on African societies, and presented the enslaved as objects, not subjects, of history.[44]

It is highly controversial whether real progress has been made with respect to a critical remembrance of enslavement in Dutch society. The white historian Gert Oostindie insists that the past of slavery has been included in the general history of the Netherlands and is commemorated sufficiently, rejecting the more far-reaching demands of Afro-Suriname or Afro-Caribbean citizens, "migrants" whose actions he describes as driven by emotion.[45] Historians closely related to the Afro-Dutch movement do not share this optimistic view and emphasize that even the commemoration of enslavement is permeated with racist stereotypes.[46] Kwame Nimako and Glen Willemsen complain about racialized double standards: when white historians teach enslavement, this is considered history education, but when blacks talk about it, it is considered emotion.[47] In the worldview of mainstream academia criticized by Nimako and Willemsen, academics are always defined as white persons, whereas the pioneering works of black scholars who wrote serious studies on the history of enslavement decades before white historians[48] are overlooked. As always in the development of the critical remembrance of the enslaving past, there are advances and setbacks. The end of state financial support for the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and Its Legacy (NiNSee),

44 Cornelis Christiaan Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985); Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Henk den Heijer, *De geschiedenis van de WIC* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1994); Piet Emmer, *The Dutch Slave Trade, 1500–1850* (New York: Berghahn, 2006). Postma changed his views: Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven, *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585–1817* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

45 Gert Oostindie, *Postcolonial Netherlands. Sixty-Five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011): 155–59.

46 Johanna C. Kardux, "Monuments to Black Atlantic. Slavery Memorials in the United States and the Netherlands," in *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*, ed. Heike Raphael-Hernandez (New York: Routledge, 2004): 87–105; Kwame Nimako and Stephen Small, "Collective Memory of Slavery in Great Britain and the Netherlands," in: Schalkwijk and Small, *New Perspectives on Slavery and Colonialism* (The Hague: Amrit/Ninsee, 2012): 92–115; Artwell Cain, "Slavery and Memory" *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 3 (2015): 227–42.

47 Nimako and Willemsen, "The Legacy of Slavery": 157.

48 William E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638–1870* (Mineola, NY: Kraus-Thomson, 1973 [1896]); Zola Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo"* (New York: Amistad, 2018 [1927], unpublished manuscript); Anton de Kom, *Wij slaven van Suriname* (Amsterdam: Contact, 2021 [1934]); Cyril Lionel Robert James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1963 [1938]); Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; José Luciano Franco, *La conspiración de Aponte* (Havana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1963); Armand Nicolas, *La Révolution antiesclavagiste de mai 1848 à la Martinique* (Fort-de-France: Imp. Populaire, 1967).

founded in 2002 and closed in 2013, was surely a backlash against the process of decolonizing minds and memorial cityscapes.[49] On the other hand, over the last ten years the tangible heritage of enslavement has been identified and described in slavery heritage guides, referring to the Netherlands in general[50] and to specific towns.[51] In 2020, the exhibition "Slavernij" in the Rijksmuseum narrated ten life stories of enslaved people in different Dutch colonies, as well as those of enslavers and profiteers from slavery in the Netherlands to explain enslavement in Dutch history.[52]

In the case of Spain, Martín Rodrigo has, for two decades, researched capital flows from the Spanish Caribbean, especially Cuba, to Catalonia and Barcelona in particular.[53] The investigation of the material vestiges of the illegal trade in enslaved Africans in nineteenth-century Barcelona, beyond the emblematic residences of the enslavers Josep Xifré i Casas and Antonio López y López, has recently begun as part of a collective project to research the traces of enslavement in Barcelona, Cadiz, Madrid, Bilbao, and smaller Catalan port towns.[54] Barcelona has taken some timid steps towards de-colonizing its memo-

49 Cain, "Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?". NiNSee was revitalized in 2018.

50 Dienke Hondius, Nancy Jouwe, Dineke Stam and Jennifer Tosh, *Slavery Heritage Guide: The Netherlands / Gids Slavernijverleden Nederland* (Volendam: LM Publishers, 2019).

51 See Esther Captain and Hans Visser, *Wandelsgids sporen van slavernij in Utrecht/ Hidden Traces of Slavery in Utrecht* (Utrecht: Utrecht Centre for Humanities, 2012), and Remco Raben, Mathijs Kuipers and Nancy Jowe. *Slavernij en de stad Utrecht* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2021) for Utrecht; Valika Smeulders, Haags Historisch Museum, *Den Haag en Slavernij* (The Hague: HHM, 2015) for The Hague; Gert Oostindie and Karwan Fatah-Black, *Sporen van de slavernij in Leiden* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2017) for Leiden; Magriet Fokken and Barbara Henkes, *Sporen van het slavernijverleden in Groningen* (Groningen: Uitgeverij Passage, 2016) for Groningen; Dienke Hondius, *Gids Slavernijverleden Amsterdam/Slavery Heritage Guide* (Amsterdam: LM Publishers, 2018) for Amsterdam; and Barbara Henkes, *Sporen van het slavernijverleden in Fryslân* (Groningen: Uitgeverij Passage, 2021) for Fryslân.

52 Rijksmuseum, "Slavery. Ten True Stories," 2021, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/stories/slavery [accessed 28.03.2023]; Eveline Sint Nicolaas and Valika Smeulders, *Slavernij, het verhaal van João, Wally, Oopjen, Paulus, Van Bengalen, Surapati, Sapali, Tula, Dirk, Lohkay* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2021); Jan Hüsgen, Review of "Slavery. Ten True Stories, 05.06.2021–29.08.2021 Amsterdam," *H-Soz-Kult*, 28.08.2021, www.hsozkult.de/exhibitionreview/id/rezausstellungen-386 [accessed 28.03.2023].

53 Martín Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925: Antonio y Claudio López* (Madrid: Lid, 2000); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, *Indians a Catalunya: Capitals Cubans en l'economia catalana* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2007); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "From Periphery to Centre: Transatlantic Capital Flows, 1830–1890," in *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy. Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650–1914*, ed. Adrian Leonard and David Pretel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 217–37; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez, eds., *Negreros y esclavos. Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglo XVI–XIX)* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2017); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla. *Un hombre, mil negocios. La controvertida historia de Antonio López, marqués de Comillas* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2021).

54 The research network "Memoria y lugares de memoria de la esclavitud y el comercio de esclavos en la España contemporánea" is directed by Martín Rodrigo, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. The first results of the research in the traces of enslavers and enslaved are available in: Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, ed., *Del Olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona:

rial cityscape with the removal of the gigantic statue of Antonio López in 2018.[55] Explanatory plaques were difficult to find until they were put closer to the monument in 2022 (Fig. 2 a–c) after the renaming of the place under the pressure from the local Black Lives Matter movement.[56] However, the pedestal glorifying the enslaver remains and the renovation of its plaque was not used to transmit recent research on the enslaver: instead, the accusations of his brother-in-law of 1885 are repeated.[57]

Research on the politics of the memory of enslavement in Barcelona is highly focused on the monument and Antonio López Square,[58] exceptions being the works of Lisa Surwillo, Martín Rodrigo, and my own.[59] Research on capital flows from the nineteenth-century trade in enslaved Africans to the port town of Cadiz has begun only recently, as has the identification of the tangible heritage of enslavement in the town.[60] A representation of enslavement does not exist in the museums of Cadiz, and is too cursory, distorted, and marked by racist prejudice in Madrid's Museo de

Icaria, 2022). On Barcelona some information had already been published: Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, ed. *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968* (Barcelona: MUHBA, 2012).

55 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 9–29.

56 Tanquem el CIE, "Memòria, justícia i reparació: Canvi de nom Plaça Antonio López per Plaça Idrissa Diallo," http://www.tanquemelscie.cat/p/campanya-placaidrissa.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

57 My observations in February 2020 and November 2021. I thank Alessandra Guhr for information and photos about the situation in July 2022.

58 Oriol López Badell, "Guided Tour 'The Legacy of Slavery in Barcelona'. Public History as Reparation," *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 5, no. 3–4 (2016): 270–75; Akiko Tsuchiya, "Monuments and Public Memory: Antonio López y López, Slavery, and the Cuban-Catalan Connection," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 41, no. 5 (2019): 479–500; Jordi Guixé Coromines and Núria Ricart Ulldemolins, "A. López y López, quinto asalto. Memorias incómodas en el espacio público," *Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterránea* 7, no 2 (2020): 139–67; Mahdis Azarmandi, "Monumentos coloniales, migración y memoria en la Barcelona (post)colonial," *Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterránea* 7, no.2 (2020): 169–202.

59 Lisa Surwillo, *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Ulrike Schmieder, "Lugares de memoria, lugares de silencio: la esclavitud atlántica en museos españoles y cubanos desde una perspectiva comparada internacional," *Jangwa Pana* 20, no. 1 (2021): 52–80. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Ulrike Schmieder, "Políticas de memoria sobre la esclavitud en España. Barcelona en perspectiva comparada," *Revista de la Fundación Instituto de Historia Social* 1, no. 105 (2023): 87–104.

60 María del Carmen Cózar Navarro and Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, eds., *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos de la legalidad a la clandestinidad* (Madrid: Silex, 2018); María del Carmen Cózar Navarro, *La Orca del Atlántico. Pedro Martínez y su clan en la trata de esclavos (1817–1867)* (Madrid: Silex, 2020); Lidia Pastrana Jiménez, "El Patrimonio inmueble de los protagonistas de la trata negrera en el Cádiz decimónonico," in *Del Olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 227–40.

a)

b)

c)

Fig. 2a–c: Pedestal of the removed statue of Antonio López: inaugurated 1884, destroyed 1936, rebuilt 1944, **a)** photographed from the small street Consolat del Mar with explanatory plaques, **b)** perspective from the avenue on the seafront, Passeig Isabel II, plaques not recognizable between the larger wall advertisements and the motorbikes (photos: Ulrike Schmieder, 03.11.2021), **c)** situation in July 2022 (photo: Alessandra Guhr, 03.07.2022).

América.[61] Capital flows from the enslavement of African captives to Madrid were researched in the late 1980s and early 1990s;[62] recently, the investigation has been taken up again by Lizbeth Chaviano, who publishes some of her results in this book. Herein, she proves that enslavers' money from Cuba and their concepts of urbanism marked the cityscape of nineteenth-century Madrid considerably.

With respect to Spain and Portugal, the presence of enslaved Africans on the Iberian Peninsula is better researched than the capital transfer by enslavers of Africans sold on Brazilian and Cuban markets in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[63] The material vestiges left by the enslavers of that epoch have not been identified for the most part.[64]

In all of Portugal, there is only one small museum referring to slavery, in the town of Lagos.[65] Recent exhibitions have looked at Africans in Lisbon (Convivência/ Coexistence. Lisboa Plural, 1147–1910[66]) and slavery and its late abolition in Portuguese Africa in 1869 (O Direito sobre si mesmo – 150 anos da abolição da escravatura no império português). This was not a real emancipation of the enslaved, since they were forced into a system of different forms of coerced labor, which was abolished only in 1962.[67] In 2021, a guidebook about the historical sites connected with the presence of enslaved and free Africans in Lisbon was published, including maps that make it possible to follow their traces, district by district.[68] The installation of twenty

61 Schmieder, "Lugares de memoria": 57–58.

62 José Cayuela and Ángel Bahamonde, "Trasvase de capitales antillanos y estrategias inversoras. La fortuna del Marqués de Manzanedo (1823–1882)," *Revista internacional de sociología* 1 (1987): 125–47; Angel Bahamonde and José Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas: las élites españolas en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992).

63 See López García, *La esclavitud a finales del Antiguo Régimen*; Arturo Morgado García, *Una metrópoli esclavista. El Cádiz de la modernidad* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2013); Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en Granada en el siglo XVI: género, raza y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000); Isidoro Moreno, *La Antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla. Etnicidad, Poder y Sociedad en 600 años de Historia* (Sevilla: Secr. de Publ. de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1997) for Spain; Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *Escravos em Portugal: das origens ao século XIX, Histórias de vida de homens, mulheres e crianças sob cativeiro* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2017), and Isabel Castro Henriques, *A presença africana em Portugal, uma história secular: preconceito, integração, reconhecimento (séculos XV–XX)* (Lisbon: República Portuguesa, 2019) for Portugal.

64 Except some examples in Arlindo Manoel Caldeira, *Escravos e traficantes no império português. O comercio negreiro português no Atlântico durante os séculos XV a XIX* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013): 268–69, 274–78, 307–11 (Fig. 3).

65 Mercado de Escravo – Núcleo Museológico Rota da Escravatura. My thanks go to Robert Schmieder for the documentation compiled in March 2017.

66 Paulo Almeida Fernandes and Ana Paula Antunes, eds., *Convivência/ Coexistence. Lisboa Plural, 1147–1910* (Lisbon: Museu de Lisboa, 2019).

67 Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, eds., *O Direito sobre si mesmo – 150 anos da abolição da escravatura no império português* (Lisbon: Assembleia da República, 2019).

68 Castro Henriques, *Roteiro histórico de uma Lisboa africana.*

Fig. 3: The Beau Séjour palace, the former residence of the enslaver José Leite de Guimarães, Barão da Glória, Lisbon-Benfica, today the Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 13.12.2019).

commemorative plaques dedicated to the African presence and the establishment of a big "Memorial to enslaved people", developed with the Djass, Associação dos Afrodescendentes, and conceptualized by Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda, was planned.[69] The focus on sites of memory referring to the relations between Portugal and its African colonies, rather than the transatlantic commerce of African captives and enslavement in Brazil, is related to the historical recentness of colonial rule in Africa (until 1975) and the broad presence and strong activism of citizens with Angolan, Mozambican, Cape Verdian, and Guinean origins.

Cross-empire capital flows have been only partially investigated,[70] which is, of course, partly a result of the problem of financing such research (for chronically under-

69 Memorial de homenagem às pessoas escravizadas, https://www.memorialescravatura.com accessed [accessed 16.08.2023]. The new conservative mayor of Lisbon, Carlos Moedas, obstaculizes this project and it is not clear if it will come into beiing. Interview with João Figueiredo, member of the scientific board, 3.07.2023, via zoom.

70 For the interdependency of the UK cotton industry and cotton production by the enslaved in the US south until the nineteenth century, see Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (London: Penguin Books, 2015): 98–122, 199–224. For capital transfer from Brazil (the gold mining and sugar

financed Spanish universities, for instance), as it requires longer stays in foreign archives. The material vestiges of these capital flows, such as the residences of Spanish-Cuban enslavers in Paris and British enslavers in Portugal, have still mostly not been identified. The topic is seldom reflected in museums: the Museum of Liverpool[71] and the International Slavery Museum inform visitors about the role of slavery-based cotton production in the US South for Liverpool's economy after abolition in British colonies, but not about the profits from Cuban and Brazilian second slavery transferred to port towns of the UK. The aforementioned French and Spanish museums in port towns focus on local commerce with the colonies of the French and Spanish empires, respectively, not on related global trade and business. Future research should look at the acquisitions of Spanish-Cuban enslavers beyond their country of origin, for instance in France, such as the purchase of the château of Candé by enslaver Carlos Drake Núñez de Castillo, count of Vegamar, in 1853 and the château of Chenonceau (Fig. 4) by the inheritors of the Cuban enslaver Tomás Terry Adán in 1891.[72]

production done by enslaved Africans) to Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Hamburg in Germany, see Barbara L. Solow, "Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 4 (1987), and Felipa Ribeiro da Silva, "The Profits of the Portuguese-Brazilian Transatlantic Slave Trade: Challenges and Possibilities," *Slavery & Abolition* 42, no. 1 (2021). For capital transfer from Cuba to the UK, see Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas: las élites españolas en el siglo XIX*: 53–85; for Cuba to all of Europe, see Cayuela and Bahamonde, "Trasvase de capitales antillanos y estrategias inversoras": 127 (1838–1879: 38.8% of the gains went to the UK, 22.7% to France, 20.3% to Spain, 7.9% to Germany, 3.1% to Belgium, 3% to the Netherlands, 4.1% to other European countries); for Cuba to France, see Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "De la esclavitud al cosmopolitismo. Tomás Terry Adán y su familia," in *Afroamérica. Espacios e identidades*, ed. Javier Laviña, Ricardo Piqueras and Cristina Mondéjar (Barcelona: Icaria, 2013); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla. "Banqueros españoles en París (1820–1940)," *Investigaciones de Historia Económica / Economic History Research* 14, no. 3 (2018): 165–74.

71 Visited August 20, 2019.

72 Santiago Drake de Castillo, a trader of African captives and the owner of sugar plantations in Cuba, invested his enormous fortune in Spanish banks, factories, railways, and urban services (Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas: las élites españolas en el siglo XIX*: 182–199). Tomás Terry, "the Cuban Croesus," human trafficker, and the owner of the world's biggest sugar center in Cienfuegos, transferred his profits to the United States, the UK, and France. He built up close relations with the French aristocracy: a great-granddaughter of Tomás Terry, Anne-Aymone Sauvage de Brantes (born 1933), daughter of his granddaughter Natividad Terry (1882–1960) who was married to Prince Guy Charles Marie François de Faucigny Lucinge (1875–1914), was the wife of the former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (1926–2020, president 1974–1981). Rodrigo y Alharilla, "De la esclavitud al cosmopolitismo. Tomás Terry Adán y su familia"; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla. "Introducción," in *Negreros y esclavos. Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglo XVI–XIX)*, ed. Martín Rodrigo and Lizbeth Chaviano (Barcelona: Icaria, 2017): 11. For the castles in the Loire Valley in enslaver hands, see Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, *Emilio Terry. Architecte et décorateur* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo 2012): 12.

Fig. 4: The château of Chenonceau in the Loire Valley, from 1891 to 1913 the property of the heirs of the enslaver Tomás Terry Adán, who made his fortune in Cienfuegos, Cuba (Navarrete 2016) (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 10.08.2016).

3 The Cultural Heritage of Enslavement in British, French, and Spanish Towns

This section deals with selected towns connected with the enslaving past in three of the four most important nations trafficking enslaved Africans.[73] In the case of Great Britain, it refers to the most important port town for trade in enslaved Africans, Liverpool,[74] and Lancaster, fourth place among the ports plying this hideous trade[75] and about whose poli-

73 Portugal was the most important colonial power in deporting Africans to the Americas (TSTD II). However, in contrast to research on and existing guides to the traces of Africans in Portugal, there is nearly no research and no guides about the material vestiges of human trafficking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Lisbon and Porto. Thus, I cannot deliver here a subchapter in the same form as for the three other subchapters: longer stays on site would have been necessary to find what is not published yet.

74 Kenneth Morgan, "Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740–1807," in *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, ed. David Richardson, Susanne Schwarz and Anthony Tibbles (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2007): 21.

75 Melinda Elder, *The Slave Trade and the Development of 18th-Century Lancaster* (Krumlin, Halifax: Ryburn Publ., 1992): 13–14.

tics of memory vis-a-vis the enslaving past there is scant historiography[76] and little public knowledge. For France, the most important port town in human trafficking, Nantes, will be analysed, along with the less well known case of La Rochelle, which came second place in the trade in African captives:[77] this is a role sometimes ascribed to Bordeaux, with which Nantes has been often compared with respect to the politics of memory and the intentional oblivion of the enslaving past.[78]

The question of which towns to choose in Spain was more complicated. The most important town from which ships set sail for the triangular trade was Cadiz, ahead of Barcelona.[79] The illegal trade in the nineteenth century was carried on mostly directly from Africa to Cuba.[80] In the illegal period (1821–1870), nearly 551,000 enslaved Africans were brought to Cuba, 541,000 directly from the coasts of Africa.[81] The importance of Barcelona lies in its role as "capital city of financial return"[82] from late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century enslavement, trade, and plantation slavery in Cuba (ahead of Madrid and Cadiz) and the importance of Catalan merchants for the trade in African captives.[83] Thus, both towns will be studied here, along with a little-

76 Alan J. Rice, *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010): 24–54; Alan Rice and Johanna C. Kardux, "Confronting the Ghostly Legacies of Slavery: The Politics of Black Bodies, Embodied Memories and Memorial Landscapes," *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 3 (2012); Lubaina Himid, "Monument Talk," *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 3 (2012).

77 Jean-Michel Deveau, *La traite rochelaise* (Paris: Karthala 1990): 8; Augeron and Caudron, "La Rochelle, l'Aunis et la Saintonge face à la traite, à l'esclavage et à leurs abolitions": 7.

78 Saugera, *Bordeaux, port négrier, chronologie, économie, idéologie, XVIIe-XIXe siècles*: 13–27; Stéphane Valognes, "Slave-Trade Memory Politics in Nantes and Bordeaux: Urban Fabric Between Screen and Critical Landscape," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 2, no. 2 (2013): 151–71; Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*.

79 Lizbeth Chaviano, "Cádiz, capital de la trata negrera," in: Cózar and Rodrigo, *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos* (Madrid: Silex, 2018). On the ranking of capital transfer from the Spanish Antilles, see Cayuela and Bahamonde, "Trasvase de capitales antillanos y estrategias inversoras": 135. In pesetas: Barcelona 110,110,080; Madrid 108,605,646; Cádiz 43,604,329; Santander 41,589,197; Bilbao 20,162,883; Valencia 9,980,230.

80 Zeuske, Michael. "Cosmopolitas del Atlántico esclavista: los 'africanos' Daniel Botefeur y su esclavo de confianza. Robin Botefeur en Cuba," *Almanack* 12 (2016): 129–55; María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira, Miriam Herrera Jérez, Adriam Camacho Domínguez, and Oilda Hevia Lanier, *Una sociedad distinta: espacios del comercio negrero en el occidente de Cuba (1836–1866)* (Havana: Ed. UH, 2017).

81 David Eltis and Jorge Felipe-González, "Rise and Fall of the Cuban Slave Trade. New Data, New Paradigms," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands. Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020): 205.

82 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín. "Barcelona, capital del retorn," in *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: MUHBA, 2012): 79–92.

83 Michael Zeuske, "Capitanes y comerciantes catalanes de esclavos," in *Negreros y esclavos. Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglo XVI–XIX)*, ed. Martín Rodrigo and Lizbeth Chaviano (Barcelona: Icaria, 2017): 63–100; Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín. "Cuatro capitanes negreros catalanes en tiempos de la trata ilegal: José Carbó, Pedro Manegat, Gaspar Roig y Esteban Gatell," in ibid.: 101–30. José Miguel Sanjuan, "El tráfico de eslavos y la élite barcelonesa. Los negocios de la Casa Vidal Ribas," in ibid.: 131–58; Xavier Juncosa i Gurguí, "Jaume Torrents Serramalera, el esclavista oculto," in ibid.: 159–88.

known case: the interior town of Vitoria-Gasteiz in the Basque province of Álava. As will be explained below, even that hinterland town became the site of capital transfer from Cuban slavery and a place of residence for enslavers and their immediate descendants, possessing a surviving material heritage.

3.1 Liverpool

Liverpool was the number one British and European port town with respect to trafficking human beings from Africa to the Americas, responsible for approximately 5,000 voyages and the deportation of more than 1.4 million African captives.[84] The town council apologized for the town's role in the enslavement of Africans in 1999.[85] Enslavement is remembered in Liverpool in various museums like the Museum of Liverpool, the Walker Art Gallery, and the World Museum, and not only in the International Slavery Museum. This was inaugurated in 2007 on the third floor of the Merseyside Maritime Museum, where the first exhibition "Against Human Dignity" was set up in 1994.[86] The annual commemoration of August 23 consists of a lecture in the museum on the evening of August 22, a remembrance walk through the city center to the museum on the morning of August 23, a libation ceremony in front of the museum, and various activities for adults and children in the museum.[87] The ISM displays refer to streets named after enslavers and the tangible cultural heritage connected with the enslavement past in the town and its surroundings. This includes the Liverpool Exchange, today Liverpool Town Hall (1749), built by the company of the enslaver Joseph Brookes with the participation of other enslaver families. A frieze showing the heads of African and Native American women and tropical animals evokes the colonial and enslaving past. All mayors between 1787 and 1810 were involved in the traffic of enslaved Africans.[88]

Eric Scott Lynch, a trade unionist and memorial activist, led guided tours on the traces of slavery in Liverpool for decades, while the historian and television presenter Laurence Westgaph offers such tours now. The Black History Studies group has developed, in cooperation with the ISM, the Liverpool Maafa Tour and the Black History Walking

84 Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade*: 1.

85 Moody, *The Persistence of Memory:* 183–98.

86 Benjamin, "Museums and Sensitive Histories: The International Slavery Museum."

87 I visited the museum and attended the commemoration between August 19 and 25, 2019. I wish to thank Richard Forsdick (University of Liverpool) for the information given about the celebrations. An expansion and reform of the displays of the ISM are planned in the next years (Interview Jean-François Manicom, Lead Curator Transatlantic Slavery & Legacies [until November 2022], International Slavery Museum Liverpool, 21.10.2021, via zoom).

88 Laurence Westgaph, "Built on Slavery" *Context* 108 (2009), http://ihbconline.co.uk/context/108/#29/z [accessed 28.03.2023]; Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade*; Ana Lucia Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory. Engaging the Past* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021): 83–84.

Tour.[89] Maafa is a Swahili word for "big catastrophe" and is used to refer to the annihilation of African lives through enslavement and colonialism. What is missing is a trail on the traces of enslavement made visible through plaques in public space. Steps in that direction have been taken with plaques explaining how street names are related to the town's enslavement past, an initiative of the Liverpool City Council under Mayor Joe Anderson, National Museums Liverpool, the Liverpool Black History Research Group, the Kuumba Imani Millenium Centre, the NGO Mandela 8, and the family of Eric Lynch in 2020.[90]

So many enslaver residences and charitable institutions financed by enslavers still remain in Liverpool that to explain them all would require a whole book.[91] That is why three examples will be given here, one of a critical and detailed remembrance of the past of enslavement, one of a short and superficial remembrance of this history, and one of the intentional oblivion of the role of former owners in the enslavement of Africans.

The Bluecoat Hospital for the Indigent Poor (a school for orphaned boys and girls) (Fig. 5) was founded in 1716 by Bryan Blundell, the trader in enslaved Africans and Liverpool mayor, and was partially financed by his gains from the trade in African captives, sugar, cotton, and tobacco.[92] Today it is the seat of an arts center with shops and cafés. A small exhibition tells the story of the building and institution, referring to its origins in Atlantic slavery. "Like much in Liverpool in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, profits from the Transatlantic slave trade, and goods associated with it like sugar, cotton and tobacco, helped fund the school [. . .]."[93]

Blackburne House (1790) at Blackburne Place (Fig. 6) was built for John Blackburne, the owner of a salt factory, promoter and investor in the trade in enslaved Africans, and the son of John Blackburne, a salt merchant and enslaver. Both John Blackburnes were mayors of Liverpool (1760 and 1788).[94] In 1844, the building became the first girl's school in Liverpool, founded by the cotton broker, shipowner, and banker George Holt Senior.

89 Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*: 86–87; Liverpool Slavery Tour; Maafa Slavery Tour.

90 "REVEALED: The Liverpool Streets Considered for Slavery Memorial Plaques" LiverpoolExpress, 23.08.2020, https://liverpoolexpress.co.uk/revealed-liverpool-streets-considered-for-slavery-memorial-plaques/ [accessed 28.03.2023]. My thanks go to Jean-François Manicom for commenting on this initiative.

91 To name but a few: the Royal Institution building, the precursor of Liverpool University, at the corner of Colquitt Street/Seel Street, was the residence of the trader in enslaved Africans and banker Thomas Parr (1769–1847). Residences of enslavers are situated on Duke Street (Moses Benson, John Bolton), York Street (Thomas Leyland), and Rodney Street (John Gladstone, father of Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, who received an indemnification of £106,000 for the loss of "his" enslaved workers) (Westgaph, "Built on Slavery": 27; Information given by the ISM, John Hussey, *Liverpool. Forgotten Landscapes, Forgotten Lives* [Liverpool: Creative Dreams Publishing, 2016]: 57–58, 124–25: Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade*: 65, 67, 91, 93).

92 Westgaph, "Built on Slavery": 27–28; Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade*: 67; Wills and Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy*: 112.

93 Copied from the displays, 19.08.2019.

94 Westgaph, "Built on Slavery."

Fig. 5: Bluecoat Hospital for the Indigent Poor founded by the enslaver Bryan Blundell, 1716 (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 19.08.2019).

On entering what is today the Women's Technology Training Centre, one is given the leaflet "Blackburne House. Past and Present," which includes a short reference to the trade in African captives by the father of the first owner. It overlooks the fact that the businesses of the "philanthropist" George Holt were also slavery-based economic activities (the cotton was picked by enslaved Africans in the US South).

Speke Hall (Fig. 6) was built in 1530 on a site where the noble Norris family had owned a house since 1314. The tobacco and sugar merchant Richard Norris (1670–1730) profited from two deportation voyages by his ship *The Blessing* in 1700 and 1701. The expeditions organized in association with Thomas Johnson transported 140 Africans from West Central Africa to Barbados and 150 Africans to Antigua. The house was bought in 1795 by the trafficker in human beings Richard Watt I (1724–1796), who had returned from Jamaica in 1782 with £97,000. He was proud of his crime, as is evidenced by his choice of coat of arms, "three negroes heads from the involvement with the slave

Fig. 6: Blackburne House (1790) at Blackburne Place belonged to enslaver John Blackburne: today, it is the Women's Technology Training Centre (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 20.08.2019).

trade serving his sugar plantation in Jamaica."[95] His property, worth half a million pounds sterling, was inherited by the son of his nephew, Richard Watt II (1751–1803), with whom he had collaborated in the slavery-based economic activities. Richard Watt III (1786–1855) received £4,485 as compensation for 256 enslaved persons and made some repairs to the country house. Speke Hall was completely restored by the grandson of Richard Watt III, Richard Watt V (1835–1865), with profits from the St George's Plain Estate in Westmoreland, Jamaica, in the hands of that family until 1919.[96] Without the

95 Quoted from a folder in the museum. Documented September 24, 2019.

96 Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade*: 6, 66, 69; Jane Longmore, "Rural Retreats: Liverpool Slave Traders and their Country Houses," in *Slavery and the British Country House*, ed. Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013): 49; Huxtable, Fowler, Kefalas and Slocombe, *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties*: 39, 94.

Fig. 7: Speke Hall, from 1530 to 1730 the property of the Norris family; owned by the early enslaver Richard Norris, the enslaver Richard Watt I of Speke, and Richard Watt III, a profiteer from indemnification (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 24.08.2019).

money of merchants and owners of enslaved Africans, this architectural heritage from Tudor times would no longer exist. The current exhibition focuses on the persecution of the Norris family as Catholics under Queen Elizabeth I and says nothing about the slavery connections of the family. To find out something about this past, for instance the arms of Richard Watt I of Speke, one has to read the additional information in folders on room desks. The guidebook by the National Trust mentions slavery, but only in respect of the parvenu Watt family, not the traditional noble Norris family.[97]

The extensive treatment of Liverpool's enslavement past in Liverpudlian museums[98] stands in stark contrast to the very scarce information at sites of the tangible heritage of enslavement and in public space in general. There is no monument remembering this past or the enslaved in the city.[99]

97 Richard Dean, *A Souvenir Guide. Speke Hall* (Liverpool: National Trust, 2017): 3, 12–14.

98 An account of these museums is beyond the scope of this contribution. Suffice it to say that in contrast to many other museums, the socio-economic and cultural achievements of African societies and the agency and resistance of the enslaved and their descendants are extensively dealt with in the ISM. Various sources are quoted which reflect their perspective. The legacy of the enslavement of people of African descent in racism and afro-phobia is also underlined, and a "Black Achievers Wall" is displayed.

99 The curator Jean-François Manicom thinks that an impressive site of memory, a big memorial or an eternal flame for the enslaved, should be established and the museum should push for a strong symbolic gesture of this type, but his senior officials are still reluctant to argue for this (Interview Manicom 2021).

3.2 Lancaster

In the fourth most important port town for the trade in African captives, Lancaster,[100] the Maritime Museum devotes some rooms to the involvement of local merchants in Atlantic slavery under the heading "THE TRIANGLE TRADE."[101] The museum is located in the former Customs House (Fig. 8), built by the architect Richard Gillow, a trafficker of human beings (as was his father Robert Gillow). Both also imported mahogany wood to produce furniture, which was re-exported to the Caribbean to refurbish masters' houses.[102]

Fig. 8: Maritime Museum in Lancaster, the former Customs House, whose architect was the enslaver Richard Gillow (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 21.08.2019).

100 Elder, *The Slave Trade and the Development of 18th-Century Lancaster*.
101 Documented August 21, 2019.
102 Wills and Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment*: 117.

The museum's staff could not decide whether to condemn the traffickers of enslaved Africans or to admire the protagonists of the short "Golden Age" of the town, which today is poor. The conception of the gallery is not very innovative. A graphic of the ship "Brookes" is shown in the midst of other goods traded in the triangular commerce. Some commentaries are problematic, such as the following under the heading "Slavery": "From the early 18th century Lancaster merchants were involved in the slave trade either by buying and transporting slaves, or by trading goods made by slave labour. It was practically impossible to avoid goods which involved slavery. Many merchants did not care about the source of their goods. But why did otherwise honourable people do such things? We have to look at ourselves to see the nature of the problem. When we buy goods we may not know that they are the products of sweat-shops in third-world countries. Even if we do not condone such labour we may ignore it, or simply not be aware. To Georgian merchants it was all far away and, to their families, irrelevant apart from those who had experience of slave plantations themselves." This excuse omits the fact that the abolitionists invented consumer boycotts against goods produced by enslaved people: one can learn from them that consumers today should also be interested in the origin of merchandise. The only individualized story told is in the museum that of the enslaved African "Sambo" (without problematizing the slur of his name), who died in Sunderland Point and was buried there. His grave was marked by an epitaph by the local priest in 1796.

Referring to the model of Dalton Square, the explanation mentions two bankrupt West Indian merchants (John Shaw and his brother) who had houses there, but not other proprietors who were enslavers, such as Thomas Hinde and the Gillow family. To follow the traces of enslavement, one must buy the flyer "Lancaster SLAVE TRADE town trail" in the museum shop, because the museum's displays only offer some hints to the town's tangible architectural heritage of enslavement in town, although not the full information (as with the ISM's materials). The leaflet was produced by Lancastrian schoolchildren with the help of their teachers, the historian Melinda Elder (a pioneering researcher about Lancaster and the trade in African captives), and the artist Sue Flower. The trail mentions, for instance, the still extant houses of the enslavers Richard Gillow, Dodshon Foster, and William Lindow, the City Museum (formerly the Town Hall, where the enslaver Thomas Hinde governed as mayor), Gillows Warehouse, and the Sun Inn as the meeting point of merchants. It also comments on the Friends Meeting House of the Quakers, who were, contrary to their reputation, reluctant and inconsistent opponents of slavery in eighteenth-century Lancaster.

The history of the residence of the enslaver John Sattertwhite (Fig. 9) is connected with a nightmare tale representing the unlimited power of enslavers over the bodies of enslaved human beings, even beyond death. This enslaver, whose family left the abolitionist Quaker group and then joined the Church of England, which possessed enslaved people, defended slavery, and obtained compensation for its abolition, bought the enslaved woman Francis Elizabeth Johnson (Fanny), born in 1751 on the island St. Kitts, to Lancaster in 1778 as a maid for his wife. Presumably it was the amputated and mummi-

Fig. 9: The house of the enslaver John Sattertwhaite, 20 Castle Hill, Lancaster (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 21.09.2019).

fied hand of Fanny Johnson which was bequeathed in this Lancastrian family from generation to generation and still used in the 1940s as toy for the children (!). A descendant of this enslaver family consulted the historian Melinda Elder about what to do with these human remains, which were buried in 1997 with the inscription "F.E.J., April 1778," the year of baptism. Nothing more was said about Fanny Johnson and no attempt was made to tell her life story in public space.[103]

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the Slave Trade Arts Memorial Project undertook some projects to shed light on the involvement of Lancaster in the enslavement of African people through the arts. The monument "Captured Africans" is (Fig. 10) located on the riverside, not far from the Customs House (now the Maritime Museum). Although the choosing of this site makes sense due to its historical connections, a monument in the city center would attract much more attention. In Lancaster, as at many other sites, different memory regimes co-exist, even in the museum with its older and newer plaques, the latter referring, for instance, to "enslaved Africans" instead of "slaves," the former focusing on the commerce, merchants, and goods rather than the enslaved as human beings. This in contrast to Kevin Dalton-Johnson's artwork, where the enslaved appear as small statuettes. In the City Museum, contradictory narratives are also to be found. On a placard under the heading "Lancaster's Golden Age," visitors are told: "Some Lancaster merchants were heavily involved in

103 Rice and Kardux, "Confronting the Ghostly Legacies of Slavery": 248–51.

Fig. 10: The monument “Captured Africans” (2005) by Kevin Dalton-Johnson (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 21.08.2019).

the evil slave trade with West Africa, especially in the 1750s, and certainly the estates in the West Indies which produced the rum, sugar, and mahogany in which Lancaster traded were entirely run by slave labour.”[104] Whereas here the problematic colonial past of the town is admitted, a section of the museum includes the King’s Own Royal Regiment Museum which tells a glorifying story of colonial wars in Australia, India, and South Africa, of which Lancaster is supposed to be proud.

3.3 Nantes

Nantes defines itself as a precursor town in the critical remembrance of its involvement in Atlantic slavery because the exhibition “Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Nantes-Europe,

104 Copied from a photograph taken on site, August 21, 2019.

Afrique et Amériques" from 1992 to 1994,[105] visited by 100,000–400,000 persons,[106] exposed the city's involvement in the trade in enslaved Africans. The city has a gallery dedicated to enslavement in the Museum of History, the Mémorial de l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, and an urban trail between the museum and the memorial following the traces of the history and memory of enslavement. In 2018, schoolchildren visited these sites of memory, about 35,000 per year the museum, and 10,000 the museum, the urban trail, and the memorial.[107]

A closer look demonstrates that the road to this was long and complicated. The Château des Ducs de Bretagne/ Musée d'Histoire opened its rooms exhibiting the participation of Nantes in the Atlantic slave trade as late as 2000. Antilleans had to fight 14 years (from 1998 to 2012) to get the memorial. The latter is also criticized because a monument to abolition is problematic in a town that staunchly defended the trade in enslaved Africans and from which merchants trafficked captives until the 1830s. Moreover, the historical information given on site is very scarce, referring only to the trade itself, but not to plantation slavery, the *Code Noir*, the liability of the French state, and local traffickers of African captives.[108] I share many aspects of these criticisms because a timeline of abolitions, maps of the trading routes, and uncontextualized quotations from historical figures and laws about freedom from different historical periods[109] will not transmit knowledge about enslavement, neither in general nor with particular reference to the role of Nantes. On the other hand, for local Antilleans this site has become a site of mourning for their deported ancestors, and this should be respected. Politicians sometimes ascribe these achievements to themselves and do not pay tribute to the Antilleans who had to fight for the sites of memory

105 Bodinier, ed., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Nantes-Europe, Afrique et Amériques.*

106 400,000 visitors is the number always given by the organizing association Anneaux de la Mémoire and the town of Nantes. The study by Renaud Hourcade gives a lower estimate. Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*: 208–9.

107 Château des ducs de Bretagne, *Chiffres clés*, 2018.

108 Comité National de la Mémoire et de l'Histoire de l'Esclavage (CNMHE), Secrétariat Général, Courrier sortant, letter of Peter Lema, Rosa-Amelia Pumelle-Uribe and Louis Sala-Molins to Patrick Rimbert, mayor of Nantes, 14.02.2014, with copy to Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault, Minister of Justice Christiane Taubira, and President of the CNHME Myriam Cottias. I wish to thank to Frédéric Régent, president of the CNMHE, 2016–2019, who gave me access to this part of the archives. Stéphane Pajot. "Commémorations. Peter Lema relève des incohérences autour de la mémoire de l'esclavage 'Allions mémoire, histoire et justice'," *Presse Océan*, 12.05.2018; Interview with Jean Breteau,† historian, member of the association *Anneaux de la Mémoire*, 17.5.2016, Nantes; Interview with Bernard Michon, historian, Université de Nantes, member of the association *Anneaux de la Mémoire*, 18.10.2019, Nantes; Interview with Yvon Chotard, founder of the association *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire*, 22.10.2019, Nantes.

109 Françoise Vergès, *Liberté! Le Mémorial de l'abolition de l'esclavage* (Nantes: Château des ducs de Bretagne, 2015).

against strong opposition inside the administration and local politics. There were also conflicts between memorial associations.[110] Octave Cestor, founder of the NGO Mémoire d'Outremer, expressed a feeling of dispossession of the gains of his decades-long struggle in an interview on October 25, 2019.[111]

In addition, there is a deficit concerning the vestiges of enslavement in town. The plaques of the *parcours urbain* are small and difficult to find, and they are not fixed directly on the houses where enslavers had lived. The buildings on the île Feydeau are valuable architectural heritage from the eighteenth century, but various merchants and captains of the traffic in human beings resided there, and profits from enslavement co-financed the quarter. Visitors learn this in general terms, but there is no plaque indicating: "Here lived merchant X or captain Y. He was involved in the trade in African captives to the French Antilles." Obviously, the current owners are not bothered.

One plaque on the île Feydeau, 13 Rue Kervégan, (Fig. 11 a and b) is used to explain the problem of streets named after enslavers. It reads: "Rue Kervégan, île Feydeau quarter [. . .]. Christophe-Claire Danyel de Kervégan (1735–1817), merchant, ship owner, French politician, mayor of Nantes. His activity as shipowner and merchant identifies him, as it does the great majority of Nantes merchants of the time, as one of the actors in the slave trade in Nantes." Below this is an explanation that Nantes has chosen to retain the street names attributed to personalities who participated in the slave trade in order to acknowledge, without stigmatizing individuals, the heritage of its history.[112]

This means that town officials are rejecting demands to rename streets honoring enslavers. The argument is that the renaming of streets would stigmatize certain families, even though all people in Nantes profited from this trade. The officials insist that this plaque and one page of the website Patrimonia dedicated to a street named after Guillaume Grou, another enslaver and founder of an orphanage, is enough to come to terms with the colonial past.[113] Of course, there are contradictory opinions among local scholars and activists, who insist that critical remembrance must be visible in

110 Chérel and Brindis Alvárez, *Le Mémorial de l'abolition de l'esclavage de Nantes.* Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*: 220–28, 389–407.

111 Cestor's successor as president of the NGO *Mémoire d Outremer*, Michel Cocotier, interviewed on October 23, 2019, is taking a pragmatic approach and is concentrating on making the *Espace Delgrès*, the seat of the NGO, into a site of memory of enslavement and colonialism, with exhibitions, lectures, book presentations, and the showing of documentaries.

112 Copied from a photograph: "Rue Kervégan (quartier île Feydeau [. . .]). Christophe-Claire Danyel de Kervégan (1735–1817), négociant, armateur et homme politique français, maire de Nantes. Son activité d'armateur et de négociant, tout comme celle de la grande majorité des négociants nantais de l'époque, le désigne aussi comme un des acteurs de la traite des Noirs à Nantes."

113 Interview with Olivier Absolon, Direction du Patrimoine et de l'Archéologie, Nantes, 21.10.2019, Nantes; Nantes et le commerce triangulaire. "Patrimonia," 12.07.2021, https://patrimonia.nantes.fr/home/decouvrir/les-parcours-du-patrimoine/nantes-et-le-commerce-triangulai.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

a) b)

Fig. 11a and b: The commemorative plaque of the itinerary "Nantes et la traite négrière" on Rue de Kervégan, Nantes, and a building decorated with *mascarons* with African traits situated on the opposite side of the street without a plaque explaining the historical context of enslavement (photos: Ulrike Schmieder, 19.11.2021).

public space, not on a website known only to people with a special interest in heritage politics.[114]

The impressive building of the Hôtel de la La Villestreux (Fig. 12) at the eastern end of the île Feydeau was built in 1743–1754 for the shipowner and enslaver Marquis Nicolas Perrée de la Villestreux. The passer-by cannot easily recognize it as the architectural heritage of enslavement because there is no plaque attached, and the information tables for the urban trail along the traces of enslavement are some corners away.[115] To identify this house as the tangible heritage of enslavement, you have to buy a brochure or flyer of the memorial organization Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Other enslavers' residences in this district, the Hôtel Berrouette,[116] Allée Turenne,[117] the Immeuble Grou (erected for Guil-

114 Interview with Michel Cocotier, president of the NGO *Mémoire d'Outremer*, 23.10.2019, 18.11.2019, Nantes; Interview with Krystel Gualdé, scientific director of the *Musée d'Histoire*, Nantes, and curator of the exhibition "L'Abîme," 17.10.2019, 18.11.2021, Krystel Gualdé and Bertrand Guillet, director of the *Musée d'Histoire*, 5 11.2019.

115 Jean Breteau, Jean Paul Cohen, Marion Touzé and Sébastien Chetanneau, *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf: sur les traces de la traite négrière* (Nantes: Les Anneaux de la Mémoire, 2008): 9.

116 Established in 1752 for the lawyer and shareholder in the *Compagnie de l'Île Feydeau* Jacques Berrouette (1682–1763), who organized a slave voyage from Amabou to Martinique deporting 272 Africans, of whom 46 died. Three of them threw themselves overboard and a woman who went mad from desperation had to be taken back to the coast.

117 Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 10.

Fig. 12: Hôtel de la La Villestreux, once owned by the enslaver de la Villestreux, Place de la Petite Hollande, île Feydeau, Nantes (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 17.10.2019).

laume Grou, 1747–1752), Place de la Petite Hollande,[118] the gigantic Hôtel Deurbroucq (1769) ("*armateurs-négriers*" of Flemish background), Allée Glorieuse,[119] the Hôtel O'Riordan, 70 Quai de la Fosse (residence of the Irish enslaver O'Riordan), the Hôtel Durbé, built for the *armateurs* Durbé, and Collin 86, Quai de la Fosse,[120] are not explained on site. This is also true of the mansion of the Montaudoin and Dulac enslaver families[121] and that of the owner of enslaved people Réné Louis d'Aux, situated on the Place Maréchal Foch, to name but two of the various buildings in other quarters of Nantes. Many enslaver mansions remain in other parts of the town and its outskirts. The mansions La Balinière[122] and Le Grand Blottereau are today situated in the conurbation of Nantes, in

118 Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 9.

119 Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 11; Krystel Gualdé, "Marguerite Urbana Deurbroucq, née Sengstack, et son esclave", in *Femmes et négoce dans les ports européens. Fin du Moyen Age – XIX siècle*, ed. Bernard Michon and Nicole Dufournaud (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2018).

120 Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 12.

121 Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 6; Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Nantes au temps de la traite des Noirs*: 110–11.

122 La Balinière, today the seat of a music school, belonged to the merchant family of Bourgault-Ducoudray. The family was responsible for two deportation voyages, one in 1787 transporting 350 Afri-

Rezé and Doulon. In the eighteenth century, they were rural residences for recreational purposes.

Fig. 13: The mansion Le Grand Blottereau in Nantes-Doulon, built for the enslaver Gabriel Michel (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 27.10.2019).

Le Grand Blottereau (Fig. 13) was built for Gabriel Michel (1702–1765), an ennobled enslaver who bought the Seigneurie Blottereau in 1741. Gabriel Michel was director of the Compagnie des Indes and a shareholder of the Compagnie de Guinée and Société d'Angola, with its seat in Paris and involved in the trade in African captives.[123] His ship *Le Père de Famille* travelled from Nantes to Senegal, then to Léogâne (Saint-Domingue), and back to Nantes. It deported 450 Africans, of whom 50 were killed during a revolt on board on April 8, 1743, or died during the Middle Passage. 400 enslaved

cans from the Gold Coast to Saint-Domingue, one in 1789, which was forcibly ended in Cayes. A plaque explaining the history of the mansion does not explain this historical context (Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 15).

123 Macé, François. "Grand Blotterau »; Nantes Patrimonia, 2018, https://patrimonia.nantes.fr/home/decouvrir/ themes-et-quartiers/grand-blottereau.html [accessed 28.03.2023]. Breteau, et al., *Les Anneaux de la Mémoire. Barbechat, Nantes, Paimboeuf*: 6; Bernard Michon, "La traite négrière nantaise au milieu du XVIIIe siècle (1748–1751)," *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire* 10 (2007): 50–53.

persons were sold in Léogâne.[124] Gabriel Michel also owned, with his brother François-Augustin Michel (1713–1778) and Jean-Baptiste Grou (1708–1756), the Société Grou & Michel, devoted to the enslavement of Africans. This company, later associated with Guillaume Grou (1698–1774), the older brother of Jean-Baptiste, deported 10,055 enslaved Africans to the Caribbean, of whom 1,533 died during the Middle Passage.[125] The building, from 1905 to 1917 the seat of the École coloniale (empty in 2019), is not recognizable as the tangible heritage of enslavement for passers-by; a plaque refers to the later use of the house as a home for orphans, victims of the Second World War and the Nazi dictatorship and occupation (1945–1961).

3.4 La Rochelle

The historical center of the town, resembling an open-air museum, would not exist without an economic boom in the eighteenth century, the result of the trade in enslaved Africans. The municipality produced the brochure *Mémoires rochelaises du commerce triangulaire*. It is out of print, but still accessible on the Internet. One can also buy a booklet about this past in tourist bookshops,[126] but passing by nobody would be aware that mansions like the Hôtel Garesché (Fig. 14) and the Hôtel Poupet (Fig. 15) on the Rue Réaumur (formerly Rue Porte-Neuve) belonged previously, as did six other houses in this street alone, to the so-called *armateurs-négriers*, owners of ships deporting enslaved Africans to the Antilles.

The Protestant merchant Daniel Garesché (1737–1811), married to Marie-Anne Sara Carayon, a descendant of the enslaver families of Carayon and Rasteau, was president of the Chamber of Commerce of La Rochelle in 1777 and mayor in 1791. He commissioned 35 voyages trafficking enslaved Africans to the Antilles and owned two of the biggest ships of this hideous commerce, each with a tonnage of more than 1,500 tons, the *Comte de Forcalquier* and the *Prévost de Langristin*. The *Comte de Forcalquier* crossed the Atlantic in 1785 with 779 African captives from Angola on board. Gabriel Garesché also organized the last deportation trip from La Rochelle in 1792 with the ship *Saint-Jacques*, destined for Saint-Domingue but captured by a British vessel before it reached the island.[127] Daniel Garesché's brother Jean owned a sugar plantation

124 Mettas and Daget, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle*.

125 Didier Guyvarc'h, "Grou (Guillaume, Nantes, 1698–Nantes, 1774)," in *Dictionnaire de Nantes* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013).

126 Martinetti, *La traite négrière á La Rochelle*: 43–44.

127 Jean-Michel Deveau, *La traite rochelaise*: 35; Augeron, Mickaël and Olivier Caudron. "La Rochelle, l'Aunis et la Saintonge face à la traite, à l'esclavage et à leurs abolitions": 23; Jullien Benoît and Alain Morgat, "Médiation et valorisation des patrimoines liés à l'esclavage. Chairs noires et pierres blanches, une année de manifestations en Charente-Maritime," *In Situ* 20 (2013): 2–3, 7, http://journals.openedition.org/insitu/10221 [accessed 28.03.2023].

Fig. 14: Hôtel Garesché, 18 Rue Réaumur, La Rochelle, once owned by the enslaver Daniel Garesché (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 07.11.2019).

in Boucassin, L'Arcahaye, on Saint-Domingue. Their brother Pierre-Isaac founded a trading house in Port-au-Prince in 1763, co-owned by Jean. This business was directed from 1778 to 1783 by the fourth brother, Pierre.[128]

Michel Poupet (1745–1813) was a Catholic enslaver, president of the Chamber of Commerce of La Rochelle in 1786, and owner of a plantation in Saint-Domingue. Poupet lost a court case in 1770 in which "his" enslaved man Roc argued for and obtained his freedom on the grounds of the legal principle that "there are no slaves in France."[129] Poupet had to pay the wages of Roc due since his arrival in France. Roc, whose parents came from Guinea and had obtained their liberty on the île de Cayenne, was born a free man. He was captured by the captain of a Spanish ship who sold him in Louisiana. There he was resold to various enslavers over a period of eight years, and then finally to Poupet. The latter brought him to La Rochelle as his personal servant. In August 1808, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte stayed in Poupet's sumptuous house, built in 1784–1785 with the profits from enslavement.[130] Napoleon's first wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais (Marie Josèphe Rose de Tascher de la Pagerie, 1763–1814), born in Trois-Îlets (Martini-

128 Fleuriau Cauna, *La Rochelle et l'esclavage. Trente-cinq ans de mémoire et d'histoire* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2017): 67.

129 Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 97–102.

130 Pierre-Paul-Nicolas Henrion Pansey, *Mémoire pour un nègre qui réclame sa liberté* (Paris: J.-T. Hérissant, 1770); Brice Martinetti, *Les Négociants de La Rochelle au XVIII siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013): XVI, 273, 351; Olivier Caudron, "Roc, Michel Poupet et le Mémoire pour un nègre qui réclame sa liberté (1770)," in *La Rochelle, l'Aunis et la Saintonge face à l'esclavage*, ed. Mickaël Augeron and Olivier Caudron (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012): 207–14.

Fig. 15: Hôtel Poupet, 40 Rue de Réaumur, once owned by the enslaver Michel Poupet (Mémoires rochelaises 15), today the seat of the préfecture of the department of Charente-Maritime (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 07.11.2019).

que), was the daughter of the owner of the sugar plantation La Pagerie from 1761 (Gaspard Joseph de Tascher de la Pagerie). This estate had 115 enslaved workers in 1815, according to the inventory compiled after Joséphine's death, who inherited the plantation together with 123 enslaved workers from her mother in 1807.[131] Joséphine's first marriage to Alexandre François Marie de Beauharnais (1760–1794) made her the daughter-in-law and sister-in-law of the planter and enslaver in Saint-Domingue François VII, marquis de La Ferté-Beauharnais (1714–1800), born in La Rochelle (his second wife was

131 Domaine de la Pagerie, information plaques in the former kitchen, the section of the museum devoted to the enslaved in La Pagerie. My thanks go to Valérie-Ann Edmond-Mariette (Co. Oliwon Listwa), who took the photographs on October 26, 2021, and director Manuella Yung-Hing for information during my own visit on May 24, 2022. The site was completely transformed in 2020 on the basis of the work of historians Dominique Rogers and Jessica Pierre-Louis (Université des Antilles): the information given has been proven by archival and archaeological evidence (Jessica Pierre-Louis, *Revisiter le Domaine de La Pagerie*, 12.01.2021, https://tanlistwa.com/2021/01/12/revisiter-le-domaine-de-la-pagerie/ [accessed 28.03.2023]; Dominique Rogers, "La Martinique face à son passé esclavagiste et servile: initiatives individuelles et silences institutionnels," in *Des Patrimoines transatlantiques en miroir. Mémoires du premier empire colonial français*, ed. Mickaël Augeron [La Crèche: Geste éditions, 2023, forthcoming]).

Josephine's older half-sister). The Beauharnais family owned the plantation of La Ravine in Sainte-Rose (Saint-Domingue) and 138 enslaved workers in 1785.[132] The house of Claude Beauharnais II, the uncle of Josephine's first husband, the Hôtel de Beauharnais, is still to be found in La Rochelle on 22 Rue Admyrauld.

Fig. 16: Statue of Toussaint Louverture by Ousmane Sow (2015) in the courtyard of the Hôtel Fleuriau. the mansion of the owner of enslaved workers Aimé-Benjamin Fleuriau, now Musée du Nouveau Monde (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 07.11.2019).

The Musée du Nouveau Monde is in a former mansion of the enslaver Aimé-Benjamim Fleuriau (1709–1787), married to Marie-Anne-Suzanne Liège from the enslaver family of Bernon. He bought the house in 1772 with a fortune made in Saint-Domingue, where he resided from 1729 to 1755. A model of Aimé-Benjamim Fleuriau's sugar plantation (Bellevue, later habitation Fleuriau, in Cul-de-Sac) is exhibited in the museum. He acquired it in 1743 with the inheritance he received from his uncle Paul, a plantation owner in

132 Érick Noël, *Les Beauharnais: une fortune antillaise, 1756–1796* (Geneva: Droz, 2003): 12–13, 65–66, 352, 382, 387–89.

Saint-Domingue. Aimé-Benjamin Fleuriau exploited 300 enslaved laborers there. At his death, he was worth four million livres.[133]

Some information about La Rochelle's connections to the Caribbean and its role in the traffic of African captives has been provided in this museum since the 1980s. A far-reaching renovation in 2009 under Mayor Maxime Bono and the curator Annick Notter resulted in various rooms being devoted to the history of enslavement and exploitation of Africans by merchants and landowners from La Rochelle and to the history of the first and second abolitions of slavery.[134] There is also some information about the resistance of the enslaved aboard deportation ships and the context of the Haitian Revolution. What is missing, as in all museums in French port towns, is a reference to post-slavery colonial forced labor and the indemnification of enslavers, as well as the exhibiting of sources reflecting the perspectives of the enslaved themselves.[135] In 2015, a monument to Toussaint Louverture made by the Senegalese sculptor Ousmane Sow (Fig. 16) was inaugurated in the museum's courtyard. Sites of memory for Toussaint Louverture have become very common in France, with monuments and squares also present in Bordeaux, Nantes, and Paris. This is a very one-sided focus on a man who was also a French general and can be appropriated as a hero of the French Revolution: other formerly enslaved leaders, from Biassou, Jean-François, and Belair (these three once-enslaved warriors are at least mentioned as freedom fighters at the Abolition Memorial in Nantes) to Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who is honored in Haiti as the father of the nation because of his leadership in the victorious war of independence,[136] appear less acceptable as personalities to commemorate because of their fierce war against French whites, who were killed or forced to leave Saint-Domingue-Haiti.

133 Information given in the museum on a digital display under the heading: "Sur les traces de Aimé-Benjamim Fleuriau . . . . . de La Rochelle à Saint-Domingue" (Annick Notter, *Guide de visite* (La Rochelle: Musée de Nouveau Monde, 2016): 4–6, 21.

134 Mickaël Augeron, "La mémoire de la traite des Noirs, de l'esclavage et de leurs abolitions á La Rochelle": 74–76; Interview with Maxime Bono, former mayor of La Rochelle, 13.11.2019, La Rochelle; Interview with Annick Notter, former director of the *Musée du Nouveau Monde*, responsable for the enlargement of the displays about slavery, 06.11.2019, La Rochelle. There is a debate about whether the museums had a display case about slavery as early as 1982 on its inauguration or only at some point in the 1980s (a question relevant for those who emphasize the precursor role of La Rochelle in the critical remembrance of slavery). After having seen the documentation in the municipal archive, the latter seems more likely to me. For details, see Ulrike Schmieder, "Lieux de mémoire et lieux d'oubli de la traite et l'esclavage: une comparaison entre les villes portuaires espagnoles et françaises," in *Des patrimoines transatlantiques en miroir. Mémoires du premier empire colonial français*, ed. Mickaël Augeron (La Crèche: Geste éditions, 2023, forthcoming).

135 Documented November 14, 2019.

136 Conversation with Pierre Buteau, historian and former minister of education in Haiti, 15.11.2019, La Rochelle. The life and work of Dessalines were presented at a temporary exhibition in Nantes (Mémoires libérées 2016), in Port-au-Prince in 2017 and in Yaoundé in 2018. The exhibition was the result of collaboration between historians and artists from Senegal, Cameroun, Haiti, Bermuda, Antigua, and Louisiana, organized with EU funding by the memorial association Les Anneaux de la Mémoire.

There is controversy about the memorial site: not about the statue as such, but its location. Whereas the artist, Mayor Jean-François Fountaine, and the museum's staff point to the powerful statement that the presence of the formerly enslaved warrior in the house of the enslaver implies, the local memorial organization *Memoria* wishes to place the monument in a more visible place in the city center, near the old port.[137] The origin of this demand lies in the location of existing sites of memory in the public space: a plaque dedicated to the remembrance of the triangular trade, installed in 2008, and another honoring Toussaint Louverture inaugurated in 2012.[138] They are not situated in the tourist heart of La Rochelle, but further away on the sea front. They are difficult to find, especially the small and inconspicuous plaque for Toussaint Louverture, fixed on a wall at waist height. Neither plaque refers to the role of La Rochelle in the deportation of African captives to the Americas.

To a certain degree the town has responded to the demand for more visibility of the past of enslavement and to the long conflict about street names by fixing in May 2021 seven plaques on streets named after enslavers, ships in the Middle Passage, descendants of the enslavers, and a reluctant abolitionist.[139] This certainly represents some progress with respect to a visible and decolonial critical remembrance of the town's connections to enslavement, but some explanations on the plaques and the related website show an overly narrow focus on the eighteenth-century trade in African captives and the ownership of plantations and enslaved workers in Saint-Domingue. There is little recognition of the fact that nineteenth-century careers in politics, trade and business, science, and welfare in the port towns were based on the fortunes acquired by enslaver ancestors. In contrast to Great Britain, it is overlooked that trade in sugar, coffee, and cotton in the nineteenth century was still based on the labor of the enslaved in the French Antilles, Cuba, Brazil, and the United States. It may be that the aforementioned database about the indemnifications of enslavers in 1825 and 1849, in which of course the names of members of Rochelais merchant families (Rasteau, Admyrauld, Belin) also appear, will encourage people to look more closely at later enrichment from Atlantic slavery.

137 Mickaël Augeron, "La mémoire de la traite des Noirs, de l'esclavage et de leurs abolitions á La Rochelle": 93; Interview with Annick Notter, 06.11.2019, La Rochelle; Interview with Mélanie Moreau, director of the *Musée du Nouveau Monde*, 12.11.2019, La Rochelle.

138 Martinetti, *La traite négrière á La Rochelle*: 49–50.

139 L'histoire négrière au coin de la rue, 21.04.2021, https://www.larochelle.fr/actualites/les-actualites/memoire-esclavage/lhistoire-negriere-au-coin-de-la-rue [accessed 28.03.2023].

3.5 Barcelona

As shown above, a decolonial remembrance of enslavement does exist in France and the UK, but has its limits in the interests of the current owners of former residences of enslavers, whose buildings are not marked as the heritage of enslavement in public space. In contrast, the deliberate forgetting of the slave past in most Spanish towns is almost total, with the exception, to a certain degree, of Barcelona. The existing memorial trails there concerning slavery and abolition or *indianos* (poor Spaniards who migrated to Spanish America, particularly Cuba, and came back as wealthy proprietors, their fortune gained often, though not always, from the trade in African captives or other slavery-based economic activities) indicate a very limited sample of former enslaver residences. They concern those connected to Antonio López y López, marqués de Comillas,[140] a trafficker of human beings, speculator, and owner of plantations and enslaved workers, and his residence, the *Palau Moya* on the main street (Rambla) and Hotel 1898 at no. 109 Rambla, the one-time seat of his companies Compañía Trasatlántica and Compañía de Tabacos de Filipinas. These trails pass the residence of the enslavers and bankers Manuel and Aleix Vidal-Quadras from Sitges,[141] amd a gigantic palace with representations of the conquest of the Americas and sugar production built for a merchant who had traded enslaved Africans, sugar, and leather, José Xifré I Casas (1777–1856), who resettled to Barcelona in 1830,[142] 14 Passeig Isabel II, and the *Palau Marc* of Tomás Ribalta (Fig. 17 a and b).[143]

Tomás Ribalta (1812–1887, resettled to Barcelona in 1869) was the owner of the sugar plantations Santa Teresa, Santo Tomás, and Santa Marta in Sagua La Grande, central Cuba, where several hundred enslaved workers were exploited. His nephew Pablo Freixas Ribalta directed a *factoría* on the island of Corisco in the Gulf of Guinea, from where African captives were sold. At his death Tomás Ribalta owned a fortune

140 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 63–90, 93–102.

141 Lluís Castañeda Peirón and Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Los Vidal Quadras: familia y negocios, 1833–1871," *Barcelona, Quaderns d'història* 11 (2004): 115–44.

142 "Rodrigo, Barcelona, capital del retorn.": 84, 87–88; Carme Granda Sagarra, "Els indians i la contrucció de la ciutat," in *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: MUHBA, 2012): 93–94.

143 Xifre's and Ribalta's residences are mentioned in the flyer Ralat Guzmán, Berenguer and Laviña. *Barcelona, Llegats de l'esclavatge i l'abolicionisme*. The Palau Moja and the Hotel 1898 have been mentioned during the guided tour organized since 2016 by the Asociació Coneixer Història, on which I was taken by Javier Laviña y Omar Guzmán on March 20, 2017, and can be followed up on the webpage: UN PASEO POR LA MEMORIA. The palace and the Hotel 1898, as well as the palaces of José Xifré and the Vidal Quadras brothers, are mentioned in the flyer by Arreaza and Bau (Arreaza and Bau, *Indians/BCN*). This flyer mentions Joan Güell i Ferrer as an industrialist and his house on the Rambla, but does not connect him with the business of slavery. In the description of the tour "Barcelona y América," Josep Xifré, the brothers Vidal-Quadras, and Antonio López are mentioned as members of the economic elite who plundered the ultramarine possessions.

a)

b)

Fig. 17a and b: Palau Marc with relief, the former residence of the owner of plantations and enslaved Africans Tomás Ribalta at 8 La Rambla, today the seat of the Departamento cultural de la Generalitat (photos: Ulrike Schmieder, 04.02.2020).

of approximately 14.6 million pesetas.[144] On the palace's portal, a relief shows the ship *Rosalia*, bundles of sugar cane, sugar plants, and the wheel of a sugar mill driven by steam power.[145] Ribalta was proud of the colonial/slavery-based origin of his wealth and did not feel the need to hide it.

A particular problem is how the town manages the fact that the works of Antoní Gaudí were partially financed by profiteers in Cuba's slavery economy. This refers to works for Joan Güell i Ferrer and his son Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi in Barcelona: the Parc Güell, the Palau Güell, the crypt in Colonia Güell,[146] and Finca

144 Tate Cabré, "Rutes indianes per la Barcelona actual," in *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: MUHBA, 2012): 108; Rodrigo, *Indians a Catalunya*: 146–67; "Rodrigo, Barcelona, capital del retorn": 84.

145 Documented February 4, 2020.

146 The crypt of the unfinished church (1895–1914) belonged to a textile factory with the workers' colony of Eusebí Güell (Colònia Güell), a project of social reform between welfare and control intended to bind laborers to the factory and its patriarch, impeding the founding of independent trade unions (Raquel Lacuesta Contreras and Xavier González Toran, *Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, patrici de la Renaixença. En el centenari de la seva mort (1918–2018)* (Barcelona: Palau Güell, 2018): 35, 66–67).

Güell,[147] the first three of which have been classified as world heritage sites[148] and are major tourist attractions.

That Joan Güell i Ferrer participated directly in the trade in enslaved Africans is not proven, but there is no doubt that he profited from slavery-based economic activities as an important merchant in Havana and the owner of enslaved persons in Cuba, where he acquired a fortune between 1818 and 1835. In addition, he was a staunch defender of slavery and colonial rule in Cuba through his activities in the Círculo Hispano-Ultramarino (he was the first president of that institution), in the Liga Nacional,[149] and as the author of a booklet defending slavery.[150] His son Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi (1846–1918) married the daughter of Antonio López, Isabel López Bru, in 1871, five years before slavery was abolished in Cuba. He profited from her dowry of 250,000 pesos. Isabel López Bru signed in 1873 a manifesto against the abolition of slavery, as did her mother-in-law and 238 enslavers' widows, wives, and daughters in Barcelona,[151] who knew very well where the money for their luxurious mansions, furniture, robes, and jewels came from.

Eusebí Güell was the business partner of his father-in-law in various enterprises of the Comillas holding, which had its origin in Antonio López's business of enslavement of Africans, their deportation to Cuba where they were sold at a profit, and his speculation in plantations. The steam-shipping company Antonio López y Compañía acquired profits through the privileged transporting of mail to the Antilles and of soldiers to Cuba to combat Cubans who had abolished slavery in 1869 in their fight for independence. The Banco Hispano-Colonial, set up and presided over by Antonio

147 Documented March 22, 2017. The pavilions and gardens of the Finca Güell (1883–1887) were among the early works of Antoní Gaudi for Eusebí Güell, who inherited the land from his father. The Finca became famous because of its "dragon gate," named after a figure in the poem Atlántida (1877) by Jacinto Verdaguer (1845–1902). This was dedicated by the priest to Antonio López, whom he heroized. The cleric worked for López on the ships of the Compañía Trasatlántica on the Cadiz-Havana route from 1874 and became the personal chaplain of the López-Brú family (Cabré "Rutes indianes per la Barcelona actual": 113; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Memories in Dispute. Statues in Honour of Enslavers and Conquerors in Barcelona," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 31, no. 3–4 (2021): 377.

148 Works of Antoni Gaudí in UNESCO, World Heritage List (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/320 [accessed 28.03.2023]), 07.05.2021: "Seven properties built by the architect Antoni Gaudí (1852–1926) in or near Barcelona testify to Gaudí's exceptional creative contribution to the development of architecture and building technology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These monuments represent an eclectic, as well as a very personal, style which was given free rein in the design of gardens, sculpture and all decorative arts, as well as architecture. The seven buildings are: Parque Güell; Palacio Güell; Casa Mila; Casa Vicens; Gaudí's work on the Nativity façade and Crypt of La Sagrada Familia; Casa Batlló; Crypt in Colonia Güell."

149 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*; Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas*: 72–74; Lacuesta and González, *Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, patrici de la Renaixença*: 11, 89.

150 Juan Güell i Ferrer, *La rebelión cubana* (Barcelona: Ramírez, 1871).

151 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 187, 195–96, 236–37.

López, benefitted highly from a high-interest loan to the Spanish state to finance the Ten Years' War against Cuba.[152] Eusebí Güell was the director and/or shareholder of 15 businesses belonging to his father-in-law. He was a member of the board of directors of Banco Hispano Colonial, Crédito Mercantil, Compañía General del Tabaco de Filipinas, Compañía Trasatlántica (the successor of A. López y Cía, a profitable steamship enterprise in the form of a joint-stock company), the railway company Norte, the insurance company La Previsión, and the Sociedad Hullera Española, engaged in coal mining.[153] Apart from these economic relations, the family bonds between Eusebí Güell and his father-in-law strengthened after the death of his father Joan Güell (1872). The Palau Güell, built for Eusebí Güell and Isabel López Bru, is situated very close to the Palau Moja, the residence of Antonio López where the marriage was celebrated. The couple also spent their summer holidays in Comillas, where Antonio López and his brother had their summer residences. There, Eusebí Güell received King Alfonso XII when the monarch spent his second vacation in Comillas in 1882 and stayed in Antonio López's Casa de Ocejo.[154]

Antoni Gaudí designed the Palau Güell on Nou de Rambla (Fig. 18), connected with the architecturally traditional town house of Joan Güell i Ferrer on the Rambla for his son Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi between 1886 and 1890. Visiting the palace, one is given information almost exclusively about Gaudí's modernist architecture and interior decorations. A short documentary presents the family, including the father-in-law Antonio López y López and his businesses, but nothing about his past as an enslaver.[155] The bookshop has a book referring to a past exhibition "Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi, patrixi de la Renaixença," organized on the occasion of the centenary of his death in 2018. It mentions that Joan Güell i Ferrer came back from Cuba in 1835 with a fortune. One sentence explains that the father of Eusebí Güell's wife, Antonio López, made his fortune from the "sale of farm holdings" and as "slave trader" in Cuba.[156]

The Park Güell (Fig. 19), the last work Gaudí produced for Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi, was originally planned as a residential park. Construction work began in 1900. As a building project, it failed and became a private park, in which Gaudí himself lived from 1906 in one of the two houses built there. After Eusebí Güell's death, the municipality bought the land in 1922 and opened a public park in 1926. Gaudí created a fantastic world of fairy tales which became one of the most important tourist attractions of Barcelona. The official website and the private Gaudí House Museum, managed by the Fundación

152 Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925*: 30–50; Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 131–66, 172–73, 209–33.

153 Lacuesta and González, *Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, patrici de la Renaixença*: 32, 94; Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925*: 140; Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 304, 377.

154 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 288–95, 380.

155 Documented on February 4, 2020.

156 Lacuesta and González, *Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, patrici de la Renaixença*: 11, 16, 89, 90.

Fig. 18: Palau Güell, Nou de Rambla, designed by Antoní Gaudí and built for Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi, son of the indiano Joan Güell i Ferrer, enriched in Cuba; son-in-law and business partner of the enslaver Antonio López y López (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 03.11.2021).

Junta Constructora del Temple Expiatori de la Sagrada Família, makes no mention of the colonial origins of Eusebí Güell's fortune as a patron and financier.[157]

Barcelona's politics of memory follows a double standard with regards to the heritage of Antonio López and the Güells, from 1871 one family. The statue of the foreigner from Cantabria, Antonio López, was removed, but Joan Güell's statue remains untouched and unexplained. Eusebí Güell i Bagacilupi is still seen as the admirable promoter of modernist architecture and Catalan arts.[158] Of course, the double standard is also criticized by committed scholars and in the press.[159] This duality can be explained by the interests of

157 "Park Güell," https://parkguell.barcelona/en/park-guell/over-hundred-years-history [accessed 28.03.2023].

158 Lacuesta and González, *Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, patrici de la Renaixença*: 45–53.

159 Rodrigo, "Memories in dispute": 370–71; Sílvia Marimon Molas, "L'espai públic de Catalunya encara mostra l'empremta de l'esclavisme. Estàtues, edificis, noms de carrers. i elements de la cultura popular reflecteixen un passat esclavista de molts segles i colors de pell," *Ara*, 14.06.2020, https://www.

Fig. 19: Parc Güell, commissioned from Antoní Gaudí by Eusebí Güell i Bacigalupi in 1895, opened after Güell's death (photo: Alessandra Guhr, 30.08.2014, published with her consent).

the persons and institutions involved in tourism (including the municipality) and Catalan nationalism. This might also explain a comment by the Regidor de Memòria Democràtica of the left municipal government, Jordi Rabassa, who said that a critical account of the works of Gaudí financed by Antonio López and the Güells would not be necessary: "The works of Gaudí, to take this example, although they may have been financed as you say, in all truth do not praise colonialism [. . .]."[160] If this were the general criterion, most

ara.cat/cultura/passat-esclavista-barcelona-antonio-lopez-comillas-guell-catalunya_1_1120520.html [accessed 28.03.2023]; Interview with Javier Laviña, historian, expert in Caribbean history, *Universitat de Barcelona*, 11.02.2020, Barcelona; Interview with Josep Fradera, historian, expert in Spanish colonialism, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*, 06.02.2020, Barcelona.

160 Interview with Jordi Rabassa and Angela Llorens, Regidoria da Memòria Democrática, 13.02.2020, Barcelona.

urban trails following the traces of enslavement would not exist. The decolonization of public space includes recalling that European wealth, expressed in sumptuous architecture, was partially acquired on the backs of enslaved Africans, whether this is revealed in the ornaments of these buildings or not. Catalan nationalism defines the Catalans as eternal victims of the Spanish state, considered as the sole entity responsible for colonialism, and it ignores or downplays the role of Catalans as colonizers and enslavers,[161] a discourse which excludes a critical examination of the city's dissonant heritage of enslavement.

This narrative about victimhood dominates the Museu d'Història de Catalunya,[162] whereas the Museu Marítim expresses pride in Catalan exploits as settlers and merchants in the Americas. In general, what the city's museums tell about enslavement is incomplete, inaccurate, racist, and not in the least decolonized. Enslaved Africans are mentioned as merchandise, visualized with chains (in both museums): the Maritime Museum uses a nineteenth-century abolitionist icon of an enslaved, kneeling, and suppliant man on a world map visualizing commercial routes and shows shadows of the captives in a dark compartment, suggesting a deportation ship. The enslaved are presented as anonymous "cargo," not as human beings with a name and life story.[163] The corresponding audio tells the history of slavery as a secret to be revealed (in the style of "dark tourism," like haunted castles or museums of "medieval torture"). It repeats the lie often heard in Spain that "in Europe almost everyone accepted, encouraged and defended slavery,"[164] even though Barcelona profited from the commerce and exploitation of African captives in the nineteenth century until the end of trafficking (1873) and the late abolition in Cuba (1886), while most European colonial powers and American states had abolished the traffic of African captives and slavery decades before. The museum is completely silent about individual enslavers, abolitionists, and enslaved persons. It does not link its explanations about the industrialization of Catalonia with capital transfer from enslavement. If the museums had consulted local Afro-Spanish as-

161 Gustau Nérin, "La cómoda memoria colonial española. El Imperio de ayer y la España de hoy, Monumentos coloniales, migración y memoria en la Barcelona (post)colonial," *Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterránea* 7, no. 2 (2020).

162 Schmieder, "Lugares de memoria": 58.

163 Documented March 21, 2017, January 30, 2020 (Museum of the History of Catalonia), February 3, 2020, and November 4 and 5, 2021 (Maritime Museum). A renovation of the Museum of the History of Catalonia in 2022 (documented November 17, 2022) did not lead to a decolonization of its discourse or visualizations. There was, in fact, less information about enslavement and the investment of colonial profits in Catalan industrialization than before.

164 Interview with Enric Garcia i Domingo, Director of Collections and Research of the Maritime Museum (since May 2021 director of the museum), 11.2.2020, Barcelona; Interviews with Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, historian, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, director of the research network Memoria y lugares de memoria de la esclavitud y el comercio de esclavos en la España contemporánea, 20.02.2020, 05.11.2021, Barcelona. Quoted from the audio "Slaves" recorded on 5.11.2021. A mysterious whispering voice says: "There is a type of cargo that nobody speaks about, that is spoken about in secret, a tremendous silence that still lives on: human traffic, the large exploitation of slaves, it was a very profitable business and one of the darkest moments in Western history [. . .]."

sociations or multi-ethnic anti-racist NGOs, their representatives would have told the museum staff that what they present are very old racist visual and textual narratives, which should be an absolute no-go area at the beginning of the century. A more comprehensive exhibition about the entanglements of Barcelona with enslavement in the Atlantic space in the Maritime Museum has been planned for years. The last time it was announced was in November 2021 for spring 2023.[165]

The political right in the city and the descendants of the (still influential) Güell-López family also campaigned against the removal of the statue of Antonio López, often without revealing their family origin, presenting themselves as the defenders of public art.[166] In June 2021, they suffered a new defeat as the city council finally decided to rename a part of the Plaça Antoni López as Plaça Idrissa Diallo after a refugee from Guinea who died in a Centre d'Internament d'Estrangers in 2012: the other part has been given the neutral name of Plaça de Correus.[167] As the town had rejected this renaming in 2020, which had been proposed by anti-racist activists for years, the decision is obviously a response to the Black Lives Matter movement, which was very active in Barcelona.[168] Thus, the gradual removal of sites dedicated to the memory of Antonio López continues, although the places where Joan and Eusebí Güell are honored remain untouched.

Besides known controversial sites in Barcelona connected with enslavers directly participating in the trade or exploitation of enslaved Africans, Martin Rodrigo has recently identified the residences, seats of companies, or town houses that were in the hands of other, in most cases Catalan, enslavers.[169] This shows once again that the focus

165 Interview with Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, 20.02.2020, 05.11.2021, Barcelona. In an interview with Enric García, director of collections and research, a big exhibition with many artefacts borrowed from international museums was announced, but in November it became clear that there will be a very small space for the displays.

166 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 9–29; Akiko Tsuchiya, "Monuments and Public Memory," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 41, no. 5 (2019); Regidoria de Memòria Democràtica, Memòria Collectiva, *Mnemosina* 2018 (91) and 2020 (194–198), https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/memoriademocratica/ca/recursos/ [accessed 28.03.2023].

167 La ponència del nomenclator 2021.

168 Regidoria de Memòria Democràtica, Memòria Collectiva, *Mnemosina* 2020 (194–198), https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/memoriademocratica/ca/recursos/ [accessed 28.03.2023].

169 Pere Gil Babot, Isidro Inglada Marqués, Jaime Tintó Miralles, Agustín Irizar Declouet, José Canela Raventós, Manuel Flacquer Lluch, Cristóbal Roig i Vidal, José Mataró Doménech, Juan Roig Jacas, Jaime Torrents Serramalera, Esteban Gatell Roig, José Carbó Cantó, the Biada and Collaso Gil families, Manuela Xiqués de Llopart, "daughter, wife, sister and sister-in-law of slave traders," one of the most important landowners in the historic center and the Eixample quarter (Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla. "Material Vestiges of Colonial Slavery: Palaces and Residences of Slave Traders and Slave Owners in Barcelona," *International workshop Cultural Heritage and Slavery. Perspectives from Europe*, Bonn 1.7.2021, quotation), Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Comerciante con esclavos africanos desde Barcelona, Jaime Tintó Miralles (1770–1839)," *Hispania* 81, no. 267 (2021): 78–100. Rodrigo y Alharilla. "Introducción." The same and additionally: José Martorell Alsina, Pedro Nicolás Chopitea, Mariano Serra Soler, Onofre Biada Balanzó, Jaime Badia Padrines, Pedro Mas Roig, 'el Pigat,' Pedro Sotolongo Alcántara, Antonio and Claudio López. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, Vestigios materiales de la esclavitud colonial:

on Antonio López, an outsider, hides Catalan involvement in the businesses surrounding slavery. The research on the traces of these enslavers in the cityscape aims to result in a comprehensive guide to the architectural heritage left by enslavers, built, bought, or restored with capital from enslavement transferred to the Catalan capital.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there is also a conflict about the gigantic memorial to Christopher Columbus,[170] which represents Spanish American colonialism in a broader sense, the annihilation and exploitation of native populations included. This might be more unpleasant to many citizens of Latin American origin in Barcelona than the statues of López and Güell.

3.6 Cadiz

The trade in enslaved Africans within the asiento system in the hands of a local company (Compañía Gaditana de Negros between 1765 and 1779), the leading role of Cadiz and its merchants and seamen in the "legal" and "illegal" period of the commerce with African captives (1789–1819 and 1820–1873, respectively),[171] and as a site attracting profits from enslavement[172] have seldom appeared in the media.[173] However, through the presentation of academic studies about the role of Cadiz in human trafficking from Africa, local and American enslavement, and the most important enslaver in the late illegal commerce with African captives (Pedro Martínez), some information was given on local media.[174] The topic is not mentioned anywhere in public space or in the museums Museo de Cádiz, Museo de Historia Municipal/ Museo de las Cortes, Centro Cultural El Doce, and Torre Tavira. This does not mean that the town has forgotten its commercial relations with the Americas in the eighteenth century. The Casa de Contratación, the institution which gov-

palacios, residencias y despachos de los comerciantes de esclavos en Barcelona," in *Del Olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 63–95.

170 Rodrigo, "Memories in Dispute": 363–70, 373.

171 Bibiano Torres Ramírez, *La Compañía Gaditana de Negros* (Sevilla: CSIC, 1973); Enrique Sosa Rodríguez, *Negreros catalanes y gaditanos en la trata cubana, 1827–1833* (Havana: Fund. Fernando Ortiz. 1997); Lizbeth Chaviano, "Cádiz, capital de la trata negrera," in: Cózar and Rodrigo,*Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos* (Madrid: Silex, 2018).

172 Cayuela and Bahamonde, "Trasvase de capitales antillanos y estrategias inversoras": 135.

173 Zona Historia, "Historia de una calle. Manuel Rancés *ONDA CÁDIZ TV,"* 15.03.2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7abKl-WrEKI&t=2s [accessed 28.03.2023].

174 José Antonio López, "Cuando Cádiz fue puerto esclavista. La Academia Hispano Americana presenta hoy en el Casino Gaditano el libro 'Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos. De la legalidad a la clandestinidad', de Carmen Cózar y Martín Rodrigo," *Diario de Cádiz*, 15.11.2018, https://www.diariodecadiz.es/ocio/Cadiz-esclavos-carmen-cozar_0_1300370557.html [accessed 28.03.2023]; "La Real Academia Hispano Americana presenta el libro 'La Orca del Atlántico' de la profesora Mª Carmen Cózar," Universidad de Cádiz, 27.05.2021, https://www.uca.es/noticia/la-real-academia-hispano-americana-presenta-el-libro-la-orca-del-atlantico-de-la-profesora-ma-carmen-cozar/ [accessed 28.03.2023].

erned trade with the American colonies and controlled the Spanish monopoly, was located in Cadiz from 1717 to 1790. The tricentenary of the transfer of the monopoly with America to Cadiz in 2017 was celebrated with great pomp, but without a hint of decolonial thinking. It is simply that these colonial connections are not related to enslavement and colonial forced labor in the town's memory. They are presented in museums, plaques on street walls, and the touristic Ruta de los Cargadores a Indias, the route of monopoly traders with America, as a glorious, golden age past of commerce and acquisition of geographical and nautical knowledge that enabled, amongst other monuments of architectural heritage, the building of the gigantic Catedral de las Ámericas.[175]

The town possesses two large monuments, one recalling the liberal constitution of 1812 discussed by the liberal Cortes that met in the town. The bicentenary of the promulgation of that constitution was celebrated in 2012 with many events presenting the constitutional monarchy as the liberation of the Spaniards of "both hemispheres," meaning Europe and Spanish America. This ignores the fact that the subsequent wars of independence showed that Spanish-American citizens obviously did not feel freed. The fact that this "liberal" constitution did not end slavery nor the deportation of Africans to the Americas, and gave in paragraph 22 free men of African origin citizenship only in exceptional cases, was not debated.[176] The liberals of 1812 who proposed the abolition of the trade in enslaved Africans and the gradual abolition of slavery are forgotten, such as Isidoro de Antillón, who spoke out in favor of abolition as early as 1802 and died of wounds inflicted by a counter-revolutionary mob on the streets of Cadiz in 1813, or José Miguel Guridi Alcocer, who made an abolitionist proposal in the Cortes.[177] No street name or plaque pays homage to them. There are two statues for later abolitionists in town, Segismundo Moret, author of the free womb law in Cuba in 1870, and Emilio Castelar, as Ministro de Estado responsible for the abolition of

175 All the museums and sites mentioned were visited between September 10 and 23, 2018. According to Fernando Osuna García, historian (interview in the Fundación Municipal de Cultura of the town, 18.09.2019, Cadiz), eighteenth-century slavery was thematized only once in the exhibition for young people called Las Murallas de Cádiz y el Comercio. 1717–2017, Casa de Iberoamérica, 2017. It was not mentioned in the large exhibition Cuando el mundo giró en torno a Cádiz. Trescientos años del traslado de la Casa de la Contratación, at the seat of the Diputación Provincial, 12.05.–10.09.2017.

