Slavery in the Age of Memory

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Engaging the Past

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For Alain Bélanger

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Battles of Public Memory

Public memory of slavery is a permanent battleground. Surely, slave-trading activities in ports of Europe, Africa, and the Americas were never a secret. But in the early 1990s, during the period that followed the end of the Cold War, this painful past was brought to light like never before. Many cities and former slave ports in the Atlantic world encompass sites attesting their involvement in slavery and the slave trade. In some cases, these structures, such as wharfs, slave markets, and slave cemeteries, were abandoned. In other cases, they were deliberately destroyed and made invisible. As black social actors continue to fight against racism and police violence, they also reclaim these urban spaces by demanding the recognition of these sites as places associated with the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. Whereas organized groups demanded that urban landmarks such as buildings and streets named after pro-slavery individuals, slave traders, and slave owners to be renamed to honor enslaved people, other groups also fought to take down public monuments representing men involved in slave-trading activities and who supported slavery. Drawing from the notion of public memory and using examples from England and the United States, I explore how different citizens and groups engaged in debates associated with the Atlantic slave past of their societies. Regardless of historical evidence, for social actors, communities, associations, and other organized groups seeking to memorialize slavery, what is at stake is whose views win and prevail in the public space. In this struggle, men and women demanding the preservation of heritage sites associated with the Atlantic slave trade, or the removal and renaming of tangible markers commemorating pro-slavery individuals, and, in turn, the construction of monuments honoring enslaved historical actors are not simply the act of engaging with the slave past. Indeed, they are also decrying entrenched structures of white supremacy that perpetuate racial inequalities and racism that insist in remaining alive in former slave societies and societies where slavery existed. Still, although their interventions are

shaped by local and national contexts, in societies shaped by white supremacy, not only are their actions and discourses carrying similar elements, but the responses to their activism by governments, institutions, and elite groups designated as white also present significant similarities.

Colston Must Fall

Africans set foot in Britain as early as AD 253.[1] In the early sixteenth century, well before the British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, descendants of Africans had lived in Tudor England. As historians David Olosuga and Miranda Kauffman have shown, the traces of this very early presence can be found not only in archaeological sites, paintings, and artworks but also in written archival documents.[2] Likewise, over the last fifty years, in several scholarly works and projects, historians have shed light on how Britain at large benefited from the wealth generated by the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in Caribbean colonies.[3] Despite abundant evidence, this ancient history of black presence in Britain has been largely ignored. Also until recently British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade has been concealed from the public landscape of its former slave ports. Port cities became the quintessential examples of this active participation in the inhuman trade.

Despite this long-lasting deliberate denial, of the European nations involved in the Atlantic slave trade, Britain is among the first ones to begin highlighting its slaving past in the public sphere. Organized groups of black residents of former British slave ports such as Liverpool, Bristol, and London, as well as other cities like Nottingham, Bath, and Birmingham, with the support of some academics and other activists, exerted pressures on public authorities and institutions that gradually started acknowledging the nation's nefarious involvement in the trade of enslaved Africans.

Bristol's active participation in the Atlantic slave trade is well documented.[4] More than 2,000 slave voyages departed from Bristol transporting nearly 565,000 enslaved Africans to the Americas.[5] During the eighteenth century, the city was the first British slave port, active for two decades (1723–1743), even though during the overall era of the Atlantic slave trade it remained the second slave port in Britain, following Liverpool. Black Bristolians descend from immigrants of former British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean islands, where their ancestors were enslaved. During the 1970s, Bristol's black population remained economically excluded, facing growing rates of unemployment and deteriorating housing conditions.[6] Under section 4 of the Vagrancy Act 1824 (still in force), the police could stop, search, and arrest vagrant individuals who were suspected of criminal activity.[7] As poverty remained largely concentrated in neighborhoods where most residents were black and immigrants of African descent, law enforcement increasingly targeted these citizens, contributing to upsurge in racial tensions.

On April 2, 1980, suspecting drug dealing activity, Bristol police officers raided Black and White Café in St. Paul's, a neighborhood of nearly 7,000 residents where half were of black Caribbean descent. As they dragged customers outside the premises, a growing crowd of hundreds gathered in the streets and reacted against the police. While tensions escalated, St. Paul's insurgent residents looted Lloyds Bank and various shops in the neighborhood while also setting fire to several cars. The incident resulted in thirty-three people injured, including twenty-one police officers and three firefighters, and twenty-one individuals arrested, though none were convicted. St. Paul's incident left deep scars in Bristol's black community. As other smaller incidents followed, excessive use of force proved to be ineffective, therefore leading the city authority and members of the civil society to engage in public debates about racism and racial inequalities.[8]

Drawing from these earlier conflicts motivated by existing racial tensions, Bristol's public memory of slavery emerged in the early 1990s. According to the Census of 1991, 376,113 people resided in Bristol, including 6,000 African Caribbean residents (about 1.5 percent), 106 black African residents, and another 861 residents individuals recorded as "other black."[9] In the Census of 2011, Bristol's population was 428,234 people, including 6,727 identified as African Caribbean and 12,085 as black Africans, both groups summing up nearly 4 percent.[10] Although only citizens of Caribbean descent have direct ties with slavery, these two groups are linked to Britain's colonial history, having been impacted by the legacies of slavery and colonialism, especially racism and racial disparities.