176 Interview with Mabell Caballero Hernández, public relations and project manager, Casa de Iberoamérica, 19.09.2018, Cadiz. For a photo gallery about the official celebrations, see La Pepa celebra 2012. The speeches about the cortes of Cádiz and the constitution of 1812 (nicknamed "La Pepa") can still be consulted in the Centro Cultural El Doce, which has remained as a site of memory in the town and does not deal with debates about enslavement. The constitution can be found here: https://www.congreso.es/docu/constituciones/1812/ce1812_cd.pdf [accessed 28.03.2023].

177 Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Las Cortes de Cadiz y el problema de la esclavitud," in: Cózar and Rodrigo-*Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos* (Madrid: Silex, 2018); Emily Berquist Soule, "Early Spanish Antislavery and the Abolition of the Slave Trade to Spanish America," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands. Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020); Miguel Sarríés Griñó, *Aniversario de la Abolición de la esclavitud en España el 7 de octubre de 1886* (Barcelona: A.bis, 2006): 167.

slavery in Puerto Rico in 1873.[178] However, the men are honored as liberal/republican politicians, not for their commitment to the fight against slavery. The other massive monument in the city honors Claudio López Brú, the second marqués de Comillas (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20: Gigantic and intact: the memorial for Claudio López Bru, the second marqués de Comillas, heir of the enslaver Antonio López and a colonial entrepreneur in the Spanish colonies in Africa (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 24.09.2018).

He was a benefactor of the town and the Church, using the slavery money of his father Antonio López, mentioned in the section about Barcelona. Claudio López Bru (1853–1925) directed the Cadiz branch of a steam ship company and co-directed his father's businesses after the death of his older brother. He implemented his father's

178 Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei*: 212–13; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery. Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico 1833–1874* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999): 126–60.

plan to establish a shipbuilding factory in Matagorda near Cadiz. Claudio López inherited the nobility title together with part of an immense slavery-based fortune: a commercial company worth more than 14 million pesetas, urban estates in Barcelona, Madrid, Santander, Comillas, Cadiz, Jerez, and Lebrija worth four million pesetas, and 22,000 hectares of land.[179] He became president of the Banco Hispano-Colonial, the bank Crédito Mercantil, the Compañia Trasatlántica, and the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. Bru bought mining companies in the Asturias and had business interests in the Spanish colonies of Tanger, Morocco, and Melilla in North Africa. Under his direction, the steamships of the Compañia Trasatlántica went from Cadiz to Havana, San Juan in Puerto Rico, and Manila via Barcelona, from 1887 onwards to New York, Vera-Cruz, Buenos Aires and Spanish-Guinea, lines supported by the state. In Morocco, various companies of the Comillas holding participated in the foundation of the mining company Sociedad Española de Minas del Rif. In Equatorial Guinea, on the island of Biokó, the Compañía Trasatlántica owned enslaved Africans on cacao plantations. Bru followed his father in exploiting colonized and enslaved populations, and like him he did everything he could to prevent the impending loss of Cuba.[180] Among his Spanish laborers, Bru did charitable work in order to prevent them from becoming socialists or anarchists, but only if they followed Catholic moral rules, meaning they were strictly controlled. Bru also promoted a special Catholic social policy towards the new working class beyond his own factories; he promoted the monarchist and clerical right and paramilitary armed forces against worker strikes and rebellions. He founded and financed the Universidad Pontificia de Comillas. The Catholic Church even considered canonizing him.[181] On his memorial in Cadiz (1922) is written under his bust: "Homage to the life-long supporter of the Hispanic-American Union" [my translation]. On the column, there is a plaque with a ship, under which is written "Cantabria," the region from where his family came. The figures of a lion and a condor symbolize Europe and America. A matron with a child represents Mother Spain and her child America.[182] Neither in 2020 nor in other years were there protests against this monument comparable to those against the statue of Antonio López in Barcelona, although the memorial for Claudio López honors a profiteer from enslavement and its symbols represent colonialist ideology.

179 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Entre Barcelona, Cádiz y América, Claudio López Bru, segundo marqués de Comillas. Conferencia impartida en la Real Academia Hispano Americana de Ciencias, Artes y Letras el 25 de marzo de 2010," *Revista Hispanoamericana*, no. 1 (2011), https://revista.raha.es/bru.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

180 Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925*: 184–92, 203–12, 236–40, 308–16; Enrique Martino, "Money, Indenture, and Neo-Slavery in the Spanish Gulf of Guinea, 1820s to 1890s," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020).

181 Rodrigo, *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925*: 269–92, 295; Enrique Faes Díaz, *Claudio López Bru, Marqués de Comillas* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2009): 60–390.

182 Monumento al Marqués de Comillas, https://www.guiadecadiz.com/es/turismo-cultural-detalle/monumento-al-marques-comillas [accessed 01.04.2023].

The historic city center of Cadiz is a predominantly intact jewel of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture. Research to identify the residences and company seats of enslavers has begun only recently, so sites historically connected to the enslavement of Africans have not been brought to the knowledge of the public in any guide book, website, plaque, marked urban trail, or other similar way. Lydia Pastrana Jiménez has located the seat of a shipping company belonging to Antonio López (Vapores Correos de A. López y C.ª para Puerto Rico y Habana) at 3 Calle Isabel la Católica, on the corner of the Calle Antonio López, formerly Calle Cruz de la Madera.[183] María del Carmen Cozar has been able to identify the residence of the enslaver Pedro Martínez de Terán and his heirs at 73 Calle Ancha (since 1855 no. 29) (Fig. 21),[184] where the historic portal still exists.

Fig. 21: The former residence of the enslaver Pedro Martínez on Calle Ancha 29, Cadiz, today the Centro Universitario de Enfermería (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 14.09.2018).

183 Interview with Lydia Pastrana Jiménez, historian, expert of the steam shipping companies of Cadiz, 19.09.2018, Cadiz, 28.05.2021, via zoom.

184 Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Cádiz y el tráfico ilegal de esclavos en el Atlántico (1817–1866),": 233.

Pedro Martinez (1792–1856) from the Cantabrian town of Soto de Campoo was the most important trader of enslaved Africans of Cadiz. He organized deportation voyages from 1817, some of them in collaboration with the infamous trafficker of human beings Pedro Blanco. His ships sailed directly between African and Cuban ports or the triangular route Cadiz – Gibraltar – Africa (the Old and New Calabar coast, the ports of Bonny, Ajuda, Lagos, the bight of Río Gallinas where he owned a depot for captives later destroyed by the British navy, São Tomé e Príncipe, the Cape Verde Islands) – Cuba – Cadiz. One of his commercial companies, Campo Labarrieta y Martínez, deported on five ships 3,104 enslaved Africans between 1827 and 1830, of whom 2,874 arrived alive in Cuba. In 1831, he moved from Havana to Cadiz, from where he continued the trade in enslaved Africans until his death. Pedro Martínez also acted as a banker (co-founder and first director of the Banco de Cádiz), insurer, and *refaccionista,* giving credit to planter-enslavers and being repaid with the harvest in the Cuban province of Matanzas. He made a million pounds sterling from the trade in African captives and was among the leading taxpayers of Cadiz in 1836. In his lifetime, he supported the Casa del Asilo de Mendicidad. At his death, he bequeathed legacies to the Casa de Misericordia, the Hospital San Juan de Dios, the orphanage, construction work at the cathedral, three nunneries, and selected poor families.[185] In contrast to the López family in Barcelona and Cadiz, Pedro Martínez did not get a monument in town, maybe because he was not born in Cadiz and did not marry a woman from a local patrician family. He left no children (his nephews inherited his fortune and enslavement businesses) and died before the impending loss of Cuba made necessary the political commitment of the *Indianos*. Thus, the most important enslaver who brought so much money to Cadiz fell into oblivion.

The local enslavers José and Fernando de Abarzuza Imbrechts have not been forgotten, but the origin of their wealth in the enslavement of Africans circulated for a long time only as a rumor. With its seat in Havana, the Abarzuza hermanos company dealt in enslaved persons, with the Abarzuzas maintaining a commercial base in the region of Gallinas, Sierra Leone. After their return to Cadiz in 1845, the brothers continued to trade in African captives and worked as bankers, insurers, and wine merchants. As late as 1860, they were transporting 1,250 enslaved Africans from Angola to Cuba with the modern steamship *Quevedo*. About 200 captives died at sea, 16%, an extremely high death rate for the Middle Passage in the nineteenth century. The Abarzuza brothers often changed residences and company seats. The house in Murgia Street 35 (Fig. 22) was the seat of the Banco de Cádiz,

185 Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Cádiz y el tráfico ilegal de esclavos en el Atlántico (1817–1866),"; 233–35, 239–40, 244.

Fig. 22: Headquarters of the Banco de Cádiz, mid-nineteenth century, the 1867 residence of the enslaver José de Abarzuza and seat of Abarzuza y Compañía, at 35 Calle Murguía, today Canóvas de Castillo, the Department of Tourism & Culture, Junta de Andalucía (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 15.09.2018).

whose director José de Abarzuza became after the retirement of Pedro Martínez.[186] The bank collapsed in 1864 because of the failed enslavement expeditions of the shareholder Manuel Lloret and the failure of the commercial company of the widow Portilla.[187] The brothers' businesses survived that crisis. Murguia Street became the residence of José de Abarzuza, his family, and the company Abarzuza y Cía.[188]

The Abarzuzas are also remembered because the family remained in Cadiz and maintained its political influence. Two descendants were strongly connected with the dictatorship of Franco: Felipe Abarzuza y Rodriguez, minister of the navy from 1959 to 1964, and Fernando Abarzuza Oliva (1896–1970), a war hero of the Falange, in 1940 deputy chief of the general staff of the navy in 1940, and mayor of Cadiz in 1941–1942,

186 *Guía de Cádiz* (Cádiz: Imp. de D. Filomeno Fernández de Arjona, 1849): 76–78, 167 *Guía de Cádiz y su departamento para el año de 1854* (Cádiz: Imp. de D. Filomeno Fernández de Arjona, 1853): 94.

187 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Cádiz y el tráfico ilegal de esclavos en el Atlántico (1817–1866)," in: Cózar and Rodrigo,*Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos* (Madrid: Silex, 2018): 208–11.

188 María Vázquez-Fariñas, "Los legados de la esclavitud en Cádiz: el patrimonio inmobiliario de los hermanos Abarzuza en el siglo XIX," in *Del Olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 202, 216–17; José Rosetty, *Guía de Cádiz, el Puerto de Santa María, San Fernando y el Departamento para el año de 1867* (Cádiz: Imp. y Lit. de la Revista Médica, 1867): 368.

at the height of the Fascist terror against the Republicans.[189] Why is this important? Because it shows that a critical politics of memory that include the ugly sides of the town's history in the twentieth century should dig deeper and go beyond the time of the civil war and fascist dictatorship. Research may excavate more examples of elite continuities from enslavers to economic oligarchs, members of the military, and politicians serving the dictator Franco.

The residences and company seats of the enslavers Pedro Juan de Zulueta Ceballos and Antonio de Zulueta y Madariaga, father and son,[190] the enslaver and banker Antonio Vinent Vives, and the Americanized enslaver Peter Harmony from Galicia have been identified by Lydia Pastrana and Martín Rodrigo.[191] A cross-reading of the historiography about the trade in enslaved Africans and the Guías de Cádiz from the nineteenth century and municipal directories indicating private residences and company seats makes it possible to localize sites connected with about ten more enslavers. Most of the buildings are still there.

The traces of enslavers could easily be made part of an urban trail following the material heritage left by enslavers. Sites of the memory of the enslaved are rare. The Callejón de los Negros marks the small street in which newly arrived African captives were driven from port to town.[192] Statues of the black saints San Benito de Palermo and Santa Efigenia are to be found in the Rosario church. They belonged to the Catholic confraternity of Africans in Cadiz Cofradía de Ntra. Sra. de la Salud y S. Benito de Palermo, founded in 1593 and forcibly dissolved in 1767 under the pressure of white confraternities, who appropriated their religious objects and treasures.[193]

The timid post-colonial transformations of the memorial cityscape of Barcelona, obtained as a result of constant pressure from trade unions, human rights groups, and Pan-African associations, are highly selective and focus on one trafficker of African captives, Antonio López, and the Columbus monument. In Cadiz, there is no active movement for the removal of monuments and street names, the establishment of new memorial sites and urban trails on the traces of enslavement, museum reform, etc. Some demonstrations on the occasion of the murder of George Floyd also referred to

189 Galán Madueño, "José María Fernando Abarzuza Oliva," Real Academia de Historia, https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/65615/fernando-abarzuza-oliva [accessed 28.03.2023].

190 José Cayuela, "Transferencias de capitales antillanos a Europa. Los patrimonios de Pedro Juan de Zulueta y Ceballos y de Pedro José de Zulueta y Madariaga (1823–1877)," *Estudios de historia social* 44–47 (1988).

191 Interview with Lydia Pastrana Jiménez, historian, expert of the steam shipping companies of Cadiz, 19.09.2018, Cadiz, 28.05.2021, via zoom; Rodrigo, "Cádiz y el tráfico": 216; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "From Slave Trade to Banking in Nineteenth-Century Spain," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020): 604–5.

192 "El Callejón de los Negros y la Casa de Contratación," 2014, https://cadizspain.wordpress.com/2014/06/05/el-callejon-de-los-negros-y-la-casa-de-contratacion/ [accessed 28.03.2023].

193 Ortiz Pedro Parrilla, *La esclavitud en Cádiz durante el siglo XVIII* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2001): 160–64.

racism and police violence against Africans in Spain, but references to the colonial and enslaving past of Cadiz were made only rarely[194] and were not connected with a program of change in the politics of memory.

3.7 Vitoria-Gasteiz

The cultural legacy of enslavement is not only located only in the port towns and capitals of empires, but can also be found in the hinterland. One example is Vitoria-Gasteiz, capital of the Basque Autonomous Community in the province of Álava, where Anúncita, the birthplace of the most notorious Spanish-Cuban enslaver Julián Zulueta Amondo (1814–1878) is situated. Although of humble origins, this man belonged to the enslaver clan mentioned in the chapter about Cadiz (he was the nephew of Pedro Juan Zulueta y Ceballos), became mayor of Havana, president of the influential Cuban Círculo de Hacendados, a Spanish senator for life, the marquis of Álava, and the viscount of Casa-Blanca. He cofinanced the paramilitary squad that defended colonial rule on the island. Julián Zulueta made a fortune in the trade and exploitation of enslaved Africans. He was responsible for the deportation of African captives from the 1820s to the 1850s. In later years, they were transported in big steamships (1,000–1,500 persons per voyage, among them many children). He also trafficked unfree Chinese contract laborers and *emancipados*, African captives "freed" on enslaver ships and taken to the Spanish island of Fernando Poo and then Cuba. In this way, he acquired a fortune invested into four plantations on Cuba, with 1,862 enslaved Africans and 264 semi-enslaved Chinese contract workers in 1864. In that year, he owned urban estates in Cuba and Spain, credits and stock in the stock markets of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, and ships all over the world, although the main part of his fortune, 78.5%, remained in Cuba. One of his heirs, Salvador Zulueta y Samá, his son with his first wife, the niece of the enslaver Salvador Sama y Martí, invested 69.46% of his fortune in Europe in 1885, owning big haciendas all over Spain, a textile factory in Barcelona, a metallurgy factory in Bilbao, four large houses in Madrid, urban estates in Barcelona and Seville, a residence in Paris, a textile mill in Manchester, a commercial depot in London, ships, credits, and stock. Julián Zulueta became the richest Spanish-Cuban enslaver-indiano, owning 215 million reales at the time of his death. Although his inheritance had to be divided between eleven children and a widow, all the descendants received a fortune: the four offspring from his first marriage received the sugar plantation of España and the textile factory of La Gusada. Each child from his last marriage received properties worth 535,265.26 gold pesos,

194 Pilar Vera, "Minnesota, Almería, Cádiz. La solidaridad despertada por el caso de George Floyd contrasta con el poco eco de episodios más cercanos," Diario de Cádiz, 14.07.2020, https://www.diariodecadiz.es/noticias-provincia-cadiz/racismo-Minnesota-Almeria-Cadiz_0_1473452801.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

while the widow inherited 3,202,768.94 gold pesos; the inheritance of that side of the family included the sugar plantations of Álava, Zaza, Habana, and Vizcaya. They sold the *ingenios* in the Municipio Colón in 1916 to the North American Cuban Cane Sugar Corporation for 2,320,000 dollars.[195] Julián Zulueta's third wife and widow Juana María Ruiz de Gámiz and various children left Cuba and resettled in Vitoria-Gasteiz. This is the reason why the town possesses today an architectural heritage built with profits from Atlantic slavery.

The palace of his daughter Elvira Zulueta Ruiz de Gamiz (1871–1917) is still there, known as the Palacio Augustín-Zulueta, referring (Fig. 23) to her husband Ricardo Agustín Ortega (1875–1965), and today the seat of the Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 23: Palacio Augustín Zulueta, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Paseo de Fray Francisco, once residence of Elvira Zulueta Ruiz de Gámiz, daughter and heir of the most notorious Spanish-Cuban trafficker of African captives Julián Zulueta, today Museo de Bellas Artes (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 10.08.2019).

195 Eduardo Marrero Cruz, *Julián de Zulueta y Amondo: Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (Havana: Ed. Unión, 2006): 9, 46–79, 149–58; Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 40, 228, 264–75; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade. The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (London: Macmillan, 1998): 9, 645–46, 780–81. His widow founded a school in Anúncita and participated in the creation of the Banco de Emisión y Descuento in Vitoria). One branch of the family, Enrique and Julián Zulueta Besson, sons Enrique Zulueta Ruiz de Gamiz, remained in Cuba until 1959 and profited from his grandfather's plantation Zaza and in the new acquired *ingenio* La Fe in Las Villas.

If you visit this museum, you receive a flyer saying that Julian Zulueta made his fortune in Cuba, no more.[196] You have to buy a book about the history of the building for 15 euros to read a few sentences about the origin of the wealth of Elvira's father in the trade of enslaved Africans and from Cuban sugar plantations. Elvira Zulueta died childless and bequeathed all her fortune, approximately 2.5 million pesetas, to the charitable institutions of the Catholic Church. The latter displayed her donated jewels in a casket in the cathedral as Elvira Zulueta wished and built the Seminario Diocesano in Vitoria with this donation. Ricardo Augustín obtained the title of Conde de Dávila for his eager support of this project.[197] Were these donations made out of Catholic charity or a guilty conscience? Because of her donations and the economic endeavors of her husband, you will find an Elvira Zulueta street in Vitoria-Gasteiz. In this street, her husband promoted the construction of a number of upper-class residences. The origin of the wealth of the Zuluetas is such an open secret in town that you find it in a detective novel about the descendants of Julián Zulueta, very flimsily disguised under the surname "Unzueta."[198] Maxime Toutain has researched the Basque and Cuban historiography about Julián Zulueta and the silences and memories his role in enslavement in Vitoria-Gasteiz. He points to activities in the Museum of Fine Arts in the decade of 2010 by museum staff, film maker Ángel Katarain, scriptwriter Alfonso Sueskun, and descendants of Julián Zulueta (an exhibition, conferences, a documentary, a theatre piece, etc.). He revealed a very ambiguous outcome: on one side the interested inhabitants of Vitoria-Gasteiz got to know that Julián Zulueta had been a trafficker of human beings, on the other side his participation in the illegal trade of African captives had been condemned, but the possession of enslaved persons had been declared as legal, licit and "normal" behavior of its time, the myth of him being a "good master" had been divulgated once more, his "merits" had been separated from his role as enslaver: "Historical relativism" defended a man whom his admirers regard as a great Basque personaliy. Only the group "Arte, Investigación y Feminismos (AIF)" of the Universidad del País Vasco with a leading role of artist Sandra González Donoso, alias Lola Duchamp, from Ecuador, approached the legacies of Zulueta from a critical de-colonial standpoint.[199]

The mansion of Julián Zulueta's son Alfredo Zulueta Ruiz de Gamiz (Fig. 24), married to the Condesa de la Puebla de Portugal, the second of five opulent residences of the Zulueta family in Vitoria-Gasteiz,[200] has been used by Fundación Sancho el Sabio, a founda-

196 Documented August 10, 2019.

197 Ana Arregui Barandiaran and Edurne Martín Ibarran, *El Palacio Augustín Zulueta. De residencia familiar a Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava, 2016): 20–43.

198 Eva Saénz de Urturi, *El silencio de la ciudad blanca* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2016).

199 Maxime Toutain, "Julián de Zulueta, ¿el rey de los negreros? Reflexión etnográfica en torno a la memoria de la esclavitud en el País Vasco," *Vasconia* 47 (2023): 101–44, here 121–34, https://ojs.euskoikaskuntza.eus/index.php/vasconia/issue/view/78 [accessed 24.05.2023].

200 The other houses were the first family residence after the death of Julián Zulueta at Portal de Barreras 1, today calle Independencia, the mansion of another brother of Elvira, Adolfo, also at the

tion to safeguard the Basque heritage created by the savings bank Caja de Ahorros Municipal. It was empty in 2018. In 2022 the restoration as seat the municipal entity of urban planning has begun.[201]

Fig. 24: The mansion of Alfredo Zulueta Ruiz de Gamiz, son and heir of enslaver Julián Zulueta, in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Paseo de la Senda (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 10.08.2019).

Eneida Villegas Zulueta, a retired teacher and great-great-granddaughter of Ma Carlota, the enslaved wet nurse of the Zulueta children, and Ta Higienio, the herbal expert of the enslaved Africans, has created with her brother Anselmo in the sugar *central* Méjico (formerly Álava) the only Cuban museum dedicated to the voices and traditions of the enslaved, a unique initiative from below. The museum is located in what remains of the barracks where enslaved African and Chinese workers lived, besides the watch tower (Fig. 25).[202] According to Eneida Villegas Zulueta, some of the

Paseo de la Senda, and the first residence of Ricardo Augustín and Elvira Zulueta at Paseo de la Senda 8. Arregui and Martín, *El Palacio Augustín Zulueta*: 18, 25.

201 Toutain, "Julián de Zulueta, ¿el de Rey de los negreros?": 110.

202 Museum documented on February 22, 2019. Eneida Villegas Zulueta told me that 28.8% of the population had Zulueta as one or both of their surnames, which means that they are descendants of Zulueta's enslaved from one or both parents: with emancipation, former slaves took the surname of their former proprietor. Milena Annecchiarico, "Políticas y poéticas de la memoria y del patrimonio cultural afrocubano: el caso del Central Azucarero México," *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 54, no. 2 (2018).

descendants of the Zulueta family, amongst others Enrique and Armando, went to the Méjico *central* with some gifts to ask the descendants of the enslaved for forgiveness.[203] According to Toutain the descendant who made the connection to the people of *Méjico*, was Enrique de Otazu. He used the encounter with the descendants of the victims during the visit in Cuba 2009 to excuse and belittle the crimes of his forefather and to overwrite the narrative of the of Eneida Villegas Zulueta, which focusses on suffering of her ancestors and the cruelties of Julián Zulueta, with an image of reconciliation of the white and Black Zuluetas as "relatives by milk.[204]

Fig. 25: The watch tower and remains of the *barracone*s of the *ingenio* Álava where 781 enslaved laborers lived during the harvest of 1878–1879,[205] today the Méjico *central*: the museum is located to the right of the gate (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 22.02.2019).

203 Interview with Eneida Villegas Zulueta, descendant of the enslaved of Julián Zulueta, founder and director of the *Museo Ma Carlota*, Central Méjico, Cuba, 22.02.2019, Méjico (once Álava).
204 Toutain, "Julián de Zulueta, ¿el de Rey de los negreros?": 130–31. According to my judgement the documentary serves more as rehabilitation than as critique of the Spanish enslaver, as common project of the Cuban historians Eduardo Marrero Cruz and Augusto Pedroso (who justify everything with economic necessity), of the Basque historian Urko Apaolaza (who declares slavery as "normal" and the statements of cruelty "exaggerated") and the Enrique de Otazu, great-great-grandson of Julián Zulueta and his second wife Juliana Ruiz de Gamiz (who divulgates anecdotes which make his ancestor a sympathetic man and belittles the importance of the gains from enslavement for Zulueta´s immense fortune). The five male "experts", four white men and a "mestizo" according Cuban criteria, and the white filmmaker dismiss the testimony of the Black female descendant of Ma Carlota. Ángel Katarein, *Zulueta 'azúcar Moreno'*, Semillas en el tiempo, 2013.
205 Marrero Cruz, *Julián de Zulueta y Amondo*: 202.

In Europe, the number of the descendants of enslavers who have asked for pardon, opened up family archives, or otherwise accepted their responsibility for the past is very small. Apart from some members of the Zulueta family, the Balguerie and Bethmann families in Bordeaux and Jean Mosneron Dupin in Nantes have done so.[206] In contrast, the descendants of the López-Güell family in Barcelona deny or downplay their ancestors' role in Atlantic slavery, as mentioned above.

4 What about Germany? Remembrance and Silence about the Enslavement Past in Flensburg

Finally, this section is devoted to Flensburg, a north German port town. Its involvement in the economy of Atlantic slavery through trade with the Danish West Indies is under-researched, is little known beyond the town, and on site half-remembered and half-silenced in a very ambivalent discourse.

Recently, there has been an upsurge in research on the involvement of German towns, regions, merchants, and seamen in Atlantic slavery and abolitionism, the ownership of plantations and enslaved workers, the trading and processing of goods produced by the enslaved, and industries supplying African buyers with products to be exchanged for captives, like textiles, arms, and iron tools, on Caribbean markets, such as the linen for the clothing of enslaved workers and machetes for cane cutting.[207] This tendency is reflected in this volume with the article of Julia Roth about the memorialization of the Welsers and their commercial enterprises in Augsburg. She

206 "Bordeaux: esclavage, le long travail des mémoires, Retour sur l'histoire à Bordeaux et sur les traces que la traite des esclaves a laissées, avec Karfa Diallo, Axelle Balguerie et Pierre de Bethmann," *Sud-Ouest*, 05.05.2016, https://www.sudouest.fr/gironde/tresses/bordeaux-esclavage-le-long-travail-des-memoires-4667888.php [accessed 28.03.2023]; Olivier Pétré-Grénouilleau, "Les noires racines au grand jour: les confidences d'un armateur négrier nantais," L'Express, 17.04.2003, https://www.lexpress.fr/culture/livre/les-noires-racines-au-grand-jour-les-confidences-d-un-armateur-negrier-nantais_651273.html [accessed 28.03.2023].

207 Andrea Reikat, *Handelsstoffe. Grundzüge des europäisch-westafrikanischen Handels vor der Industriellen Revolution am Beispiel der Textilien* (Cologne: Köppe, 1997); Andrea Weindl, "The Slave Trade of Northern Germany from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Klaus Weber, "Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt (15.–19. Jahrhundert)," *Journal of Modern European History* 7, no. 1 (2009); Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, eds., *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016); Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Pia Wiegmink, eds., *German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery* (London: Routledge, 2020); Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber, eds., *Globalized Peripheries. Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020); Sarah Lentz, *'Wer helfen kann, der helfe!' Deutsche SklavereigegnerInnen und die atlantische Abolitionsbewegung 1780–1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020).

explains that the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum does not include a postcolonial view on the role of the Welsers in the early traffic of African captives to their colony in Venezuela, but instead provides a success story about early German "global players." This historical narrative is contested by de-colonial activists, but still present. Annika Bärwald and Sarah Lentz refer to struggle of civil society groups against the glorification of German seafarer, "war hero" and enslaver Joachim Nettelbeck through the names of streets and places with the first achievement of street renaming. They show that there are not only blind spots in the critical remembrance of German profiteers from enslavement and the honoring commemoration of Black Germans and their fight for freedom and social advancement, but also gaps in in-depth knowledge about historical protagonists of enslavement on both sides of this crime against humanity.

In the museums, the colonial and enslaving past before the acquisition of German colonies in Africa and the Pacific does not play an important role at the moment. Thus, in the capital Berlin, the involvement of Brandenburg in Atlantic slavery has been mentioned only once. This occurred in the temporary exhibition "Deutscher Kolonialismus. Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart" (German Historical Museum, October 2016–May 2017). A small section mentioned Brandenburg's forts on the African coast and seventeenth-century participation in the enslavement of Africans and their deportation to the Caribbean. Most of the displays referred to Germany's late colonialism in Africa, China, and the Pacific and the genocides committed in Namibia and Tanzania.[208] In addition, the Afro-German and postcolonial movement managed to change some street names connected with early German participation in the enslavement of Africans. For example, Gröbenufer, named in 1895 after Governor Friedrich von der Gröben (1657–1728), who ordered the construction of Fort Gross-Friedrichsburg, serving as a depot for captives on the coast of what is today Ghana, was renamed in 2010 as May-Ayim-Ufer after the poetess and co-founder of the Initiative Black People in Germany May Ayim, who died in 1996.[209]

If people do know anything about Germany and the enslavement of African people, they think of the port towns of Hamburg and Bremen. This is not wrong, as both towns, and nearby Altona, participated in the traffic of African captives via Denmark or the Netherlands, and Hamburg also sent its own ships for these purposes.[210] Merchants from the Hanseatic towns and the German interior owned plantations and en-

208 Visited by the author in December 2016. Sebastian Gottschalk, ed., *Deutscher Kolonialismus. Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: DHM, 2016).

209 Clara Ervedosa, "Das May-Anim-Ufer in Berlin," in *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

210 Klaus Weber, "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Eine lange Geschichte," *WerkstattGeschichte* 66–67 (2015); Magnus Ressel, "Hamburg und die Niederelbe im atlantischen Sklavenhandel der Frühen Neuzeit," *WerkstattGeschichte* 66–67 (2015).

slaved laborers in the Dutch colony of Suriname, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.[211] However, recently the exhibition "About Golden Carriages and Colonial Past. Hanover, England and Slavery" in Hanover (July–November 2022), on occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the city's partnership with Bristol, has pointed to the historical involvement of the German hinterland town in the slave trade during the personal union of the United Kingdom and the Electorate of Hanover. The focus of the displays lies on the enslavers' side and the consumption of products made by enslaved workers, but there are also some, lamentably very perfunctory, references to the resistance of enslaved persons and African witnesses (Olaudah Equiano).

The enslavement past and its cultural legacy in the small port town of Flensburg is less familiar, compared to Hamburg or Bremen, to most Germans, and this is even more true abroad. Under Danish rule until 1864, the town's merchants traded with the Danish islands of St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas (today the US Virgin Islands), owned plantation and enslaved workers, produced goods for the Caribbean colonies, including bricks, copper products, and furniture, and developed new industries of sugar refining and rum distilling.[212] The permanent exhibition of the Maritime Museum in Flensburg (in the former Customs House) presents an ambivalent discourse. It refers to the suffering and exploitation of enslaved Africans while also representing local enslavers as brave adventurers and promoters of the local economy in the town's eighteenth-century golden age.

In front of the museum, a temporary commemorative plaque (Fig. 26) was set up on the pavement in memory of the "African victims, survivors and descendants of enslavement," but this referred to Danish colonialism in general, not to the specific role of Flensburg.

In 2017, on the occasion of the centenary of the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States without any consultation of its inhabitants, a series of events and exhibitions excavated the silenced history of enslavement in Schleswig-Holstein on the German and Danish sides (Sonderjylland/Schleswig Kolonial). The temporary exhibition "Rum, Sweat and Tears," mounted in 2017 in Flensburg's Maritime Museum and curated by Dr. Imani Tafari-Ama, an expert in the Danish West Indies from the University of the West Indies, focused from a Pan-African standpoint on the enslaved as workers, vic-

211 Hermann Kellenbenz, "Deutsche Plantagenbesitzer und Kaufleute in Surinam vom Ende des 18. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 3, no. 1 (1966); Zeuske, "Cosmopolitas del Atlántico esclavista"; see also Bärwald and Lentz in this volume.

212 Marco L. Petersen, "Introduction," in *Sønderjylland-Schleswig kolonial: kolonialismens kulturelle arv i regionen mellem Kongeåen og Ejderen: das kulturelle Erbe des Kolonialismus in der Region zwischen Eider und Königsau*, ed. Marco L. Petersen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018); Erik Gøbel, "Shipping from the Duchy of Schleswig to the West Indies and South America, 1650–1838," in ibid.; Torben A. Vestergaard and Jørgen G. Berthelsen, "Flensburg Bricks on the US Virgin Islands," in ibid.

Fig. 26: Plaque commemorating enslavement in front of the Schifffahrtsmuseum, Flensburg (photo: Ulrike Schmieder, 19.07.2017). The plaque has been removed (30.05.2023).

tims, and warriors, and referred to the legacies of enslavement in racism.[213] The curator conducted many interviews in Ghana, the US Virgin Islands, and Flensburg about a shared history with extremely different outcomes for the inhabitants of Flensburg, who have forgotten the roots of their current prosperity and post-colonial privileges, the people of the US Virgin Islands, who suffer from racialized social inequality and exclusion from full rights as US citizens, which makes the past of colonialism and enslavement a burden they still feel. Ghanaians remember better recent British colonialism than its older Danish antecedent, under whose rule their ancestors were deported to the Americas and exploited on local plantations.[214]

The decolonial efforts on the German side are not enduring. Flensburg still organizes an annual Rum Regatta and maintains a tourist Rum & Sugar Trail, celebrating rum as an exotic local brand. It remembers, steeped in colonial nostalgia, the glorious past of the overseas trade with its architectural heritage of manor houses and sugar refineries. The town does not point to the work of enslaved Africans as the basis of its eighteenth-

213 Imani M. Tafari-Ama, "Rum, Sweat and Tears: Denmark's Colonial History and Legacy in Flensburg and Ghana and the US Virgin Islands," in *Sønderjylland-Schleswig kolonial: kolonialismens kulturelle arv i regionen mellem Kongeåen og Ejderen: das kulturelle Erbe des Kolonialismus in der Region zwischen Eider und Königsau*, ed. Marco L. Petersen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2018).
214 Museum and exhibition documented on July 19, 2017, visited with students November 24, 2017.

century opulence, without which Flensburg would not offer such an impressive historic city center to tourists today.[215] Panels 10 and 12 on the trail show this (Fig. 27 a and b):

a) b)

Fig. 27a and b: Sugar and Rum Trail, Flensburg. **a)** 19/20 Holm, the manor house of Peter Petersen Schmidt (1774–1844), a merchant of sugar and rum from the Danish West Indies and coffee from Brazil, married to a daughter of Andreas Christiansen (1743–1811), the owner of an opulent residence, a sugar refinery, and a warehouse for goods from the Caribbean. **b)** The plaque next to the manor house and the "Westindienspeicher" ("West Indies Storehouse") of Andreas Christiansen at 24 Große Straße explains everything about his commercial activities except the connections of his businesses with enslavement[216] (photos: Ulrike Schmieder, 19.07.2017.).

In Denmark, where in 2017 30 exhibitions about enslavement and Danish colonialism have been shown,[217] a monument dedicated to the resistance of the descendants of the enslaved against post-slavery coerced labor was set up, honoring Mary, one of the three rebel queens of the Fireburn Insurrection in St. Croix in 1878. The National Museum opened the permanent gallery "Voices from the Colonies"[218], which transmits an ambivalent narrative between colonial nostalgia and post-colonial self-critique. At least, some life stories of enslaved Africans are to be heard and read there. This is more than the permanent exhibition of the Maritime Museums of Flensburg offers.

The opulent residences of enslavers and former sugar refineries still mark cityscapes in Denmark, particularly Copenhagen, Christianshavn, and Schleswig-Holstein, but capital transfer from enslavement to urban cultural heritage is mostly not remem-

215 This is to be found on flyers, plaques at the sites, and a guidebook (Jutta Glüsing, *Rum & Zuckermeile – Rom & Sukker Ruten* [Flensburg: Flensburger Schifffahrtsmuseum, 2009], with the same ambivalent discourse as in the museum, admiring the adventurous ancestors of Flensburg's inhabitants and pitying the African victims. The concept and vocabulary are not decolonized at all.

216 Glüsing, *Rum & Zuckermeile*: 60–67, 73–76.

217 Nonbo Andersen, "Curating Enslavement and the Colonial History of Denmark."

218 Weiss in this volume. Museum and monument documented August 1, 2023. The pedestal of the monument for Queen Mary was empty then, the statue had to be removed because of weather damage end 2020.

bered permanently on site. There are no printed guides like the Dutch slavery heritage guides or the urban trails with plaques in Nantes, although walks have been organized by the civil society organization "Another Copenhagen."[219]

Gunvor Simonson refers in her chapter to the highly problematic evocation (in schoolbooks and the media) of the role of Denmark in the enslavement of African persons as "black slavery" and "dark history," expressing a lack of reflection on racist language. She also points to emotion-driven conflicts over memory that surround the West India Warehouse, which was misread as place where enslaved persons had been imprisoned, and the exclusion of historians of Danish colonial history from the planning a museum about that history. Holger Weiss refers to Danish-Norwegian and Swedish-Finnish history with respect to its entanglements with human trafficking across the Atlantic and initiatives to remember this history from a de-colonial and antiracist standpoint (far more advanced in Denmark than in Sweden). However, memorial sites have been identified and shown during walks by the Afro-Swedish National Association. Weiss also highlights the slow emergence of a public debate about Norwegian and Finnish involvement in the commerce of African captives and the identification of memorial sites like sugar refineries. In summary, Weiss seems more optimistic than Simsonsen about the current and future (de-colonial-critical) remembrance of the relations of Nordic states to enslavement.

5 Concluding Remarks

Since Swiss banks financed enslavement and the Bohemian glass industry and Silesian textile manufactures produced goods to be exchanged for African captives, one could also look at the traces of enslavement in the Atlantic space in Switzerland, the Czech Republic, and Poland. The cultural heritage of enslavement is a pan-European issue. There was complete silence on this matter in the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018.[220] This means that scholars have much work to do in order to disseminate knowledge about the material vestiges and societal legacies of the enslaving past. Without closer cooperation (or at least the beginning of collaboration) between historians, museum staff, town governments and councils, communities and associations of Afro-Europeans, memorial and anti-racist NGOs, and trade unions, this will not be achieved.

219 Weiss in this volume.

220 In June 2018, Michael Falser, then of the Centre André Chastel, Sorbonne Université, Paris, organized a critical conference about that year (The Cultural Heritage of Europe @ 2018 Re-Assessing a Concept – Re-Defining its Challenges). Contrary to what was announced, the papers (including mine, "The Cultural Heritage of Europe@2018 and the Legacy of the Slave Trade and Slavery") were regrettably never published. Thus, a chance to criticize the Eurocentric events was lost.

Therefore, starting from the premise that the dissonant cultural heritage of enslavement should be remembered from a critical, decolonial, and anti-racist perspective and that the forms of commemoration should be developed with communities of African descent, I would rank progress in this order: Britain-France-Spain-Portugal, in which list the politics of memory in the United Kingdom and France are close to each other, as are the politics of silence in Spain and Portugal. To analyze in depth the reasons for these differences is beyond the scope of this contribution, focused on the material vestiges of enslavement,[221] but it is obvious that there is a connection with the presence and level of the organization and political influence of Afro-Caribbean, Afro-(Latin)American, and African communities and the inclusion, or more often exclusion, of scholars from these communities from universities and municipal and regional cultural institutions, including the higher echelons of museum staff, city councils, and regional parliaments or assemblies.

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221 For a more detailed comparison between the politics of memory vs. the enslavement past in Spain and northwest Europe (and the causes and consequences of this), see Rodrigo y Alharilla and Schmieder, "Políticas de memoria sobre la esclavitud en España."

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Matthew J. Smith and Matthew Stallard

Black Survivors: Unfreedom and the Collapse of Slavery in British Jamaica. New Research at the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery

1 Introduction

800,000 black women, men and children made it across the line. They reached 1838 when slavery as they knew it ended totally. It was not so much what they might become at that moment but what they no longer were that made it significant for them. The surviving historical records contain the pronouncements of that momentous occasion. Celebrations in the United States, in Haiti, in Britain, all for the marking of full freedom in the British Caribbean. A Jamaican poet's words on the eve of full freedom dramatized the emotions:

> Again Humanity her standard waves,
> Inscribed with – Freedom to the land of slaves [. . .]
> Who join the general wish with deeds humane
> At once abandon's slavery's hateful chain.[1]

Many of these words marking the emancipation of the survivors of the modern world's most profound episode of brutality were not theirs. Even in this great moment of freedom from British slavery black voices were silenced. Black freedom was being recorded and even instructed by white authorities.

Reverend James Watson, a Scottish missionary in Jamaica speaking in the late days of July in 1838, told thousands of apprentice labourers in the western Jamaican parish of Hanover to be industrious with their freedom, to stay on the estates and work for the good of the country. The apprenticeship system was instituted in 1834 and was an extension of unpaid forced labour, ostensibly to aid both owners and enslaved transition to a post-slavery society. Full freedom did not come about until the ending of the apprentice system on August 1, 1838 and it is this circumstance that concerned Reverend Watson. Black freedom, he argued, would be measured by the economic

1 "Negro Emancipation," *The Liberator* 8, no. 46, 16.11.1838: 184. http://fair-use.org/the-liberator/1838/11/16/the-liberator-08-46.pdf

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success of the plantation system, and watched closely by the whole world. "If you become idle and careless," Watson said, "or allow the cultivation of the country to go back you will fulfill all the predictions of your enemies and do more to perpetuate slavery than anything that has been done for many years [. . .] What will religion say? What will your friends in England say? What will the united and uplifted voice of the whole world say?"[2] This speech was repeated from parish to parish. Freedom, according to the Reverend, if applied without thought on these matters could become "a curse instead of a blessing."

There is another story of 1838. It is the story of the women and men who owned the survivors. They had petitioned loudly against the loss in the debates leading to emancipation. In response the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 stipulated "reasonable compensation" to owners in the Caribbean, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. The 1837 Compensation Act administered the £20 million of recompense to the more than 40,000 claimants, an extraordinary sum that was nonetheless fractional of the even greater wealth earned by slave-owners and the profiteers of British slavery and the slave trade since its inception in the Caribbean in the second decade of the seventeenth century.[3] The agreement to compensate the slave-owners reflected two principal factors about the ending of slavery for Britain. First, it reinforced the view that human lives had monetary value. Property matters around slavery were profound wherever the institution was established. In the nineteenth century, when the Caribbean revolutionary age unleashed by events in French Saint-Domingue resulted in greater mobility of people, the question of property, ownership and status of enslaved and freed blacks was a contested legal issue. Cases of claimants petitioning for ownership of people who crossed jurisdictions are scattered in the archives from Havana to Le Havre.[4] In the British case it was a universal recognition of that value, of people as ownable and priced, that was inherent in the compensation act. Second, it emphasized the superiority of white planter concerns over the state of the survivors, not unlike Reverend Watson's comment in Hanover. Black freedom came in terms imposed by whites.

When that story, the story of further exploitation of black labour, has been told, it is done within the framework of decline. The planter class was falling in the late years of slavery, after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Debate over decline's timeline and impact has been relatively sustained since Trinidadian historian Eric

2 Reverend Watson's address is printed in full in *Morning Journal* (Kingston), 04.08.1838, 1. Watson arrived in the island in 1827 and was instrumental in the development of the Scots Kirk church in Kingston where he was pastor for nineteen years. A tablet to his memory remains in the church to this day.

3 Nicolas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation, and British Society at the end of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

4 See, for example, the work of Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) drew attention away from the British celebration of abolitionism and introduced the unraveling of the plantation complex as a new way of conceiving the end of British slavery.[5] The £20m was a recompense that focused attention entirely upon the slave-owning interests.

2 Traces Everywhere: The Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Project

It is this story of compensation that is the start of the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (LBS) at University College London (UCL). The Centre was founded upon a project started in 2009 by Catherine Hall, Nick Draper, and Keith McClelland and funded by British councils, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The LBS project was guided by a central concern: how did slavery shape modern Britain? If Williams was right, could tracing the compensation records reveal layers of economic connections that indicate a much larger input of the wealth from unfree labour into the shaping of industrial Britain? The LBS project team concluded that their findings added support to Williams's arguments while exposing layers neither he nor his detractors had previously explored. "What our material does suggest at the micro-economic level is that the flow of human and financial capital from the British slave-economy was a significant contributor to the remaking of Britain's commercial and, to a lesser extent, industrial fabric all the way through the first half of the nineteenth century. To this extent, our work confirms the importance of slavery to Britain, but at the same time complicates Williams by qualifying his 'decline' thesis."[6]

To demonstrate this, the project digitized and analyzed over 40,000 claims to the Commissioners for the Compensation of Slavery who filed their claims between 1834 and 1845. The resulting database was able to present in clear detail the remunerative weight of colonial slavery to British enterprise. Much of this was material Williams was only able to hunch at. By marshalling the great power of modern technology, the team was able to present richer evidence on how far these profits spread.

> What Williams was missing was a context [. . .] Only the advent of the computer and the pooling of knowledge online have made this analysis remotely possible in the Legacies of British Slave Ownership project. And our findings are entirely supportive of Williams in the context of [his] second thesis: wealth from slave-ownership was among the significant forces reshaping British society and culture in the nineteenth century.[7]

5 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).
6 Catherine Hall, Nick Draper, Keith McClelland and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 11.
7 Hall et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*: 12.

That was not the only main question to be asked. If it is that compensation underscored the monetary value of human beings what might this tell us about the history of race and race-making in British history? The control of the history of the ending of British slavery, birthed not only in Britain but also in the fields of the Caribbean in speeches like the one Reverend Watson made to black apprentices, was reinforced in the remaining century and a half of British colonialism in the Caribbean. This acceptance of racial difference and black inferiority was sown in the works of eighteenth-century planters whose surviving records indicate the depth and consequences of racial repression.[8] The founders of the LBS project believed that a close, systematic analysis of the compensation records using database technology – successfully applied in projects such as the transatlantic slave trade database – could open up new explorations of race, economy, slavery, memory, and British and Caribbean history.

This belief has been well supported by the outcome of the project. It is now difficult to form sustained opposition to the view that slavery, as an institution and the business enterprise in the sale and forced labour of captives, contributed measurably to the development of nineteenth century Britain. Public understanding of these matters, at least from the vantage point of British discourse on slavery, is all the richer for this work. The answer to the research questions of the project point the way toward a recognition of slavery itself as more than an institution of the past. Slavery was a system and way of life, its tentacles gripping at the throat and seeping invisibly into the corpus of time. Race, beauty, capacity, and assumptions of so much of black life in the former metropole and the former colonies are what they are in large account due to slavery. In the Caribbean slavery is a living memory, etched in the collective consciousness of the descendants of the captive Africans. The plantation world left large fragments on island geographies. Social relations and economic and political frameworks all bear traces of a colonial bureaucracy designed to facilitate the operation of slavery. In Britain, the inheritors might have known of its existence but seldom considered its connections into our own time.

8 For analysis of eighteenth-century planter thought, see Trevor Burnard, *Master, Tyranny, Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Christer Petley, *White Fury: A Jamaican Slaveholder and the Age of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Barry W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750–1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2008). Catherine Hall's thorough study of Jamaican planter-historian Edward Long (forthcoming as a monograph) opens new ways of understanding the role colonial planters played in shaping 'race' in the metropole. See, for example, Catherine Hall, "Whose Memories?: Edward Long and the Work of Re-Remembering," in *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a 'National Sin'*, ed. Donnington, Ryan Henley and Jessica Moody (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017): 129–49 and Hall's forthcoming book on Long. For a discussion of the historiography generally, see Christer Petley, "New Perspectives on Slavery and Emancipation in the British Caribbean," *Historical Journal* 54, no. 3 (2011): 855–80.

The Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project gave new direction to the public discussions raised prominently in Britain after the 2007 bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade, a moment that has drawn some fine analysis from historians.[9] By focusing attention to the compensation records and claims of slave-owners the LBS project widened the debate by moving focus away from the abolitionists in order to bring the slave-owners back into the centre of the picture. Names that had become associated with enterprise, cultural, political, and religious life, but seldom racial slavery, were recalled with hard evidence of their participation in this world of forcible human exploitation. Just as clear from this evidence was their insistence through compensation to benefit financially from black freedom. In 1834, Sir George Strickland, an opponent of the compensation scheme, crystallized this point in the House of Commons when he stated that, "In a land of well-regulated liberty where personal freedom was one of the rights of every man, no price ought to have been put on it."[10] That price of £20 million was a powerful measure. It offered the LBS project a way of elucidating the enormity of the crime of racial slavery by tracing the movement of this compensation. The project produced an extraordinary tool – the LBS database. The database has today over 60,000 names of persons building on the initial claim of c.47,000 beneficiaries. It is regularly updated and is freely available to a global public.

The impact of this work need only be stated in brief: over 2 million unique visitors; integration of the data into new histories of British slavery published in the UK, US, and the Caribbean; public workshops and classroom use; radio and television documentaries, dissertations, monographs by project members, and, perhaps most notable, centrality to a widened and intensified national debate on slavery and memory, from educational curricula to the state of country homes in the UK; and inspiration for similar projects on slave-ownership and trading in France, Australia, and the UK.[11]

9 Jessica Moody, *The Persistence of Memory: Remembering Slavery in Liverpool, 'Slaving Capital of the World'* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2020) offers penetrating analysis of the construction of national memories of slavery that promote narratives of abolition that conveniently elide British slavery's longer and harsher past. See also the essays in Katie Donington, Ryan Henley and Jessica Moody, eds., *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a 'National Sin'* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

10 Quoted in *The Morning Journal*, 1838.

11 On research in Australia building on the LBS project, see, for example, the blog post by historian Georgina Arnott, "James Stirling (1791–1865), 14.02.2022, Enslavement and Western Australia," in *Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery*, https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2022/02/14/james-stirling-1791-1865-enslavement-and-western-australia/. For France, the project *Repairs*, led by Myriam Cottias, has built a similar project tracing French indemnity payments. For more on this, see Cottias' blog post, "How Science Can Help Thinking on Colonial Crimes Reparation," 25.06.2021, *Justiceinfo.Net*, https://www.justiceinfo.net/en/79163-how-science-can-help-thinking-on-colonial-crimes-reparation.html. The more recent and much discussed 2022 publication of the New York Times major project, "The Ransom: The Root of Haiti's Misery: Reparations to Enslavers," has explored deeply the financial consequences of the 1825 indemnity payment to France. See, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html [all accessed 25.06.2022]. For discussion of how the

The project was extended in 2016 with funding by the Hutchins Institute for African and African American Studies at Harvard University and further AHRC/ESRC funding which enabled the establishment of the Centre and work on digitizing the estate records of the Caribbean going back to the 1760s, integrating that information into the database. This phase has vastly expanded the total number of estates, large and small, catalogued and covered by the database across the Caribbean. The work produced on compensation and the estates by a surprisingly small but remarkably industrious team and associates is the basis of the activities of the Centre, which maintains that reparative history is inherently revisionist: to do it demands a rethinking of the story of the long centuries and legacies of British slavery, and freedom from slavery, which we can trace both through personal collections and tragedies carried by descendants of the names we find in the records.[12]

For all of the vast achievement of the LBS project and Centre, it is an incomplete story. By focusing on the slave-owners the Centre has started with a focus on capital: who made it and what they did with it. The largest part of that capital, without question, was the ownership of human lives – the 800,000 survivors mentioned above. Their experiences peek out of the records. We catch glimpses in the planters' accounts. We sense something of the violence and dehumanization they endured in planters' journals, travel accounts, or newspaper advertisements for those who tried to end their horror by flight. We join Caribbean novelists and writers who imagine their world, taking a line or image to spool life. And we, like their intergenerational kin, search the records for thumbprints, a casual or enraged mention caught in the quill, any trace that brings them back to us.

3 Valuable Lives: The "Return of Registers of Slaves"

The Centre has recognized from the start that whatever work we do to recover the past of British slavery, to revise it and make new meaning of it so that we can understand the temporal consequences of the punishing weight of slavery, colonialism, and racism on bodies and minds, we cannot fully address our motive for restorative justice without rigorous study of the lives of the enslaved.[13] We are not alone in this view. This is a point long held by historians of Caribbean slavery. Ever since Eric Wil-

work on compensation has fitted into Caribbean, specifically Jamaican, claims and movements for reparations, see Claudia Rauhut, "Reassessing the Compensation Payments to British Slave Owners in Current Caribbean Claims to Reparations," in *Sociologus* 70, no. 2 (2020): 123–41.

12 This point is discussed further below. On Reparative history, see Catherine Hall, "Doing Reparatory History: Bringing 'Race' and Slavery Home," in *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (2018): 3–21.

13 Restorative justice is here understood as efforts to support reparative actions for enslaved people and their descendants through detailed examination of the historical responsibility of the individuals, organisations and nations who engaged in Transatlantic slavery.

liams's monumental work, there have been remarkable and creative attempts to uncover that history, with some of the more recent leaps being made, among others, by historians such as Marisa Fuentes, Randy Browne, and Sasha Turner.[14] They join colleagues of slavery elsewhere in the Americas who interrogate the archival records to doggedly pursue fragments of black lives and recentre them in the narrative.[15] Herman Bennett's sober reminder in his study of slavery in Mexico that it "is impossible to recover an authentic and unmediated past since the fragments on which historians must rely emanated in regulation," resonates with historians seeking to recover the agency of plantation captives.[16]

For scholars and students of British slavery it is an especially frustrating deficiency and one that will always make our efforts, no matter their innovation, insufficient. Trevor Burnard has recently commented on this challenge and the continual need for historians to confront it in an insightful comment on eighteenth century Jamaica: "Without understanding the demography of the enslaved population, the cultural patterns that they established in the face of vigorous oppression from white masters and overseers, the varieties of ways in which enslaved people were held in bondage in urban and rural areas, and most of all how enslaved people were worked so that Britain's sweet tooth for sugar could be satisfied, our knowledge of this crucial but understudied period of Jamaican history will be limited and incomplete."[17] Burnard rightly points to the greater historiography of the period of 1807–1838 when compared with the comparatively wider-open field of the eighteenth century, as a moment in which we know more about plantation life. Yet even in this later period we still know little about enslaved lives. Bennett makes the important point that modern studies of slavery have tended to focus on enslaved lives in relation to larger processes of modernity, revolution, and freedom. Historians of the enslaved writing today "start from a defensive posture designed to validate the[ir] study's significance and relationship to the history of power."[18] Bennett's careful study of ecclesiastic and inquisition records of enslaved Africans in sixteenth and seventeenth century urban

14 Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossesed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Randy M. Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020); Sasha Turner, *Contested Bodies: Pregnancy, Childrearing, and Slavery in Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

15 Other historians who are doing much to uncover black lives in the transatlantic world include Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021), and Jessica Johnson, *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

16 Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003): 5.

17 Trevor Burnard, "Those Other English Colonies: The Historiography of Jamaica in the Time of James Knight," in *The Natural, Moral, and Political History of Jamaica*, ed. Jack P. Greene and James Knight (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021): 654.

18 Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*: 12.

Mexico presents a thoughtful way of seeing the opportunity, rather than the absence, in the archive by considering underused records generated to assert state absolutism and ask new questions of how Africans and their descendants experienced slavery.

Having established our global reputation for the work we have done on slave-ownership, we have moved now into the phase of our work in which we take up these questions with new methods for the study of enslaved people in the Caribbean. We have begun a project titled, *Valuable Lives: Black Unfreedom and the collapse of British Slavery in Jamaica,* that places principal focus on the most complete source of data on the enslaved in the British Caribbean, the "Return of Register of Slaves," more commonly referred to as the "Slave Registers."[19] Some background on this source is in order. Following the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, anti-slavery campaigners wrongly believed that slavery would begin to disintegrate. The potential for illicit trade and the consequent abuses that continued on the estates and plantations made action all the more urgent. The abolitionists petitioned Parliament for the passage of the Registry Bill to guard against clandestine trading in enslaved persons in the colonies and to ensure that long-needed regulations upon colonists be imposed. The bill fitted within an emergent nineteenth century British state preoccupation with creating instruments for mass monitoring. In 1801 the first British census was issued, followed by further regulatory devices implemented to track movement, religion, and social class in the Empire.[20] Conceptually, large survey data was considered an integral component for gathering fact, predicting outcomes, controlling diseases, and governing people. The collection of mass-populational data developed increasing complexity and appeal to those in power as a method of governing populations, controlling disease, and more effectively mustering the biopower at the state's disposal.

In the Caribbean, as in the metropole, the registers were not only part of this new culture of British surveillance but also the tense discussions over the future of British slavery. Anti-slavery advocates made use of the registers in their campaign for emancipation. Inevitably the colonists, especially in Jamaica, passionately opposed it. The Registry Bill was considered "unconstitutional and destructive" and blamed for every conspiracy or rebellion that occurred in the colonies, especially the 1816 revolt in Barbados."[21] The proposed legislation was regarded by planters as a cloak intended to

19 The Registers are found as, Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records, 1631 volumes (The National Archives UK, Microfilm Publication T71).

20 On the impact of collecting mass data in nineteenth century Britain, see, for example, Kathrin Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census: Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Simon Smith, *The British Census* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021); Roger Hutchinson, *The Butcher, The Baker, The Candlestick Maker: The Story of Britain through its census, since 1801* (London: Abacus, 2017); and Lawrence Goldman, *Victorians and Numbers: Statistics and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

21 *Postscript to the Royal Gazette* (Jamaica), 17.08.1816: 21.

"interfere," "dictate," and "exasperate" the government of the colonies.[22] "To say that no changes have taken place," wrote one irate Jamaican slave-owner in opposition to the Bill, "that improvement in the condition of slaves has not latterly been gradually going forward, particularly in the island of Jamaica, is positively false, and must be known to be false [. . .] the Slave Registry Bill, if it pass into a law, is intended to be made a stepping stone for ulterior measures of the African Institution and Church Missionary Society."[23]

The reporting, a tedium no doubt for the overseers and planters, among other things produced a de facto detailed registry of the enslaved and betrayed the quiet horror of what was too easily considered normal. In Jamaica, the largest of the British colonies, and with the most complex plantation system, the Register Act passed in 1816 and obligated a triennial return of every person in possession of people – inclusive of planter, executor, overseer, agent, attorney, mortgagee, trustee, guardian, administrator, and others – to register their persons in writing. As historian Barry W. Higman put it, the Returns of Registrations of slaves resultantly "provide a wealth of demographic data which are both more reliable and richer in data than those found in any other source."[24]

The greatest users of the Registers have been genealogical researchers. This use has increased over the past few years as has the explosion of interest and engagement with genealogy on a global scale, aided by the growing accessibility and efficacy of digital techniques, a boom in genetic ancestry testing, and widely-pervasive marketing campaigns. Genealogical television documentaries have reached huge levels of popularity: the series *Who Do You Think You Are?* is broadcast in 18 countries, with over 150 episodes airing in the UK alone. Numerous UK episodes have focused on tracing the family histories of celebrities with Caribbean ancestry.[25] As with researchers from across the world, genealogists researching Caribbean heritage use Facebook

22 *Royal Gazette* (Jamaica), 12.10.1816: 2.

23 Supplement to the Royal Gazette (Jamaica), 11.05.1816: 11.

24 Barry W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976): 216.

25 In a US context, the television and written work of Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (for example: *In Search of Our Roots: How 19 Extraordinary African Americans Reclaimed Their Past* [New York: Random House, 2009]) has popularized and solidified methods of practice and widespread awareness of genealogy, including genetic genealogy, for an African American/diasporic audience. Susan Tucker's, *City of Remembering: A History of Genealogy in New Orleans* (New Orleans: University of Mississippi Press, 2016) gives a particularly detailed assessment of the genealogical fascination in New Orleans at the intersection of colonial, national, ethnic, and racial histories. For a survey of genealogical themes and intersections with African diasporic identities see: Kameelah L. Martin and Elizabeth J. West, *Sankofa; or 'Go Back and Fetch it': Merging Genealogy and Africana Studies* [= *Genealogy* 2 (2018)]. A strong example of the genealogical merit of vital records of enslaved people of the nineteenth century is evidenced in Elizabeth Duclos-Orsello, "The Fullness of Enslaved Black lives as Seen through Early Massachusetts Vital Records," in *Genealogy* 6, no. 11 (2022), https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy6010011. The award-winning *Imperial Intimacies: A Tale of Two Islands* by Hazel Carby (London: Verso, 2019) is

groups and other social media platforms which number members in their thousands, in some cases tens of thousands, which allow the sharing of techniques and resources, and support a thriving and growing online and offline community of training events and genealogical societies.[26] More uniquely the records have been used by creatives to represent and honour their ancestors. On the Mona campus of the UWI there are a series of obelisks installed in 2007 that are monuments to the enslaved people who lived on the estate, drawing on the 1832 register as a source.[27] Jamaican visual artist Carol Crichton has used the registers innovatively in her work, merging faces of post-emancipation black Jamaicans with the list of names. And Laura Facey Cooper, an artist who lives on a family estate in St. Ann has drawn on the names of people who lived on the estate in her work *62 men and 63 women*.[28]

The most outstanding use of the registers to date was conducted by Barry Higman nearly fifty years ago in his magisterial *Slave Population and Economy* for which he won the prestigious Bancroft Prize, a rare feat for a monograph on British Caribbean slavery that has not since been equaled. Higman's work was a tour-de-force. Seizing on the advancements of the new economic history, he executed a systematic investigation of the six years of registers from 1817 to 1832, with special focus on 1817, exposing, among other revelations, demographic change, population and spatial distribution, and data on manumission, runaways, and economic diversification. His research inspired a generation of historians who have given greater concentration to that period of 1807–1838 when Jamaica, in Higman's words, was a "closed society" ideal for close analysis of how slavery functioned.[29] *Slave Population and Economy*, and Hig-

a prominent recent example of personal and genealogical exploration of Caribbean-British identities and interwoven histories.

26 Genealogists have been key collaborators in the work of the Centre for the Study of Legacies of British Slavery during its first decade, receiving research and additional information to enhance and create hundreds of biographies within the LBS database. We have also shared genealogical techniques, particularly including advice on and studies of how to use the Registers in public engagement events and workshops.

27 The registers for the neighbouring estates of Papine and Mona (on which the university now sits) are used extensively by historian Suzanne Francis-Brown's essay, "Finding Families Within the Communities Enslaved on the Mona and Papine Estates, 1817–1832," *Caribbean Quarterly* 51, no. 3–4 (2005): 94–108.

28 See the discussion of Crichton's work at "NGJ: Summer Exhibition: Carol Crichton," National Gallery of Jamaica blog, 08.09.2019, https://nationalgalleryofjamaica.wordpress.com/category/carol-crichton/. On Facey-Cooper's work, see, "NGJ: Summer Exhibition: Laura Facey Cooper," National Gallery of Jamaica blog, 10.09.2019, https://nationalgalleryofjamaica.wordpress.com/category/laura-facey-cooper/ [both accessed 31.03.2022] and "Facey Cooper's 62 Men and 63 Women Installation for Sale," *Jamaica Observer*, 08.10.2016.

29 Although no historian has since attempted the deep quantitative analysis that Higman did, the focus he gave to enslaved people in Jamaican society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was taken up by several Caribbean historians. See, for example, Jenny Jemmott, *The Ties That Bind: The Black Family in Post-Slavery Jamaica, 1834–1882* (Kingston: University of the West Indies

man's subsequent publications on individual plantations such as Montpelier estate, made possible his close economic analysis of that society.[30] In the decades since the appearance of Higman's book there have been, of course, further significant advancements in history-writing on Jamaican slavery.[31] In several respects Higman pointed the way forward for studies of black lives in Jamaica even though historians who followed him have asked similar questions but chosen different approaches. What he accomplished in his work demonstrated the power of that rich mine of data contained in the registers which still demands further close study. As Higman noted of the registers thirty years after *Slave Population and Economy*, "much remains to be learned by their analysis."[32] Since he made this appeal no historical project has taken up the work. It is Higman's call that we take up in *Valuable Lives*: *Black Unfreedom and the collapse of British Slavery in Jamaica* (Center for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery).

For several reasons the moment is propitious for this analysis to be done. The historiography on Caribbean slavery is running more closely with public demand and inter-

Press, 2015), and Kathleen E.A. Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica 1790–1848* (Kingston: University of the West Indies, 2020).

30 Barry W. Higman expanded his focus from Jamaica to the other islands in *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1995).

31 On the historiography of the late years of slavery into the early postemancipation period, see, Carl Campbell, "Early Post-Emancipation Jamaica: The Historiography of Plantation Culture, 1834–1865," in *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*, ed. Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2002): 52–69, and Gad Heuman, "The Historiography of Slavery and Abolition in the Anglophone Caribbean," in *Beyond Fragmentation: Perspectives on Caribbean History*, ed. Juanita De Barros, Audra Diptee and David V. Trotman (New Jersey: Markus Wiener, 2006): 93–112. History-writing on slavery and abolition has advanced considerably since the publication of these surveys of the literature. The field has become so diverse and sophisticated that only a sample of thematic concerns can be mentioned here. Newer scholarship has included fresh analyses of religious practice such as Diana Paton's, *The Cultural Politics of Obeah: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity in the Caribbean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), and Jerome Handler and Ken Bilby, *Enacting Power: The Criminalization of Obeah in the Anglophone Caribbean* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2012); comparative histories such as Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus's *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica After Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Vincent Brown's studies of death in Jamaica, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), and rebellion, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); and womens' histories most notably in Turner's *Contested Bodies* and Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*. For a solid review of the recent trends in history-writing of Jamaica during slavery, see Trevor Burnard, "Wi Lickle but Wi Tallawah": Writing Jamaica into the Atlantic World, 1655–1834," *Reviews in American History* 49, no. 1 (2021): 168–86.

32 Barry W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750–1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2005): xii.

est in black lives. The protests for racial justice arising from the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020, a wider insistence on centering black lives into histories of slavery, and the expansion in genealogical interest in Caribbean history, has made a systematic analysis of the registers more urgent. At the Centre, our commitment to rigorous evidence-based examination of data on British slavery allied with these points, has led us quite naturally toward this new work on *Valuable Lives*. With this project we will start by building a complete database of all the persons listed for the island of Jamaica. This will advance the work done by Higman considerably. The advantages of this project are plenty. The first benefit is the most obvious. A database of all enslaved persons is part of restorative justice efforts to recognize their humanity. We may place them not as the property they were regarded as but as individuals with lives, individual character, kin, and experiences. This data when integrated with other data, including our slave-ownership database, will enable us to consider these lives anew. It will also enable us to write new histories of slavery as viewed from the plantation fields upward to the great house. Such an approach will also improve the demographic and spatial analysis, to enhance patterns of mobility, resistance, manumission, and cultural and social life.

Perhaps the greatest power of this data is what can grow from it. A database on enslaved persons connecting them to estates in various parishes will yield a wider gathering of community level data on individuals and places. As our existing database builds on the contributions of members of the public in Britain, this new database on enslaved persons will more concretely connect that British experience and history with that of the Caribbean which was an integral part of British history. Consider what might be learned from Jamaica's shifting contexts from 1807 through the early emancipation years from a database on the enslaved. We will be better able to appreciate the extent to which new mercantile capital rose in the island and was reinvested in the slavery system. We will be able to deepen scholarly knowledge on the economic role played by a migratory population in the island including French émigrés from Saint-Domingue and Jewish migrants, in addition to an established and increasingly economically important free colored population. The historiography on eighteenth century Jamaica can be connected tangibly to the outcomes of nineteenth century transitions in the island. Most importantly, we will be able to build a deeper background on individuals with the work of researchers working through the large and fundamentally different set of documents of post-slavery Jamaica including court records, civil and church records, newspapers, political records, and economic records in the Caribbean and Britain.

This database will not possibly be able to tell us everything. The source is inadequate – only six years out of Jamaica's more than a century and a half of British slavery exist. The registers also vary in quality of data. The 1817 register captures a holistic picture of the population in that year, while subsequent records record only changes in holding, though, as Higman is quick to point out, their reliability remains

highly consistent. The methods we apply raise the coverage of the subsequent years to approach the completeness of 1817, though many limitations still persist.

The listing of names themselves are incomplete. In some instances we get two names, kinship records, occupations, and identifying marks. In many others we get only single names, ages, birthdates, and racialized categories of whether the person was African or Creole. This variability presents limitations on how far we are able to trace individuals or draw conclusions on their lives. The remarkable accomplishment of Richard Dunn in tracing enslaved lives in the US south and Jamaica in *A Tale of Two Plantations*, is exceptional and requires far more details than can be discerned from the registers alone.[33] None of these realities denies the texture of the material however. And when linked with other sources in the large-scale detailed work that only a database can provide, a range of possibilities for tracking, tracing, and emphasizing as yet unclear life and group histories will emerge. Significantly, by developing new methods we will be able to move well beyond the cliometric approaches available to Higman in the 1970s which opened possibilities of quantitative history but had inbuilt problems.[34]

4 More than Numbers: The Problem with Cliometrics

This discussion of our potential to produce demographic analyses at unprecedented levels of detail and granularity brings us to a theoretical and practical point which it is essential that we address. Higman's prodigious calculations are a product of the cliometric boom in economic and social history during the 1960s and 70s, as new technologies offered scholars the potential to crunch historical numbers on an unprecedented scale and mathematical techniques of projection and correlation derived from demographic and social sciences could be brought to bear on vast untapped mines of historical statistical sources. In the introduction to the revised edition of *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, Higman explains the approach taken to generate this top-level compendium of trends and counts, stating that: "the slaves of Jamaica are viewed in this book as a population, a mass about which quantitative generalizations can be made. Subtle variations in the demographic experience are explored, but it is

33 Richard Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life in Virginia and Jamaica* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014).

34 One of the most celebrated and controversial applications of climoetrics to the study of enslaved societies, was Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman's, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: Norton, 1974), also a Bancroft prize winner. For critical reappraisal of this work and discussion of its problems, see, for example, Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery 1619–1877* (London: Penguin, 1995).

the mass that matters in the end."[35] Those demographic statistics offer vital context to underpin understandings of broader economic and demographic trends and their impacts upon the forced movements of people and political phenomena during the immediate pre-Emancipation period. But they are also, in the main, just numbers – cold, scientific, unsympathetic. We must consider the motivations behind the creation of the Registers and the practice of their completion by enslavers and the enslaving state. These documents are physical and documentary manifestations of the project of dehumanisation that enslavement represented.

The exercise of identifying trends and, particularly, the objective-seeming, scientifically-derived language of "fertility," "mortality," and measures of economic productive capacity might very well shed light on the reasons behind the demographic and economic changes that were taking place. They allow scholars to contextualise their studies with greater macroeconomic and macrosocial accuracy but they, often uncomfortably, echo the dehumanising purpose and intent of their original compilers.[36] The existing LBS database is organised around tracing the financial legacies of compensation awarded to enslavers after the Slavery Abolition Act and the decades of preceding slave-ownership. Deeper understanding of the political machinations leading to abolition in the metropole will be enabled through a clearer elaboration of the questions that Higman was aiming to answer in the 1970s. He tested Williams's thesis that the British Caribbean plantation system was in decline, the extent to which the slave system was a cause of this decline, and the impact of the end of the slave trade in bringing about the eventual abolition of enslavement.[37]

Whilst we are able to do this, the demographic and statistical work would not begin to tell the full scope of the story. Reducing the narrative of abolition to one of economic decline and subsequent political decision by Parliamentarians fails to take into account the pivotal role that the enslaved played in forcing political change. Treating the enslaved as "a mass" also does not afford room for using the Registers as the foundational basis from which to recover previously unexplored details of collective and individual life experiences. Moreover, the use of overarching statistics and trends can, at times, offer an illusion of completeness. If we can count and list everybody and crunch the vital statistics, the assumption might be, we can minutely measure the economic and demographic context driving metropolitan and colonial decision-making. The entries of the Registers alone are really just ciphers of a life, snapshots created by

35 Higman, *Slave Population in Jamaica*: xviii.

36 The point is well noted by Higman in his discussion of the rather clerical manner in which the registers were recorded. The period of return for the registers every three years was June 28–September 28. The registers were completed by slave-owners and deposited to the parish vestry offices. The returns were made on sheets provided by the clerk (for which the slave-owner paid a fee), organized alphabetically by parish and owner and added to bound volumes. Copies were kept in the Island Record Office and the original returns transferred to London. Higman, *Slave Population in Jamaica*: 46.

37 Higman, *Slave Population in Jamaica*: 4–5.

enslavers and the enslaving state. There is nothing complete about them. To tell the most representative and reparative story that we can we need to eschew any aspiration to completeness. Our focus must be on using the Registers and any overarching statistical trends we can identify in concert with other sources to recover as many fragments as we can, from which we might be able to sketch an outline of human experience.

5 Reparative and Responsible Practice

The current LBS database holds over 60,000 biographies of slave-owners, a unique and detailed prosopography which traces the deep legacies of wealth and power which the labour and exploitation of the enslaved afforded to the owners, their families, and the UK over approximately the last century of British slavery. One way in which we might seek to redress the balance of historical memory and build reparatory histories would be to use the Registers to build a parallel prosopography, automatically generating more than 300,000 biographies, one for each enslaved person listed in the Jamaican documents. For a large proportion of those enslaved people, the Registers are the only historical reference we have to their lives. This impression of a life is a listing in a document mandated by the British colonial state and completed by their enslavers, where the name, age, or origins of enslaved persons would not necessarily be recognisable to their own self-definitions. The only life events or data gathered are those which further supported the violent enforcement of their unfreedom. Digitising, transcribing, and presenting records to the whole world in perpetuity in the way the biographies of enslavers have been in the current LBS database might not therefore be a reparative or appropriate exercise. The data which constitutes them is an impression of their lives and identity that they would likely not recognise and, in most respects, infringes their personhood and identity, lifted from documents created against their will and consent within a violent system of racialisation and oppression.[38]

Our project is by no means the first to digitize and make globally-available large repositories of data concerning enslaved lives. The *Enslaved* project allows cross searching of databases listing both the enslaved and enslavers compiled by researchers on a host of projects from across North and South America, as well as the Caribbean, and the associated *Journal of Slavery and Data Preservation* outlines the data practices and sources which have underpinned their creation. Many genealogical platforms already

38 Elizabeth Duclos-Orsello's point on Masschussetts records of enslaved persons is equally applicable here: "There is, no doubt, violence [is] in the very existence of these records and no matter how helpful this tool – or others like it – may be, it remains a tool framed by and preserved because of settler colonial and white supremacist goals." Elizabeth Duclos-Orsello, "The Fullness of Enslaved Black lives as Seen through Early Massachusetts Vital Records."

host what amount to similar digital avatars of deceased enslaved persons. You can currently freely browse records generated for every individual listed within the Registers. Many genealogists have created individual profiles linked to historical source documents and profiles of other individuals within family trees which act as virtual representations, repositories, and memorials.[39] Working with the Registers therefore makes questions of memorialisation fundamental to the work of our Centre in the coming years. How should we present the fragmentary, troubling, and partial (in all senses of the word) biographical information that we can piece together recording the lives of the enslaved? We do not think that it is for the members of our small team, or other academics to make these decisions alone. The presentation and interpretation of these valuable lives must be a project that reaches out to offer meaningful participation to descendants in communities in Jamaica and across the globe. It must build networks to learn from practice already happening throughout the Caribbean and North and South America in heritage, memorialisation, art, craft, local history, family history, and community organising and reparative social justice campaigns.[40]

Each community, each group, each present-day location has a different and unique story and requires time, patience, and reverence to think closely about how to reconstitute these stories. This is not a traditional academic "start-and-finish" funded project. It is a space in which to build innovative digital techniques and repositories to bring the information we have on enslaved lives together and build foundational learning on forms of practice, participation, and presentation. Furthermore, the potential in this work, practice, and its dissemination for traumatization or re-traumatization is considerable and not yet fully understood. Some communities and individuals might not want

39 *Enslaved: Peoples of the Historical Slave Trade* (https://enslaved.org). Similar databases include *Slave Registers*, based upon Angolan colonial records, https://slaveregisters.org/. The Jamaican Registers are currently freely available online through *Ancestry.com*, although their functionality, searchability, and quality of transcription are limited: https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/1129/ [all accessed 28.02.2023].

40 Remarkable work in these areas is being done in academic, citizen-history and community outreach projects. One example suffices. In 2012 archaeologists on the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica discovered human remains on the site of a former enslaved village. The discovery was made at the time construction had started on a new campus building. UWI historians and members of the Jamaican National Heritage Trust wrote a report on the findings and, after the investigations were complete, a formal reburial of the remains was undertaken. For details on this see, "UWI Probes Bones on Slave Village Site," *Jamaica Gleaner*, 04.02.2012, https://jamaica-gleaner.com/power/35029 [accessed 31.03.2022]. A similar 2017 discovery of assumed remains of formerly enslaved persons at the University of Georgia, Athens in the US, provoked community action and debate. The discussion exposed both the tension between reverence and resistance to stories of enslaved pasts that lies just below the surface in public discussions. On this point, see, Marc Parry, "Buried History: How far Should a University Go to Face its Slave Past," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 25.05.2017, https://www.chronicle.com/article/buried-history/ [accessed 31.03.2022]. Digital spaces have proven significant tools for public documentation and engagement over these issues. See, for example, the UNESCO Slave Route project's, Slavery and Remembrance (http://slaveryandremembrance.org).

to visit these histories. We enter this project equally aware of the power of the source for reparative history but also the special responsibility of how we handle, use, present, and analyse this information of violently oppressed past black lives. At the same time, we appreciate the possibility of black digital humanities to question anew mechanisms of archival violence as historian Jessica Johnson has argued. "Data is the evidence of terror, and the idea of data as fundamental and objective information [. . .] obscures rather than reveals the scene of the crime. Black digital practice offers a corrective. It attends to black subjects who scream in spite, because, and in defiance of their own ritual murder. Black digital practice requires researchers to witness and remark on the marked and unmarked bodies, the ones that defy computation, and find ways to hold the null values up to the light."[41]

6 Jamaican Slavery in the Age of Revolution: Port Royal Case Study

What might a database of the Slave Registers tell us about black lives in late slavery era Jamaica which unfolded in an age of revolutionary change? Over the past two years this question has exercised our minds a great deal and guided a pilot project we have been conducting on Port Royal parish in Jamaica. The perspective offered here draws on findings from that work and reorients significantly the portrait of Port Royal that has long existed in foreign imaginaries. When British historian J.A. Froude arrived in Jamaica fifty years after emancipation to gather material and observations for his controversial *The English in the West Indies*, he landed at Port Royal and recorded in his journal that he was in a place of great significance. Port Royal he said, was "so famous in the West Indian story."[42] Froude proceeded as travelers before and after him did, to record his fascination with the terrain. The spit that seems to rise out of the Caribbean concludes with the bursting arcade of the Blue Mountain range behind it. The mountains cast toward one of the most breathtaking harbour views in the Caribbean as seen in Fig. 1. "I do not know that I have ever seen any scene more interesting than that which broke upon my eyes as we rounded the point, and the lagoon opened out before me," wrote a clearly awed Froude.[43]

41 Jessica Marie Johnson, "Markup Bodies: Black [Life] Studies and Slavery [Death] Studies at the Digital Crossroads," *Social Text* 36, no. 4 [137] (2018): 57–79.

42 James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses* (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1888): 173.

43 Froude, *The English in the West Indies*: 132.

What went unremarked by Froude and other writers was the enslaved people who worked in those mountains in a dense complex of (mostly coffee) estates.[44] Until 1866 Port Royal was a parish, bound on its coast by the famous littoral, in the north by the Port Royal mountains, and in the east by the Yallahs River (see fig. 3). It was one of 22 parishes, bordered by St. Andrew, St. David, Kingston, and St. George. In the 1790s, in the wake of the revolution in Saint-Domingue which cut off one of the world's leading coffee producers, Jamaican planters began to invest significantly in coffee cultivation resulting in a notable boom for the next three decades before it began to recede. Port Royal became one of the principal coffee-producing parishes, the others being St. George and St. Mary. Coffee cultivation extended the plantation complex into the interior of the parish. In her recent history of coffee plantations in Jamaica, Kathleen Monteith profiles the typical Port Royal planter: compared with sugar which dominated much of the rest of the island, planters were resident either in the parish or neighbouring Kingston.[45] It is the last point that interests us and spurred us to initiate the pilot project. Port Royal was suitable for its history but also other factors. It was one of the smaller parishes and its coastal and rural context and proximity to Kingston, the commercial centre of the island, made it a particularly intriguing parish to begin this work.

7 Port Royal – From Harbour to Mountain

50% of the enslaved people in Port Royal were African in 1817. Most had arrived before the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.[46] In terms of slaves per square mile, Port Royal had the highest population density in Jamaica. African men outnumbered African women. The overall population was majority male, particularly among adults – 66% in the 40–44 year old age group. Much of their unfree labour was devoted to coffee production for the short period that the crop boomed. The rise of coffee in the 1790s began to dissipate by the 1830s owing to soil depletion, erosion, and frequent landslides in steep areas, all of which had negative effects on sustained cultivation.[47]

As fortunes shifted, so did the population. Higman noted how enslaved workers moved to nearby parishes and with increasing frequency to the town of Port Royal in the two decades prior to 1832. This movement is one of the most critical pieces of en-

44 The history of slavery in Port Royal parish is little remarked in most books on its alluring history. See, for example, Michael Pawson and David Buisseret, *Port Royal Jamaica* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1974).

45 Monteith, *Plantation Coffee*.

46 Higman estimated that by 1829 Port Royal still had the largest proportion of African born enslaved people, perhaps 38%.

47 Monteith, *Plantation Coffee*: 12–15, 64–70; Higman, *Slave Population in Jamaica*: 21–24, 63.

Fig. 1: "Kingston and Port Royal from Windsor Farm," from James Hakewill, A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821 (London: Hurst and Robinson, 1825): 21.

slaved activity revealed in the registers. Like all other major sources of data on enslaved persons, the information in the registers must be approached with great caution. They were prepared by white planters with little regard for the enslaved people they enumerated. When enslavers and the state were listing and counting people, they were doing so to assert their ownership of them and to negate any rights to personal freedom, agency, legal identity, movement, and expression. People were being listed and counted in order to assess their value as property and as a source of labour and profit. British authorities used the lists to estimate the compensation they would be liable to pay enslavers in the event of emancipation and the counts of population to make strategic decisions about management and violent suppression of black freedom. Still, considered in toto, the registers contain the quantitative data that supports a confident demographic understanding of Port Royal. Higman was able to elaborate, using well-selected sampling techniques, the characteristics of the population. Records were created for multiple parishes (including Port Royal) which cross-referenced variables such as age, gender, and African or Creole birthplace to produce detailed age

structure pyramids and populational comparisons between parishes, combined with samples of a small number of large estates.[48]

Higman's work is a solid place for us to begin our detailed examination of the registers. From his model we could build a plan to assess the basic demographic features of the parish. Counts of fertility and mortality for each Register, including calculations created by Higman for the 1829–1832 period, were used to make parish-level comparisons of birth rates, death rates, and natural population change. The 1832 register sample of births and deaths were analysed with colour as a category to explore relationships between white men and enslaved women, paternity, and the construction of racial boundaries and social mores for those of mixed African and European ancestry. Estates records were also drawn upon for complex analyses of familial and domestic structures.[49] In *Slave Population*, Higman demonstrated how movements across parish boundaries in the 1829–1832 period were also counted to outline broad geographic trends in the forced internal migration of people. Finally, numerous vital statistics were assessed with data from Accounts Produce to create comparisons of demographic characteristics with crop types and economic activities.[50]

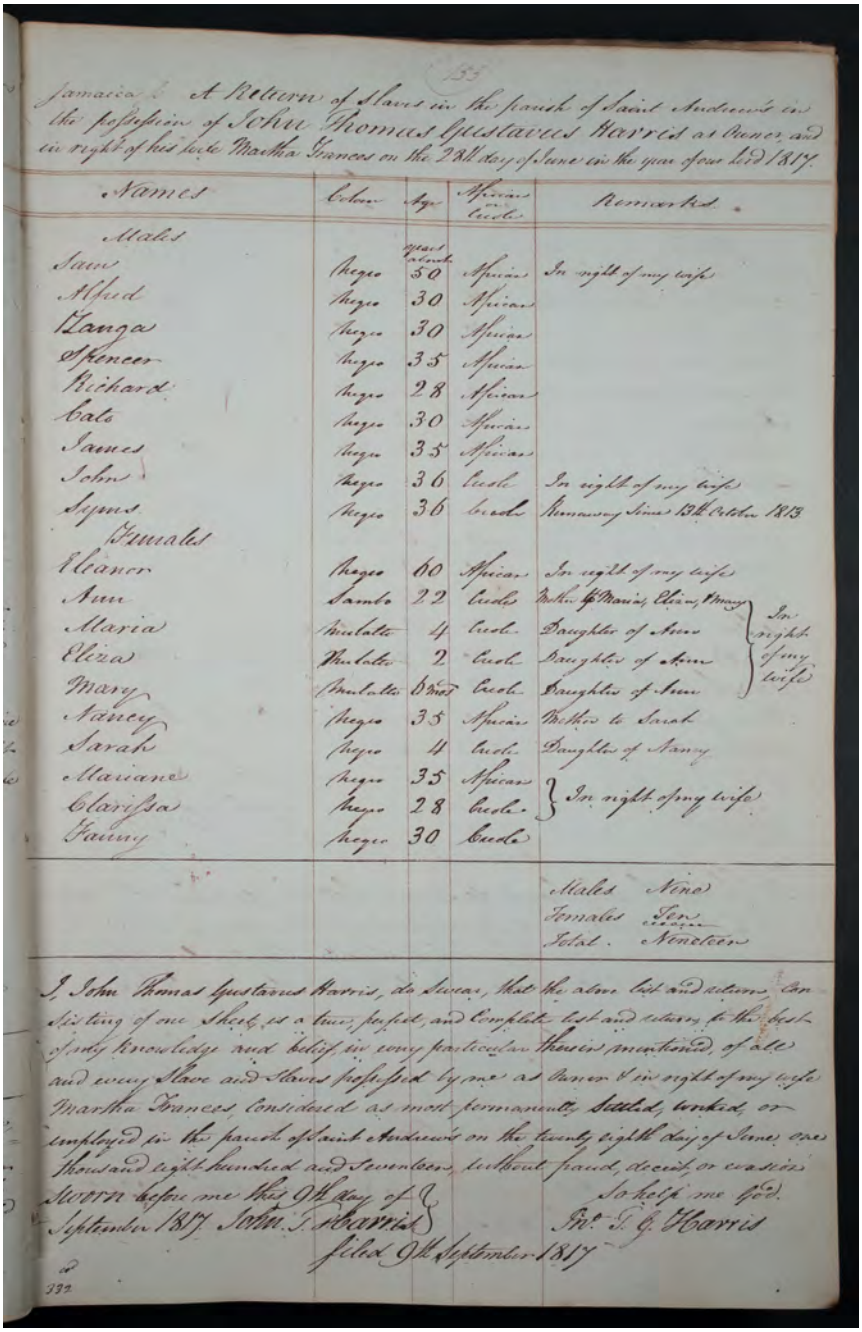
There are inherent problems with the data, however. For each individual there exists a name, age, birthplace, colour reference, and a set of generally standardised remarks. A critical evaluation of the processes, politics, people, and culture which created these documents raises deep questions about each of these informational categories. In many cases, particularly for enslaved people of African birth, the name listed is likely not the name that that person used to refer to themselves or that would be remotely recognised by kin, community, and compatriots in Africa, or indeed within and among the enslaved community in Jamaica. The names recorded are in many cases, therefore, an oppressive imposition of enslavers to try and stamp ownership via naming rights and erase personal and group identity.[51] The age listed, particularly for those of African birth or most adults, is not derived from their date of birth or their stage of life but a calculation made by an enslaver somewhere between chronological age and physical condition, with the onus on estimating the value of labour a person could provide and

48 Higman, *Slave Population*: 81–93.

49 Higman, *Slave Population*: 151–72.

50 Higman, *Slave Population*: 235–41.

51 Naming presents a significant challenge for forming genealogical connections reasons stated above. At the same time, names possess other information that reveal deeper clues on planter preoccupations and even individual sense of grandeur. Planters often assigned names that had some meaning to how they wished for their human property to be identified to fit within conceptions of perceived ideals of place and space the same way they assigned romantic and sometimes descriptive names of their estates. On naming practices of enslaved people in Jamaica, see, for example, Margaret Williamson, "Africa or old Rome?: Jamaican *Slave Naming Revisited*," in *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 1 (2017): 117–34. On plantation names generally, see Barry W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001).



Jamaica } A Return of Slaves in the parish of Saint Andrew's in the possession of John Thomas Gustavus Harris as Owner, and in right of his wife Martha Frances on the 28th day of June in the year of our Lord 1817.

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole	Remarks
Males				
Sam	Negro	50 years about	African	In right of my wife
Abed	Negro	30	African	
Hanga	Negro	30	African	
Spencer	Negro	35	African	
Richard	Negro	28	African	
Cato	Negro	30	African	
James	Negro	35	African	
John	Negro	36	Creole	In right of my wife
Symes	Negro	36	Creole	Runaway Since 13th October 1813
Females				
Eleanor	Negro	60	African	In right of my wife
Ann	Sambo	22	Creole	Mother of Maria, Eliza, & Mary
Maria	Mulatto	4	Creole	Daughter of Ann — In right of my wife
Eliza	Mulatto	2	Creole	Daughter of Ann — In right of my wife
Mary	Mulatto	6 Mos	Creole	Daughter of Ann — In right of my wife
Nancy	Negro	35	African	Mother to Sarah
Sarah	Negro	4	Creole	Daughter of Nancy
Mariane	Negro	35	African	In right of my wife
Clarissa	Negro	28	Creole	In right of my wife
Fanny	Negro	30	Creole	
				Males None
				Females Ten
				Total. Nineteen

I, John Thomas Gustavus Harris, do Swear, that the above list and return, consisting of one Sheet, is a true, perfect, and Complete list and return, to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular therein mentioned, of all and every Slave and Slaves possessed by me as Owner & in right of my wife Martha Frances, considered as most permanently settled, located, or employed in the parish of Saint Andrew's on the twenty eighth day of June one thousand eight hundred and Seventeen, without fraud, deceit, or evasion.

Sworn before me this 9th day of September 1817. John T. G. Harris

So help me God. Jno. T. G. Harris

filed 9th September 1817

a
332

Fig. 2: A capture of the 1817 Register of persons belonging to Margaret Pitblade [discussed below].

the value of their body and personhood in a slave economy.[52] The listings of birthplace do not reference an enslaved person's ethnic, linguistic, communal, or national origins or complex, overlapping, violently fractured and defiantly re-forged senses of personal and group identity. It lists people as simply "African" or "Creole," speaking to the motivation behind the creation of the registers, which was primarily to monitor compliance with the ban on the Atlantic slave trade and better surveil and control the enslaved majority in the colonies.

The categorisation of people by colour, meanwhile, is an approximation imposed by an enslaver on an enslaved person's ancestry based upon their appearance, as part of a racial ideology created to enforce hereditary enslavement, make moral and economic judgements about individuals, and monitor the population of mixed African and European ancestry. The Increase and Decrease columns hold much critical information to exploring and understanding the experiences and major events of the lives of enslaved persons but the type of information recorded is only that which is of pertinence to monitoring: details that explain differences in totals of persons enslaved on individual estates compared to the numbers on the previous return. Life events recorded are births and deaths, purchases and sales, runaways, transportations, executions, and manumissions. As significant as these are, they are hardly a representative picture of the totality of a human life and experience. The "Remarks" field as seen in the example in fig. 2, includes a broad range of information including locations, owners, individuals and their relocation information, and, in select cases, causes of death, injury, or absence. Most often they record familial relationships. These are in almost every case relationships between mothers and children. This recording is not done by every enslaver, or for every holding, but it is more often the practice. When it comes to building more detailed pictures of lives and communities, these relationships are of huge import, but offer almost no mention of paternal relations or any other kinship, marriage, or personal relationship. One assumes enslavers listed mothers for reasons of enforcing their ownership and exploitation of children in a system of hereditary enslavement and also to keep account of the many children born during the intervals between the filing of registers.[53]

8 Our Methodology

This enormous data set may seem dense and dryly quantitative. It records individuals in a fashion more closely associated with inventories than censuses or surveys concerned with biographical data. What possible indication might it offer on the lives of

52 Higman, *Slave Population*: 81–95.

53 This listing could theoretically also have helped the colonial state to police laws intended to limit the splitting of enslaved families, although the lack of consistent listing suggests that this was not a major motivation.

captives forced into lifelong exploitation who fought to find whatever space of freedom they could? When viewed creatively in relation to other data, and with new methodological rigour, the registers become something far more insightful than they appear. Barry Higman's impressive array of techniques and sampling applied to the Registers and associated records in *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* remains the standard text for early nineteenth century Jamaican demography. The methodology that we have piloted uses database technologies far beyond what was possible at the time Higman built his sophisticated calculating apparatus, offering us the opportunity to revisit this statistical field with a hitherto unparalleled level of detail and granularity. Rather than taking samples of small groups of characteristics in certain parishes in certain years we have achieved a comprehensive mapping of every characteristic captured by the Registers, in all six of the volumes.

We began by making transcriptions of every entry in the six registers for Port Royal and formatting them in a standard set of fields that capture all individual pieces of information contained in the documents. Using the existing LBS database's information on holdings and slaveowners as a framework, we reconcile the ownership information for each holding in each register, linking holdings and owners across the six volumes. This enabled us to run our automated matching algorithm which uses name matching (exact and similar/soundalike), age, and common holding or slave-owner linkage to create links between entries for every enslaved person in the registers taken between 1820 and 1832 to earlier entries for the same individuals. The system is designed to flag any conflicting matches and allows us to manually check and verify the processed data. For entries without a strong automatic match, we then have a scoring algorithm that ranks individuals listed in previous registers according to those most likely to match each later entry, which allows our team members to manually make matches in an efficient, time-saving manner. We also have a similar automated and manual matching process to record all the familial relationships listed in the Remarks column in the registers. We also have an automated process which takes the recordings of relationships between mothers and children (c. 4,000 in the Port Royal Registers) and automatically infers wider genealogical relationships between siblings, and across multiple generations (grandparents, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews) to almost quadruple the number of recorded familial relationships we can trace.

The 1817 Register is the only volume to contain a full listing of every individual enslaved in Jamaica in that year. Each of the five subsequent volumes only lists individuals when an increase or decrease in the count of the slaveholding has occurred. By linking entries from 1820 onwards to the previous entries for the same individual we are able to infer which individuals from previous Registers were still present (but not mentioned) in future years, essentially generating five further full censuses, one at each three-year interval from 1820 to 1832. With six fully-linked censuses capturing the vital statistics of the 1817 register along with life events such as births, deaths, purchases, sales, manumissions, runaways, executions, and transportations we can generate all of the overlapping types of analysis that Higman was able to for only a number of sample Registers. Our method

Tab. 1: General demographic statistics – enslaved population – Port Royal.

	1817	1820	1823	1826	1829	1832
Total Population	7162	7179	6798	6920	6667	6438
Male	3783	3781	3502	3512	3363	3191
Female	3380	3398	3296	3408	3304	3247
%Male	52.82	52.67	51.52	50.75	50.44	49.57
Total Births		587	523	482	488	432
Total Deaths		379	468	464	402	439
Births – Deaths		208	55	18	86	−7
Total Population Change		17	−381	122	−253	−229
Individuals Into Parish		176	185	222	110	99
Net Outward Migration		−367	−621	−118	−449	−321

allows us to do this for every variable, for every year, with far more detail. We can now, for the first time, monitor fluctuations in all of the main populational trends triennially, consistently mapping changing patterns in population, particularly an overall reduction in the parish's population despite a natural increase. This allows us to infer sustained movement of enslaved people out of the parish.

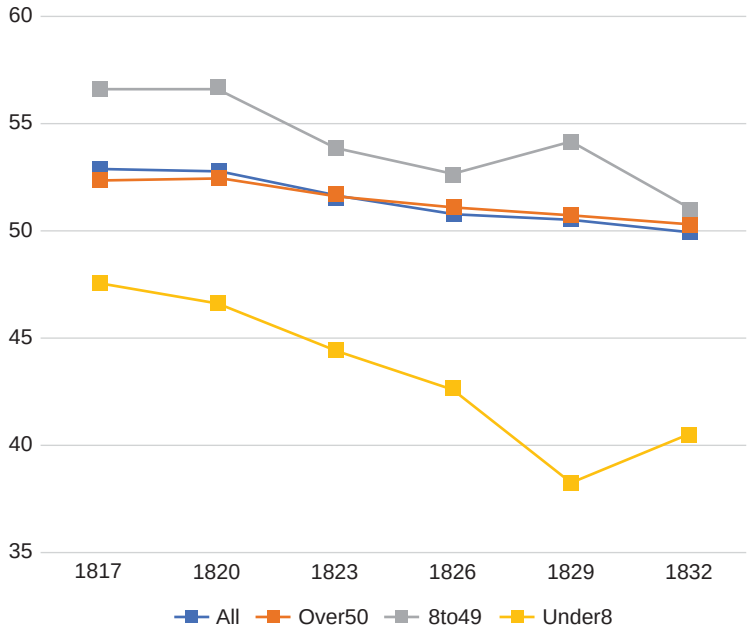
As the table above shows, the outward movements peaked from 1820 to 1823, apparently reduced in number from 1823 to 1826, before another resurgence between 1826 and 1829. At the moment, these calculations of net outward migration can only be speculative until we complete a transcribing and matching process for neighbouring parishes. Then we will be able to individually trace each movement within and between parishes. We can also generate, for the first time, parish-level statistics for every register year (rather than samples), such as those summarised above in Tab. 1. Linking and tracking every individual across every year also allows us to build a more accurate dataset which corrects a host of small errors in the original documents that were included in the calculations made by the compilers of the parish-level statistics in the 1820s. Our count of "Births," for example, does not only count those Increase entries listed as "Births," it also counts individuals under the age of 4 who have not been entered in a previous entry and whose listing of "Birth" has been omitted. We have also found scattered errors of duplication, such as where the same individual is logged as dying or being born more than once, sometimes because of movement between holdings where the previous and new holdings both count the events.

While Higman was able to detect that the enslaved population had become majority female by 1832, with six full censuses digitally constructed for the first time, we can generate analyses of gender ratios for each three year period on a parish-wide level, but also use the linkage of each individual to each holding in each year to analyse trends at whatever level of granularity we choose.[54]

54 See the discussion on this point in Higman, *Slave Population*: 72.

Tab. 2 (with graph): Percentage male of enslaved population by size of holding – Port Royal.

Holding Size	1817	1820	1823	1826	1829	1832
All	52.84	52.75	51.59	50.73	50.49	49.87
Over 50	52.38	52.41	51.68	51.06	50.72	50.30
8 to 49	56.54	56.64	53.85	52.61	54.13	50.95
Under 8	47.50	46.58	44.38	42.56	38.19	40.46



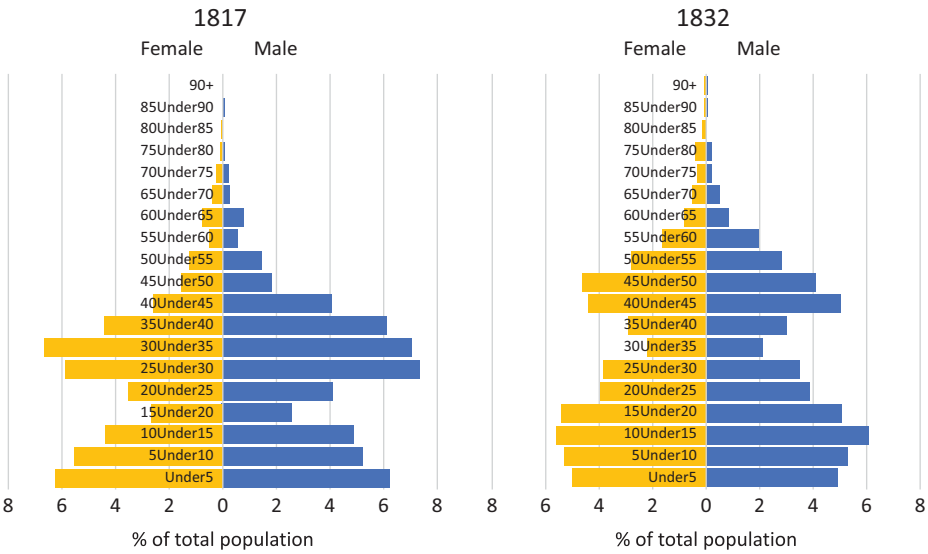
The table 2 and chart above show how gender ratios fluctuated differently over the 15 years on holdings of different sizes. As the graph shows, the smallest estates begin with a majority female captives before gradually moving to gender parity. Middle-sized holdings like jobbing gangs and pens began more male-dominated but moved towards parity much more rapidly, reflecting the greater upheaval and movement that enslaved people on these holdings faced. This change is explained by slave-owner efforts to re-allocate the labour force in response to changing demographic, environmental, and economic demands during the period. The end of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 also meant that persons transported to Jamaica by then were the last unfree African-born workers in the island. The table 3 and chart below show that the enslaved population of Port Royal was half African-born in 1817 and, although smaller holdings tended to have more Creoles, the pattern of declining African proportion

Tab. 3: Percentage of enslaved population African – by year and holding size – Port Royal.

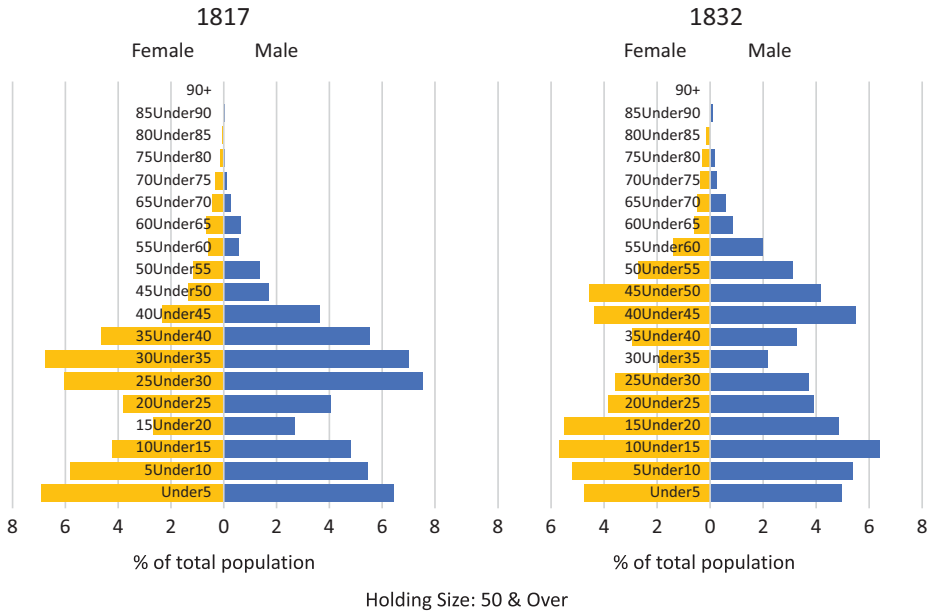
Year	Overall	Holding Size		
		50 & Over	8 to 49	Under 8
1817	49.6	49.69	50.31	46.96
1820	45.36	44.99	47.8	43.45
1823	40.96	41.2	40.06	40.61
1826	37.34	37.75	35.96	35.39
1829	34.06	34.7	32.69	28.93
1832	30.1	30.36	29.26	28.68

was very regular across all types of holdings, falling to 30% in 1832 on the eve of Emancipation.

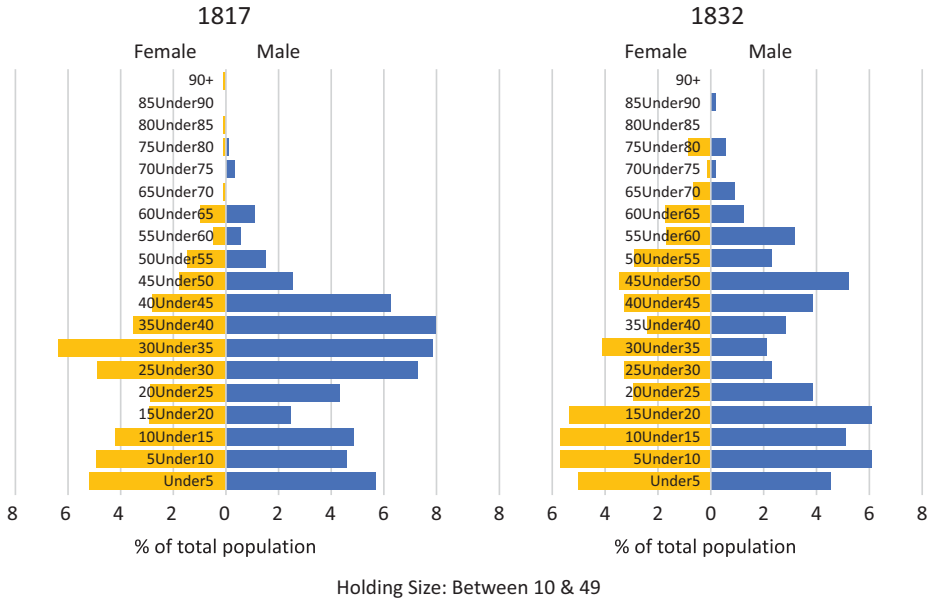
Higman wisely chose to painstakingly produce age structures of the population for a small number of sample parishes from the 1817 registers in order to generate his demographic profile of Jamaican society. The construction within our database of full censuses for every year allows us to go much farther by generating full age structure pyramids for *all* six register years. This will make possible our capacity to test and identify trends hitherto underappreciated in the historiography. Among the many trends that are identifiable, in relation to our ability to track the changing role



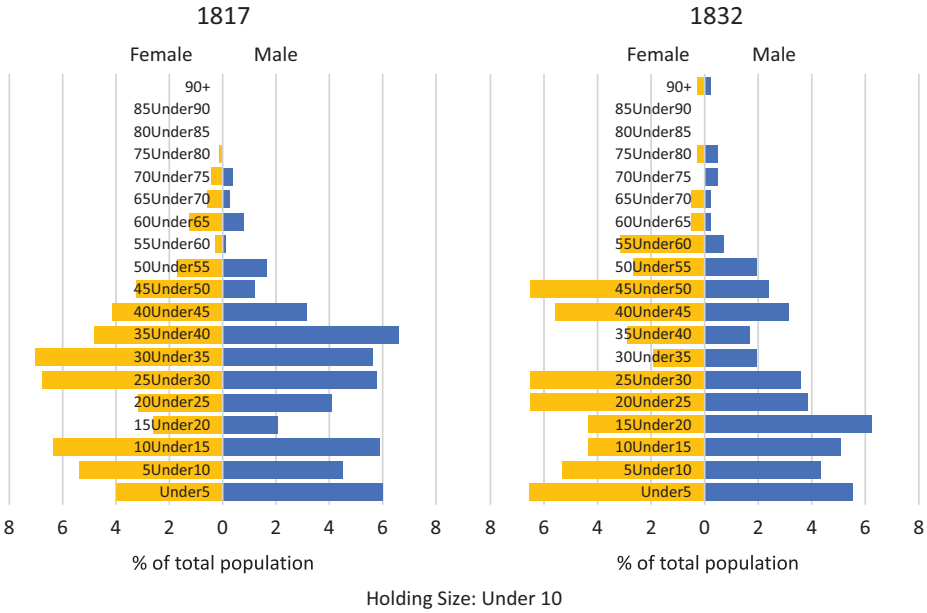
Graph 1.1 and 1.2: Enslaved population, Port Royal – age/gender profile.



Graph 2.1 and 2.2: Enslaved population, Port Royal – age/gender profile by holding size: 50 & over.



Graph 2.3 and 2.4: Enslaved population, Port Royal – age/gender profile by holding size: Between 10 & 49.



Graph 2.5 and 2.6: Enslaved population, Port Royal – age/gender profile by holding size: Under 10.

and the number of the Africans in the in the 1820s and early 1830s, most notable is the increasing demographic importance of the enslaved generation born after the slave trade ended. The rush among enslavers to transport African captives to Jamaica before the effectuation of the abolition of the trade, meant that there was a considerable number of enslaved people of child-bearing age in the first two decades of the century. By 1832 the generation of children born after 1807 made up slightly more than half of Port Royal's enslaved population. The Graphs 1.1 and 1.2 above a comparison of the age and gender profile of the parish in 1817 and 1832, in total and then split into three categories of slaveholding size in Graphs 2.1 to 2.6.

9 Lives between the Columns: Recovering the Experiences of Communities and Individuals

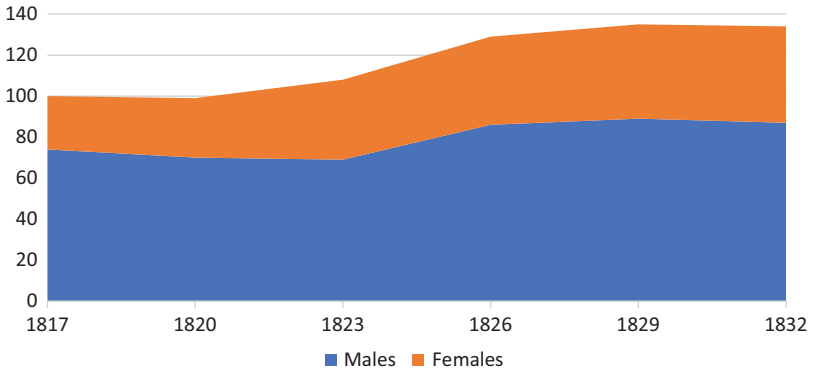
Our methodology of tracking each individual in each register and linking them to their holdings/estates, allows us to break our analyses into many levels of granularity, including differing aggregations of holding size, to be able to tell the story of the development of each holding across the fifteen-year period of the registers. For each plantation and holding, therefore, we can tell a detailed narrative of the changes that

that community was experiencing in the years leading up to emancipation. This includes the changing gender composition, the generational changes and profiles of the last African-born members of the community. We can observe numbers of births and deaths over time, detail instances of resistance and manumission, changes in ownership, and the relative levels of stability of persistence within the community.

While the dashboard shown below is one way in which to summarise information about a holding or community, and, if presented in freely-downloadable datasets, offers generations of future historians an unprecedented wealth of demographic data, as a public history project, this is probably not the primary way we would present the story of a community. The richness we aim to be able to offer in terms of reconstructing experiences requires us to ally this foundational background data on specific holdings with the wide range of other sources available to us. Extant plantation records are potentially enlightening, but they are also rare. In the absence of a great many of these documents we can access other sources which become particularly valuable when put into relation with the fully-linked and -transcribed data of the registers. These include parish and religious records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths where individuals can

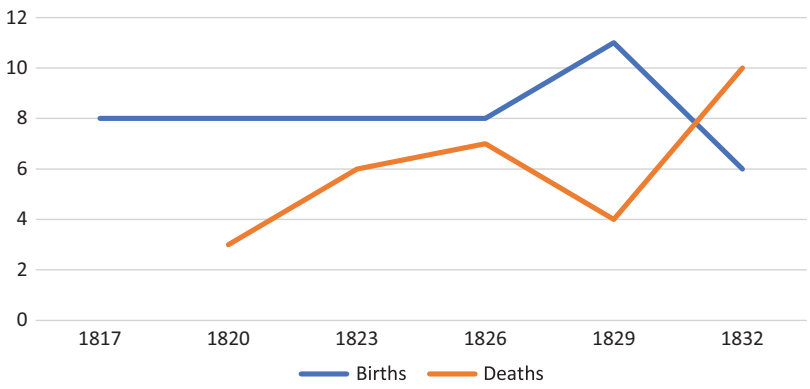
Tab. 4.1 with graph: "Dashboard" of key demographic statistics for Montpelier estate, Port Royal, 1817–1832.

	Males	Females	Tot	Size Category	%M	Ratio Category	Total Change
1817	74	26	100	100 to 149	74.0	70M	
1820	70	29	99	50 to 99	70.7	70M	-1
1823	69	39	108	100 to 149	63.9	60M	9
1826	86	43	129	100 to 149	66.7	65M	21
1829	89	46	135	100 to 149	65.9	65M	6
1832	87	47	134	100 to 149	64.9	60M	-1



Tab. 4.2 with graph:

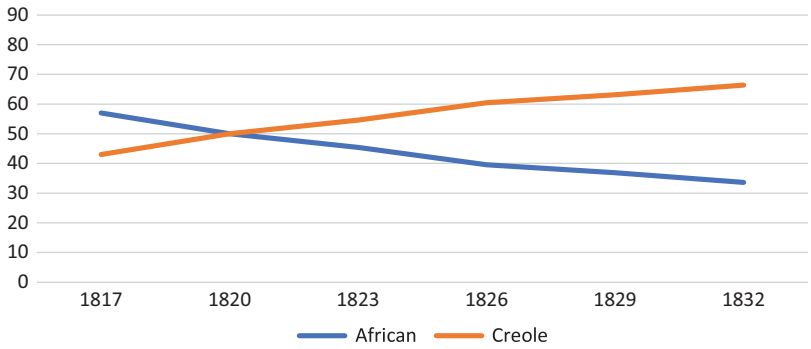
	Births	Birth Rate	Infant Mortality	Deaths	Death Rate	Resistance Instances	Manum.
1817	8	0.53				0	0
1820	8	0.38	0.0	3	2.9	0	2
1823	8	0.33	0.0	6	5.3	2	0
1826	8	0.29	9.1	7	5.1	1	0
1829	11	0.37	6.3	4	2.9	1	0
1832	6	0.19	15.4	10	6.9	1	0



be linked to their entries in the registers to build far more complex pictures of familial relationships and post-emancipation genealogies. Newspapers offer a wide range of qualitative information, whether runaway advertisements listing personal traits and appearance and itineraries of those who took flight from the plantation, legal and financial information about property ownership, and notable events such as arrivals and departures from ports, political instability, epidemics, landslides and earthquakes, and the incidence of poor harvest or hurricanes. Travelogues, memoirs, and diaries have afforded historians of Jamaica much primary evidence to build impressions of events, experiences, and individuals during slavery, but with a growing richness of knowledge about the circumstances of each holding we are able to reframe many of those incidental references with deeper knowledge.

Tab. 4.3 with graph:

	African			Creole		
	M%	F%	Total %	M%	F%	Total %
1817	80.7	19.3	57.0	65.1	34.9	43.0
1820	81.0	19.0	50.0	58.6	41.4	50.0
1823	75.9	24.1	45.4	56.9	43.1	54.6
1826	77.4	22.6	39.6	58.0	42.0	60.4
1829	76.9	23.1	36.9	57.3	42.7	63.1
1832	76.6	23.4	33.6	55.9	44.1	66.4



10 Spatiality and Urban Slavery

When we consider the geographic and demographic arrangement of Jamaica's population in the early nineteenth century, the parish-by-parish compilation of the Registers does not allow for a particularly localised and community-level awareness of changes that affected settlement and lives during the period. This problem is especially marked when we approach Port Royal. The Port Royal mountains and their coffee plantation complex, which straddled six parishes, are only properly understandable when treated together. Regarding the parishes as aggregates for populational calculation, Higman stated that, "they approximate the most unsuitable units which could be devised to illuminate patterns of distributions and variations between land types." Higman's solution to this problem was ingenious and effective. He divided the island into equal-sized quadrats, agglomerating as large a proportion of the enslaved population as possible accurately within each, and using logical mathematical projections to estimate the likely residence of the 8.39% of holdings across the island that he could not locate. The LBS database already includes GIS locations for a fair proportion of the largest Jamaican

plantations. Projected archival research in the National Library of Jamaica's map collection could provide detailed locational coverage of estates and plantations in Port Royal and neighbouring parishes. This evidence would allow us to tag individual holdings and the enslaved people living on them to specific coordinates and map movements and relationships in unprecedented detail.

In the 1970s, Higman found that this practice would be "both tedious and unhelpful," which it doubtless would have with the technology and techniques available at the time. Current and available GIS software and interactive web-based mapping platforms, however, offer an exponentially greater suite of both academic analyses and rich public exploration. But even with our initial, much lower resolution spatial tagging of holdings, we have been able to identify a host of tantalising complexities and opportunities to better understand experiences of individuals and communities. Using the Port Royal almanacs from the 1820s and 1830s, we have been able to tag over 85% of the enslaved population as being held in either the "Town" or "Mountain" section of the parish.

The arbitrariness of the parish boundaries in relation to population and economy and community and experience is clearly highlighted in Port Royal, with the town built at the end of an eight-mile spit of land joining it to the rest of the parish. Geographically it is far closer to Kingston, and even Spanish Town, than the majority of districts in the former parish which bore its name. The study of individual and group experiences of enslavement, particularly considering movement, relationships, and community only becomes truly practical when spatiality is brought into the equation. As the tables 5 and 6 below demonstrates, our knowledge of the overall movement patterns that we could measure at a parish level, although far more detailed than the counts that Higman was able to put together, is transformed by splitting and comparing "Town" and "Mountain" locations.

Immediately we see that more of the purchases and sales between holdings within Port Royal parish were happening within the town of Port Royal than in the rest of the parish. 71.5% of moves between holdings we can track entering and leaving were within the town, whereas just over a quarter (27.2%) were within the agricultural bulk of the parish. Just 3 of the people who we can trace as they entered and left a location moved between urban and rural parts of the parish (or vice versa). For those enslaved people being purchased or sold where the almanacs identify only the origin or destination location, this pattern becomes even clearer. Individuals who were purchased for holdings within the town from an unknown location came entirely from holdings with fewer than 50 enslaved persons, and 68.2% (159 people) came from holdings of under ten.

Of 51 enslaved people moving from an unknown location within the parish to a plantation of 50 or more individuals, 34 of them (66.6%) moved from other plantations and a further 17 from mid-sized holdings of between 10 and 49 persons. Port Royal clearly functioned as almost two entirely separate places when we examine movements within the parish. When we map movements from elsewhere into Port Royal that are listed as such in the registers Tab. 7 onto the urban/rural spatial division, it becomes clear that the town of Port Royal had by far the most significant connection

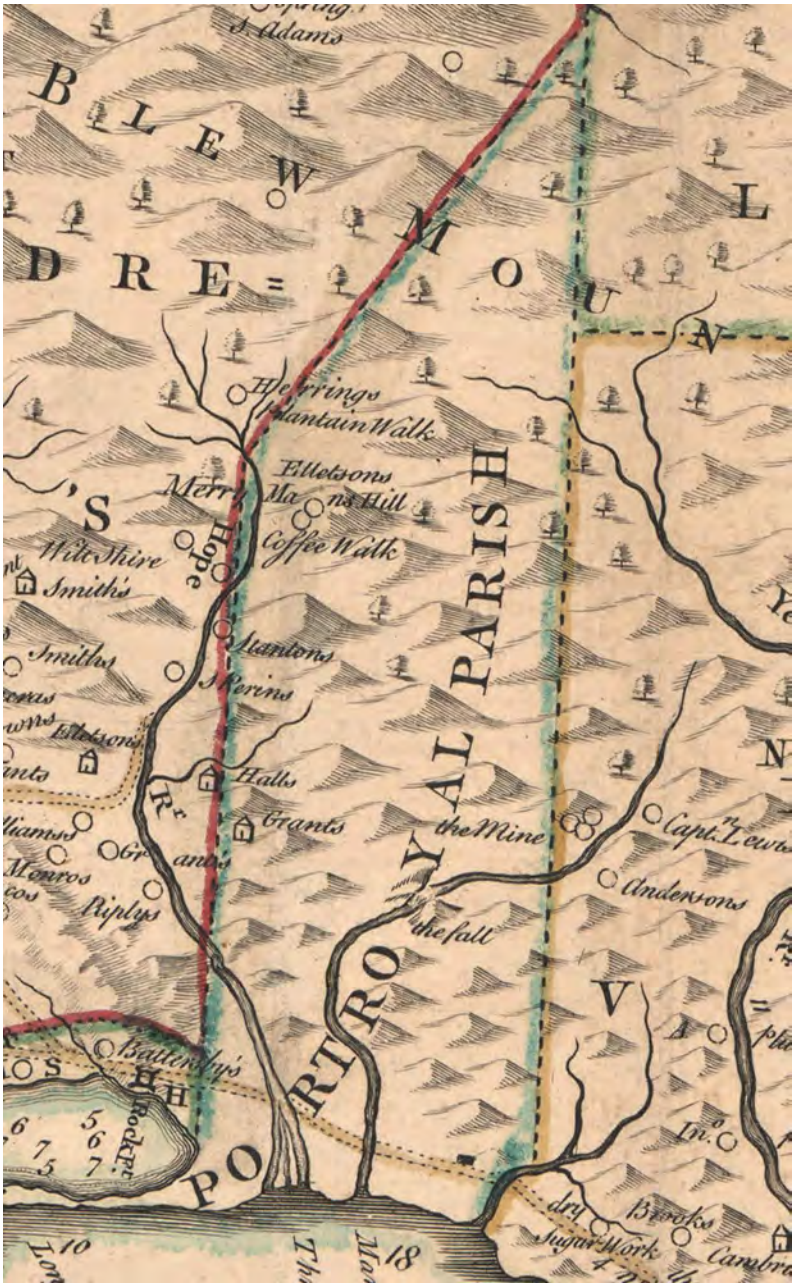


Fig. 3: Port Royal and neighbouring St. Andrew Parish, taken from Browne, Patrick, 1720?–1790, Active 18th Century Sheffield, and J Bayly. *A new map of Jamaica; in which the several towns, forts, and settlements, are accurately laid down as well as ye situations & depts. of ye most noted harbours & anchoring places*. [London (?), 1755] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/73691842/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

Tab. 5: Enslaved persons moved within Port Royal parish to town holdings – by holding size and location moved from and holding size moved to.

Moved From		Holding Size Moved to		Total
Location	**Holding Size**	**Under 10**	**10 to 49**	
Town & Unknown	Under 10	99	22	121
	10 to 49	59	48	107
Mountain	10 to 49		1	1
	50 & Over		1	1
Total		158	72	230

Tab. 6: Enslaved persons moved within Port Royal parish to mountain holdings – by holding size and location moved from and holding size moved to.

Moved From		Holding Size Moved to			Total
Location	**Holding Size**	**Under 10**	**10 to 49**	**50 & Over**	
Mountain & Unknown	Under 10		11	7	18
	10 to 49		18	34	52
	50 & Over	7	6	27	40
Town	Under 10		1		1
Total		7	36	68	111

to Kingston, with more than half of the persons moved into the parish from the capital currently locatable as moving into the urban centre.

Tab. 7: Enslaved persons moved into Port Royal and size of holding moved into, 1817–1832.

Moved From	Size of Holding in Port Royal Moved To						Total
	Under 10		10 to 49		50 & Over		
	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N
Kingston	149	57.3	79	30.4	32	12.3	260
St Andrew	39	20.5	67	35.3	84	44.2	190
St George	11	16.2	31	45.6	26	38.2	68
St David	6	9.7	37	59.7	19	30.6	62
St Catherine	10	17.5	34	59.6	13	22.8	57
St Ann	1	5.6		0.0	17	94.4	18

Tab. 7 (continued)

Moved From	Size of Holding in Port Royal Moved To						Total
	Under 10		10 to 49		50 & Over		
	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N	% of Moved to Port Royal	N
St Mary	5	100.0		0.0		0.0	5
St Thomas East	2	66.7		0.0	1	33.3	3
Portland		0.0	2	100.0		0.0	2
West & Central Parishes	4	21.1	13	68.4	2	10.5	19
Outside Island	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	5
Total	230	33.4	264	38.3	195	28.3	689

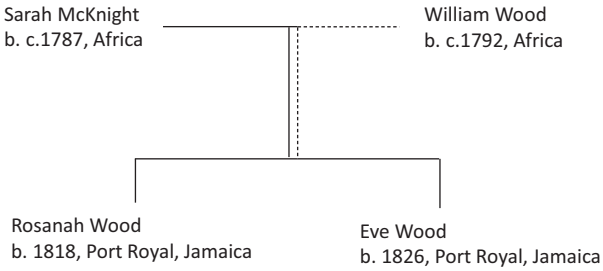
When we compare this with the size of holding to which people were transferred entering the parish, we can see that 149, one fifth of all people moved into the parish, were moved from Kingston to small holdings. This was 57.3% of the total of 260 people moved into the parish from Kingston, with a further 79 moving from Kingston to mid-sized holdings in Port Royal (30.4%). Just 32 people moved into the parish from Kingston (12.3%) were forced onto holdings of 50 or more (i.e. plantations). This demonstrates how deeply Port Royal town's economy and slave system operated symbiotically with, and as a commercial, military, and social extension of Kingston's.

11 Survival: A Case Study of four Women in Port Royal

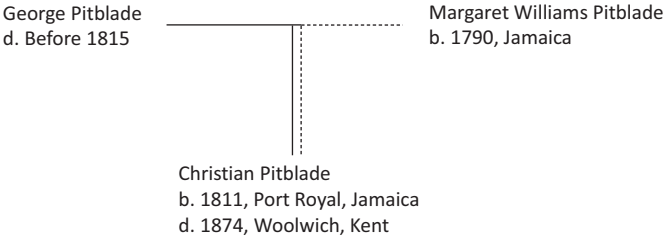
A brief case study linking the details included in the Slave Registers with other documents serves to demonstrate the immense potential of our research practice for elaborating deep explorations of the lives of enslaved persons on a wide scale, which illuminate the overall trends we can identify with meaningful biographical information. The scattered archival remnants capturing snatched details of the lives of four women of colour and their families, highlighted by our analyses, offer insights into understanding the complexities of relationships crossing boundaries of race, colour, enslavement and freedom, the ever-present spectre of the internal slave trade, and a closer appreciation of the need to understand Port Royal, Kingston, the military and commercial hub they formed, and their environs, as a single unit of economic, social, and cultural interaction.

The name of Sarah McKnight is recorded in the Port Royal parish registration of her baptism on Christmas Day 1820. Sarah was born in Africa, mostly likely in 1787. Her birth name is not recorded in the available sources. We do not know when she

was transported to Jamaica but she would not have been more than 20 years old when she experienced the horror of the Middle Passage. She is listed in multiple Slave Registers for Port Royal by the name of Love as the property of Margaret Williams Pitblade, a "free mulatto woman" just three years younger than herself, and Christian Pitblade (born 1811, for whom Margaret was her legal guardian, likely her mother).[55]



It is plausible that Margaret and Christian's ownership of enslaved persons was derived partially or wholly from George Pitblade, the Royal Navy's master shipwright in Port Royal and Christian's father, who had died by the end of 1814.



Sarah's three-year-old daughter, Rosanah Wood, was baptised three weeks later alongside 25-year-old, African-born, William Wood, whom we might make an educated assumption was her father. He could not have been more than 13 when he was transported across the Atlantic. We know from the registers that he was one of 13 African-born people (5 women, 8 men) born within approximately ten years of each other and held together, with twenty other enslaved persons, the eldest African-born in their late thirties and forties, and then mainly Creole-born children younger than William.[56]

55 The National Archives, Reference: T71/119, *Slave Registers, Port Royal parish*, 1817: 255. "Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880," database with images, *Port Royal: Baptisms, marriages, burials 1725–1835*, vol. 1: 71, 72, 89, Registrar General's Department, Spanish Town, https://www.FamilySearch.org. Margaret Williams Pitblade, *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16513 [all accessed 26.03.2022].

56 Slave Registers, Port Royal parish, 1817: 153. Port Royal: Baptisms, marriages, burials 1725–1835, vol. 1: 89.

Bonds of community among William's African-born peers of the same generation, not to mention familial and parental relationships, were threatened with severance by the constant possibility of sale or movement that hung over the enslaved, subject to the whims of fate and the personal caprice, finances, and health of enslavers. Such fears were recognised for William, Sarah, and those he was enslaved with between 1820 and 1823 when their enslaver, John Owen Wood, began the process of liquidating his considerable financial assets held in human beings ahead of retiring in wealth back to England.[57]

Our matching and linking techniques allow us to trace the fates of each individual. Fourteen of those Wood had owned were split between seven separate owners within Port Royal, and some of the remaining sixteen were sold to an as-yet-unknown number of owners outside of the parish. For William, and doubtless for Sarah and Rosanah, this was a moment of great instability and anxiety. William was purchased by a free man of colour named Richard York and is listed as still being owned in Port Royal in 1823, although York's main property and holding of 11 enslaved persons were at Passage Fort, St Catherine parish, the western point of the triangle of harbours encompassing Port Royal and Kingston. Outlining the deep enmeshing of networks of commerce, ownership, relationship, and movement between Kingston and its maritime neighbours, it seems that William was able to maintain residence in, or at least regular contact with, Port Royal town as baby Eve Wood was born to Sarah in 1827.[58]

Comparing what we can infer from the source materials available concerning Sarah's life with those of Ann Craig, another woman owned by Margaret Pitblade, demonstrates how our practice can facilitate comparative and detailed understandings of differing experiences of enslavement, as well as further highlighting the depth of connections between Port Royal and Kingston. Ann Craig was the same age as Margaret Pitblade and born just three years after Sarah McKnight. Although listed alongside Sarah as the property of the Pitblades in Port Royal in 1817, when the baptism in 1814 and 1816 of Ann's sons (George and Samuel) by a white man named Samuel Buckner were recorded in the Kingston parish registers, Ann is listed twice as a "free quadroon" woman. The names, dates of birth, and colour descriptions of Ann, George, and Samuel in the 1817 registers are clear evidence that these are the same people and Ann was, in fact, not legally free.[59] The bringing together of these small details, enabled by the full transcribing and analysis of the registers highlights therefore a hugely significant avenue for exploring the lines dividing freedom and enslavement in the urban setting and the complexities of

57 "John Owen Wood," *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639293 [accessed 26.03.2022].

58 "Richard York," *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651977 [accessed 26.03.2022]. *1824 Jamaica Almanac*, County of Middlesex, Parish of St. Catherine.

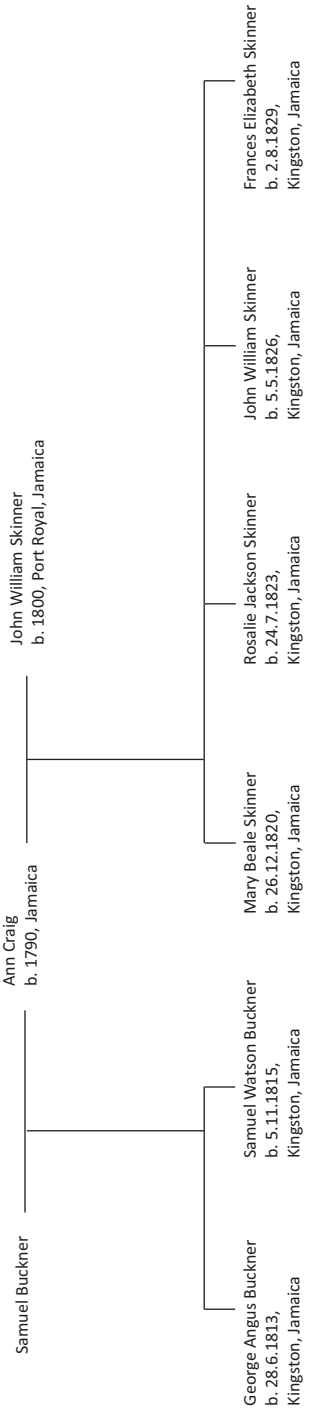
59 "Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880," database with images, *Kingston: Baptisms 1793–1825*, vol. 2: 269, 300, Registrar General's Department, Spanish Town, https://www.FamilySearch.org. *Slave Registers, Port Royal parish*, 1817: 255.

relationships between owned and owner. Ann must surely have been living to all practical intents the life of a free woman for the parish recorder to have listed her as such.

Knowing from our analysis how close-knit Kingston and Port Royal were, and from scholarship how closely policed they were as a slave society and the level of personal familiarity between individuals, would the recorder be unaware of Ann's legal status? Parish recorders across Jamaica regularly described people being baptised as enslaved. In other cases they would list a name and colour with no statement on freedom or enslavement. To list someone as free was a deliberate commission on the recorder's part. Was Ann's entire life lived in open freedom with Margaret Pitblade never asserting a public claim, such that the relation of ownership was simply unknown and invisible? Did the recorder know that Ann was legally enslaved but recorded a customary recognition of Ann as free in all but deed? We can therefore use the registers to look with renewed subtlety at understandings of "freedom" as recorded in contemporary documents. How many more cases like this might we uncover, and what new insights might this afford us? The registers record the birth of four more children to Ann Craig between 1818 and 1826: Jane, Mary, Rose, and John Skinner. As children born of an enslaved woman, all of Ann's children were owned by the Pitblades. Ann's relationship with Samuel Buckner ended by 1818 and the father of her younger four children was John William Skinner, who was described as "a mulatto" when baptised in Port Royal aged 8 in 1808.[60]

Ann and her younger children, and we assume John William, were living together as a family on Peters Lane in Kingston in June 1831 when all four of their children were baptised together. No mention is made of Ann and the children's enslaved status in the parish register, although we know that in 1832 they were all still recorded as property of the Pitblades in Port Royal. Although we have no other records for Ann between the baptisms of her children, it is fair to speculate that she had continued living practically- or quasi-free in Kingston throughout the ensuing two decades. Ann was born in the same year as Margaret Williams Pitblade and we can speculate that Margaret's apparent willingness to allow her to live a practically-free life may well derive from an existing familial or close relationship between the two women. With more research we may be able to better understand this relationship and whether Margaret was born free or enslaved and the acquisition or inheritance of the people she held and their association with George Pitblade.

60 Item T71/120 – The National Archives, *Slave Registers, Port Royal parish*, 1820: 57. Item T71/121 – The National Archives, *Slave Registers, Port Royal parish*, 1823: 85. Item T71/122 – The National Archives, *Slave Registers, Port Royal parish*, 1826: 112. "Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880," database with images, *All Parishes, Baptisms 1826–1832*, vol. 1: 79, Registrar General's Department, Spanish Town, https://www.FamilySearch.org. *Port Royal: Baptisms, marriages, burials 1725–1835*, vol. 1: 66.


Samuel Buckner
Ann Craig
b. 1790, Jamaica
John William Skinner
b. 1800, Port Royal, Jamaica
George Angus Buckner
b. 28.6.1813,
Kingston, Jamaica
Samuel Watson Buckner
b. 5.11.1815,
Kingston, Jamaica
Mary Beale Skinner
b. 26.12.1820,
Kingston, Jamaica
Rosalie Jackson Skinner
b. 24.7.1823,
Kingston, Jamaica
John William Skinner
b. 5.5.1826,
Kingston, Jamaica
Frances Elizabeth Skinner
b. 2.8.1829,
Kingston, Jamaica

In the immediate post-Emancipation period, the life trajectories, economic opportunities, and experiences of the children of Sarah, Ann, and Margaret were influenced by their mothers' varied relationships to the system of enslavement. While Ann might have been able to live a largely free life, the retention of legal ownership over her and, by 1833, her six children, afforded Margaret and Christian Pitblade access to compensation when slavery was abolished by Parliament in the 1830s. Christian, a young, eligible woman who had received £196 of compensation to invest in her future, was married in 1846 to William Perkins, a Devon-born Royal Artilleryman (whom she likely met while he was stationed in Port Royal garrison) in Woolwich, Kent, where she lived until her death in 1874 with their three children.[61] For Rosanah and Eve Wood, as the black children of African parents, there was no compensation for their years of enslavement upon which to build a new post-slavery future. Their financial and social situation in freedom was likely not as secure as Ann's children, who also would not have received government compensation, but they had been living practically free on Peters Lane for many years with a free father who had likely had the opportunity to build up capital, skills, and commercial networks. This brief discussion on four different but interrelated lives opened up with a look at names long forgotten and routinely listed in the registers. Taking that as a lead, we were able to use this information as a lead into our approach to other sources. Together, these cases illustrate how the registers can be used productively to illuminate family lives and experiences when read in tandem with extant civil records.

12 Port-Royal and Kingston: A Corridor of Commerce and Enslavement

This single case study is a glimpse into the powerful potential that this methodology can offer to the study of urban slavery throughout the British Caribbean. The ability to link the types of sources previously used by historians: parish and religious records, newspaper entries, property records, poll tax lists, official lists and licenses, parish and vestry records, wills, codicils and probates, with the complete relational linkage of enslaved persons and slaveowners that the registers bring should vastly increase the complexity and scope of our understandings of urban slavery.[62] The

61 London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; *London Church of England Parish Registers*: 73. Reference Number: P97/MRY/031, Ancestry.com. The National Archives; *1871 England Census*; Class: RG10; Piece: 789; Folio: 46; Page: 36; GSU roll: 827742, Ancestry.com. London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; *London Church of England Parish Registers*: 85. Reference Number: P97/MGT/148, Ancestry.com.

62 On urban slavery in the British Caribbean, see, for example, Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 2016; Trevor Burnard, "Slaves and Slavery in Kingston, 1770–1815," *International Review of Social History* 65

movement between Kingston and Port Royal, and vice versa, also indicate that any understanding of the economy and society of Kingston probably needs to take close account of the deep familial and commercial linkages of Port Royal and its economic activities. Its port functions were essentially an extension of Kingston's commercial landscape and its wider community, particularly enslaved persons and free people of colour, was intimately connected with that of Kingston.[63]

Port Royal, as a principal and longstanding entry point across the Caribbean, was daily receiver of people as well as news, ideas, stories of revolt, and the marine culture brought by a mobile community that bound port cities across the Atlantic during the age of revolution.[64] It would have been a busy place where news would arrive fresh before travelling and changing by word of mouth into the mountains and across the harbour, deep into Jamaica.

13 Finding Freedom: Manumission and Resistance in the Port Royal Data

Much of the initial, macro-scale data generated from this project, as indicated by the small selection of analyses and tables shared in this paper, are similar to those that Higman produced. There is a crucial difference. As entries within our relational and spatial database, the record of each manumission includes personal characteristics of the formerly enslaved person and allows us to contextualise their life experiences, personal relationships, and the circumstances and events within their wider community of contacts in unprecedented detail.[65]

Every individual is a potential case study to be investigated and fleshed out with even further linkages to parish registers, newspapers, legal records, and lists of bonds paid on manumission which allow us to disambiguate between manumissions that were gratuitous or subject to purchase from an enslaver. Examined with the type of explorations of complex relationships among free slaveowners of colour and the enslaved shown above, this exhaustive approach to manumission should give us ample new evidence and narratives to explore the growth and experiences of the free population of colour in the decade and a half before Emancipation.

(2020): 39–65. For a wider discussion of how this concern fits within the historiography, see Petly, "New Perspectives on Slavery and Emancipation": 855–80.

63 The close ties between Kingston and Port Royal are discussed in, for example, Christine Walker, *Jamaica Ladies: Female Slaveholders and the Creation of Britain's Atlantic Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020) and Monteith, *Plantation Coffee*: 202.

64 The classic study of mobility across the Americas in the age of revolution is Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London: Verso, 2020).

65 Higman, *Slave Population*: 176–83.

Tab. 8: Manumissions by year, birthplace and sex – Port Royal.

		1820	1823	1826	1829	1832	Total	
Female	Total	11	13	15	20	18	77	59.69
	African	1	1		2	2	9	
	Creole	10	12	15	18	13	68	
	% Creole	90.9	92.3	100	90	86.7	91.9	
	UNK					3.0	3	
Male	Total	6	17	16	8	5	52	40.3
	African	2	9	7	5	1	24	
	Creole	4	7	9	3	3	26	
	% Creole	66.7	43.8	56.3	37.5	75	52	
	UNK		1			1	2	
	Total	17	30	31	28	23	129	

Tab. 9: Manumissions by age category and gender Port Royal - 1817–1832.

Age Category	Female	Male	%F
Under 5	11	9	55
5 to 10	16	7	69.6
11 to 20	15	3	83.3
21 to 30	14	5	73.7
31 to 40	5	6	45.5
41 to 50	7	6	53.8
51 to 60	0	10	0
Over 60	2	1	66.7
UNK	7	5	58.3
Total	77	52	59.7

Tab. 10: Individuals recorded engaging in resistance by sex and birthplace – Port Royal.

	African		Creole		Unknown	Total
	N	%	N	%	N	N
Female	19	37.3	32	62.8	3	54
Male	85	54.8	70	45.2	7	162
% Male	81.7		68.6			75
Total	104		102		11	216

Tab. 11: Forms of resistance or punishment recorded by sex – Port Royal.

	Workhouse	Execution	Transportation	Runaway	% Runaway
Female	17		1	36	66.7
Male	61	3	30	71	43

When it comes to the registers, part of the reason why manumission and resistance have previously not been assessed in the detail we suggest is because, as a proportion of the total enslaved population of Jamaica, they make up a very small number. Higman outlined similar broad trends to the ones that we demonstrate here, including assessing the role of white fathers in freeing their children born to enslaved women, but his overall assessment of these incidences was demographic in nature, concluding that: "although manumission, running away and transportation were also selective in terms of sex, age and birthplace, their impact on these aspects of the structure of the total slave population was insignificant."[66] As our methodology allows us to take a more interrogative approach to the registers, we are able to move beyond the purely demographic in order to recognise the deep, indeed pivotal, significance of resistance to slave society of Jamaica in the final decades before emancipation.

As the tables 8 to 11 above demonstrate, we are able to identify 216 incidences of resistance recorded in the registers for Port Royal and we can mine this catalogue for analysis at a parish or community level. Drawing on other primary sources and the extensive literature and case studies of enslaved resistance, we can use the spatial and relational nature of our database to build deeper, more complex analyses of individual instances of resistance. When it comes to instances of running away, and particularly when bringing our methodology to bear on areas most central to the great Jamaica Slave Revolt led by native Baptist preacher Sam Sharpe in western St. James parish in December 1831, our database will allow us to reconstruct community-level stories of forced movement, mortality, and resistance over the fifteen years leading up to the rebellion. Social network analysis techniques, combined with GIS mapping would potentially allow us to reconstruct detailed spatial and relational pictures of the regions most affected and the rival geographies and complex knowledges and networks of communication built up across a large geographic area, to tell more layered stories about the lives and relationships of individuals involved in the rebellion.

66 Higman, *Slave Population*: 183.

14 The Internal Jamaican Slave Trade

Another of the key areas where our methodology unlocks evidence and analyses that were previously unobtainable is in the area of purchase, sale, and movement between holdings. Previous work has based analysis of slave trading and movement on static counts of purchases and sales in a specific year or location. Our database is not based on counting a fixed set of events or entries. It is based on tracing each individual across six documents, which creates a temporal and spatial plot of each person over 15 years, that is relational to holdings, slaveowners and every other enslaved individual in the holdings and their communities. For the first time, therefore, we are able to construct accurately the true scale of slave trading within the island of Jamaica. The abolition of the British slave trade in 1807 did not, of course, end the trade in human beings in Britain's colonies. There was continued, though limited, movement of captives across Caribbean colonies but no wholesale transportation of enslaved people from one island to another.

Legal limitations were in place in Jamaica intended to prevent families being sold separately and making it unlawful to travel within the island offering enslaved people for sale. Jamaica was quite different from the United States with its expanding frontier of new territories absorbed into the southern cotton empire that relied on an overland trade in unfree workers.[67] Nevertheless, the purchase, sale, and forced movement of human beings remained a fundamental aspect of Jamaican slave society, in the years up to emancipation which touched community and personal experiences and has likely been underestimated by previous studies which have not been able to catalogue its overarching scale and impact.

Higman counted increase and decrease entries in the registers which mentioned location, and calculated that 1.5% of the enslaved population in Jamaica had been moved from one parish to another in the three years between 1829 and 1832.[68] Our matching exercise tracing movements of individuals has demonstrated, however, that cross-parish moves were not exhaustively tagged as such – it is only by linking each person moved to their previous entry on another holding that we can finally generate an accurate count. Our database currently catalogues 1,552 total moves between holdings from 1817 to 1832 analysed in Tabs. 12 & 13. This is an undercount of the actual figures because we also know that hundreds of individuals listed in Port Royal entries who were moved out of the parish will only be traceable when we complete the transcribing and matching process for neighbouring parishes.

Pointing towards the prevalence of forced movement of enslaved people on a regional, rather than local, basis, 996 of those moves are across parish boundaries – 713 from outside of Port Royal parish inwards, and 283 from Port Royal outwards. 556 are

67 Higman, *Slave Population*: 63.
68 Higman, *Slave Population*: 64.

Tab. 12: Port Royal holding size moved from and to and moves out and into Port Royal, 1817–1832.

Holding Moved From	Holding Moved To				Total
	Under 10	10 to 49	50 & Over	Outside of Parish	
Under 10	164	46	7	12	229
10 to 49	110	73	35	24	242
50 & Over	31	15	76	246	368
Outside of Parish	241	272	199	1	713
Total	546	406	317	283	1552

Tab. 13: Totals from table above as percentage of total moved from holding size.

Holding Moved From	Holding Moved To			
	Under 10	10 to 49	50 & Over	Outside of Parish
Under 10	71.6	20.1	3.1	5.2
10 to 49	45.5	30.2	14.5	9.9
50 & Over	8.4	4.1	20.7	66.8
Outside of Parish	33.8	38.1	27.9	0.1

therefore "moves" between holdings in Port Royal. Some of these moves between holdings may not be physical moves from location to location, but changes in ownership where plantation populations in fact remained together.[69]

Our current statistics show 199 individuals being moved in from other parishes were moved to holdings of 50 of more enslaved persons while 246 individuals from these largest holdings were moved out of the parish. 76 people, 20.7% of those moved out of large holdings, were transported to other plantations within the parish. The net impact of movement for plantation labourers therefore was outwards, but more broadly there was much regular upheaval on a local, community basis. Only 12.5% of the people so far traced as being moved out of plantation holdings were moved to smaller holdings within Port Royal. Men, most of all African-born men, were more likely to be forced into moves between parishes. 54.9% of enslaved persons moved into Port Royal were male. Women outnumbered men moving into smaller, mostly urban, holdings of ten or fewer enslaved persons, while men predominated among those moved to holdings of 10 to 149

69 This refining process will be part of the incorporation of geographic locations for holdings but is most tricky to unpick within the smaller and medium holdings where the implications of ownership for location/residence are not as straightforward to ascertain.

enslaved persons, with close to parity among those moved to the largest plantations. This pattern was even more pronounced among people moved into Port Royal from neighbouring plantation parishes, with 50% more males than females being moved in from St Andrew and St George, with over 80% males brought in from St Andrew to Port Royal holdings between 30 and 149 enslaved individuals (See Tab. 14).

This pattern is further complicated when we consider individuals we can currently trace being moved out of the parish (which is an undercount until neighbouring parishes are transcribed and matched). We find more males in this category, at 57.4% of the total. While the overall trend shows the population becoming more female, it was men who were the most likely to be moved out and also moved into the parish. For those enslaved persons transferred from mid-sized holdings (jobbing gangs, pens, or very small plantations between 10 and 49 individuals) in Port Royal to other holdings within the parish, almost half (100 people, 45.5%) found themselves sold to smaller holdings (under 10 persons), 30.2% to similar sized holdings, and only 14.5%, 35 individuals, being moved to plantations. Only 12 people from the smallest holdings (under ten enslaved people) are currently listed as being moved out of the parish, although we would expect this to rise somewhat with transcription work and matching of neighbouring parishes. When it comes to "moves" between holdings, particularly within the parish, it is at this size of holding where most change in ownership takes place. We do not see a trend of movement from smaller holdings to meet demand for plantation labour; only 7 of these individuals were moved to holdings of over 50. 20% of those held on the smallest holdings were sold to medium-sized holdings of 10 to 49, but 71.6%, 164 people, were transferred from one small holding to another. As we discuss below, this is in most cases a distinctly urban phenomenon where our methodology offers huge potential to deepen our knowledge of the mobility patterns of enslaved people in the island.

These trends are essential to elaborate and highlight both the scale of the internal slave trade and allow us to explore the differing experiences for those enslaved people who were moved, as groups with similar experiences while also highlighting detailed individual stories. The linked and relational nature of our database, however, can also allow us to appreciate the wider social and community-level consequences of slave trading. While a hitherto unappreciated number of people were subjected to sale and purchase and forced movement, the majority who were not moved during this period were also hugely impacted by the insecurity generated by the caprice of enslavers' financial and commercial decisions, by deaths and inheritance of property in human beings, that could at any moment lead to the splitting of ties of kinship, friendship, and community. Every community lived with the constant threat of fragmentation (See Tab. 15). Experience of violent, forced separation and loss was intrinsic to slavery. Our analyses allow us to begin to put some statistical scale on the cost of displacement. In Port Royal, of 3,840 held on plantations of over 100 enslaved persons in 1817, 2,936 people, 76.5%, experienced the forced splitting of their community, either of other community members sold away or they themselves removed. On holdings of under 100 enslaved people, more than half of individuals were impacted.

Tab. 14: Gender of enslaved persons moved into Port Royal by holding size moved to and parish moved from, 1817–1832.

Port Royal Holding Size Moved To	Kingston					St Andrew					St George				
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
1 to 3	41	22	63	65.1	34.9	5	8	13	38.5	61.5	2	2	4	50.0	50.0
4 to 14	64	56	120	53.3	46.7	20	14	34	58.8	41.2	4	3	7	57.1	42.9
15 to 99	27	37	64	42.2	57.8	16	57	73	21.9	78.1	18	35	53	34.0	66.0
100 & Over	6	7	13	46.2	53.8	35	35	70	50.0	50.0	0	4	4	0.0	100.0
Total	138	122	260	53.1	46.9	76	114	190	40.0	60.0	24	44	68	35.3	64.7

Tab. 15: Enslaved persons in Port Royal experiencing split of holding, by holding size, 1817–1832.

Holding Size	Holding Split Status Between 1817 & 1832			
2 to 14	Split	Not Split	Total	Moved Without Split
	492	426	918	271
%	53.6	46.4		29.5
15 to 99	Split	Not Split	Total	Moved Without Split
	1187	1076	2263	42
%	52.5	47.5		1.9
100 & Over	Split	Not Split	Total	Moved Without Split
	2936	904	3840	98
%	76.5	23.5		2.6

The level of granularity offered by our database means that we can explore even more intimately the scale of these community splits (See Tab. 16). On plantations with 100 or more enslaved persons in 1817, over a quarter (27.1% – 1,092 people) had 20% or more of their community forcibly removed, likely for labour or financial purposes, over the ensuing fifteen years. Over a third (35.9% – 1,418) had 10% or more of their community transported away. These counts, bear in mind, do not yet include all of those individuals moved to neighbouring parishes we have not yet matched, so are likely to be considerable underestimates.

Tab. 16: Number of enslaved persons in holdings of 100 or over and proportion of holding split away, Port Royal 1817–1832.

Holding Size	No Split	0 to 10%	10 to 20%	20 to 30%	30 to 40%	40 to 50%	50 to 60%	Total
100 to 149	118	617	326		234		111	1406
150 to 199	170	187				185		542
200 to 249	433	466						899
250 & Over		538		562				1100
								3947

Although the total proportion of people enslaved on mid-sized holdings affected by splits was lower than plantations, upheavals were more significant when the proportion of the people who they were held with being lost is calculated (See Tab. 17). More than half (54.8% – 725 people) of those held in holdings between 10 and 49 people in 1817 lost over 10% of the people they were held with, 43.4% (574 people), lost over 20%, and over a quarter (26.4%) lost more than 30%.

Tab. 17: Number of enslaved persons in holdings between 10 and 49 Persons and proportion of holding split away, Port Royal 1817–1832.

Holding Size	No Split	0 to 10%	10 to 20%	20 to 30%	30 to 40%	40 to 50%	50 to 60%	60 to 70%	70 to 80%	80 to 90%	All	Total
10 to 14	36		65	32	35	32		13		12	22	247
15 to 29	184	59	47	63	36			21		18	19	447
30 to 49	107	211	39	128			102	41				628
												1322

15 Conclusion

English novelist of Jamaican heritage Andrea Levy, in explaining her motivation for writing *The Long Song*, her acclaimed novel on late-slavery and early-emancipation Jamaica, stated that she did not want to write about slavery as a "harrowing tale of violence and misery." Instead, she used her imagination and close review of nineteenth century records to find another way to write about the men, women, and children who like her lead character, Miss July, could in 1838, tell their enslavers that they no longer belonged to them. Levy found "a way of putting back the voices that were left out. Not just the wails of anguish and victimhood that we are used to, although that is very much part of the story, but the chatter and clatter of people building their lives, families, and communities, ducking, diving and conducting the businesses of life in appallingly difficult circumstances. Now THERE is a story. A story of a totally unique society that developed around a giant, brutal island factory and survived, if not to tell the tale, then to give us, their descendants, black and white, the privilege of piecing it together, warts and all, and telling it for them."[70]

Historical records cannot bring back all the lives of the people listed in the registers. For the vast majority their names are the only proof of their existence. But these records can tell us other stories that reveal dimensions of community, survival, and endurance. They can, when examined patiently and systematically, pass on glimpses of the astounding complexity of Jamaican society shifting as it was within the concomitant eras of revolution and emancipation. Above all, they present a way for us to confront the profoundly different experiences of history and remembrance of British slavery across the Atlantic. The foundational work on the registers started by Barry Higman in the 1970s has demonstrated that serial records created by violence and oppression can present details of slavery beyond their purpose. Our *Valuable Lives* project expands on this in the ways we have discussed above. The chief goal of this

70 Andrea Levy, *The Long Song* (London: Tinder Press, 2010): 410.

retrospective act of justice for the enslaved of Jamaica between 1817 and 1832 is to reclaim the power of this oppressive instrument in their names and to restore their presence as makers of the modern world.

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Katie Donington

Whose Heritage? Slavery, Country Houses, and the "Culture Wars" in England

1 Introduction

In their illustrated two volume work *The Stately Homes of England* (1870), Llewellynn Frederick William Jewitt and Samuel Carter Hall captured something of the ways that the country house has been conceptualised as a key component of English culture and identity. They opined

> ENGLAND is rich – immeasurably richer than any other country under the sun – in its 'Homes'; and these homes, whether of the sovereign or of the high nobility, of the country squire or the merchant-prince, of the artisan or the labourer, whether, in fact, they are palace or cottage, or of any intermediate grade, have a character possessed by none other. England, whose 'Home! sweet home!' has become almost a national anthem – so closely is its sentiment entwined around the hearts of the people of every class – is, indeed, emphatically a Kingdom of Homes; and these, and their associations and surroundings, and the love which is felt for them, are its main source of true greatness. An Englishman feels, wherever he may be, that 'Home *is* home, however lowly'; and that, despite the attractions of other countries and the glare and brilliancy of foreign courts and foreign phases of society, after all 'There's no place like home' in his own old fatherland.[1]

Jewitt and Hall defined Englishness in relation to domesticity, patriarchy, class and against the tawdry ostentation of the "foreign." The empire figured in this construction as a space against which to define the self; in which the longing for home was intensified, and the supremacy of the nation was confirmed. The authors went on to remark that the country house functioned as "a perpetual reminder of a glorious past – its associations being closely allied with the leading heroes and worthies of our country." Published in the mid-Victorian period, there is something familiar in authors' notion that these buildings function as monuments to former triumphs, to better times. In his requiem to a lost England, the conservative traditionalist Roger Scruton described country houses as "memorials to the force that maintained English society [. . .]. They are the last signs of what England was like."[2] As Ryan Timms has noted "Invoking heritage manifests dissatisfaction with the present and the active selection of a particular past as counterbalance."[3] In this configuration heritage be-

1 Llewellynn Frederick William Jewit and S.C. Hall, *The Stately Homes of England*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870): 1.
2 Roger Scruton, *England: An Elegy* (London: Continuum, 2006): 240.
3 Ryan Timms, *Heritage and the Legacies of the Past in Contemporary Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2018): viii.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111331492-003

comes bound up with longing for an imagined past, an articulation of Svetlana Boym's notion of "restorative nostalgia." Boym argued that

> restorative nostalgia stresses *nóstos* (home) and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home [. . .] Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition [. . .] restorative nostalgia returns and rebuilds one's homeland with paranoid determination.[4]

The veneration of the country estate as emblematic of an idealised national order relies on the erasure of the historic social, political and imperial tensions which were part of the making of these power houses. As country house society declined in the early twentieth century, many of these buildings were transformed from family homes into national heritage sites cared for by organisations set up to conserve them including the National Trust (hereafter the Trust) and English Heritage. No longer the private demesne of the elite – a symbol of their individual wealth and influence – instead the country house was remade as a signifier of national greatness. The home and the family stood in for the country and the nation; a sanitised microcosm of the social, cultural, economic and political relations of a deeply hierarchical society structured through class, gender, and race.

From its inception in the late-nineteenth century the Trust has become a mainstay of both middle England and the international tourism industry. With the enduring popularity of the Victorian novel and high society period drama, most notably *Downton Abbey* and more recently *Bridgerton*, the country house has been marketed as a quintessentially English day out. The visitor offer incorporates a sometimes uneasy blend of education, leisure and consumption. The tearoom, redolent with the colonial histories of tea, coffee and sugar, forms an integral part of the country house experience. Considering the commercial operations of heritage houses as well as their symbolic meaning, Peter Mitchell suggested that the "English country house had re-emerged in public consciousness as not only the sacred ground on which the spirit of the nation had its purest expression, but as a fetish object for a newly aspirational way of conceiving property and interior design."[5] This framing of the Trust has been articulated by *Daily Mail* columnist and former Editor-in-Chief of British *Vogue*, Alexandra Shulman, who wrote:

> I'm no expert on the subject but suspect that many of us who love visiting National Trust properties do so in a similar way to sinking into a deep, reviving bath. We like the familiarity of the experience. We like the comforting aspect. We know what we are going to get. We'll be asked not to sit on the chairs, wonder why the four-posters are often so small, marvel at the upkeep of the

4 Adapted text from Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), http://monumenttotransformation.org/atlas-of-transformation/html/n/nostalgia/nostalgia-svetlana-boym.html [accessed 28.02.2023].

5 Peter Mitchell, *Imperial Nostalgia: How the British Conquered Themselves* (Manchester: Manchester University Press): 81.

> gardens and – highly importantly – scour the gift shop for William Morris print notebooks, tea towels and perhaps a pretty tray. That's the point.[6]

This understanding of the country house as comfortable and comforting, as an apolitical simulacrum upon which we might project our own fantasies, relies on the absence of history. As Ian Baucom has argued, in its transformation into fetish commodity the country house has become "a cultural artifact, a spectacular arrangement of built space, valued less for itself than for the absence or lack that it at once covers and names."[7] Denuded of any historical context which might disquiet the visitor, the country house is rendered a safe space in which visitors might consume the spectacle of the past without engaging meaningfully with its troubling frictions. But safe, we might ask, for whom? Shulman's assertion about how the audience relates to the history is indicative of a set of underlying assumptions about who these heritage spaces are for. As Sumaya Kassim has written "For many people of colour, collections symbolise historic and ongoing trauma and theft. Behind every beautiful object and historically important building or monument is trauma."[8] Visitors bring with them their own subjective experiences and knowledge, both of which shape the meaning of these spaces and the things within them. In the context of the history of slavery, the furniture and plants on display raise very different questions and feelings for both descendent communities and those who chose to see the unsettling histories these objects represent.

The relationship between slavery and the country house is well documented. References to it in the works of Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters are familiar.[9] There is a historiography dating back to the 1940s when Eric Williams raised the issue of metropolitan consumption enabled by slave-based wealth. He wrote "Returned to England, the planters' fondest wish was to acquire an estate, blend with the aristocracy, and remove the marks of their origin."[10] In 1995 David Hancock published *Citizens of the World*, his influential study on the eighteenth century Atlantic mercantile community. In Part III of the book Becoming a Gentleman, Hancock set out how these slave traders and West India merchants assimilated into elite society.[11] Strategies in-

6 Alexandra Shulman, "I Want a Nice Tea Towel not a Thumping Woke Lecture," *Mail on Sunday*, 23.10.2021.

7 Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999): 165.

8 Sumaya Kassim, "The Museum will not be Decolonised," *Media Diversified*, 17.11.2017.

9 For Austen see Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993): 100–116; Gabrielle D.V. White, *Jane Austen in the Context of Abolition: "A Fling at the Slave Trade"* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). For the Brontës see Maja-Lisa Von Sneidem, "*Wuthering Heights* and the Liverpool Slave Trade," *English Literary History* 62, no 1 (1995): 171–96; Sue Thomas, "Christianity and the State of Slavery in *Jane Eyre*," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2007): 57–79.

10 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964): 86.

11 David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 279–382.

cluded the purchase of land and a country house, conspicuous consumption in the form of collecting, and philanthropic activity. Much work was undertaken in 2007, the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade, when the Heritage Lottery Fund paid out £20 million to public history projects that explored historical links to slavery and abolition. Although most of this work was temporary, it has since been digitised via the online archive *Remembering 1807*.[12] During this period English Heritage commissioned surveys into links to slavery within the sites in its care.[13] It also organised a landmark conference on the subject which resulted in an edited volume.[14] Simon Gikandi's *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, whilst not directly focused on country houses, was an important intervention for understanding the ways that race figured in the philosophical, aesthetic and material development of eighteenth-century patterns of consumption.[15] In 2014, Stephanie Barczewski published an ambitious scoping study which documented the links between imperial enrichment and country house culture over the course of three centuries.[16] Between 2009–2015, historians working on the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project researched who the slave-owners were between 1763–1833. The project included strands of enquiry relating to both culture and the built environment.[17] As of 2023 it has identified 419 individuals who invested their money in country houses and estates during the period.

This body of research has provided organisations like the Trust with an empirical basis for understanding how the properties in their care connect to the system of transatlantic slavery. Having engaged with the history of slavery in a piecemeal way during 2007, the Trust embarked on a systematic investigation in 2019 and published its findings in an Interim Report in September 2020. The Interim Report explored connections to both slavery and colonialism (most notably India), however for the purposes of this book the chapter will focus on the former. This has been done with an understanding that slavery cannot be siphoned off from the colonial project given that it was crucial to the making of the Atlantic empire. The report identified 60 properties out of 300 whose owners had ties to the slave economy through slave and plantation ownership, slave trading, profiteering from the sale of slave produced commodities and the colonial administration of slave societies. Whilst this came as little surprise to scholars of slavery,

12 http://antislavery.ac.uk/aboutremembering1807 [accessed 28.02.2023]. See also John Oldfield and Mary Wills, "Remembering 1807: Lessons from the Archives," *History Workshop Journal* 90 (2020): 253–72.

13 https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

14 Andrew Hann and Madge Dresser, eds., *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013).

15 Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011).

16 Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

17 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/ and https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/cultural/ [both accessed 28.02.2023].

the backlash that it generated in both the right-wing media and political sphere was notable. Released in the midst of the global Black Lives Matter protests, the reception of the report provides an insight into the racial politics of national heritage in England.[18]

This chapter explores the place of the country house within English national culture and how this relates to concepts of national identity. It considers how the separation of histories of slavery from that of the countryside and country houses has contributed to a racialisation of these symbolic sites as exclusively white. It analyses how the report has figured in the manufacturing of a right-wing "culture war" and what this reveals about the struggle to define the nation in a post-imperial, post-Brexit world. Using a case study of Dyrham Park, it argues that the interpretation of the relationship between slavery and the country house is not static but rather an historic and ongoing process of reconfiguration.

2 Country Houses, National Heritage, and the Politics of Race

Country house visiting has a long and venerable history in England. During the Georgian period upwardly mobile middle-class tourists journeyed around the country visiting great houses and sometimes recording their experiences in travel journals.[19] These contemporary accounts provide an insight into how these spaces functioned as a display of wealth, power, and politics even before they became part of the formal "exhibitionary complex" of the heritage industry.[20] Stowe House in Buckinghamshire initially opened its gardens to the public in the 1740s with the house following in the 1760s. Benton Seeley, a local publisher, sold guides of the house and garden – the first of their kind to be produced.[21] It is fascinating in the context of current debates to note that this early manifestation of country house tourism involved a property whose family had extensive connections to slavery. The house is now a private school whilst the gardens are managed by the Trust. The school has been exploring its links to the history and its website noted that "Among the Stowe Papers is a 1715 bill of sale for 272 enslaved people and ivory purchased in Guinea and sold in Jamaica, which

18 Reactions to the report differed in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. In Scotland the National Trust for Scotland published its own Interim Report on 17 December 2021. The report identified 48 properties with links to slavery categorised as direct, indirect, intergenerational and abolitionist. The full report can be accessed here: https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/ws-nts/Production/assets/downloads/Interim-report-on-known-slavery-links-at-NTS-properties-Dec-2021.pdf?mtime=20211217082015 [accessed 28.02.2023].

19 Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880* (London: Hambleden and London, 2000): 56.

20 Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations* 4 (1988): 73–102.

21 http://www.bath.ac.uk/library/cabinet-of-curiosities/story/23 [accessed 28.02.2023].

may be linked to Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675–1749)."[22] More concrete connections have been evidenced by Hannah Young who has explored the life of Anna Eliza Elletson (1737–1813), the Duchess of Chandos, a plantation owner in Jamaica and mistress of Stowe.[23] Mark Rotherey has explored the fascination with these spaces for historic visitors arguing that "Country houses were 'power houses', emanating authority and influence."[24] They afforded their audiences a glimpse of "the glittering prizes of wealth, objects evoking foreign worlds. Rare and untouchable commodities were these to the Georgians, but so too are they now, 'national treasures' speaking of Britain's history."

Country house visiting transformed from a private family-controlled pastime allowing access to a select discerning audience with the development of the Trust. A concern about the detrimental effects of industrialisation on people and place was one of the motivating factors for establishing the Trust in 1895. Social reformer and founder Octavia Hill, placed great value on access to green spaces for the working classes whose ability to connect with nature had been corroded through migration into the urban sprawl of Victorian cities. The countryside needed to be protected and preserved from industrial capitalism and this underlying principle helped to establish "heritage as a 'class' of 'place' which should be set apart from the everyday."[25] Heritage was to be understood as a form of leisure and escapism from the toil and squalor of modern life – a retreat into the pastoral idyll of the imagined past. Hill was deeply influenced by John Ruskin's belief in the transformative power of aesthetics and beauty.[26] Ruskin's veneration of English architectural forms located a sense of national identity in the bricks and mortar of its built heritage. His instinct towards the conservation of an "authentic" material culture was, according to Baucom, steeped in both a sense of nostalgia and an urgent need to preserve Englishness itself from "imperial deformation."[27] Thus, Ruskin's vision of English culture and aesthetics was formed through an oppositional understanding of empire as a threat to the integrity and identity of the metropolitan centre. There was a moral and religious dimension to both Hill and Ruskin's appreciation of beauty – it elevated the mind and was an expression of God's nature and perfection. Underscored by these beliefs, the Trust was formally constituted with the power to "promote the permanent preservation for the benefit of the of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest."[28]

22 https://www.stowe.co.uk/school/news/latest-news/stowe-s-past [accessed 28.02.2023].

23 Hannah Young, "Negotiating Female Property and Slave-Ownership in the Aristocratic World," *Historical Journal* 63, no.3 (2020): 581–602.

24 https://blog.oup.com/2016/10/country-house-visiting-jane-austen/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

25 Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013): 46.

26 https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/who-was-octavia-hill [accessed 28.02.2023].

27 Baucom, *Out of Place*: 49.

28 National Trust Act (1907).

A significant shift in the direction of acquisitions came through the passing of the National Trust Act in 1937. The Act was passed during a period in which many wealthy families faced financial ruin because of both changes to inheritance tax which, from 1894, was based on the capital value of land as well as the effects of the First World War and Great Depression. This led to the breakup and sale of many notable landed estates. Writing in 1931, George Holt Thomas lamented that "The landed classes are, in fact, being taxed out of existence under our very noses and before our very eyes [. . .]. In fifty years' time who can say with any assurance if a single one of the great houses will still be in private hands?"[29] The Act paved the way for the Country House Scheme to be created which enabled estate owners to pass their property on to the Trust, avoid the payment of death duties and reside in the property for free for a further two generations. Thereafter the occupants would be charged at market rates. In return the property had to be at least partially opened to the public and meet strict requirements in relation to income generation or a large endowment for the upkeep. The Act allowed for the transformation of the private family home into a public asset. No longer the inheritance of elite individuals, they became part of the nation's heritage.

Stately homes, as Peter Mandler has argued, occupy a particular place within the national heritage as key site for the construction of national identity. "They epitomise the English love of domesticity, of the countryside, of hierarchy, continuity and tradition." They function as a "unique embodiment of the English character."[30] Often centred around the histories of dynastic families, they have traditionally offered an understanding of history as rooted, local, and reassuringly unchanging. Peter Mitchell has analysed the ways that the Trust figures in the collective psyche of the nation. Quoting the essayist Patrick Wright, he wrote that the organisation functioned as "a kind of ethereal holding-company for the dead spirit of the nation" by which he meant that the Trust was a "receptacle for some of the mythic imaginings of the national relationship between place and identity."[31] The relationship between rurality and an authentic English self was made explicit by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in a speech in 1924 when he declared "England is the country, and the country is England."[32] Drawing on an idealised version of agrarian pre-industrial society, these spaces have come to represent a "purer" version of the nation. Cleansed of the freneticism, dirt, and tensions of urban living, the country house is fixed in perpetual timelessness – outside of history despite its claims to historic tradition, unmoved by the passage of time and the changing mores of a society in flux.

29 *The Bystander*, 23.12.1931.