Debates about Bristol's slave-trading past became prominent during and following the *Festival of the Sea*. During this event, held at the historic harbor from May 24 to May 27, 1996, the city administration clearly failed to mention Bristol's leading role in the Atlantic slave trade.[11] Black residents and their allies, with the support of academics, publicly reacted to this omission. They reached the public sphere and started exposing Bristolian families who inherited wealth generated by slave-trading ventures.[12] As underscored by Christine Chivallon, this initial process of memorialization of the Atlantic slave trade was accelerated by other events. In 1995, British novelist Philippa Gregory, who is identified as white and who spent her childhood in Bristol, published the historical novel *A Respectable Trade*.[13] Set in Bristol at the end of the eighteenth century, the book explored the story of the city's slaving activities by centering its narrative around a prosperous slave owner and Mehuru, an African-born enslaved man.[14] The novel was soon transformed into a television series. At the end of 1997, an advance screening was presented to a Bristolian audience. Aired in 1998, the series' success contributed to bringing Bristol's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade to the public space and propelled an avalanche of commemoration activities. Also in that same year, with the goal of highlighting the city's participation in the infamous commerce, city councilors, council officers, members of Kuumba (a community center oriented toward Bristol's black

population), representatives of the Commission for Racial Equality, and other residents of black Caribbean and African origin created the Bristol Slave Trade Action Group (BSTAG).[15] This initiative led to the creation of a small exhibition at the Georgian House Museum (as discussed in Chapter 2), the house of the merchant, planter, and slave owner, John Pinney, who owned several sugar plantations and enslaved people in the island of Nevis, in the Caribbean. These debates had a public impact and propelled more concrete actions. On December 12, 1997, during the European year against racism, Ian White, member of the European Parliament for Bristol, sponsored a plaque to honor the victims of the Atlantic slave trade. Unveiled by the novelist Philippa Gregory, the marker that reads "In memory of the countless African men, women, and children whose enslavement and exploitation brought so much prosperity to Bristol through the African slave trade" was placed at the city docks on the exterior wall of the then Bristol Industrial Museum.

Whereas the growing recognition of the city's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade made the descendants of slave merchant families and some ordinary Bristolians uncomfortable, black citizens and other supporters made distinctive efforts to gradually appropriate the city's space by exposing its slave-trading past through tangible markers. Black and white women were crucial actors in this process. After holding consultation sessions with black Bristolians in 1998, academic historian Madge Dresser along with Caletta Jordan and Doreen Taylor (who had been providing guided tours exploring the city's slave trade sites) released the booklet *Slave Trade Trail around Central Bristol*.[16] Sponsored by the Bristol City Council and the Society of the Merchant Venturers, the brochure mapped the locations associated with the history of the Atlantic slave trade.[17] Starting at Bristol Industrial Museum at Prince's Wharf, just beside the floating harbor, the trail highlights forty-two sites, including buildings, wharfs, pubs, squares, streets, and churches that were associated, directly or indirectly, with the city's slave-trading activities.

Bristol's black citizens supported by academics continued fighting to memorialize the Atlantic slave trade in the following years. In March 1999, the city inaugurated Pero's Bridge in the docks area. Spanning St. Augustine's Reach in Bristol's floating harbor, the pedestrian bridge was named after Pero Jones, an enslaved man owned by the merchant John Pinney who was brought by him from the island of Nevis to Bristol and who lived in the Georgian House.[18] Almost hidden, on the left side of the bridge's entrance, a plaque whose engraved letters are fading reads:

> Pero's Bridge: This bridge is dedicated to the memory of Pero, an enslaved man of African origin who was brought from the Caribbean island of Nevis to Bristol in 1783. He was a servant of the Pinney family who lived in what is now the Georgian House Museum in Great George Street. He died in the city in 1798.

While various organized groups, gathering activists, city representatives, and academics supported and pushed the emergence of all these initiatives, some white members of the civil society remained strongly opposed to proposals that would expose in the public space the city's controversial past. At that point, such divergent views were articulated through letters published in local newspapers.[19]

In the same period, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery and the University of West England produced the exhibition *A Respectable Trade? Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery*. Curated by Sue Giles, the show was held at the City Museum and Art Gallery from March 6 to September 2, 1999. The political debates about the city's participation in the Atlantic slave trade shaped the approach of the exposition that counted on a wide range of advisors, including academics and citizens such as Bristol councilors, associations representing ethnic minorities, teachers, and community workers, who called local black citizens to participate in the consultation process.[20] Although members of the black community initially joined the efforts, their participation gradually decreased. Yet, during the six months it remained in view, the show attracted 160,000 visitors, confirming that public engagement could produce positive results.[21] When the exhibition ended, some of its displays were transferred to the then Bristol Industrial Museum to compose the new permanent gallery titled *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery: The Story of the City's Role in the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade*, addressing the city's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. Although imperfect, the new space came to stay. Despite the closure of the Bristol Industrial Museum in 2006, the new museum M Shed that replaced it in 2011 maintained the old display. Likewise, during the commemoration of the bicentennial of the British abolition of the slave trade in 2007, Bristol unveiled *Breaking the Chains*, an exhibition that occupied six galleries of the entire third floor of the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum.[22]

In the last thirty years, Bristol's social actors waging battles for the public memory of Atlantic slave trade also engaged with existing monuments and markers honoring individuals who supported the inhuman trade. Edward Colston (1636–1721) has been the most controversial historical character at the center of these disputes. Although residing in London, Colston, a native of Bristol, is still considered the city's father. He belonged to a family of merchants, and his father had an important role in the Society of Merchant Venturers, a charitable entity that played an important role in the expansion of the British Empire. When Bristol entered the Atlantic slave trade, many members of the society made profits from the infamous commerce and from slavery, especially through investments in West Indies sugar production.