30 Peter Mandler, *Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 1.

31 Mitchell, *Imperial Nostalgia*: 80.

32 Stanley Baldwin, PM, "Speech to the Royal Society of St George," 06.05.1924.

Whilst Patrick Wright critiqued the ways in which heritage presents a version of history "purged of political tension" in pursuit of "a unifying spectacle",[33] Raphael Samuel argued that it offers "points of access to 'ordinary people', and a wider form of belonging."[34] But belonging for whom? The country estate as emblematic of English rural life is a politicised form of heritage which is hierarchically structured through associations of class, gender, and race. The countryside is not a neutral space. As Caroline Knowles has argued

> The countryside lies at the core of British national identity. It is appropriated in aggressive constructions of Britishness as enduring, cast in tradition and, above all, white. Thus rural life carries a heavy burden of *national representation*: appropriated as the essence of Englishness in landscape; and at the core of a deep connection between landscape and white racialness. Hence the countryside stands for more than it is: it produces, embodies and sustains whiteness on behalf of the nation.[35]

The degree to which Black and Asian Britons have been excluded from the history, representation and physical landscape of rural England has been articulated by authors Andrea Levy, Benjamin Zephaniah and Lemn Sissay.[36] Although as Corinne Fowler has documented, the countryside has long been a source of inspiration for writers and artists of colour.[37] Discussing the cultural milieu into which his Booker prize winning text *The Remains of the Day* emerged, author Kazuo Ishiguro provided an astute analysis of the racial politics of the countryside and the great houses that his book invoked

> The mythical landscape of this sort of England, to a large degree, is harmless nostalgia for a time that didn't exist. The other side of this, however, is that it is used as a political tool [. . .] a way of bashing anybody who tries to spoil this 'Garden of Eden'. This can be brought out by the left or right, but usually it is the political right who say England was this beautiful place before the trade unions tried to make it more egalitarian or before immigrants started to come or before the promiscuous age of the '60s came and ruined everything'.[38]

Whilst the city space is imagined as "overrun" within right wing anti-immigrant discourse, most infamously in Enoch Powell's 1968 "River of Blood" speech, the countryside is constructed as ethnically homogenous and racially pure. As Paul Cloke has noted "The unsullied nature of rurality is predicated on a heritage which is assumed

33 Patrick Wright, *On Living in the Old Country* (London: Verso, 1985): 69.
34 Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994): 160.
35 Caroline Knowles, "The Landscape of Post-Imperial Whiteness in Rural Britain," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1 (2008): 173.
36 Paul Cloke, "Rurality and Racialised Others: Out of Place in the Countryside?" in *Rural Racism*, ed. Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2004): 17–18.
37 Corinne Fowler, *Green Unpleasant Land: Creative Responses to Rural England's Colonial Connections* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2020).
38 Kazuo Ishiguro quoted in Monika Gehlawat, "Myth and Mimetic Failure in *The Remains of the Day,*" *Contemporary Literature* 54, no. 3 (2013): 512–13.

to be white and Anglo-Saxon, with other social and cultural groups being excluded because they potentially threaten the political narrative of 'acceptable' history and heritage."[39] In order to maintain this formulation the borders of the past have to be careful policed in order to supress the ways that histories of the countryside are interwoven with those of slavery and empire, connecting different communities across both time and space.[40]

The construction of English national heritage, rural or otherwise, as exclusively white has grown increasingly difficult to sustain in the face of both historical research as well as demographic changes. Although there has been a historic Black presence in England since the Roman period, following the 1948 British Nationality Act, the imperial centre became home to a significant population of citizens from the Caribbean.[41] They brought with them different perspectives on the history and experience of empire. To a far greater extent than the resident white British population, they understood England's debt to slavery; this knowledge posed a challenge to the metropolitan vision of empire as a benevolent tool of civilisation. This transgenerational memory of enslavement was articulated by April Louise Pennant, the descendent of people who were "owned" by the Pennant family of Penrhyn Castle in Wales, now a Trust property. April's grandparents arrived in Britain from Jamaica as part of the Windrush generation of the 1940s. She recalled being told about the Welsh origin of her name, but it was only when she moved to Wales that she began to unpick the tangled connections of her family's links to Penrhyn. She visited the property in 2021 to lay flowers, stating that she viewed the space as a "monument" to their experiences and adding that "There would be no castle without slavery, there would be no quarry without slavery. I just thought that my ancestors had not been honoured."[42]

The emergence in the 1990s, under the Labour government, of a political narrative around multicultural Britain brought with it a reassessment of what exactly was meant by the term "national heritage." In 1999 Stuart Hall delivered a keynote speech at the Arts Council England National Conference "Whose heritage? The impact of cultural diversity on Britain's living heritage." Hall grappled with the notion of what Laurajane Smith described as "authorised heritage discourse."[43] "The Heritage" as Hall described it

39 Cloke, "Rurality and Racialised Others": 24.

40 This disconnection has been challenged by research conducted by Susanne Seymour who led the project "Reconnecting Diverse Rural Communities: Black Presences and the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism in Rural Britain, c.1600–1939," https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/research/rural-legacies.aspx [accessed 28.02.2023].

41 For a comprehensive overview of Britain's historic Black community see David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2016).

42 April Louise Pennant quoted in Gaby Hinsliff, "Cream Teas at Dawn: Inside the War for the National Trust," *The Guardian*, 16.10.2021.

43 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006): 29–34.

> inevitably reflects the governing assumptions of its time and context. It is always inflected by the power and authority of those who have colonised the past, whose versions of history matter. These assumptions and co-ordinates of power are inhabited as natural – given, timeless, true and inevitable. But it takes only the passage of time, the shift of circumstances, or the reversals of history, to reveal those assumptions as time and context bound, historically specific, and thus open to contestation, re-negotiation, and revision. This is therefore an appropriate moment to ask, then, who is the Heritage for?[44]

The question of ownership and authorship of the past remains as relevant today as it did when articulated by Hall. According to a source in the Department of Media and Culture quoted in the *Daily Mail* in 2021, "Ministers are increasingly frustrated with public bodies focusing on divisive parts of Britain's history rather than celebrating our shared heritage."[45] But Britain's shared history and heritage includes slavery, and this cannot be not a matter for uncritical celebration. It is a difficult and divisive inheritance, and it must be faced as such because it is also part of the narrative that binds the nation. As Labour MP, David Lammy, pointed out during his speech on the 2018 Windrush scandal "My ancestors were British subjects, but they were not British subjects because they came to Britain. They were British subjects because Britain came to them, took them across the Atlantic, colonised them, sold them into slavery, profited from their labour and made them British subjects."[46]

The notion of "shared heritage" carries with it an expectation of equal possession of the past both in relation to the production of the historical narrative and access to the spaces of representation. Data published by the Arts Council England in 2019 demonstrated a lack of diversity within museum settings with "Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority" staff accounting for just 5 per cent of workers in 2017–18 (the general "BAME" population in England and Wales was noted as 16 per cent).[47] At managerial level this dropped to 4 per cent, specialist staff were 3 per cent and artistic staff were 0 per cent.[48] These statistic speak to a lack of control over the setting of organisational priorities and curatorial decision making for museum and heritage professionals of colour. The question then becomes who has the power to decide what the interpretation of this history should consist of and is that power shared equally? In a Britain in which the descendants of the enslaved live alongside the descendants of slave-owners – indeed where some people's heritage draws from both – what stories are we to tell about the slaving past and who gets to tell them?

44 Stuart Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-Settling 'the Heritage', Re-Imagining the Post-Nation," *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1999): 6.

45 Jack Wright, "Ministers Accuse Historic England of 'Putting down Britain's Past' after Public Body Lists Villages with Links to Slavery in 157-page Report," *Daily Mail*, 07.02.2021.

46 David Lammy, "Speech to Parliament on the Windrush Scandal," 16.04.2018.

47 Arts Council England, "Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017–2018."

48 Arts Council England, "Representation at Different Job Levels, 2015–2017."

3 Slavery, the National Trust, and "Culture War" Politics

In September 2020 the Trust published its Interim Report into its property's links to slavery and colonialism.[49] The 115–page document was edited by three Trust curators and Professor Corrine Fowler, an academic at the University of Leicester. Fowler joined the Trust on secondment whilst she was managing an Arts Council England project *Colonial Countryside: National Trust Houses Reinterpreted*.[50] The project worked with primary school children (aged between 10–11) and 11 Trust properties to explore the houses' connections to slavery and colonialism. This was done by looking at the family histories of those who had formerly owned these estates as well as material evidence from the collections, the fabric of the houses, and gardens. Children worked with creative practitioners to respond to these histories through poetry. They also worked with volunteer house guides using a "reverse mentoring" technique to find ways to include these histories in the houses' onsite interpretation.

The Interim Report was divided in two, with the first section offering historical background to a range of different connections to slavery and empire including slave trading, slave-ownership, financial and mercantile activities, abolitionism, compensation, East India Company membership, and the historic Black presence. The second section was a gazetteer of the 93 properties – around a third of those cared for by the Trust – which were identified as having links and a brief overview of what these connections were. Different categories of connection were listed at the start with the qualifying statement that "although most of the entries in this section are of a similar length, this does not imply that the relationships of each of these places to histories of slavery and colonialism are of equal significance."[51] This positioning allowed the reader themselves to attach meaning (or not) to the links identified.

Although the Interim Report was commissioned in September 2019, the timing of its release coincided with a resurgence of interest in, and activities related to, the Black Lives Matter movement. In Britain the focus for many of those protesting coalesced around the signs and symbols of slavery still present in Britain's built environment. The targeting of local landmarks, most famously the toppling of Bristol slave trader Edward Colston, enabled the campaigners to highlight how the history of slavery shaped racial inequality in the present. In response to the removal of various statues, and in particular the graffitiing of Winston Churchill's statue with the word "racist," right wing groups mobilised around the notion of defending Britain's history

49 Sally-Anne Huxtable, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas and Emma Slocombe, *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery* (Swindon: National Trust, 2020).

50 https://colonialcountryside.wordpress.com/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

51 Huxtable et al., *Interim Report*: 62.

and heritage. This took the form of street demonstrations, press coverage and political pressure (both formal and informal). Whilst contestations about Britain's imperial past are not new, the intensity with which the discourse was pursued has led to claims that a "culture war" is now firmly underway.[52]

The reception of the Interim Report is remarkable for the virulence of the backlash it received. Parts of the right-wing press in Britain launched a sustained campaign against the Trust, the *Colonial Countryside* project, and individuals involved in both. Over 170 newspaper articles were generated nationally and internationally, some of which included direct personal attacks on members of staff and project affiliates. Fowler spoke to the *Financial Times* about the personal impact on her "'There were threats to my digital and personal security', says Fowler, who adds she now has four police crime reports to her name. 'People make physical threats – about and to me – whenever these kind of pieces come out.'"[53] The issue of threats to heritage staff engaged with projects about slavery was also raised by Duncan Wilson, Chief Executive of Historic England, who told the BBC that the organisation no longer named individuals who worked on their research activities because of fears about staff safety.[54] Professor Priyamvada Gopal, an academic at the University of Cambridge, who has herself been subjected to an extensive negative press for her critical work on empire, commented that "I've not seen this kind of hostility actually directed at white scholars before [. . .]. It's something that's quite familiar to people of color who speak out."[55]

Some of the headlines written in relation to the Interim Report and the *Colonial Countryside* project included "The National Trust must stop obsessing over colonialism" (*The Spectator*, 22 September 2020), "National Trust accused of bias over team investigating links to the slave trade" (*Daily Mail*, 16 December 2020), "The National Trust is trapped in hostility to Britain's heritage. It must end" (*The Telegraph*, 2 April 2021), "Britain's top cultural institutions are 'under threat' from a 'woke cult'" (*Daily Mail*, 5 June 2021). Some of the more disturbing reporting focused on the children involved in the project. Two pieces were published on the same day with largely the same content: "The National Trust 'asks children to denigrate British Empire'" (*The Times*, 6 April 2021) and "National Trust is accused of asking school children to 'denigrate their own history' by writing poems lamenting the British Empire" (*Daily Mail*, 6 April 2021). Both articles named one of the children involved and reprinted her poem. A running theme in the reporting drew a connection between the publication of the Interim Report and the Black Lives Matter movement. The prevalence of the phrase "woke" within these articles was notable. The

52 David Olusoga, "Historians Have Become Soft Targets in the Culture Wars," *New Statesman*, 08.10.2021.

53 Alex Barker and Peter Foster, "The War on Woke: Who Should Shape Britain's History," *Financial Times*, 11.06.2021.

54 Duncan Wilson interview on BBC Front Row, 23.02.2021.

55 Priyamvada Gopal quoted in Sam Knight, "Britain's Idyllic Country Houses Reveal a Darker History," *New Yorker*, 23.08.2021.

term originated in African American Vernacular English meaning "alert to racial prejudice and discrimination" but it has since been appropriated by right wing critics and transformed into a pejorative. Andrew Bridgen, a Conservative MP and critic of the Interim Report, told the *Times* that "This confirms our worst fears that they've [National Trust] been overtaken by divisive Black Lives Matter supporters."[56] This claim was designed to link the more radical direct action which took place in Bristol to the more prosaic publication of an academic report to create a sense that these activities were part of the same spectrum – a slippery slope into the dismantling of much treasured heritage spaces. Recognising the ways that this framing had influenced the reception of the Interim Report, the director-general of the Trust Hilary McGrady stated that "My biggest mistake was publishing it when we did, because it got conflated with Black Lives Matter."[57]

The Interim Report was discussed within far-right forums such as Lotus Eater, which was founded by Carl Benjamin, a former United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) candidate whose racist views have been documented.[58] This mirrors some of the extreme reaction to the Trust's previous foray into the history of slavery in 2007, when it published a short article about its properties' connections in its magazine. According to the editor this piece elicited "the most extensive and heated responses from readers the magazine had ever received."[59] Jessica Moody noted that the article was posted on the far-right website Stormfront along with the editor's contact details so that its users could complain. As of 2023 the Lotus Eater YouTube video on the topic had 63,000 views. It contained the claim that white heritage was under attack and being replaced to suit the "woke agenda." The presenters suggested that efforts to make the Trust "more appealing to BAME people" come "at the expense of whites, obviously, because that's how it works, it's a zero-sum game."[60] The linguistic echoes of white supremacist "great replacement" theory are clear in the choice of language used in the discussion.[61] It's a concept previously utilised by the white nationalists who marched on Charlottesville in 2017 to defend what they framed as the removal of

56 Andrew Bridgen quoted in Charlie Parker, "National Trust Accused of Bias in the Study of Colonial History," *The Times*, 16.12.2020.

57 Hilary McGrady quoted in David Sanderson, "National Trust Right to Dig up Slavery Links, Hilary McGrady Says," *The Times*, 25.03.2021.

58 J. Lester Feder, "Steve Bannon Met a White Nationalist Facebook Personality during London Trip," *BuzzFeed*, 11.10.2018.

59 Jessica Moody and Stephen Small, "Slavery and Public History at the Big House: Remembering and Forgetting at American Plantation Museums and British Country Houses," *Journal of Global Slavery* 4, no. 1 (2019): 53.

60 Lotus Eater, "National Trust Goes Woke and Nearly Broke," *You Tube*, 26.05.2021.

61 According to the Counter Extremism Project "The Great Replacement theory is an Ethnonationalist theory warning that an indigenous European – e.g., white – population is being replaced by non-European immigrants. The Great Replacement concept was popularized by French writer Renaud Camus in his 2012 book, *Le Grand Remplacement*."

their heritage in relation to the City Council's decision to take down a statue of the Confederate General Robert E. Lee. Tiki-torch carrying protestors chanted "you will not replace us" as they converged on a monument to the slave-owning president Thomas Jefferson at the University of Virginia. The theme was also picked up on by President Donald Trump in a speech to a rally in Phoenix in the aftermath of the events where he claimed that anti-racist activists were "trying to take away our culture. They're trying to take away our history."[62]

Alongside the press reporting, a faction within the Conservative Party – the Common Sense Group of 59 MPs – formed with part of its mission defined as ensuring "that institutional custodians of history and heritage, tasked with safeguarding and celebrating British values, are not coloured by cultural Marxist dogma, colloquially known as the 'woke agenda.'"[63] This group reflected a notable shift to the right on cultural values within Conservativism which has occurred since the 2016 Brexit referendum and can in part be explained by its absorption of the more radically right-wing socially conservative UKIP vote during the 2019 general election. The relationship between support for Brexit and imperial nostalgia has been analysed and debated extensively.[64] The place of empire in the imaginary and rhetoric of Brexit can be read in the sloganeering of "Global Britain," "Empire 2.0" as well as a desire for "re-energising Britain's buccaneering spirit post-Brexit."[65] The group is led by the MP Sir John Hayes, who previously co-founded the arch-traditionalist Cornerstone Group whose motto is "Faith, Family, Flag." Hayes has been vocal in his defence of British imperial history, writing in the *Mail on Sunday* that "Well-funded woke zealots are denigrating our heritage, dishonouring our heroes and engineering the silence of those who dare question them."[66] The Common Sense Group has a notable contingent of Brexit supporting "Red Wall" MPs who won their seats in the 2019 general election in former Labour strongholds in North England and the Midlands. They authored a manifesto *Common sense: Conservative thinking for a post-liberal age* setting out their stall. It included a chapter by MP Gareth Bacon who wrote "Britain is under attack. Not in a physical sense, but in a philosophical, ideological and historical sense. Our heritage is under a direct assault – the very sense of what it is to be British has been called into question, institutions have been

62 Max Greenwood, "Trump on Removing Confederate Statues: 'They're Trying to Take Away Our Culture'," *The Hill*, 22.08.2017.

63 https://www.thecommonsensegroup.com/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

64 Fintan O'Toole, *Heroic Failure: Brexit and the Politics of Pain* (New York: Apollo, 2018); Stuart Ward and Astrid Rasch (eds.), *Embers of Empire in Brexit Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019); Robert Saunders, "Brexit and Empire: 'Global Britain' and the Myth of Imperial Nostalgia," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1140–74; Peter Mitchell, *Imperial Nostalgia*; Philip Stevens, *Britain Alone: The Path from Suez to Brexit* (London: Faber and Faber, 2021).

65 Ben Quinn, "'Three Brexiteers' Chase Buccaneering Spirit of Empire in Choice of Art," *The Guardian*, 02.07.2017.

66 Sir John Hayes, "British Values are Besieged – by a Cabal of Militant Agitators Well-Funded by the Taxpayer," *Mail on Sunday*, 04.10.2021.

undermined, the reputation of key figures in our country's history have been traduced."[67] Bacon's rhetoric of a Britain in peril significantly overlapped with the vision of decline articulated in UKIP's 2010 cultural policy document "Restoring Britishness."[68] It opened with the line "Britain and Britishness are in trouble. They are being attacked and undermined, both externally and internally." British national identity was presented as imperilled and in need of saving from multiple threats including the European Union, cultural Marxism, the liberal elite, political correctness, devolution, globalisation, and immigration. Much of what it contained related to its belief in the need to enforce "uniculturalism" as a means of rowing back on decades of multiculturalism. "The slavery issue" it argued, "has been deliberately used to undermine Britishness" leading to an erosion of national pride and with it a sense of identity. The document set out a whole raft of policies to "take back control" of the national narrative including intervening explicitly to politically realign the nation's cultural institutions. This strategy seems to have been adopted by the Conservative government who have taken a more interventionist approach to culture over recent years, particularly in relation to Britain's "contested" imperial heritage.

With the backing of a powerful lobby group of MPs, debates about the Trust moved from the newspapers into Parliament. A member of the Common Sense Group, the Conservative MP Tom Hunt, discussed the issue in the House of Commons raising "concerns that many of us have about many of our once-loved and currently loved national organisations being increasingly influenced and taken over by woke-ist elements."[69] A Westminster Hall debate was organised by Conservative MP Andrew Murrison and attended by members of the Common Sense Group. In a disquisition on Ruskinian aesthetics, Hayes warned that the Trust must not "become involved in politics" because its "charitable purpose is 'to look after places of beauty'. Beauty, because it is the exemplification of truth, is the most important thing to which we should all aspire."[70] Hayes' selective quoting from the National Trust Act of 1907 omitted any reference to its other purpose – to preserve places of "historic interest." Despite his celebration of beauty as apolitical, privileging aesthetics over historical interpretation is a political choice – there is a politics to silence when it comes to the representation of slavery within heritage sites.

It is not just the fringes of the party that engaged in pushing the culture war narrative, in September 2020, then Culture Secretary Oliver Dowden issued a letter to national museums and galleries which stated that he would expect these bodies' approaches to issues of "contested heritage"

67 Gareth Bacon, "What is Wokism and how Can it be Defeated?" Common Sense: Conservative Thinking for a Post-Liberal Age, https://www.thecommonsensegroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Common-Sense.pdf [no longer available], 20.

68 https://devolutionmatters.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/ukip-britishness.pdf [accessed 28.02.2023].

69 Hansard Parliament, Business of the House, vol. 680, column 1149, 24.09.2020.

70 Hansard Parliament, Future of the National Trust, vol. 683, column 439WH, 11.11.2020.

> to be consistent with the Government's position. Further, as publicly funded bodies, you should not be taking actions motivated by activism or politics [. . .]. It is imperative that you continue to act impartially, in line with your publicly funded status, and not in a way that brings this into question. This is especially important as we enter a challenging Comprehensive Spending Review.[71]

Tying demands to follow the government's line on heritage to the upcoming budget is suggestive of a desire to exercise political control whilst claiming political neutrality. The threat to heritage organisation's ability to access funds to conduct research deemed useful and relevant to its audiences is a serious challenge to both institutional independence and academic integrity. In October 2020 Baroness Stowell, a Conservative peer who resigned the party whip to become Chair of the Charity Commission, stated that she had written to the Trust in relation to "public concerns" about the Interim Report.[72] The Charity Commission is a regulatory body with the power to strip organisations of their charitable status which has a significant impact on their ability to fund themselves. Stowell cited the Trust's "clear, simple purpose, which is about preserving some of our great historic places and places of great beauty and national treasure." She went on to state that "What people expect of the National Trust is that they focus on that purpose, they don't lose sight of that." The inference was that researching slavery connections to the properties in its care was somehow a deviation from the Trust's core mission. The Common Sense Group wrote a letter to *The Telegraph* in support of Stowell's move.[73] Hilary McGrady, the director-general of the Trust, rejected the claim writing that "If researching the history of National Trust places is wrong, then we've been doing something wrong for 125 years."[74] Following an investigation, the Charity Commission reported that the Trust had acted within its remit therefore "there are no grounds for regulatory action."[75]

Pressure continued to be exerted on cultural institutions when, in February 2021, Dowden summoned 25 heritage organisations to a summit, where, according to the *Museums Journal*, "Institutions were reminded that they should remain impartial and not be beholden to a 'vocal minority.'"[76] *Museums Journal* reported that "there is concern among institutions that official guidance from government on editorial or academic matters would breach the arm's length principle, as well as putting certain topics off-limits because of fears that funding will be affected." This was a concern

71 Oliver Dowden, Letter from Culture Secretary on HM Government position on "contested heritage," 22.09.2020.

72 Christopher Hope, "National Trust Could Face Enquiry into its Purpose," *The Telegraph*, 23.10.2020.

73 "Britain's Heroes," letter to *The Telegraph*, 09.11.2020.

74 https://twitter.com/hmcg_dgnt/status/1319992224621469696 [accessed 28.02.2023].

75 Helen Stephenson, "Engaging with Controversial or Divisive Issues – Reflections for Charities," Charity Commission, 11.03.2021.

76 Geraldine Kendall Adams, "'Polite but Managed' Summit Fails to Allay Concerns about Government Overreach," *Museums Journal*, 26.02.2021, https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2021/02/polite-but-managed-summit-fails-to-allay-concerns-about-government-overreach/# [accessed 19.01.2023].

echoed by the Royal Historical Society who issued a letter to *The Times* in March 2021 outlining their belief in the necessity of the maintenance of the Haldane Principle – that "decisions on individual research proposals are best taken by researchers themselves through peer review."[77] Respect for this principle, they hoped, would ensure "the freedom of professional curators and academics working in museums and universities on 'contested heritage' to do their jobs without government interference."[78] The degree to which the government will adhere to these requests is questionable. As Nigel Huddleston, then Under-Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, made clear "The chief executive was reported as saying that the National Trust was still deciding how it will use information in the recent slavery report, and the Government will continue to take an interest in that."[79]

4 Dyrham Park: Re-Presenting Slavery in the Country House

Despite accusations launched at the Trust of "presenteeism," the issue of how slavery has been represented within country house heritage sites has a history of its own. It is not simply something which has emerged in response to the Black Lives Matter movement, but rather it is a subject that has been grappled with for many decades. Dyrham is a Trust property in Gloucestershire, England. It was included in the Interim Report for its numerous connections to the history of slavery. It is an interesting case study because although financial connections to the slave economy are clearly part of the family wealth used to buy and renovate the property, they do not take the assumed form of slave and plantation ownership. Instead, they came about through a transgenerational involvement in mercantile activity, privateering and most notably William Blathwayt's (c.1649–1717) long career in colonial administration. Blathwayt served as William III's Secretary of War and of State and Secretary to the Board of Trade, both positions which allowed him to wield administrative power over Britain's Atlantic empire in both the Caribbean and North America. In that sense they highlight the deep embeddedness of slavery across different areas of the British economy and state. The ledger book and state papers might not have the visceral association of the whip, but they were nonetheless a vital part of managing and profiteering from slave labour. Dyrham's history also allows us to consider the vital but underrepresented issue of women's role in the business of slavery.[80] William came to ownership of Dyh-

77 Royal Historical Society, letter to *The Sunday Times*, 21.03.2021.
78 Peter Mandler, "Historians on 'Contested Heritage'," Royal Historical Society Blog, 27.05.2021.
79 Hansard Parliament, Future of the National Trust, vol. 683, column 441WH, 11.11.2020.
80 For an account of elite women's connections to slavery see Hannah Young, "Negotiating Female Property and Slave-Ownership in the Aristocratic World," Historical Journal 63, no.3 (2020): 581–602.

ram through his marriage to Mary Wynter (1650–1691) whose family had been active in the Caribbean slave economy since the sixteenth century.[81] Mary's position as a landed heiress meant she was a conduit for the transmission of slave-based wealth and property.

The house itself contains the material traces of Britain's imperial networks of trade, goods, and people. As the Trust's website points out, the Old Staircase in the west range was made in the 1690s from imported Virginian black walnut.[82] A further staircase in the east range was made from cedar from Maryland as well as Virginia walnut. Stephanie Barczewski noted that "Blathwayt obtained this exotic timber by wielding his influence over his colonial governors."[83] The use of slave-produced mahogany in Britain's grand stately homes was widespread and by 1750 nearly £30,000 worth of the timber was being imported into Britain from the Caribbean and Central America.[84] Commodities from the empire also formed part of day-to-day life for the Blathwayt family who consumed all kinds of products whose origins could be found in empire. Blathwayt's biographer, Gertrude Ann Jacobsen, noted that "He accepted almost any gift, from sturgeon fresh from the North Sea, Spanish bricks of tobacco, or orange marmalade from Barbados, to ermine from New England for a cloak for Mrs. Blathwayt."[85]

To participate fully in the culture of conspicuous consumption Blathwayt needed to build a suitable collection to reflect his good taste. He was helped in this endeavour by his uncle Thomas Povey, who nurtured his colonial ambitions and supported him as a young man. Povey was also involved in the colonial project having helped to equip the expedition which resulted in the colonisation of Jamaica. He wrote a tract on colonial management, and both proposed and served on the first Council of Trade for America. He was also an investor in the Royal African Company.[86] Povey sold Blathwayt his library, furniture, and art collection for use at Dyrham. Perhaps the most controversial objects in Povey's collection were two torchieres carved into the kneeling figure of enslaved Africans. A letter from John Povey, Blathwayt's nephew and clerk, to Thomas in 1700 offered a glimpse into how the objects were originally displayed. He wrote "In these several Apartments your pictures have a Great share in the Decoration as the two Black Boys have a Proper Place on Each side of an Indian Tambour in one of the Best Rooms [. . .]."[87] They appeared again in a 1710 inventory of the house when they were

81 Madge Dresser, "Slavery and West Country Houses," in *Slavery and the British Country House* 23.
82 https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/dyrham-park/features/dyrham-parks-colonial-connections [accessed 28.02.2023].
83 Barczewski, *Country Houses*: 165.
84 Barczewski, *Country Houses*: 167.
85 Gertrude Ann Jacobsen quoted in Barczewski, *Country Houses*: 164.
86 https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/dyrham-park/features/dyrham-parks-colonial-connections [accessed 28.02.2023].
87 https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/452977.2 [accessed 28.02.2023].

described "as 'Blacks' in the Balcony Room, alongside the red and black lacquer and gilded tea table, Javanese, late 17th century." Both descriptions were suggestive of an imperial mélange of goods brought together within the space in order to juxtapose a traditional English country house aesthetic with more "exotic" colonial objects. The torchieres have appeared in the house catalogue as "Black Boys," "Blacks," "stands for flowers," and "blackamoor stands." In 2019 when they were re-catalogued as "stand."[88] These changes are suggestive of the shifting modes of linguistic representation when it comes to working through how these "difficult" objects should be categorised.

Alongside objects depicting enslavement or made from raw materials produced by enslaved people there are also objects in the collection that belonged to other slave-owners. There are five ceiling paintings at Dyrham originally painted by Andrea Casali for display at Fonthills Splendens, the home of the Jamaican planter William Beckford (1709–1770). They were sold in 1801 and installed at the Theatre Royal in Bath before being purchased by Colonel William Blathwayt (1797–1871) in 1845.[89]

Botanical collecting became a popular way of consuming the empire. In 1696, John Woodward issued advice to collectors in the colonies that "Gathering and preserving [. . .] may be done by the hands of servants and that too at their spare and leisure times: or in journies, in the plantations, in fishing, fowling, & c. without hindrance of any other business."[90] The "servants" referred to included enslaved people who, in the seventeenth century, were used by collectors because of their knowledge of natural science. Colonial officials working with Blathwayt were tasked with identifying seeds and plants which could be used to ornament Dyrham's landscaped gardens. In 1693 Blathwayt shipped to England for use in his garden "Peach Stones," "Black Walnuts," "Pokekera or White Walnuts," "Hickory Nuts," "Tulip Tree Cones," "Sassafras Berrys," "Cyprus Acadia," "Gum Tree," and "Cedar Berrys." They were planted in the wilderness area alongside Virginia pine, and flowering oaks.[91] Blathwayt also used his connections to import "exotic" species to complement his landscaping including "two Rattle Snakes put on board in a Cage".[92]

There is far more to the history of Dyrham's colonial connections than a focus on the origins of wealth or materiality of artefacts. The Trust has noted that there were several Black "servants" linked to the Wynter family, some of whom had connections to Dyrham. Gylman Ivie, described as "an African" in 1575, married Anna Spencer of Dyrham and the couple had two children.[93] George Wynter's daughter was married

88 https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/452977.2 [accessed 28.02.2023].

89 https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/453808 [accessed 28.02.2023].

90 John Woodward quoted in James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019): 97.

91 Barczewski, *Country Houses*: 226.

92 Barczewski, *Country Houses*: 223.

93 https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/dyrham-park/features/dyrham-parks-colonial-connections [accessed 28.02.2023].

into the Ivie family which the Trust suggests is how Gylman came to be at Dyrham. Gylman was not the only African man that the Wynter family employed. Miranda Kaufmann noted that Edward Wynter had an African porter named Edward Swarthye and that Edward's father William had a servant from Guinea named Domingo.[94]

A more direct connection to the house came through the presence of Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates (1834–1925), the illegitimate mixed heritage daughter of the Jamaica attorney George Hibbert Oates (1791–1837) and a free woman of colour Margaret Cross. In October 2021 the Trust highlighted Mary's story during Black History Month.[95] Oates's family had been heavily involved for generations with a variety of different aspects of the business of slavery in Jamaica.[96] They owned 7 plantations and had financial or legal control over 21 more. Oates became a source of embarrassment following a public *exposé* about conditions on one of the family's plantations – Georgia – where Oates acted as attorney. A missionary, Reverend Thomas Cooper, sent out by the Hibberts to preach to the enslaved wrote a pamphlet which included the accusation that Oates had impregnated a sixteen-year-old girl.[97] This was a claim he strenuously denied. Oates's will confirmed that he did in fact have a "reputed" daughter called Mary Oates who was "a free girl of colour formerly a slave on Georgia estate."[98] His will detailed three more children with enslaved women who lived on various properties the family were linked to. Oates was also involved in a long-term relationship with a free woman of colour named Margaret Cross with whom he had a further five children. He made provisions in his will for both Margaret and her children including money for their education. Their youngest daughter Mary Sarah was born in 1833 – the year that Britain passed the Slavery Abolition Act. This meant that for the first year of her life, up until 1834 when the practice of slavery ended, her older half-siblings were enslaved.

Oates died four years after Mary Sarah's birth, and in 1840 the little girl was sent to England to live with her grandmother and aunt in Sion Hill, Bath. Mary Sarah was welcomed into the Hibbert family home. She was educated and documents exist written in her own hand which attested to the kind of lifestyle she was living. In 1867 she travelled with a "Miss Hibbert" to France.[99] She kept a travel journal documenting the

94 Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2017): 100–104.

95 https://twitter.com/nationaltrust/status/1451462095166390274

96 For an account of the Hibbert family's involvement with the slavery business see Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

97 Thomas Cooper, *Correspondence between George Hibbert, Esq., and the Rev. T. Cooper: Relative to the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica, Extracted from the Morning Chronicle, also a Libel on the Character of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, Published in 1823, in Several of the Jamaica Journals; with Notes and Remarks* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1824).

98 Will of George Hibbert Oates, National Archives, England, PROB 11/1886/418.

99 Transcription of Diary of Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates, 1867, Diary part of NT 453490 BOX 26, Dyrham Park, National Trust.

experience which included watercolour paintings that she made. Her account is fascinating for the strong sense of Englishness which she articulated in it. On the journey she wrote "Going on deck I took my first view of a foreign shore, and English as Boulogne is said to be it presented many peculiarities to my eyes." Her emphasis on the strangeness of this encounter is fascinating to consider in the context of her own early childhood in colonial Jamaica of which she must have had at least some hazy memories. When Mary Sarah's aunt died in 1870, the Reverend Wynter Thomas Blathwayt acted as a trustee for her £20,000 estate. In 1876 he married Mary Sarah, who became his second wife and a stepmother to his children. To begin with they lived in Dyrham Rectory but when he inherited Dyrham in 1899, Mary became lady of the house. Dyrham, then, is quintessentially a dynastic imperial formation; its purchase and renovation, the fabric of its natural and built environment, and its previous occupants were all enmeshed in Britain's transatlantic story. These histories are not peripheral to an understanding of the house, nor are they a new innovation; they haven't emerged because of a "political fad" – they have always been there.

For several decades work has been done by curators to interpret the slaving past within the house, although different levels of prominence have been afforded over time. Jessica Moody and Stephen Small compared the interpretation of slavery at English country houses and American plantation house museums. Moody focused on an analysis of the ways slavery has been interpreted at Dyrham over time.[100] She argued that a lack of engagement with slavery, colonialism, and Black history has led to a lack of diversity within the visiting public. In 2008, the membership of the Trust was less than one per cent Black.[101] During the bicentenary in 2007, First Born Creatives (a partnership between Shawn Sobers and Rob Mitchell) won Heritage Lottery funding for the project *Re:interpretation*. The project worked with local African-Caribbean community groups using multi-media to explore the slavery connections within three Trust sites including Dyrham. In an interview in *The*, Sobers recounted his first visit to the house with a group of people from the Bath Ethnic Minority Senior Citizens Association, where they came face to face with the torchieres discussed earlier. In response to encountering these objects he stated

> I couldn't believe it. I really couldn't believe it was happening [. . .] And the tour guide talked about every single thing in that room, you know, talked about *everything* for a good ten, fifteen minutes and not once mentioned it [. . .] There wasn't even a kind of a, you know, 'Yeah, we don't know what those are [. . .]' There wasn't even an explaining it away. They just acted as if they just weren't there at all.[102]

Sobers and Mitchell have suggested that tour guides' reluctance to refer to slavery stemmed from their perceived role as "custodians" which made them "understand-

100 Moody and Small, "Slavery and Public History": 34–68.
101 Fowler, *Green Unpleasant Land*: 127.
102 Knight, "Britain's Idyllic Country Houses Reveal a Darker History": 2021.

ably protective of the reputation of their properties and families."[103] This sense of duty to the dead was expanded by Conservative MP Jacob Rees Mogg to encompass the entire Trust whom he advised to "remember that its properties were given to it by people who expected it to be a custodian of our history, to be proud of our history and to think well of our great nation."[104] Timms has analysed the relationship between the notion of stewardship and heritage as a "gift," noting that

> Heritage hints at the providential, a benefaction whose immensity and value could only come from something almost divine [. . .] such a great gift forever puts the receiving present in debt, one that must be repaid through its invocation of stewardship: as the gift or legacy does not originate with us, it is never truly ours [. . .] what is passed along is forever marked by the resonance of the original donor or benefactor who retains some residual claim.'[105]

This conceptualisation raises questions about the power relations of heritage – who owns the past and how might that impact on the ways in which it is interpreted? Whilst the country house might be claimed by the family in residence, theirs is not the only history contained within these sites. In the transition from individual to national ownership, it was not just the physical sites that were rendered more democratically accessible but the authorship of the historical narrative and claims to representation within these spaces.

Moody compared various iterations of the house guide from 2009 and 2017. She pointed out that up until the new version was authored by curator Rupert Goulding, there was a failure to engage in any significant way with the sources of Blathwayt's wealth.[106] The only mention of his colonial activities came in the guise of contextualising the presence of Virginian walnut trees in the garden. Whilst the 2017 guide made much more of an effort to account for Blathwayt's colonial connections, Moody argued that this history was not fully articulated in the on-site interpretation. Using the example of torchieres, she pointed to the use of interpretation cards which asked questions of the visitor to include them in the work of deciphering the meaning. These included "What are they?" "Who would want them" and "Was the house owned by a slave-owner?"[107] The cards outlined the history of the objects as well of aspects of Britain's involvement with slavery through colonial administration which would likely be unknown to most visitors. Both the guidebook and the cards relied on an active audience engagement with interpretive tools, but as strategies for representing the history they were optional and could very easily be missed or in the case of the guidebook not purchased.

103 Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers, "Re:Interpretation: The Representation of Perspectives on Slave Trade History Using Creative Media," in *Slavery and the British Country House*: 146.
104 Hansard Parliament, Business of the House, vol. 680, column 1149, 24.09.2020.
105 Timms, *Heritage*: viii.
106 Moody and Small, "Slavery and Public History": 57.
107 Moody and Small, "Slavery and Public History": 60.

A further intervention came in 2012 when Dyhram held an exhibition entitled *A World Away*. The display showcased pieces borrowed from the Arts Council Collection including a painting by Soweto-born Johannes Phokela which reimagined Ruben's *Sampson and Delia* with the inclusion of an African man as the central figure.[108] The piece was hung above the two torchieres and acted as a comment on racial politics of aesthetics and taste, collecting, and the relationship between luxury consumption and colonial exploitation. The insertion of the artwork into the space meant an unavoidable confrontation with the history, although Moody noted that not all visitors made sense of the connections between the objects and the painting in the same way. Whilst the exhibition went much further in demanding that audiences take account of the history of slavery and race, it was a temporary display and once dismantled the issue of silence and "disavowal" came back into play.[109]

The inclusion of the Phokela piece at Dyrham mirrors a wider impulse within heritage spaces to use artistic interventions to critique the underlying collection or historical narrative. Whilst this strategy can and does yield creative and thought-provoking responses in the visiting public, it also highlights a significant problem with relying on project work or short-term exhibitions to do the work of interpreting "difficult" histories. Time limited representational practices perpetuate the idea that these histories are marginal – that they do not form the core of the way that we should understand the sites. This was a problem identified in relation to the historical projects undertaken during the bicentenary in 2007. Some Black community groups who worked with heritage sites felt let down when both the funding and the visibility of their work came to an end. This feeling was especially acute where there was an absence of legacy planning to ensure the history continued to have some form of permanent presence in the interpretation.[110] In response to the negative publicity surrounding the *Colonial Countryside* project and the Interim Report, the Trust published a statement addressing the press furore. It emphasised the transitory nature of the intervention, stating that "The Trust has supported a lot of creative work in education to enable the next generation to explore and appreciate historic buildings and collections, as well as nature. These are temporary projects and they don't replace our usual curatorial and conservation work when it comes to permanent collections."[111] An inference can be made that the statement was designed to reassure the critics that business would soon return to normal – that the nastiness of confronting slavery in the country house would soon be over. It will be fascinating to see what, if anything, emerges in relation to permanent changes to the onsite interpretation in the wake of the Interim Report and the backlash that has followed.

108 Moody and Small, "Slavery and Public History": 61.

109 For a discussion of the concept of disavowal in relation to slavery see Catherine Hall and Daniel Pick, "Thinking about Denial," *History Workshop Journal* 84 (2017): 1–23.

110 Oldfield and Wills, "Remembering 1807": 264–65.

111 John Orna Ornstein, "How the *Colonial Countryside* Project is Helping Children Engage with History," National Trust Blog, 18.11.2020.

5 Conclusion

The struggle over interpretation in country houses is a microcosm of a wider struggle taking place, in the wake of Brexit and in the longer term as Britain more widely, but England in particular, faces a reckoning with its imperial past and post-imperial identities. Understanding, acknowledging, and honestly representing the history of slavery as embedded within and wholly part of the national narrative is part of the process of reconfiguring a sense of identity to take account of all those whose stories have been marginalised. As Stuart Hall argued:

> Across the great cities and ports, in the making of fortunes, in the construction of great houses and estates, across the lineages of families, across the plunder and display of the wealth of the world as an adjunct to the imperial enterprise, across the hidden histories of statued heroes, in the secrecy of private diaries, even at the centre of the great master-narratives of 'Englishness' like the Two World Wars, falls the unscripted shadow of the forgotten 'Other'. The first task, then, is re-defining the nation, re-imagining 'Britishness' or 'Englishness' itself in a more profoundly inclusive manner. The Brits owe this, not to only us, but to themselves: for to prepare their own people for success in a global and de-centred world by continuing to misrepresent Britain as a closed, embattled, self-sufficient, defensive, 'tight little island' would be fatally to disable them.[112]

Despite the amplification of critical voices by sections of the media and the political classes, the membership of the Trust has been broadly in favour of the work. The Trust reported to the *Guardian* that they received 771 complaints about the report.[113] To put that in perspective that represents 0.05 per cent of the membership. When the right-wing thinktank Policy Exchange conducted polling in June 2020 they asked respondents if they thought that the Trust should or should not do more to educate visitors about the history of slavery with 76 per cent of people saying that they should do more.[114] Although no figures are available in relation to the number of people who specifically cancelled their membership because of the publication of the Interim Report, the Trust released figures for new members for the period April 2020–2021 which totalled 50,000. Renewal rates for existing Trust membership remained consistent with the previous year at 82.4 per cent.[115] Reflecting back on Dowden's admonition to heritage organisations not to give into the demands of a "noisy minority" of political activists, questions can and should be asked about the influence of a small group of right-wing campaigners whose beliefs have been amplified by political and media power. In doing so we must return to Hall's unanswered question – who is the heritage for?

112 Hall, "Whose Heritage?": 6.
113 Patrick Butler, "National Trust Report on Slavery Links Did Not Break Charity Law," *The Guardian*, 11.03.2021.
114 https://policyexchange.org.uk/historymatterspolling/
115 Kirsty Weakley, "Do Real People Care How 'Woke' the National Trust is? Or Are They Just After a Decent Scone," *Civil Society*, 09.11.2021.

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Abdoulaye Gueye

A Public Site to Embody the National Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Provisional Analysis of a Mnemonic Disputatio in Contemporary France

When memory goes fetching dead wood, it brings the bundle that pleases it. Birago Diop, Senegalese poet and writer (1906–1989).

1 Introduction

Focusing on France, this article contributes to the discussion about the role of sites in the memorialization of transatlantic slavery.[1] Such a discussion may be all but futile if what is meant is a physical location. Among many reasons is that the quality in memory that encourages the strategy of connecting a site with a given memory to keep it alive is very abstract and fleeting. This is an idea already suggested ages ago by the Roman philosopher Cicero,[2] who asserted that an efficient way to remember something is to tie it to a visual place. However, in our time, in a few riveting sentences the American novelist Toni Morrison, reflecting on her decision to write *Beloved*,[3] her thrice award-winning novel about the de-humanizing breadth of slavery, contributed to expanding our understanding of the connection of place with memory as well the meaning of place: "There is no place you or I can go, to think about or not think about, to summon the presences of, or recollect the absences of slaves. There is not a suitable memorial, or plaque, or wreath, or wall, or park, or skyscraper. There is no 300-foot tower, there's no small bench by the road."[4] As Morrison points out, memory, whether traumatic or happy, seems to need a place to perpetuate itself, but when lacking a material and immovable object, a movable physical object such as a book could be this place. In light of her suggestion, we could define a place as simply a space permeated by myths and narratives, condensing values, beliefs, dreams upheld by a human community. For a significant proportion of French readership, the three-volume-book *Realms of Memory*, edited by Pierre Nora, with its very explicit title in French, *Les lieux de mémoire*, has

1 I am deeply grateful to Allison Blakely for her insightful suggestions.

2 Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).

3 Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).

4 This is an excerpt from Toni Morrison's interview with World Magazine in 1989. Quoted from Christopher Lloyd, "Memories of Slavery: Museums, Monuments, Novels," in *Rooting Memory, Rooting Place: American Literature Readings in the 21st Century*, ed. Christopher Lloyd (New York: Palgrave, 2015): 19.

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contributed to corroborating the relationship of memory to place.[5] The book comprises a non-exhaustive inventory of statues and other monuments, on French soil, that connect the French population to its past (as remembered), as it helps different generations of French to commune together. However, in modern times, too, the theory of the linkage between memory and place precedes Nora's publication. Already in 1941, in his *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles*, Maurice Halbwachs pointed to the role of place in the formation and preservation of the memory of Christianity.[6] Many decades later, Barry Schwartz stressed, in a way germane to Toni Morrison's suggestion of books as a place of remembrance, the role of icons, that is pictural representations of individuals or events, in the making and perpetuation of memory.[7]

Building upon this insightful idea of place as a tool for the perpetuation of memory, this article analyzes the process of selecting a physical site to host the *Fondation nationale pour la mémoire de l'esclavage* (National Fondation for the Memory of Slavery, FNME henceforward) and its companion *Musée de l'esclavage* (Slavery Museum). The writing of this article grew out of two observations. The first is the increasing interest in public sites that serve to memorialize transatlantic slavery. Spearheaded by UNESCO, a world-renowned institution, the launch of the "Slave Route" is perhaps among the most well-known proofs of this interest.[8] However, less global institutions and actors have also shown undeniable interest in the issue of transatlantic slavery by getting involved in the identification/creation of places to memorialize it. In the early 1990s, following the accidental discovery of a burial site for black New Yorkers during the slavery era by US archaeologists in advance of the construction of a government building in Manhattan, black politicians, scholars, and activists mobilized to pause the completion of this US federal government project.[9] Pressing further, they obtained hundreds of artifacts from the excavation, including over 400 human remains that would be ceremoniously reburied two decades later; government funding for a multi-year research project led by anthropologists and historians at the historically black Howard University; and funds for the establishment of a memorial monument and visitors center at the Ted Weiss Federal Building that opened in 1994 after construction was resumed and completed. A voluminous report on the research was finally published in 2008. Thus they succeeded in turning this place into a public memorial for enslaved and free blacks who lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

5 Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

6 Maurice Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte: études de mémoire collective* (Paris: PUF, 2008 [new edition]).

7 Barry Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory," *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982): 378.

8 See the document "The UNESCO Slave Route Project," in *International Social Science Journal*. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2006.00625.x [accessed 19.01.2023].

9 Brian Purnell, "The African Burial Ground National Museum," *The Journal of American History* 97, no. 3 (2010): 736–40.

turies. The African Burial Ground National Monument was inaugurated in 2006 and the visitors center in 2010. Looking also at the memorialization of transatlantic slavery but on African territory, Robin Law describes the frenzy about the consecration of some physical places as mnemonic sites for the trade, despite strong historical evidence questioning their meaningfulness and representativeness regarding the transatlantic slavery trade.[10]

The second observation pertains to the extent to which the memory of transatlantic slavery influences how specific fragments of the French population regard the landscape and institutional heritage of their own country. Daily perusal of France's national and regional media, as well as an examination of group and individual interactions in this country's public sphere, reveals that the identification, selection, and use of physical sites are becoming some of the most contentious issues in contemporary France. Very recently, the wholesome appreciation of many sites, mostly by activists of African descent, has become contingent upon the nature of the sites' links to the memory of transatlantic slavery. Just one illustration: the rippling of the US-born Black Lives Matter movement beyond American shores, especially with its ancillary public reenactment of the Roman legal practice of *Damnatio Memoriae* by demanding the dismantlement of monuments honoring confederate soldiers and advocates of the ante-bellum racial order, has spiraled into a myriad of controversial actions.[11] On May 22, 2020, the official day marking the commemoration of the abolition of slavery in Martinique, unidentified activists vandalized in the same city two separate statues of Victor Schœlcher, the French parliamentarian hailed as the emancipator of the slaves in the French Caribbean colonies.[12] In Cayenne, French Guyana's major city, this act inspired unknown individuals to topple, on July 18, 2020, another statue representing Schœlcher flanked by an unidentified slave.[13] Finally, in Diamant, a town in

10 Robin Law, "Commemoration of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Ouidah," *Gradhiva* 8 (2008): 10–27. The author cites the discussion regarding the quality of Gorée Island, in Senegal, as a true site of slave trade, as some authors argue that there is "no solid evidence that any large number of slaves had in fact been exported through the building," while others even purport that the entire island was never a site of passage for a significant number of slaves. The contents of this debate are compiled in a document edited by Djibril Samb, *Gorée et l'esclavage: Actes du séminaire sur Gorée dans la traite: mythe et réalité?* (Dakar: IFAN, 1997). A collection edited by Gert Oostindie, *Facing Up to the Past: Perspectives on the Commemoration of Slavery from Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001), offers insightful discussions on this issue. See the articles by Ina Césaire, "To Each His Commemoration," Livio Sansone, "Remembering Slavery from Nearby: Heritage Brazilina Style," and Allison Blakely, "Remembering Slavery in the United States."

11 On the parallel between the Black Lives Matter and this Roman legal practice, see Alex Zhang, "Damnatio Memoriae and the Black Lives Matter," *Stanford Law Review* 73 (2020): 77–88.

12 Schœlcher introduced in the French parliament a bill that led in 1848 to the second abolition of slavery in France and the emancipation of all enslaved inhabitants on French territory.

13 *Le Monde*, "La statue de l'abolitionniste Schœlcher renversée à Cayenne," 19.07.2020. https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2020/07/19/la-statue-de-l-abolitionniste-schoelcher-renversee-a-cayenne_6046645_3224.html [accessed 19.01.2023].

the Martinique region, yet another statue of Schœlcher was decapitated on the night of March 5 to 6, 2021.[14] In mainland France, sites associated with the names of public figures involved in transatlantic slavery have been relatively spared such radical actions. Nevertheless, debates concerning what events and which proponents of slavery are nevertheless worth memorializing, and at what specific public sites in the republic, have been raging for some years. On June 22, 2020, Louis-Georges Tin, co-founder and former president of the *Conseil Représentatif des associations noires* (Representative Council of Black Associations, CRAN),[15] penned an opinion piece in the daily newspaper *Le Monde*.[16] Tin took aim at the French president, Emmanuel Macron, for opposing during a televised discourse the dismantling of statues and depicting individuals who advocate such a radical measure as proponents of "separatism" vis-à-vis the republic.[17] Tin echoed the question of the former mayor of Nantes, Jean-Marc Ayrault: "How do we understand that on the premises of the National Assembly a room is still named after Colbert,"[18] the craftsman of the infamous *Code noir*.[19] The subtext of Tin's opinion piece is two-fold. It consists in suggesting that while some French protagonists of slavery may deserve the inscription of their names on official properties of the republic, some events and names pertaining to transatlantic slavery are not deserving of a permanent presence on official sites.

This article is mostly concerned with analyzing the process of selecting public sites to endow with the official function of embodying the national memory of slavery

14 Simon Cherner, "Une nouvelle statue de Victor Schœlcher vandalisée en Martinique." https://www.lefigaro.fr/culture/une-nouvelle-statue-de-victor-schoelcher-vandalisee-en-martinique-20210308 [accessed 19.01.2023].

15 CRAN is a federation of several black associations active in France. It was founded in Paris in 2005 in the aftermath of the internationally covered violent riots that disrupted the daily existence of many dwellers of the outskirts of France. However, the project of its creation predated the riots. Already in the summer of 2004, its main craftsman and first president, Patrick Lozès, then president of the *Cercle d'action pour promotion de la diversité* (Active Society for the Promotion of Diversity, CAPDIV), outlined the mission of this organization. For a detailed presentation of the birth and mission of the CRAN, see Abdoulaye Gueye, "Breaking the Silence: The Emergence of a Black Collective Voice in France," *Du Bois Review* 7, no. 1 (2010): 81–102.

16 Louis-Georges Tin, "Comment faire France lorsque les héros des uns sont les bourreaux des autres?" *Le Monde*, 22.06.2020.

17 Emmanuel Macron's delivered this speech live on June 14, 2020.

18 Jean-Marc Ayrault's op-ed "Comment comprendre que dans les locaux de l'Assemblée nationale, une salle porte le nom de Colbert," was published in *Le Monde* on June 13, 2020. In this piece, Ayrault questions the necessity of providing official rooms with Colbert's name, even though this figure was neither a deputy nor a minister of the republic. Jean-Baptiste Colbert served as minister of the navy and colonies and minister of finances under Louis XIV. He authored the *Code noir*, a document that rationalizes the operation of the French slave plantations and determines the treatment to be received by enslaved Africans. On the life of Colbert, his influence, and his economic doctrine, see Inès Murat, *Colbert* (Paris: Fayard, 1980).

19 As for an in-depth analysis of the *Code noir*, see Louis-Sala Molins, *Le Code noir ou Le calvaire de Canaan* (Paris: PUF, 2002.)

in France. It builds upon one major argument. The institutionalization of memory through the selection of an official site that is meant to embody it is a sociopolitical endeavor. Involving a myriad of actors whose outlook about the past may differ, this institutionalization implies a deliberative process whose outcome is informed by the respective capital (i.e., resources) under the control of the competing parties, each of whom is eager to impose its vision of legitimacy. Either material (including financial assets, public influence, etc.) or symbolic (such as a former professional position, activism, etc.), this capital partly determine each party's leverage and contribution to the ultimate selection of the memorial site(s).

Among the main questions guiding this article are the following: 1) Does the competition (pointed out above) between protagonists of the memorialization of transatlantic slavery translate ultimately into opposing selections of sites of memory? 2) Since memory (of transatlantic slavery) is fleeting and arbitrary at the same time as it is politicized, to what extent does the unequal distribution of different capital among stakeholders determine the selection of the site deemed worthy of embodying the memory of this trade?

To approach these questions, I would like to delve into Pierre Bourdieu's theory of action with a focus on his conceptualization of the social sphere as a "field" divided into sub-fields.[20] Let's first break down his theoretical apparatus. For Bourdieu, the field is a space of objective relations between actors who occupy different and unequal positions, are involved in a power relation, and engage permanently, through struggle, to transform or preserve this power relation. Each (group of) actor(s) strives to impose their own vision. As Bourdieu elaborates, the outcome of the struggle between these actors is contingent upon their strategies of struggle and the weight and nature of the capital in their possession at a given moment. Also, historical contingencies determine the value and social efficacy of the given capital, explaining the inherent instability of the power relation.

Conceptualizing the space of debate around the physical memorialization of transatlantic slavery as a field, which I label here the mnemonic field of slavery, I intend to borrow from Bourdieu's theory of action to make sense of the negotiations between the actors involved in the process, as well as the current outcome of the selection process of a site to house the FNME and its planned companion museum. This process has brought to the same table (aggregates of) actors hailing from various social circles, endowed with different sorts of capital, and located at different positions in the social field. Elected politicians, activists, academics, curators, financiers, experts, and high-ranking civil servants have exchanged views, opposed each other, and sometimes formed alliances within and outside the mnemonic field of slavery against other actors of the same field.

20 Pierre Bourdieu, *Raisons pratiques: sur la théorie de l'action* (Paris: Seuil, 1994).

2 Methodology

This article favors a synecdochic approach. I chose to focus my attention on a state-backed initiative that intended to assign a specific public site the function of embodying the memory of transatlantic slavery in mainland France – an initiative known as the FNME project. My choice is not meant to discard or dismiss the relevance of other initiatives, nor to attribute any primogeniture to the said project. Indeed, previous efforts were undertaken several years, even decades, earlier to erect on some specific square or site in continental France a sculpture of General Alexandre Dumas, or Toussaint Louverture, or Louis Delgrès, or Solitude (a rebellious female slave and abolitionist) so as to memorialize transatlantic slavery. In overseas France, endeavors took place to convert places such as Fort Delgrès[21] – a fortification erected in the seventeenth century in Guadeloupe by French colonists to secure their possessions from the British ambitions, and located a few kilometers from the Matouba Soufrière, where Delgrès and his followers collectively committed suicide to refuse re-enslavement[22] – into a national memorial. All these initiatives are worthy of analysis and could be the focus of this article. However, the FNME project alone will be considered. The choice is relevant because this project serves as a sound synecdoche of the issue of the national memorialization of transatlantic slavery in many respects. First, it reflects the diversity of stakeholders of the memory of this trade. The major actors involved in the other memorial initiatives have been involved in this project, as scores of associations of citizens acting as mnemonic entrepreneurs have publicly or discretely weighed in on the rationale and goal of this project. Second, it exemplifies the deliberative dynamic intrinsic to the selection of a public good such as a national site for the memorialization of transatlantic slavery. *Maître d'oeuvre* of the project, the French government had to report to, negotiate with, or resist mnemonic entrepreneurs, as well as elected officials of cities and towns with clear stakes in the issue of slavery. Moreover, some managers of national heritage sites, whose professional training and ideological inclinations inform their own conception of the legitimate function and use of these state-owned sites, have also intervened in this process. In short, looking into this project offers a panoramic view of the dynamics of the selection of memorial sites for transatlantic slavery in France.

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21 The fort was named after Louis Delgrès, a free black who rebelled against slavery when Napoleon Bonaparte decided in 1802 to reinstate the slavery system abolished by revolutionaries in 1789. The fort was formerly known under several names, including Fort Royal, Fort St-Charles, and Fort Richepance, before the regional authorities of Guadeloupe gave it the name Louis Delgrès in 1989 to honor his legacy. The fort is located a short distance from the Matouba Soufrière, where Delgrès and his followers committed collective suicide to avoid bondage.

22 On the meaning of this site, see Yves Bénot, "La chaîne des insurrections d'esclaves dans les Caraïbes de 1789 à 1791," in *Les lumières, l'esclavage, la colonisation*, ed. Yves Bénot (Paris: La Découverte, 2005): 221; and Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizen: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005).

3 The Genesis of a Project

The FNME project was developed in the wake of a series of sociopolitical events. Among them are: 1) the historic and successful march organized on May 23, 1998, in Paris by citizens of African descent to mark the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in French territorial possessions;[23] 2) the May 10, 2001, French parliament vote on the Taubira bill, recognizing slavery and the slave trade as a crime against humanity, 3) the report submitted in 2007 at the request of President Chirac to Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin by Edouard, the towering Antillean intellectual figure, recommending the creation of a national institution, provisionally named the National Center for the Memory of Slavery.[24]

Dormant during Nicolas Sarkozy's presidential tenure, the project was rekindled under President François Hollande. On May 10, 2016, the official date of the commemoration of slavery in France, Hollande, speaking at the Jardin du Luxembourg, reiterated the republic's commitment to founding "an institution, which it still lacks: a foundation for the memory of slavery, of the trades, and their abolitions," and announced that "this foundation will consult with the city [*mairie*] of Paris about the planning of a memorial for slaves and a museography site [*site muséographique*]."[25] Following this announcement, Prime Minister Manuel Valls addressed on August 3, 2016, a letter to Lionel Zinsou – a Paris-born French-Beninese citizen and former prime minister of Benin[26] – entrusting him with the leadership of a "design and planning commission" [*mission de prefiguration*]. Swiftly setting up a committee, Zinsou brought together activists committed to the preservation of the memory of transatlantic slavery, civil society personalities, academics, and high-level civil servants to reflect on the creation of the foundation, and more particularly on the selection of the site that would host it and its companion national museum of slavery. From mid-August to mid-December 2016, the mission consulted with stakeholders both in mainland France and in the three departments of the French Caribbean, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyana. In March 2017, Zinsou submitted a 143-page report recapitulating the various stages of the foreshadowing mission, its findings, and recommendations. On May 10, 2019, propelled to the helm of the French Republic following

23 On this event, see the works of Abdoulaye Gueye, "Memory at Issue: On Slavery and the Slave Trade among Black French," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 45, no. 1 (2011): 77–107; Johann Michel, *Devenir descendant d'esclave: enquête sur les regimes mémoriels* (Rennes: PUR, 2015).

24 Edouard Glissant, *Mémoire des esclavages* (Paris: Gallimard/La Découverte, 2007).

25 Lionel Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir: rapport de prefiguration de la Fondation pour la mémoire de l'esclavage, de la traite et de leurs abolitions*, Reference: Rapport n°16094-R (Paris: Ministère des outre-mer, 2017): 21.

26 Lionel Zinsou's uncle, Emile-Derlin Henri Zinsou, was a senator in France during colonial times and briefly held the presidency of Benin. Appointed to this position in 1968 by the military after the 1967 coup d'etat, he was quickly deposed by the same officers in 1969. For more details about the life of Emile Zinsou, see Mathurin C. Houngnikpo and Samule Decalo, *Historical Dictionary of Benin* (Washington DC: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013): 373.

the second round of the presidential elections on May 7, 2017, Macron announced the birth of the foundation. On November 12, 2019, the Ministery of Interior issued a decree "recogniz[ing] as an institution of public utility [*établissement d'utilité publique*] the foundation known as *Fondation pour la mémoire de l'esclavage* whose headquarters is in Paris (75)."[27] The *Conseil d'État* consecrated the status of the foundation as an institution of public good [*établissement d'utilité publique*]; on November 13, 2019, the FNME held its first board meeting, indicating thereby its material existence.[28] The unraveling of this project is the focus of the remainder of this article. My intention is to demonstrate how contentious the selection of a physical site aimed at embodying the memory of transatlantic slavery is, and how competition between actors and control over material and immaterial capital determine the outcome of the selection process.

4 Memory, Subjectivity, and Selection

Birago Diop's statement, according to which when memory goes fetching dead wood, it brings the bundle that pleases it, has been quoted above purposefully. It is meant to encapsulate the overall argument of this article. What it suggests is that memory is a highly subjective and arbitrary process – the debate about the need to avoid conflating the history of slavery and the memory thereof stems mostly from this characteristic, although one should refrain from inferring therefrom that history is totally objective.[29] As per Diop's statement,[30] sites are metaphorically pieces of wood whose significance or worth are anything but *sui generis*. Their capacity to embody the memory of a given chapter of the past, in this case transatlantic slavery, is dependent on how social actors convey, in their own words and through their feelings, this chapter of the past, an expression that is often contingent upon what they experience in the present. The subjectivity of memory permeates the appreciation of the relevance of any given site to serve as its embodiment. Sites are thus refused or granted presumptive validity to represent a chapter of the past according to social actors' reinterpretation of this past. The process of creating the FNME offers invaluable evidence to elaborate on this idea.

27 The decree referenced as INTD1932036D was published in the November 13, 2019, issue of the *Journal official de la République*.

28 Mission de la mémoire de l'esclavage, des traites et de leurs abolitions, "La Fondation pour la mémoire de l'esclavage est créée," press release, 13.11.2019: 1.

29 Denise Jodelet, "Conflit entre histoire mémorielle et histoire historienne," *Psicologia e Saber Social* 1, no. 2 (2012): 151–62.

30 Birago Diop, *Les contes d'Ahmadou Koumba* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1961).

5 Too Many Sites are Proposed but Only One Will Be Elected

Several locations have vied through stakeholders to host the FNME and serve thereby as a site of the embodiment of the memory of transatlantic slavery. The Hôtel de la Marine garnered the most support from actors consulted by the foreshadowing mission and was even the primary choice of the head of this mission, Zinsou. The Hôtel de la Marine is often described as a building with stunningly exquisite architecture reminiscent of the French monarchy's splendor. Located at 2 place de la Concorde, a short distance from parliament, it is the venue where Victor Schœlcher signed the declaration of the second abolition of slavery.[31] Both its historical connection and its aesthetic design purportedly make it in the eyes of many participants a logical and appropriate choice. With less support, the former *Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires* (Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions) was also mentioned as a serious contender. The overarching argument employed to justify its nomination is the visibility of the district where it is built, namely the Bois de Boulogne. The Bois de Boulogne is famous for attracting on weekends huge numbers of Parisians and tourists outside the capital. Another major proposition reported by the precursor mission is the *Jardin d'Agronomie Tropicale* (The Tropical Agronomy Garden). It was mentioned for both its current and past mnemonic function in connection with the French population of African descent. The site hosted in 1907 an international colonial exhibition and is home to several memorials honoring soldiers from French overseas territories who lost their lives in combat during the First World War. Added to the initial list of sites suggested to the "design and planning commission" is the Hôtel Gaillard, located on the seventeenth arrondissement of Paris. Its choice is defended primarily by Claude Ribbe, an activist and founder of the *Association des amis Dumas* (Association of the Friends of General Dumas). The Hôtel Gaillard is the historic headquarters of the precursor of the Banque de France, which was active in the transatlantic slave trade,[32]

31 Emmanuel Pénicaut, "L'Hôtel de la Marine: deux siècles d'histoire d'un port d'attache parisien," *Revue historique des armées* 266 (2012): 115–18 offers a detailed account of the uses of the hotel from its creation to 2008. But the author makes no mention of the meaning of this site regarding the issue of slavery in France.

32 Luc Le Chatelier, "Citeco: l'étrange histoire de l'Hôtel Gaillard, qui abrite le nouveau musée de l'argent," *Télérama*, 14.06.2019. https://www.telerama.fr/sortir/citeco-letrange-histoire-de-lhotel-gaillard,-qui-abrite-le-nouveau-musee-de-largent,n6285874.php; Claude Ribbe, "La Banque de France et l'esclavage," http://une-autre-histoire.org/la-banque-de-france-et-lesclavage/; Louis-Georges Tin, Dominique Sopo and José Pentoscrope, "Pour que l'hôtel Gaillard devienne un musée de l'esclavage," *Médiapart*, 10.05.2015. https://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/memoires-du-colonialisme/article/100515/pour-que-lhotel-gaillard-devienne-un-musee-de-lesclavage [all accessed 19.01.2023].

and the former property of Emile Gaillard, an art collector, investor, and a descendant of a family of bankers.[33]

None of these sites was selected first to host the foundation. Instead, 57 boulevard des Invalides was home to the foundation. There it held its first board meeting on November 13, 2019, before relocating to 2 place de la Concorde in June 2021. This peregrination begs questioning in two respects. First, 57 boulevard des Invalides never appeared as a possible contender in the report submitted by the design and planning commission. Second, after taking note of the more consensual choice of the Hôtel de la Marine, Lionel Zinsou lobbied businessmen, statesmen, and highly placed civil servants to win their support for turning a portion of 2 place de la Concorde into the location of the FNME. However, most of his interlocutors declined to offer the required support. One major question arises: how does one make sense of a contradictory move that consisted in initially denying the memory of transatlantic slavery an institutional and official presence in the Hôtel de la Marine before hosting it in the same building two years later?

6 Power Relations in the Mnemonic Field

The memory of transatlantic slavery has evolved from merely an event officially marked only twice in mainland France over the course of 150 years (1848–1998) to an institutional event enshrined in the national calendar and commemorated yearly since 2006.[34] As this development took place, different visions of its memorialization have emerged and the scope of this issue, as well as the number of stakeholders, has increased significantly. First, symbolic identity, which motivated the earliest generation of commemorators such as Gaston Monerville, Aimé Césaire, and Léopold S. Senghor is almost being eclipsed by the identity politics of a more recent generation of activists who are eager to create the sociopolitical identity of "descendant of a slave," or "black French," woven into the memory of slavery; by the concern for inclusiveness of a segment of stakeholders who advocate making transatlantic slavery a full part of the French national narrative; and by the ethical-legal demand of some citizens who fight for material reparation for transatlantic slavery. Second, as visions of memorialization multiplied, the number of stakeholders increased due to the interdependency of the putative implementation of any of these visions with other fields of society, including the political field, the artistic field, and the economic field. In short, the materialization of a given vision would involve negotiating with actors located outside the mnemonic field:

33 Luc Le Chatelier, "Citeco: l'étrange histoire de l'Hôtel Gaillard."

34 Indeed, the first public commemoration took place in 1948 at Sorbonne University in the presence of Aimé Césaire, Gaston Monerville, and Leopold Sédar Senghor, then three prominent black French lawmakers. See Nelly Schmitt, "La commemoration du centenaire de l'abolition de l'esclavage dans les colonies françaises 1848–1948," *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 5 (1989): 55–64.

lawmakers, civil servants, philanthropists, and so on. Zinsou's mission to identify a consensual site for the FNME was ensnared in this complex nexus of actors and intersected fields. Selecting the definite site required bridging not only mnemonic entrepreneurs with interests sometimes irretrievably separate, but also securing the support of non-mnemonic entrepreneurs, without the capital of whom the materialization of the mission's goal would be compromised. The unraveling of this selection process certifies both the competition among stakeholders within the mnemonic field, the inequality of the efficiency of the different capital in the hands of the various stakeholders, and the instability of the power relations therein.

7 The Legitimacy of Actors and the Legitimacy of Site

A collective decision – of which the selection of a site for the FNME is a case study – often requires a minimal consensus for its materialization. In the making of this decision, stakeholders are faced with both the issue of legitimacy and the competition of visions whose prevalence significantly depends on the mobilization of capital by the various actors involved. The selection of the FNME site illustrates this dynamic. The issue of legitimacy has been at the forefront from the outset. Legitimacy, as the analysis of this dynamic reveals, is a three-fold issue.

1) There is first the interrogation about the legitimacy of the participants in the design and planning commission. The exchanges between the various actors involved in the decision-making reveal a basis for disagreement about the identity of those stakeholders who should legitimately be part of this decision. Analysis of this disagreement shows that the legitimacy of participants is derived from either one or both of the two following factors: historical involvement in the struggle for the memory of slavery and commitment to the republican doxa of color-blindness. While partaking in the consultation, Sylvie Glissant, the representative of the Institut du Tout-Monde and widow of Edouard Glissant, the founder of this institute and mastermind of the project for the creation of a national foundation for the memory of slavery, underscored the absence of representatives of COFFAD (*Collectif des filles et fils d'Africains déportés* – United Daughters and Sons of Deported Africans) and CRAN, advocating for their speedy inclusion into the consultation process. For the explanation of this suggestion, one needs to highlight beforehand the alliance between the Institut du Tout-Monde and the former two associations, although Ms. Glissant acknowledged her disagreement with these two organizations on the issue of reparations for slavery. Indeed, two separate letters addressed to President Hollande in 2016 were co-signed by Louis-George Tin and Sylvie Glissant, among many other activists or academics. Glissant's advocacy for the inclusion of COFFAD and CRAN is, however, based upon historical legitimacy. Officially founded in 1998, although it was

already active in 1996, COFFAD constitutes one of the premier and most vocal organizations dedicated to the memory of slavery. In a petition dated November 1997, COFFAD's name appeared as one of the first organizations to sign this petition for the official commemoration of the sesquicentenary of the second abolition of slavery by France in 1998. Moreover, on May 6 and 7, 1998, COFFAD convened a symposium on slavery at UNESCO headquarters, with prominent guests included. Established in 2005, CRAN, known for its anti-racial discrimination activism in various social spheres and its advocacy for race-based affirmative action, swiftly integrated the memory of slavery into its agenda.[35] Soon after President Chirac decreed in 2006 the introduction of an official commemoration day in the national calendar; the CRAN annually commemorates this event.

Heeding Ms. Glissant's suggestion, the design and planning commission created one of the first rifts in its selection process. A mnemonic conglomerate known as "*La route des abolitions de l'esclavage*" disparaged the inclusion of the two associations, underscoring thereby the diversity of sources of legitimacy. Let us first note that *La route des abolitions de l'esclavage* is a five-fold organization dedicated to the memory of slavery, namely, *Maison de la Négritude* in Champagney, Haute Saône department, *Maison l'Abbé Grégoire* in Embermenil, Meurthe et Moselle department, *Cellule Toussaint Louverture* at the Fort de Joux Castle in Pontarlier, Doubs department, *Espace muséographique Victor Schœlcher* in Fessenheim, Haut-Rhin department, and *Forêt mémoire Anne Javouhey* in Chamblanc-Seurre and Jallanges, Côte d'Or department. In a letter to Zinsou, the conglomerate denied COFFAD and CRAN the legitimacy to partake in this process. This was a denial grounded on political considerations, as they painted these two associations as "racialist-communautarian-reparationnist (organizations) that miss no opportunity to attack and criticize France and its government."[36] As this charge reveals, for some occupants of the mnemonic field, legitimacy is contingent upon subscription to the republican doxa of integration: universalism and color-blindness. Lack thereof automatically disqualifies an organization from partaking in the selection of a site. Disagreement about the identity of the legitimate contributors to this selection is likely to stall the choice of a site for the memorialization of transatlantic slavery.

2) Legitimacy is, secondly, a question about the basic process of selecting a site for the FNME. As details of the consultation show, this project has divided the mnemonic field, resulting in the decision of a minority of individual actors and organizations to either turn down the invitation to participate in the consultation or voice their disagreement with the project. The consortium "La route des abolitions de l'esclavage" is among these organizations. Analysis of their position points first to the competition between two vi-

35 Abdoulaye Gueye, "The Labyrinth to Blackness: On Naming and Leadership in the Black Associative Space in France," *French Cultural Studies* 24, no. 2 (2013): 196–207.

36 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 110.

sions of the memory of slavery. One I call the territorially concentrated memory vision, and the other the regionally distributed memory vision. Translated into the project of creating a unique national site in one specific city, the former aligns with a certain pattern in the French Republic that often elevates the country's capital, Paris, as the legitimate, or even natural, location of every (symbolic) institution of the nation. Hosting the FNME in a Parisian building seems therefore consistent with the republic's concentration-driven approach. The regionally distributed memory vision, on the other hand, seems to build upon the sociological complexity of transatlantic slavery. It approaches slavery as a total, relational, and diffuse practice. Total in the sense that slavery is thus viewed as a practice with visible traces in all sectors of society, the political, economic, the cultural, etc. Relational because it involves a diversity of individuals of different conditions, who assume separate and various roles in the perpetuation or the dismantlement of the practice. And, finally, diffuse in the sense that the various individuals involved in the perpetuation or dismantlement of this practice act, speak, or mobilize for that purpose from a variety of geographical locations on French territory. Such a view of slavery as total, relational, and diffuse takes into account the experience and actions of slaves and slave-owners, of defenders of slavery and critics of the system. Considering the sociological complexity of slavery, any territorial concentration of the memory of slavery seems incongruous and unjustified according to the regionally distributed memory vision, even jeopardizing the legitimacy of a project built upon the vision of memory as territorially concentrated. The letter addressed to Zinsou by "La route des abolitions de l'esclavage" on October 30, 2016, clearly points to this clash of visions, as it disparages the promotion of the former vision as "totally disconnected from the reality of the national memorial model that exist for several decades" and advocates the regionally distributed memory vision, which it deems more legitimate and presents arbitrarily as "the one that has been put in place in France and has *naturally* imposed itself."[37]

3) Legitimacy is, thirdly, an issue raised regarding the identity of the site envisioned to host the FNME. Which site is more legitimate has been another question posed to actors within the mnemonic field. As it appears in the collected documents, a source of this legitimacy is primarily priority, revealing thereby that the disagreement between mnemonic organizations and actors is mostly what Robert K. Merton conceptualized in his sociology of the scientific field as a "priority dispute."[38] As this concept implies, precedence is supposed to lend legitimacy in the dispute for the function of a national memory site. In his written contribution to the design and planning commission whose in-person deliberations he did not attend, Jacques Martial, the first director of the Guade-

37 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 111.

38 Robert K. Merton, "Priority in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science," *American Sociological Review* 22, no. 6 (1957): 635–59.

loupe-located Memorial ACTe, inaugurated on May 10, 2015, with great fanfare by President Hollande, subtly disputes the relevance of consulting about the selection of a site by implying that the question is already solved with the existence of Memorial ACTe. He writes thus: "Memorial ACTe exists already, it is not necessary to build a new one, even in Paris. The regional, national, and international dimension of Memorial ACTe no longer needs to be certified."[39] In Martial's view, any site other than Memorial ACTe erected as the national embodiment of the memory of slavery would be illegitimate. While the legitimacy of the creation of a national foundation was the major point of contention of "Les routes des abolitions" with the design and planning commission, the "priority dispute" about the legitimacy of the envisioned national site is not totally absent from this conglomerate's discourse. The prioritization of any site located in Paris would equate with the negation of the relevance of sites in the provincial municipalities that "have historically been the pioneers of the memorial action and are still today the engines," according to their letter to Zinsou.[40] As this excerpt suggests, precedence in the mobilization within the mnemonic field, to which the notion of pioneer refers, is the condition for a site to legitimately house the FNME. The *Maison de la Négritude* in Champagney, the *Maison Abbé Grégoire* in Amberménil, the *Fort de Joux Toussaint Louverture* in Pontarlier, the *Forêt mémoire Anne-Marie Javouhey* in Chamblan Seurre-Jallanges, and the *Maison Victor Shœlcher* in Fessenheim were active sites of remembrance of slavery years before the French state elevated the commemoration of slavery as national cause, and before any of the sites located in Paris hosted occasionally or permanently events about the slave trade.

8 Capital to Secure and Capital to Invest

The selection of a single site to house the FNME is not exclusively contingent upon the outcome of the competition between mnemonic sites for legitimacy. It also depends on the mobilization of capital. Capital, in this context, manifests in various forms, including as professional occupation, financial funding, social fame and respectability, public activism, political reputation, and so on. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, though the memory of transatlantic slavery is a field in its own right – as it includes social agents, namely the mnemonic entrepreneurs positioned separately within the field, invested in the game of commemoration, and eager to claim leadership – it also intersects with other autonomous fields. A few explanations of this intersection are that: 1) the same agent can be part of both the mnemonic field and another field; 2) certain forms of capital that are decisive for the outcome of the relation of power within the mnemonic field are the prop-

39 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 94.
40 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 111.

erties of other fields, therefore obliging mnemonic entrepreneurs to reach out to agents in those fields.

The outcome of the design and planning commission's endeavors exposes the role of capital and the intersection of fields in the selection of the national site. As highlighted in a previous section, at the earliest stage of this mission, the majority of consultees concurred about the relevance and legitimacy of the Hôtel de la Marine to house the FNME. One could rightfully wonder how such a choice had won the largest consensus in a historical context marked by the manhandling and even toppling, in some extracontinental territories of the French Republic, of statues of Victor Schœlcher, with whom the abolition of slavery is associated. However, my focus dwells on the aftermath of these deliberations. Property of the French state under the management of the *Centre des Monuments Nationaux* (National Monuments Center, CMN), the Hôtel de la Marine lies in an autonomous field, that of national heritage buildings, and is therefore only accessible with the permission of key agents in this field. To secure the Hôtel de la Marine as the official site of the FNME, Zinsou, cognizant of the distribution of public authority and power, reached out to Philippe Bélaval, the director of the CMN. In response, Bélaval denied the request, arguing the inadequacy of the Hôtel de la Marine to host the FNME with its companion museum: "We cannot contemplate the use of this space and adjacent rooms for any mediation service regarding slavery. Besides, in sum, there is no space for any museal arrangement in the Hôtel."[41] However, Bélaval offered Zinsou the possibility to make the content that the FNME would eventually create remotely accessible and in-situ through the website of the Hôtel de la Marine.

Belaval's argument about the inadequacy of the Hotel de la Marine to host the FNME was revealed as dishonest by a decision he announced shortly afterward. Indeed, in the same month as the publication of Zinsou's report and less than six months after his correspondence with Zinsou, Bélaval informed the press of his imminent launch of an ambitious project of renovation of the Hôtel de la Marine and its transformation into a multipurpose site that would include a "museum of the gastronomic arts of the eighteenth-century (*un musée des arts de la table au XVIIIe siècle*)." This museum, he added, would attract in its first year of operation 600,000 visitors, and more in the consecutive years. Private law offices and other high-end business offices were expected.[42] Following up on Bélaval's plan, the renovation was completed in April 2021, and the new building inaugurated in June 2021.[43]

41 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 48.

42 Beaudouin Eschapasse, "Un nouveau musée, place de la Concorde, en 2019," *Le Point*, 29.03.2017. https://www.lepoint.fr/art-de-vivre/une-cite-de-la-gastronomie-a-paris-en-2019–29-03-2017-2115565_4.php [accessed 19.01.2023].

43 Martine Robert, "Réouvertures: l'hôtel de la Marine et les autres musées rénovés dans les starting-block," *Les Échos*, 28.04.2021. https://www.lesechos.fr/industrie-services/services-conseils/reouverture-lho

While striving to secure a location for the FNME, Zinsou sought to raise funds to ensure the viability of the foundation. Estimating the financial dotation necessary for its viability at 1.5 million euros, he lobbied private, public, and partially state-owned firms for financial contributions. Few firms answered his requests. The Banque de France, through a letter penned by its CEO, François Villeroy de Galhau, pledged the amount of 50,000 euros. However, in his correspondence dated November 28, 2016, the General Secretary of the SNCF Stephane Volant points to the "particularly tense economic context," before concluding thus: "I cannot therefore respond favorably to your request, and I deeply regret it."[44]

These interactions certify the intersection of the mnemonic field with the business field. They also evidence the need to secure various forms of capital (especially financial and land capital) to bring to fruition a mnemonic project. The outcomes of these interactions between the proponents of the project and interlocutors who control the forms of capital coveted by the former shed new light on the conditions for realizing such a project. What these outcomes reveal, indeed, is the relationship of quasi-dependency between the capital one needs and the capital one is likely to secure. Clearly, access to certain forms of capital requires investment of specific forms of capital.

Two separate developments merit consideration for the assessment of this argument. The first pertains to the difference of responses by the CMN between the earlier stage of its interaction with the proponents of the FNME and the later stage. As mentioned earlier, the initial request of the mission to turn a portion of the Hôtel de la Marine into the site of the FNME was denied by the CMN. Perhaps due to this refusal, 57 boulevard des Invalides served as the official location of the FNME during the first couple of years of its existence. However, the CMN eventually acceded to this request, and the Hôtel de la Marine thus became the location of the FNME in the spring 2021. The second is about the variation in the attitude of some firms solicited by the mission for financial contribution. The SNCF, for instance, responded negatively to the first letter of the mission requesting financial support. However, this firm appeared on the list of patrons of the FNME on the foundation's website. The question that arises from this observation is how to make sense of these two separate developments. Explanation thereof certainly requires the consideration of various elements, of which a key one is the effect of some forms of owned capital on one's capacity to influence one's interlocutors. Between the end of 2016 – that is the moment of the launch of the design and planning commission – and 2019, the project of creating the FNME has

tel-de-la-marine-et-les-autres-musees-renoves-dans-les-starting-blocks-1310641 [accessed 19.01.2023]. The hotel was scheduled to reopen in April, but due to the Covid-19-related lockdown, the decision was postponed to June 12, 2021. See, Cedric Pietralunga, "A Paris, l'hôtel de la Marine retrouve son lustre du XVIIIe," *Le Monde*, 13.03.2021. https://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2021/03/13/patrimoine-a-paris-l-hotel-de-la-marine-retrouve-son-lustre-du-xviiie_6073027_3246.html [accessed 19.01.2023].

44 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 136.

moved from the stewardship of Lionel Zinsou to that of Jean-Marc Ayrault. They are two men with a few similarities, but different and unequal capital. A dual citizen of France and Benin, Zinsou spent most of his career as an investment specialist in major international banks before concluding a one-year political stint (2016–2017) as the prime minister of Benin. As for Ayrault, he assumed the same political position in France under the presidency of François Hollande from 2012 to 2014. However, besides his ascension to that position, Ayrault claims a long and diverse political career as mayor of St-Herblain, a small town in western France, (1977–1989), and then as mayor of Nantes, a much larger city of about 300,000 people in the same region (1989–2012). He was elected as a member of the French Assembly (1986–2012), and made the minister of foreign affairs (2016–2017). At the helm of Nantes, a city also known for its active involvement in transatlantic slavery, Ayrault oversaw the creation of the *Memorial de l'abolition de l'esclavage*, one of the most important memorials devoted to slavery in France. Comparison of the capital of the two public figures suggests that thanks to the diversity of his political career as well as the symbolic capital owing to his early involvement in the mnemonic field, Ayrault was more likely than Zinsou to sway decision-makers such as the head of the CMN and the director of the SNCF toward a choice that is in-tune with his wishes. Due to the relationship between a prime minister in France and the CEOs of national or partially state-owned enterprises, who are nominated by decree following the meeting of the cabinet, and in light of the report submitted by the prime minister and the minister under whose authority this CEO will be placed, Ayrault arguably had developed closer ties with, and better knowledge of, the CEOs solicited to support the project of the FNME than did Zinsou.

9 Conclusion

For memory to survive, its embodiment in physical and visible objects is often a necessity. People of African descent's request to secure a physical site, and more specifically a national heritage building, to house a foundation and a companion museum of slavery is not only driven by their desire for recognition as a group belonging to France. It is also in line with the need for embodying memory to ensure its longevity and transmission. What this paper shows, however, is that the selection of a site for this purpose is fraught with high stakes. Consequently, it has become a contentious process. To begin with, the creation of a national memorial site is likely to overshadow the myriad of pre-existing memorials dedicated to transatlantic slavery in various and mostly provincial corners of France. Even beyond the possibility of overshadowing them, this national site could threaten their existence by diminishing their attractivity; and attractivity translates into the financial capital that a museum needs to ensure its continuity. The representatives of Memorial ACTe consulted by the de-

sign and planning commission drove this home when they openly expressed to the latter their "fear [. . .] to see the future foundation compete with MACTe."[45] Secondly, protagonists involved in the memorialization of transatlantic slavery are faced with actors who are exterior to this dynamic yet happen sometimes to vie for the same public goods. The failure of the foreshadowing mission led by Zinsou to secure the Hôtel de la Marine is partly the result of this competition with the head of an institution who planned to use the same building for a different purpose. Thirdly, within the groups of mnemonic protagonists, arriving at consensus on the appropriateness of a specific site to embody the memory of slavery is anything but easy. This is mostly because the past is reinterpreted differently by these actors according to their own interests and their ideological outlook. Ultimately, the final selection of a site also depends on the amount and nature of the capital that competing actors are able to mobilize. The early failure of the foreshadowing mission under Zinsou to convince some firms to pledge their financial support, while Ayrault succeeded in that effort, is partly the result of an inequality of capital between these two actors. Barely known in the political and mnemonic fields of France, Zinsou could not claim an equal influence on political actors and mnemonic activists to that of Ayrault, who has spent over twenty years at the heart of the national political sphere and oversaw the construction of one of the most emblematic memorials dedicated to transatlantic slavery in metropolitan France.

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45 Zinsou, *Mémoire de l'esclavage, devoir d'avenir*: 138.

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Artwell Cain

The Cultural Heritage Dilemma of Afro-Dutch Youth

1 Introduction

In this paper, I briefly review the general representation of the past of Dutch slavery and the reckoning that still must happen on various levels in Dutch society. Further, I look at the role being played by Afro-Dutch youth in this framework. This point of departure entails that a closer look is given to Dutch cultural heritage in relation to past slavery, monuments, and other memorials. The combination of their religious, cultural, economic, socio-political, and identity history of denial, as well as the current interaction with the descendants of those who were enslaved and colonized in the Caribbean, is here of utmost significance. The paper establishes that the Afro-Caribbean youth 'sense of belonging' in the Netherlands is connected to the Dutch slavery narrative, and the representation thereof, which influences the way they identify as citizens of the Netherlands.

The notion of slavery commemoration in the Netherlands being a shared experience has been challenged.[1] How can this be a shared experience when thoughts regarding heritage, the cost of racism, and the ugliness of trans-Atlantic and chattel slavery are exclusively engraved in the being and memory of the descendants of the Maafa?[2] The Maafa, as defined by Karenga, is still with us today in the Netherlands. I do not pretend that concepts used to describe the African- American experience in the United States are not applicable to Afro-Dutch persons living in the Netherlands. The major difference between the pasts of American and Dutch slavery, and the heritage thereof, is the fact that the American version was planned and executed in the United States, while the Dutch version was planned and financed in the Netherlands but took place in Dutch Caribbean territories. The chief similarity in both regimes is

1 Since 2002, after the National Institute of Dutch Slavery and its heritage (NiNsee) came into being, many Dutch government ministers and local political representatives have visited the Keti Koti (broken chains) Festival, which then became official. Frequently in their keynote speeches, they will speak about the shared history of Dutch slavery. This could be interpreted as the colonizer and the colonized being together in the same narrative. Certainly, the experiences were established, but they were not parallel. The colonisers and the colonized did not/do not bear the same responsibility.

2 Maulana Karenga puts slavery in the broader context of the Maafa, suggesting that its effect exceed mere physical persecution and legal disenfranchisement: the "destruction of human possibility involved redefining African humanity to the world, poisoning past, present, and future relations with others who only know us through this stereotyping and thus damaging the truly human relation among peoples."

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the given that the enslaved were commodified and thingified; at all junctures, efforts were made to rob them of their humanity while they delivered free labour.[3]

In the United States, while the institution of chattel slavery nestled itself in certain areas, especially in the country's southern states, it was nonetheless ever imbedded in history, culture, and body politics. The Netherlands was the space where the planning and codifying of laws, the blessing, measuring, fortifying, and accommodating of the enslavement of Africans was conducted.[4] The enslaved were held, or more accurately incarcerated, in Surinam in South America and in the former Dutch Antilles.[5] These were quite different spaces than the United States not only in terms of geography, but also in terms of viewing chattel slavery from within the perimeters of the country. The indifference to what was happening in the Dutch territories is, to a certain extent, still evident today. The general talking point of many white Dutch citizens is that it happened many years ago in a distant location.

The descendants of those enslaved and colonized were treated by the colonizers, their henchmen and women, and the public as sub-humans. Their presence was seen through the lens of "othering." This means viewing and seeing them through the templates of white supremacy. The white, or European, group was deemed better than the others on the false basis of race and colour. This was an ideology that started in the seventeenth century to reinforce the colonial project.[6] This compartmentalization is still discernable today, albeit in a more subtle way. The reality of African Americans and Afro-Dutch people in the Dutch Caribbean was/is comparable to living in parallel worlds (Europe and the Caribbean), but ones that were nevertheless intertwined in the context of modernity/coloniality.

3 Artwell Cain, "Decoloniality of Memory and Anti-Black Racism," in *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Kingdom*, ed. Melissa F. Weiner and Antonio Carmona Baez (Washington: Lexington Books, 2018): 175–84.

4 Kwame Nimako and Glenn Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation* (London: Pluto Press, 2011); Radjinder Bhagwanbali, *Hindoestaanse migranten onder het indentured Labour systeem naar Suriname, 1873–1916* (Den Haag: Amrit, 2010).

5 Artwell Cain, "Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?" *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4, no. 3 (2015): 227–42.

6 Ramon Grosfoguel, *Colonial Subjects Puerto Ricans Subjects in a Global Perspective* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2003); Walter Mignolo, "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and De-Colonial Freedom," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 7–8 (2009): 1–23; Dienke Hondius, "Black Dutch Voices: Reports from a Country that Leaves Racism Unchallenged," in *Dutch Racism*, ed. Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014): 273–93; Sandew Hira, *Decolonizing the mind een fundamentele kritiek op het wetenschappelijke kolonialisme* (Den Haag: Amrit, 2009); Frank Dragtenstein, *'Alles voor de vrede' De brieven van Boston Band tussen 1757 en 1763* (Den Haag: Amrit, 2010); Melissa Weiner, "(E)Racing Slavery: Racial Neoliberalism, Social Forgetting and Scientific Colonialism in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks," *DuBois Review* 11 (2014): 329–51.

In a comparative way, the descendants of enslaved Africans were/are seen and classified by the authorities, the white population, and others as a problem.[7] Since 2002, after the National Institute of Dutch Slavery and Its Legacy (NiNsee) came into being, many Dutch government ministers and local political representatives have visited commemoration gatherings and the Keti Koti (broken chains) festival annually, which has become official: frequently in their keynote speeches, they speak about the shared history of Dutch slavery. In private and public spaces in the Netherlands, there is still a qualified perpetuation of denial regarding the ravages and atrocities visited on the ancestors of young Afro-Dutch people. The physical, psychological, and spiritual effects of the past of Dutch slavery were/are generally experienced within the context of race, color, and, lately, class. The colonists and their selected helpers were generally sheltered from the suffering and displacement. They deemed themselves to be on the right side of what Du Bois referred to as the notorious color line. This conceptualization of race relations at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States is still with us in the Netherlands in the twenty-frist century.[8]

To illustrate the memory of Dutch Trans-Atlantic slavery and its heritage work, I will partially resort to empirical findings. The information was gathered from a small study I conducted in 2014. This pertained to the identification, integration, and representation of young Afro-Dutch people in the Netherlands and was done with the objective of finding out the thoughts, mindset, and attitudes of young Afro-Dutch people as these related to their sense of being and sense of belonging in Dutch society.[9] The vast majority of the 28 participants with whom I spoke were born and grew up in the Netherlands. There were five of direct African descent (children of asylum seekers from African countries) who nevertheless had Dutch nationality. In total, the group of participants was made up of 13 males and 15 females. The representation of how young Afro-Dutch people view the Netherlands and their place in it is presented in terms of their words and meanings pertaining to memorials, commemorations of the abolition of slavery, integration, identification, and representation.

7 Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon, eds., *A Companion to African-American Studies* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2007).

8 W.E.B. Du Bois, "W.E.B. Du Bois' Writings – The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, The Souls of Black Folks, Dusk of Dawn, and Classic Essays and Articles," in *The Library of American Press*, ed. N.I. Huggins (New York: Library of America, 1986); Cain, "Decoloniality of Memory and Anti-Black Racism."

9 A completed manuscript relating to the findings of this study is pending and will hopefully be published in 2023.

2 Memorials and Commemoration

There are a limited number of monuments, statues, landmarks, symbols, and places of remembrance in the Netherlands in relation to the past of Dutch slavery and its heritage. In places like Amsterdam (in that case two), Rotterdam, and Vlissingen, these were not paid for and built by the Afro-Dutch community, but by town councils. The Anton de Kom monument in southeast Amsterdam is of a different kind, in that it pays respect and remembrance to a Surinam/Dutch fighter for human rights. He was also the author of the book *We Slaves of Surinam*, published in 1934, which was a sensation and is presently part of the Dutch historiographical canon of slavery. De Kom's book was not only an indictment of the savagery through which black and brown people were living during Dutch colonialism: it was also a call to more structural resistance and freedom from mental slavery. That the Afro-Dutch community has not empowered itself to setup and have their own slavery monuments is problematic. The national slavery monument in Oosterpark, Amsterdam, is contested. It was born out of grassroots initiative, but, due to invited government intervention and financing, was apprehended by the local Amsterdam government and became an integration project. It has presently evolved into what Kardux refers to as an object in the context of 'diasporic communities of memory'.[10] Oosterpark is open to everyone, and so too is the national slavery monument.

This monument was unveiled on July 1, 2003: "the chosen site of the monument was highly controversial in the Afro-Dutch community. Most people favoured a more prestigious and central location, preferably Dam Square, where the National World War II Monument is located."[11] The Dutch government did not concede to the wishes of the descendants of the enslaved. In 1863, when the moment came for the abolition of their slavery, it was the merchants, slaveholders, and other lost property claimants who were compensated.[12] The ex-enslaved still await reparations or some other form of compensation. One of the most vocal groups calling for reparation remains the National Platform for the Dutch Remembrance of Slavery, which has been in the mix since the 1990s with Barryl Biekman as chairperson. This platform, as an activist group, was, to a certain extent, the leading body in convincing the Dutch government to render acknowledgement and financing to the movement: "the Dutch government's support nationalized and politized the slavery memorial movement."[13]

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10 Johanna C. Kardux, "Slavery, Memory, and Citizenship in Transatlantic Perspective," in *American Multiculturalism after 9/11*, ed. Derek Rubin and Jaap Verheul (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009): 171.

11 Kardux, "Slavery, Memory, and Citizenship": 174.

12 Cf. Susan Legene, *Spiegelreflex Culturele sporen van de koloniale ervaring* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010); Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*; Ulbe Bosma, "European Colonial Soldiers in the Nineteenth Century: Their Role in White Global Migration and Patterns of Colonial Settlement," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 2 (2009): 317–36; and Bhagwanbali, *Hindoestaanse migranten.*

13 Kardux, "Slavery, Memory, and Citizenship": 172.

It stands to reason that due to a lack of economic clout, accumulated wealth, political influence, and network skills, the Afro-Dutch community has not risen to the challenge of setting up their own monuments. Another complicated issue is which of the previously enslaved freedom fighters from Surinam or the formerly Dutch Antilles should be honoured with a shrine and or monument. Should it be Tula (a Curacao freedom fighter), Kwakoe (a Surinam freedom fighter), Boni, or someone else? Or should it be a selection of various ex-enslaved Africans who fought for the emancipation of the enslaved?[14] Although other options are available, there are also many constraints related to financing and locating a particular space and place in the Netherlands for such memorials.

The non-existence of meaningful and prominent memorials set up by the Afro-Dutch community in the Netherlands means that the Afro-Dutch must resort to other ways of commemorating their freedom fighters and heroes (male and female). Hence, they and their descendants, in their search for ways of remembering and commemorating, have chosen to rely on memories, oral histories, folk stories, and chronicles of their past. Next to these, they have institutions of resistance.[15] These are the closest they can get to authenticity and claiming the right to tell their own stories. According to my interpretation of Frantz Fanon's teachings, a regular historical account that is not decolonized can never present a balanced version of the reality of the enslaved and their descendants. If the colonist tells the story, it will remain a narrative from the perspective of the exploiter. Not unlike the absence of monuments, stories from the descendants of Dutch enslaved are not widely available, at least not in mainstream society.

In 2021, the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam embarked on a new exhibition called 'Slavery', the first of its kind at this renowned museum. With its subtitle 'Our Past Slavery', the distinction of this slavery exhibition from others was the representation and presentation of ten enslaved persons with their own stories. These were located in Surinam, the Dutch Antilles, Indonesia, Brazil, and a few other places. Nonetheless, the whole exercise was centralized through the lenses of eurocentrism. The Dutch are yet to take responsibility for what they did and offer some sort of reparations.[16]

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14 Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*; Cain, "Decoloniality of Memory and Anti-Black Racism."

15 Cf. Dragtenstein, *'Alles voor de vrede'*; Mitchell Esajas, "Untold Histories and New Waves of Black Resistance in the Netherlands," in *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Kingdom*, ed. Melissa F. Weiner and Antonio Carmona Baez (Washington: Lexington Books, 2018): 3–15; Philomena Essed, *Alledaagse Racisme* (Amsterdam: Feministische Uitgeverij Sara, 1984); Philomena Essed and Sandra Trienekens, "'Who Wants to Feel White?' Race, Dutch Culture, and Contested Identities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1 (2008): 52–72; Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Hira, *Decolonizing the Mind*.

16 Kwame Nimako, "Layers of Emancipation Struggles: Some Reflections on the Dutch Case," in *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Kingdom*, ed. Melissa F. Weiner and Antonio Carmona Baez (Washington: Lexington Books, 2018): 97–112; Guno Jones "'Activism' and the Afterlives of Dutch Colonialism," in *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Lingdom*, ed. Melissa F. Weiner and Antonio Carmona Baez (Washington: Lexington Books, 2018): 161–74.

Cath Pound wrote an article for the BBC website *Culture* entitled "How the Dutch are Facing up to Their Colonial Past."[17] The title is as laughable, as it is misleading. As far as I know, this statement propagandizing that the Dutch are facing up to their colonial past is not totally correct. I will argue that the Dutch are still engrossed in denial.[18] This denial is not only in terms of the profit they made from the buying and selling of Africans, but also their fundamental role in the Maafa. Another issue where denial plays a prominent role is systemic racism in Dutch society. The exhibition at the Rijksmuseum is a welcome contribution toward sharing knowledge with white Dutch and others and making a case for the (re)education of many relating to past slavery and its heritage.[19] This could create understanding and a willingness to have a profound conversation about reparations in relation to abuses and exploitation during transatlantic and chattel slavery.

3 Integration and Sense of Belonging

As mentioned earlier, the information gathered from young Afro-Dutch people, the descendants of enslaved from Surinam, Curacao, Aruba, St. Maarten, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, and Saba, will be now presented. Here I look at what Oostindie refers to as "postcolonial migrants."[20] However, in this case, the descendants of these 'postcolonial migrants' are not migrants: even though a few were born outside the Netherlands, they nevertheless grew up there. The same can be said of participants with a direct link to an African country. I focus on what young Afro-Dutch people had to say about their integration within the Netherlands and, *per* definition, their relation and interaction with the Dutch. This includes the way in which they viewed themselves within or outside the context of 'othering'.

In the study with these young people, the point of departure was to explore their thoughts on Dutch slavery in the Caribbean, migration, identity, identification, integration, race and racism, representation, and the future of multicultural society. The goal was to show what these aforementioned sociological talking points mean to them and how they cope and live with their effects. They were/are repetitively confronted with some of these themes through government policies and in the general behaviour

17 Cath Pound, "How the Dutch are Facing up to Their Colonial Past (2021)" https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20210601-how-the-dutch-are-facing-up-to-their-colonial-past [accessed 17.01.2023].

18 Artwell Cain, "Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?" *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4, no. 3 (2015): 227–42.

19 Wekker, *White Innocence*; Nimako, "Layers of Emancipation Struggles."

20 His historical analysis is that postcolonial subjects bring their background into the debate pertaining to what it means to be Dutch, the routes they are taking via their own organisations to address this subject, and what he classifies as identity politics. See Gert Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland; Vijfenzestig jaar vergeten, herdenken, verdringen* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2010): 70.

of others in streets, schools, institutions, and places of employment. This study was an alternative way for them to tell their own stories.

These topics are not widely studied in the Netherlands, although migration and integration are permanent features of certain research projects related to government policies. As far as I am aware, there are no structural courses, such as ethnic or racism studies, available for students to choose from. Most of these themes are not touched upon because of the continued denial of racism in the Netherlands.[21] The central trope in literature and teaching in educational institutions is of a racism-free society. Yet, the mundane reality of everyday racism has implications for their 'civic integration'.[22] In recent years, partly due to the Black Lives Matter movement and other developments, more people are finding it more difficult to remain in denial regarding racism.

According to Bonjour, Dutch politicians turned to 'individual responsibility' in the issue of integration which meant that migrants are required to pay for their own civic education and integration.[23] 'More than "active" citizenship, government now aimed to promote "common citizenship," in which assimilation to the basic values and norms of society became more central.'[24] The 'other', whether born and bred in the Netherlands or not, is expected to fend for themselves within a sub-structure created exclusively to fix them and make them worthy of belonging to Dutch society.[25]

The attitude of politicians to migrants and the 'other' is best illustrated by the current prime minister, Mark Rutte, who has been in this position for about eleven years: he is an illustrative example of the civic integration policy in the twenty-first century.

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21 Cf. Essed and Trienekens, "'Who Wants to Feel White?'"; Philomena Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991); Hondius, "Black Dutch Voices"; Wekker, *White Innocence*; Weiner, "(E)Racing Slavery"; Artwell Cain and Deniece Wijdenbosch, "Mechanisms of Exclusion of People of African Descent in the Netherlands" (Amsterdam: Free University, 2017 [unpublished]).

22 Even though the Dutch government officially rejected multiculturalism in 2004, that policy decision did not change much on the sociological level. Almost everyone continued to speak and write about multicultural society, albeit in terms of 'civic integration'. See Frank de Zwart, "Targeted Policy in Multicultural Societies: accommodation, denial, and replacement," in *International Social Science Journal* 1 (2005): 155–64; Karen Borevi, "Dimensions of Citizenship. European Integration Policies form a Scandinavian Perspective," Paper Prepared for the Fifth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics (Porto, June 23–26, 2010); Monique Kremer, *The Netherlands: From National Identity to Plural Identity* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2013); and Saskia Bonjour, "Governing Diversity: Dutch Political Parties' Preferences on the Role of the State in Civic Integration Policies," *Citizen Studies* 17, no. 6–7 (2013): 837–51.

23 Bonjour, "Governing Diversity."

24 Peter Scholten and Roland Holzhacker, "Bonding, Binding, and Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands: Changing Discourses in a Changing Nation," in *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no. 1 (2009): 95.

25 The concept of fixing is another way of categorizing or even explaining the obsession of wanting migrants and their children to integrate into Dutch society as a second class. The notion of the government is that they are broken and have to be fixed to belong.

In 2015, the prime minister stated that the solution to the discrimination of the *allochtoon*, the concept used to describe the 'other' in the Netherlands, is in their own hands. He went on to say that these people must fight their way into Dutch society.[26] Two years later, he made a sharp shift to the right when he published a full-page warning to immigrants, advising them to 'be normal or be gone'.[27] In other words, they should change their attitudes and behave with gratitude to the Dutch within the created integration structure or leave.

Young Afro-Dutch people in the Netherlands are generally not migrants, even though their parents might be: nevertheless, they are categorized in the integration discourse as such. They unofficially have the status of ambiguous citizens. Being an ambiguous citizen means that, *per* definition, one will always struggle to fit in. In terms of integration, the young people were asked to express in their own words what this term means to them and how notions of integration affect them and their opportunities in their daily lives. Subsequently, they also spoke about their steps toward upward social mobility in Dutch society.[28]

From the group of 28 participants in the 2017 project, only five said they were integrated. Others believed that the concept of integration as being wasted on them. They were born and reared in the Netherlands. They asked: wherein are they supposed to be further integrated? Two participants went further in their thoughts regarding integration: they remarked that to be integrated apparently means to be white, so they are not and will not be integrated, because they are not white. In other words, they refuse to go along with the general idea that the 'other' is defective and needs to be fixed via the policies and actions of the government.

The everyday emphasis on the integration of the immigrant and their children in Dutch society loses credibility when one considers that a historical narrative of the Dutch that does not include slavery heritage is not complete. The Black Pete controversy[29] is another significant point: in recent years this was heavily contested as a

26 Zoë Boven, "Invechten op arbeidsmarkt? Graag," www.nrc.nl news, 14.04.2015, https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/04/14/invechten-op-arbeidsmarkt-graag-1486371-a1344221 [accessed 17.01.2023].

27 This statement was carried by the media in the Netherlands and in various newspapers in the UK. See www.telegraph.co.uk, 23.01.2017.

28 Cf. Artwell Cain, *Social Mobility of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands: The Peculiarities of Social Class and Ethnicity* (Delft: Eburon, 2007).

29 Black Pete is part and parcel of a national festival that takes place annually. Activities are organized from around September, when it is claimed that St. Nicholas and his servants arrive by boat in the Netherlands to take naughty children with him in a bag back to Spain. This cultural heritage story was started in 1850 by a Dutch teacher, who ostensibly was trying to enhance white supremacy. The festival has gone through changes over the years. Children receive gifts on December 5, which is the last day of the festival. Many in Dutch society, especially over the last 25 years, have viewed the image of this white man on his horse followed by black faced helpers as offensive and dehumanizing to black and brown people. In the last years there are yearly confrontations between pro and anti-Black Pete demonstrators and the police. However, contributions are made by activists, politicians, research-

Dutch fundamental value and cultural relic, one that will not be accepted by immigrants with a connection to the African diaspora.[30] The whole idea of identifying with the Netherlands becomes even more problematic when national identity is leaning towards Dutchness and has no regard for the interests of immigrants and their offspring, who may have been born and raised in the Netherlands. This also raises the question of whether the Dutch were ever serious in the first place about being at one with immigrants. At the same time, not all immigrants have to be or want to be integrated and assimilated: they may be in transit to another country.[31] The present question is how young Afro-Dutch people define their experience.

In the case of many young Afro-Dutch people, it seems that the phenomenon of ambiguous citizenship is unintentionally encouraged, sustained, and even accepted. The tenet is that a so-called *allochtoon* will never become a natural Dutch person. Integration means one must become Dutch.[32] However, if one is not European or Dutch white, one cannot become Dutch. Grosfoguel cites Gilroy, who points out that "Black and British were incompatible notions."[33] The issue at hand here is whether this perception is also applicable to being black and Dutch. The participants were asked to react to the following question: "What does integration mean to you?" A female respondent with cultural roots in Eritrea had the following remarks about integration:

> To me, integration means who am I, what I am, and how I live within this system. For a long period of two years, I tried to become a Dutch woman. In that period, I became aware of what it meant to become Dutch. I was doing my best to leave my mother's culture behind me. However, I met a white Dutch woman who was an anthropologist and who critiqued Dutch culture for its rejection of the agency of the migrant: it is then that my eyes became open. It is also from that moment that I have been working and trying to find a balance between my two cultures.

Her answer can be contrasted with that of another female respondent, whose parents came from Surinam and got their memories of chattel slavery via their ancestors but nevertheless settled in the Netherlands in the 1970s, a few years before the independence of Surinam in 1975. This was a period when a great number of families and individuals who had Dutch nationality opted for migration instead of remaining in that country. In this mass migration, there were persons from all walks of life in terms of education, occupation, social class, race, and ethnic background. In the words of Grosfogue, the periphery

ers, and the police to this series of events, which last until St. Nicholas leaves the Netherlands on December 6 and returns to Spain (see Wekkers, *White Innocence*; Weiner, "(E)Racing Slavery"; Cain, "Decoloniality of Memory and Anti-Black Racism").

30 In 2020, in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic and demonstrations of the Black Lives Matter group in various cities in the Netherlands, it appeared that love for the Black Pete festivities was waning.

31 Michel Wieviorka, "A Critique of Integration," in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 21, no. 6 (2014): 633–41.

32 Kremer, *The Netherlands.*

33 Grosfoguel, *Colonial Subjects*.

came to meet the centre.[34] Even though practices of coloniality were quickly reproduced, the centre was not prepared to welcome the periphery. These (Dutch) immigrants were seen and treated as a 'problem'. This participant below defined integration in the following manner: "Integration means to me that I must find my way in this society and that I will always retain a piece of myself. It does not mean giving up certain aspects of my identity. I am who I am. We must meet each other half way. However, I want to feel accepted."

The above answer from this young lady is representative of the thoughts of many when thinking and speaking about their own integration. On the one hand, they want to be seen and treated as normal, but, due to perceived rejection, their instinct is to rebel against the system that seeks to oppress them. Nevertheless, they want to be accepted as Dutch, albeit not white Dutch. By classifying the answers given to the question "When does one feel integrated?", the following pattern with four distinctive markers was formulated. These four were: (1) a sense of acceptance; (2) arrival: the feeling that he/she has made it; (3) having a non-critical attitude; and (4) on your way to becoming self-reliant. There were 14 participants who claimed that when a migrant is accepted by the Dutch, he/she can be seen as someone who is integrated. Five people claimed that one is integrated when he/she has the feeling that he/she has arrived in the sense of upward social mobility. Five other participants were sure that it was all to do with having a non-critical attitude toward the Dutch and their culture. There were also four participants who believed one can only feel integrated when one is in a position of wealth and social status, thus being seen as self-reliant. All these four categories are conditional to the extent that they are not fixed. A person can ostensibly move from one category to another or even be placed in multiple categories. Take, for example, the category of acceptance. One participant stated: "this is when the migrant or his child has attained a social position in society where he feels he is accepted. That is integration. At the same time, he must find a balance between the place where he is and the retention of his own identity."

4 Identity and Identification

According to Sneed, Schwartz, and Cross, the process of ethnic and racial identity development is not a static phenomenon, but rather one that continues throughout life.[35] Other scholars are of the conviction that it "is through group identification that individu-

34 Grosfoguel, *Colonial Subjects*.

35 Joel R. Sneed, Seth J. Schwartz and William Cross Jr, "A Multicultural Critique of Identity Status Theory and Research: A Call for Integration," in *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 6, no. 1 (2006): 61–84.

als develop a social identity."[36] The participants were asked about what they understood by identity and what it meant to them personally. They were asked to self-identify regarding their race, ethnicity, or any other concept with which they have affinity.

One participant collapsed identity into a construction of nationality and ethnicity and chose Surinam, and not the Netherlands, as her country of birth. She was not alone in making this specific choice connected to Surinam. This could be seen as a case of conscious epistemological disobedience.[37] Strangely enough, Surinam is not an ethnicity, it is a nationality. Surinam consists of various ethnicities. They also expanded on their knowledge of the way identity and identification are spoken about in their own families and friendship circles.

Participants were asked to define what they thought identity is or ought to be. Additionally, they were requested to state what identity means to them on personal and other levels. All 28 participants were also asked to classify themselves in terms of race and ethnicity. Five choose Surinamese, sometimes with or without Creole roots. One saw herself as a human being with Surinamese roots who lives in Rotterdam. Seven others classified themselves as black. Three went for African. From the five participants with a direct link to an African country via their parents, three choose African, one said she was East African black, and one male participant defined himself as Ghanaian-Dutch. Another three participants believed they are Afro-Caribbean Dutch. One participant chose Aruban-Dutch. Another said she was Curacao-Dutch. One male participant referred to himself as brown and a female claimed to be confused. When the one who said she was confused was asked to classify herself in terms of race and ethnicity, this is what she said:

> I said a long time ago that I am a mixed-race person. People (especially white people) keep asking me where are you from? Then I will say in a jovial manner that I am from the Netherlands, but that is not what they want to hear. I experience it to be very strange that this question is so frequently asked. Then I explain that my mother is white Dutch and my father is from Curacao. I will then also say that I am a mix. I think it is difficult for me to choose because of my mother and the place I was born. If I was born in Curacao, I will call myself Curacaoan. However, when I am in Curacao, I see myself as Dutch and I am treated by others there as a Dutch tourist.

To her, this is a dilemma. She is struggling regarding knowing which side of her identity she ought to give salience to. At the same time, she evaluates someone who is Dutch as being white. She sees her mother as being Dutch, but not herself. She was content to realize that she possesses various identities, and the one with which she is most comfortable might be the one that represents her most fully. At the same time, who and what you think you are is not totally complete because the other might see you otherwise.

36 Yvonne Leeman and Sawitri Saharso, "Coming of Age in Dutch Schools," in *Issues of Schooling Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (2013): 11–30.

37 Cf. Mignolo, "Epistemic Disobedience."

5 Conclusions

In terms of the past of Dutch slavery and its heritage, one of the most confusing issues for young Afro-Dutch people is where to draw a line between their identification as descendants of (once) enslaved Africans and their cultural connection to the European Dutch. On the one hand, most of what they are was created under the auspices of Dutch colonial rule in the Caribbean and the Netherlands; on the other, their liberation ambition is an ongoing process. That there are no memorials built in a concrete sense by their ancestors is an issue with which they struggle. On the other hand, they are prepared in the Netherlands to commemorate the Maafa or even celebrate the advances made in the face of obstacles such as white supremacy and systemic racism, which are all elements powering their identity dilemma.

Even though there have been some openings in recent years to listen to the voices of the Afro-Dutch community when it comes to their combined slavery past and heritage, the engagement, as perceived by the Afro-Dutch, has been one-sided. The Dutch, operating in their cocoon of denial and haughtiness, have generally remained at a distance. On many occasions, the silence is still perceptible. The Dutch government offered in 2001 to finance a statue (the slavery monument in Oosterpark, Amsterdam). Its other initiative was NiNsee in 2002. This was to be a dynamic institution, created to do research, inform, and educate the public, researchers, and students about the past of slavery, as well as to organize an annual commemoration for the abolition of Dutch slavery on July 1, 1863, coupled with the Keti Koti festival.

The writer of this paper was the director of NiNsee between 2009 and 2013. This dynamic monument was, to say the least, an example of porousness in government policy, especially when it came to maintaining the functionality and dynamism of this monument. It did not matter how much research was done, how many publications there were, or how many persons were reached by various events and activities: the government's promise of longevity was just a political ploy.[38] The central government reduced the funding of NiNsee in 2012 to the mere minimum when preparations were being made to commemorate and celebrate 150 years of the abolition of Dutch slavery in the Caribbean in 2013. On July 1, 2012, a more cynical offering could not have been made when Prime Minister Mark Rutte came to read the 'obituary' of NiNsee.

Many young Afro-Dutch citizens, especially those in the bigger cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague, were familiar with the writings, messaging, and activities of NiNsee. In the absence of memorials built by their people in the Netherlands, NiNsee was assisting in placing emphasis on institutions of resistance, memories, and creating a path for building a post-multicultural society. Many were astonished that the government saw fit to reduce the progressive and productive thoughts of all those around NiN-

38 Cf. Jones, "'Activism' and the Afterlives of Dutch Colonialism"; Nimako, "Layers of Emancipation Struggles."

see, especially the grassroots organizations dreaming of having an own institution pertaining to the commemoration of past slavery. Other old hands knew differently: they had followed over the years the development of various projects, apparently meant for young people with a Caribbean connection, that were killed before they could grow: for example, the stimulation projects for Antillean youths (1994–1999) and other labour-related and training projects aimed at migrant youths.[39] These, too, were short lived not because of incompetence or a lack of results, but due to the political currents of the day. Feeling integrated and identifying with the Dutch is, for the time being, still a bridge too far. A central question is how are these Afro-Dutch citizens looked at in society: are they insiders or outsiders? This remains a dilemma when they notice that the Dutch are moving from denial and silence towards a (mis)apprehension of their stories.

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39 Artwell Cain, "Ambiguous Citizenship as Impediment to Social Mobility in the Netherlands: The Case of Afro-Caribbean Dutch in the Netherlands," *Journal of Contemporary Thought* (2010): 151–56.

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Lizbeth J. Chaviano Pérez

The Stamp of Slavery on Nineteenth-Century Spanish Urbanism

1 Introduction

In 1994, UNESCO presented the flagship project "Slave Route Project: Resistance, Liberty, Heritage" in Ouidah, Benin. Spain was included, since nearly two million enslaved Africans disembarked in peninsular ports between 1450 and 1750, while more than one million went directly to its American colonies between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[1] One of this project's objectives was straightforward: to honestly address – instead of ignoring – a recent and painful past that could only provoke moral condemnation so as to generate cathartic and liberating values.[2] Indeed, the imprint left by slavery and the slave trade on Spanish culture, society, and economy has been disregarded or downplayed in Spanish collective memory. And although there is an ample and important bibliography on the ways in which slavery and the slave trade informed different aspects of Spanish peninsular society,[3] the traces left by slavery in the peninsula after the trade was illegalized between 1817 and 1867 remain understudied.

In these pages, I sketch the role played in the Spanish economy by the fortunes accumulated in activities closely intertwined with slavery and/or the slave trade in Cuba.[4] At the end of the 1840s, such capital was being transferred to the United States, Great Britain, France, and, of course, Spain.[5] Ángel Bahamonde and José Cayuela pub-

1 These numbers were gathered from data available in *Slave Voyages,* slavevoyages.org [accessed 29.01.2021]. To these must be added all those Africans who perished at sea, whether in the *middle passage* or the *final passage*.

2 Unesco, *Legados de la esclavitud. Una guía para la administración de sitios e itinerarios de memoria* (Paris: Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la ciencia y la Cultura, 2019), https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000369705 [accessed 28.02.2023]: 3.

3 Alessando Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: EFESS, 2000); Rafael Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chávez, eds., *La esclavitud en el sur de la península ibérica, siglos XV al XVII* (Madrid: Catarata, 2021).

4 For a general summary on this subject, see Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez, "Las huellas de la esclavitud en Madrid a través de los senadores, s. XIX," in Del olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 39–62.

5 Ángel Bahamonde and José Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas. Las élites coloniales españolas en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992): 53.

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lished a study in 1992 in which they revealed the magnitude of the capital transferred to Spain, estimating the patrimony of Spanish-Cuban elites between 1840 and 1890 at 2,224,856,028 *reales de vellón*. In this article, I focus my attention on the capital that came from Cuba and was invested in the urban real estate sector. At least 501,700,758 *reales de vellón*, that is, nearly 25% of the capital of Spanish-Cuban elites, were invested in this sector, the greater part (477,199,579) between 1869 and 1890.[6]

Since 1837, peninsular Spain – where the liberal regime was increasingly consolidated and free labor was the norm – coexisted with, and even depended upon, overseas Spanish territories (Cuba and Puerto Rico), where the work and illicit commerce of enslaved Africans continued generating enormous benefits. The adoption of a bicameral parliamentary system (*Cortes Generales* and senate) opened attractive opportunities for men with close links to slavery and the slave trade who decided to relocate to the peninsula. These men and women, who had gone to the Americas penniless or not particularly affluent only to return wealthy, were referred to in the peninsula as *indianos*. They could, and did, defend their political and economic interests more efficiently from the center of political power, while increasing the profitability of their capital by investing it in promising sectors of the Spanish economy.

2 Madrid, Political Center

I will begin with Madrid, a city in which the traces left by the enslaved and the slave trade between the sixteenth and the early nineteenth century were, almost without exception, buried under the spirit of renovation that characterized Madrid's urbanism during the second half of the nineteenth century.[7] This happened with the *Calle de los negros* (street of the blacks), whose existence was documented until 1861, and the site of the *Arca de las negras* (ark of the black women), both of which disappeared due to the transformations undergone by the city,[8] a process of urban renewal in which capital accumulated in Cuba was skillfully invested. Of the men who invested this capital, I have chosen to focus on the *indianos* who were designated senators throughout the period in question.

To be eligible for a senate seat, an adult Spanish male had to be able to demonstrate a particular annual income – the precise amount varied according to the constitution at

6 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 148.

7 José Miguel López García, *La esclavitud a finales del Antiguo Régimen. Madrid, 1701–1837. De moros de presa a negros de nación* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2020).

8 Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid, paseos histórico–anecdóticos por las calles y casas de esta villa* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don F. de P. Mellado, 1861): 283; Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, *Guía de Madrid, manual del madrileño y del forastero* (Madrid: Oficinas de la ilustración española y americana, 1878): 180.

the time (1837; 1845; 1856) – or have a noble title.[9] And the documentation presented by *indianos* to prove that they fulfilled these requisites is an excellent source for assessing their involvement in the evolution of Madrid's urban development. It was necessary for senators to acquire a home in Madrid in order to exercise their senatorial duties during the parliamentary sessions, and many resided in the city seasonally while many others moved permanently. However, the volume and variety of their real estate investments demonstrate that they went above and beyond their own private residence. Real estate investments in Madrid, the seat of the crown, the *Cortes*, and the senate, were a very profitable enterprise, particularly after the disentailment carried out after the 1840s.[10]

The most significant of these senators, in so far as their relationship with the slave trade and slavery as well as urban real estate development, were the counts of Bagaes and Vega Mar[11] and the marquises of Manzanedo, Comillas, and Vinent, all of whom amassed great fortunes in Cuba, enough to allow them to obtain noble titles. They were not the only ones to follow such a path, but instead are only the starting point of an ongoing and more ample research project that will incorporate new cases.

One of the most interesting cases is that of Manuel Pastor Fuentes (San Fernando, Cádiz, 1796 – Madrid, 1858), who received his title of count of Bagaes in 1846. A retired infantry colonel, Pastor Fuentes had been a captain of the Royal Engineering Corps and an inspector of the Cuban military fortifications, as well as technical advisor to a large public works project in Cuba and personal friend of the island's Captain General Miguel Tacón.[12] In the list of properties he submitted to demonstrate that he had the requisite patrimony to be a senator, he mentioned several properties in Cuba, among them, the San José de los Bagaes sugar mill, the *hacienda* Lomas de Jagüeyes, and the Cubatey paddock. Pastor Fuentes was one of the shrewdest entrepreneurs in the colony, and he "placed his great knowledge and technical capacity in the service of the sugar industry, scientifically developing the political and financial aspects of the slave trade." Together with his partner and compatriot Antonio Parejo, they were the great financiers of the slave trade in the 1840s. In 1849, Gaspar Betancourt Cisnero accused

9 The constitution of 1837 fixed the minimum income at 30,000 *reales de vellón* (7,500 *pesetas*); the 1845 charter at 30,000 to 60,000 *reales*, depending on the category. The constitution of 1876 fixed it at 60,000 pesetas. The 1869 charter did not set a minimum income, declaring eligible instead the top 50 contributors of the territorial tax as well as the top 20 contributors of industrial and commercial subsidies. All of these constitutional texts are available at: https://www.senado.es/web/conocersenado/senadohistoria/periodosconstitucionales/index.html [accessed 28.02.2023].

10 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas:* 65–66; Francisco Calvo Serraller, "El urbanismo de los ensanches: La transformación de Madrid durante el siglo XIX," *Revista Arquitectura* 217 (1979): 52–58.

11 The documentation and present sources write both Vega Mar and Vegamar, but I use the former because that is how it appears in his signature.

12 Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Correspondencia reservada del capitán general don Miguel Tacón, 1834–1836 con el Gobierno de Madrid. Introducción, notas y bibliografía* (La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, 1963): 330.

him of being the brain behind the "slave-trading company" in which Queen Isabella II herself had investments.[13] According to Pastor Fuentes's will, moreover, he and his partner Francisco de Paula Retortillo each had half of 25,000 pesos in stocks in a company that belonged to Juan José Zangróniz, a notorious slave trader.[14] In sum, the count of Bagaes's fortune was firmly rooted in the enslavement and trade of African – and Yucatec – men and women.[15]

In 1848, the count of Bagaes left Cuba for Madrid, where he invested part of his capital in the city's booming urban development market. In 1853, he was named senator. The commercial society he had with Paula Retortillo owned properties in Seville and a house in Calle Fomento, near the senate in Madrid, as well as a large lot near the *Cortes*. This comprised much of what is today the Paseo del Prado (Trajineros) and the streets of el Sordo (Zorrilla), Marqués de Cubas (Turco), and los Madrazos (Greda), and the two partners began to build houses in this space in 1854.[16] A year later, the count of Bagaes, the duke of Villahermosa, and the marquis of Alcañices, who also owned properties in this area, presented a project to reform and improve the Paseo del Prado between the Carrera de San Jerónimo and the street of Alcalá.[17] After 1850, the congressional district became one of the key areas for the city's growth, which meant that such investments had been wisely calculated and allowed Pastor Fuentes to recoup in a few years the capital that he had invested.[18]

13 Pérez de la Riva, *Correspondencia reservada*: 330.

14 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (AHPM), Vicente Castañeda Diana, tomo 27005, folios 358r–365r. Testamento Manuel Pastor, Madrid, 12 de julio de 1856. Bagaes named his nephew Bernardo Losada Pastor heir to his title. Losada Pastor was later designated a senator.

15 Manuel Barcia Paz, "'Fully Capable of Any Iniquity': The Atlantic Human Trafficking Network of the Zangroniz Family," *The Americas* 73, no. 3 (2016): 303–24.

16 "El conde de Bagaes y D. Francisco de Paula Retortillo proponiendo secundar el proyecto de apertura de calle que ha de atravesar el terreno de su propiedad que lo es parte del jardín y cocheras que fue del Excmo. Sr. Duque de Villahermosa y para continuación de la calle del Sordo," in *Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid* 4–100–129, http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php? accion=VerFicha&id=351445&num_id =1&num_total=1 [accessed 28.02.2023].

17 The reforms included broadening the street, planting more resistant and leafy trees, improving illumination, and creating a boulevard. "Los Sres. Duque de Villahermosa y Conde de Bagaes. Proyecto de reforma de la calle de Trajineros, en el Prado," in *Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid*, 4–226-20, http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php?accion=VerFicha&id=363280&num_id=9&num_total=9 [accessed 28.02.2023]; Soto Ángela Alcaraz, "Paisaje urbano del Paseo de prado: desde la reforma hasta la desaparición del Retiro (1767–1865)" (PhD diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 1995).

18 Ildefonso Lavín Ruíz, who was linked with sugar mills on Cuba, and who will be investigated further when looking at the Sevillian case, also purchased a house on the Carrera de San Jeronimo. In 1857, José Xifré Downing, son of José Xifré i Casas, a renowned slave–trader, built a Neo Mudejar palace on the corner of Lope de Vega and Paseo del Prado, which was later demolished. "D. José Xifré, licencia para construir en el solar de la calle Trajineros, con vuelta a Lope de Vega, denominado Huerta de Jesús" in *Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid*, 4–195–5, http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php?accion=VerFicha&id=363278&num_id=2&num_total=2 [accessed 28.02.2023].

Carlos Drake y Núñez, count of Vega Mar (Havana, 1802 – Madrid, 1872), amassed a fortune in Cuba whose value was estimated at around ten million *reales*, and which was also tied to the island's slave economy (*haciendas*, sugar mills, and other enterprises that used slave labor).[19] He settled permanently in Madrid in 1847, the year in which he obtained the title of count of Vega Mar. In 1859, he was named senator for life.[20] His investments in Spain included financial, industrial, urban, and rural real estate operations, as well as investments in the maritime sector and salt mines.[21] The count of Vega Mar's initial real estate ventures in Madrid were modest: a mere 763,000 *reales* invested in the Ensanche in 1847. But by 1872 they had grown spectacularly, reaching 8,716,236 *reales*, nearly a third of the 30 million that constituted his fortune. He had a rentier vocation, as seen by the accumulation of urban real estate that he leased to receive an income.[22]

Going back to his real estate purchases in 1847 in the Ensanche, Drake y Núñez's investments were centered in Chamberí, where he had two lots, one close to the neighborhood church and another of 8,016 feet.[23] It is possible that he later built on this lot the house documented as Antiguo Paseo de la Habana 5 (present-day Arapiles), whose rental value in 1858 was 8,760 *reales*.[24] He acquired more property in 1855 in the same neighborhood, in front of the old *Fábrica de Tapices* (tapestry factory) and outside the Puerta de Santa Barbara, for 115,662 *reales*,[25] probably the house of the Paseo de Santa Engracia, pointed out by Bahamonde and Cayuela as being acquired between 1846 and 1847.[26]

But the most important acquisitions were those in the suburban area behind the Buenavista Palace, which in 1847 became the seat of the Ministry of War. In April, 1850, Drake y Núñez purchased a lot and some houses in the streets of Barquillo, Sauco,

19 The cost of the slaves employed in the cleaning and maintenance of the port of Havana was estimated at 100,000 *reales*, Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 189.

20 Archivo del Senado (AdS), Leg. 511/ R.D. 24–09-1859.

21 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 197–98.

22 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 189, 194–95.

23 Archivo del Senado, "Rentas," in *Expediente personal del Senador vitalicio D. Carlos Drake y Núñez del Castillo, Conde de Vega Mar, 1847–1859*, https://www.senado.es/cgi-bin/verdocweb?tipo_bd=HI20&PWIndice=67&Signatura=HIS-0501–03&Contenido=4 [accessed 28.02.2023].

24 This house was between Plaza de Quevedo and the plaza of the church of Chamberí. "Rentas," *Expediente personal del Senador vitalicio D. Carlos Drake y Núñez del Castillo.*

25 "Rentas," *Expediente personal del Senador vitalicio D. Carlos Drake y Núñez del Castillo.*

26 The properties mentioned in "Rentas," *Expediente personal del Senador vitalicio D. Carlos Drake y Núñez del Castillo*, are Paseo de La Habana 5, built (n.d.) on land purchased in 1846; Almirante 4 vuelta a Salesas, Sauco 3; and Barquillo 14, all built in 1846; Sauco 8, 10, and 12, all built in 1853; Sauco 6, built in 1854; and a house outside the Puerta de Santa Bárbara purchased in 1855. Bahamonde and Cayuela relate the following purchases: between 1846–1847, two buildings in Santa Engracia (numbers unspecified) on Paseo de La Habana and Santísima Trinidad, and two more in Paseo del Obelisco; in 1850: Barquillo 14, Sauco 3, and Almirante 4; in 1867: Alcalá 3. And, acquired via permutation in 1870: Soldado s/n (Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 195).

Salesas, and Almirante on block number 285.[27] This operation cost him 280,000 *reales*, of which he paid the first 160,000 in cash. On the corner of Barquillo and Sauco he built a house to let,[28] but he also built a house destined to be his own residence, "elegant and modern" and considered one of the city's "most important and in good taste." Nearby, in Alcala 3, he purchased a building that he completely renovated.[29] His investments in the area contributed to the city's urbanization and growth, as well as its toponymy, as evinced by the streets Vegamar and Paseo de La Habana.[30]

Another ennobled *indiano* who entered the senate and invested in Madrid's urban growth was Manuel Manzanedo y González, duke of Santoña and marquis of Manzanedo (Santoña, 1803–Santoña, 1882).[31] He migrated to Cuba and amassed a great fortune participating in various enterprises, including most especially the illegal trade of enslaved Africans.[32] In 1845 he moved to Cadiz, but soon he relocated to Madrid, where he was designated a senator in 1864. He invested his fortune, estimated at 12,500,000 *pesetas*, in many ventures, including Spanish, German, and French banking; insurance; ship construction; the textile industry; and railroads.[33]

Like the count of Vega Mar, his first investments in Madrid real estate were modest, accounting for only 3% of his assets. However, by 1879, when he was the richest man of his time, his urban properties in Madrid and its Ensanche were valued at 66,477,154 *reales*, approximately 37% of his estate.[34] In 1858, when the Puerta del Sol was being reformed, he purchased the famous Casas Cordero or Casas del Maragato from Santiago Alonso Cordero, a 58,294 square-feet building delimited by the Espartero, Mayo Piqueras 2021, 190–196; Portell 2004, 89r, Pontejos, and Correos streets, for 3,750,000 pesetas, of which 3,250,000 were paid in cash.[35] This outlay did not signify much for a man who only three years later was acknowledged as one of the provin-

27 On this land, the new houses Barquillo nuevo 14, Sauco nuevo 3, and Almirante y Salesa nuevo 4. "Rentas," *Expediente personal del Senador vitalicio D. Carlos Drake y Núñez del Castillo*.

28 "Licencia al Conde de Vega Mar para edificar en la calle Barquillo, no. 14 c/v a la del Sauco no. 1, demoliendo la parte construida (1850–1851)," in *Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid*, 4–100-129, http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscador.php?accion=VerFicha&id=342323&num_id=1&num_total=2 [accessed 28.02.2023].

29 Mesonero 1861, *El antiguo Madrid*: 254.

30 Rubén Pallol Trigueros, "El Madrid moderno: Chamberí (el Ensanche Norte), símbolo del nacimiento de una nueva capital, 1860–1931" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2011): 45.

31 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 201–22.

32 José Antonio Piqueras, *Negreros. Españoles en el tráfico y en los capitales esclavistas* (Madrid: Catarata, 2021): 190–96; Rafael Portell Pasamonte, "Don Juan Manuel Manzanedo y González, I duque de Santoña. I marqués de Manzanedo," in *Monte Buciero* 10 (2004): 87–102, 89.

33 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las* Américas: 201–22.

34 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 207.

35 Archivo del Senado, *Certificación del Registro de la propiedad de Madrid*, https://www.senado.es/cgi-bin/verdocweb?tipo_bd=HI20&PWIndice=65&Signatura=HIS-0432-04&Contenido=5 [accessed 28.02.2023].

ce's top 50 taxpayers.[36] Over the next few years, he purchased four properties in Puerta del Sol and raised several buildings that gave said square an appearance very close to what it has today. He also bought the house on Alcala 12, with access to the Puerta del Sol and the Carrera de San Geronimo, which he destined as his residence. In 1874, he bought the Goyeneche Palace from the marquis of Isasi, on the corner of Principe and Huertas streets, and turned it into his new residence.[37] He purchased two other properties on Magdalena and Cañizares streets, and another in Valverde, Concepción Jerónima, Lope de Vega, and Juanelo. But he also invested in real estate in the Ensanche, as shown by two purchases on Rey Francisco street and one on each of the following streets: Ferraz, Quintana, Mendizábal, and Montalbán, as well as in the outskirts of Puerta de Atocha and in la Guindalera. He was defined as "a landlord in the full sense of the word" concerned about obtaining full payments from his tenants.[38] Manzanedo's urban real estate investments centered on Puerta del Sol and the nearby area of Alcala street, but he also paid attention to the northern and southern Ensanches and the Arguelles and Retiro neighborhoods.[39]

Antonio Vinent y Vives, marquis of Vinent (Mahón, 1809 – Madrid, 1887), belonged to the Spanish navy before becoming a merchant shipmaster. From 1830, he developed close ties to the trafficking of human beings, alongside his brothers José and Francisco, who owned a slave factory on the Guinean island of Corisco, which was destroyed by the British in 1840.[40] His links with the trade were still evidenced in 1875, when an inventory of his properties showed that on two of his several houses had a mortgage loan of 485,313 pesetas in favor of the renowned slave-trader Julián de Zulueta.[41] In 1844, Vinent left Cuba for Cadiz, and in 1860 he settled in Madrid, where he registered himself as a merchant and a banker. In 1862, he was elected to the *Cortes* as representative (*diputado*) of the province of Segura de la Sierra (in Jaen).[42] In 1864, he was designated senator, and in 1868 Queen Isabella II granted him the title of marquis of Vinent. His pathway was therefore different from those discussed previously, for he began his parliamentary career as a wealthy "commoner"

36 Archivo del Senado, *Certificación de la Diputación provincial de Madrid*, 31.03.1871, https://www.senado.es/cgi-bin/verdocweb?tipo_bd=HI20&PWIndice=65&Signatura=HIS-0432-04&Contenido=10 [accessed 28.02.2023].

37 Portell, "Don Juan Manuel Manzanedo y González": 96.

38 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 208–9.

39 Borja Carballo Barral, Rubén Pallol Trigueros and Fernando Vicente Albarrán, *El Ensanche de Madrid. Historia de una capital* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2008); Calvo, "El urbanismo de los ensanches."

40 Piqueras, *Negreros*: 185; Gustau Nerín Abad, *Traficants d'ànimes: els negrers espanyols a l'Àfrica* (Barcelona: Pòrtic, 2015): 224.

41 AHPM, Mariano García Sancha, 30996, fol. 2303 onwards, 15.04.1875 (henceforth, AHPM, Mariano García Sancha). I thank Martín Rodrigo Alharilla for providing me with this information.

42 Archivo del Senado, *Certificación de haber sido elegido Diputado Provincial*, 11.01.1865, https://www.senado.es/cgi-bin/verdocweb?tipo_bd=HI20&PWIndice=67&Signatura=HIS-0524-01&Contenido=4 [accessed 28.02.2023].

and only later entered the nobility. According to the 1875 inventory, his capital surpassed 6 million *pesetas*.[43] The estate described was diverse: real estate; jewels; cattle; lumber exploitation; railroad stocks and stocks in the Bank of Castilla and the Sociedad del Timbre; and participation in the Empréstito Nacional and the Spanish syndicates created by the Bank of Paris and the Bank of the Netherlands. What matters to us is that 16% of his capital was invested in urban real estate in Madrid, specifically two houses on the Plaza de las Cortes, on the corner of Florín (Fernánflor) and Turco (Marqués de Cubas) streets, valued at 1,035,011 *pesetas*. This area's land and property values were rising steadily, as we have seen with the investments of the marquis of Bagaes. As a member of Madrid's *Compañía para la Venta y Explotación de Inmuebles* (Society for the Sale and Exploitation of Real Estate), Vinent y Vives also invested in the eastern Ensanche.

Antonio López y López, marquis of Comillas (Comillas, 1817 – Barcelona, 1883), was also renowned for his ties to the Cuban slave economy and his participation in the slave trade. Upon his return to Spain, he settled in Barcelona, and was designated senator in 1881. His biography has been addressed in several interesting studies:[44] here, we will specifically look at his investments in Madrid's urban sector, which, although much less prominent than they were in Barcelona, were substantial nonetheless. López y López's investments in Madrid were centered on the eastern Ensanche, the present-day district of Salamanca. In 1872, he participated with 125,000 pesetas in the creation of a society for the construction of a new bullring (the Fuente del Berro bullring, which replaced the old Puerta de Alcala ring), an amount that represented 6.6% of the initiative's capital.[45] He was also a partner in the aforementioned *Compañía para la Venta y Explotación de Inmuebles*, which invested heavily in the Salamanca neighborhood. When the partnership was liquidated, he received several properties in Claudio Coello street valued at 329,650 *pesetas*: number 3, valued at 79,252.94 *pesetas*, and number 15, valued at 72,462.17 *pesetas*, were in blocks 208 and 209, respectively.[46] Number 38 had a land lot annexed to it.[47] The postmortem inventory of the marquis's properties in 1883 shows that the liquidation of the Compañía para la Venta y Explotación de Inmuebles included two lots in this same neighborhood. They were in blocks 230 and 230ª, known as Plaza de Toros because they had housed the aforementioned Puerta de Alcala bullring, demolished in 1874. The perimeter of the first

43 It was specifically 6,223,393 pesetas. AHPM, Mariano García Sancha.

44 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, *Un hombre, mil negocios: la controvertida historia de Antonio López, marqués de Comillas* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2021).

45 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 386.

46 Archivo del Senado, "Certificación del Registro de la Propiedad de Madrid, 25.01.1882," in *Expediente personal del senador por derecho propio, Marqués de Comillas, D. Antonio López y López, 1882–1883*, https://www.senado.es/cgi-bin/verdocweb?tipo_bd=HI20&PWIndice=5&Signatura=HIS-0122-06&Contenido=4 [accessed 28.02.2023].

47 Registro de la Propiedad, Finca 1.354, folio 59, tomo 681 and Finca 1.450, folio 164v, tomo 681; Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 377.

was 1410.3 meters, while the second lot, 789.2 meters, was "delimited by the streets of Claudio Coello, Columela, Lagasca and Conde de Aranda."[48] Like the marquis's real estate investment activities in Barcelona, those in Madrid had a speculative character: he bought land at a low price to resell at a higher price.

3 Barcelona, Economic Center

I will not analyze the Barcelona case in detail, because it has a substantial and solid bibliography regarding the return of American capital, especially of Cuban origin,[49] and investment in a city in the midst of expansion.[50] With few exceptions, the investments of returnees from Cuba between 1837 and 1862 were concentrated in the first Ensanche, around Pla de Palau Square. After 1862, the lion's share of these investments went to the Eixample.

Among the construction activity carried out in the Ensanche, that of José Xifré i Casas is worth noting. In 1837, he built a "true residential complex" composed of more than 11 buildings on land freed up by the demolition of the sea wall. One of the most remarkable was the Xifré house, known for its porticos (the *Porxos d'en Xifré*). He also purchased three other properties inside the walls. The complex was appraised upon his death at 1,736,000 pesetas.[51] The brothers Alejo and Manuel Vidal Quadras also invested in this area, raising in 1844 the two buildings that stand alongside the Xifré house. They also invested in Mendizábal, Cristina, and Riera de San Joan streets, and later acquired lots in the Eixample.[52] Salvador Samà, marquis of Marianao, invested in the lands that

48 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 363–64.

49 Angels Solà Parera. "Os 'americanos' cataláns e o seu impacto económico en Cataluña ó longo do século XIX," *Estudios migratorios* 11–12 (2001): 141–48; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Barcelona, capital del retorn," in *Les Bases Colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Aharilla (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 2014): 79–92; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "El retorn americà: families, capitals, poder," *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història* 16 (2010): 75–93; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Travase de capitales antillanes: azúcar y transformación urbana en el siglo XIX," in *Más allá del azúcar. Política, diversificación y prácticas económicas en Cuba, 1878–1930*, ed. Antonio Santamaria and Consuelo Naranjo (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 2009): 127–58; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Una saga de banqueros: la familia Vidal Quadras," *Historia Social* 64 (2009): 99–119; Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, *Indians a Catalunya. Capitals Cubans en L'economia Catalana* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2007).

50 Xavier Tafunell, *La construcción de la Barcelona moderna. La industria de l'habitatge entre 1854 i 1897* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1994); Manuel de Solà-Morales, *El Ensanche de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, 1978).

51 José María Ramón de San Pedro, *José Xifré Casas. Industrial, naviero, comerciante, banquero y benefactor. Historia de un indiano catalán (1777–1856)* (Barcelona: Banco Atlántico, 1956).

52 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 89–91; Martin Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lluís Castañeda Peirón, "Los Vidal Quadras: familia y negocios, 1833–1871," *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història* 11 (2004): 115–44.

had held the sea wall and, later, in the Eixample.[53] Cuban *indiana* widow Manuela Xiqués erected two buildings and acquired two more, as well as three lots, on the Rambla dels Estudis and the streets of Escudellers and Ciutat. When the works in the Eixample were begun, she bought five lots in Paseo de Gràcia, Gran Via, Consell de Cent, and Travessera de Gràcia. Her properties were valued at 1,247,488 pesetas. Agustin Goytisolo built a house in the street of Fontanella and four buildings between the Paseo de Gràcia and Aragon street.[54]

The paradigmatic case of a successful speculator was the aforementioned Antonio López y López, the future marquis of Comillas. In 1859, he bought a lot of 582 square meters on the Plaza del Duc de Medinaceli, erecting a five-story building where he resided with his family.[55] Later, in 1870, he acquired the Palau Moja or Moja Palace on the upper Ramblas, a building he restored with great luxury and turned into his family's new residence. At first, his real estate activities did not differ much from those of Xifré, the Vidal Quadras, Xiqué, Goytisolo, and others.

Some *indianos* were rentiers, deriving an income from renting out the buildings that they constructed, while others, including most of those mentioned above, were speculators (and some were a mix of both).[56] In general, their investments were centered on what was then Barcelona's political (Capitanía General) and economic centers (Llotja, Ample street, Las Ramblas), areas of Barcelona that were starting to grow beyond the city walls. But after 1862, these gave way to investments in the nascent Eixample. 1880 tax data shows that the participation of *indianos* in the Eixample was very important: not only were the top four landlords *indianos*, but eight of the next twenty were also *indianos*.[57]

What happened in 1862? That year, the financial entity Crédito Mercantil, founded by twenty-five partners, launched the endeavor with a fixed capital of 25 million *pesetas*. Eight of the shareholders had acquired their fortunes in the Caribbean: Antonio López, José Amell y Bou, Manuel Vidal Quadras Ramon, Juan Güell Ferrer, José Canela Raventós, José Samá Mota, Antonio Morera y Buxó, and Andrés Anglada Goyeneche. Although not an *indiano*, José Ferrer Vidal owed part of his industrial activity and wealth to kinship and business ties with renowned *indianos*. And in 1865, another *in-*

53 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 87.

54 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, *Los Goytisolo. Una próspera familia de indianos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2017); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Los Goytisolo. De hacendados en Cuba a inversores en Cataluña," *Revista de Historia Industrial* 23 (2003): 11–37.

55 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 127–28.

56 Xavier Juncosa y Gurguí, "Jaume Torrents Serramalera," in *Negreros y esclavos, Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVI–XIX)*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez (Barcelona: Icària, 2017): 159–88; José Miguel Sanjuán Marroquín, "El tráfico de esclavos y la élite barcelonesa. Los negocios de la casa Vidal Ribas," in *Negreros y esclavos, Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVI–XIX*), ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez (Barcelona: Icària, 2017): 131–58.

57 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 89.

diano, Francisco Jaurés Gualba, who in 1863 lived in Cuba, joined Crédito Mercantil's administrative council. As we can see, the weight of *indianos* and their fortunes – which were inextricably linked with slavery and the slave trade – was key in the development of this financial institution.

In 1864, Credito Mercantil purchased half of the lands Jaime Safont possessed in the area that would later become the Paseo de Gràcia. Months later, in partnership with Safont, it created a civil society whose only job was to administer the sale of these lands. In 1864, the lots closest to Barcelona's old city center or old town raked in 1,548,560 *pesetas*. Part of the auctioned lots were acquired by José Ferrer and the *indianos* Rafael Ferrer, Domingo Juera, Francisco Jaurés, Manuela Xiqués, Manuel Torres, and Santiago García Pinillos; Antonio López also bought land, procuring 2,293 square meters. The rest of the lots held by Crédito Mercantil in the old Campos Eliseos were sold to Madrid entrepreneur José de Salamanca, the marquis of Salamanca, for 3,765,576 *pesetas*, which, with the interest accrued in the ten annual installment plans used for the sale, amounted to 4,286,907. But José de Salamanca made only two of the payments; bankrupt, he returned the land to the Crédito Mercantil with nine luxurious buildings that he had erected. Unlike other real estate firms that invested in the Eixample, Crédito Mercantil and the *indianos* that acquired some of the lands it auctioned speculated with the land instead of erecting and renting buildings.[58] As such, Antonio López purchased some of the lots and buildings that José Salamanca had returned at very low prices. Just as he had done in Madrid's eastern Ensanche, the marquis of Comillas made speculative investments in the Eixample and greatly augmented his fortune, whereas the marquis of Salamanca, with extensive properties in the Ensanches, was ruined.

These pages do not encompass the totality of *indianos* who returned from Cuba to Barcelona with fortunes linked to slavery and the slave trade because their numbers are simply too large: important figures have been left out. They also leave out the numerous urban real estate activities carried out in the city and other Catalan locales, such as L'Arboç, Arenys de Mar, Begur, Sant Feliu de Guíxols, Sant Pere de Ribes, Torredembarra, Vilanova i la Geltrú, and others.[59] In any case, it is worth nothing that many of the buildings erected are still standing.[60]

58 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 146–52, 181–85; Carme Grandas, "Els indians i la construcción de la ciutat," in *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765–1968*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Aharilla (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 2014): 94.

59 Tate Cabré, *Cuba a Catalunya, el llegat dels indians a Catalunya* (Valls: Cossetània, 2008); Joan Domènech, "Els indians de Lloret de Mar," *L'Avenç* 169 (1993): 26–29; Salvador Rovira i Gómez, "Els indians d'Altafulla, 1760–1833," in *Els Catalans a Espanya, 1760–1914*, ed. Maria Teresa Pérez Picaso et al. (Barcelona: Afers, 1990): 209–20; Xavier Miret i Mestre, *Els americanss de Ribes* (Sant Pere de Ribes: Ajuntament, 1986).

60 Grandas, "Els indians i la construcción de la ciutat"; Tate, *Cuba a Catalunya.*

4 The Cantabrian Coast

Unlike the Catalonian case, studies on the investment of *indiano* capital in the urban development of Galicia and the Cantabrian coast – which includes Cantabria, Asturias, and the Basque provinces of Biscay and Gipuzkoa – rarely go into its relationship with slavery or the slave trade.[61] This region's bibliography has biographies of the *indianos* who returned with great fortunes, as well as studies on the way these their investments shaped the locales from which they hailed and to which they returned, but little attention is paid to the subject that this article addresses: the ties of the invested fortunes with the slave trade or slave labor.

However, some of these *indianos*' biographies leave no doubt that their fortunes were indeed inextricably linked to the enslavement of African men and women, and that therefore, the towns and cities where they invested these fortunes are thus stamped with the spoils of slavery. The case of Santander is the most relevant and the most thoroughly studied.[62] Again we must speak of Antonio López y López, first marquis of Comillas, and his brother Claudio, who were the great artificers of the transformation of Comillas, their hometown, into a select summer holiday destination.[63] Antonio López purchased Casa Ocejo in 1865, and later built the Sobrellano Palace, with an attached chapel and family pantheon. He contributed financially to the town's modernization.[64] His brother Claudio and their partner Patricio Satrústegui also built grand residences for themselves. Other *indianos* followed their example, including their relative Máximo Diaz Quijano, who had the renowned architect Antoni Gaudí build his chalet Villa Quijano, also known as El Capricho, which was completed in 1885.[65] The hopes of making Comillas a fancy seaside resort town were such a success that even Alfonso XII and his family spent some weeks in the town in the summers of 1881 and 1882. The marquis of Comillas also invested in the capital of the province, Santander, although not to the same degree as he did in his hometown.[66]

Something similar happened in other towns of Cantabria, such as Santoña, where the marquis of Manzanedo built a palace.[67] For his part, Ramón Pelayo de la Torriente,

61 Aurea M Fernández Muñiz, "Los indianos: su presencia en la economía peninsular y en la política colonial," *Trocadero. Revista de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* 4 (1992): 21–36.

62 Miguel Ángel Aramburu-Zabala and Consuelo Soldevila, *Arquitectura de los indianos en Cantabria (siglos XVI–XX). Patrimonio de la emigración trasatlántica* (Santander: Ediciones de Librería Estudio, 2007); Tomás Pérez de Vejo, "Indianos en Cantabria," *Indianos. Monografías de los Cuadernos del Norte* 2 (1982): 17–24; Manuel Pereda de la Reguera, *Indianos de Cantabria* (Santander: Diputación Provincial, 1968).

63 Manuel García-Martín, *Comillas modernista* (Barcelona: Gas Natural, 1993).

64 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 175, 177, 288–97.

65 Carlos Alberto Giordano, Lionel Palmisano, Roger Jiménez Remacha and Ricard Regàs, *El Capricho – Villa Quijano* (Barcelona: Dos de Arte Ediciones, 2012).

66 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 252–53.

67 Bahamonde and Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas*: 201–22.

a very successful sugar mill owner in Cuba, received the title of marquis of Valdecilla and grandee of Spain. He used his wealth to build a hospital and a medical school in his hometown – Valdecilla – as well as a palace for himself.[68] In the Basque Country, much attention has been paid to renowned slave traders, such as Julián Zulueta y Amondo and his relatives,[69] or to people whose links with slavery were very evident, such as Manuel Calvo y Aguirre, who left his mark on his hometown, Portugalete.[70] In Asturias, *indianos* built spectacular houses in diverse locales that are known precisely for their *casas de indianos*.[71] The same pattern was followed in Galicia.[72]

5 Cadiz and Seville: More Important than Was Previously Thought

There are very few studies on the participation of Cadiz traders and residents in activities related to slavery and the slave trade, which is surprising given that the city was "the capital of the [illegal] slave trade" between 1817 and 1866.[73] Thus, very little is known about the links between the individuals who made their fortunes through the

68 Angela Cuesta Ibaseta, "Arquitectura indiana en Cantabria. Finca Marqués de Valdecilla" (bachelor's thesis, Universidad de Cantabria, 2015); Fernández, "Los indianos"; Manuel M. Venero Gómez, *Historia de la Casa de Salud Valdecillas* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1974).

69 Eduardo Marrero Cruz and Julián de Zulueta y Amondo, *Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2008); Urko Apaolaza Avila, "Un análisis sobre la historiografía en torno al alavés Julián de Zulueta y Amondo," *Sancho el Sabio* 18 (2003): 121–40; José Cayuela Fernández, "Transferencia de capitales antillanos a Europa. Los patrimonios de Pedro Juan de Zulueta y Ceballos y de Pedro José de Zulueta y Madariaga (1823–1877)," *Estudios de Historia Social* 44–47 (1988): 191–212.

70 Juan Bosco Amores Carredano and Jon Ander Ramos Martínez, "El liderazgo de Manuel Calvo y Aguirre: entre el Partido Español y los vasco-navarros de Cuba," in *Vascos en Cuba*, ed. William C. Douglass (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Presidencia del Gobierno Vasco, 2015): 55–68; Jon Ander Ramos Martínez, "Manuel Calvo y Aguirre: de Portugalete a La Habana, pasando por Madrid (1817–1904)," *Euskosare* 1 (2009).

71 Fernández-Peña Bernaldo, María Magdalena, "La oligarquía indiana. Asturias-Cuba. Opinión pública y propaganda (1848–1899)" (PhD diss. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013); Jorge Uría González, "Los indianos y la instrucción pública en Asturias," *Indianos. Monografías de los Cuadernos del Norte* 2 (1982): 102–19.

72 Xosé Manuel Nuñez Seixas, "Retornados e inadaptados: el Americano gallego, entre mito y realidad (1880–1930)," *Revista de Indias* 214 (1996): 555–93; Ramón Villares Paz, "El indiano gallego. Mito y realidad de sus remesas de dinero," *Indianos, Monografías de los Cuadernos del Norte* 2 (1982): 29–34; Xan Carmona Badia, "Los indianos y la cuestión industrial en Galicia en el siglo XIX," *Indianos. Monografías de los Cuadernos del Norte* 2 (1982): 45–49.

73 Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez, "Cádiz, capital de la trata negrera, 1789–1866," in *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos. De la legalidad a la clandestinidad*, ed. Carmen Cózar and Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Madrid: Silex, 2018): 163–93.

illegal trafficking of human beings and the urban growth experienced in the city during the period.

But it is no secret that Cadiz had an important number of renowned slave traders who invested their wealth in or around the city,[74] including Pedro Martínez,[75] the brothers José and Fernando Abarzuza Imbrechts, Miguel Azopardo, and many other individuals who called Cadiz their home.[76] Two more of these men we have mentioned above, including the Cadiz-born count of Bagaes, who settled in Cadiz for a few years after returning from Cuba, and the Menorca-born marquis of Vinent, who, while he lived in Cadiz, was a member of its municipal government. But both of them ended up moving to Madrid and invested most of their fortunes in that city. For their part, Ildefonso Lavín Ruíz and his sons-in-law, José and Manuel Marañón Martínez de Rosa, settled in Madrid when they returned from Cuba, then moved to Cadiz, but they ended up settling in Seville.

It seems that Cadiz did not offer the opportunities that could be obtained in Madrid or Barcelona. Perhaps Malaga did not offer the most profitable opportunities either, for Malaga-born Pedro Blanco spent some time living in Malaga, but he moved to and settled in Barcelona. There are many examples of homes bought in Cadiz by men with ties to the trade, such as the house acquired by the marquis of Comillas on Cadiz's Ahumada street in 1869. He also bought another house and an orchard in the urban center of the neighboring town of Puerto Real, although these purchases were apparently carried out to help a family in need.[77] In any case, recent and ongoing research[78] will shed light on *indiano* activities in the Cadiz real estate sector and the stamp left by slavery on the province's urban development.

In the case of Seville, a city whose Ensanche began to be built towards the end of the nineteenth century,[79] the information available points to the predominance of rentier attitudes. In comparison with Barcelona and Madrid, *indianos* in Seville invested modestly, with some exceptions. In any case, of their total investments, those in real estate represented 21.83%, second only to their activities in the credit business (23.36%), while rural estate investments were third, with 21.39%. Clearly, they sought easy and profitable enterprises. Among those who made their fortunes in the largest

74 Carmen Cózar Navarro, "Entre Cádiz y la Habana. Pedro Martínez y Compañía: la gran casa de comercio de esclavos en el reinado de Isabel II," in *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos. De la legalidad a la clandestinidad*, ed. Carmen Cózar and Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla (Madrid: Silex, 2018): 229–62.

75 Cózar, "Entre Cádiz y la Habana."

76 Enrique Sosa, *Negreros catalanes y gaditanos en la trata cubana, 1823–1833* (Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 1997).

77 Rodrigo, *Un hombre, mil negocios*: 179.

78 Lydia Pastrana Jiménez, "El patrimonio inmueble de los protagonistas de la trata negrera en el Cádiz decimonónico," in Del olvido a la memoria. La esclavitud en la España contemporánea (Barcelona: Icaria, 2022): 227–240.

79 José María Feria Toribio, *Sevilla. Historia de su forma urbana. Dos mil años de una ciudad excepcional* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2021).

of the Antilles with activities related to sugar and slavery were Antonio Vinent de Gola, marquis of Palomares del Duero; Ildefonso Lavín; the brothers Manuel and José María Burín Marquis; Simón Oñativia Aristi; José López Cuadrado; and Manuel Pastor y Fuentes.[80]

Everything seems to suggest that the most significant investors in real estate in Seville were Ildefonso Lavín Ruiz (Matienzo, 1805 – Sevilla, 1877) and his sons-in-law, José Marañón Martínez de Rosa (Revilla, 1823 – Sevilla, 1893) and Manuel Marañón Martínez de Rosa (Revilla, 1827 – Sevilla, 1894). Lavín Ruiz settled in the Cuban town of Güines, where he had ties to sugar mills, before moving to Matanzas, where his two daughters, Elvira and María Angeles, married the brothers José and Manuel Marañón, who themselves had ties to sugar mills. In the early 1860s, they moved to Madrid, where they acquired several properties, including a building on the Carrera de San Jeronimo. Between 1865 and 1868, they lived in Cadiz, but the health problems of one of the family members led them to move to Seville. Disentailment opened opportunities for investment, for between 1868 and 1870, the state sold, in three lots, the industrial precinct of the royal mint of Seville. Ildefonso Lavín and his sons-in-law purchased two of the three lots, building houses on land that he then rented and opening streets to facilitate access to them. Three of the streets were La Habana, El Jobo, and Güines, one of the most evident traces that linked slavery with the investments made in the peninsula by *indianos* who made their fortune in Cuba.[81] Ildefonso Lavín Ruiz would eventually own 72 houses.[82]

In 1879, Manuel Marañón Martínez de Rosa was recorded as the owner of the totality of the royal mint complex. In 1882, he purchased two houses on nearby Almirante Lobo street, building single-family homes that he then rented out. In 1885, he tore down part of the wall and built new houses in numbers 2 to 10 of Maese Rodrigo street (present-day Joaquín Hazañas) and on the corner with Adolfo Rodríguez Jurado. In this privileged Ensanche area, Ildefonso Marañón Lavín, son of Manuel Marañón and grandson of Ildefonso Lavín, would later build the Teatro Coliseo.[83]

Antonio Vinent de Gola, marquis of Palomares del Duero (Santiago de Cuba, 1819 – Seville, 1872), owned several houses in Santiago and half of the sugar mill Sabanillas, which he shared with his brother Santiago, besides a very large fortune, of

80 The only known case of participation in human trafficking was Bernardo Sequeiros y Vicente. He invested 266,000 pesos in the Spanish ships *Burdeos* and *Habana*, which brought coolies from China to Cuba (Antonio Florencio Puntas, "Patrimonios indianos en Sevilla en el s. XIX: entre las tradición y la innovación," in *Fortuna y negocios: formación y gestión de los grandes patrimonios (siglos XVI–XX)*, ed. Ricardo Robledo Hernández and Hilario Casado Alonso [Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002]: 191–216).

81 José González Arteaga, "Los Marañón: un ejemplo de familia innovadora en la burguesía sevillana," *Archivo Hispalense* 233 (1993): 23–44.

82 Florencio Puntas, "Patrimonios indianos en Sevilla en el s. XIX."

83 González, "Los Marañón"; M. Espiazu Eizaguirre, *La Casa de la Moneda de Sevilla y su entorno. Historia y morfología* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1991).

25,585,116 *reales*, to be exact. In September 1866, before leaving Santiago for Seville, he acquired the palace home of the duke of Medina Sidonia, valued at 3,400,000 *reales*, to serve as his large family's main residence. He also purchased three houses on Marina street, where he built residences with their attached storehouses, and another two on Capuchinas street. All five were valued at 960,000 *reales*. His real estate investments were modest in comparison with his investment in rural properties and the modernizing reforms that he carried out in some of them, such as in Esperanza Cubana, where he built a modern oil factory. However, his urban investments were still significant.[84]

The Cadiz-born Manuel Pastor, count of Bagaes, also made important urban real estate investments in Seville, even though he settled in Madrid. In 1852, he and Francisco de Paula Retortillo formed a society with the brothers Manuel and José Burín Marquis, who had also made their fortunes in Cuba. They purchased the lands of the old convents of San Francisco and San Buenaventura that the city government auctioned off to create the Plaza Nueva. In 1855, after having built a total of 41 houses, the society dissolved.[85] The will left by Pastor in 1856 is unclear regarding his properties, for it speaks of ten houses built in Seville with his partner Retortillo, "half of which was at our expense." One of these houses is described as belonging to him. Another – on the corner of Colcheros (present-day Tetuan) and Catalanes – he obtained in exchange for a lot that he had in "the thirty in representation of which the company that is building this plaza according to the contract signed with the excellent government of that city." The will mentions another house on Bilbao street. It is unclear until when he retained the property, and whether he rented them or sold them, but it is possible that he rented them, for, although this would not generate large returns, they were a guaranteed source of income given the lack of housing that afflicted the city.[86]

6 Conclusions

The counts of Bagaes and Vega Mar and the marquises of Manzanedo, Vinent, and Comillas were not the most important investors in the urban reforms that transformed Madrid in the mid-nineteenth century, but they had a good nose for the areas in which to acquire real estate. The count of Bagaes, the marquis of Vinent, and the marquis of Manzanedo invested in the city center, in the area bounded by the Paseo

84 María José Álvarez Pantoja, "Capitales americanos en la Sevilla del siglo XIX: El Marqués de Palomares del Duero," in *V Jornadas de Andalucía y América* (T.I. Seville: CSIC-Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1986): 350–68.

85 González, "Los Marañón"; Espiazu, *La Casa de la Moneda de Sevilla*.

86 AHPM, Vicente Castañeda Diana, tomo 27005, folios 358r–365r. Testamento Manuel Pastor, Madrid, 12 de julio de 1856.

del Prado, the Carrera de San Jerónimo, the Puerta del Sol, and Alcalá street, precisely when it was about to experience intense urbanization. Their purchases had financial motivations and did not respond simply to a desire to reside in this prestigious area. The marquis of Manzanedo invested mostly in Puerta del Sol and the streets of Alcalá and del Príncipe, reinforcing the attention that all these individuals paid to the central district. The count of Vega Mar also seemed to sense the urban potential of the area behind the Palacio de Buenavista (seat of the Ministry of War), but he also invested in the northern Ensanche, especially in Chamberí and nearby areas. The marquis of Vinent invested in the eastern Ensanche. However, it was the marquis of Comillas who invested most heavily in the Ensanche, especially the eastern Ensanche. Probably encouraged by his affairs with the marquis of Salamanca, he devoted his capital to purchases in the area of Salamanca. He was interested in speculation, buying cheaply and selling dearly when the occasion presented itself. He did not, like the count of Bagaes and the marquises of Vega Mar and Manzanedo, show any interest in erecting buildings for rent. A similar process characterized *indiano* activity in Barcelona, a city in which *indianos*' initial investments were concentrated around the Pla de Palau, Ample, and the Ramblas. He later directed his investments, of a speculative character, to the city's Eixample. In both cities, it was the marquis of Comillas who led the change from one area to another.

More studies need to be carried out before we can compare Madrid and Barcelona with what took place elsewhere in the Spanish peninsula, for this paper has only presented snippets of cases on the Cantabrian coast and the Andalusian cities that were the main bridgeheads of the old *Carrera de Indias*, Seville and Cadiz. In any case, it is clear that part of the fortunes amassed on Cuba and the African coasts, and therefore closely linked to slavery and the slave trade, was invested in important urban reforms – in varying percentages – in Madrid, Barcelona, and other cities, starting in the mid-nineteenth century. It is still necessary to study what happened in other Spanish locales.

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Holger Weiss

The Cultural Heritage of Slavery in the Nordic Countries

1 Introduction

The demand of the Caribbean Commission (CARICOM) for a formal apology from all nations involved in the Atlantic slave trade and its request for financing its ten-point Reparatory Justice Program in 2014 triggered a public debate in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden about the engagement and involvement of these countries in the transatlantic slave trade and their participation in promoting and benefitting from Atlantic plantation slavery.[1] The CARICOM claim and the global Black Lives Matter Movement have generated a wide range of public activities debating, displaying, visualizing, and commemorating the Nordic involvement in Atlantic slavery and the slave trade. This chapter will provide a thematic outline to illuminate the similarities and differences of inventing and identifying slavery heritages in the four Nordic countries. Starting in the first part with comparing public debates and academic research on the history of slavery and the slave trade, the second part then scrutinizes existing and projected slavery memorial sites, followed by elaborating on slave walks and ending with a discussion on the memorialization of slavery and its politicization in the Nordic countries.

The cultural heritage of slavery had first to be invented, as it did not exist in the four Nordic countries some twenty years ago. Moreover, what is to be included in the list of slavery heritage sites is still open for debate. A narrow definition identifies mansions and warehouses built by slave owners, slave plantation owners, the owners of slave ships, and companies engaged in the trade of enslaved individuals, as well as statues and busts erected to commemorate their societal impact in their home countries. A broad definition, on the other hand, follows the logic of 'slavery hinterlands' and commodity chains,[2] and includes the locations where slave-produced goods like

1 "Sweden May Consider Slave Trade Reparations," 14.12.2013, https://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2013/12/14/Sweden-may-consider-slave-trade-reparations/55641387051631/; Thomas Thorén, "Sverige krävs på pengar för slavhandel," 10.03.2014, https://sverigesradio.se/artikel/5805724; "Sverige måste erkänna sin inblandning i slavhandeln," 31.03.2014, https://afrope.se/2014/03/31/sverige-maste-erkanna-sin-inblandning-i-slavhandeln/; Björn Lingner, "Danmark og det caribiske krav om reparationer og forsoning," 20.12.2014, https://baggrund.com/2014/12/20/danmark-og-det-caribiske-krav/; "Norge kan bli saksøkt for slavehandel," 11.03.2014, https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/GkJbQ/norge-kan-bli-sak soekt-for-slavehandel; Magnus Aamo Holte, Per Christian Magnus, Riyas Babu, "Truer Norge med rettssak for slavehandel," 01.05.2014, https://www.nrk.no/urix/truer-norge-med-slave-rettsak-1.11694958 [all accessed 03.04.2022].

2 See further Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, eds., *Slavery Hinterlands: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2016).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111331492-007

coffee, cotton, sugar, and tobacco were refined and transformed into consumer goods. Obviously, sugar refineries and rum distilleries rank high and existed in all Nordic countries: Nordic textile mills used cotton and Nordic urban and rural consumers drank coffee and smoked tobacco. Moreover, iron, copper, Danish guns, salted herring, and tar produced in the Nordic countries were integral parts in the Atlantic slave economy.[3] Finally, discussions on slavery zones and global slaveries challenge the contemporary narrow focus on Atlantic slavery and open up oppportunities for identifying the cultural heritage of parallel forms of enslavement and slave trade in the Nordic countries.[4]

The call of the CARICOM Reparations Committee to the three Scandinavian countries was not surprising.[5] Denmark's colonial history was at this point no mystery for the general populace: nor was the connection between slavery, Danish Atlantic history, and the Danish colonies in the Caribbean, today the US Virgin Islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. Starting effectively in 1672, slavery formed the backbone of the colonial plantation economy; the numbers of enslaved people peaked at the end of the eighteenth century, counting about 32,000 in 1797. Norway was until 1814 part of the Danish realm, officially an independent kingdom but ruled by the Danish king, with Copenhagen deciding and directing its politics and economy. Sometimes referred to as the composite kingdom of Denmark-Norway or the Oldenburg Monarchy, some of its inhabitants, be they Danish, Norwegian, or German (as the Danish realm also included the Duchy of Schleswig and the Duchy of Holstein), were either directly or indirectly engaged in the Atlantic trade.[6] This involvement ranged from being slave plantation owners on the Danish Caribbean islands, traders in slave-

3 See, e.g., Kristine Bruland and Keith Smith, "The Global Context of the Scandinavian Copper Industry," in *Skandinavisk kobber: Lokale forhold og globale sammenhenger i det lange 1700-tallet*, ed. Kristin Ranestad and Kristine Bruland (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2020): 210–24.