Colston joined the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company in 1680, an entity that until 1698 detained the English monopoly of the commerce with Africa. His trading activities comprised imports of goods in ships owned by his father and brother, including the trade of sugar with the West Indies, which along his participation in the ownership of a sugar house

at St. Peter's churchyard in Castle Park greatly contributed to his wealth.[23] According to Kenneth Morgan, it is unknown to what extent Colston directly profited from the selling of enslaved Africans, even though he underscores that he was paid to occupy positions in different committees of the Royal African Company.[24] Yet historian Madge Dresser has emphasized Colston's direct participation in the trade of enslaved Africans, activity documented by the existence of numerous written records attesting his presence in meetings of the Royal African Company that "approved the sale and transport of Africans to the Caribbean."[25] In 1710, as a member of the Church of England and a Tory, Colston was also an elected Member of Parliament for Bristol.

Like other merchants whose activities derived from the enslavement of Africans and the use of enslaved workforce, Colston utilized part of his profits to finance schools, churches, almshouses, and other charitable ventures not only in his hometown but also in London and surrounding areas. Therefore, between the eighteenth century and the end of the twentieth century, the collective memory of white Bristolians embraced the depiction of Colston as a philanthropist who contributed to many important charitable causes. But as racial consciousness started emerging and uncovering the city's memory of slavery, a variety of black and white citizens along with scholars increasingly denounced Colston's involvement in the commerce of enslaved Africans. Like in other Atlantic societies that participated in the slave trade and where slavery existed, place names are crucial reminders of the city's slave-trading past. Indeed, to this day many Bristol sites still carry Colston's name. The booklet *Slave Trade Trail around Central Bristol* already identified three of these landmarks. First, the Colston Hall, on Colston Street, surrounded by Colston Yard and Colston Avenue. The building is located where the city's first refinery of Caribbean sugar stood. In 1708, the warehouses were converted into Colston's hospital that was later renamed Colston's Boys' School. The Colston Hall was constructed in 1867 to house an auditorium, yet, Colston's name remained attached to it. Second, the trail highlights All Saints' Church, an Anglican temple on Corn Street. The church houses Colston's opulent Baroque tomb, designed by the famous British architect James Gibbs (1682–1754). The marble tombstone consists of a vertical panel structure, framed by two Greco-Roman columns, listing Colston's charitable ventures in London, Mortlake, East Sheen, Tilerton, and Manchester, and concludes with the following words: "This great and pious Benefactor was known to have done many other excellent Charities, and what He did in Secret is believed to be not inferior to what He did in Public," which blatantly failed to mention that Colston benefited from slave-trading ventures. Colston's marble life-size statue carved by the Flemish sculptor John Michael Rysbrac (1694–1770) rounds out the tomb at the front of the panel. The sculpture represents Colston reclined in left lateral position. With both legs flexed, and with his left hand touching the right side of his chest, the drapery of

his clothes gives the sculpture a sense of movement. Other sites named after the slave merchant but not comprised in the trail include two schools, Colston's School and the Colston's Girls' School.

The booklet *Slave Trade Trail around Central Bristol* also highlights the infamous bronze statue paying homage to Colston (Figure 3.1). Created

FIGURE 3.1 *Colston statue, Bristol, UK. Photograph by Ana Lucia Araujo, 2018.*

by sculptor John Cassidy (1860–1939), the monument was unveiled on November 13, 1895, by the Lord Mayor of Bristol W. Howell Davies (1851–1932). The sculpture was commissioned by a committee led by Bristol book printer and publisher James William Arrowsmith (1839–1913), who promoted the Industrial and Art Exhibition of 1893–1894, held in the city's downtown area, in the same zone where the monument stands (Colston Avenue, not far from Colston Hall).[26] The statue measures nearly eight feet and is placed on a pedestal of approximately ten feet, and each corner of the plinth is decorated with sculptures depicting bronze dolphins. In the full-body statue Bristol's iconic city father is represented like he appears in images of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The statue shows Colston in his middle age. Wearing a long curly wig, he appears in a meditative attitude. The right arm is crossed in front of his body and the right hand holds a long stick. The left elbow is pressed into the palm of his right hand, while the left hand supports his head. The bronze plaque adorning the pedestal reads "Erected by citizens of Bristol as a memorial of one of the most virtuous and wise sons of their city." Not surprisingly once again, the text excludes any references to Colston's association with the trade and exploitation of enslaved bodies. But as Madge Dresser points out, such suppression is a relatively recent occurrence. Indeed, until the first years of the twentieth century, Colston's involvement with slavery and the slave trade was quite visible in municipal printed materials. For example, the city's official guide published in 1908 mentioned Bristol's slave-trading activities and consisted of not only textual references to Colston but also the reproduction of the painting *The Death of Edward Colston* (1844) by Richard Jeffreys Lewis (*c.* 1822–1883).[27] This rendering of Colston's death shows him in his deathbed, attended by a vicar, an unidentified relative or friend, and a black female servant who is kneeling and kissing his hand, in a position of submission and alleged gratitude.[28] However, in its edition of 1934 (centennial of the British Slave Emancipation Act), the official municipal guide no longer made references to Colston. The change may be related to the publication of Colton's biography by Reverend H. J. Wilkins that presented evidence of his membership in the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company.[29] But despite these developments, Colston continued to be commemorated in ceremonies and the numerous Bristol landmarks named after him.

As the battles of public memory of slavery surfaced in the 1990s, black Bristolians started protesting Colston's omnipresence in the city's landscape. In 1998, Bristol's musical group *Massive Attack* (of which two of its members are black Bristolians) pledged to not perform at Colston Hall until the name of the building changed and continued campaigning to rename the concert hall.[30] In a press statement, the group also demanded the construction of a statue honoring the "Unknown Slave," a request that to this day has not been fulfilled.[31]

Colston's statue on Colston Avenue did not escape the storm. In January 1998, its pedestal was painted with the words "slave trader." The event gained visibility in the national press, exposing the persistent racialized debates wherein black activists and other social actors involved in the process of memorialization of Bristol's slave past supported either the removal of the sculpture from the city center or the addition of a plaque acknowledging Colston's participation in slave-trading ventures.[32] Still, white Bristolians opposed these proposals in public demonstrations and in the local newspapers *Bristol Evening Post* and *Western Daily Press*, defending that the statue should be preserved whereas "malcontented ethnics" should return to their "ancestral homelands."[33] Like any battles of public memory of slavery, when one group demands the removal of a statue or renaming a landmark, individuals with opposing views immediately respond in the public sphere to defend it. Colston became the symbol of Bristol's slave-trading history that survived over the centuries among a population identifying as white. For these groups, protecting Colston's statue is part of how white supremacy operates in Bristol. Keeping the statue is synonymous with preserving a white Bristolian identity as opposed to that of Bristol-born black residents who are still considered "foreigners" by the local white population.

Two decades after these debates started, Colston continues to be a central symbol of Bristol's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. During the commemoration of the bicentennial of the British abolition of the slave trade, black residents persisted in their demands to topple Colston's sculpture. The statue's pedestal was painted with red in December 2007, calling attention to the city father's "bloody involvements in the slave trade."[34] Although protestors persisted in demanding the statue's removal, the city public authority continued ignoring these calls. In this context, over the last ten years, activists, ordinary citizens, academics, and artists engaged in what Alan Rice appropriately characterized as "guerrilla memorialization" by developing alternative and creative ways to contest the infamous monument. As argued by historian Olivette Otele, Bristolian activism has specifically focused on "the visual representation of this common history" of slavery and colonialism, in line with other movements such as Rhodes Must Fall in South Africa and the wave of protests that demanded the removal of statues honoring Confederate generals in the United States.[35] On the eve of the bicentennial of the British abolition of the slave trade, artist Graeme Mortimer Evelyn, who is racialized as black, developed *The Two Coins Project*, a visual sculpture and moving image installation that would be projected in several sites of memory of slavery around the world, including Bristol's Colston's statue on Colston Avenue.[36] Although the project was not approved, artists and citizens committed to making Bristol's slave past visible in the public space led many other "unauthorized" interventions.

The launch of Countering Colston in 2016 helped the movement to acknowledge Bristol's role in the infamous trade gain additional strength. The public campaign gathers academics, concerned residents, one city councilor, and members of the board of Colston Hall. The group's goal is to tell the history of Colston as a slave trader and demand the removal of his name from all of Bristol's premises. On November 9, 2016, posters placed around the pedestal of Colston's statue displayed the terms "human trafficker," "kidnapper," "murderer," and "slave trader."[37] In August 2017, a plaque reading "Unauthorized Heritage: Bristol: Capital of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1730–1745, commemorating the 12,000,000 enslaved of whom 6,000,000 died as captives" was placed on the plinth of Colston's monument. The plaque, whose creation has been attributed to British sculptor and street artist Will Coles (identified as white), followed the model of Bristol's official heritage plaques displayed on heritage buildings and remained attached to the monument for almost two months before its removal by the city authority.

On May 6, 2018, protestors appended a red yarn ball and chain to the feet of Colston's statue. Although not as explicit as previous manifestations, the subtle intervention is a reference to his slave-trading activities.[38] On the date designated as anti-slavery day in Britain (October 18, 2018) another intervention occurred: one hundred figurines representing human bodies were displayed in front of the statue. The lying white statuettes evoked the image of the *Brooke*s, the iconic eighteenth-century British slave ship whose diagram was extensively used in abolitionist propaganda.[39] Surrounding the statuettes were rectangular blocks whose surfaces were painted with the words "here and now," underscoring the idea that slavery still exists. Other blocks indicated the professions of present-day individuals submitted to forced labor: "nail bar workers," "sex worker," "car wash attendant," "domestic servant," "fruit picker," "kitchen worker," and "farm worker."