4 Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, eds., *Slavery Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). On global slaveries, see Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111; Matthias van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research Agenda," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (2021): 566–98.

5 The Scandinavian countries include Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, while the Nordic countries include Finland and Iceland. I will not dwell on Iceland as its link to Atlantic slavery has not been up for discussion, although the effects of slavery and slave raids feature in early modern Islandic history. See Karl Smári Hreinsson and Adam Nichols, eds. And trans., *The Travels of Revered Ólafur Egilsson: The Story of the Barbary Corsair Raid on Iceland in 1627* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), and Colleen Morgan, "The Curious Case of Mr. Hans Jonathan: Iceland, the Transatlantic Slave Trade, and Genetics in Archaeology," 12.09.2013, https://colleen-morgan.com/2013/09/12/the-curious-case-of-mr-hans-jonatan-iceland-the-transatlantic-slave-trade-and-genetics-in-archaeology/ [accessed 08.04.2022].

6 Christian Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel. Gewinn und Gewissen* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1974).

produced raw material, or the producers of goods from slave-produced raw materials, most notably sugar or rum. Copenhagen's development into the largest metropole in Northern Europe during *Den florissante periode*, the trade boom during the last quarter of the eighteenth century when Denmark-Norway applied strict neutrality in the various wars between the European major powers, was to a large extent the outcome of the city being the center of the Danish colonial empire and the center of the Danish early modern sugar industry. The merchant houses in Copenhagen had exclusive rights on the colonial trade until the 1760s; after this, embargoes were adjusted and Flensburg in Schleswig and Bergen in Norway were opened to Atlantic trade.[7] Danish-Norwegian slave ships transported about 100,000 enslaved Africans from the West African littoral to the Caribbean islands, many of them from Danish forts on the Gold Coast (Ghana). The legal transatlantic slave trade ended in 1803 following an edict of the Danish king in 1792. Slavery was officially abolished in the Danish West Indies and in the Danish possessions on the Gold Coast in 1848. CARICOM's call to both Denmark and Norway therefore seems logical.[8]

Sweden, in turn, received the Caribbean island of St. Barthélemy from France in 1784. The kingdom was the last European power to acquire a Caribbean possession, and was the first to close its colonial chapter when it sold the island back to France in 1878. Denmark, in turn, passed its three Caribbean islands to the USA in 1917. About one hundred years earlier, the Danish king lost Norway to the Swedish king in 1814; the Swedish-Norwegian union lasted until 1905. During this period, Norwegian shipping expanded tremendously and propelled Norwegian commercial interests in Africa and Oceania.[9] While Denmark-Norway ranks among the dominant 'lesser' European Atlantic powers, Sweden ranked among the minor powers. Nevertheless, slavery and the slave trade constituted an integral part of the colonial economy on the Swedish island. At its peak during the first decade of the nineteenth century, about 3,000 peo-

7 On the cultural heritage of colonialism and slavery in Schleswig, see further Marco L. Petersen, ed., *Sønderjylland-Schleswig Kolonial. Kolonialismens kulturelle arv i regionen mellem Kongeån og Ejderen* (Odense: Syddansk Universitätsforlag, 2018).

8 Niklas Thode Jensen and Gunvor Simonsen, "Introduction: The Historiography of Slavery in the Danish-Norwegian West Indies, c. 1950–2016," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41, no. 4–5 (2016): 475–94; Niels Brimnes, "The Colonialism of Denmark-Norway and Its Legacies," 07.01.2021, https://nordics.info/show/artikel/the-colonialism-of-denmark-norway-and-its-legacies [accessed 03.04.2022]. On Scandinavian colonialism, see further Niels Brimnes, Pernille Ipsen and Gunvor Simonsen, eds., *Scandinavian Colonialism* [= *Itinerario* 33, no. 2 (2009)]; Magdalena Naum and Jonas Monie Nordin, eds., *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena* (New York: Springer, 2013); Holger Weiss, ed., *Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Magdalena Naum and Jonas Monie Nordin, eds., *Colonial Entanglements: Crossroads, Contact Zones, and Flows in Scandinavian Global History* [= *Itinerario* 43, no. 2 (2019)].

9 Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, eds., *Navigating Colonial Orders: Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania* (New York: Berghahn, 2014).

ple, or half of the island's inhabitants, were enslaved individuals. The majority worked in households, on construction sites, and in the harbor of Gustavia, with about 500 laboring on cotton plantations in the countryside. Swedish engagement in the transatlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade is only rudimentarily known. Due to the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the British occupation of all Danish, Dutch, and French islands in the Caribbean, Gustavia was the only open port for the import of new slaves from Africa between 1807 and 1815, when Sweden signed the Vienna declaration to ban transatlantic slave trade. In total, the slave trade under the Swedish flag is estimated to have involved about 10,000 enslaved individuals. This includes the circa 2,000 slaves carried by the Swedish Africa Company in the mid-seventeenth century.[10]

2 Part One: Debating Slavery Heritage

Denmark and Sweden are obvious cases for the CARICOM claims. However, the inclusion of Norway, but not Finland, raises critical questions of the politicization of colonial heritage and, by extension, slavery. Finland was an integral part of the Swedish kingdom before it became a grand duchy within the Russian Empire in 1809. The inhabitants of Finland were subjects of the Swedish king, sent representatives to the Swedish diets, and enjoyed the same rights and obligations as those living in the western part of the kingdom. Neither Finland nor Norway were Atlantic colonial powers, although both Finns and Norwegians as subjects of the Swedish and Danish realms, respectively, engaged in colonial administration, control, production, and trade in Caribbean colonies and beyond or making use of slave-produced raw material at home. In recent decades, the cultural heritage of slavery has made headlines in Norway, especially the Norwegian link to Atlantic/Caribbean slavery and the slave trade. The inclusion of Finland in outlining discourses and presentations of the cultural heritage of slavery in the Nordic countries opens up the Eurasian dimension of the politicization and memorialization of slavery.

2.1 Denmark: From Colonial Oblivion to Critically Addressing the Colonial Past

Astrid Nonbo Andersen critically noted in 2013 that the Danish colonial past has been a contested arena since the 1940s. On the one hand, she highlighted, there was a pro-

10 See further Holger Weiss, *Slavhandel och slaveri under svensk flagg: Koloniala drömmar och verklighet i Afrika och Karibien 1770–1847* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet/Stockholm: Atlantis, 2016).

gressive narrative of Danish colonialism presented by two general overviews in Danish, *Danmarks gamle Tropekolonier* (*Denmark's Old Tropical Colonies*, 1946) and *Vore gamle Tropekolonier* (*Our Old Tropical Colonies*, 1952–1953). Although not marginalized as a topic, the progressive narrative of Danish imperialism presented slavery on the Danish islands as 'mild' in comparison to the 'harsh' conditions on other plantation islands.[11]

Among the first to challenge the progressive discourse was Danish author Thorkild Hansen in the late 1960s, whose trilogy (*Slavernes kyst*, 1967; *Slavernes skibe*, 1968; *Slavernes øer*, 1970) addressed Danish involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Danish West Indies. Sparked by international quantitative investigations on the transatlantic slave trade, Svend E. Green-Pedersen produced the first critical assessments on the Danish transatlantic slave trade in the 1970s,[12] followed by Per Hernæs' investigations on its volume and its effects in West Africa,[13] as well as Erik Gobel's studies on Danish involvement in the triangular trade and the abolition of the Danish transatlantic slave trade in 1792.[14] In addition, historians Ole Feldbaek, Ole Justesen, and Ove Hornby produced a new overview of Danish colonial history in India, Africa, and the West Indies, focusing on the political and economic activities, administrative issues, institutions, legislation, and commerce in the Danish colonies and possessions.[15] Nevertheless, the Danish perspective predominated, while the impact and experiences of the slave trade and slavery received little attention and

11 Astrid Nonbo Andersen, "'We Have Reconquered the Islands': Figurations in Public Memories of Slavery and Colonialism in Denmark 1948–2012," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 26, no. 1 (2013): 57–76.

12 Svend E. Green-Pedersen, "The Scope and Structure of the Danish Negro Slave Trade," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 19, no. 2 (1971): 149–97; Svend E. Green-Pedersen, "The History of the Danish Negro Slave Trade, 1733–1807. An Interim Survey Relating in Particular to Its Volume, Structure, Profitability and Abolition," *Revue française d'historie d'outre-mer* 226–227 (1975): 196–220.

13 Per Hernæs, *Slaves, Danes and African Coast Society* (Trondheim: Historisk institutt, NTNU, 1998); Per Hernæs, "'Fort Slavery' at Christiansborg on the Gold Coast: Wage Labour in the Making?" in *Slavery Across Time and Space: Studies in Slavery in Medieval Europe and Africa*, ed. Per O. Hernæs and Tore Iversen (Trondheim: Department of History, NTNU, 2002): 197–229; Per Hernæs, "Slave Trade, Slave Plantations and Danish Colonialism," in *Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Holger Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 101–39.

14 Erik Gøbel, "Dansk sejlads på Vestindien og Guinea 1671–1807," *Handels- og Søfartsmuseets Årbog* 41 (1982): 5–53; Erik Gøbel, "Danish Trade to the West Indies and Guinea 1671–1754," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 31 (1983): 21–49; Erik Gøbel, "Volume and Structure of Danish Shipping to the Caribbean and Guinea, 1671–1838," *International Journal of Maritime History* 2 (1990): 103–31; Erik Gøbel, *Det danske slavehandelsforbud 1792. Studier og kilder til forhistorien, forordningen og følgerne* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008); Erik Gøbel, "Danish Shipping along the Triangular Route, 1671–1802: Voyages and Conditions on Board," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36 (2011): 136–56; Erik Gøbel, *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

15 Ole Feldbaek and Ole Justesen, *Kolonierne i Asien og Afrika* (Copenhagen: Politikens forlag, 1980); Ove Hornby, *Kolonierne i Vestindien* (Copenhagen: Politikens forlag, 1980).

enslaved people and free Afro-Caribbeans appear as passive victims of European oppression.[16] Astrid Nonbo Andersen therefore concludes that slavery and the slave trade at best were only marginally included in the national narrative in Denmark until the late 1990s.[17]

In contrast to the procolonial narrative of a benign form of slavery under the Danish flag, Caribbean historian Neville Hall produced the first critical account on the development, conditions, and destruction of slavery in the Danish West Indies. His research opened up areas hitherto untouched upon or omitted by the Danish imperial perspective, among others the social control of the enslaved, the culture of the enslaved, and their resistance to the colonial regime.[18] In similar ways, Danish historian Karen Fog Olwig focused on the agency of enslaved people,[19] paving the way for a new generation of Danish researchers who started to investigate the racial, segregated, and violent past of Danish colonial rule in the West Indies,[20] alongside the consumption of slave-produced luxuries in Denmark.[21] Together with new critical research on colonization from the point of the colonized,[22] Danish and Norwegian historians produced a new five-volume book series on the Danish colonial past. For the first time, Danish colonial history in Africa, India, the West Indies, and Greenland was written "from below," acknowledging non-Danish/non-white agency: this included a volume on the effects, legacies, and remnants of colonialism and slavery in Denmark.[23] Despite these efforts, the

16 See further the extensive overview on research in Denmark on slavery the Danish West Indies by Jensen and Simonsen, "Introduction."

17 Nonbo Andersen, "'We Have Reconquered the Islands'."

18 Neville A.T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992).

19 Karen Fog Olsen, *Cultural Adaptation and Resistance on St. John. Three Centuries of Afro-Caribbean Life* (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1985).

20 Niklas Thode Jensen, "For slavernes sundhed: Sygdom, sundhed og kolonialadministrationens sundhedspolitik bland plantageslaverne på St. Croix, Dansk Vestindien, 1803–1848" (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2006); expanded as Niklas Thode Jensen, *For the Health of the Enslaved. Slaves, Medicine and Power in the Danish West Indies, 1803–1848* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012); Gunvor Simonsen, "Slave Stories: Gender, Representation, and the Court in the Danish West Indies, 1780s–1820s" (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2007); expanded as Gunvor Simonsen, *Slave Stories. Law, Representation, and Gender in the Danish West Indies* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017); Louise Sebro, "Mellem Afrikaner og kreol: Etnisk identitet og social navigation i Dansk Vestindien, 1730–1770" (PhD diss., University of Lund, 2010).

21 Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, *Luksus – forbrug og kolonier i Danmark i det 18. århundrede* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2013).

22 See further the contributions in Niklas Thode Jensen and Gunvor Simonsen, eds., *Slavery, Servitude and Freedom: New Perspectives on Life in the Danish-Norwegian West Indies, 1672–1848* [= *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41, no. 4–5 (2016)].

23 Niels Brimnes, Hans Christian Gulløv, Erik Gøbel, Per Oluf Hernæs, Poul Erik Olsen and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, eds., *Danmark og kolonierne*, 5 vols. (Copenhagen: Gads forlag, 2017), includes volumes on Danish colonialism in Greenland (*Grönland. Den arktiske koloni*), India (*Indien. Tranquebar, Serampore og Nicobarerne*), West Africa (*Vestafrika. Forterne på Guldkysten*), and the Danish West In-

attention of the public for Danish colonial history remains uneven, claims Niklas Thode Jensen and Gunvor Simonsen: nor are there an institutional framework or centers and departments specializing on Danish colonial history and the Danish colonial past.[24]

Nevertheless, slavery and the slave trade under the Danish flag have been a public and even political issue in Denmark since the late 1990s. Claims for reparations for slavery and colonialism brought forward by the African Caribbean Reparations and Resettlement Association (ACRRA), a local NGO on St. Croix, in 1998 challenged the existing notions of the colonial past in Denmark. Although the Danish government rejected the demands for an official apology for the Danish participation in the transatlantic slave trade, it decided to come up with some form of compensation and allocated funding to establish archival collaboration between the US Virgin Islands and Denmark. As an outcome, the Danish National Archives recataloged, repacked, and refurbished the so-called West Indian Local Archives,[25] initiating new research on the enslaved population in the Danish West Indies, alongside a demographic database of all Afro-Caribbean inhabitants on St Croix during the era of Danish rule, the St. Croix African Roots Project (SCARP), launched by the Virgin Islands Social History Associates in 2002.[26]

However, it was hardly the output of researchers but rather the Danish TV documentary *Slavernes Slægt* (*The Descendants of Slaves*) that made the cultural heritage of slavery a public concern in Denmark. Broadcast in 2005, the documentary presented descendants of enslaved Africans and thus challenged the dominant national canon of a homogenous nation-state.[27] A few years later, two special exhibitions at the Danish National Museum, *Farlige Forter* about the Danish possessions in West Africa in 2010 and *Dansk Vestindien – en koloni bliver til* about the Danish West Indies in 2011, critically engaged with Denmark's colonial past, and the accompanying video *Vestindiske stemmer* (Voices from the Virgin Islands) gave voices to the descendants of enslaved people.[28] The exhibitions and video, in turn, sparked local initiatives to unearth the hidden history of slavery and the slave trade in Denmark, resulting in 'Slave Walks' in Copenhagen in 2011 (see below).[29] Parallel to the exhibitions in Copenhagen, ACRRA

dies (*Vestindien. St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jan*), alongside a volume on the impact of colonialism and its heritage in Denmark (*Danmark. En kolonimagt*).

24 Thode Jensen and Simonsen, "Introduction": 478.

25 See further Erik Gøbel, *A Guide to Sources for the History of the Danish West Indies (U.S. Virgin Islands), 1671–1917* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2002).

26 Nonbo Andersen, "'We have Reconquered the Islands'"; Thode Jensen and Simonsen, "Introduction": 481. On SCARP, see https://www.ft.dk/samling/20091/almdel/kuu/bilag/27/747359.pdf [accessed 28.02.2023].

27 Randi Marselis, "Descendants of Slaves: The Articulation of Mixed Racial Ancestry in a Danish Television Documentary Series," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 11, no. 4 (2008): 447–69.

28 The video is available at http://den-vestindiske-arv.dk/outro/vestindiske-stemmer/ [accessed 23.03.2022].

29 Anders Boyer Nielsen, Camilla Nørholm Edens and Sophie Lund-Hansen, "Trekantshandelen i København – en osylig historie?" (bachelor's thesis, University of Copenhagen, 2011).

repeated its demand for an official apology and for repatriations from Denmark in a video published on YouTube in 2010.[30] Two years later, Astrid Nonbo Andersen and Lars Jensen brought the debate to Denmark and raised questions about Danish colonialism, postcolonial legacies, and the heritage of slavery and the slave trade.[31] Kåre Lauring's presentation of the Danish transatlantic slave trade highlighted its human costs and consequences,[32] generating a critical debate about him neglecting its complexities and downplaying the underlying causes of the mortality of enslaved Africans and European seamen onboard Danish slave ships.[33]

The public debate in Denmark heated up again during the centennial of the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States in 2017. At this point, the question of an official apology for Denmark's engagement in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Caribbean had been on the table for almost two decades: however, similar to the negative response to the CARICOM in 2013, Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen refrained from apologizing when visiting St. Croix in 2017.[34] Astrid Nonbo Andersen, in turn, reminded the general public in Denmark about the demands of ACRRA and CARICOM.[35] Her postcolonial critique of Danish exceptionalism, Lars Jensen highlights, made a strong plea for a critical engagement with slavery heritage and colonial memory in Denmark.[36]

2.2 Sweden: A Mere Footnote in Swedish History?

The Swedish debate on colonial memory and slavery heritage resembles the Danish one. Similar to the Danish case, the colonial past remained a non-issue in the historiography of modern Sweden for a long time. St. Barthélemy figured at best as a footnote, and the slave trade and slavery hardly at all, in presentations of the national history of Sweden. In contrast to the Danish West Indies, there exists no material evidence of for-

30 "Denmark, the Virgin Islands, and Reparations for Slavery," 22.06.2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFscksMbWhU [accessed 23.03.2022].

31 Maj Bach Madsen, "Denmark Cannot Apologise for Slave Trade," 27.08.2012, https://sciencenordic.com/criminality-denmark-ethics/denmark-cannot-apologise-for-slave-trade/1375831 [accessed 23.03.2022]; Lars Jensen, *Danmark – rigsfællesskab, tropekolonier og den postkoloniale arv* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forla, 2012).

32 Kåre Lauring, *Slaverne dansede of holdt sig lystige – en fortælling om den danske slavehandel* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2014).

33 See Gunvor Simonsen's discussion in *Historisk tidsskrift* 114, no. 2 (2014): 605–9.

34 Anita Brask Rasmussen, "Der er en grund til, at min bog hedder 'Ingen undskyldning'," 31.03.2017, https://www.information.dk/kultur/2017/03/grund-bog-hedder-ingen-undskyldning [accessed 28.03.2022].

35 Astrid Nonbo Andersen, *Ingen Undskyldning. Erindringer om Dansk Vestindien og kravet om erstatningar for slaveriet* (Copenhagen: Gyldendals, 2017).

36 Lars Jensen, "Commemoration, Nation Narration, and Colonial Historiography in Postcolonial Denmark," *Scandinavian Studies* 91, no. 1–2 (2019): 13–30.

mer slave markets and slave plantations on the "Swedish" Caribbean island.[37] There were a few studies on the Swedish West Indian colony, all of them focusing on political, administrative, and economic aspects from a Eurocentric perspective.[38] Swedish colonialism was treated as an exceptional case, as was Swedish colonial past in North America, Africa, and the Caribbean.[39] Sweden's role as a 'humanitarian super power' during the era of decolonisation and the Non-Alignment Movement dominated the historiography and public political discourse.[40] Swedish colonial amnesia was almost total for a century when Swedish author Göran Skytte made headlines with his attack on 'royal slavery' on St Barthélemy in 1986, one of the first publications that critically engaged with slavery and slave trade under the Swedish flag.[41] Interestingly, both previous and Skytte's presentations rested on empirical material from the 1780s and 1790s in the national archives in Stockholm for discussing slavery and the slave trade on the island.[42] Empirical investigations had to wait to the 2010s, when two historians at Åbo Akademi University in Finland, Holger Weiss and Victor Wilson, together with the Swedish historians Fredrik Thomasson and Ale Pålsson, started their respective empirical research projects, resulting in a series of monographs and PhD theses from 2015.[43] Prior to this,

37 Lill-Ann Körber, "Travelling to 'Caribbean Sweden' – St. Barthélemy as Tourist and Tax Paradise," *Rethinking Scandinavia* 2 (2018): 1–21; Lill-Ann Körber, "Sweden and St. Barthélemy: Exceptionalisms, Whiteness, and the Disappearance of Slavery from Colonial History," *Scandinavian Studies* 91, no. 1–2 (2019): 87.

38 E.O.E. Högström, *S. Barthelemy under svenskt välde* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1888); Ingegerd Hildebrand, *Den svenska kolonin S:t Barthélemy och Västindiska kompaniet fram till 1796* (Lund: A.-B. Ph. Lindstedts bokhandel, 1951).

39 Gunlög Fur, "Colonialism and Swedish History: Unthinkable Connections?" *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas Monie Nordin (New York: Springer, 2013): 17–36.

40 Gunlög Fur and John L. Hennessey, "Svensk colonialism, Sverige och colonialism eller svenskar och kolonialism?" *Historisk tidskrift* 140, no. 3 (2020): 375–84.

41 Göran Skytte, *Det kungliga svenska slaveriet* (Stockholm: Askelin & Hägglund, 1986).

42 Early presentations include Ernst Ekman, "Sweden, the Slave Trade and Slavery, 1784–1847," *Revue française d'historie d'outre-mer* 226–227 (1975): 221–31; Yolande Lavoie, Carolyn Fick and Francine M. Mayer, "A Particular Study of Slavery in the Caribbean Island of Saint Barthélemy, 1648–1846," *Caribbean Studies* 28, no. 2 (1995): 369–403.

43 Holger Weiss, "A Divided Space: Subjects and Objects in the Swedish West Indies during the Late-Eighteenth Century," in *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans*, ed. Göran Rydén (London: Ashgate, 2013): 275–300; Fredrik Thomasson, "Thirty-Two Lashes at Quatre Piquets. Slave Laws and Justice in the Swedish Colony of St. Barthélemy ca. 1800," in *Ports of Glocalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World During the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Holger Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 280–305; Victor Wilson, "Commerce in Disguise: War and Trade in the Caribbean Free Port of Gustavia, 1793–1815" (PhD diss., Åbo Akademi University, 2015); Weiss, *Slavhandel och slaveri under svensk flagg*; Ale Pålsson, "Our Side of the Water: Political Culture in the Swedish Colony of St Barthélemy 1800–1825" (PhD diss., University of Stockholm, 2017); Fredrik Thomasson, *Svarta S:t Barthélemy: Människoöden i en svensk koloni 1785–1847* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2022).

there was György Novaky's groundwork on the seventeenth-century Swedish Africa Company and its ambitions to engage in the transatlantic slave trade, published in 1990.[44]

Postcolonial studies on Sweden's colonial past started in the late 1990s and introduced a postcolonial perspective on Swedish society.[45] A critical debate about Sweden's colonial past in the Caribbean thus already existed when the Swedish government announced its plan to participate in the official commemorations of the bicentennial of the abolition of the British transatlantic slave trade. In July 2007, the Swedish government outlined in supplementary directives to the government authority Delegation for Human Rights (*Delegationen för mänskliga rättigheter*) to increase awareness among the general public, and especially among school children, about Swedish involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. A special day of commemoration was held on October 9, 2007, in Stockholm, the day when the last slave received his freedom on St. Barthélemy in 1847. However, although acknowledging Sweden's active participation in the slave trade, even claiming that Swedish iron was used for slave shackles, the government never apologized for Sweden's involvement in the slave trade. However, instead of initiating empirical research to gather information about slavery and the slave trade under the Swedish flag, the Delegation for Human Rights chose to cooperate with civil society organizations, such as Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund (Afro-Swedish National Association), Centrum mot rasism (Centre Against Racism), ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes), Kvinna till Kvinna (Women to Women), and Amnesty Business Group, and published a short booklet on the topic, *Slaveriet då och nu – Rätten till frihet* (*Slavery Now and Then – The Right to Freedom*), distributing 15,000 copies to all Swedish high schools.[46]

The activities of the delegation and civil society organizations in highlighting Swedish engagement in slavery and the slave trade resulted in the politicization of the debate in Sweden. Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund and several members of parliament have since lobbied for declaring October 9 as a national day of remembrance for Sweden's participation in Atlantic slavery.[47] Civil society activists criticized the

44 György Nováky, *Handelskompanier och kompanihandel: Svenska Afrikakompaiet 1649–1663, en studie i feodal handel* (Uppsala: Acta Upsaliensis, 1990).

45 Raoul Granqvist, ed., *Svenska överord: En bok om gränslöshet och begränsningar* (Eslöf: B. Östlings bokförlag Symposion, 1999); Michael McEachrane and Louis Faye, eds., *Sverige och de Andra: Postkoloniala perspektiv* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2001); Gunlög Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

46 Holger Weiss, "Slaveriet under svensk flagg och dess minneskultur," in *Från Afrikakompaniet till Tokyo: En vänbok till György Novaky*, ed. Marie Lennersand (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Exkurs, 2017): 12–36.

47 Michael Echrane and Madubuko Diakité, "Report on the Universal Human Rights People of African Decent in Sweden (29th March 2018): Alternative Report to Sweden's 22nd and 23rd periodical reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination," https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/SWE/INT_CERD_NGO_SWE_30863_E.pdf [accessed 03.04.2022].

lack of knowledge of Sweden's colonial past and the exclusion of people of color in presentations on Swedish history.[48] In 2014, Tobias Hübinette underscored the need for a national day of commemoration and called for an identification of slavery heritage sites in Sweden in his investigation on Afrophobia, racism, and the lack of knowledge of Sweden's non-white past and the means to counteract it.[49] Interestingly, the voices of historians were more or less lacking, apart from Fredrik Thomasson, who addressed in a TV interview in 2013 the 'double forgetting' in Sweden, where neither the colonial past nor slavery was erased from the national historical canon.[50]

2.3 Norway and Finland: Not Part of 'our' History?

Postcolonial perspectives on the past also allowed for critical assessments on Norwegian and Finnish involvement in Atlantic slavery. For a long time, the theme did not exist in the national histories of the two countries and was at best regarded as belonging to Danish or Swedish history. However, historians in both countries have time and again underscored the unified and intertwined histories of these countries. In Norway, the discovery of the wreck of the Fredensborg slave ship by Norwegian divers outside Arendal in 1974 was front-page news, but it took two decades before a critical examination about Norwegian involvement in slavery and slave trade took off.[51] In Finland, some historians highlighted the role of Ostrobothia as Europe's main producer of tar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of key importance in enabling British and Dutch Atlantic shipping,[52] and the attempt by impoverished peasants during the famine of 1784 to emigrate to St. Barthélemy.[53] However, in both countries a critical debate about slavery and the slave trade only took off during the 2010s.

48 Cecilia Sylvan Henriksson and Patrick Gibson, *Svart i Sverige: Om svart kulturhistoriskt inflytande i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bladh By Bladh, 2012).

49 Tobias Hübinette, Samson Beshir and Victoria Kawesa, *Afrofobi. En kunskapsöversikt över afrosvenskarnas situation i dagens Sverige* (Botkyrka: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014).

50 Fredrik Thomasson, "Sveriges slavhistoria avslöjad," 15.10.2013, http://www.svt.se/nyheter/vetenskap/sveriges-slavhistoria-avslöjad [accessed 17.01.2023].

51 Leif Svalesen, *Slaveskibet Fredensborg og dansk-norsk slavehanel i 1700-tallet* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1996); Leif Svalesen, *Slave Ship Fredensborg* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000). See further Johan Kloster, "Nordisk triangelfart med slaver, elfenben og råsukker i lasten. Et formidlingsprosjekt," *Norsk Maritimt Museum Årboka* (2017): 77–94, https://dms-cf-10.dimu.org/file/0136Jw78EgRH [accessed 28.02.2023].

52 E.E. Kaila, *Pohjanmaa ja meri 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla. Talousmaantieteellis-historiallinen tutkimus* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1931); Markku Kuisma, *Metsäteollisuuden maa. Suomi, metsät ja kansainvälinen järjestelmä 1620–1920* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1993).

53 Pekka Masonen, "Kustavilainen siirtomaapolitiikka ja Saint-Barthélemyn kuume. Historiografisia anekdootteja," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 105, no. 3 (2007): 330–45.

The CARICOM claim for slavery reparations in 2013 sparked a debate in the Norwegian media about the country's participation in the transatlantic slave trade and its (non-)visibility in Norway.[54] Two young Norwegian historians, Maria Lavik and Fredrik Hyrum Svensli, featured prominently in the debate, addressing Norwegian involvement in the transatlantic slave trade by staffing slave forts on the African coast, sailing on slave ships, and carrying goods produced by slaves back to Norway and the rest of Europe.[55] A few years later, Hanne Østhus published her research on slaves and non-European servants living in Denmark-Norway during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[56] The debate intensified when the Norwegian author Fartein Horgar started to publish his West India quintet, *Paradisets elendige* (2016), *I slaktemåneden* (2017), *Frihedens kjørtere* (2018), *Benjamins reise* (2019), and *Svart Babel* (2021), on the slave trade and slavery in the Danish-Norwegian West Indies. Horgar has been among the most visible activists since then, contesting the collective memory about the 'marginal' Danish-Norwegian involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and the 'benign' form of slavery in the Danish-Norwegian West Indies.[57] However, the positions of activists have been countered by some commentators, arguing that while some Norwegians did participate, Norway as a nation cannot be held responsible.[58]

In comparison to the three Scandinavian countries, the debate about slavery and the slave trade took a different direction in Finland. The commemorations of the bicentennial of the abolition of (British) transatlantic slave trade in 2007 were hardly noted in Finland and generated little public interest. In national historiography, the Swedish Caribbean colony was not even a footnote, despite the fact that Finland was part of the kingdom of Sweden until 1809; among the Swedish vessels arriving at Gustavia in 1787 was the *Express* from Åbo (Turku).[59] One year earlier, another vessel

54 John Olav Egeland, "Slavenasjonen Norge," Dagbladet, 28.12.2013, https://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/slavenasjonen-norge/60215495 [accessed 29.03.2022].

55 Maria Lavik, "Kolonimakta Noreg og slavane," 15.12.2013, https://www.nrk.no/ytring/kolonimakta-noreg-1.11355212; Fredrik Hyrum Svensli, "Slik levde nordemennene som deltok i slavehandelen i Afrika," Dagbladet, 02.06.2014, https://www.aftenposten.no/viten/i/oR2xm/slik-levde-nordmennene-som-deltok-i-slavehandelen-i-afrika [both accessed 29.03.2022].

56 Hanne Østhus, "Slaver og ikke-eurpeiske tjenstefolk i Danmark-Norge på 1700- og i begynnelsen av 1800-tallet," *Arbeiderhistorie* 22, no. 1 (2018): 33–47.

57 "Sukker og slaveri – fakta og fiksjon om vår slavehandel," 31.01.2018, https://litteraturhusetitrondheim.no/arrangement/sukker-slaveri-fakta-fiksjon-slavehandel/; "Fartein Horgar: Norsk koloni- og slavehistorie," 17.08.2018, https://litteraturhusetitrondheim.no/arrangement/boklansering-fartein-horgar-2/; Bernt Erik Pedersen, "Forteller om norsk slavehandel: Vårt regime var hardere," 17.02.2021, https://www.dagsavisen.no/kultur/2021/02/17/forteller-om-norsk-slavehandel-vart-regime-var-hardere/ [all accessed 29.03.2022].

58 Øyvind Andersen, "Norge dreiv ikke med slavehandel," 12.07.2020, https://www.argumentagder.no/post/norge-drev-ikke-med-slavehandel [accessed 29.03.2022].

59 In contrast to the three monolingual Scandinavian countries, Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, alongside the Sami language, which has official status in the northernmost part of Finland. Academic and popular debates are conducted in Finnish and Swedish; as my mother

from Åbo carried raw sugar directly from St. Domingue (Haiti) to Åbo. Although merchants in Åbo did not invest in the Swedish West India Company (founded in 1786), some of them founded a sugar refinery in Åbo in 1756. Other sugar refineries were established in Borgå (Porvoo) in 1784 and in Helsingfors (Helsinki) in 1806. When treated in historical accounts, these establishments were linked to national economic development and the consumption of luxuries.[60] Raw cane sugar, it was noted, was carried by Finnish vessels from Bordeaux, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London and was not linked to the wider Atlantic.[61] On the other hand, presentations for the general public such as K.G. Olin's *Våra första Västindienfarare*, claimed that St. Barthélemy was "our" colony, and noted that Finns (being Swedish subjects) played a role in the establishment and administration of Swedish colonial rule; slavery and the slave trade were addressed but did not take center stage in the account.[62]

However, it took almost thirty years before the first presentation in Finnish appeared on the topic. Earlier research was published in Swedish and did not generate any debate in the Finnish-speaking press.[63] This changed in 2019, when Jouko Aaltonen and Seppo Sivonen published their account on "Swedish-Finnish" (*ruotsalais-suomalainen*) colonialism in the Caribbean.[64] "We do not rank among the major offenders but neither were we mere bystanders," they underscored in an interview.[65] The book made headlines on the national TV news: Finns participated in the transatlantic slave trade and sugar refineries in early modern Finland used slave-grown raw

tongue is Swedish, I use the Swedish names for Finnish towns and locations (the Finnish names are given in bracelets).

60 "Kun Ruotsi orjia kauppasi," *Yliopistolehti*, 27.11.2014, https://www2.helsinki.fi/fi/uutiset/talous-yhteiskunta/kun-ruotsi-orjia-kauppasi [accessed 02.04.2022].

61 Weiss, "Slaveriet under svensk flagg och dess minneskultur"; also Elli-Alina Hiilamo, "Åbo Akademin professori: Suomellakin on kolonialistinen historia – teollisuus nousi Turussa ja Tampereella orjakaupan voimalla," *Helsingin Sanomat*, 24.10.2018, https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000005875299.html [accessed 02.04.2022].

62 K-G. Olin, *Våra första Västindienfarare* (Jakobstad: Olimex, 1990).

63 Weiss, *Slavhandel och slaveri under svensk flagg*. However, the book was discussed in the Swedish-speaking media in Finland: Fredrik Sonck, "Slaveriets historia är också svensk och finländsk," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 19.06.2016, https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/slaveriets-historia-ar-ocksa-svensk-och-finlandsk-2/; Emma Strömberg, "Forskning om slaveriet ger bränsle åt politisk debatt," *Tidskriften Ikaros* 1 (2017): 26–28, http://www.tidskriftenikaros.fi/wp-content/uploads/arkiv/2017_1/weiss.pdf. It also made headlines in the major newspapers in Sweden: Dick Harrison, "Sanningen om det svenska slaveriet," *Svenska Dagbladet*, 24.09.2016, https://www.svd.se/a/2lVBv/sanningen-om-det-svenska-slaveriet; "När Sverige var en global slavnation," *Dagens Nyheter*, 18.12.2016, https://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/nar-sverige-var-en-global-slavnation/ [all accessed 02.04.2022].

64 Jouko Aaltonen and Seppo Sivonen, *Orjia ja isäntiä – ruotsalais-suomalainen siirtomaaherruus Karibialla* (Helsinki: Into, 2019).

65 Nina Oisalo, "Ruotsalaisten ja suomalaisten osuus orjakaupan historiassa on lakaistu maton alle – 'Emme ehkä olleet suurimpia syyllisiä, mutta emme myöskään sivullisia,' sanoivat suomalaistutkijat," 22.04.2020, https://www.maailma.net/uutiset/ruotsi-suomen-osuus-orjakaupan-historiassa-on-lakaistu-maton-alle-emme-ehka-olleet [accessed 29.03.2022].

sugar![66] Some commentators were astonished about Finnish involvement in Swedish colonial rule in the Caribbean (some even claimed it to be Swedish-Finnish [*ruotsalais-suomalainen*] colonial rule).[67] As Finns had also been engaged in the slave trade and owned slaves,[68] some commentators even suspected that CARICOM would also send a claim for reparations to Finland.[69]

The debate about whether Atlantic slavery and the slave trade should become part and parcel of Finnish collective memory was soon challenged by an equally forgotten narrative about the exposure of Finns and Karelians to enslavement and the Eurasian slave trade. The topic hardly figured in Finnish historiography until Finnish historian Jukka Korpela published his seminal work on Finland and Karelia as a slaving zone during the medieval period in 2014.[70] Although Korpela's investigation received attention in the media and among researchers,[71] his argument that Finns were victims of the "white slave trade" has not (as of yet) made it into the national canon.[72] Instead, the counter-narrative of enslaved Finns made national headlines when Finnish historian Teemu Keskisarja claimed in 2015 that Finland had suffered more from enslavement than any African country. Referring to Kustaa H.J. Vilkuna's seminal research on the suffering of the Finnish people during the *isoviha* or 'great wrath'

66 "Suomalaisilla synkkä rooli maailman orjakaupassa – tällä paratiisisaarella tapahtui kamalia asioita," 23.08.2021, https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/suomalaisillakin-synkka-rooli-maailman-orjakaupassa-talla-paratiisisaarella-tapahtui-kamalia-asioita/8215276 [accessed 29.03.2022].

67 Päivi Puukka, "Suomalaiset käyttivät orjien kasvattamaa sokeriruokoa – ruotsalais-suomalainen siirtomaaherruus huipentui orjakauppasatamaan Karibialla," 20.10.2019, https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-11017023 [accessed 02.04.2022].

68 Päivi Puukka, "Suomalaistehtaat käyttivät orjien kasvattamaa sokeriruokoa – ruotsalais-suomalainen siirtomaaherruus huipentui orjakauppasatamaan Karibialla," 20.10.2019, https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-11017023; Risto Korhonen, "Suomalaiset olivat mukana orjakaupassa," [*NEWSPAPER NAME*], 06.01.2020, https://www.kansanuutiset.fi/artikkeli/4194466-suomalaiset-olivat-mukana-orjakaupassa; Pia Länsman, "Orjakauppa maailmassa ja meillä," 24.10.2020, https://humanpath.net/orjakauppaa-maailmassa-ja-meilla/ [all accessed 29.03.2022].

69 Seppo Huhta, "Suomalaisille tulossa miljardeja korvauksia orjuudesta!" 09.07.2021, https://www.extrauutiset.com/suomalaisille-tulossa-miljardeja-korvauksia-orjuudesta/ [accessed 02.04.2022].

70 Jukka Korpela, *Idän orjakauppa keskiajalla: ihmisryöstöt Suomesta ja Karjalasta* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2014); Jukka Korpela, *Slaves from the North: Finns and Karelians in the East European Slave Trade, 900–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

71 Hilkka Karonen, "Tutkimus suomalaisesta orjuudesta: Nainen oli jopa 20 hevosen arvoinen," 07.01.2015, https://www.iltalehti.fi/uutiset/a/2015010718982884; Markku Jokipii, "Ihminen oli keskiajan kauppatavara ja vaati huolellisen kuljetuksen," 07.05.2016, https://www.verkkouutiset.fi/ihminen-oli-keskiajan-kauppatavaraa-ja-vaati-huolellisen-kuljetuksen-50117/#3457169d [both accessed 29.03.2022]; Antti Ruotsala, "Aluevaltaus idän orjakaupan tutkimuksessa," *Tieteessä tapahtuu* 2 (2016): 65–66.

72 "Suomesta ryöstettiin keskiajalla naisia ja lapsia orjiksi idän orjamarkkinoille," 07.01.2015, https://www.epressi.com/tiedotteet/kotimaa/suomesta-ryostettiin-keskiajalla-naisia-ja-lapsia-orjiksi-idan-orjamarkkinoille.html [accessed 29.03.2022].

(when Russia invaded and occupied Finland during the Great Northern War from 1714 to 1721),[73] Keskisarja claimed that about ten percent of the population of Finland, or about 20–30,000 inhabitants, the majority of them in Finnish-speaking Ostrobotnia and eastern Finland, were enslaved and taken to Russia, some of them being sold to Persian slave traders.[74] The collective memory of Finns must commemorate the sufferings of Finns during Russian occupation rather than alleged Finnish participation in Swedish colonialism, the counter-narrative to Finnish involvement in the transatlantic slave trade therefore claims. The most militant activists even push for a monument to Finnish suffering from enslavement and genocide to be erected on the island of Karlö (Hailuoto), where Russian Cossacks killed 800 civilians.[75]

3 Part Two: Displaying, Visualizing, and Commemorating Slavery Heritage

Parallel to the academic and popular debate about postcolonialism and the involvement and legacy of Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Nordic countries, questions of its cultural heritage and remembrance started to arise. Museums, government authorities, and private initiatives have in various ways uncovered the impact of Nordic colonialism and the remnants of slavery in the three Scandinavian countries (but not in Finland, as will be discussed below).

Given the historiography of the debate, displaying and visualizing slavery heritage has taken different expressions in the Nordic countries. Public institutions such as national, regional, or municipal archives, libraries, and museums have started to address the involvement and impact of slavery in permanent exhibitions, albeit with some interesting differences. The National Museum of Denmark ranks among the forerunners, commissioning a new permanent exhibition on Danish colonialism, *Voi-*

73 Kustaa H.J. Vilkuna, *Viha: perikato, kateruus, ja kertomus isostavihasta* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2005), and *Paholaisen sota* (Helsinki: Teos, 2006). Also Heikki Aittokoski, "Täystuhon jäljillä," *Helsingin Sanomat Kuukausiliite*, 07.08.2021: 28–37.

74 "Historioitsija: Synkkyyden Suomi kärsi orjuudesta jopa enemmän kuin mikään Afrikan maa," 23.10.2015, https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/historioitsija-synkkyyden-suomi-karsi-orjuudesta-jopa-en emman-kuin-mikaan-afrikan-maa/6b127f6a-c9d3-387f-9cc0-8acf6a108b26; "Pimeä historia: Viimeisellä rannalla – Hailuodon pakolaisleiriltä vietiin suomalaisia orjiksi," 09.12.2015/03.01.2020, https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2015/12/09/pimea-historia-viimeisella-rannalla; Pekka Särkiö, "Orjuudesta," 10.10.2020, https://www.kotimaa.fi/blogit/orjuudesta/; Risto Degerman, "Hailuodon murhaperjantai oli poikkeuksellinen verilöyly – vanhat tarinat isostavihasta elävät vielä 300 vuotta rauhan jälkeenkin," 30.08.2021, https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12072751 [all accessed 29.03.2022].

75 "Orjakauppa ja kansanmurha Pohjanmaalla – pysäyttävin muistopaikka isolle vihalle on Hailuoto," 08.07.2020, https://www.kaleva.fi/orjakauppa-ja-kansanmurha-pohjanmaalla-pysayttavin/2676325 [accessed 29.03.2022].

ces from the Colonies, in four rooms in Prinsens Palais (downtown Copenhagen) in October 2017, of which one concentrates on the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Danish West Indies and giving a voice to the enslaved.[76] In addition, the museum has digitalized substantial parts of its collections and made them available for the public on its homepage. The databank includes photographs on documents, items, and artefacts produced by slaves or linked to the slave trade.[77] In addition, its homepage has a section titled 'Historical Knowledge'. Texts on the Danish West Indies, including entries on slavery, the plantation system, the abolition of slavery, the Fireburn uprising of 1878, and the transfer of the islands to the USA, are found under the thematic heading 'Historical Themes' (but, interestingly, not under the header 'The Story of Denmark'!).[78] In addition, the homepage provides a 36-page booklet on Danish colonialism, slavery, and the consumption of slave-produced goods in Denmark for classroom teaching.[79] The National Archives of Denmark (*Rigsarkivet*), in turn, digitalized all records relating to the Danish West Indies,[80] accessible through the homepage of the archives.[81] Apart from the digital records, the portal also includes guides and topical information on Danish colonialism, slavery, and the slave trade.[82] A similar thematic digital resource database (*særudgivelse*) is also provided by the Royal Library (*Det kongelige bibliotek*), including 6,773 images from the Danish West Indies[83] and the Danish Maritime Museum, with topical entries and images on Danish colonial history and colonialism.[84]

In comparison to Denmark, no national institutions in Sweden have special thematic sections on Swedish colonialism or on slavery and slave trade under the Swedish flag. Documents related to the Swedish colony of St. Barthélemy in the National Archives of Sweden (*Riksarkivet*), the *S:t Barthélemysamligen*, have been digitalized and

76 https://en.natmus.dk/museums-and-palaces/the-national-museum-of-denmark/exhibitions/voices-from-the-colonies/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

77 https://samlinger.natmus.dk/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

78 https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/historical-themes/danish-colonies/the-danish-west-indies/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

79 Christian Vollmond, *Sukker, slaver og skæbner* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2007), https://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/Editor/natmus/undervisning/dokumenter/etnografisk_samling/Sukker__slaver_og_skaebner.pdf [accessed 28.02.2023].

80 "More Than One Kilometer of Archival Records from the Colonial Era Now Available to All," 01.03.2017, https://www.sa.dk/en/news/more-than-one-kilometer-of-archival-records-from-the-colonial-era-now-available-to-all/. See further Gunvor Simonsen, "Digital Resources: Study of Danish Activities in the Caribbean," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 22.01.2021, https://oxfordre.com/latinamericanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-763 [both accessed 30.03.2022].

81 https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

82 https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en/history/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

83 http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/subject5259/en/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

84 http://billedarkiv.mfs.dk/fotoweb/archives/5001-Museet-for-s%C3%B8farts-billedarkiv/?25=Kolonier [accessed 28.02.2023].

are accessible through the internet;[85] a similar project has been launched for digitalizing local administrative archives from the Swedish period in the Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence.[86] A few additional digitalized resources are searchable on *Stockholmskällan*, the digital resource database of Stockholm City Museum, and Digitalt Museum, the online database of the Swedish Maritime Museum.[87] Interestingly, the *Historiska museet* (Swedish History Museum) in Stockholm has a special (general) exhibition on slavery, the slave trade, and slave-produced goods, but one looks in vain here for information on Swedish colonialism and Saint Barthélemy![88] Nevertheless, information on items related to early modern slavery are found on the knowledge database of the museum.[89] The only extensive exhibition on Swedish colonialism and St. Barthélemy is found in *Etnografiska museet* (Museum of Ethnography) in Stockholm;[90] objects/items produced by and related to slavery are also digitalized and found on Carlotta, the collections database of the museum.[91] The City Museum of Gothenburg, in turn, devotes one hall of its permanent exhibition on the commercial and economic expansion of the city during the eighteenth century, highlighting not only the importance of the Swedish East India Company and the China trade but also the role of Caribbean slave-produced raw material (sugar) and the establishment of Gothenburg as the center for Swedish sugar refineries.[92] Furthermore, the new permanent exhibition at the Maritime Museum in Gothenburg opened in fall 2022, critically displays Swedish colonialism and slavery on Saint Barthélemy as well as the consumption of slave-produced goods in Sweden.[93]

The obvious center for displaying and problematizing the Danish-Norwegian colonial past in Norway is *Kuben*, which is part of Aust-Agder museum and archive in Arendal. *Kuben* displays a permanent exhibition titled 'Enslaved', telling the story of the Danish-Norwegian slave ship Fredensborg, the transatlantic slave trade, and slavery in the Danish West Indies, as well as focusing on slavery today.[94] The Norwegian website of the exhibition contains additional documentary material on the slave ship.[95] A copy

85 https://sok.riksarkivet.se/?Sokord=S%3at+Barthelemysamlingen&page=1&postid=Arkis+a0972644-9ab7-11d5-a700-0002440207bb&tab=post&FacettState=undefined%3ac%7c&s=Balder [accessed 28.02.2023].
86 Fredrik Thomasson, "Den karibiske skorpionen: Om digitaliseringen av det svenska Saint-Barthélemy-arkivet i Aix-en-Provence," *Historisk tidskrift* 138, no. 1 (2018): 78–90.
87 https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/; https://www.sjohistoriska.se/samlingar/sok-i-samlingarna/digitaltmuseum [both accessed 28.02.2023].
88 Visited March 4, 2022.
89 https://historiska.se/upptack-historien/artikel/minnen-av-globalisering/ [accessed 28.02.2023].
90 Visited March 5, 2022.
91 https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web [accessed 28.02.2023].
92 Visited March 9, 2022.
93 Visited 28.3.2023.
94 https://www.kubenarendal.no/opplev-paa-kuben/english/exhibitions/ [accessed 28.02.2023].
95 https://www.kubenarendal.no/opplev-paa-kuben/utstillinger/slavegjort/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

of the slave ship is displayed at the Norwegian Maritime Museum.[96] The Fredensborg has since emerged as cultural heritage par excellence of the shared Danish-Norwegian involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and figures in the online resource database on Norwegian history, *Norges historie – Fra steinalderen til idag. Fortalt av fagfolk*.[97] In addition, the Fredensborg features in a recent TV documentary on the Norwegian slave trade.[98] The online resource database *Norges historie*, in turn, contains various materials and entries for classroom teaching on the Danish-Norwegian involvement in Atlantic slavery.[99]

Professional online databases on the history, impact, and experiences of colonialism, slavery, and the slave trade for use in school and university classes have also been established in Denmark and Sweden. The Aarhus University web portal *danmarkshistorien.dk* includes thematic articles and documents on Danish-Norwegian colonial history and slavery,[100] including an entry on the debate for the demands for an official apology for Denmark's involvement in Atlantic slavery.[101] The Danish web portal *Danmarks kolonihistorie*, produced by History Dialogues and Princeton University Global History Lab, features (archival and text) resources and research methods on Danish colonial history for school teachers.[102] Further material and resources on slavery and the Danish West Indies for twelve classroom sessions, as well as guides for teachers, is provided by *Historie Lab – Nationalt Videncenter for Historie og Kulturarvsformidling*.[103] A similar website is *Den Vestindiske Arv/The West Indian Heritage*, created by architect Ulla Lunn at Lunn & Co, providing material on Danish West Indian colonies with a focus on understanding the structure, function, and people of the colony.[104] Another website is *Christianshavns Sorte Fortid*, created by retired history teacher Anders Bjørn, containing texts and images on the Copenhagen neighborhood of Chistianshavn as the center for Denmark's transatlantic slave trade.[105] *Den*

96 https://marmuseum.no/slaveskipet-fredensborg [accessed 28.02.2023].

97 Ingvild Velure, "Slaveskipet Fredensborg," 20.01.2020/21.10.2020, https://www.norgeshistorie.no/enevelde/1251_slaveskipet-fredensborg-.html [accessed 29.03.2022].

98 Ingrid Ciakudia, "Nordmenns involvering i slavehandel – ny norsk dokumentar om Norges mörke kolonihistorie," 27.10.2020, https://afrika.no/artikkel/2020/10/27/nordmenns-involvering-i-slavehandel-ny-norsk-dokumentar-om-norges-m%C3%B8rke-kolonihistorie [accessed 29.03.2022].

99 Hilde Sandvik, "Slaveri hjemme og ute," 25.11.2015, https://www.norgeshistorie.no/grunnlov-og-ny-union/1322-Slaveri-hjemme-og-ute.html; "Opphevelsen av den dansk-norske slavehandelen," 12.10.2018/17.09.2021, https://www.norgeshistorie.no/undervisningsopplegg/dansketid/U1302-Opphevelsen-av-den-dansk-norske-slavehandelen.html [both accessed 29.03.2022].

100 https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/kolonihistorie-hvad-er-det/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

101 "Debatten om en officiel undskyldning for slaveriet i Dansk Vestindien, 1998–2017," https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/debatten-om-en-officiel-undskyldning-for-slaveriet-i-dansk-vestindien-1998/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

102 https://danmarkskolonihistorie.wordpress.com/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

103 https://historielab.dk/til-undervisningen/kildebank/vestindienkildebank-2/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

104 http://den-vestindiske-arv.dk/en/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

105 https://sortefortid.dk/ [accessed 28.02.2023].

Vest Indiske Arv/The West Indian Heritage inspired BYLYD, a podcast on Danish urban studies and architecture, to critically examine the relationship between sugar and architecture in Denmark and the Danish West Indies.[106]

In Sweden, the *Forum för levande historia* (The Living History Forum), a public agency operating under the Ministry of Culture initially established in 2003 to raise awareness about the Holocaust and crimes against humanity committed by communist regimes by offering and producing material for lower and upper secondary schools as well as seminars and in-service training for school staff, extended its mission to prevent and combat racism, including Afrophobia.[107] In October 2021, the Swedish government tasked the Living History Forum to enhance public knowledge about Sweden's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery.[108] The homepage of the Living History Forum now contains some material on St. Barthelemy, the transatlantic slave trade, and Afrophobia,[109] alongside a guide for teachers on how to use the material.[110] Digital material for history classes, including those on slavery and slave trade under the Swedish flag, is further provided by the digital learning resource *SO-rummet*.[111] A recent initiative launched by some civil society activists is *Black Archives Sweden*. Initially a contemporary archive centered around the experiences and narratives of Afro-Swedes and Black people in Sweden, Black Archives Sweden also scrutinizes what they define as "public archives of violence and racism" as well as traces of colonialism in Sweden. Their first entry brings to attention the statue *De fem världsdelarna* (The Five Continents) at Järntorget in Gothenburg, defining it a marker of imperial memory and European colonialism.[112]

106 "#11 Sukker og slaver i dansk arkitektur," http://www.bylyd.dk/11-sukker-og-slaver-i-dansk-arkitektur [accessed 01.04.2022].

107 Government Offices of Sweden, *A Comprehensive Approach to Combat Racism and Hate Crime: National Plan to Combat Racism, Similar Forms of Hostility and Hate Crime* (Stockholm: Government of Sweden, 2017), https://www.government.se/492382/contentassets/e6047ff54c00452895005f07e2e2ba39/a-comprehensive-approach-to-combat-racism-and-hate-crime [accessed 28.02.2023].

108 "Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, Uppdrag till Forum för levande historia att öka kunskapen om Sveriges deltagande i den transatlantiska slavhandeln och slaveriet," 07.10.2017, https://www.regeringen.se/4a8fd3/contentassets/bf3d8ff21a8148118958c182b323e341/uppdrag-att-att-oka-kunskapen-om-sveriges-deltagande-i-den-transatlantiska-slavhandeln-och-slaveriet.pdf [accessed 30.03.2022].

109 See further https://www.levandehistoria.se/klassrummet/kallkritik-historiebruk-rasism/elevsida-kallkritik/st-barthelemy; https://www.levandehistoria.se/klassrummet/kallkritik-historiebruk-rasism/elevsida-historiebruk/st-barthelemy; https://www.levandehistoria.se/fakta-fordjupning/olika-former-av-intolerans/afrofobi/afrofobins-historia-i-sverige [all accessed 28.02.2023].

110 https://www.levandehistoria.se/sites/default/files/kallkritik_historiebruk_och_rasism_-_om_klassrumsmaterialet.pdf [accessed 28.02.2023].

111 https://www.so-rummet.se/kategorier/historia/nya-tiden/slaveri-och-triangelhandel# [accessed 28.02.2023].

112 "Public Archives and Colonial Traces," 27.10.2021, https://www.blackarchivessweden.com/public-archives-and-colonial-traces/ [accessed 30.03.2022].

Spurred by the resource database on the Danish West Indies provided by the Danish National Archives, the Norwegian National Archives (*Arkivverket*) initiated a similar project in 2017 to identify Norwegian connections to Atlantic slavery. As a result, the building of the old eighteenth-century sugar refinery (*Sukkerhuset*) in Trondheim was identified as a memorial site.[113] Similar buildings exist at several locations in the Nordic countries, but only a few of them have hitherto been recognized and included in the list of slavery heritage sites. Most of them are obvious targets – the residences, mansions, and warehouses in Copenhagen and Christianshavn of owners and investors in slave plantations in the Danish-Norwegian West Indies and companies engaged in the Danish-Norwegian trans-Atlantic slave trade, including Moltke's Mansion (Christian IX's Palæ at Amalienborg Palace), Bargum's Mansion (Det Gule Palæ, 11 Amaliegade), Schimmelmann's Mansion (Odd Fellow Palæ, 28 Bredgade), the MacEvoy Mansion (Dehns Palæ, 54 Bredgade), Jeppe Prætorius' house (39 Ovengaden Neden Vandet), and the West Indian Warehouse (Vestindisk Pakhus, 40 Toldbodgade). These sites, alongside the locations of former sugar refineries (11 Nyhavn; 26 Strandgade), have figured prominently in the local slave walks that the Danish civil society organization Another Copenhagen initiated in 2011.[114] The Copenhagen slave walks inspired local residents to identify the sites of other former sugar refineries, among others Skt. Croix Sukkerhus in Christianshavn.[115] Hitherto, eighteenth-century sugar refineries features as part of national or local commercial and economic history, with no reference to slave-produced raw sugar from the Danish West Indies being processed in the factories. However, this changed during the critical debates in Denmark during the 2010s, informing people anpit the link between Roskilde Sukkerhus or Flensburg's rum industry and local wealth generated from their direct links to Atlantic slavery.[116] In addition, the role of *Kronborg Geværfabrik* (Kronborg Small Arms Works) in Hellebæk outside Elsinore in the transatlantic slave trade has been recognized – about one third of the 6,000 annu-

113 Jon Olav Hove, "Dei vestindiske øyane og den dansk-norske slavehandel," 11.11.2017, https://www.arkivverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/eldre-historie--1814/de-vestindiske-oyer-og-den-dansk-norske-slavehandel [accessed 30.03.2022].

114 https://www.facebook.com/AnotherCopenhagen/; "Kender du Another Copenhagen?" https://etanderledeskbh.wordpress.com/tours/another-copenhagen/; "København og Kolonierne," https://byvandring.nu/kolonitur/; "Colonial Denmark and the Slave Trade," https://www.guideservicedanmark.dk/denmark-and-the-slave-trade; Rune Edberg, "10 Places in Copenhagen Linked to Colonialism," 21.09.2020, https://www.historyhit.com/10-places-in-copenhagen-linked-to-colonialism/ [all accessed 30.03.2022].

115 "Skt. Croix Sukkerhus," 27.05.2014, http://alda.dk/lokalhistorie/skt-croix-sukkerhus [accessed 30.03.2022].

116 Daniel Tarkan Nacak Rasmussen, "Sukkerhus i Roskilde byggede på slavehandel i 1700-tallet," *Roskilde Museum*, https://romu.dk/blog/sukkerhus-i-roskilde-byggede-paa-slavehandel-i-1700-tallet/, "TV: Rom & Sukker byen Flensborg," 19.09.2017, https://www.dcbib.dk/nyheder/nyt-fra-den-slesvigske-samling/tv-rom-sukker-byen-flensborg (contains a link to a TV documentary by Jorgen Pedersen) [both accessed 01.04.2022].

ally produced muskets were transported to West Africa and traded there for enslaved Africans during the latter half of the eighteenth century.[117]

Identifying slavery heritage sites in Sweden started when the Afro-Swedish National Association started to contest the national narratives and to address the history of Afrophobia in Sweden by arranging slave walks in Stockholm in 2015. A key site along their route is Järntorget, where the office of the Swedish West India Company (from 1786 to 1805) and the house of its director and slave trader Lars Rejmers was located, along with the mansion of the Grill family (Grillska huset), one of the major shareholders in the company, at Stortorget. The walks also pass the De Geer Palais (nowadays the Royal Dutch embassy) in Södermalm, and the Skeppsbrokajen, where four enslaved African children disembarked and were given as presents to Louis De Geer, the director of the seventeenth-century Swedish Africa Company and "father of Swedish slave trade." Other stops include the statue of King Gustav III (remembered for his role in initiating Swedish colonialism), the Räntmästarhuset at Slussplan for its link to Carl Linnaeus and his racial human taxonomy, and the Slussen area, the former site of Järngraven where so-called voyage iron produced at the Swedish iron works was weighed and then found its way to West Africa and the Caribbean.[118] Louis De Geer made national headlines when a contemporary member of his family, the artist Carl Johan De Geer, exposed his forefather's engagement in the transatlantic slave trade in his provocative exhibition *Släkten och slavarna* (*The Family and the Slaves*) at Norrköping Art Museum in 2019.[119]

The identification of slavery heritage sites in Sweden is concentrated in two urban locations, Stockholm and Gothenburg. In contrast to Copenhagen, where sugar refineries (*sockerbruk*) have been identified as slavery heritage sites, the Stockholm Slave Walk does not include them, although this might change as recent archaeological excavations in the Slussen area have uncovered pottery used for distilling cane sugar in the two eighteenth-century sugar refineries established on Södermalm.[120]

117 "Kronborg Geværfabrik," *Helsingør Leksikon*, https://helsingorleksikon.dk/index.php/Kronborg_Gev%c3%a6rfabrik; https://helsingorleksikon.dk/index.php/Kronborg_Gev%C3%A6rfabrik#Schimmelmann_og_Kronborg_Gev.C3.A6rfabrik [both accessed 28.02.2023].

118 "I slavhandelns fotspår," 15.10.2015, http://www.fria.nu/artikel/119641; "The Little-Known Role Sweden Played in the Colonial Slave Trade," 15.06.2020, https://www.thelocal.se/20200615/how-can-sweden-better-face-up-to-its-colonial-past/; "City Walk with Literary Agenda: In the Footsteps of the Slave Trade," 20.05.2021, https://www.hhs.se/en/about-us/calendar/art-initiative/2021/city-walk-with-literary-agenda--city-walk-in-the-footsteps-of-the-slave-trade/. See further Faaid Ali-Nur, "De dolda berättelserna – en del av Sveriges koloniala arv," *SO-didaktik – Interkulturell historia: Kulturmöten och världshistoria* 1 (2016): 42–45, https://issuu.com/so-didaktik/docs/so-didaktik_nr1_2016 [all accessed 01.04.2022].

119 Anna Hallgren, "Äntligen tar någon itu med Norrköpings slavhistoria," 16.01.2019, https://www.expressen.se/kultur/konst/antligen-tar-nagon-itu-med-norrkopings-slavhistoria/ [accessed 01.04.2022].

120 "Månadens fynd – oktober 2021," http://www.slussenportalen.se/index.php/pagaende-projekt/manadens-fynd/item/191-manadens-fynd-oktober-2021 [accessed 01.04.2022].

The three eighteenth-century sugar refineries in Norrköping[121] and the Stenebergs sockerbruk in Gävle[122] have not been included in the walks: no eighteenth-century Swedish iron works, which produced voyage iron, have been identified as slavery heritage sites.[123] In addition, one looks in vain for any information on the homepage of Klädesholmen, a Swedish herring company located on the island of Klädesholmen in Bohuslän, about salted herring caught in Bohuslän being used as staple food for enslaved plantation workers in the Caribbean during the second half of the eighteenth century.[124]

The situation in Gothenburg illuminates the agency and activity of different groups in identifying slavery heritage sites. In 2014, the web portal *Det Gamla Göteborg* (Old Gothenburg), operated by a local association, already carried extensive entries on several well-known eighteen-century Gothenburg-based families that made their fortune from investments in the transatlantic slave trade, protomodern industries that used slave-produced raw material, including cotton, sugar, and tobacco,[125] or the export of salted herring to the West Indies.[126] In 2019, the Göteborg International Biennial for Contemporary Art started to trace the legacy of colonialism, slavery, and slave trade in Gothenburg,[127] identifying the *Franska tomten* at Packhusplatsen as a possible site for a

121 "Sirap, socker och slaveri," 17.06.2019, https://arkeologerna.com/bloggar/arkeologi-i-norrkoping/sirap-socker-och-slaveri/. A potential heritage site commemorating Norrköping's involvement in Atlantic slavery could be the *Sockermästarens bostad* (the house of the sugar master), the only remaining building of the eighteenth-century sugar refineries in the town: see "Gamla Rådstugugatan 26 (Sockermästarens bostad)," https://www.norrkopingshistoria.se/gamla-radstugugatan-26-sockermastarens-bostad/ [both accessed 01.04.2022].

122 "Stenebergs sockerbruk," https://www.lansstyrelsen.se/gavleborg/samhalle/kulturmiljo/byggnadsminnen/byggnadsminnen-i-gavleborg/gavle/stenebergs-sockerbruk.html [accessed 28.02.2023].

123 On Swedish voyage iron, see further Chris Evans and Göran Rydén, *Baltic Iron in the Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Chris Evans and Göran Rydén, "'Voyage Iron': An Atlantic Slave Trade Currency, Its European Origins, and West African Impact," *Past & Present* 239, no. 1 (2018): 41–70.

124 "Historia," https://kladesholmen.se/historia/ [accessed 28.02.2023]. On Swedish herring exports to the Caribbean, see Eric Schnakenbourg, "Sweden and the Atlantic: The Dynamism of Sweden's Colonial Projects in the Eighteenth Century," in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas Monie Nordin (New York: Springer, 2013): 229–42.

125 Anders Svensson, "Slaveriet – något som även svenskar profiterade på," 09.04.2014, https://gamlagoteborg.se/2014/04/09/slaveriet-nagot-som-aven-svenskar-profiterade-pa/ [accessed 01.04.2022].

126 Anders Svensson, "Lars Kåhre – sillhandlare och slaveriprofitör," 13.04.2014, https://gamlagoteborg.se/2014/04/13/kahre-sillhandlare-och-slaveriprofitor/ [accessed 01.04.2022].

127 Göteborg International Biennial for Contemporary Art 2019, "Part of the Labyrinth," https://www.gibca.se/gibca/arkiv/gibca-2019/tematik/; "Göteborg försöker göra kolonialismen synligare," 12.09.2019, https://www.expressen.se/kultur/konst/goteborg-forsoker-gora-kolonialismen-synligare/ [both accessed 01.04.2022].

memorial monument[128] and initiating a series of seminars and artistic commissions for the visual representation in public space of Sweden's colonial past and its contemporary consequences.[129] This was followed up at the eleventh Biennial in 2021, which turned the space at Packhusplatsen into a starting point for narrating the colonial past of the city.[130]

Discussions and activities identifying slavery heritage sites in Norway have so far been concentrated in Trondheim, although premodern sugar refineries also existed in Bergen and Halden. In Finland, none of the potential buildings and locations that were directly or indirectly part of the 'Atlantic slavery hinterland' (either by processing slave-produced raw material – the sugar refineries in Åbo, Helsingfors, and Borgå or the tar magazines in port towns along the Ostrobotnian coast) have been identified as slavery heritage sites.[131] Nevertheless, at least in Åbo, the Global History Lab at Åbo Akademi University has mapped several spots along the Aura River liked to Atlantic slavery.[132]

What is obvious from the displaying and visualization of slavery heritage in the four Nordic countries is the heavy focus on the Northern Atlantic. Slavery heritage and hinterlands are restricted to the eighteenth century, therefore mainly focusing on plantation slavery in the Caribbean and sugar, as well as sometimes coffee, cotton, and tobacco. However, eighteenth-century cotton mills, tobacco spinning mills, and coffee houses in the Nordic countries rarely, if ever, figure in the discussions. Even more problematic is the omission of the 'Hidden Atlantic' of the nineteenth-century, especially Brazil and Cuba, from where slave-produced coffee, tobacco and sugar continued to be shipped to the Nordic countries. The concentration on the eighteenth-century legacy was lessened during the global Black Lives Movement and the de-

128 "Franska tomten som narrativ utgångspunkt," https://www.gibca.se/gibca/gibca-2021/tematik/franska-tomten/. *Franska tomten*, or the French block, was a lot France received as a storage place in Gothenburg in exchange for St. Barthélemy in 1784. See further Klas Rönnbäck, "Traces of Ignominy: Gothenburg's French Block and Sweden's Hunt for Colonies," 13.07.2012, https://www.eurozine.com/traces-of-ignominy/ [both accessed 01.04.2022]; Klas Rönnbäck, ""Alltid något att visa upp för nationens ögon: Franska tomten och den svenska jakten på kolonier," *Ord & Bild* (2007): 63–69; Klas Rönnbäck, "Franska tomten och den svenska jakten på kolonier," in *Göteborg utforskat: Studier av en stad i förändring*, ed. Helena Holgersson, Catharina Thörn, Håkan Thörn and Matthias Wahlström (Göteborg: Glänta, 2019): 175–82.

129 "Possible Monuments? Konstnärens roll i synliggörandet av svensk kolonialhistoria," https://www.gibca.se/projekt/possible-monuments/; "Possible Mounuments? The Role of Art in Making Swedish Colonial History Visible," https://possiblemonuments.se/ [both accessed 28.02.2023]; Rebecka Katz Thor, "Minnen och monument: Förhandlingar om sårbarhet och sörjbarhet i det offentliga rummet," *Glänta* 1 (2021): 5–15.

130 Eleventh edition of Göteborg International Biennial of Contemporary Art, "The Ghost Ship and the Sea Change," http://www.rodasten.com/index.php/rs_events/view/gibca_2021_en [accessed 01.04.2022].

131 Holger Weiss, "Slavhandel, slaveri och Finland – en ickehistoria?" 24.05.2016, https://blogs.abo.fi/historia/2016/05/24/slavhandel-slaveri-och-finland-en-ickehistoria/ [accessed 01.04.2022].

132 "Locating the Global in Turku," 18.10.2021, https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1HfdiasWuZaBWLnNJnQX7nsQ9zhwYXjRp&ll=60.444247620919725%2C22.257668899999995&z=14 [accessed 04.01.2022].

mands to remove statues and monuments of people who had promoted or invested in the slave trade and slave plantations in Denmark (King Frederik V),[133] Norway (Ludvig Holberg),[134] and Sweden (King Gustav III and Louis De Geer).[135] In Bergen, local activists demanded to rename the district of Møhlenpris, named after the Norwegian slave trader Jørgen Thor Møhlen.[136] In Finland, the response to the toppling of statues and monuments was that no such items existed in the country, the nearest one being that of Gustav III in Stockholm.[137] In Copenhagen, some local politicians proposed naming new streets in Copenhagen after slave rebels and labor rights campaigners.[138]

Although the cultural heritage of slavery is displayed and visualized in Copenhagen through slave walks and on homepages, the attempt by Another Copenhagen to mark some of key memorial sites with brass plaques in 2017 seems to have ended in a cul-de-sac.[139] Since 2015, the civil society organization *Foreningen for et kolonihistorisk center* (KONI) has lobbied for the establishment of a center for colonial history in the former West India Warehouse (*Vestindisk Pakhus*) in Copenhagen. The center, the as-

133 Kate Brown, "An Explosive Debate Has Roiled Denmark After a Department Head at Its Top Art Academy Was Fired for Drowning a Bust of a Former King," 02.10.2020, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/katrine-dirckinck-holmfeld-royal-academy-of-art-1927592; James Day, Jonas Eika, Jakob Jakobsen, Kirstine Mose and Frida Sandström, "Making Histories, Defacing Violence. Danish Colonialism before and after the Sinking of the Bust of Frederick V," 15.02.2021, https://publicsquare.dk/artikel/marking-histories-defacing-violence-danish-colonialism-before-and-after-the-sinking-of-the-bust-of-frederick-v [all accessed 03.04.2022].

134 "Ta ned rasist/slavehandler-statuerne i Norge!" https://www.opprop.net/ta_ned_slavehandler-statuene_i_norge; "Holberg og norsk slavehandel: Horgar og Herbjørnsrud svarer på usanne anklagelser," *Senter for global og komparativ idéhisotrie*, 22.06.2020, http://www.sgoki.org/no/2020/06/22/holberg-og-norsk-slavehandel-horgar-og-herbjornsrud-svarer/ [both accessed 01.04.2022].

135 Martin Schibbye, "Vi behöver resa fler statyer," 13.06.2020, https://blankspot.se/vi-behover-resa-fler-statyer/; "Stockholms stad får krav på att ta bort statyer," *Dagens Nyheter*, 16.06.2020, https://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/stockholms-stad-far-krav-pa-att-ta-bort-statyer/; Rebecca Walan, "Kulturarv under lupp," 26.06.2020, https://stockholmslansmuseum.se/2020/06/26/kulturarv-under-lupp/; Per Brinkemo and Johan Lundberg, "Bör svenskarna säga förlåt för slavhandeln?" 12.08.2020, https://kvartal.se/artiklar/bor-svenskarna-saga-forlat-for-slavhandeln/ [all accessed 01.04.2022].

136 "Krav om navnskifte på bydel i Bergen som er oppkalt etter slavehandler," 09.06.2020, https://resett.no/2020/06/09/krav-om-navneskifte-pa-bydel-i-bergen-som-er-oppkalt-etter-slavehandler/?swcfpc=1 [accessed 01.04.2022]. See further Thomas Daltveit Slettebø, "Contested Legacies of Early Modern Colonialism in Norway: A Summary of the 2020 Debates on Ludvig Holberg and Jørgen Thormøhlen," *1700-tal* (2021): 130–38.

137 Hilla Körkkö, "Selvitimme asiantuntijoilta: Onko Suomessa orjakaupan historiasta muistuttavia patsaita, jotka joutaisivat jokeen? Löysimme yhden, tavallaan," *Helsingin Sanomat*, 12.06.2020, https://www.hs.fi/nyt/art-2000006538547.html [accessed 02.04.2022].

138 "Copenhagen May Name New Streets over Danish Rebels," 12.06.2020, https://www.thelocal.dk/20200612/copenhagen-to-name-new-roads-over-slave-rebels/ [accessed 03.04.2022].

139 "Mesingskilte skal oplyse danskerne om vores fortid som kolonimagt," 11.05.2017, https://politiken.dk/kultur/art5943273/Messingskilte-skal-oplyse-danskerne-om-vores-fortid-som-kolonimagt [accessed 03.04.2022]; see further about the attempt on Another Copenhagen's Facebook account, 07.05.017, https://www.facebook.com/AnotherCopenhagen/ [accessed 01.04.2022].

sociation outlines, is to focus on Danish colonial history and, together with the statue *I am Queen Mary*, evolve as the focal point for remembering Danish colonialism and decolonializing Danish history.[140] Erected in 2018, the 7-meter tall statue modelled on Queen Mary, one of the main leaders of the labor rebellion on St. Croix in 1878, by Danish-Caribbean artist Jeannette Ehlers and St. Croix artist La Vaughn Belle in front of the West Indian Warehouse is the only monument commemorating Atlantic slavery and its legacies in the Nordic countries,[141] alongside a replica of Ghanaian sculptor Bright Bimpong's freedom statue, permanently placed in front of Eigtveds Pakhus at the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen.[142]

4 Concluding Reflections

Nordic involvement in Atlantic slavery is a fact, although its postcolonial legacy is still contested. Academic research on the topic has unearthed its complexities, while activists and civil society associations have challenged and revised earlier colonial amnesia and eurocentric presentations of colonial history. Slavery constituted the bedrock for Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish colonialism in the Caribbean, and all Nordic countries were linked to Atlantic slavery either directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, while direct and indirect links can and have been identified in all Nordic countries, their visibility and display is uneven.

Nordic involvement in Atlantic slavery and the transatlantic slave trade is today part of public memory in the Scandinavian countries. Apart from being displayed in museums, slavery heritage sites are mainly visualized and contextualized on homepages. However, none of the buildings and places identified as cultural heritage sites of slavery in Copenhagen, Stockholm, Gothenburg, or Trondheim are marked with signposts or plaques reminding people about their links to Atlantic slavery. The cultural heritage of slavery exists in cyberspace rather than in public space in the Scandinavian countries. In Finland, the memorization of the enslavement of Finns challenges and blurs the cultural heritage of Atlantic slavery.

140 "Om etablering af et kolonihistorisk center," http://kolonihistoriskcenter.dk/; Lasse Marker, "Debatten raser: Skal Danmark have et kolonihistorisk museum?" 22.10.2021, https://www.akademikerbladet.dk/debat/lasse-marker/debatten-raser-skal-danmark-have-et-kolonihistorisk-museum [accessed 03.04.2022]. See also Cristina E. Clopot, Casper Andersen and John Oldfield, "New Diplomacy and Decolonial Heritage Practices," in *Decolonizing Colonial Heritage: New Agendas, Actors and Practices In and Beyond Europe*, ed. Britta Timm Knudsen, John Oldfield, Elizabeth Buettner and Elvan Zabunyan (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2022): 283–84.

141 Contemporary Monuments to the Slave Past, "I am Queen Mary (Copenhagen, Denmark)," https://www.slaverymonuments.org/items/show/1157 [accessed 28.02.2023].

142 Amalie Skovmøller and Mathias Danbolt, "Ripple Effects," 04.12.2020, https://kunstkritikk.com/ripple-effects/ [accessed 03.04.2022].

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Julia Roth

‘The First Global Players’: The Welsers of Augsburg in the Enslavement Trade and the City’s Memory Culture

Fig. 1a and b: Facebook page of the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum.

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1 'Global Players'/500-Year-Old Success Structures: The Welsers in the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum

Visitors coming to the south German city of Augsburg encounter a long and multilayered history inscribed into the cities' buildings, squares, infrastructure, and narratives. One aspect many citizens of Augsburg seem to be particularly proud of is the legacy of the Fugger and Welser merchants, who in the sixteenth century belonged to the wealthiest and most influential trading houses in Europe and expanded their trading spots and influence worldwide. When visiting Augsburg, after being welcomed to the *Fuggerstadt Augsburg* [Fugger City] on the train station, one can, for instance, take a tour around the so-called "Fuggerei," an early social housing project sponsored by founder Jakob Fugger "the Rich" in 1521. On the Fuggerei's website one finds chapters and information on the "basis for Jakob's economic success," or "Jakob Fugger – the most successful donor of the world."[1] The Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum, which is dedicated to the two trading families' histories and located in the historic Wieselhaus at Äußeres Pfaffengässchen in the city's historic dome quarter, also ranks high among the city's main tourist attractions. In 2018, visitors were greeted by a poster adorning the entrance to the museum which praised the Augsburg merchants as "the First Global Players." Built in 2014, the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum is run by the regional tourism agency.[2] Dr. Stefanie von Welser and Prof. Dr. Angelika Westermann were listed as curators and advisors for the museum's exhibition until August 2014. Director Götz Beck initiated the replacement of these curators after they consistently refused to frame the Augsburg merchants' history and their involvement in the enslavement trade more critically: even the museum's board threatened to resign.[3]

Putting emphasis on the "adventures" of the Augsburg merchants (and on providing "adventurous formats" that focus on "experiencing" the merchants' activities), the museum promises its visitors insights into how the traders became so wealthy that they could sponsor and donate to projects and art on such a large scale. The website describes it as the museum's aim to present the history of the "most significant Augsburg families of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries"[4] and specifies the exhibitions' focus as follows:

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1 "Fuggerei," Fugger, https://www.fugger.de/geschichte/grundlagen-fuer-jakobs-wirtschaftlichen-erfolg [accessed 15.09.2022].

2 Regio Augsburg Tourismus, http://www.augsburg-tourismus.de/ [accessed 02.06.2022].

3 See Nicole Prestle, "Großer Streit um ein kleines Haus," *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 12.09.2014, https://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/augsburg/Augsburg-Grosser-Streit-um-ein-kleines-Haus-id31300917.html [accessed 02.06.2022].

4 Fugger und Welser, translation Julia Roth.

> At the center is the question which success factors made the two families rich. To this end, trade relations and business fields, communication structures, and social networks are illuminated. The importance of Augsburg for the economy at the turn of the Middle Ages to the early modern period is also made clear.[5]

In the permanent exhibition, the history of the Fuggers and Welsers is framed in this way:

> 'Economic Miracle': The 'Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum' not only engages in the histories of the Fugger and Welser families. The economic history of Augsburg and Europe in the age of the 'commercial revolution' provides the recurrent theme throughout the museum. It addresses barracan[6] weaving, long-distance trading, financial business and montane economy, technological innovations, the newly emerging postal system, the beginnings of globalization and the Fuggers' and Welsers' possessions of leadership and real estate in Augsburg.[7]

Furthermore, the museum makers emphasize their objective to build a bridge to today:

> Reference to the present: With the 'Age of the Fuggers and Welsers', the museum not only illuminates an instructive past. For each topic, short texts establish a connection to the present. They encourage visitors to engage with the historical content in a lively way.[8]

Thus, a broad program of guided theme tours, re-enactments, and interactive and playful formats is meant to fulfil this idea of "livelihood" and accessibility, as well as relatability.[9] Guided tours are, for instance, announced as follows: "Experience how the Fuggers and Welsers operate in the Venetian Fondaco dei Tedeschi and expand their trade relations throughout Europe; how they finance popes, emperors, and kings and undertake trading voyages to India, Africa, and South America" or "Dive into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." The tours a include topics ranging from

5 Fugger und Welser, "Das Museum," http://www.fugger-und-welser-museum.de/museum/#einfuehrung [accessed 02.06.2022], translated by Julia Roth.

6 Barragán = Barchent.

7 As of June 2022, the text was slightly changed on the museum's website, replacing "the beginnings of globalization" with "the beginnings of colonization" Fugger und Welser, "Das Museum," translation Julia Roth, http://www.fugger-und-welser-museum.de/museum/#einfuehrung [accessed 02.06.2022]).

8 Fugger und Welser, "Das Museum," translation Julia Roth.

9 "Numerous Experience/Adventure Stations: Our museum lives especially from the numerous experience stations. For example, visitors find themselves in the middle of a fictitious conversation between Jakob Fugger the Rich and Bartholomäus V. Welser. Or they eavesdrop on members of the Herrenstube gossiping about politics and religion at the gender dance. State-of-the-art museum technology and innovative presentation ideas throughout the building make a visit to the museum an entertaining experience that appeals to all the senses. [. . .]. Equally important is the contemporary presentation of the contents: the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum is equipped with state-of-the-art technology. You can find out more about this under "Multimedia" (Fugger und Welser, "Das Museum," translation Julia Roth). Guided tours: Fulger und Welser, "Museum erleben für Kinder," http://www.fugger-und-welser-museum.de/programm/#fuer-kinder [accessed 02.06.2022].

"The Fugger and Medici – Patrons of Renaissance Art" to "Starlight on Sea Waves" (declared "family friendly"), which not only inform visitors about "the sea voyages of the discoverers," but also "the trade in exotic fruits, and one of the darkest chapters in modern times: the trade in enslaved people."[10] The museum's "guiding ideas" are thus described as follows: "500-year-old success structures are reflected, and the visitor is inspired to think what these look like today."[11] This particular framing and presentation of the Welsers' history provide an insightful example of a particular form of memory culture: the museum does not deny early global entanglements and related colonial plunders, but rather activates these aspects in a certain way that avoids questioning the overarching narrative of successful early "global players" and their model character.

Thus, this chapter takes this framing of the Fuggers and Welsers as "global players" literally and seeks to delineate and trace the role of the Augsburg traders in the colonization of the Americas and the trade in enslaved Africans, as well as the symbolic meaning that has later been attached to them in this regard. Against the backdrop of the politics of the Fugger and Welser Museum, the chapter argues for an entangled and decolonial perspective to broaden the discursive framework for addressing the role and function of German actors, German money, and German knowledge in the colonial enterprise. Shifting the focus to the activities of these early actors in the Americas, the text suggests a reading of the Fugger and Welser merchants in two ways: 1. As an exemplary case for the constitutive role and the structural and systemic involvement of German actors, capital, and know-how in the colonial endeavor (and as a source of later German colonial and ethno-nationalist fantasies); 2. As a counterpoint to the still very powerful narrative of Germany as a "latecomer" when it comes to colonialism and German colonial activities as minor in comparison to other colonial powers.

Indeed, the text makes a claim for a coloniality perspective.[12] Focusing on the colonial power logics and persistent inequalities it continues to produce, the proposed reading of the Augsburg traders enables us to take the systemic underpinnings and structural power logics beyond national or cultural borders into account and read the Welser as early "global players." They took part in the *conquista*, even if they were not very 'successful' conquerors, since the emperor assigned them a very peripheral territory that was difficult to govern. However, structurally, as sponsors of Charles V, these merchants can be considered as significant actors in the conquest, if not particularly large-scale ones. The Augsburg merchants also profited from colonial plunder, predominantly precious metals. After being granted licenses for the trade in enslaved humans by the Spanish crown in return for the money they invested in the conquest,

10 "Buchbare Führungen," Fugger und Welser, translation Julia Roth.

11 Fugger und Weser, translation Julia Roth.

12 See Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views From South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533–74.

the Welsers indeed became for some time significant actors in the Atlantic trade in enslaved humans and enslaved labor, and their factors continued to be active in the region afterwards.

Finally, against the backdrop of the century-long involvement in ideological, epistemic, and material domination initiated with the conquest, the chapter will take some first steps to broaden the discourse on the memory of the Augsburg traders in the city thanks to activist and civic interventions. The additional material included into the museum has so far been reduced to formats such as a podcast series and lectures external to the actual exhibition. The chapter thus finally proposes to read the Welsers as an exemplary case for current discourses around colonial legacies and persistent colonial power logics and inequalities as expressed in debates about provenience, memory politics, and reparation claims in the face of recent polarizations around memory culture and plurality.

2 German Finance, the Conquest of the Americas, and the Trade in Enslaved Africans

In the early sixteenth century, the Habsburg monarchs were supposed to also inherit Spain. The Fugger and Welser families of Augsburg played an important role in Habsburg affairs, since they were the wealthiest of the patrician families in the city (where they had been based since 1367), then a Free Imperial City: it had recently surpassed Nuremberg as a center for intra-European commerce. The so-called imperial diets, official meetings for the Holy Roman Empire, were held in the cities in which the Welser company, headed by the Welser family, conducted business across Central Europe, as well as in Antwerp, Lyon, Venice, Seville, and Lisbon. By 1508, the Welsers also owned sugar plantations on the islands of Tenerife and La Palma.[13] In this setting, the wealthy Augsburg merchants saw an opportunity to profit from the expansion into the Americas, since they had good relations with the Habsburgs. To finance the conquest, the Welser and Fugger houses granted Charles I a large amount of credit in 1519 to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V). As fixed in the 1528 Contract of Madrid (also known as the "Welser Contracts"), the merchants were in return guaranteed the privilege to carry out so-called "*entradas*" (expeditions) to conquer and exploit large parts of the territories that now belong to Venezuela and Colombia.[14] By that time, the South American territories were closed for foreign colonial interests

13 See Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013): 508; Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 690.

14 See Michael Zeuske, *Von Bolívar zu Chávez. Die Geschichte Venezuelas* (Zürich: Rotpunktverlag: 2008).

and their conquest was just beginning. Meanwhile, Montezuma's realm in Mexico had already been overthrown, and the conquest there was at its peak. The German traders shared fantasies about unimagined riches fueled by the discovery of golden treasures: indeed, the Welsers are said to have created the myth of El Dorado (the city of gold).[15] Moreover, and in addition to the licenses for the *entradas*,[16] the Welsers were granted the monopoly on the import of enslaved African workers, who provided a much-needed unpaid workforce after the extinction of the autochthonous population of the Antilles.[17] The contract from February 12, 1528, granted them the import of 4,000 enslaved Africans to the Americas over the following four years.[18]

The Welser company had paid the Spanish crown 20,000 ducats for this license, to be paid back over four years. In turn, they were freed from all further tolls for sale or import, which opened them an opportunity to profit to the tune of 80,000 ducats.[19] Since the conquest was an insecure endeavor, the Welsers achieved "safeguarding through a net of rights and contracts."[20] The Spanish crown hoped to gain the financiers' support for the colonial holdings through these privileges because these promised the Germans profits from various businesses. As Susanne Zantop underscores: "Die reichen Finanziers sollten auf diese Weise den Spaniern bei der Expansion und Befestigung des Kolonialbestandes auf dem Kontinent helfen und konnten nebenbei gewissermaßen auf eigene Faust kolonisieren und Profite einstreichen."[21] [In this way, the rich financiers could help the Spanish establish their colonial holdings on the continent and could additionally colonize and pocket profits at their own peril].

15 See Jörg Denzer, *Die Konquista der Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft in Südamerika 1528–1556* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005): 14–15.

16 Zeuske mentions a series of contracts in which the emperor granted the Augsburg Welser the *gobernación* (rule) over the "province of Venezuela and Cabo de la Vela" (Zeuske, *Von Bolívar zu Chávez*: 51).

17 The Welser were already involved in the enslavement trade when Charles V offered them to take over the trade. The first transport of enslaved Africans reached Santo Domingo in December 1528 with 250 enslaved Africans on board: 50 had died. See Enrique Otte, "Die Welser in Santo Domingo," in *Von Bankiers und Kaufleuten, Räten, Reedern und Piraten, Hintermännern und Strohmännern. Aufsätze zur atlantischen Expansion Spaniens*, ed. Günter Vollmer and Horst Pietschmann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner: 2004): 132.

18 Otte speaks of the "advantageous sales and payment conditions" for the German traders, e.g., the highest price per enslaved. See Otte, "Die Welser in Santo Domingo": 133 The contract states: "We give you permission that you, or who might have the letter of attorney, bring 4,000 negro slaves (from Africa), of which at least will be one third female, to the mentioned islands (Haiti and Puerto Rico) and the mainland and distribute them there." See Wolfgang Lieberknecht, "Eingebrannt: C AB C (Churfürstlich-Afrikanisch-Brandenburgische Compagnie): Der Sklavenhandel und die Deutschen," *Journal Ethnologie Online* (2004), https://www.journal-ethnologie.de/Schwerpunktthemen/Schwerpunktthemen_2004/Sklaverei/Eingebrannt__C_AB_C/index.html [accessed 28.02.2023].

19 See Denzer, *Die Konquista*: 53.

20 Denzer, *Die Konquista*: 53.

21 Susanne Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien im vorkolonialen Deutschland (1770–1870)* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1999): 34.

Moreover, the monopoly on the trade in enslaved Africans that the Welsers enjoyed thanks to the privileges guaranteed by the Spanish crown provided them the most profitable source of income during their involvement in the conquest.

As a consequence, between 1528 and 1556, while the company of Bartholomäus (V.) Welser (1484–1561) held the governorship of "Little Venice" in what is today Venezuela, Welser governors carried out seven *entradas* in the region, covering a distance of more than 20,000 kilometers. Their conquest of Cundinamarca and the founding of New Granada provided the German Welser governors a secure staging post for their trade in the Americas and globally. They built or participated in the foundation of several cities in what are today Colombia and Venezuela, such as the cities of Maracaibo (Neu-Nürnberg), Bogotá, and Coro (Neu-Augsburg), under the leadership of actors such as Ambrosius Alfinger (1529–1533), Georg Hohermuth von Speyer (1533–1540), and Philipp von Hutten (1540–1546). Led by the hope for gold, the Welser company exploited minerals on the Venezuelan coast until 1554. When this hope was threatened with remaining unfulfilled, Alfinger and Federmann increasingly also captured, enslaved, and sold Amerindian inhabitants. The Welsers' governance of the territories of what is today Venezuela ended after Philipp von Hutten and Bartholomäus Welser (VI) were killed during an expedition in search for El Dorado near Quíbor in 1546. Shortly afterwards, their trading rights also expired when Charles V died in 1556, and the Spanish crown ended private financing after this part of the conquest was completed. The plan to colonize these territories was not successful. Nevertheless, theoretically, parts of these territories could have become German colonies, and German actors profited enormously from the related trade options and new forms of production and resource exploitation based on enslaved labor. Thus, the colonial activities of the powerful Augsburg houses in the Americas did not end with nor were limited to the *entradas.* On the contrary, the traders remained active in expanding new possibilities of production and profit, above all on the Caribbean islands, where they became particularly involved in the sugar production, the first colonial mass product of the global economy.[22]

22 See Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Press, 1985); Fernando Ortíz, "Los Primeros Técnicos Azucareros de América," *Islas. Revista de la Universidad Central de Las Villas* 4, no. 1 (1961): 7–18; Fernando Ortíz, "El Primer Ingenio Azucarero que Hubo en América," in *Islas. Revista de la Universidad Central de Las Villas* 4, no. 2 (1962): 43–59; Fernando Ortíz, *Contrapunteo Cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1983).

3 The Welsers' Profit from the Enslavement Trade and Enslaved Labor in the Caribbean

Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola (today the Dominican Republic and Haiti), where sugar production became the main industry, became the location of an overseas trading establishment by the Welser governors Ambrosius Alfinger and Jörg Ehinger in 1526. The Welsers started to grow sugar cane in Santo Domingo for the production of sugar in 1523; in 1532, they bought the sugar mill Santa Barbara in the department of San Juan de la Maguana, one of the largest mills on the island. Since enslaved African workers constituted an integral part of the sugar industry, they also carried out labor in the Welsers' sugar mills. The bill of sale for the Santa Barbara mill lists "up to 16" enslaved Africans alongside farm animals such as oxen.[23]

The Welser company further invested and participated in the exploitation of minerals, such as silver in the Mexican mines of Sultepec. When copper was discovered in Cuba, the Welsers and Fuggers saw a bargain here as well, since they had experience in mining. Copper soon became a much-needed mineral in the Caribbean colonies. The pots and pans needed for sugar production were first imported from Europe, in particular Nuremberg.[24] The Spanish crown, again, granted the Welsers' agents privileges, since the royals were in need of experienced miners. The patrician and mining expert Johann Tetzel arrived in Cuba in 1540 to buy the copper mine El Cobre near Santiago de Cuba with the financial support of Lazarus Nürnberger.[25] Eager to find new ways of extracting copper, he returned to Cuba with a number of German mining experts. Charles V, in the *Asiento*[26] signed in Madrid on January 11, 1546 (on the exploitation of the copper mines on Cuba), granted "Hans Tetzel from Nürnberg" the right to start running "first 10 and later more" copper mines and to construct the necessary buildings. Moreover, for the material and equipment necessary for the mines and for the produced copper, Tetzel was freed from customs during the first 10 years.[27] German traders also helped to enable the import of many products from Germany to the Cuban market, and their financial and economic power enabled them to establish close contact

23 See Otte, "Die Welser in Santo Domingo": 153–54; Julia Roth, "Sugar and Slaves: The Augsburg Welser as Conquerors of America and Colonial Foundational Myths," *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 436–56.

24 See Theodor Gustav Werner, *Das Kupferhüttenwerk des Hans Tetzel aus Nürnberg auf Kuba (1545–1571) und seine Finanzierung durch europäisches Finanzkapital* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner: 1961): 20.

25 See Werner, *Das Kupferhüttenwerk des Hans Tetzel aus Nürnberg*: 317.

26 The *asiento* in the history of enslavement refers to the permission given by to other countries to sell people as slaves to the Spanish colonies between 1543 and 1834.

27 See Werner, *Das Kupferhüttenwerk des Hans Tetzel aus* Nürnberg: 471–72.

with the colonial government on Cuba and the highest representatives of politics and society on the island.[28] Tetzel's copper mine on Cuba has been termed as an exemplary implementation of industrial development in the Americas supported by numerous German actors' experience, equipment, production means, and entrepreneurial spirit, plus a number of enslaved unpaid workers:[29] "At the beginning of this hegemony of European elites with respect to Atlantic slave trade were the treaties between the Welsers and the Spanish crown on the monopoly over the slave supply."[30]

The trade in enslaved Africans also continued to provide one of the companies' major sources of income. The Welsers actually exercised "the first monopoly control of Atlantization between West African and Caribbean sugar enclaves,"[31] based on the factual monopoly over the captive and slave trade between Africa and the Americas they had achieved by 1528. Michael Zeuske speaks of a "translocal Iberian Atlantic" built on the emergence of actors of European and Atlantic capitalism, who adopted African elements and practices in the trade in human labor.[32] Germans from different locations also contributed to a shift in the influence of "new stages of capitalism" – marked by the close intertwining of the mass slave trade and financial, scientific, and technological dynamics – of the most influential merchants and bankers from Africa to the Atlantic and the Americas.[33] All these examples point to the importance of German capital and actors for the conquest of the Americas, as well as their foundational and crucial role during this early epoch of European colonization, colonial capitalism, and enslavement.

In the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum, the overseas activities of the Augsburg traders are also depicted. However, the main exhibition presents the undertakings in broad brushstrokes and very vaguely, as this text from one of the permanent exhibition's information boards indicates:

> Trade Routes and Sea Trade Routes: In the following rooms, you can get information about the economic center Augsburg and the trade metropolis Venice, about the trade routes in Europe as well as about the sea trading routes to India and South America. Furthermore, we hijack [*sic*] you to the 'New World' and make you get to know the 'newly found people/man' with El Dorado and Albrecht Dürer.[34]

28 See Rolando Álvarez Estévez and Marta Guzmán Pascual, *Alemanes en Cuba (siglos XVII al XIX)* (Havana: Editorial de las Ciencias Sociales, 2004): 24–25.

29 Werner, *Das Kupferhüttenwerk des Hans Tetzel aus Nürnberg*: 465.

30 Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 709.

31 Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 504; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 690.

32 Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 690.

33 See Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 504; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 690.

34 Fugger und Welser, "Ausstellung," http://www.fugger-und-welser-museum.de/museum/#ausstellung [accessed 02.06.2022], translation Julia Roth.

In 2018, the museum presented younger visitors with a rare show in which, when looking through a hole, they could see stereotypical images of the aforementioned 'newly found people/man', thus reproducing a problematic Eurocentric ethnographical view and a narrative of "discovery" that denies those who already lived in the conquered regions agency. In the museum's cellar, the working conditions of the mines are mentioned, but not specified. Moreover, the hint at enslaved labor and the trade in enslaved African workers is elegantly related to "the Portuguese" and the working conditions of the local workers, while the ensalved work is invisibilized:

> Arched cellar: Deep down in the arched cellar, [there is information] about the important role of the Fuggers and Welsers in the montane economy. You get to know innovative mining techniques and learn a lot about metals, their production, processing, and use. You hear, see, and read how hard the working conditions of the miners were – women and children also labored in the mines. Furthermore, manilles [bangles] are exhibited – bracelets made from copper, bronze, or brass which served the Portuguese in West Africa as primitive currency to purchase gold, ebony, and slaves.[35]

All of the Augsburg traders' international endeavors are framed in terms of the economic success story of the trading house's global expansion throughout the exhibition:

> Thematic introduction Welser: The Welsers were in charge of one of the most influential trading houses of their time. Their wealth was based on the trade in spices and cloths. Besides numerous factories in Europe, they also had a branch in Santo Domingo – and thereby managed [to encompass] the economic crack across the pond.[36]

Such narratives are typical of dominant German narratives, which tend to neglect or belittle the violent side of German colonial actors' activities and to downplay the German impact on and role in colonialism as small in numbers, insignificant, and short lived.

4 Further German Continuous Colonial Activities on the American Continent and in Africa

German colonial engagement in the Americas did not end with the Welser episode. Further German colonial outposts in the Americas were located on the island of Tobago (from the 1630s until 1659), and a commercial settlement was based on the island of St. Thomas from 1685 to 1731. Other unsuccessful attempts were those of King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia and his successors to purchase or occupy the islands St. Croix, Tobago, and St. Eustache for the trade in enslaved workers. Further joint Bavarian-Dutch and French-Bavarian colonial projects in Guyana (1664–65), along with a colonial

35 Fugger und Welser, "Ausstellung."
36 Fugger und Welser, "Ausstellung."

contract between the Dutch West Indian Company and the duke of Hanau over a colony between the Orinoco and Amazonas rivers (referred to as "Hanau-Indien"), were never completed.[37] In 1681, an expedition to the west African coast led to the foundation of the Brandenburg-African Company (*Brandenburgisch-afrikanische Kompagnie*) for trade with West Africa under Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, which entertained staging posts in West Africa and the Caribbean. The company held the Brandenburg monopoly over the African trade in pepper, ivory, gold, and enslaved Africans for 30 years, and is further held to have been the first incorporated company. In 1687, the Brandenburg-African Company built Fort Groß-Friedrichsburg on the Gold Coast and a settlement on the island of Arguin (Mauritania) primarily for the trade in enslaved Africans.[38] Between 1450 and 1867, before selling the colonies to the Dutch West Indian Company, the company sold about 30,000 enslaved Africans in the Caribbean.[39]

In the Americas, Cuba provides another illustrative example for how German capital continued to regularly invest in the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1788, the German merchant Heinrich Schlottmann built a tobacco factory in Hamburg with factors in Havanna. Alfred Crugher was the first engineer to work on the construction of the Cuban railway (1830–60), and German traders and investors were attracted to the island in the nineteenth century thanks to renewed copper exploitation.[40] The Hanau-born and Bremen-based merchant Cornelius Souchay came to Cuba in 1807 and purchased the coffee plantation Cafetal Angerona near Artemisa in Havana province, where 450 enslaved workers worked 50,000 coffee plants. Germans also traded in several German products on the Cuban market, ranging from Silesian linens, wines, and liquor to glass and toys. Numerous maritime lines frequented the port of Havana for the German trade with Cuba, such as the Hamburg-based Amerikanische Paketfahrt-Actiengesellschaft.[41] In form of the *carta de naturaleza* (letter of naturalization), the Real Cédula granted German residents in Cuba citizenship rights like those of the Spanish in order to buy property in Cuba in 1819.[42] With the implementation of the *Zollverein* (customs association) in 1834 and the German/Prussian union, the German port cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck became important players in the transatlantic trade. These investments usually included the exploitation of enslaved labor, and German merchants continued to be actively involved in the trade in enslaved African workers, as slavery in Cuba was abolished only in 1886.[43] Throughout the phase

37 See Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien*: 33.

38 See Ulrich van der Heyden, "Der große Kurfürst als Sklavenhändler," in *Rote Adler an der Küste Afrikas. Die brandenburg-preußische Kolonie Großfriedrichsburg in Westafrika*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden (Berlin: Selignow Verlag, 2001): 44–61.

39 See Susanne Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien*: 33.

40 See Álvarez Estévez and Pascual, *Alemanes en Cuba*.

41 See Álvarez Estévez and Pascual, *Alemanes en Cuba*: 27–28.

42 Álvarez Estévez and Pascual, *Alemanes en Cuba*: 19.

43 Michael Zeuske, *Sklaverei. Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018).

Zeuske categorizes as "modern" or "second" slavery" in the nineteenth century (1800–1888), "relatively many Germans" were actively involved in the "everyday trade" (that is, mostly in a small number of so-called house slaves) on the island.[44] Hernán Venegas Delgado for instance, delineates the German traces in Trinidad and Fe in the second half of the nineteenth century, referencing and listing the activities of the *ingenio* (sugar mill/factory) owners Boving & Overbeck Fritze & Cia, which ran the *ingenios* of San José de Aracas and the "Cuban giants" Mainicú-Bécquer and Guáimaro, and the company Fritze y Cía, which bought the *ingenios* of Santo Cristo de los Destiladeros, El Güiro, and "some of the best" *ingenios* of the Buenavista and Jesús Nazareno valleys.[45] Likewise, Iglesias García focuses on the German H. Upman cigar company operating in Cuba,[46] while Orlando García Martínez recounts the presence of Germans in the Cuban province of Cienfuegos in the nineteenth century.[47]

5 "Forgotten Heroes?": The Welsers and Racial Myths in the German Empire and Nazi Dictatorship

During later colonial times, the Welsers' colonial episode came to serve an important function as a motor and an important trope for "colonial fantasies" in form of a broad range of narratives in Germany. References to these early German conquerors and

44 See Michael Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavereikulturen und Emanzipation* (Zürich: Rotpunktverlag, 2004): 26; Michael Zeuske, "Deutsche als Sklavenhalter? Christian Wilhelm Jamm aus Lahr im Schwarzwald und die Sklaverei auf Kuba," in *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavereikulturen und Emanzipation*, ed. Michael Zeuske (Zürich: Rotpunktverlag, 2004): 363.

45 Hernán Venegas Delgado, "La huella alemana en Trinidad de Cuba (segunda mitad del siglo XIX)," in *Regiones europeas y Latinoamérica (siglos XVIII y XIX)*, ed. Michael Zeuske and Ulrike Schmieder (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/Madrid-Iberoamericana, 1999): 402.

46 Fe Iglesias García, "H. Upmann y Compañía, una empresa alemana en Cuba" in *Regiones europeas y Latinoamérica (siglos XVIII y XIX)*, ed. Michael Zeuske and Ulrike Schmieder (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/Madrid-Iberoamericana, 1999): 365–86; see also: Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and Klaus Weber, "From Westphalia to the Caribbean: Networks of German Textile Merchants," in *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society 1660–1914*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (London: German Historical Institute, 2011): 53–98; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and Barbara Frey, "Die H. Upmann Zigarre: Der Bielefelder Hermann Dietrich Upmann und die Schaffung einer Weltmarke," in *Forschen – Verstehen – Vermitteln. 100. Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins für die Grafschaft Ravensberg*, ed. Johannes Altenberend and Reinhard Vogelsang (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2015): 243–76.

47 Orlando García Martínez, "Los alemanes en Cienfuegos durante el siglo XIX" in *Regiones europeas y Latinoamérica (siglos XVIII y XIX)*, ed. Michael Zeuske and Ulrike Schmieder (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/Madrid-Iberoamericana): 387–400; see also Michael Zeuske and Ulrike Schmieder, eds., *Regiones europeas y Latinoamérica (siglos XVIII y XIX)* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1999).

colonizers became a sort of "myth of origin" or "foundational myth"[48] for German colonialism and the history of a German colonial mission,[49] as Susanne Zantop's study illustrates on the basis of popular literary, dramatic, journalistic, and political texts. The Welser enterprise thus also served the function of justifying later German imperialist-expansionist and ethno-nationalist fantasies and practices. The Welser colonization of Venezuela was reinterpreted in Germany's cultural memory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when a united Imperial Germany started to colonize parts of Africa and the South Pacific.[50] These fantasies contradict prevailing notions of "German exceptionalism" as a late colonial power or one of minor importance:

> In almost obsessive revisitings and reworkings, the violent and by no means glorious story of the Welsers' failed colonization turned into the foundational fiction of Germany's colonial origins, and of colonizing as a specifically German calling. In fact, the retelling of the Welser story helped to circumscribe German national identity by creating a national self as colonizer.[51]

During the German Empire, which in 1871, for the first time since the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, united the different parts as one "imagined community," imperialists turned to the sixteenth-century German colonists of Venezuela to promote the Enlightenment-inspired idea of the need to protect potential colonies in Africa: "Enlightenment ideology and the desire to rule over colonies were conflated in the push for German colonialism in the nineteenth century."[52] Giovanna Montenegro explores the "mostly-forgotten" history of the sixteenth-century Welser colonization of Venezuela as it was reinterpreted in Germany's cultural memory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[53] She discusses how German colonialism was linked to the Holocaust and the ways in which the Welser episode was historicized during the Third Reich:

> The Welser period of governance remained largely absent from German cultural memory for two centuries until the nineteenth-century German Empire exhumed the memory of this long-lost Venezuelan colony. During the nineteenth century, the Welser episode became a model to emulate and was lauded as the first German colony. It served as an example of Germany's right to colonize territories not yet claimed by France and England in spite of Germany's late arrival on the contemporary colonial scene. [. . .] In Germany's second imperial era (1884–1914), the

48 Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); cf. in Susanne Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien*: 47.

49 Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien*: 47.

50 "For some Germans, the Welser colony in Venezuela became a hopeful symbol for their own utopian colonial desires." Giovanna Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom': Apparitions of the Welser Venezuela Colony in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century German Cultural Memory," *TRANSIT* 11, no. 2 (2018): 21.

51 Susanne Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien*: 29.

52 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 21.

53 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'."

> strength of the first ethnically German Reich (the Holy Roman Empire) during the Middle Ages became a model to uphold.[54]

Montenegro elaborates on how, in nineteenth-century literature, the Welser governors reappear and are reinterpreted "as German heroes," which she reads as forming part of "the purpose of contemporary empire-building [. . .] if the Germans had failed in Venezuela, they would not do so again in Africa."[55] Montenegro examines the example of German geographer, historian, and map cataloguer Viktor Hantzsch, who at the end of the nineteenth century compiled the stories of German travelers from the early modern era in *Deutsche Reisende des XVI Jahrhunderts* (1895) for the Royal Library of Dresden. Hantzsch's popular volume retraced the steps of adventurers, travelers, and conquerors within an imperialist and nationalist framework during German''s age of expansion. Hantzsch emphasizes the Welsers' "German" identity and states that colonial Portuguese and Spanish projects benefitted from "*deutschem Fleiss*" [German industriousness] and "*deutschem Kapital*" [German capital],[56] thus indicating that through pride in their history of colonialism, Germans could remake history in their favor and connect past German colonial efforts to a present, imperial feeling of "Germanness." This emphasis on German national "pride" and the call to "our people" bridged the ethnic identity of the Welsers in sixteenth-century Venezuela and their *fin-de-siècle* audience. As Montenegro concludes, "the emphasis on a German ethnic and cultural group identity which would become nationalist in scope permeates nineteenth-century accounts of the Welser-Venezuelan period in an effort to promote Germany's prospering colonial ventures."[57]

Montenegro further delineates how the German Reich in 1892 celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's encounter. The *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerikas* [Hamburg Commemorative Publication on the Remembrance of the Discovery of America][58] published two volumes to commemorate the German presence in the Americas, particularly the Hanseatic cities and Northern Germany's important commercial role in the Americas. The second volume includes a history of the Welser Venezuela colony and translates parts of the epic poem on the conquest of Venezuela and Nueva Granada written by Juan de Castellanos (*Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias*)[59] that praises the Welser governors.[60]

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54 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 25.
55 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 26.
56 Viktor Hantzsch, *Deutsche Reisende des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1895): 10.
57 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 29.
58 Hamburg Komitee für die Amerika-Feier, *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung* Amerikas, vol. 2 (Hamburg: L. Friedrerichsen, 1892).
59 See Juan F. Marchena, *Desde las Tinieblas del Olvido. Los universos indígenas escondidos en la crónica americana de Juan de Castellanos* (Caracas: Ed. Planeta, 2008/Tunja: Academia de la Historia de Boyacá, 2005).
60 Hamburg Komitee für die Amerika-Feier, *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerikas*: 31.

6 Twentieth-Century Idealizations

In the twentieth century, Montenegro notes "idealizations of Germans,"[61] delineating how ordinary Germans became interested in Venezuela through the Venezuela blockade of 1902/3, when German, Italian, and British ships blocked Venezuelan ports to protect their business interests after President Cipriano Castro refused to pay off debts incurred by foreign companies during the Venezuelan Civil War.[62] Since Imperial Germany suddenly had a conflict with Venezuela, the German public begun to pay attention to its older colonial history there.[63] Finally, following Montenegro, during the 1938 *Tag der Deutschen Kunst* (Day of German Art), the Nationalist Socialist version of the Welsers was that they were successful where other nations failed, and that their capital allowed them access to a lucrative overseas market. Popular Nazi literature written during Hitler's dictatorship

> tend[s] to narrate the colonization of the world with Germans placed on equal footing with larger colonial powers such as the Spanish, English, Portuguese, French, and Dutch. [. . .] Literature of the Third Reich portrays the Welsers as benevolent caretakers of the Venezuelan province, and their engagement in the slave trade as a charitable endeavor.[64]

While Hannah Arendt has already pointed to the connections between racism and empire and the fact that Germans viewed themselves as "legitimate" settlers in their conquests of indigenous peoples, Christopher J. Lee and Mahmood Mamdani suggest that "race branding" by German colonizers in the Herero genocide set the latter as a group apart, as a racially inferior enemy, and allowed bureaucrats to exterminate that group with feeling any sort of guilt:[65]

> Whether or not we follow the continuity theory that links German colonialism to the Holocaust, one cannot ignore the prevalence during the National Socialist era of re-imaginings of the Welser colonists as pure "Germans" fighting bravely against illegitimate native peoples to colonize a 'virgin' land.[66]

61 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 324–25.

62 See Michael Zeuske, "Cipriano Castro in Deutschland und ein Waffenschmuggel nach Venezuela (1909–1913)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 31 (1994): 257–66.

63 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 35–36; see also Michael Zeuske, "Preußen und Westindien. Die vergessenen Anfänge der Handels- und Konsularbeziehungen Deutschlands mit der Karibik und Lateinamerika 1800–1870," in *Preußen und Lateinamerika. Im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, ed. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004): 145–215.

64 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 40, 45.

65 See Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 80.

66 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 46.

Similar notions of the Augsburg traders as "great conquerors," as representatives of alleged missed opportunities and successful businessmen ("global players"), still partly resonate in the current versions of their memory in the city.

7 "500-Year-Old Success Structures"? Memory of the Welsers in Augsburg Today

The website of the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum in Augsburg sums up the "guiding ideas" of the museum to reflect "500-year-old success structures" and inspire the visitor "to think what these look like today." As we have seen, in economic terms and from a hegemonic Eurocentric perspective – or a position of coloniality – the case of the Augsburg traders does indeed represent a "success" story. Building trading outposts and networks around the globe, the Welsers and Fuggers were influential and wealthy actors of the colonial enterprise. Through their co-financing of the conquest, they were granted privileges, such as licenses to conquer South American territories and to trade in enslaved Africa workers. Even though their *entradas* were not successful in the sense of establishing long-term colonies in the Americas, representatives of the Fugger and Welser houses benefited from their influential role in the conquest and colonization of the Americas from the outset, establishing trading posts and production sites, above all on the Caribbean islands.[67] As a consequence, German capital and investment, German actors, and German know-how (e.g., in the production of copper) for some time formed an integral part of the colonization of the Americas. As Zeuske points out, the Welsers' employers in the Americas "enjoyed broad freedom of decision,"[68] but, since they had to take great financial risks and had to get credit from their European houses, they soon lost interest in large-scale projects of that nature.[69] Starting with their mining activities in the 1530s, the bad reputation of the Welsers, as famously described by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, began:

> Los factores estaban más interesados en saquear los tesoros y las tumbas de los indígenas, y en la caza de esclavos que en prospecciones de largo plazo, costosas instalaciones siderúrgicas y

67 See for example Michael Zeuske, "Los Bélzares: de la colonización al saqueo: de la realidad al mito" in *El Dorado. Sueños y realidades*, ed. Ulrich Gmünder (Caracas: Goethe-Institut Venezuela, 2007): 45. Zeuske describes how the colonization of the province of Venezuela "presentó a los Belazares una series de opciones económicas potenciales que incluían: la extracción del subsuelo, la explotación de los bancos de perlas, la producción de bienes agrícolas, la participación en el comercio de esclavos[.]" [presented the Welsers with a series of potential economic options that included subsoil mining, exploitation of pearl banks, production of agricultural goods, and participation in the trade in slaves].

68 Zeuske, "Los Bélzares: de la colonización al saqueo: de la realidad al mito": 45.

69 Zeuske, "Los Bélzares: de la colonización al saqueo: de la realidad al mito": 45.

> minería, con lo que no se diferenciaban en nada de la masa de los conquistadores del los inicios de la Conquista de Hispanoamérica, o de los bandeirantes en Brasil.[70]
>
> The factors were more interested in plundering the treasures and tombs of the *Indígenas*, and in slave hunting than in long-term projects, expensive iron and steel installations and mining, making them no different from the mass of the conquistadors at the beginning of the Conquest of Spanish America, or the bandeirantes in Brazil. (translation Julia Roth)

Independently from the size or success of their activities, the Welsers can, from this angle, be considered to been part and parcel of the structural and epistemic power structure and logic of coloniality that justified and solidified the Eurocentric domination and exploitation of the colonies and racialized enslavement.

The example of the Augsburg merchants also served to fuel later colonial fantasies and the concrete nationalist-imperialist endeavors carried out by German actors. Literary texts from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reflect how the early colonizers of Augsburg served Germans with colonial ambitions as a sort of projection screen and "proof" of the alleged German capability to engage in colonial domination. In the German Reich, such forms of 'colonial nostalgia' were increasingly mobilized for concrete imperialist projects and represented by state actors. The Nazis finally declared the Welsers and Fuggers as 'forgotten German heroes' and used them to justify their atrocious racist-imperialist crusades and genocides.

A closer look into the details of the German actor's activities in the colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean (and later Africa) also reveals that the rather one-sided focus on their success story as "global players" is incomplete, to say the least. Rather, the Welser episode encourages us to confront and accept the systematic and structural involvement in the colonial endeavor, of which the slave trade and enslaved labor were part and parcel. Indeed, a relational and decolonial perspective reveals that the wealth and "progress" German actors starting with the Welsers were able to generate was profoundly based on and inextricably intertwined with these exploitative and violent structures. Moreover, it points to the ways in which the mythification of the Welsers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contributed to the construction of a German ethnic identity as a nation and people destined to be great colonial masters. This multilayered history and the respective discourses cry out for a more complex contextualization than the museum has so far provided.

Several actors in the city of Augsburg have therefore been mobilizing for a more critical framing of the city's most famous citizens and a decolonization of the way

70 Zeuske, "Los Bélzares: de la colonización al saqueo: de la realidad al mito": 46; Mark Häberlein, *Die Fugger. Geschichte einer Augsburger Familie (1367–1650)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006) claims that the Welsers's Venezuela enterprise "bereits nach wenigen Jahren zu einem reinen Sklavenfang- und Beuteunternehmen degradierte und mit erheblichen Verlusten endete" [degraded after only a few years to a pure slave catching and loot enterprise and ended with considerable losses (translation Julia Roth)], which made Anton Fugger's decision to resign from this enterprise plausible (80).

they are (re)presented in the city's space and hegemonic memory culture. For instance, the citizen initiative *Augsburg postkolonial – Decolonize Yourself*, founded in 2017, is committed to taking a postcolonial-critical perspective through lectures, creating awareness, and film nights.[71] The initiative's website claims that "colonialism is no topic of the past" and elaborates under the heading "Augsburg from a Postcolonial Perspective":

> Inequalities, power asymmetries, and different social positions continue to shape our everyday life. In Augsburg, too, the Romans, Fuggers, and Welsers, among others, have left their colonial traces. We and many other actors in Augsburg deal with the traces of the colonial and postcolonial past in Augsburg, which we show, for example, in city walks. We look at the history(s) of places, buildings, and people.[72]

The Welsers and Fuggers are addressed as a central focus of a critical postcolonial framing:

> Fugger: In the 'Fuggerstadt' [Fugger City] of Augsburg, people like to adorn themselves with the trading dynasty of the Fuggers and Welsers. What is missing, however, is a critical examination of colonialism! While the Welsers colonized Venezuela, the Fuggers participated in the trade of enslaved people. Various projects shed light on the dark side of the activities of the two families.
>
> Augsburg may not have been an important Hanseatic city like Hamburg, but yet there are colonial ties in Augsburg's history as well. Particularly prominent are the trading houses of the Fuggers and Welsers, who were probably among the most influential European trading families between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. As pioneers of 'early capitalism', their rise was inevitably linked to the exploitation of natural resources and human labor. The Welsers were also active as colonial administrators in what is now Venezuela.[73]

Like similar initiatives in numerous other German cities, *Augsburg postkolonial* offers guided postcolonial city tours that address aspects of the city's memory that are neglected or played down in official narratives and formats: "where the (non-)reap-

71 "Über uns," *Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself*, https://augsburgpostkolonial.wordpress.com/ueber/ [accessed 06.06.2022].

72 "Über uns," *Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself*, https://augsburgpostkolonial.wordpress.com/ueber/ [accessed 06.06.2022], translation Julia Roth.

73 From the website: "Auf Spurensuche in Augsburg hat sich Sebastian Purwins begeben und geschichtliche Daten zu den Fuggern und Welsern hier gesammelt: Augsburgs koloniale (K)Erben (2021)." Sebastian Purwins went in search of clues in Augsburg and collected historical data on the Fuggers and Welsers here: Augsburg's Colonial (K)Heirs (2021) ("Fugger und Welser," *Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself*, https://augsburgpostkolonial.wordpress.com/fugger-welser/); for an analysis of the possibilities and limitations of postcolonial guided city tours, see Fabian Fechner and Barbara Schneider, "Fernes Hagen? Möglichkeiten einer kritischen Kolonialgeschichte 'vor Ort'," in *Fernes Hagen. Kolonialismus und wir*, ed. Fabian Fechner and Barbara Schneider, 2nd ed. (Hagen: Fernuniversität Hagen, 2021): 4–8; Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself, "Fulger und Welser," https://augsburgpostkolonial.wordpress.com/fugger-welser/ [all accessed 06.06.2022], translation Julia Roth.

praisal and (non-)remembrance of German society with its colonial history can be exemplified and address historical and contemporary references to the colonial in the local.[74]

At the University of Augsburg, the Jakob Fugger Center (a center for advanced studies in the humanities, cultural, and social sciences founded in 2012) aims to consolidate and strengthen transnational and interdisciplinary research to provide answers to central questions about the history, present, and future of a globally networked society and contribute to dealing with global challenges.[75] The center invites scholars to carry out critical research and organizes a lecture series at the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum called *Stadtgeschichte(n)* [City Historie(s)].[76] Another project is the blog *Postcolonial.Realities*, initiated by students of the University of Augsburg from 2020. Under the motto "Racism. Power. Privileges," students blog about various topics related to the subject and provide reading suggestions. A glossary the students have put together explains postcolonial concepts critical of racism; in 2021, the group created an online city tour of Augsburg.

On the museum's website, one could, in May 2022, find several attempts for a more critical contextualisation resulting from the critical discourse started by citizen initiatives. A header titled "In Focus: The Effects of Early Capitalism" poses the following questions to guide the exhibit and museum's activities in the future:

> At whose expense was the enormous wealth of the Fuggers and Welsers created? This is a question that the museum would like to bring into sharper focus. Whether it was the exploitation of the weavers of Augsburg, the miners of Tyrol, or the convicts in Almadén: Jakob Fugger acted as a privileged merchant at a time when people were not considered free and equal. The Welsers financed the conquest of their 'fiefdom' Venezuela with the sale of licenses for the slave trade and thus provoked little resistance among their contemporaries. Despite this, and precisely for this reason, we need to look closely today: how does capitalism work? Who does it benefit, who does it harm? What direct and indirect effects do the conquests of the Europeans at that time have on the present and the global community?[77]

On its website, the museum furthermore announces to be currently "preparing existing museum content with new accentuations" in cooperation with many different academic and societal partners, which the museum reports in a blog entitled "Revision of the permanent exhibition of the imperial city of Augsburg around 1500." The blog entry dated March 30, 2022, describes the new stele "The Imperial City around 1500" as a component of the current revision of the permanent exhibition:

74 Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself, "Über uns," translation Julia Roth.

75 See "Jakob-Fugger-Zentrum. Forschungskolleg für transnationale Studien," *Universität Augsburg*, https://www.uni-augsburg.de/de/forschung/einrichtungen/institute/jfz/ [accessed 06.06.2022].

76 To which the author of these lines was invited in 2019 to give a talk.

77 Fugger und Welser, translation Julia Roth.

> In the future, there will be a stronger focus on at whose expense the great wealth of Augsburg's trading companies was generated. In addition, the museum breaks with the narrative of the Golden Augsburg: A large part of the Augsburg population lived in constant existential fear around 1500 and was not able to build up reserves for bad times.[78]

A further stele being planned is addresses "Copper for the Triangle Trade,"[79] which the blog entry of February 28, 2022, describes as follows:

> The new stele 'Copper for the Triangular Trade' is another component of the current revision of our permanent exhibition. Although criticism of the dark sides of capitalism and globalization was anchored in the exhibition from the beginning (in 2015, the museum also received the Fair Trade Special Award for this), there was little information for individual visitors about the extent to which Augsburg trading houses profited directly – like the Welsers – or indirectly – like the Fuggers – from the transatlantic slave trade at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the future, there should be a stronger focus on at whose expense the great wealth of Augsburg trading companies was generated.[80]

Once a quarter, the museum also organizes a so-called "museum dialogue" as a regular exchange with visitors and their interests and the foci they consider important. "Which aspects are you missing? What would you like to focus on? Which partners do you suggest for this? How would you like to / can you get involved?", the website asks.[81]

The website also announces that the museum participates via different formats in the "African Weeks" in Augsburg, which have been taking place in the city since 1989. These "to bring our neighboring continent back into consciousness, bring authentic voices to the stages, and create space for encounter and exchange."[82] One example of the 2021 program was an "action day" for children and families titled "Africa is Not a Country After All?!" (*Afrika ist doch kein Land?!*) organized by the museum. Moreover, there is the podcast series "Every History Has Two Sides – at Least!", which was made possible by the "Neustart" cultural funding program of the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (which supported cultural actors after the Covid pandemic). Episode two of the podcast series (produced by Johannes Christopher) is entitled "Monuments and Statues in Latin America – Who Owns History?" and features Junqueira Lage Carbone from the University of Augsburg (who, on the website is tellingly introduced as "*Brazilian* Dr. Beatriz Junqueira Lage Carbone") on increasing discussions about monuments in public space in Europe, the US, and Latin Amer-

78 Fugger und Welser, translation Julia Roth.
79 Fugger und Welser, translation Julia Roth.
80 Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself, "Fulger und Welser," translation Julia Roth.
81 Blog, 25.11.2021, 18:30 hs [accessed 06.06.2022], translation Julia Roth; on November 25, 2021, this dialogue was replaced by a digital talk by Heike Raphael-Hernandez titled "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in South and North America and Its Significance for the Present."
82 [Accessed 06.06.2022, translation Julia Roth].

ica. They address questions such as to whom history belongs and whether statues should be removed or redesigned.[83]

However, the attempts to broaden the museum's scope do not always lead to the type of critical reflection a consistent decolonial perspective would require. *Augsburg Postcolonial – Decolonize Yourself*, for instance, harshly criticized an app from the Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum offering a tour led by the enslaved boy Perico. Augsburg Postcolonial – Decolonize Yourself argues that the tour does not provide a comprehensive insight into the inhumane conditions of slavery, but rather reproduces racist stereotypes of enslaved people and glorifies narratives of the Welsers as 'good masters' and successful 'global players'. After massive criticism, the app was withdrawn for the time being in August 2020.[84] As this example indicates, due to these initiatives' interventions, a more critical view and discourse is slowly reaching the museum.

8 The Implications of Memory: Conclusion and Outlook

All the aforementioned examples of new formats and framings indicate a certain shift in awareness regarding colonial legacies and continuities, even though these are scribbled rather vaguely. So far, this shift is reflected mainly in extra materials that interested visitors have to visit or look for themselves, such as the website, the blog, and the podcast. It thus remains to be seen to what extent and in which ways a more complex perspective will be reflected on and integrated into the permanent exhibition and the museum structure as a whole.

In sum, as Montenegro argues, attempts by younger engaged Germans, such as those engaged in the *Augsburg postkolonial* initiative, to "decolonize" public space by, for example, contextualizing the history of colonial street names indicates a new form of engagement with Germany's colonial past, fighting continuous forms of racism and anti-Semitism, and "a more nuanced approach to the study of German colonial history."[85] However, following Stuart Hall's notion, we can speak of the current moment

83 See Ulrike Schmieder and Michael Zeuske, "Introduction. Falling Statues around the Atlantic: Colonizers, Enslavers, and White Abolitionists as Targets of Anti-Racist Activism and the Historical Background of Not-Decolonized Memorial Cityscapes" in *Falling Statues around the Atlantic* [= *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung)* 31, no. 3–4 (2021)]: 297–313.
84 From the website: "A detailed critique and a collection of press coverage in our blog article here: "On the trail of the slave Perico!" – postcolonial critique (2020)" (Augsburg Postkolonial: Decolonize Yourself, "Fulger und Welser," translation Julia Roth).
85 Montenegro, "'The Welser Phantom'": 49.

as a "conjuncture" – understood as the condensation of contradictions.[86] In this setting, particularly racialized and nationalist patterns function in order to mobilize antagonistic attachments. The extreme right evokes a variety of nostalgias for homogeneity and closure, as well as desires to reinstall sovereignty and white supremacy, to redraw boundaries, and to build walls. As a consequence, principles such as equality, pluralization, and diversity are being contested from various angles. One of the key arenas – or battlefields – in which these "re-framed culture wars"[87] and the confrontation over the interpretation of history and its projection into the future is being played out are the debates and struggles over monuments and memorial days. In mainstream (German) discourse, conceptualizations of memory as competitive (e.g., colonial history and racist enslavement *versus* the memory of the Holocausts and anti-Semitism) are positioned against notions of memory and memory cultures as "multidirectional," as Michael Rothberg has proposed, a conception in which prior notions such as entangled histories of uneven modernities, creolization, or coloniality/modernity resonate.[88]

The hesitant beginnings of a more complex view that can currently be observed in the Augsburg Fugger and Welser Adventure Museum do not yet promise any structural changes that would take up historical interconnections, relations of exploitation, and power symmetries as systematic and constitutive. So far, the overarching narrative remains one focusing on the traders' "success story." This systemic narrative also caters to the descendants of the Fugger and Welser families, who are still involved in the museum (and influential in the city of Augsburg) and the intended (also international) touristic audience for whom the "adventurous" framing of the exhibition is designed. As shown, however, the example of the Augsburg merchants provides a vivid illustration of historical interconnections and the resulting persistent global inequalities. Through their consistent critique and fight for the recognition of the injustices caused by coloniality and enslavement, for restitution and reparations, local civil society initiatives and international voices sustain the hope for a necessary change of perspective and policy.

86 Stuart Hall et. al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

87 Wendy Brown, "Neoliberalism's Frankenstein: Authoritarian Freedom in Twenty-First Century 'Democracies'" *Critical Time* 1, no. 1 (2018): 60–79.

88 Michael Rothberg, *Mutidirectional Memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (California: Stanford University Press, 2009); See, for example, the three-day event titled "Hijacking Memory: Der Holocaust und die Neue Rechte" taking place at the House of World Cultures in Berlin in June 9–12, 2022.

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Gunvor Simonsen

History and Public Debates about Racial Slavery in Denmark

> Have I no other purpose on earth, then, but to avenge the Negro of the seventeenth century? (Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, orig. 1952).

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please [...] The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living [...] (Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, orig. 1852).

1 Introduction

It comes as no surprise that people's perceptions of history, of the past as it were, play a key role in current Danish public debates about Denmark's and Danes' involvement in European colonial expansion, in particular Danish participation in slave trading and slavery.[1] Opinions voiced in major news outlets – national newspapers and broadcasting – are often based on notions about the character of the Danish colonial past. It is the tenacity of the past, its relevance for the present, that is at the center of most debates. In what follows, I look at how the 'past' of racial slavery and slave trading is established in current public debates, paying particular attention to the question of how professional history writing figures into these debates. What follows, therefore, is not a strictly academic analysis of how the legacies of slavery and slave trading manifest themselves in various public and private domains. I am a historian of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Caribbean rather than an expert on memory culture and the politics of history. It is from this perspective that I present a series of observations about how Danish involvement in racial slavery emerges in current public debates, and I discus how historical research may contribute to these debates.[2]

1 Karl Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (London: Electric Book Co., 2001): 7; Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967): 228.

2 The chapter is a revised and updated version of an essay published in Danish in an anthology marking the 2017 centennial of the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States. See Gunvor Simonsen, "Fortiden i nutiden," in *Kampen om de danske slaver. Aktuelle perspektiver på kolonihistorien*, ed. Frits Andersen and Jakob Ladegaard (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017): 29–45. The current chapter is based on app. 400 articles regarding Danish slavery and slave trading published in major Danish newspapers in the period from c. 2007 to 2021, plus the c. 100 opinion pieces regarding the renaming of a few art works by the Danish National Gallery in 2016. These can be located using the

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I should also note that I occasionally contribute to public debates. Most recently I did so with an op-ed co-authored with two colleagues about the need for a museum for colonial history in Denmark (see below).[3]

In short, the history of Danish slave trading and slavery began in the seventeenth century when Dutch entrepreneurs and the Danish monarchy joined forces. In 1659, a chartered company, the Africa Company, was established. Step by step, forts and lodges were constructed along the coast of what is today Ghana and Benin. In 1672, a small expedition of around one hundred colonists managed to settle and colonize the island St. Thomas in the eastern Caribbean. In 1718, the Danes took St. John; finally, in 1733, the island of St. Croix was bought from the French. Danish colonization in the Caribbean was organized through a chartered company, the West India and Guinea Company, but in 1754 the Danish state bought out the stockholders and took over the running of colonial possessions. The Danish transatlantic slave trade was abolished in 1792, in a royal edict providing a 10-year grace period during which, Danish colonial administrators hoped, planters would buy enough captive Africans to secure reproduction and hence sugar production in the long run. The Atlantic slave trade ended formally on January 1, 1803, but, in fact, abolition occurred gradually. The trade only came to a full halt in 1807 when the British occupied the Danish West Indies. Around 120,000 captive Africans crossed the Atlantic on board vessels carrying the Danish flag. Sugar soon became the main crop in the Danish West Indies. St. Croix in particular, with a relatively large inland plain, proved ideal for cane agriculture. Soon after the state's take over, the island became a full-blown sugar colony. As elsewhere in the Caribbean, landowners imported captive Africans to cover the intensive labor needs of sugar estates. In the early 1800s, the enslaved population peaked at around 35,000 in the three Danish islands. In June 1848, the enslaved on St. Croix rebelled and forced the ruling governor-general to declare emancipation.[4] In the post-emancipation period, harsh labor and vagrancy laws, binding the formerly enslaved to estates, were introduced, providing one of the reasons for the large-scale labor rebellion that broke out on St. Croix in 1878. After the rebellion, reform attempts as well as sale negotiations shaped the history of the islands. While the Danish trading forts and lodges in West Africa were sold to the British in 1845, the Caribbean colonies remained under Danish rule until 1917, when they were sold to the United States and changed their

database *InfoMedia*, which contains digitized versions of all contemporary large Danish newspapers, weeklies, and specialized magazines as well as other news outlets.

3 See Niels Brimnes, Søren Rud and Gunvor Simonsen, "Kolonihistorikere: Vestindisk Pakhus er et fremragende sted for et kolonihistorisk museum," *Altinget.dk*, 29.11.2021 [accessed 16.03.2022]. For an earlier contribution concerning racial ideology in eighteenth-century Copenhagen, see Gunvor Simonsen, "Racismens lange historie i Danmark," in *Politiken*, 21.06.2020: 5–6.

4 See recent overviews of Danish Caribbean history and West African history in Poul E. Olsen, ed., *Danmark og kolonirene: Vestindien* (København: Gad, 2017); Per Hernæs, ed., *Danmark og kolonierne:* Vestafrika Afrika (København: Gad, 2017).

name to the United States Virgin Islands. While there was a referendum about the sale in Denmark, Virgin Islanders were not invited to take part in the political process regarding the sale. The early sale of the islands goes a long way in explaining why there is no diaspora of United States Virgin Islanders in Denmark today.

2 The Absence of History

If one is to believe the cultural sections of Danish national newspapers over the last 10–20 years, then the story of the Danish involvement in the slave trade and slavery is first and foremost characterized by an extensive absence; it is a history that we know little or nothing about.[5] During the 2017 centennial commemorations of the sale of the Danish Caribbean colonies to the United States in 1917, references to Denmark's slave trading were frequent in the Danish press, often noting that "[o]ur [i.e., the Danes'] collective memory about the time as the world's seventh largest slave trading nation is flawed."[6] The flaw referred to in this statement is a flaw of absence: Danes do not reckon with the fact that they live in a state that was once the seventh largest slave-trading nation. According to the article, this flaw is caused by the fact that Danes cannot "see" in their present the slavery of their past. This lack of visibility can be explained, at least partly, by the particular history of Danish Caribbean colonialism. In the Danish Empire, capital did not move smoothly within a mercantilist system and often ended up outside Denmark, primarily in Britain. This also means that there are probably fewer material relics (buildings, statues, paintings, and the like) in the Danish metropole than in empires that could maintain capital within their borders. In addition, the absence of an African Caribbean diaspora in Denmark also contributes to the invisibility of the past of slavery. Yet these historical processes are not sufficient as an explanation of the absence noted in public debates. After all, Danes also do not 'see' the Viking Age, yet they still appear happy to engage with this element of 'their' past.

In the debates that followed in the wake of statements about the absence of Danish colonial history, Denmark is often portrayed as a collective that may be understood more or less in the same way as a single person. 'Denmark' may, in this rendering, have something akin to a psyche that can delimit or suppress traumatic, painful, or shameful events. Likewise, the collective 'Denmark' can have a rich emotional life, which includes feelings

5 See for example Inor Dale, "Slaveri giver ikke danskere skyldfølelse," in *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 16.07.2012: 5, [accessed 01.05.2022]; Frederik Kulager, "Fortrænger Danmark sin historie som slavehandlende kolonimagt?" in *Politiken*, Kultur, 06.11.2015: 2 [accessed 01.05.2022].

6 "Slavernes historie kom aldrig til København," *Information*, 18.10.2015: section II, 6: "Vores kollektive erindring om tiden som verdens syvende største slavehandlernation er mangelfuld, men det er ikke så mærkeligt, for vi kan ikke se den nogen steder." See also "Det var en god tid for Danmark," *Information*, 19.10.2015: section I, 15; "Debat: En utidssvarende forlystelse," *Jyllands-Posten*, 28.06.2015: section I, 28 [all accessed 01.05.2022].

of guilt and shame.[7] The metaphor of the nation-person can, for instance, be observed in the writings of journalist Alex Frank Larsen, who produced the four-episode television documentary *The Descendants of the Slaves* (*Slavernes Slægt*, 2005), which featured on national television and was published as a book with the same title (2008). In both the television series and the book, Larsen describes Denmark's Caribbean past as marked by a "lock of silence that has sealed up the mental coffin of the Danish slave era." Rhetorically, Larsen asks if the silence surrounding Danish engagement in transatlantic slavery is caused by the fact that "we [i.e., the Danes] are ashamed."[8] As a response to silence and shame, he presents a series of portraits of Danes who discover that they have African Caribbean roots and he follows them as they meet family members in the United States Virgin Islands. The family encounters are drawn in a very positive light, or in Larsen's own words: "[f]rom the worst possible starting point, their [that is the slaves'] children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren have made for themselves an equal place in Danish society [...] It is a fantastic example of integration."[9]

Larsen's work has contributed to bringing to a wider public many touching stories about Virgin Islanders. It is less clear, however, if the interpretation Larsen offers allows us to reflect on what slavery meant and means in Denmark and the United States Virgin Islands. In Larsen's rendering, today's meeting between descendants of slaves from the United States Virgin Islands and Denmark, respectively, makes possible a redemption of racial slavery's constricting bonds. It is, as Larsen states, a history of "integration." Yet 'integration' is certainly a misnomer in this context. The television series and the book describe how white Danes discover that they have African roots, and one must ask oneself how such a discovery can be interpreted as a result of integration, i.e., an adaptation process where new groups nevertheless retain a degree of peculiarity.[10] Since the Danes, in the series, are oblivious to their African heritage before Larsen's intervention, it would be interesting to know how the process of forgetting an African ancestor unfolded in their families. Rather than a history of integration, the process should perhaps be understood as a kind of generational assimilation to Danish majority

7 See, for example, "Red kolonihistorien fra de identitetspolitiske aktivister," *Berlingske*, 16.10.2021: section I, 2; "KOLONITID: Slaver af historien," *Weekendavisen*, 15.10.2021: section I, 1; "Debat: Kulturministeren må stoppe politisk aktivisme for statens penge," *Berlingske*, 26.10.2021: section I, 26; "Danmarks sorte kapitel," *Berlingske*, 11.11.2015: section I, 19; "Fortrænger Danmark sin historie som slavehandlende kolonimagt?" *Politiken*, 06.11.2015: section II, 2; "Danmarks kolonihistorie skal frem i lyset," *Politiken*, 30.01.2015: section II, 7 [all accessed 05.05.2022].

8 Alex Frank Larsen, *Slavernes Slægt* (Søborg: DR, 2008): 5, 13.

9 Larsen, *Slavernes Slægt*: 288.

10 While the notion of integration refers to the inclusion of distinct groups into the societal order, the notion of assimilation bespeaks the process by which integrative processes result in the disappearance of those groups. See Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Assimilation of Immigrants," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001): 845–49. See also "Integration" in *Oxford English Dictionary*, https://www-oed-com.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/view/Entry/97356?redirectedFrom=integration#eid [accessed 26.04.2022].

culture, resulting in the erasure of slavery from family history. At the same time, the television series' emphasis on the family histories of what appear to be ordinary Danes inadvertently creates the impression that it is when white Danes discover their enslaved roots that we can perceive slavery as a relevant problem in European Denmark.

The historian of ideas Astrid Nonbo Andersen has questioned the usefulness of a language that speaks of slavery's legacies in terms of repression and silence. She demonstrates, instead, that there have been discussions about slavery in Denmark throughout the twentieth century. In her analysis of how the memory of slavery has actually manifested itself in Denmark, Andersen shows, among other things, that the memory of Caribbean slavery has gone from nostalgic romanticism in the 1940s to left-wing colonial criticism in the 1960s. Thirty years later, in the 1990s, the critical voices were heard in the center-right press, while left-wing criticism was silent. Indeed, in 1998, Peter Skaarup, high-ranking politician and MP for the right-wing Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*), and one of the key architects of restrictive Danish migration policies during the last twenty years, believed that the Danish government should apologize for slavery, an attitude the Danish People's Party no longer seems to share.[11] Currently, the debate about racial slavery and its Danish legacies sees opinions divided neatly along a left-right spectrum, in politics as well as in the national press.

Nonbo Andersen's research evidences that the concept of repression (and the associated notion of silence) does not seem to offer a sufficiently accurate description of how the Danish public/s has related to the history of slavery and the slave trade during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, it seems that something strange happens when the history of racial slavery is described as repressed. To counter the silence generated by repression, words are necessary, yet it is not entirely clear what words we need. In the media, the idea of repression is often followed by an image of Caribbean slavery as characterized by an uncomplicated use of force, which is presented in black-and-white images. In newspaper article after newspaper article, slavery is described as "horrible," "dark," and "black." In the Caribbean, there were "slaves" and Denmark was a "slave nation," which is why the history contains "terrifying stories about slavery and racism."[12] It is

11 Astrid Nonbo Andersen, "'We Have Reconquered the Islands': Figurations in Public Memories of Slavery and Colonialism in Denmark 1948–2012," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 26, no. 1 (2013): 71.

12 There are many examples, see for instance: "Dystert kapitel: Vi skal se fortiden i øjnene," *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 02.04.2011: section II, 13 [accessed 01.05.2022]; "Jeg tror simpelthen, vi er ligeglade," *Berlingske*, 24.11.2015: section I, 19 [accessed 01.05.2022]; "Svar på tiltale: 'Vi vil digitalisere Dansk Vestindien'," *Information*, 06.11.2015: section II, 2 [accessed 01.05.2022]; "Tag på kolonieventyr til Dansk Vestindien," *Berlingske*, 23.02.2011: section I, 21 [accessed 01.05.2022]; "Førsteklasses danmarkshistorie," *Politiken*, 07.02.2016: section IV, 13 [accessed 05.05.2022]; "Danmark har stort set ingen mindesmærker over landets slavehandel," *Berlingske*, 24.11.2015: section I, 18 [accessed 05.05.2022]; "Da slaveriet blev ophævet, lukkede hospitalerne," *Jyllands-Posten*, 03.07.2015: section I, 22 [accessed 05.05.2022]; "Forpligtet: Lukket på ubestemt tid," *Weekendavisen*, 05.03.2010: section I, 2 [accessed 05.05.2022]; "Ausch-

probably with the hope of dissolving what debaters and journalists understand as repression and silence that they invoke the darkness of the past.

Nonetheless, the repeated color-coding of Caribbean slavery creates strange interpretations. First, and quite obviously, if one were to choose a color code to describe the horrors of Caribbean slavery, it would certainly be white rather than black. Second, in Danish historiography and popular history, the terms "black slavery" and "negro slave" (i.e., *negerslave*) have until recently been used as a way of describing transatlantic slavery and its subjects, captive Africans. This is, for instance, the case in the high school textbook *Black Gold: Denmark and Slavery* (*Det sorte guld: Danmark og slaveriet*, 2003), whose title references the Africans turned into chattel during processes of enslavement.[13] As a result, it is unclear if references to darkness or blackness are pointing to the brutality of Caribbean slavery or to its victims. Indeed, these metaphors work, I would argue, by establishing slavery as foreign to Danish society proper. By associating black bodies with dark horrors, they work to exclude white Danish bodies from the story. Third, the mention – almost invocation – of the alleged darkness or blackness of Caribbean slavery does not appear to open up a reckoning with slavery and its legacies. Rather as a mantra, repeated again and again, these metaphors seem to place slavery outside history. They allow each of us to think our worst nightmare into the history of Caribbean slavery. Yet even nightmares have a history – as Marx notes – that cannot be dreamed up. They come to us through our past.

The argument about the deficient, or absent, representation of colonial history, which is repeated in opinion pieces and cultural sections of Danish newspapers, is often supported by pointing out that Danish national understandings of the colonial past are marked by a number of myths. Allegedly, Danes as a group mistakenly believe that Denmark was the first state to ban slavery and/or that Denmark was more humane towards slaves than other colonial powers. It is significant, however, that it is often the journalists and debaters who want to dispel the myths who give them voice. Few journalists admit to having misunderstood the conditions of the past and believed in the myths, and few refer to actual Danes who believed the myths were true. Perhaps this mismatch is not entirely coincidental, however. A recent survey of Danes' knowledge of their colonial past indicates that their knowledge is neither impressive nor entirely absent. According to the survey, many in particular elderly Danes (39 percent) believe that Denmark was the first nation to abolish slavery (a mistake that stems from the early official abolition of the transatlantic slave trade on January 1, 1803), while almost as many do not believe this to be the case (34 percent).[14] Likewise, many respondents

witz-referencer og slavemyter: Historiker advarer mod aktivistisk kamp om Danmarks kolonitid," *Berlingske*, 04.12.2021: section II, 8 [accessed 05.05.2022].

13 Claus Buttenschøn and Olaf Ries, *Det Sorte Guld: Danmark og Slaveriet* (København: Alinea, 2003).

14 An advisory group established by the Danish Ministry of Culture in 2021 commissioned the survey. This group was to examine the need and possibilities for establishing a museum for colonial history in Denmark. Upon request from the group, I have participated in a number of workshops aimed at devel-

know that slavery was abolished in 1848 (27 percent), while many also believe that this only happened in 1878 (21 percent) or in 1917 (12 percent).

It is possible to read these figures as signs of Danes' lack of knowledge about their colonial past. Yet it is worth noting that – given a number of choices – more than 60 percent of the population has some sense of the chronology of slavery, selecting nineteenth- and twentieth-century dates for its abolition, namely the years 1848, 1878, and 1917 (all significant in the history of the United States Virgin Islands). Indeed, if we move away from focusing on Danes' poor rote learning skills (which this author unfortunately shares), between 50 to 60 percent answered positively to various questions about the importance of Danish colonial history; more than 64 percent, for instance, indicated that it is important to understand how the "era of colonialism" has influenced Denmark's current economic standing.[15]

The disparate forms of knowledge Danes hold about their past of slavery and slave trading appears to mirror Danes' knowledge of other historical events, suggesting that many people have a keen interest in history yet do not always know its finer details. Comparing the survey concerning Danish colonial history with similar surveys concerning Denmark during the Second World War and the Second Schleswig War of 1864 brings this out. In 2015, the National Center for History and Heritage conducted a survey regarding Danes' knowledge of Danish Second World War history. An overwhelming majority, 89 percent, knew that German forces occupied Denmark on April 9, 1940. Moving on from that certainty, however, respondents were not entirely sure why German forces invaded, with 34 percent believing Germany invaded to prevent an allied attack from Danish territory, and 46 percent believing that Germany invaded Denmark in order to secure the conquest of Norway (the latter being the correct answer).[16]

Danes' somewhat fragile grip on history also surfaces in a survey done in relation to the television series *1864*, a historical fiction narrating the history of the Second Schleswig War of 1864, after which Denmark lost the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to what would become the German Empire. The war was and is considered as one of the key (tragic) events in the making of modern Denmark. However, the survey about the series *1864* showed that Danes' knowledge of the actual events of the war is faulty, with 74 percent believing that the war cost over 8,000 Danish soldiers their lives, while the correct number is around 2–3,000. Likewise, viewers appear to have easily moved from one interpretation of the war to another. Their unstable interpretations suggest that they have little contextual knowledge with which to process the fictional elements of the television series. Before they had seen

oping scenarios for a colonial history museum. I have not participated in the final elaboration of these: see *Forundersøgelse vedrørende formidling af kolonihistori*, March 2022, Nationalmuseet.

15 Historical Awareness of Denmark's Colonial Era among the Danish Population, Nationalmuseet, February 2022: 19–22, and quote 25.

16 *Nationalt Videncenter for Historie- og Kulturarvsformidling: 9. april undersøgelse*, 17.03.2015 (this survey has kindly been shared with me by Peter Johan Yding Brunbech).

the series, 39 percent declared that the war was due "first and foremost to the stupidity of Danish politicians," after viewing the series that percentage had increased to 57 percent.[17] In other words, popular understanding of Danish colonial history is perhaps not that different from how Danes understand other parts of their history. There are myths, but there is also genuine interest and appreciation of the significance of the past, colonial history included.

If we turn away from these surveys, which suggest that Danes' perception of significant parts of their past is varied, complex, and at times faulty, and focus on public discourse about racial slavery, another picture emerges. Journalists and other participants in the public debate write about Caribbean slavery as an unchanging institution, characterized by an equally unchanging, almost ahistorical racism and use of violence. This representation of racial slavery as an institution frozen in time, indeterminate darkness or blackness, and unspeakable violence has serious consequences for the way enslaved Africans emerge in public discourse. As figures outside of time, captive Africans are inadvertently positioned on par with other entities that are outside history – and the entities that most readily comes to mind are 'things'. Hence while few participants in public debates about racial slavery desire to place enslaved people outside of time (many, as noted, write to counter silence and repression), their representation of racial slavery nonetheless tends to objectify enslaved people.

3 The Facts of History

The history of racial slavery in Danish public debate, however, is not just about absence and repression. The brief sketch of Danish Atlantic history – facts-on-a-string – that I provided initially nicely captures how this history enters public debates about Danish slave trading and slavery. Indeed, contributors to public debates about slavery often appear to leave the past alone, as a number of facts, no questions asked. One good example of this tendency towards forwarding simplified versions of the past is the way Denmark's importance in the transatlantic slave trade is characterized in public discourse. There are two competing stories, and they are often used to argue for or against the need for a deeper engagement with the colonial past. The first story maintains that Denmark was the seventh largest transatlantic slave-trading nation (which is an empirically uncontested fact). The other version, less prevalent, notes that Denmark, together with Sweden and a few German principalities, was among the smallest of all the European slave-trading nations (which is also an empirically uncontested fact).[18] Obviously, this latter version is at times used to argue against the need

17 https://historielab.dk/dr-og-bornedal-har-aendret-vores-syn-paa-1864/ [accessed 23.03.2022].

18 "Kulturministeren må stoppe politisk aktivisme for statens penge," *Berlingske*, 26.10.2021: section I, 26; "Foren Queen Mary og Freedom," *Berlingske*, 19.03.2021: section I, 31; "Slavernes efterkommere

for a greater contemporary engagement with Denmark's past of racial slavery. The largest or the smallest: the debate seldom expands from these observations. Difficult questions about what these numbers actually mean and how numbers are made meaningful in the history of Danish colonialism are seldom asked in the popular debate – and therefore readers of Danish newspapers do not encounter informed attempts at answering them. It is hardly surprising that Denmark was a minor player in the transatlantic slave trade and in Caribbean colonialism. It is perhaps more surprising that we, professional historians and public debaters, repeat the old gesture of imperial comparison – in this case by repeatedly comparing the size of the Danish slave trade to that of other slave-trading nations. Obviously, such a comparison makes sense if our aim is to understand the transatlantic slave trading system as a whole. However, if we want to assess the impact of slave-trading activities on Danish history, it might be wiser to look at other ways of counting. Indeed, the number of slaves traded in relation to the size of the trading fleet, the number compared to the size of Copenhagen's population, or to the size of the white population of the Danish islands in the Caribbean, would all provide better measures for the impact of slavery on Danish society.[19]

Outside the domain of the historical discipline, the history of slavery, the slave trade, and, in the broadest sense, Danish colonialism stand still. Still in the sense that it emerges as a series of transparent facts (that debaters may claim others have misunderstood, but which are imagined as stable, resistant to interpretation or analysis). Indeed, if facts are not known, what is needed is an act of recovery rather than of interpretation. This is the case even though many, as seen above, lament that Danes do not know enough about their colonial history. The immutable past of slavery (whether large or small) is brought into debate pieces, op-eds, cultural news sections, art, and art exhibits as a question that has already been answered, as a pre-history against which current debates can unfold. The stillness of the past of slavery, present in large national media outlets, is captured, for instance, in the following quotes:

> From the 1650s and until 1803, Denmark was a slave-trading nation. Around 120,000 slaves were transported from the Gold Coast in West Africa across the Atlantic Ocean to the Danish West Indies.[20]

ønsker forsoning," *Berlingske*, 31.03.2007: section I; "Rigsarkivets perler," *BT*, 04.04.2015: section I, 18; "Lille land med kort kolonitid," *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 25.02.2013: section I, 6 [all accessed 05.05.2022].

19 For such an alternative way of using quantitative data, see Pernille Røge, "Why the Danes Got There First – a Trans-Imperial Study of the Abolition of the Danish Slave Trade in 1792," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 4 (2014): 580.

20 "Deres forfædre blev solgt som ejendom," *Jyllands-Posten*, 17.06.2014: section I, 16 [accessed 01.05.2022]: "Fra 1650'erne og frem til 1803 var Danmark en slavehandlende nation. Omkring 120.000 slaver blev fragtet fra Guldkysten i Vestafrika over Atlanterhavet til De Dansk Vestindiske Øer."

> On New Year's Day 1803, a dark chapter ended in the history of Denmark. Now it was no longer allowed to sell slaves at the Danish forts in Africa, sail them across the Atlantic Ocean on Danish ships, or import them to the Danish possessions in the West Indies.[21]

The past that emerges in these quotes is a list of well-known facts. It contains no questions or problems to be analyzed, interpreted, or solved. The articles go on either with more facts or with discussions about the (lacking) quality of popular representations of the history of slavery and the possible need for an apology to descendants of Danish slaving activities.[22]

The understanding of history that appears to undergird these discussions is at best empiricist, at worst antiquarian. It allows for the history of slavery to emerge in public discourse as symbol or truth rather than as a problem in need of reflection and analysis. In 2017, some debaters hoped that the commemoration marking the centennial of the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States would change the conversation about slavery and slave trading in Danish public discourse. A representative from the Danish National Museum, for instance, believed that the increased exposure of Denmark's colonial projects would make a "significant difference in the way in which the colonial period will be perceived in the future."[23] Five years after the 2017 centennial, it is not entirely clear that we have seen a significantly new way of perceiving Danish colonial history in Danish public discourse.[24] Indeed, for the *history* of racial slavery to emerge in public debates as more than a settled fact may require a new recognition of what professional history is and what it can do for public processes of reckoning with slavery. Yet it seems clear that Danish professional historians have not managed to make a real mark on public debates. This is probably because we are simply not very good at communicating our knowledge as problems not-yet-solved (we come to our profession like everybody else with various talents and abilities). It is probably also because journalists and debaters do not use the potential

21 "1803: Slavehandel," *Jyllands-Posten*, 04.01.2014: section I, 9 [accessed 01.05.2022]: "Nytårsdag 1803 sluttede et mørkt kapitel i Danmarks historie. Nu var det ikke længere tilladt at sælge slaver ved de danske forter i Afrika, sejle dem over Atlanterhavet på danske skibe eller indføre dem til de danske besiddelser i Vestindien."

22 The fierce discussion about the need for an apology and possible reparations for Danish slavery and slave trading has been thoroughly explored in Astrid Nonbo Andersen, *Ingen Undskyldning: Erindringer om Dansk Vestindien og Kravet om Erstatninger for Slaveriet* (København: Gyldendal, 2017). For examples of the debate about an apology, see: Helle Jørgensen: "MYTE: Var Danmark det første land, der ophævede slaveriet?" *danmarkshistorie.dk*, 2014; "Myte og fakta om Sankt Croix' sorte dronning," *Politiken*, 04.06.2018: section II, 5; "Et nyt billede af den danske kolonihistorie," *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 14.10.2017: section II, 4; "Ingen undskyldning til Dansk Vestindien i mit navn," *Information*, 12.10.2017: section I, 16 [all accessed 07.05.2022].

23 "100-årsdag vækker Danmarks kontroversielle kolonifortid til live," *dr.dk*, 26.03.2017 [accessed 07.03.2022].

24 Niels Brimnes, *Slaveejerens Død* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2022).

that some of professional history has to create critical knowledge and curiosity about the past and the present.

A good place to get an insight into how academic history of the slave trade and slavery figures in public criticism and opinion making is to look at the debate that arose about the feature film *The Gold Coast* (*Guldkysten*, 2015). The film was written and directed by Daniel Dencik, and the debate arose in connection with a blogpost about the film by art historian Mathias Danbolt and sociologist Lene Myong. Among other things, Danbolt and Myong criticized the film for being "reactionary." It reduced, they argued, enslaved people to passive victims of the Danish exercise of power. Or as they wrote: "in the film we only see the slaves working silently in the fields or being whipped, killed, and raped."[25] In response, Dencik emphasized, among other things, that the slave trade was the "Auschwitz" of the Africans. Seen in that light, Dencik argued that enslaved African were not "capable of offering resistance."[26] With this wording, Dencik presented the history of Danish Atlantic slave trading as a question that had already been answered: it was a zero-sum story in which the horrors of slavery were directly related to the possibilities of resistance. To Dencik, it was apparently irrelevant that professional historians of the transatlantic slave have shown that captive Africans rebelled on around 10 percent of all transatlantic voyages. The resistance exercised by captives onboard European slavers increased the cost level of the trade and limited the purchasing power of European slave traders. Indeed, historians have estimated that the trade would probably have included one million more people had slaves' resistance not pushed prize levels up.[27]

Like Dencik, his critics, Danbolt and Myong, also focus on the film's relation to historical West Africa. They did so by, among other things, referring to an article by the historian Sandra Greene, who specializes in precolonial West African history. In her article, Greene notes that slaves' opposition to slavery in Africa, the so-called internal slavery that characterized African societies well into the nineteenth century, played a greater role in its abolition than European colonial powers' ban on this institution. The reference to Greene is an attempt by Danbolt and Myong to support – by reference to professional history – their criticism of the film and of a narrative that portrays slaves as paralyzed and subject to the will of slave traders.[28] Nonetheless, there is a significant rhetorical element in their reference to professional history. In

25 Lene Myong and Mathias Danbolt, "Guldkysten dyrker en hvid frelserfortælling," *Politiken*, 20.06.2015: section II, 5 [accessed 02.05.2022].

26 "Instruktør efter kritik: Det er mere interessant, hvordan afrikanerne har det med den tid," *Politiken.dk*, 20.07.2015, http://politiken.dk/kultur/filmogtv/ECE2764035/instruktoer-efter-kritik-det-er-mere-interessant-hvordan-afrikanerne-har-det-med-den-tid/ [accessed 02.05.2022].

27 David Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 89.

28 Mathias Danbolt and Lene Myong, "Guldkysten og den historiske og politiske 'korrekthed'," *peculiar.dk*, 27.07.2015, http://peculiar.dk/guldkysten-og-den-historiske-og-politiske-korrekthed/ [accessed 23.08.2016].

fact, Greene is summarizing the dominant consensus regarding the abolition of slavery in Africa. She also, however, notes that the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade was primarily the result of decisions made by European colonial powers, in particular by Britain.[29] Consequently, Greene's point about the importance of enslaved resistance to the dismantling of slavery in Africa is not directly relevant to a film that concerns itself with transatlantic slave trading. Danbolt's and Myong's mobilization of Greene's article – despite the fact that she primarily writes about African slavery – suggests that they are more interested in her point about resistance and less in the actual historical situation that the film purports to portray. But, of course, fact and rhetoric are not mutually exclusive. I have done exactly as Danbolt and Myong did when I emphasized above that the idea that Africans were passive in the face of transatlantic slavery has no historical resonance. Like them, I brought in professional history to counter an unfounded statement about the past.

4 Emotional Facts

The peculiar emphasis on the alleged facts of colonial history (rather than on its problems and interpretations) goes a long way in explaining why small facts rather than larger interpretations are often at the center of public controversies about racial slavery. In headlines, op-eds, and other cultural news pieces, journalists and other participants in the debate about Denmark's engagement in slavery and slave trading often frame it as a struggle between emotional activists and factual experts; or more precisely those who believe that they represent facts often accuse the others of being emotional. This is not entirely wrong. At least it is not wrong that various opposing voices frame themselves as for or against emotions in history. Also, it is not wrong that the debates often appear as driven by emotions. Indeed, the many unnecessary, even awkward, misunderstandings that occur on both sides of this alleged divide suggest that both sides react with strong emotions to the history of Danish racial slavery. While emotional responses occasionally work in the positive sense of letting emotions generate empathy and understanding, in Danish media debates emotions mostly figure in a negative sense. They appear to close down the ability to appreciate new facts and to reflect and listen to other opinions.

One of the incidents that testifies to the emotional tensions and rapid misunderstandings generated by Denmark's racialized pasts (and presents) occurred in 2016 when the Danish National Gallery decided to rename a small number of art works and paintings. The aim was to avoid the reproduction of racial labelling. Staff at the gallery were inspired by a similar initiative in the Netherlands. They identified 14 pieces that needed renaming. The original titles provided by the artist were retained,

29 Sandra E. Greene, "Minority Voices: Abolitionism in West Africa," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 4 (2015): 642, 57 n. 1.

even when they contained derogatory terms. Only non-original, so-called curatorial titles, either of unknown origin or attributed to artworks by curators at a later date, were changed. All changes were recorded and archived. Indeed, it was seemingly a very small and non-invasive curatorial intervention, one that merely removed racist terms if these terms were not directly related to the production of the painting in question. Nonetheless, the intervention created quite a stir in the Danish newspapers. One of the directors of the Danish National Museum, for instance, stated that: "the word Negro describes an inequality between people which is part of history. We have to confront it, even if we do not like it anymore. If one corrects history, *one* risks losing the nuances of history."[30] Of course, a first question to such a statement would be who the "one" is and whose history is actually invoked in the statement – after all, we know from early Atlantic history that Africans did not readily accept the racial labels Europeans used to describe them. Yet in the Danish debate, many commenters saw a sure sign of the erasure of history in the National Gallery's attempt to change past curatorial naming practices. Indeed, the debate saw more than 100 contributions from journalists and debaters, who were mostly very critical of the gallery's move. Common to most of these contributions, however, was the fact that they were based on a misunderstanding of what the gallery actually did. No original titles were changed, yet most debaters condemned the change of original titles. In hindsight, the debate about the National Gallery's renaming of 14 paintings appears almost incomprehensible. It is difficult not to see emotions in the strong reactions to the small curatorial change introduced. The incident can be understood as a product of that layer of sense that sometimes makes us react too quickly without actually finding out what we are reacting to.

Emotional misunderstandings also shape the recent debate about the need for a colonial museum in Denmark – a debate to which I have, as noted initially, contributed, arguing for a museum and for involving professional historical expertise in its establishment. This debate saw many being emotional, the present author included. Let me begin with my own emotions, just to make clear that I am not speaking from a serene rational position. In 2021, a majority in the Danish parliament, consisting of a number of left-wing parties, the Social Democrats, and the Social Liberals, decided to initiate an investigation of the possible need for a stronger focus on Danish colonial

30 "Museum fjerner ordene neger og hottentot fra kunstværker," *Politiken.dk,* 06.06.2016 [accessed 02.05.2022]: "Ordet neger beskriver en ulighed mellem folk, som er en del af historien. Den må vi også tage på os, selv om vi ikke bryder os om den længere. Retter man i historien, risikere man at miste de historiske dybder." The database *Infomedia* contains more than 100 entries, in national and provincial newspapers as a well as major online media sites, relating to the public debate about the renaming of artworks by the Danish National Gallery. Most entries are very critical of the intervention and appear to believe that the gallery changed titles provided by the artists, which was not the case. An exception is the fine piece by journalist Jacob Jessen, who provided his readers with a detailed account of the history of the misunderstanding: see https://www.zetland.dk/historie/soBZGqKV-aegXAYg6-79b4e [accessed 24.03.2022].

history in research, education, museums, and the like.[31] The Ministry of Culture was charged with the assignment and delegated it to a number of private and public museums, research institutions, and civil society interest groups. Each institution appointed one of their own members to a working group, 12 people in total. Except for the representative from Greenland's National Museum and Archives, Daniel Thorleifsen, no historians with expertise in Danish colonial history was included. Instead, the working group included experts on the Second World War, on eighteenth-century Danish history, and on contemporary human rights. The working group also had representatives from interest groups, such as the association of high school teachers, and it also included two curators involved in exhibits concerning Danish West Indian history in 2017. In the group, there was even an expert on the comparative morphology of spiders. None of these people had research-based knowledge of the history of Danish colonialism. This was when my emotions began to work. I was surprised that among 12 people with their own areas of disciplinary expertise, nobody believed that professional colonial historians needed representation in the working group. It made me realize that Danish colonial history is probably regarded as a field with a relatively low entry barrier – no extensive expertise is needed to speak, or claim to speak, about it with authority. In a couple of interviews and later in an op-ed, I – with colleagues – attempted to point out that professional historiography offers decisive knowledge, which a museum for colonial history might need.[32]

I was not alone, however, in being emotional about the history of Danish slavery and slave trading. The debate about a possible need for a colonial history museum in Denmark has centered, not on the need for a museum, but – as a sort of proxy discussion – on the adequate place for such a museum. The debate came to evolve around a warehouse on Copenhagen's harbor front called *Vestindisk Pakhus*, that is, the West Indian Warehouse. Like the debate about the paintings in the National Gallery, this debate also centered on an odd misunderstanding. In 2020, Anders Juhl, chairperson of the small society advocating for a colonial museum and later key member of the ministerial working group described above, stated that:

> The building [i.e., the West Indian Warehouse] is what I would call a place of conscience. A place we must preserve in order to ensure that we do not forget our past. Like Auschwitz. When one enters such a place, it speaks both to our reason and to our feelings, because we know that things happened [there] [...] And the enormous hoist of the building, which most probably was operated by the enslaved, is also preserved.[33]

31 Kulturministeriet, notat, in *Kommissorium for forundersøgelse vedrørende formidling af kolonihistorie*, 27.04.2021.

32 See footnote 3.

33 "Politikere tøver trods stor enighed med at bruge penge på nyt museum," *Politiken*, 16.06.2020: section II, 3 [accessed 09.05.2022]: "Bygningen er det, jeg vil kalde et samvittighedssted. Et sted, vi skal bevare for at sikre, at vi ikke glemmer vores fortid. Ligesom Auschwitz. Når man træder ind sådan et sted, taler det både til vores intellekt og følelser, fordi vi ved, der er foregået ting ... Og bygningens

The vision presented by Juhl was one in which the past would be approached by a combination of sense and sensibility. In his rendering, this combination was made possible by the particular history of the West India Warehouse, which brought concrete materiality to the past and therefore, supposedly, allowed for a particularly intense experience of the past, of "things [that] happened." The analogy to Auschwitz was faulty, however. The West Indian Warehouse was built in the early 1780s to house the goods of the West Indian Trading Company. However, this company did not engage in Danish slavery and slave trading, and enslaved Africans did not work at the warehouse hoist. The goods stocked in the building, mostly coffee but also sugar, were traded with other colonial powers in the Caribbean, and it was in this indirect sense that the warehouse was engaged in the Atlantic world of slavery. The warehouse, therefore, is a good example of the complexities of Danish colonial ventures, which could never be contained within the mercantile structures idealized in the eighteenth century. Yet it is a long stretch to compare the warehouse to one of the most horrendous sites of the Holocaust, which saw the killing in gas chambers of at least 1.1 million people. Because of its lack of materiality, the warehouse could not work as a memory site in ways similar to that of Auschwitz-Birkenau.[34]

The claim that the West Indian Warehouse was involved in Danish slave trading and slavery came to structure the debate about the colonial museum both in newspapers and, it appears, among ministerial working group members. While it would have been easy to brush the claim away as a misunderstanding and focus on the reasons for establishing a museum regarding Denmark's colonial history, participants were caught up in the exchanges of emotionally charged arguments and accusations. One of the earliest responses came from Erik Gøbel, a renowned historian of Danish colonial trade.[35] In an interview in the right-leaning weekly *Weekendavisen*, he stated that "[f]latly spoken, there has never been a Black slave in that warehouse." During the interview, Gøbel clarified that the bonded laborers in the warehouse were Danish men sentenced to hard labor for life and referred to as "slaves" in eighteenth-century Denmark. Gøbel also noted that the West Indian Trading Company profited indirectly from the slavery practiced in the colonies of other imperial powers. For Gøbel, however, the misunderstanding was more than a slip of the tongue or a minor mistake. Rather, he found that it was "a little funny [...] and a little depressing. They [i.e., the activists] begin without quite knowing what they talk about. The entire case about the

enorme hejseværk, der højst sandsynligt blev betjent af slavegjorte, er også bevaret." See also "Kolonitidens førerbunker," *Weekendavisen*, 19.06.2020: section III, 7 [accessed 07.05.2022].

34 For a description of the memorial activities at Auschwitz-Birkenau, see http://www.auschwitz.org/en/ [accessed 07.05.2022].