Although its visual impact was undeniable, this intervention poses several problems for the study of public memory of Atlantic slavery. First, unlike previous social actors organized around groups with an anti-racist agenda, the authors of the action concealed their identities. Were they just a group wanting to call attention to the issue of modern-day slavery, or did they situate themselves in the long struggle to recognize Bristol as a city that largely benefited from the trade on human beings and where black citizens are still victims of racism? Second, by highlighting present-day human trafficking, a problem that affects peoples of all origins in various parts of the globe, instead of underscoring Colston's participation in the inhuman trade, the creators of the installation evacuated the racialized dimension that marked the Atlantic slave trade and continues to determine its legacies, therefore distancing themselves from the approach that since the 1990s has led Bristol's debates. To this day, as no second plaque was added to the monument, these interventions at Colston's statue contribute to the ongoing pressure on the municipality to officially recognize the city's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

Despite resistance, there are new developments. For example, after two decades without official acknowledgment or revision, in April 2017, Bristol Music Trust, the charity that manages Colston Hall, announced it will change the building's name after the end of renovation works expected to be completed in 2020. In 2018, Cleo Lake, a city councilor and member of the Green Party, former actress and activist, who is also a member of the movement Countering Colston became Bristol Lord Mayor.[40] Lake identifies herself as a black Bristolian: "I was born in Bristol. I am first-generation Bristolian. My father was a proud African man born in Jamaica and my mother is of Scottish heritage, so I am Campbell by clan on my mother's side."[41] In a powerful symbolic gesture, she decided, in July 2018, to remove Colston's large painted portrait that was prominently displayed in her office. Despite these pulverized initiatives and the widespread media coverage of the protests to remove Colston's name from the city's landmarks, institutions such as the Colston's Girls' School decided to keep its designation. Hence, movements such as Countering Colston continue to evolve and the demands to publicly recognize Bristol's slave-trading past in the public space persist. Yet, despite the specific local context, Bristol's battles of public memory of slavery are in dialogue with similar movements demanding the removal of statues of individuals who supported slavery and colonialism around the world.

Whose Streets?

Liverpool shares a similar slave-trading history with Bristol. In the 1730s, the city became the largest British slave port, passing Bristol and London. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the city's docks developed extensive shipbuilding activity. Nearly 4,972 slave voyages started in Liverpool, which transported approximately 1,337,530 enslaved Africans to the Americas.[42] Obviously, a great part of Liverpool's economic activity and wealth derived from its slave-trading interests during the eighteenth century until 1807, when the British slave trade was outlawed.

After the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 legally ending slavery in the British colonies, the ways slavery has been memorialized in the public spaces of former British slave ports changed. Because of the massive abolitionist movement that emerged in Britain toward the end of the eighteenth century and because of its colonial role in Africa, at various moments British public commemoration basically emphasized the role of white savior abolitionists instead of honoring the victims of slavery and the slave trade.

Liverpool was not remarkable in its abolitionist activities. After the legal ban of the British slave trade in 1807, and especially between the 1820s and the 1830s, a greater number of organizations supporting the end of slavery emerged in the city. Still, this new trend contradicted the fact that in the

decades that followed the British abolition of slavery Liverpool's economic activities greatly relied on cotton grown by enslaved men and women in the United States.[43] Liverpool was the biggest cotton port in the world, and its merchants "traded raw cotton, shipped cotton goods, and financed both cotton agriculture and cotton manufacturing."[44] These interests explain why the city was the "most pro-Confederate place in the world outside the Confederacy itself."[45] In the early 1860s, on the eve of the US Civil War, Liverpool economically supported the Confederate states in a variety of ways such as warship building, as well as credit and military equipment.

The marks of this special relation with the Confederacy remain visible in the city's built heritage. For example, Charles K. Prioleau (1827–1887), a Confederate businessman from South Carolina, was married to the daughter of a Liverpool's shipowner. Naturalized British citizen, he became the representative of the merchants and bankers Fraser, Threholm, & Co, who had privileged ties with the Confederacy and therefore made possible the transactions between Liverpool's businessmen and the Confederates. Prioleau's residence at number 12, Rumford Place (today's 19, Abercromby Square, building of the University of Liverpool) became known as the Charleston House in a reference to his Confederate home state.[46] A fresco depicting a palmetto tree, symbol of South Carolina, decorated the walls of the building, erected to house an unofficial embassy of the Confederacy.[47]

Despite growing self-criticism, Liverpool's slave-trading past and its later support of pro-slavery Confederacy survived in commemoration activities and accounts published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These memories drew from a nostalgic view of slave labor, when Britain made its wealth on the slave trade and slavery. As late as 1907 (the 700th anniversary of Liverpool and the centennial of the British abolition of the slave trade) commentators had no objections to the evocation of the memory of the city's cotton trade with the US South.[48] Three decades later, the British landscape of commemoration of slavery had barely changed, and the same trend continued. In 1934, Britain timidly observed the first centennial of its abolition of slavery. Reinforcing white supremacy, William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was consolidated as a central figure symbolizing British humanitarian vein, a tendency that persisted during the entire twentieth century.[49] Overall, Britain's active participation in the Atlantic slave trade and its support of slavery were absent from the festivities that instead emphasized its role in promoting abolitionist ideals, an accent that also justified the continuation of British imperialism in Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia. Likewise, as sociologist Mark Christian has emphasized more than two decades ago, the city of Liverpool also made efforts to conceal its crucial involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.[50] Like in the United States, during the period that immediately followed the end of the First World War (1914–1918), Liverpool witnessed the emergence of white mobs targeting black seamen and black British veterans.[51]

Although Britain passed racial equality legislation in the 1960s, it was not until the end of the 1980s that a variety of groups whose origins are associated with British colonial rule in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean started demanding central and local governments to take official measures to address the problem of racial inequalities affecting the country. These actions entailed an ethnic monitoring system to collect racial and ethnic statistics, and the creation of antiracist programs.[52] This new nationwide trend coincided with the end of the Cold War, a period that favored the assertion of national and collective identities of historically oppressed groups in societies involved in the Atlantic slave trade and wherever slavery existed.[53]