35 For some of Gøbel's main works, see Erik Gøbel, *Under Sejl til Asien, Afrika og Amerika. Danske Skibe, Sejladser og Sømænd 1600–1850* (København: Gad, 2021); *Det Danske Slavehandelsforbud 1792, Studier og Kilder til Forhistorien, Forordningen og Følgerne* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008); *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

West Indian Warehouse seems to be driven by people who do not know all relevant facts." The journalist responsible for the interview added that Gøbel had apparently been intent on teasing (or mocking) the activists for their lack of knowledge when he noted that another warehouse close by, today a hotel, had in fact been owned by a company with a monopoly on Danish transatlantic slave trading. While it is difficult to disagree with Gøbel's presentations of the facts, it is also clear that his use of terms such as "funny" and "depressing" speaks to his own frustration with activists who appear ignorant of well-known historical evidence and the relatively small historiography about Danish Atlantic history.[36]

Gøbel's comments were soon misunderstood. He had pointed to the faulty reasoning behind the wish for turning the West Indian Warehouse into a museum. He also noted, however, that he "wholeheartedly support[ed] the effort of establishing a museum for Danish colonial history, yet with less weight on slavery and more on colonial history in general."[37] This perspective was harshly criticized by the organization Maafa (Kiswahili for tragedy), which organized a memorial ceremony for the victims of the "Danish slave trade" outside the West Indian Warehouse in 2021. Maafa contributed to the debate with an opinion piece portraying Gøbel as a wholly inadequate voice in the debate. He, they argued, represented "old white men with an outdated blindness to privilege." Gøbel's attempt to explain that the term "slave" was applied to criminals sentenced to life-time labor in Denmark was seen as an attempt to excuse the severity of racial slavery. Also, Gøbel had noted that the Danish transatlantic slave trade was abolished by 1802, yet this brief fact was presented by Maafa as if Gøbel had claimed that "slavery under the Danish flag ended in 1802." It is difficult to read this op-ed as something other than an emotional misunderstanding. Presumably, Maafa knows the difference between transatlantic slave trading between West Africa and the Americas and slavery and slave trading in the Americas, yet they still somehow misread Gøbel, arguing that he had claimed that slavery was abolished in 1802 (although it happened in 1848). Perhaps it was Gøbel's use of the affective terms "funny" and "depressing" that set in motion new emotional responses and in turn led to misunderstandings. In hindsight, it is strange that the two sides could not meet. After all, Maafa works for a "a permanent exhibit in the West Indian Warehouse in Copenhagen about Danish colonial history with *correct and valuable information* about enslaved people who lived and died in the service of the Danish middle class."[38] The distance between the two positions was not wide, but emotional misunderstandings appear to have turned them into insurmountable obstacles.

36 "Fortidsminder: Hus forbi," *Weekendavisen*, 03.09.2021: section I, 6 [accessed 03.05.2022].
37 "Fortidsminder: Hus forbi," *Weekendavisen*, 03.09.2021: section I, 6 [accessed 03.05.2022].
38 See Maafa's homepage https://slavetidenskobenhavn.dk/ [accessed 01.05.2022]: "få skabt en permanent udstilling i Vestindisk Pakhus i København om den danske kolonitid med korrekt og værdig information om de slavegjortes liv og død i det danske borgerskabs tjeneste." My italics.

The emotional misunderstandings concerning the West Indian Warehouse also marked the work of the ministerial working group. This time the debate was between the representative for the Danish National Archives (expert on Danish Second World War history) and the representative for the Danish National Gallery (leader of the Danish National Gallery's royal cask collection, with a recent interest in colonial art history). Internal discussions in the working group – as these can be reconstructed based on press reports – suggest that group members repeated the argument about the West Indian Warehouse, voiced by Anders Juhl in 2020, who was now member of the working group. However, the representative from the Danish National Archives maintained that the West Indian Warehouse had not been involved in Danish slave trading and slavery. In response, the representative from the National Gallery – as did Gøbel in the earlier noted interview – pointed out that enslaved Africans working in coffee production were exploited in the Caribbean colonies of other European powers. The actual debate must have been very charged. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand how an insistence on historical evidence could lead the National Gallery's representative to make the following statement: "I do not trust researchers who, like those in the National Archives, are blind to their own bias. I find their attitude to be unfunny, arrogant, and marked by 'white innocence'."[39] In response, the representative from the Danish National Archives opted for an even more exclusive interpretation while also threatening to leave the working group over their disagreement. Now he maintained that no connection between slavery and slave trade and the warehouse could be "documented." This was a statement that misconstrues the basic productive structures of the Atlantic world while also operating with a version of history in which history as a field of knowledge can be reduced to a correct summary of the archive.

Step by step, the working group members (none of them with extensive knowledge of Danish colonial history) adopted a high emotional pitch. Rather than recognizing that mistakes happen, they seemed happy to bolster positions that placed them in stark opposition to one another. As in the case of the renaming of a number of paintings (with curatorial titles) in the National Gallery, the debate about the suitability of the West Indian Warehouse – in public media outlets and supposedly expert circles – was not particular meaningful. History was at stake, but as an emotional performance weirdly distanced from its object, that is, from history. Again, in hindsight, it is difficult to understand how a faulty claim – what probably began a simple mistake – could generate so much outcry and disagreement.

39 "Kolonitid: Slaver af historien," *Weekendavisen*, 15.10.2021: section I, 1 [accessed 01.05.2022].

5 The Problems of History

History as fact, as I have already shown, is clearly present in the newspaper debates and critiques of colonialism and its contemporary consequences. It is to these alleged facts that debaters reach in order to ground their opinions and which generate strong emotional responses and misunderstandings. Yet the national press rarely presents professional colonial history as a field that contains problems and interpretive challenges; as a field struggling with questions about what we can know and of the methods employed to gain better knowledge. Instead, in public debates, the history of Danish engagement in slavery and slave trading tends to become a question of the more or less "deficient historical awareness that Denmark has been a colonial power and slave nation."[40] Yet I cannot but wonder if the historical criticism and the narratives generated by professional historians can do more than pile up facts useful for public debate, such as the fact that "Denmark was a key player in the slave trade" and the fact the "Danes" did not treat "the slaves better than the other colonial powers did."[41]

Many debaters, including professional historians themselves, present solid professional history as an accurate presentation of the past, whose goal is to eradicate errors and misunderstandings. It is, for example, the ability of professional history to be factual and precise that historian of ideas Astrid Nonbo Andersen emphasized in 2015 in her evaluation of the last 10–15 years of primary school educational material on slavery and the slave trade. For instance, Nonbo Andersen noted that it was a strength of the material that it makes it clear that Governor-General Peter von Scholten did not abolish slavery in the Danish West Indies on his own initiative in 1848. Rather Scholten was forced to declare emancipation because a large part of the enslaved population rebelled. Nonbo Andersen states that "*actually*, he [von Scholten] did it largely because he was pressed by the slaves who began to rebel."[42] Here, professional history works through its ability to create a credible representation of the past. It figures as a knowledge form that tells us what actually happened.

It goes without saying that historiography can and should contribute to a factual narrative of Danish slave trade and slavery. Yet history can be more than a data-producer. If we start with historical problems – with those aspects of the past that we do not understand and which are difficult to explain – we can develop a more precise understanding and critique of Danish colonialism. It is notable, however, that such an approach to the history of slavery and slave trading has yet to gain ground in public debates and knowledge about Danish colonialism. It is not, however, because of a lack of good questions that history-as-problem is absent in the Danish public discourse. We could, for instance, ask how Atlantic economic and ideological structures crept under

40 "Det var en god tid for Danmark," *Information*, 19.01.2015: section I, 15 [accessed 05.05.2022].
41 "Kolonivarernes æstetik dyrkes med uheldig nostalgi," *Information*, 03.01.2015: section I, 13 [accessed 05.05.2022].
42 "Det var en god tid for Danmark," *Information*, 19.01.2015: section I, 15 [accessed 05.05.2022]. My italics.

the skin of early modern Danes, despite the fact that most were far removed from any contact with Atlantic racial slavery. We could also ask about the processes that explain why most Danes, whether they want to or not, know that they belong to the group of people who are described as 'white'. Another central issue in Danish colonial history concerns the relationship between the colonies and Denmark. Danes made up about 2 percent of the white population in the Danish West Indies at the highest point. According to the Jamaican historian Neville T. Hall, this situation meant that Denmark exercised political control but did not succeed in becoming culturally dominant in its Caribbean colonies.[43] Consequently, the imperial relationship between the colonies and Denmark was different from what we see for larger empires, such as the British and French. This insight, however, rarely seems to be the starting point for the public debate, where the national terms *Denmark* and *Danes* are repeated again and again. Yet this repetition is not entirely without problems. There is a great risk that we inscribe the nationalism of the late nineteenth century (and of today) into the colonialism of the past. What if the Danes' participation in European colonial expansion cannot be understood in a national context, at least not in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries? What if today's Caribbean, especially the United States Virgin Islands, cannot be accommodated within such a national framework? If such interpretative problems were at the beginning of public debate, we would, I suspect, see professional historians play the role of key interpreters rather than fact providers.

When I mention these interpretative problems, it is not an attempt to diminish the significance of Danish colonial engagements. Rather, I mention them to point out that a critique of Danish colonialism must seek to understand the nature of the connections that arose between the Caribbean colonies and Denmark. It is important to know that Denmark was a brutal colonial power, but it is also important to understand the preconditions for this brutality. How could the Danish state maintain dominion over its Caribbean possession for almost 250 years, despite the fact that Denmark was not a powerful player in Europe's many colonial projects? And what does this say about how we can understand European colonialism? These are just some of the questions that are still not well answered. To have a discussion of such questions, not merely in the closed circles of academia but also through dialogue with a wider public, is, in my opinion, just as important as having a perfectly precise, factually accurate story conveyed to as many people as possible.

43 Neville A.T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies. St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix* (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1992): 1–33.

6 Dialogues about History

It should be clear from the above that Denmark's involvement in slavery and the slave trade often end up appearing as a settled question, an ahistorical phenomenon, when it is dealt with on a commercial cultural market. Yet this does not necessarily have to be the case. In video and performance artist Jeannette Ehlers' award-winning work *Whip it Good* (shown for the first time in 2013), we see a suggestion of what the 'dark' slavery from the cultural sections of newspapers actually contained. In the work, Ehlers performs the most common method of punishment in the Caribbean during slavery, namely whipping. It happens in a performance where Ehlers, who is of Danish-Trinidadian origin, directs the whip, dipped in black charcoal, against large white canvases and ends by inviting the audience to complete the paintings. The work's accompanying text states that it seeks to create "a personal and simple, but contradictory, artistic act of retaliation."[44] In an interview, Ehlers explains that the work can "open up redemption for some and thus has the character of revenge, but obviously in a figurative sense. *Whip it Good* is probably mostly marked by catharsis."[45] Here we encounter a language in which the past is confronted through emotional processing. By using the concept of catharsis, the work is linked to the idea that art is able to create an inner purification or, alternatively, that art creates a kind of therapeutic free space, where healing can be achieved by letting trapped emotions emerge.

However, *Whip it Good* does not provide closure. The work has no clear conclusion, although of course it presents an interpretive framework. As an artwork, it invites us to reflect on the connection between past and present racism. It matters – as others before me have noted – whether it is a white man, a white woman, or a Black woman who picks up the whip and continues the whipping of the white canvass.[46] In this way, the work establishes the possibility for reflection about how the racism of the past ties in with today's racial categories. If Ehlers' work could speak to professional historians of Danish colonialism, then perhaps it would encourage us to undertake the writing of a history of how racial slavery connects to the present. This would be a valid requirement. The period after the abolition of slavery in the Danish West Indies in 1848 has not received much attention. Indeed, the newest general work on

44 A video of Jeanette Ehlers' performance can be seen at http://www.jeannetteehlers.dk/m4v/video21.htm [accessed 03.05.2022].

45 Anette Harboe Flensburg, "Susan Sontag Spørgsmålene/Jeanette Ehlers," *Kunstdebatten*, 21.07.2015, http://kunstdebatten.dk/susan-sontag-spoergsmaalene-jeannette-ehlers/ [accessed 03.05.2022]: "åbne op for forløsning hos nogen og på den måde have karakter af hævn, men det er selvfølgelig i overført forstand og *Whip it Good* bærer nok allermest præg af catharsis [sic]."

46 Mathias Danbolt, "Striking Reverberations: Beating Back the Unfinished History of the Colonial Aestetic with Jeanette Ehlers's *Whip It Good*," in *Otherwise, Imagining Queer Feminist Art Histories*, ed. Amelia Jones and Erin Silver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 276–93.

the Danish Caribbean, *The West Indies* (*Vestindien*, 2017) to which I contributed, is at its weakest when it comes to the post-emancipation period.[47] Historian Johan Heinsen, in an otherwise positive review, argues that this particular period is "inadequately dealt" with, noting that it is "clear" that the contributions regarding the period "move in new territory."[48] In other words: there is little research done on the period and therefore it is challenging to provide research-based narratives about it.

Conversely, professional historians could also question *Whip it Good*. We may ask how we avoid portraying the exercise of power in Caribbean slave societies as so simple that we do not need to examine it further. Professional history could highlight that the numerical predominance of enslaved Africans and the low number of Europeans in the slave societies of the Caribbean meant that the white population could not rely on outright coercion alone. Violence was only one of the techniques through which domination was exercised in the Caribbean. Internal hierarchies among enslaved people, manumission options, and slaves' customary rights to small provision plots are just some of the elements that can help us understand how race-based slavery was maintained – violence was central, but it did not do it alone. Another and equally important question regards how *Whip it Good* portrays racism. How do we treat the history of racism without presenting it as an ahistorical phenomenon? *Whip it Good* creates – as I see it – its expression by reversing the roles of enslaver and enslaved in an abstract and timeless version of the everyday violence experienced by enslaved Africans in the Americas.

The discipline of history offers another approach. While *Whip it Good* shows that racism was present in the past and is still marking our present, professional historians often work to show the anchoring of racism (and slavery) in time and place. This strategy is important, as noted by the American historian Ira Berlin, due to the fact that by mapping the changeability of racism, we can concretely show what it means that race is a social – and thus man-made – construction. Insisting on time and place – and thus variation – is important.[49] It helps counteract the abstract descriptions of Africans and their descendants that have long characterized the historiography and the debates about the racially based slave societies of the Caribbean. Chattel slavery worked by subjecting Africans to processes of abstraction, which allowed whites to understand them as units of monetary

47 Poul Erik Olsen, ed., *Vestindien: St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jan, Danmark og Kolonierne* (København: Gad, 2017): 284–57.

48 Johan Heinsen, "Debatanmeldelser: Caribiske Konflikter," *TEMP: tidsskrift for historie* 8, no. 15 (2017): 195. "Jeg har allerede nævnt, at den tidligere periode er underbelyst eller ligefrem misforstået. Det samme er perioden fra 1848 og frem til i dag. Niklas Thode Jensen, Poul Olsen og Louise Sebro gør i bogens sidste tre kapitler hæderlige forsøg på at fortælle historien om denne periode, men det er også tydeligt, at de bevæger sig i nyt territorium."

49 These arguments are presented in Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1996): 251–88.

value. Therefore, abstraction is a tricky card to play in our attempts to confront the legacies of racial slavery.

The project of demonstrating that racism did not arise fully formed at the very moment Africans and Europeans first met in the Caribbean can contribute to contemporary efforts to counter the essentialism that undergird racism, past and present. In relation to the United States Virgin Islands, for example, there are many indications that the people who were enslaved along the West African littoral and survived the crossing of the Atlantic only adopted the racial predicates attributed to them by white slave owners slowly and in a process through which they fundamentally challenged the meaning of racial labelling. Historian Louise Sebro, for example, has shown that new ethnic identities, which more or less accurately referred to West African regions and languages, shaped the lives of enslaved Africans in the Danish West Indies in the first half of the eighteenth century.[50] Yet such a story can only be appreciated as having critical potential – that is, the potential to counter current notions of how important skin color is to who we are and how we can be understood – if we believe that racism has a history, that it changed during and after slavery.

7 The Past in the Present

Initially, I wrote that history – or the past of racial slave trading and slavery – often figures in public debate, cultural communication, and art as an unchangeable entity, fixed in times gone by. That was also why I began this essay by quoting Frantz Fanon, born in Martinique in 1925 and one of the early and most significant postcolonial thinkers. Fanon asked why we should be interested in the past. This is a good question, especially if the many facts and precise narratives of colonial history produced by professional historians are not used as a starting point for asking questions about that past and obviously about our present. One answer to Frantz Fanon's question could be that we need to be concerned with the past because it shapes the present and the future. Or with the famous words of Marx, the past haunts us like a nightmare in the present. With Marx's quote in mind, we can safely say that racism and the unequal economic structures that were formed during Atlantic slavery and slave trading is part of the reason why our current world is marked by poverty, inequality, and discrimination. What better reason to understand the past than to counter its legacies in our present?

There is another, and related, answer to Fanon as well, however. That answer is about being able to create knowledge about the difference of the past, a knowledge that allows for critical reflections on how we shape our contemporary society and create equality in world whose economic and cultural structures often work against such

50 Louise Sebro, *Mellem Afrikaner og Kreol. Etnisk Identitet og Social Navigation i Dansk Vestindien 1730–1770* (Lund: Historiska Institutionen ved Lunds Universitet, 2010).

an endeavor. If we choose to pursue the first answer, we must of course search for the threads that connect the present with the past. If we choose to pursue the second answer, we must insist on being surprised by the colonial past, by the societies and the peoples – Africans and Europeans – that colonial projects created in the Caribbean and in Denmark. Then we must maintain that social structures in the United States Virgin Islands and in Denmark in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries – and today – are not self-evident. It was not a historical given or a necessary colonial policy for Africans to be enslaved to work, live, and die on the Caribbean sugar plantations. Consequently, to understand why something that was not bound to happen happened anyway, to understand how the race-based social structure of the Danish Caribbean and Denmark was co-constituted over time, emerges as essential to historical research and public debate.

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Annika Bärwald and Sarah Lentz

German Slavery and Its Legacies: On History, Activism, and a Black German Past

1 Introduction

While the question of German involvement in slavery and the enslavement trade has long remained in the shadows, it has increasingly become an issue of public interest in recent years. Since 2020, the debate has been inextricably linked with the name Joachim Nettelbeck. While this Prussian seafarer had been publicly honored as a war hero for almost 150 years for his efforts in the defense of the city of Kolberg in 1807, by the turn of the millennium he came to be assessed more critically. For Nettelbeck had, before settling in Kolberg, also worked in the enslavement trade for three years. At the end of his life, he even addressed his time on slaving vessels in his autobiography.[1] Despite the book's success and its countless reprints, this part of his life was largely ignored or obscured in public discourse thereafter – some reissued versions even erased his remarks on slavery.[2] Yet, because Nettelbeck had also petitioned the Prussian government with plans for a Prussian colony based on enslaved labor in the West Indies, he became an icon of the German colonial movement by the end of the nineteenth century. In the Third Reich, the German worship of Nettelbeck climaxed

1 Cf. Joachim Nettelbeck, *Joachim Nettelbeck, Bürger zu Colberg: Eine Lebensbeschreibung, von ihm selbst aufgezeichnet*, ed. Johann Christian Ludwig Haken, 3 vols. (Halle: Brockhaus, 1821–1823). There is still no comprehensive bibliography of all the editions and adaptations of Nettelbeck's memoirs. A first survey by Sarah Lentz shows that there are at least 31 editions of his work, three plays, and more than 25 adaptations (nine of them explicitly for young readers).

2 Cf. Joachim Nettelbeck, *Lebensbeschreibung des Seefahrers, Patrioten und Sklavenhändlers Joachim Nettelbeck* [new edition of the first two volumes] (Nördlingen: Greno, 1987): 183–51. For contemporary reactions, see, for instance, "Vermischte Schriften," *Jenaische allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 01.03.1822: 392 and "Joachim Nettelbeck," *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*, 1826: 277. Currently, Urs Lindner and Sarah Lentz are researching the public reaction to Nettelbeck's participation in the enslavement trade from the publication of his autobiography until today.

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with the monumental film *Kolberg*, celebrating his sacrifices as a supposed war hero.[3] Thereafter, he was largely forgotten by the wider public after 1945, but his memory lived on in more than 30 streets in various German cities and communities that honor him by carrying his name.

Only since 2008 has this "hero of Kolberg" narrative been challenged by civil society groups like the *Initiative SchwarzeMenschen in Deutschland* (Initiative of Black People in Germany, ISD) and *Decolonize* (especially *Decolonize Berlin* and *Erfurt*), which have pointed to Nettelbeck's role as a trader of enslaved people and colonial lobbyist and have consequently also questioned Nettelbeck's public commemorative presence. From 2020, their campaign has gained new momentum, as the *ISD* and *Decolonize Erfurt* started an initiative to rename Erfurt's Nettelbeckufer after Gert Schramm (1928–2016), a Black[4] survivor of the Nazi concentration camp Buchenwald, militant anti-fascist, and bearer of the Federal Cross of Merit who was born on that very street in Erfurt.[5] From the local chapter of the *ISD*, Mirjam Elomda has contextualized the Erfurt campaign within the Black Lives Matter movement, stating that "many people no longer accept that the enslavement trade and colonialism are honored in public space. With the renaming of the Nettelbeckufer to Gert-Schramm-Ufer, Erfurt has the chance to show the world that Black people are recognized as equal members of the city's society."[6] While the debates in Erfurt are still ongoing, the campaign has garnered attention throughout Germany and has already resulted in concrete changes. After a struggle of more than ten years, referencing the Erfurt campaign, Dortmund will be the first city to rename its Nettelbeckstraße; in August 2021, the city of Berlin agreed to change the name of its Nettelbeckplatz.[7]

3 See, for instance, Ulrich Gehrke, *Veit Harlan und der 'Kolberg'-Film: Filmregie zwischen Geschichte, NS-Propaganda und Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Hamburg: self published, 2011).

4 We capitalize the word Black to highlight the constructed, non-biological character of the term. There are many good reasons to capitalize the word white as well. We have, however, opted against this spelling because of its occasional co-optation by extremist right groups. Cf. Mike Laws, "Why We Capitalize 'Black' (and Not 'White')," 16.06.2020, www.cjr.org/analysis/capital-b-black-styleguide.php [accessed 28.04.2021]; for a divergent, in-depth discussion, cf. Christina von Hodenberg et al., "Editorial: Words Matter: Our Thoughts on Language, Pseudo-Science, and 'Race'," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 42, no. 2 (2020): 3–8.

5 For further information on Gert Schramm, see his autobiography: Gert Schramm, *Wer hat Angst vorm schwarzen Mann: Mein Leben in Deutschland* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2011).

6 Casjen Carl, "Initiative Decolonize: 'Umbenennung des Nettelbeckufers ist Chance für Erfurt'," *Thüringer Allgemeine*, 16.06.2020, www.thueringer-allgemeine.de/regionen/erfurt/umbenennung-des-nettelbeckufersist-chance-fuer-erfurt-id229327424.html [accessed 31.01.2022].

7 For the debate in Dortmund, cf. Dortmund Postkolonial, "Koloniale Straßennamen in Dortmund," 01.08.2021, http://www.dortmund-postkolonial.de/?p=1819 [accessed 27.07.2021]. For an overview of all the streets that still carry Nettelbeck's name, cf. "Die Nettelbeckstraße in Deutschland," https://www.strassen-in-deutschland.de/nettelbeckstrasse-in-deutschland-4241655.html [accessed 27.07.2021]. For an interview with leading members of the *Initiative Schwarze Menschen Deutschland*, cf. Christoph Glanz, "Die Präsenz des Kolonialismus in Deutschland: Im Gespräch mit Bafta Sarbo und Tahir Della von der

It is fair to say that the Nettelbeck case is symptomatic for ignoring parts of German history. For 200 years, the reception of this historical figure was shaped by a one-sided reading that simply concealed inconvenient aspects of his biography. It was Black activists and their allies who eventually succeeded in initiating a critical, nuanced reassessment of Nettelbeck. However, the defensive reactions to the Nettelbeck initiative, ranging from denial to a rehashing of the "hero of Kolberg" mythology, also make clear that a lot of educational work still needs to be done. While formal German colonialism has received increasing attention in museums and has begun to enter school curricula, there remains a lack of awareness among the broader public of the dimensions of German participation in earlier colonialism and the enslavement trade in particular. Slavery as a contested field of German public memory discourses is only just emerging. In substantiating activists' critique with thorough research, historians thus have an important role to play.

In fact, as we want to highlight in the paper, there are a many historical figures with entanglements echoing those of the Nettelbeck biography. Our aim here is twofold: in the first part, we want to share some of our findings that highlight both German involvement in slavery and the enslavement trade and emphasize the impact that people of African descent had in the German-speaking territories prior to the late nineteenth century.[8] In the second part of our paper, we show the need and merits of a more diverse historical discipline and examine interplays of academia and activism. We argue that impulses from historical research to activist projects and activists' in-

ISD," *Die Freiheitsliebe*, 08.07.2020, https://diefreiheitsliebe.de/politik/die-praesenz-des-kolonialismus-in-deutschland-im-gespraech-mit-bafta-sarbo-und-tahir-della-von-der-isd/ [accessed 10.08.2021].

8 For publications from the ERC project "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its Slaves" (2015–2022), as well as from the division of early modern history at the University of Bremen, cf. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer and Sarah Lentz, ed., *Beyond Exceptionalism: Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany, 1650–1850* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021); Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissenstransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43 (2017): 347–80; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?" in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, ed. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016): 109–31; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verschleppte Kinder im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation und die Grenzen transkultureller Mehrfachzugehörigkeit," in *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen: Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerungen, Praktiken der Subjektivierung*, ed. Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora and Melanie Unseld (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019): 15–38; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Sklaverei und Recht im Alten Reich," in *Das Meer: Maritime Welten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Burschel and Sünne Juterczenka (Vienna: Böhlau, 2021): 597–610; Josef Köstlbauer, "Ambiguous Passages: Non-Europeans Brought to Europe by the Moravian Brethren during the 18th Century," in *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*, ed. Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2020): 169–86; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer, and Annika Bärwald, "People of African Descent in Early Modern Europe," in *Oxford Bibliographies in Atlantic History*, ed. Trevor Burnard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Sarah Lentz, *"Wer helfen kann, der helfe!": Deutsche SklavereigegnerInnen und die atlantische Abolitionsbewegung, 1780–1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020).

terventions and insights into historical scholarship – while not always without tensions – can be mutually enriching.

This becomes particularly clear in the campaign to rename the Nettelbeckufer: on the one hand, the campaign has highlighted a sort of German involvement in the Atlantic slaving economy that had long been ignored by historical scholarship. While a number of historians had already begun to address this topic in more depth in the last two decades, the surge in interest can, to a certain degree, be traced back to the agenda-setting activities of various civil society groups committed to decolonising German history and the public sphere. On the other hand, the Nettelbeck case is particularly illustrative of productive exchanges brought about by entanglements between activism and professional historical research. First, various well-known historians, such as Jürgen Zimmerer, Michael Zeuske, and the director of the Buchenwald memorial site Jens-Christian Wagner, have joined the debate on Nettelbeck in 2021 as public intellectuals, giving greater weight to the activists' demands through their professional expertise and institutionalized cultural capital.[9] Second, the campaign itself has simultaneously exposed major research gaps on Nettelbeck.[10] Most notably, the group *Decolonize Erfurt* has made it its goal to close this blind spot and to promote in-depth knowledge about Nettelbeck and the German involvement in the enslavement trade. In addition to expert interviews with historians such as Zeuske, three individual members of the group also engaged in their own research and have currently initiated further cooperative projects with other historians, among them one of the authors of this text.[11] The Nettelbeck case and its joint reappraisal by activists and historians, as well as their combined forces for a rethinking of public remembrance policy, is a positive example of increasing points of contact between academic and public engagement. In the following, we will seek to point to further instances of suc-

9 For the interview with Zimmerer, cf. Matthias Dell, "Jürgen Zimmerer: 'Denkmäler werden ständig errichtet und abgebaut'," *Thüringer Allgemeine*, 01.11.2021, www.thueringer-allgemeine.de/leben/juergen-zimmerer-denkmaeler-werden-staendig-errichtet-und-abgebaut-id231537421.html [accessed 21.10.2021]. For Jens-Christian Wagner see MDR, "Kolonialismus: Historiker für Umbenennung des Nettelbeckufers in Erfurt," 23.02.2021, www.mdr.de/nachrichten/thueringen/mitte-thueringen/erfurt/nettelbeckufer-umbenennung-nettelbeckufer-100.html [accessed 28.07.2021].

10 To this day, there exists no comprehensive historical research on Nettelbeck's life in general and especially on his participation in the Atlantic slavery system.

11 Cf. for the expert interviews: Decolonize Erfurt, "Drei Expert*innengespräche zum Erfurter Nettelbeckufer haben sie Notwendigkeit der Umbenennung bekräftigt," 24.04.2021, https://decolonizeerfurt.wordpress.com/2021/04/24/menschheitsverbrechen-nicht-langer-mit-strasennamen-ehren/ [accessed 11.09.2021]. For the research conducted by members of *Decolonize Erfurt*, see Urs Lindner, Cécile Stehrenberger and Florian Wagner, "Wissenschaftliches Gutachten zur Umbenennung des Erfurter Nettelbeckufers in Gert-Schramm-Ufer," 06.04.2020, decolonizeerfurt.wordpress.com/wissenschaftliches-gutachten-zur-umbenennung-des-erfurter-nettelbeckufers-in-gert-schramm-ufer/ [accessed 28.07.2021]. Next to the already-mentioned article on the public reception of Nettelbeck throughout the last 200 years, Urs Lindner and Sarah Lentz are also working on other unexplored aspects concerning Nettelbeck, his biography, and his legacy.

cessful collaborations between activists and scholars but also discuss some of the challenges that such collaborations entail.

We would like to acknowledge that this text is indebted to recent debates on what can and should be done to combat racism in the historical discipline and the humanities at large.[12] Although halting, these debates have gained some momentum within German academia in the last few years: in a roundtable talk published in 2020, Karim Fereidooni, Vanessa Eileen Thompson, and Emily Ngubia Kessé asked "Why isn't my professor black?" and criticized superficial concepts of diversity.[13] In September 2020, German historians Christina Morina and Norbert Frei publicly called for renewed research on racism and for stronger efforts in combating racist exclusion within the discipline.[14] Picking up the conversation, Mirjam Brusius argued for, among other things, the decolonization of curricula and affirmative action for underrepresented groups.[15] A few months later, in February 2021, Maisha-Maureen Auma, one of the very few Black professors in Germany, criticized the lack of diversity at German universities in an interview and was promptly condemned by a right-wing politician.[16] In the course of the 2021 *Ich bin Hanna* protests – aimed at calling attention to and improving precarious employment conditions within German academia – Reyhan Şahin and others have brought to the fore specific forms of discrimination faced by academics of color.[17] Be-

12 As authors of this text, we want to disclose that we, as white scholars, have only in recent years begun to engage more actively with our own positioning in relation to the activist field and to become modestly involved in activist initiatives. The ongoing public debates have been of key importance for shaping our own evolving stance in this regard.

13 Cf. Karim Fereidooni, Vanessa Eileen Thompson and Emily Ngubia Kessé, "'Why isn't My Professor Black?': A Roundtable," in *Locating African European Studies: Interventions, Intersections, Conversations*, ed. Felipe Espinoza Garrido (London: Routledge, 2020): 247–56.

14 Cf. Christina Morina and Norbert Frei, "Rassismus und Geschichtswissenschaft," 24.09.2020, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/rassismus_und_geschichtswissenschaft_morina_frei [accessed 20.05.2021]. An English translation has appeared on this blog.

15 Cf. Mirjam Brusius, "History is Located Inside, Not Outside Racial Biases – Can Historians in Germany Break the Silence after Black Lives Matter?" 29.09.2020, https://ghil.hypotheses.org/141 [accessed 20.05.2021]. See also Mirjam Brusius, "Dekolonisiert die Museumsinsel! Museumsnarrative, Rassentheorie und Chancen einer viel zu stillen Debatte," in *Geschichtskultur durch Restitution? Ein Kunst-Historikerstreit*, ed. Thomas Sandkühler, Angelika Epple and Jürgen Zimmerer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2021): 125–44.

16 Cf. Christoph David Piorkowski, "Struktureller Rassismus an deutschen Hochschulen: 'Nur tagsüber sind Universitäten weiße Institutionen'," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 18.12.2020, www.tagesspiegel.de/wissen/struktureller-rassismus-an-deutschen-hochschulen-nur-tagsueber-sind-universitaeten-weisse-institutionen/26730214.html [accessed 26.04.2021]; Yasemin Karakaşoğlu and Paul Mecheril, "Stellungnahme zur Diskreditierung rassismuskritischer Forschung und Forscher*innen," 03.02.2021, rat-fuer-migration.de/2021/02/03/zur-diskreditierung-rassismuskritischer-forschung/ [accessed 26.04.2021]; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, "Wir brauchen eine kritische Rassismusforschung: Solidarität mit Prof. Dr. Maisha-Maureen Auma," Ein Offener Brief, 09.02.2021, www.gwi-boell.de/de/2021/02/08/wir-brauchen-eine-kritische-rassismusforschung [accessed 26.04.2021].

17 *Ich bin Hanna* (I am Hanna) emerged from protests against a publication by the *German Ministry for Education and Research* that emphasized the merits of temporary contracts. Reyhan Şahin has

yond the academic realm, the *Afrozensus,* published in late 2021, has powerfully underscored the degree to which Black Germans are confronted with racist discrimination.[18] One of the most pervasive experiences reported by Black Germans and Germans of color is that of being perceived as perpetually foreign, as never quite qualifying as 'truly' German.[19] Underlying this is the assumption that there is no Black German history to speak of. As others before us have made clear, a historically informed look at German history from the vantage point of Black historic figures can be a step toward countering these notions.[20] In the following, we therefore not only want to trace out instances of German entanglements in colonialism and slavery, but also highlight two relatively unknown early Black German biographies and interrogate the interrelatedness of both phenomena.

2 Blind Spots – German Profiteers of Slavery

For a long time, historical works portrayed early modern German colonial entanglements and enslavement activities as marginal to the splintered and religiously divided territories that characterized German history prior to the establishment of the *Kaiserreich* in 1871. In this line of thinking, the colonial activities of the Fugger and Welser merchant families, as well as the *Brandenburg Africa Company,* which existed between 1682 and 1711, appeared a curious but ultimately short-lived and inconsequential German attempt at participating in the transatlantic enslavement trade.[21] This

used the analogous hashtag *Ich bin Reyhan* to point to additional hurdles experiences by scholars of color. Cf. Amrei Bahr, Kristin Eichhorn and Sebastian Kubon, *#IchBinHanna: Prekäre Wissenschaft in Deutschland* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2022): 82–87.

18 Since Germany does not officially collate statistics, the *Afrozensus* is the first initiative to collect statistical information on the lives and experiences of people of African descent in Germany. For the report, cf. https://afrozensus.de/reports/2020/ [accessed 07.11.2021]. Cf. also Joshua Kwesi Aikins et al., "Afrozensus: Intersektionale Analysen zu Anti-Schwarzem Rassismus in Deutschland," in *Schwarz und Deutsch*, ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung [= *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ)* 72, no. 12 (2022)]. On racism and racist experiences in Germany, cf. Alice Hasters, *Was weiße Menschen nicht über Rassismus hören wollen, aber wissen sollten* (Munich: Hanser, 2019); Noah Sow, *Deutschland Schwarz Weiß: Der alltägliche Rassismus*, 6th ed. (Munich: Goldmann, 2009); Natasha A. Kelly, *Rassismus: Strukturelle Probleme brauchen strukturelle Lösungen!* (Zurich: Atrium, 2021).

19 Cf. Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 2011): xiv–xviii.

20 See the more in-depth discussion of Black intellectual trajectories in Germany in the conclusion of this text.

21 The Brandenburg Africa Company trafficked at least 22,750 enslaved people from West Africa to the Caribbean. Cf. Andrea Weindl, "The Slave Trade of Northern Germany from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Roberto Zaugg, "Grossfriedrichsburg, the First German Colony in Africa? Brandenburg-Prussia, Atlantic Entan-

perception was aided by European imperial historiographies focused on metropole-periphery connections rather than transregional entanglements. Recent scholarship has quite thoroughly debunked this non-involvement hypothesis.[22] Historians have demonstrated that German-speaking merchants, as well as entire hinterland economies, benefited from the export of goods such as linen to the slavery-based economies in the Americas.[23] Moreover, it is now clear that German-speaking actors were involved in issues of slavery both on a discursive level and on a practical level – as proprietors of humans and as participants in the enslavement trade.[24] Importantly, this trade was not exclusively conducted via German ports. German-speaking persons who were employed by foreign colonial companies or operated from overseas ports played a significant role in the enslavement of Africans, too.[25] In the following, two examples from our own research illustrate this transnational nature of the trade in Africans: the case of Jan Menkenveld, a captain conducting the enslavement trade for the Dutch *Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie* (MCC), and the Overmann family from Hamburg, trading from Caribbean ports.

Jan Menkenveld was born in Glückstadt in 1712, but must have lived in Hamburg for a longer period, as he later stated the Hanseatic city as his place of origin. While nothing is known about his previous occupation as a seaman, from 1747 onward his

glements and National Memory," in *Shadows of Empire in West Africa: New Perspectives on European Fortifications*, ed. John Kwadwo Osei-Tutu and Victoria Ellen Smith (Cham: Springer, 2018): 33–73. For colonial activities of the Fuggers and Welsers in sixteenth-century South America, cf. Mark Häberlein, *Aufbruch ins globale Zeitalter: Die Handelswelt der Fugger und Welser* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2016); Jörg Denzer, *Die Konquista der Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft in Südamerika (1528–1556): Historische Rekonstruktion, Historiografie und lokale Erinnerungskultur in Kolumbien und Venezuela* (München: C.H. Beck 2005). For the Welser family, see Julia Roth's contribution in this anthology.

22 For an overview, see, for instance, Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Sarah Lentz and Josef Köstlbauer, "Beyond Exceptionalism: Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany, 1650–1850," in *Beyond Exceptionalism Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany, 1650–1850,* ed. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer and Sarah Lentz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 1–25.

23 Klaus Weber's work on this topic covers an immense scope: Cf. e.g. Klaus Weber, "Linen, Silver, Slaves, and Coffee: A Spatial Approach to Central Europe's Entanglements with the Atlantic Economy," *Culture & History Digital Journal* 4, no. 2 (2015): 2–16. Cf. also Anka Steffen, "A Cloth that Binds: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth-Century Prussian Economy," *Slavery & Abolition* 42, no. 1 (2021): 105–29.

24 Cf. Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Pia Wiegmink, eds., *German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Brahm and Rosenhaft, *Slavery Hinterland*; Mallinckrodt, "Sklaverei und Recht," Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?"; Magnus Ressel, "Das Alte Reich und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Drei Schlaglichter auf eine historische Verflechtung," 14.01.2021, lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/altesreich_sklavenhandel_ressel [accessed 21.07.2021]; Lentz, *"Wer helfen kann, der helfe!"*.

25 Cf. e.g. Michael Zeuske, "Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the *Hidden Atlantic* in the Nineteenth Century," *Atlantic Studies* 15, no. 1 (2018): 103–35; Michael Zeuske, "Tod bei Artemisa: Friedrich Ludwig Escher, Atlantic Slavery und die Akkumulation von Schweizer Kapital ausserhalb der Schweiz," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 69, no. 1 (2019): 6–26.

career can be precisely traced. In that year, at the age of 34, he joined the *Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie* (MCC).[26] By undertaking 114 so-called triangular journeys, the MCC became the principal Dutch company trading in enslaved humans in the course of the eighteenth century: from Vlissingen to the West African coast and from there with around 31,000 enslaved Africans to the Dutch colonies in the "West Indies."[27] On MCC ships, Menkenveld managed to work his way up to the position of chief helmsman relatively quickly. In this role, he made his first trips to the coast of West Africa. With the change from the frigate *Africanse Galeij* to the frigate *Philadelphia* in 1752, Menkenveld started to take an active part in the enslavement trade. While he still worked as chief helmsman on the first voyage, he took over the management of the *Philadelphia* on his second voyage and remained captain of the ship on a total of five slaving voyages between 1754 and 1761. Subsequently, Menkenveld was given this position for two more slaving vessels of the MCC, namely the *Enigheid* and the *Haast u langzaam*.

As a captain, Menkenveld was responsible for the purchase and transport of a total of 1,995 enslaved people between 1754 and 1766. Of these, however, only 1,844 people reached their destination in the Caribbean. This means that around 7.5% of all those transported by Menkenveld – 151 men, women, and children in number – lost their lives on board his ships.[28] Many of them may have already died on the West African coast, where the ships' crews took an average of about six months to acquire their human cargo.[29] During this phase of the enslavement trade in particular, there was frequent resistance among the enslaved. Two such revolts, which were ultimately suppressed by the crew, can also be detected on Menkenveld's ships (in 1756/57 on board the *Philadelphia* and in 1765 on board the *Haast u langzaam*).[30] Menkenveld and his men, however, could not prevent the mass suicide of 77 enslaved people on the fourth voyage of the *Philadelphia* under his command as captain. On other jour-

26 Menkenveld's work aboard slaving vessels of the MCC is documented in the surviving ships' lists and other related documents: Zeeuws Archief, 20 Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie (MCC), 1720–1889 (NL-MdbZA 20). For Menkenveld see also Willem van Rooij, "Jan Menkenveld: Slavenhaler bij de Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie (MCC)," 11.08.2020, www.brabantserfgoed.nl/page/12227/janmenkenveld [accessed 15.04.2021].

27 Still central for the history of the MCC is Willem Sybrand Unger, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de nederlandse slavenhandel: De slavenhandel der Middelburgsche Commercie Commercie Compagnie, 1723–1808*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1956). See also Catharina Lüden, *Sklavenfahrt mit Seeleuten aus Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Lübeck im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heide: Boyens, 1983): 89.

28 This and the following calculations are based on the entries for the seven trips in the Slave Voyages Database: https://www.slavevoyages.org [accessed 15.04.2021].

29 For detailed accounts of the practical execution of slaving voyages and especially for the role of the crews, see Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Penguin, 2008), and Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730–1807* (New York: Cambridge University Pres, 2006).

30 Cf. Slave Voyages Database and van Rooij, "Jan Menkenveld."

neys, too, enslaved people evaded enslavement by suicide. For example, on the fifth voyage of the *Philadelphia*, three enslaved women jumped overboard and drowned.[31] Menkenveld and other captains and high-ranking officers on Dutch slaving ships tried to avoid this particular form of resistance, as they were able to claim a percentage of the sales price on each person sold at the destination and a percentage of the profit achieved over the entire trip in addition to their fixed salary. This also explains why, in 1765, Menkenveld had the eighteen leaders of one of the uprisings harshly punished but not killed.[32]

In total, Menkenveld spent more than six years of his life as a captain on board slaving vessels. While he is thus rather an exception with regard to the duration of his involvement in the enslavement trade, the trips he undertook also show that he was by far not the only German-speaking crew member of MCC slaving vessels. On the five voyages Menkenveld undertook as captain of the *Philadelphia* alone, there were 40 people from the German-speaking territories among the 186 seafarers on board. On average, the crew consisted of 21.5% native "Germans."[33] This demonstrates that, despite the fact that no German colonial companies existed at that time, German-speaking crew members were integral to sustaining the eighteenth-century Atlantic enslavement trade.[34]

Similar entanglements can be observed well into the nineteenth century. The case of the Overmanns, merchant brothers and cousins from Hamburg who established themselves in St. Thomas and Puerto Rico in the 1820s and 1830s, serves as an example. The family's activities also make clear that the enslavement trade and plantation ownership often went hand in hand. In fact, the Overmanns played a significant part in what has been termed a "Second Slavery" or the "Hidden Atlantic"[35] – the trafficking of humans to the Americas after most European nations had officially condemned this practice in the nineteenth century. Starting out as merchants and clerks on the island of St. Thomas, then a Danish colony, Ferdinand Overmann, his brother Ernst Wilhelm, and his cousin Christian Friedrich each purchased large sugarcane estates in Puerto Rico in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. It was a sign of the times: while exhausted soil and the effects of the Danish and British abolition of the enslavement trade (in 1803 and 1807, respectively) had already led to a decline of sugar production

31 Ibid. For this form of resistance, see e.g. Sowande' M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Baltimore, MD: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

32 Cf. van Rooij, "Jan Menkenveld."

33 My own [S.L.] calculation is based on the surviving ship's lists, cf. NL-MdbZA 20.

34 I (Sarah Lentz) am currently working on an evaluation of the crew lists of the MCC slaving vessels to show the dimension of the involvement of personnel from German-speaking Central Europe. Overall, approximately 20% of all MCC ship personnel originated from German-speaking territories.

35 Cf. Zeuske, "Out of the Americas"; Dale W. Tomich, "The 'Second Slavery': Bonded Labor and the Transformation of the Nineteenth-Century World Economy," in *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003): 56–74.

in many parts of the Caribbean, the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico were still rich in fertile soil and had not yet entirely outlawed slaving activities.[36]

Christian Friedrich Overmann, born in 1795 and only marginally younger than his cousin Ferdinand, first travelled to the Caribbean in 1817, arriving in St. Thomas as an employee of the Hamburg firm *Merck & Co*. Soon, he established his own business there and even married the daughter of a wealthy and well-connected local family. The young couple purchased a small plantation on St. Thomas in 1821.[37] Six years later, they became proprietors of the large hacienda *Henrietta* in the Guayama district of Puerto Rico. The move might have been facilitated by the fact that Ferdinand Overmann had already bought a plantation in Puerto Rico in 1819, albeit in the somewhat removed Ponce district. Christian Friedrich Overmann's plantation *Henrietta* – named after his wife – was purchased together with 58 enslaved men, women, and children who lived on the grounds and worked the land. Despite high mortality rates, Overmann's frequent buying of enslaved workers resulted in their numbers increasing up to 177 men, women, and children in 1836, the year Overmann died of dysentery at age 41.[38] Ferdinand and Ernst Wilhelm Overmann, on the other hand, lived to old age and seem to have made fortunes by selling sugar planted and harvested by enslaved people. Resistance to such exploitation was constant and erupted on occasion. In the summer of 1826, three enslaved men belonging to Ferdinand Overmann's plantation participated in plotting a larger rebellion on several plantations. Before they could execute their plan, they, together with others, were discovered and some of the leaders were executed.[39]

Apart from profiting from plantation slavery, Overman family members also directly built their fortunes on buying and selling human beings, both on a smaller and on a larger scale. Archival sources show that Christian Friedrich Overmann undertook several voyages with enslaved people from St. Thomas to Puerto Rico, probably to have them work on his or other *haciendas*.[40] Many of these journeys have been recorded in St. Thomas passenger protocols. To cite just one instance, in May 1829, it was noted that "6 slaves Peter, Louis, Billyblack, Frances[?], Anthon [?], and Bary, be-

36 For the Puerto Rican region of Ponce, cf. Francisco Antonio Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800–1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

37 Cf. Charles Theodore Overman, *A Family Plantation: The History of the Puerto Rican Hacienda 'La Enriqueta'* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia, 2000): 23–26.

38 Cf. ibid.: 30–31. Some sources speak of 160 and not 177 enslaved people.

39 Cf. ibid.: 13–14, 18–19, 175. While some of the plotters were punished by death, it is unclear whether Antonio, Benio, and Ogui from Overmann's plantation were among them. Ferdinand Overmann later retired to Bordeaux, where a previous generation of Overmanns had already been involved in the transatlantic enslavement trade. In 1783, a merchant partnership by the name of *Overmann & Meyer* from Hamburg had financed a slaving expedition to Angola. Cf. Klaus Weber, "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: eine lange Geschichte," *WerkstattGeschichte* 66–67 (2014): 48.

40 For more detail, see Annika Bärwald's forthcoming doctoral thesis on the Black presence in Hamburg, ca. 1750–1840.

longing to C.F. Overmann"[41] had travelled to Puerto Rico without Overmann himself. Several dozens more enslaved people were trafficked in such a way by members of the Overmann family. Despite the seemingly small numbers, such inter-island transfer played a significant role in providing enslaved laborers for the Spanish colonies in the early nineteenth century.[42] As Charles Theodore Overman has shown, Ferdinand Overmann even obtained a permission to import enslaved humans from other American colonies in 1824 and promptly bought and sold around 200 men, women, and children.[43] But the Overmanns were also involved in large-scale transatlantic trade. As late as 1839, his brother Ernst Wilhelm Overmann participated in forcefully transporting enslaved persons from Africa to Ponce and selling them to local plantations. This trade took place entirely clandestinely and left few archival traces, but the Puerto Rican sources studied by Francisco Scarano show that at least 270 enslaved persons arrived in Puerto Rico as part of the 1839 business operation in which Ernst Wilhelm Overmann was involved.[44]

While all three Overmanns became Spanish subjects, they maintained life-long ties to their native town. Ernst Wilhelm Overmann returned to Hamburg with his family in 1840 and was able to purchase a house in the St. George district before eventually resettling in Puerto Rico, where he died in 1867.[45] Christian Friedrich Overmann had his Hamburg business partner settle his estate after his death in 1836. His *hacienda* was at that time mortgaged to his former employer, the Hamburg merchant house *Merck & Co*, and his children were educated in Europe, possibly in the same city.[46] It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the family's story – though many parts have been studied and documented by international researchers – seems near-absent from collective memory in Germany and Hamburg more specifically.[47] Ships sailing between Puerto Rico and West Africa may indeed at first seem distant from German territories. But neither the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade nor ac-

41 Danish National Archives. Pasprotokoller for bortrejsende (1828–1830). 689 St. Thomas Politikontor 14.10.6: 214–15.

42 For the Spanish mainland and Caribbean island colonies, the Slave Voyages Database lists 4,815 instances of the intra–American slaving from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, though the exact number of transported persons is often unknown. Cf. www.slavevoyages.org [accessed 12.12.2021].

43 He sought to import people from "friendly colonies," perhaps islands such as St. Thomas, Martinique, or Guadaloupe. Cf. Overman, *A Family Plantation*: 18.

44 Cf. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico*: 131; Overman, *A Family Plantation*: 177. Overman himself is a descendent of Christian Friedrich Overmann.

45 His children and widow remained in Hamburg. See the custodianship file StH 222–1 Serie II 7030 Ernst Wilhelm Overmann.

46 Cf. Overman, *A Family Plantation*: 30–35.

47 This is a particularly glaring omission in the works of the influential Hamburg historian Percy Ernst Schramm, cf. e.g. his work on the Merck family: *Hamburg, Deutschland und die Welt: Leistung und Grenzen hanseatischen Bürgertums in der Zeit zwischen Napoleon I. und Bismarck* (Munich: Callwey, 1943).

tors moved exclusively within national or even imperial confines. Both the Overmann and the Menkenveld case show that ties to slavery and the enslavement trade regularly crossed borders. In turn, German territories, these cases suggest, were more thoroughly affected by slavery and colonialism than generally assumed. More research into these early colonial entanglements, as well as their ideological and financial legacies, is needed to substantiate the extent of those entanglements.[48]

3 Hidden Histories of Black Germany

Beside profits and material backflows, the entanglements of German-speaking regions with Africa and the Americas also resulted in an increasing number of free and enslaved people of African descent living and working in the German territories in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[49] Long portrayed as a phenomenon of noble courts at which Black servants and enslaved people represented worldly splendor, people of African descent living in an urban or missionary environment in the German-speaking territories before the 1880s have been largely neglected.[50] Research in newspapers, church registers, court and notary files, as well as other serial sources,

48 Cf. also zur Julian zur Lage, "Die Hochphase des deutschen Versklavungshandels," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 49, no. 4 (2022): 619–809; Jasper Henning Hagedorn, *Bremen und die atlantische Sklaverei: Waren, Wissen und Personen, 1780–1860*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2023.

49 For the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, cf. Robbie John Macvicar Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, eds., *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004); Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, eds., *Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880–1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880–1918* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003); Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche* (Berlin: Berlin-Ed, 2002). Black German scholars have been among the pioneers in the field. Cf. e.g. Katharina Oguntoye, May Ayim and Dagmar Schultz, eds., *Farbe bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Orlanda, 2016, [originally published in 1986]); Katharina Oguntoye, *Eine afro-deutsche Geschichte: Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950* (Berlin: Hoho, 1997); Paulette Reed-Anderson, *Eine Geschichte von mehr als 100 Jahren: Die Anfänge der Afrikanischen Diaspora in Berlin* (Berlin: Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats, 1995).

50 For a comprehensive study of the court context, cf. Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich: Handel, Migration, Hof* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013). See also Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen* (Hamburg: Junius, 1993); Mark Häberlein, "'Mohren', ständische Gesellschaft und atlantische Welt: Minderheiten und Kulturkontakte in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Hermann Wellenreuther*, ed. Claudia Schnurmann and Hartmut Lehmann (Hamburg: LIT-Verlag, 2006). Josef Köstlbauer is currently working on enslaved and free Black members of the Moravian church in the German-speaking territories: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/about-us/people/faculty/postdoctoral-researchers/josef-koestlbauer [accessed 15.01.2022].

however, attest to that fact that a significant number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Black biographies unfolded outside these courtly realms. At their most pronounced, these sources powerfully convey instances of resilience, resistance, and diasporic connectivity. Two life stories we encountered during our research, those of Maria Susanna Josua and Friedrich Wilhelm Marcellino, can only be recovered in snippets but nevertheless evoke intriguing instances of self-preservation and self-assertion. The former was a woman born into Caribbean slavery who later lived a relatively prosperous life near Hamburg, financially supporting her family members after her death. The latter was an enslaved man from Brazil who fought not only for his own freedom but also for that of others in 1850s Berlin.

Little is known about the early life of Maria Susanna Josua, whose existence is evidenced mainly by the file recording her death at 71 in Ahrensburg near Hamburg in 1848 and the ensuing inheritance case.[51] The details that do emerge from that file tell the story of a woman born into Caribbean slavery who maintained economic and familial ties to the Caribbean throughout her life, connecting her and the larger Hamburg region with the islands of St. Thomas and St. John. Her origins were extremely humble: as her baptism certificate states, Maria Susanna had been born around 1777 to Aincel and Andreas, both of them enslaved laborers. As a result, she herself must have been enslaved. Maria Susanna – the appellation Josua was adopted later in life – probably grew up on the small cotton plantation on which her mother lived. It belonged to Tresa, or Theresia Bertram, a free Black woman who, shortly after Susanna's birth, bequeathed the land to her descendants.[52] As a child and youth, Susanna thus probably began working either in the household or on the fields. She had at least two sisters, curiously both named Elisabeth, who survived into adulthood. The three of them, along with possible other family members, may have formed a tight-knit kin group, offering material and immaterial support to one another from a young age.

It is unclear when and how Susanna Josua became a free person. Perhaps Bertram had freed the family in her will, perhaps members of the family had gained their freedom through different means.[53] At some point, likely before 1793, Josua appears to have settled in the bustling port town of Charlotte Amalie, capital and com-

51 Cf. File pertaining to Josua (1848) in LAS 127.3 Ahrensburg 66I Nachlassakten. If not otherwise stated, all further references to archival material on Josua refer to this file.

52 Bertram, a widow, owned twelve persons in 1773. In 1778, the plantation was owned by her children. Cf. DNA 571 Vestindiske Regnskaber, 83–3-4 Matrikel for St. Thomas og St. Jan (1773), fol. 7; ibid (1778), fol. 12.

53 Manumission mostly took the form of being freed via will, being freed by declaration of the owner, or by (self-)purchasing freedom. Baptism certificates of Susanna Josua's grandnieces from the years 1816, 1822, and 1826 show that members of the family – and perhaps Josua herself – were free at that time.

mercial center of the island of St. Thomas.[54] Charlotte Amalie had served as a base for both the Brandenburg Company's and the Danish colonial company's slaving activities; with its free-trade harbor, it continued to attract commercial traffic of all kinds even after the enslavement trade had officially been abolished in 1803.[55] Among the merchants settling there in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries were a group of mostly young men from Hamburg and Altona, including the aforementioned Overmanns. Unlike in more agrarian regions, these men found themselves interacting with a growing group of free Black people, manumitted as well as free-born people, some percentage of whom were born on the island, while others were recent immigrants.[56] Most worked manual jobs: only a few conducted businesses and came to some wealth. Assuming Susanna Josua was manumitted before her departure for Hamburg, she may have found employment as a domestic servant in Charlotte Amalie, or perhaps she became what was euphemistically called a "householder" in the Danish colonial jargon of the time: a sexual consort for a white man. Steeped in unequal power relations, these relationships sometimes resulted in manumission for enslaved women and in monetary transfers to free women, respectively.[57]

Whatever her position was, the fact that her baptismal record was copied in 1826 – functioning as a passport of sorts – indicates that Josua likely arrived in the Hamburg region that year, at an age of circa 49 years. Around this time, it was not unusual for German-speaking merchants based in the Caribbean to travel in the company of either enslaved or free domestic servants.[58] Ahrensburg, where Josua settled, additionally had even older connections to the Danish Caribbean. The Schimmelmanns, squires of the Ahrensburg estate, owned four large plantations on the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix and had previously brought enslaved people to the village.[59] From all available accounts, however, Susanna Josua's life in Ahrensburg was unconnected to the Schimmelmanns and seems to have been sedentary. By the time she died, she did

54 Tresa Bertram's heirs moved there between 1787 and 1793. In 1793, a female heir of Bertram's thus lived in Charlotte Amalie with seven enslaved people. Cf. Matrikel for St. Thomas og St. Jan (1793). DNA, 571 Vestindiske Regnskaber 83.6, fol. 10.

55 For a detailed account, cf. Erik Gøbel, *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

56 Cf. N.A.T. Hall and B.W. Higman, eds., *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix* (Mona, Jamaica: Antilles Press, 1992): 139–54.

57 Cf e.g. Elizabeth Rezende, "The Manumission Process in the Danish West Indies, 1800–1848," in *Negotiating Enslavement: Perspectives on Slavery in the Danish West Indies*, ed. Arnold R. Highfield and George F. Tyson (St. Croix: The Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 2009); Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005). Sometimes these transfers meant that freedwomen themselves came to own enslaved people or even engage in slaving. It is unclear whether this is true for Josua. Cf. Jessica Marie Johnson, *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020): 3.

58 I (Annika Bärwald) explore this in more depth in my forthcoming dissertation.

59 Cf. Christian Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1974): 108–17.

not work for wages but lived off the interest she charged for lending the sum of 400 mark courant to unnamed others. Her house being well-furnished, the eventual auctioning of her household items generated another 322 mark courant. These were significant sums at the time, considering that Hamburg's poorest earned less than 50 mark courant a year.[60] Although it is difficult to reconstruct the source of her wealth, her substantial property eventually set in motion an inheritance process.[61] Soon, letters found in her possession revealed that she had two sisters and four nieces who lived in Charlotte Amalie. In addition to unveiling transatlantic connections, this detail suggests that Susanna Josua most likely was literate; she may have even sent and received letters from her relatives overseas on a regular basis.

In many ways, Susanna Josua appears to have been an accepted member of the community. Apart perhaps from the occasional usage of the term "negress" – though always in combination with her name – there is no indication that the executers of her estate treated the case any differently than they would have that of a white person. They were, in fact, able to contact the colonial administration in St. Thomas and identify Josua's heirs. Her two sisters and one niece had already died, but two nieces along with six grandnieces and -nephews, some of them orphaned, were alive. In 1851, almost three years after her death and after a lengthy process, their aunt's inheritance, both her cash capital and the auction proceeds, was transferred to them in bills of exchange with the ship of a Hamburg merchant house. In essence, Josua might well be called a transnational migrant, a term usually reserved for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries:[62] Rather than cutting ties to her region of origin where she had been born into slavery, she maintained contact with her family throughout her life. Though she did not have direct descendants, she fostered a diasporic network and made it possible for her family to partake in her financial success.

The case of Friedrich Wilhelm Marcellino also shows the importance of relationships among Black individuals – in his case, however, in 1850s Berlin.[63] Marcellino was born into slavery in Brazil probably in the 1830s. In 1854, he accompanied his owner, the German-born doctor Ludwig Ritter, on a visit to Dresden and Berlin. In particular in the Prussian capital, there were repeated conflicts between the two, as Marcellino increasingly refused to follow orders. In the face of threats from Ritter that he would take his enslaved servant back to Brazil, Marcellino actively used the opportunity that his stay in the supposedly slavery-free society of Berlin offered to

60 Cf. Matthias Schmoock, "Die Revolution von 1848/49," geschichtsbuch.hamburg.de/epochen/restauration-revolution-reform/die-revolution-von-184849-in-hamburg/ [accessed 28.07.2021].

61 See footnote 57.

62 Cf. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 645 (1992): 183–200.

63 For a more detailed analysis of Marcellino's life in Prussia see Lentz, "Wer helfen kann, der helfe!": 277–91.

fight for his freedom. As a first step, he actively sought contact with the local population and, within a very short time, he actually managed to make the acquaintance of influential white Berliners. Furthermore, by showing his "back completely covered with scars," Marcellino seems to have made the horrors of slavery tangible to his contacts and thus mobilized them against it.[64] At that time, the Prussian law allowed "foreigners" who were only temporarily present in Prussian territories to keep the rights to their enslaved servants. Nevertheless, with the help of his white supporters, Marcellino initiated, among other things, a lawsuit against Ritter to gain his freedom. While he ultimately lost the legal proceedings, Marcellino was still later on given his freedom and allowed to stay in Berlin, for which there are different explanations in the sources.[65]

The legal dispute between Marcellino and Ritter caused a sensation beyond the borders of Prussia. News of the verdict even reached the United States, and it was subsequently used by the southern states to argue that their demand to have runaway enslaved people returned from the northern states was legitimate. In turn, the fact that Prussia was one of the last countries in Europe to continue to tolerate slavery on its own soil and the verdict's appropriation by the southern states caused displeasure among many Germans. Increasingly, there were calls for a legal reform, and so the following law was finally passed in 1857: "Slaves are set free from the moment they enter Prussian territory."[66] Hence, the formerly enslaved Marcellino had not only been able to skillfully get to know the right people, win them over to his cause, and thus initiate the process around his person: his exertion also closed the last loophole in the law that allowed slavery in Prussia. In the following years, Marcellino put down roots in Berlin and built a new life there. With the help of donations, he first received basic education and was then trained as a carpenter. Later, he worked as a waiter and porter as well as a translator for Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian. In 1861, he married a white woman from Berlin and, in the course of this process, took the name Friedrich Wilhelm Marcellino.

64 "Aus dem Gerichtsaale: Prozeß um einen Sklaven," *Neues Fremdenblatt*, 18.03.1875: 3.

65 According to a contemporary report, the outcome of the process was ultimately worthless for Ritter because "there was no public authority which considered itself responsible and willing to return Marcellino into the hands of Ritter" (ibid). Another possibility might be that Marcellino's freedom had been bought by his local supporters. For the trial, see Rudolf Stammler, "Der letzte Sklavenprozess in Deutschland 1854," in *Deutsches Rechtsleben während des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rudolf Stammler (Munich, 1932): 265–78. With regard to other research, there is only a short portrait on the website of *Die Geschichte Berlins* that sketches Marcellino's career: Michael Mende, "Marzellino, Friedrich Wilhelm," 01.12.2010, www.diegeschichteberlins.de/geschichteberlins/persoenlichkeiten/persoenlichkeitenhn/684-marzellino-friedrichwilhelm.html [accessed 01.12.2021].

66 *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch die Allerhöchste Verordnung vom 11. November 1856 einberufenen beiden Häuser des Landtages. Herrenhaus*, vol 1, Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei, 1857, 104.

Significantly, since the beginning of the 1860s at the latest, next to his ties to the white population, Marcellino was also part of a close-knit community of Black and non-white Berliners. In general, little is known about the presence of non-white people in the Prussian capital around the middle of the century.[67] However, an episode from 1862 in which Marcellino played a leading role shows that an independent community of people who were racialized as Black not only existed, but that they also publicly stood up for their own rights. In that year, an Ottoman horse dealer and his two African grooms took up residence in Kreuzberg. While the real purpose of their stay was to sell stallions to the royal court, they became embroiled in a much-discussed scandal shortly after their arrival. A local newspaper headlined "Negro slavery in Berlin" accused the horse dealer, whom the journalists "exposed" in clearly anti-Semitic tones as a German Jew, of enslaving his grooms, locking them up, and physically abusing them.[68]

While these allegations caused a sensation within the white population of Berlin, it was another group of actors who, under the leadership of Marcellino, took immediate action and gathered in front of the horse dealer's house to stand up for the two enslaved men and to demand that their wages be paid. In contrast to their racialization as "Negroes" by the contemporary newspapers, the people who came together formed a heterogeneous group, including, for instance, Ahmad Aga, the gravedigger of the Muslim community in Berlin.[69] Their joint agitation and initiative, though, resulted in the newspaper's observation that everyone "who belongs to [. . .] the race of battered negroes [. . .] takes care of their cause as their own."[70] Like Marcellino, at least some members of this group probably had experienced living in a legal grey area where claiming their own rights could be difficult, especially for non-resident Black people. Marcellino, a formerly enslaved man who was very familiar with both the German language and Prussian legislation, seems to have played an important role as agitator.[71]

Despite the fact that, according to the results of the police investigation, the allegations of slavery seem to have been unjustified and the abuses mentioned above did not take place, according to newspaper reports the two grooms continued to receive "mass visits from their local compatriots" almost every day in the following weeks.[72] The fact that various Black residents of Berlin took part in the fate of their so-called "compatriots" for weeks and supported them speaks for an already existing well-

67 See footnote 49.

68 "Ueber Negersclaverei in Berlin," *Allgemeine deutsche Strafrechtszeitung*, 21.06.1862: 399–400: On historians' handling of racist terminology in original sources see also pages 323–324.

69 Cf. Lentz, "Wer helfen kann, der helfe!": 286–91.

70 "Wie Neger in Deutschland dem jüdischen Druck gegenüber zusammenhalten," *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, 26.07.1862: 453.

71 For Marcellino's fluency in German, see Johann Jacob Sturz, *Brasilianische Zustände und Aussichten im Jahre 1861: Mit Belegen nebst einem Vorschlag zur Aufhebung der Sklaverei und Entfernung der Schwarzen aus Nord-Amerika* (Berlin: Nicolai'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1862): 9.

72 "Polizei- und Tages-Chronik," *Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung*, 03.07.1862: 75.

connected community whose members – despite their heterogeneous personal backgrounds – shared an identity based on, among other things, the external attributions that they had to deal with in mid-century Berlin.

While only scattered information is available for Marcellino's further life, the case of the formerly enslaved man and his fellow activists impressively shows that in the German context, too, Black actors were active subjects in German history and, in this case, energetically worked toward the abolition of slavery.[73] After all, without Marcellino's successful attempt to mobilize members of the white population of Berlin for his cause, the last loophole that allowed slavery in Prussia would probably have been closed only much later.

4 Toward Inclusivity? Interplays of Academia and Activism

Histories such as those of Susanna Josua's quiet success and Marcellino's pivotal role in bringing the existence of legal slavery to an end in Prussia have often been overlooked in historical scholarship. It stands to reason that this lack of scholarly attention correlates with the severe underrepresentation of Black people and people of color in history departments at German and Austrian universities.[74] At the same time, however, much of the institutionalised historical research now being conducted builds on and intersects with work done by historians and other scholars of color, work that often bridges activism and scholarship: As the US- historian Tiffany Florvil has argued, a network of "quotidian intellectuals" with strong transnational ties has, since the 1980s, successfully advocated for Black German histories and identities being established as subjects of academic inquiry.[75] Black German historian Katharina Oguntoye, for example, was at the forefront of Afro-German activism and historiography from the beginning and, in 1986, became co-editor of the influential work of collected essays *Farbe bekennen.*[76] Recently, her research on African-German families from 1884 to 1950 has been reissued as a monograph.[77]

73 Among the works that strongly emphasize the active role Black persons played in Europe well before the twentieth century is Olivette Otele's encompassing and synthesizing *Black Europe.* Her work lucidly brings together narratives from various European regions. Cf. Olivette Otele, *African Europeans: An Untold History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2020). See also von Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia."

74 See footnote 13–17.

75 Tiffany Nicole Florvil, *Mobilizing Black Germany: Afro-German Women and the Making of a Transnational Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020).

76 Oguntoye, Ayim and Schultz, eds., *Farbe bekennen.*

77 Cf. Ciani-Sophia Hoeder, "Katharina Oguntoye über die afrodeutsche Geschichte: 'Es war ein Stück weit meine Lebensaufgabe'," 27.02.2020, www.rosa-mag.de/katharina-oguntoye-ueber-die-afrodeut

This intellectual tradition has continued until today, and scholars of color with varying degrees of institutional ties in Germany are currently conducting pioneering historical research.[78] At the same time, it cannot be denied that some of the most innovative professional research and collaborative platform building on Black German history at the moment is being done by Black historians outside of Germany and Austria: the aforementioned Tiffany Florvil, author of *Mobilizing Black Germany* and associate professor at the University of New Mexico, is actively involved in research networks such as the Black Diaspora Studies Network at the German Studies Association and the Young Scholars Network Black Diaspora and Germany.[79] Similarly, Vienna-raised Kira Thurman, who is an assistant professor of history and German studies und auch noch musicology at the University of Michigan, has recently published a critically-acclaimed book on Black musicians in German-speaking Europe and also runs the website blackcentraleurope.com, which bridges activism and public history.[80]

Overall, there can therefore be no doubt that a more diverse historical discipline changes the questions being asked and the conclusions being drawn. This is even more important given that historical research can make crucial contributions to a broader public debate, too. Deconstructing ideas about historical permanence – say of ideas of race, ethnicity, or mobility – and questioning long-held assumptions about a nation's history are strengths of the historical discipline and the humanities at large.[81] Much has been done in the last decades, for example, in pointing to the role of En-

sche-geschichte-es-war-ein-stueck-weit-meine-lebensaufgabe/ [accessed 28.07.2021]; Katharina Oguntoye, *Schwarze Wurzeln: Afro-deutsche Familiengeschichten von 1884 bis 1950* (Berlin: Orlanda, 2020).

78 Among them are Joshua Kwesi Aikins (political scientist and activist, see his contribution to this volume) and Andrea-Vicky Amankwaa-Birago (see below).

79 Cf. https://www.tiffanynflorvil.com/ [accessed 31.01.2022].

80 Cf. Kira Thurman, *Singing like Germans: Black Musicians in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), https://www.blackcentraleurope.com [accessed 31.01.2022]. Priscilla Layne of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Fatima El-Tayeb, and Wendy Sutherland are further examples. Payne is co-organiser of a German Studies Association workshop focused on Black German studies in 2022 and the author of a book on cultural appropriation. Cf. https://thegsa.org/blog/cfa-gsa-emerging-scholars-workshop [accessed 30.11.2021], Priscilla Layne, *White Rebels in Black: German Appropriation of Black Popular Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018). El-Tayeb is a professor of African-American literature and culture at the University of California San Diego. She is the author of *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um 'Rasse' und nationale Identität 1890–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2001) and *Undeutsch: Die Konstruktion des Anderen in der postmigrantischen Gesellschaft* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016). Wendy Sutherland is an associate professor of German at the New College of Florida and author of *Staging Blackness and Performing Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century German Drama* (London: Routledge, 2016).

81 Antje Flüchter has gone further and has called for historians to be more daring in constructing new, alternative master-narratives countering old nationalist tropes: Antje Flüchter, "History: An Important but Potentially Dangerous Part of the Humanities," 19.05.2021, trafo.hypotheses.org/28610 [accessed 20.05.2021].

lightenment thinkers in advancing racist and proto-racist ideas, in showing that debates around slavery and abolition were not foreign to German-speaking regions, and in providing evidence that German territories were in fact entangled with slavery-based economies.[82] Black people, such as those portrayed here, no longer appear as rare exceptions in a German past otherwise imagined as homogeneously white.

At the same time, historical studies can and perhaps should complicate and question linear narratives: there is not necessarily a direct path leading from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century slavery and racism to issues of migration and exclusion today. While some notions and practices – for example some strands of racist thought – lasted, others evolved or disappeared. Some seem disturbing to us today: Black people appear as owners of enslaved people in source material and anti-slavery reporting could have strongly antisemitic and oftentimes even racist overtones. Many people of African descent in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German-speaking regions seem to have navigated a position of in-betweenness: born into slavery, some had the possibility to advance in their position through skill and luck, others did not. Even the small sample presented here testifies to the existence of a group of people whose true size might have been much larger than commonly assumed. Showing these rifts, contingencies, and unexpected biographical details underlines that lived lives were not only shaped by multiple intersecting forces, but also by an individual's scope of action.

Considering the lack of diversity in German and Austrian history departments as well as the impulses that German historiography has received from Black German intellectuals (both within and outside of academic positions), activists, and scholars based abroad, it seems both necessary to strengthen universities' willingness to transform academia into an inclusive environment and to foster dialogue between activists and scholars.[83] The latter can take the form of inviting cross-disciplinary collaborations with scholars and students from underrepresented groups and by engaging in dialogue with activist groups. Aside from the Nettelbeck case and the activism done by the ISD and *Decolonize Erfurt*, two other successful examples of such collabora-

82 Cf. e.g. Andreas Pečar and Damien Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde: War die Aufklärung wirklich die Geburtsstunde der Moderne?* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2015): 83–91; Sarah Reimann, *Die Entstehung des wissenschaftlichen Rassismus im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017); Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, eds., *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*; Morgan Golf-French, "Beyond Heroes and Villains: Reassessing Racism in the German Enlightenment," 02.10.2021, https://ghil.hypotheses.org/339 [accessed 22.01.2022]. In a recent interview, historian Michael Zeuske talked about Immanuel Kant and possible racism connects, see https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/antirassistischer-denkmalsturm-auch-der-philosoph-immanuel.1013.de.html?dram:article_id=478593 [accessed 10.09.2021].

83 For a similar position, cf. Tiffany Nicole Florvil and Vanessa D. Plumly, "Introduction: Rethinking Black German Studies," in *Rethinking Black German Studies: Approaches, Interventions and Histories*, ed. Tiffany Nicole Florvil and Vanessa D. Plumly (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018).

tions come to mind.[84] One is the Berlin-based project *Dekoloniale Erinnerungskultur in der Stadt* (Decolonial Culture of Memory in the City), a cooperation between a senatorial agency and three activist organizations: *Berlin Postkolonial, Each One Teach One EOTO*, and *Initiative SchwarzeMenschen in Deutschland.* The pilot project stands out in that it directly connects activists and experts with political authorities and seeks to probe "how a metropolis, its space, its institutions, and its society can be examined regarding its (post)colonial effects on a broad basis, how the invisible can be made tangible and how the visible can be irritated."[85] The project offers consulting to museums seeking to decolonize their institutions, curates neighborhood-based exhibitions, organizes and funds artists' residencies and interventions, and serves as a network for similar initiatives within and beyond Germany. Similarly, the Anton Wilhelm Amo Erbschaft (Anton Wilhelm Amo Legacy) alliance aims to make the life and work of Anton Wilhelm Amo (approx. 1703–1759), the first African philosopher and Black professor in Germany, who came to Central Europe as an enslaved child, more visible and to use his example to draw attention to marginalized identities, histories, and role models in German memory culture. It was initiated by Andrea-Vicky Amankwaa-Birago who brought together numerous activist initiatives and academic institutions from Germany, the USA and Ghana. On the one hand, the alliance is committed to a supraregional and international culture of remembrance, for example through memorial plaques, city tours, audio walks, and public lectures like the 2021 Amo Lectures in Ghana. On the other, it strives for further research into Amos' biography and his public and historiographic perception in Germany and beyond, which is also the subject of Amankwaa-Birago's doctoral thesis.[86]

On an institutional level, museums, too, are important facilitators for such dialogues and notably have begun strengthen their efforts in including aspects of Black history, enslavement, and colonialism in their exhibitions. Due to both an energetic activism scene and a research focus on colonial legacies at the university level, Hamburg institutions have been particularly active:[87] in 2017, a roundtable on colonial leg-

84 In Erfurt, the idea for a renewed campaign to rename the Nettelbeckufer arose in the context of the university seminar *Germany's Colonial Past in History and Present* in 2018, illustrating the role that young scholars can play in these initiatives.

85 For the project cf. https://www.dekoloniale.de/de/about [accessed 11.11.2021].

86 Cf. https://antonwilhelmamoerbschaft.wordpress.com/; https://www.goethe.de/ins/gh/de/kul/mag/22286401.html; https://www.amo.uni-halle.de [all accessed 20.04.2022]. Another Black scholactivist who is conducting important research on Amo's legacy is Raja-Léon Hamann. Cf. Raja-Léon Hamann and Jan Daniel Schubert. "Zwischen anti-imperialistischem Anspruch und politischer Wirklichkeit: Die Reproduktion kolonialrassistischer Strukturen in dem Amo-Forschungsprojekt der 1960er Jahre und der Statue 'Freies Afrika' in Halle a.d. Saale," *Peripherie*, 165/166 (2022): 129–53

87 There is an active engagement of activists who have initiated a variety of projects and protests. In 2009, activists successfully protested against the erection of a bust commemorating the aforementioned plantation owner Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann. Cf. Hannimari Jokinen, ed., *Schimmelmann-PP: Hamburg entfernt ein Kolonialdenkmal* (Hamburg: Hyperzine, 2009). The *Arbeitskreis Hamburg Postkolonial* brings

acy was initiated by a governmental agency. Two years later an advisory board on decolonisation was formed, bringing together activists, artists, curators, and scholars.[88] Museums such as the ethnographic museum MARKK and the Museum of Labor have dedicated exhibitions to Hamburg's colonial entanglements.[89] Recently, the German Harbor Museum in Hamburg was founded. The museum aims at telling a non-Eurocentric history of globalization that will also try to address issues such as the German involvement in the enslavement trade. Ursula Richenberger and her team are currently attempting to reconstruct Hamburg's role in the saltpeter trade by cooperating with diverse institutions in Chile, including a number of museums, activists, and scholars.[90] Exhibitions curated by various Hamburg institutions are accompanied by a number of public lectures, symposia, and conferences, often drawing on the expertise of University of Hamburg scholars as well as activists' knowledge.[91] While much

together a number of activist groups and offers guided walking tours on the city's colonial history (http://www.hamburg-postkolonial.de/stadtrundgaenge.html). The *Bildungsbüro Hamburg e.V.* maintains a blog on postcolonial issues (https://hhpostkolonial.wordpress.com/ [both accessed 06.11.2021]), and is responsible for a postcolonial mapping project (see below).

88 "Koloniale Vergangenheit: Beirat legt ein Eckpunktepapier für ein dekolonisierendes Erinnerungskonzept vor," 01.03.2021, https://www.hamburg.de/pressearchiv-fhh/14932824/beirat-zur-dekolonisierung-hamburgs-legt-eckpunktepapier-vor/ [accessed 30.11.2021].

89 Cf. The *Museum am Rothenbaum: Kulturen und Künste der Welt* (MARKK) currently shows exhibitions on the Benin Bronzes and Duala Manga Bell, a king and resistance fighter in Cameroon who was executed by the German colonial authorities. From September 2020 to July 2021, the *Museum der Arbeit* collaborated with activists on an exhibition about colonialism and resistance. Cf. https://markk-hamburg.de/ausstellungen/hey-hamburg/; https://shmh.de/de/grenzenlos-kolonialismus-industrie-und-widerstand [both accessed 01.12.2021]. The program included, among other things, a conference on "the postcolonial museum." For a report cf. https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-9092 [accessed 11.11.2021]. In 2022, the *Altonaer Museum* focused on Black cinema for its Black History Month exhibition "Close-up." Cf. https://shmh.de/en/close-up [accessed 04.02.2022]. Other museums have become active as well: the *Focke Museum* in Bremen is hosting a symposium on "Antiracist Curating" under its new director Anna Greve in 2022. Cf. https://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/event-114369?title=antirassistisches-kuratieren-wie-geht-das&recno=1&q=&sort=&fq=&total=659 [accessed 29.11.2021]. Steffen Wiegmann of the Municipal Museum of Oldenburg is currently establishing cooperation among northern German museums focusing on German slavery connections. The German Maritime Museum (*Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum*) in Bremerhaven recently organized a workshop examining the "ship as space of transit" that also focused on the enslavement trade.

90 Current Chilean partners are the *Museo de Antofagasta*, the *Corbeta Esmeralda Museum Iquique*, the *Museo Maritimo Valparaiso*, the *Fundación Altiplano*, as well as several historians and a human rights activist. The Harbor Museum intends to deepen its collaborative approach through visits and research projects and is particularly engaged in fostering contact with the indigenous Chango and Mapuche peoples and Chilean activists in Germany, especially the Chile Despertó Hamburg group. In regard to Hamburg's older colonial ties, an unofficial advisory board consisting of activists and scholars has been formed of which we, the authors, are a part.

91 Cf. e.g. activities by the Hamburg state archive and the University of Hamburg, https://www.hamburg.de/bkm/strassennamen/14428568/koloniale-strassennamen/; https://www.geschichte.uni-hamburg.de/arbeitsbereiche/globalgeschichte/forschung/forschungsstelle-hamburgs-postkoloniales-erbe.html

attention has been focused on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a 2021 symposium on colonial street names explicitly included scholarship on slaving entanglements of the eighteenth century.[92] Whether focused on colonial or postcolonial entanglements, museums and other public institutions can provide spaces and (importantly!) funding for scholar-activist dialogues. They can encourage debates about historical narratives and belonging in the wider public.[93]

It is also true, and perhaps inevitable, that historians' and activists' perspectives occasionally do diverge. Sometimes, historical research flourishes in realms of the ambiguous, the counterintuitive, showing a confluence between two phenomena but then also challenging an all too direct causal connection. For the most part, historians do not produce straightforward stories of guilt and atonement, of heroes, heroines, and villains. Collective memory, on the other hand, may need exactly those stories. As the expert on cultural memory Jan Assmann has argued, turning history into collective memory appears to involve a process of imbuing events and processes with lasting meaning by reshaping them into myths. As such, they are recognized as momentous and as possessing authoritative meaning.[94] If this is true, creating new inclusive historical narratives is not exactly germane to the historical profession.[95] Instead, it is something that must take place in the interplay of historical scholarship and public debate – and that nevertheless has an important function. Collectively remembering the suffering of enslaved people on the Middle Passage and on plantations, recollecting Black lives of the past, and recalling European historical entanglements in atrocities can foster an understanding for historic mobility and engender compassion and support for ongoing struggles for equity. Uncovering historical agents who fought against their own and others' suppression highlights the tangible influence of marginalized figures on historical processes.

[both accessed 30.11.2021]. In 2021, a workshop series supported by the Hamburg government focused on decontextualizing the Hamburg Bismarck statue from a postcolonial perspective. Cf. https://www.hamburg.de/bkm/koloniales-erbe/15307370/bismarck-denkmal-workshop/ [accessed 30.11.2021].

92 For the symposium, cf. https://www.hamburg.de/bkm/strassennamen/15345630/symposium-koloniale-strassennamen/ [accessed 30.11.2021].

93 Further collaborative arenas are, among others, the initiatives of the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung* (Federal Centre for Political Education) and the decolonial mapping projects. Cf. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, "Was uns betrifft: Koloniale Spuren," 15.09.2020, www.bpb.de/mediathek/315474/was-uns-betrifft-koloniale-spuren [accessed 28.07.2021]; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, "Sklaverei," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ)* 50–51 (2015); Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, "(Anti)Rassismus," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ)* 42–44 (2020). For mapping projects, see the examples of Hamburg and Berlin: https://www.hamburg-global.de/v1.0/maps/3-hamburg-postkolonial; https://www.dekoloniale.de/de/map?kind=stories [both accessed 14.07.2021].

94 Cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, 8th ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2018): 77.

95 For this discussion, cf. Flüchter: "History."

Doing this work of engaging in dialogue between scholarship and activism requires an openness to diverging perspectives. This can be difficult to navigate: some historians might find themselves reiterating that, really, things were more complex than all too linear narratives. Some activists, on the other hand, might be exasperated by pointing out problematic terminology or by steering the conversation back to a bigger, broader picture. Terminology is, in fact, a particularly touchy issue. While many activists advocate for not spelling out (and thereby perpetuating) racist terms, historians are often more hesitant about interfering with original source language for fear of distorting historical material.[96] On another level, scholar-activists who are engaged in both advocacy projects and scientific research might face additional skepticism from both sides. However, for the most part, tensions between divergent approaches, we argue, are not a bug, but a forte, a productive element that can lead to new insights and strategies. Activism, of course, can also take place within institutions of higher education. It can take the form of revising curricula, installing international cooperation programs and scholarships, altering hiring commissions' criteria, or offering substantial support against racist discrimination.[97]

In comparison with the German colonialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German involvement in slavery has only recently emerged as a field of contested public memory. As the case studies presented in this article have highlighted, those entanglements reached much farther than has long been assumed. Furthermore, the Nettelbeck campaign makes clear that uncovering instances of German profiteering from slavery can ignite highly contentious public memory debates. Possibilities for scholarly-activist cooperation are far from exhausted. Student and citizen science projects, mapping and cataloguing endeavors, as well as artistic-scholarly collaborations are something that historians need not shy away from. The hope that history as a discipline can offer, as Pierre Bourdieu and many others have stated, is that things have not always been the way they are now – and hence, they can be different.[98]

96 On this point, cf. e.g. Zaugg, Roberto. "Intrecci Transimperiali Nell'atlantico Moderno: Storiografia Accademica e Attivismo Decoloniale in Germania e in Svizzera," *Storia* 79 (2021): 39.

97 Undoubtedly, this requires a sustained effort on many levels. One may point to the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) initiative to regularly offer fellowships specifically for female scholars from the African continent as a pertinent example. Cf. https://www.bigsas.uni-bayreuth.de/en/index.html [accessed 01.12.2021].

98 Pierre Bourdieu has often been viewed as a sociologist of (somewhat static) reproduction. But cf. e.g. Bridget Fowler, "Pierre Bourdieu on Social Transformation, with Particular Reference to Political and Symbolic Revolutions," *Theory and Society* 49, no. 3 (2020).

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