Like in Bristol's case, historians have largely studied Liverpool's involvement in the slave trade.[54] Yet the city's recognition of its slave-trading past presented specific challenges. The economic recession in 1981, during the government of Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013), impacted the city's working class, and its black community witnessed a dramatic rise in unemployment. In this context of racial disparities and growing police violence against black residents, Liverpool police stopped and arrested a motorcyclist in Toxteth, a low-income neighborhood, on July 3, 1981. The incident led residents to respond violently to police truculence, provoking an insurrection that lasted many hours and then remerged twenty days later. Although Liverpool black social actors did not typically lead movements to remove statues honoring slave traders and pro-slavery individuals, during the insurgence, residents pulled down the statue of William Huskisson (1770–1830), a Member of Parliament for Liverpool, mistaking him for a slave merchant. This spontaneous intervention forced the city to remove the statue from its plinth.[55] The Toxteth protests also led to the production of the Gifford Report examining the city's race relations and influenced later developments on memorialization of the Atlantic slave trade in the city.[56]

In the early 1990s, despite its ancient presence in Liverpool, the city's black population remained socially and economically excluded.[57] Today estimated at 4 percent, the city's population of African descent includes men and women whose ancestors settled in the city as early as the eighteenth century, as well as the descendants of immigrants from British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean who established themselves in the city starting in the nineteenth century. During the 1980s and the 1990s, residents identified as black consisted of "formerly colonized and currently racialized groups" such as Asians, Chinese, and Arabs.[58] In other words, being black was and still is a political identity, associated with the lived experience of racism and exclusion. But for men and women of African descent, this black identity is intrinsically related to the history of slavery and the Atlantic slave trade. Anthropologist Jacqueline Nassy Brown showed how in the early 1990s, black residents of Liverpool carried a collective memory of slavery and even without being asked they associated their experiences of racism to specific urban sites linked to slave-trading activities.[59]

A Liverpool black resident, Eric Scott Lynch evoked the slave past at least since 1980 to decry the persistency of racism in Liverpool. Asserting a "Liverpool-born-black" identity, he denounced how whites continued manipulating the divisions among black populations to support white supremacy and racism in the same way "White slave owners put Black over-seers over the slaves."[60] In the years that followed, Lynch started interpreting the city built heritage linked to the Atlantic slave trade by leading the Liverpool Slavery Trail, a tour highlighting the sites and buildings that witnessed Liverpool's history of the Atlantic slave trade and black population.[61]

This process that brought the slave-trading past of British ports to the public space produced various initiatives. In 1994, after a three-year-long process involving the consultation of the local black community, the Merseyside Maritime Museum in Liverpool opened in its basement the permanent exhibition *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity*, or simply *Transatlantic Slavery Gallery.*[62] Academics and members of the city's black community were crucial players for the creation of this new exhibition space embracing the history of slavery and the Atlantic slave trade.[63] Curated by Anthony Tibbles, the show consisting of forty text panels, video displays, audio recordings, artifacts, and artworks, as well as a replica of the hold of a slave ship, established Liverpool's first permanent display telling the history of slavery.[64] In 1997, UNESCO passed a resolution making August 23 (the day that marked the beginning of the Saint-Domingue slave insurrection in 1791) the International Day of Remembrance of the Slave Trade and Its Abolition. On August 23, 1999, Liverpool commemorated the first Slavery Remembrance Day, a date that since then has been celebrated with a parade, a ceremony at Canning Dock as well as lectures and symposia. On that occasion, Member of Parliament Bernie Grant (1944–2000), who had been a central leader in the African Reparations Movement, unveiled a plaque at the docks acknowledging Liverpool's role in the infamous commerce. Later that year, on December 9, 1999, the Liverpool City Council voted on a text addressing an apology for the city's participation in the Atlantic slave trade. These measures, along with the creation of a *Transatlantic Slavery Gallery* in the Merseyside Maritime Museum that gave birth to the International Slavery Museum (see Chapter 4), were very significant. However, they were not accompanied by other tangible initiatives effectively interfering in the urban space.[65]

Nevertheless, black concerned citizens and their allies were demanding more than the simple recognition of Liverpool's slave-trading past in the confined space of the museum. Although a plaque is a concrete marker, most passersby do not see it in the middle of the touristic paraphernalia that since the turn of the twentieth century has been installed along Liverpool's renovated docks. In this context, activists also wanted to address the city's slave past through interventions that would alter the city's landscape. Evidently, like in Bristol, addressing this problem was and remains a

major challenge because the marks of Liverpool's slave-trading activities are present nearly everywhere in its houses, churches, streets, squares, and cemeteries.[66] In this urban landscape embedded in white supremacy, many plaques identify different buildings around the city, especially those where male prominent figures were born and lived. Yet, because no inscriptions indicate the sites associated with the slave trade, the connections between these places and the city's slave-trading past remain invisible to tourists, outsiders, and newcomers.

One of the most prominent constructions in the city's downtown area is the Liverpool Town Hall. The eighteenth-century neoclassic building stands in High Street at the intersection with Dale Street, Castle Street, and Water Street. Part of the National Heritage List for England, its high dome is adorned with a statue of Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and patron of arts, trade, and strategy. The building's large rooms and ballrooms feature decoration of the late Georgian period. Built at the height of the British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, between 1749 and 1754, the building is a slave-trade heritage site, because most of the city's mayors between the eighteenth century and 1807 (date of the British abolition of the slave trade) were directly or indirectly connected to the infamous commerce of human flesh. Not surprisingly, at least twenty-five lord mayors of the Borough of Liverpool during the period between 1700 and 1820, along with many councilors and Liverpool's Members of Parliament, had interests in the infamous commerce.[67]

The Liverpool Town Hall offers guided tours twice a month. On an annual basis, during the summer, the building is open to public visitation as well. In addition to exploring the building's architecture, lavish furniture, crystal chandeliers, and collection of artworks, local visitors and tourists can have tea with live piano music in the Lord Mayor's Parlor. In the two floors of the building, the rooms and ballrooms are decorated with objects, sculptures, and paintings, many of them associated with the slave trade. Under the sumptuous staircases, on the first floor, two glass displays exhibit the Liverpool Town Hall's silver collection consisting of a variety of objects given as gifts to the city over the centuries. Among these objects, there is a George III oval silver cake basket (by silversmith Robert Hennell, 1780) offered in homage of Thomas Golightly Esq. (1732–1821). Golightly, whose painted portrait is featured in the International Slavery Museum, was elected member of Liverpool Town Council in 1770, and in 1772 he was the city's mayor, having served the city in various capacities until his death. A wine merchant and shipowner, he financially participated in the Atlantic slave trade until its abolition. Opposed to the abolition of the slave trade, as late as 1807, Golightly's name appeared in the list of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa.[68]

Nearly two dozen painted portraits of former Liverpool mayors are exhibited all over the rooms of the second floor of the Liverpool Town Hall, but the explanatory labels attached next to the paintings omit the

term "slave trade." In one of the rooms, for example, hangs a full-body oil portrait of slave trader George Case (1747–1836), by artist Sir Thomas Philips (1770–1845). Case was a member of the Town Council for forty-five years and Mayor of Liverpool in 1781–1782. However, the label describing the painting does not include one single word regarding his active participation in the Atlantic slave trade. It also omits that Case along with his father-in-law William Gregson (1721–1809), who in 1762 had also been the Mayor of Liverpool, was member of the syndicate that owned the infamous slave ship *Zong*.[69] In 1781, while the *Zong* was heading to Jamaica and ran out of water, the crew threw overboard 133 enslaved persons to cash in the insurance taken on their lives. The *Zong* became known worldwide as one of the bloodiest massacres in the history of the inhuman trade. As underscored by historian James Walvin, the *Zong*'s atrocious incident did not discourage Gregson from continuing to engage in the slave trade. Between 1781 and 1790, his slave ships transported 8,018 enslaved Africans from the Gold Coast region to be sold in various Caribbean islands. Between 1780 and 1800, Gregson's ships transported 34,931 slaves, half of whom were disembarked in Jamaica.[70] Obviously, references to these atrocities are nowhere to be found in the Town Hall building.

Likewise, one of the ballrooms features another smaller oil painting portraying Peter Whitfield Brancker (1750–1836), who is described in the label as "a merchant, trading with the West Indies." Indeed, Brancker was a captain in the slave trade, who during the period 1784–1799 was also a slave merchant, an information that is not displayed in the labels explaining the painting. In the various labels associated with the displayed portrait paintings the only one that includes the term "slavery" is the tag describing the portrait of William Wallace Currie (1784–1840), Mayor of Liverpool in 1835–1836, who is referred to as a man who "devoted much of his time to the anti-slavery cause."

Like the Liverpool Town Hall, other iconic sites are associated with the city's slave-trading past. But with few exceptions, most of them remain unmarked. In 2001, during the construction works to build the new shopping center Liverpool One at Canning Place, across from the Canning Dock, workers discovered the structure of the old wharf, buried since 1826. Constructed in 1715, at the height of the British participation in the Atlantic slave trade, the dock became the point of departure of ships that would sail to African ports to exchange a variety of products for enslaved men, women, and children that were subsequently sold in the Americas. The National Museums Liverpool (a group of museums and galleries) offers one-hour tours of the dock three times a day on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. The dock's composition is visible through a porthole, a glass cylindrical structure at Canning Place (Figure 3.2), at which the following words are displayed: "The Old Dock was designed and built by Thomas Steers between 1709 and 1715." The term "slave trade" is absent not only from this marker but also from the website that announces the tours.[71] Only by reading the bar

FIGURE 3.2 *Display of the Old Dock. Canning Place, Liverpool, UK. Photograph by Ana Lucia Araujo, 2017.*

code, exhibited on the display, with a smartphone can visitors see the digital artwork *Layers of the Old Dock* that provides decontextualized references to the slave trade, including the iconic image of the kneeling enslaved man "Am I not a Man and a Brother," a quotation by Frederick Douglass, and a 1799 engraving depicting the old dock, connecting them with the more recent history of the dock.[72]

Approximately 1,500 feet from Canning Place, almost across the Princess Dock, stands Our Lady and Saint-Nicholas Church. Although the original temple dates to the thirteenth century, the church was reconstructed by the middle of the eighteenth century at the height of the Atlantic slave trade. Honoring Saint-Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors, visitors to the building can see sculptures and stained glass depicting ships that conjure the decades during which the city slave-trading activity flourished. Likewise, other churches such as the Saint-James Church at the corner Upper Parliament Street and Park Road still display its connections with the inhuman commerce of human flesh. Opened on June 4, 1775, this Anglican church is among Liverpool's oldest churches. Although closed since 1971, under the protection of the Churches Conservation Trust, the temple was returned to the Diocese of Liverpool in 2010, when safeguarding works to recuperate the building started. The church contains nineteen monuments to slave

traders, its archives comprise baptism records of slave owners and slaves, and although not confirmed by evidence, its graveyards are said to hold the remains of enslaved individuals.[73] Nevertheless, only locals and informed tourists visit the church, located outside the city's main touristic area.

Years of black activism in Liverpool impacted official initiatives that eventually had to highlight the city's links with the Atlantic slave trade. At the turn of the twenty-first century, several British institutions started preparing for the commemoration of the 2007 bicentennial of the abolition of the British slave trade.[74] This context made possible the organization of several exhibitions and conferences in various British cities, including London, where the Museum of London Docklands opened its first permanent gallery examining the city's involvement with the Atlantic slave trade, titled *London, Sugar, and Slavery*.[75]

Meanwhile, Liverpool's memory of slavery landscape continued evolving. In 2004, UNESCO added Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City to its World Heritage List. One of the three criteria for the city's inclusion in the list referred to the central role of Liverpool in the Atlantic slave trade.[76] Whereas creating permanent markers for slave trade heritage sites and conceiving monuments to honor those who fought against slavery was a project hard to achieve, after the addition of Liverpool to the World Heritage List there was additional pressure on heritage institutions to provide more information about urban structures named after slave merchants and planters.

In July 2006, Councilor Barbara Mace submitted a proposal to the Liverpool City Council regarding renaming streets that carry names of slave traders such as Ashton Street, Blundell Street, Bold Street, Cropper Street, Gladstone Road, Parr Street, Tarleton Street, Rodney Street, Cunliffe Street, Earle Street, Earle Road, Sir Thomas Street, and Penny Lane. Mace, who is categorized as white, recommended renaming the streets after British abolitionists such as William Wilberforce (1759–1833). In response, black educator Gloria Hyatt, a founding member of the organization Merseyside Campaign Against Racist Terrorism who was born in Toxteth, defended a proposition to rechristen the streets with the names of successful black individuals.[77] But opponents to the proposal quickly emerged. Although several contributors to the public debate argued that renaming the streets would "whitewash history," one of the greatest obstacles to the project was the inclusion of Penny Lane among the streets to be renamed.[78] Immortalized in the *Beatles*' homonymous song, the street is said to have been named after the slave merchant John Penny, and renaming it would directly affect the city's image and tourism industry that largely relies on the *Beatles*, whose members were born and raised in Liverpool. Without large popular support, the proposal was eventually dismissed. In 2007, the Historic Environment of Liverpool Project released a modest sixteen-page booklet, authored by historian and television presenter Laurence Westgaph, listing the streets associated with the infamous commerce.[79] Despite all the debates surrounding Liverpool's slave-trading past and the city's UNESCO World

Heritage status, only the permanent exhibition of the International Slavery Museum opened in 2007 underscores the connections between street names and the slave trade. To this day, there are no plaques or signs explaining to the city's visitors and residents how and why the names of these streets are associated with the slave trade. Yet, by their own initiative, Liverpool black citizens continue leading the battles of public memory through a variety of tools, including tours exploring the history of the city's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. As late as in 2017, legendary Eric Scott Lynch was still taking visitors in his Liverpool Slavery History Trail. Likewise, Laurence Westgaph, now a very well-known public figure, leads The Liverpool and Slavery Walking Tour, a popular tour highlighting the city's slave-trading past. Despite these major developments, slavery memorialization remains largely confined to the International Slavery Museum. Indeed, to this day, Liverpool failed to approve the construction of a memorial or monument commemorating its involvement in the abominable commerce.

The White Tide

In the United States, like in Britain, black social actors have demanded for very long time the removal of monuments and the renaming of urban landmarks paying homage to pro-slavery individuals. These struggles of public memory are racialized and hence closely associated with the fight against racism, especially police violence against African Americans who symptomatically grew during the two terms (2009–2016) of Barack Obama presidency. In July 2013, Black Lives Matter occupied the streets of several US cities after George Zimmerman (a member of a community watch in Sanford, Florida, who killed the seventeen-year-old African American Trayvon Martin) was acquitted. Between 2014 and 2015, demonstrations continued evolving when, among others, police officers killed Eric Garner (1970–2014) on Staten Island, New York; unarmed teenager Michael Brown (1996–2014) in Ferguson, Missouri; twelve-year-old Tamir Rice (2002–2014) in Cleveland, Ohio; and Freddie Gray (1989–2015) in Baltimore, Maryland.

On June 17, 2015, a group of twelve African American men and women gathered to attend a Bible study group, as they did every week at the Emanuel African American Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. The church was no ordinary building. Among its founders was Denmark Vesey (*c.* 1767–1822), a freedman accused and convicted of plotting a slave rebellion, who was sentenced to death along with more than thirty other black men. In the aftermath of the plot, a mob of whites burned down the church building, which was only reconstructed after the end of the Civil War.

Despite this tragic legacy, nothing in that evening seemed to evoke that distant past. Since 2009, the first black president of the United States was

in office and Vesey, who for many years was referred to as a "would-be killer" by several Charleston white residents, was now memorialized in a statue unveiled in the previous year at Hampton Park.[80] But that Wednesday evening, Dylann Roof, a twenty-one-year-old white man joined the Emanuel African American Methodist Episcopal Church's Bible study group. One hour later, he took his handgun and opened fire against the attendees. Witnesses reported that Roof said "I have to do it. You rape our women and you're taking over our country. And you have to go," before shooting nine African American men and women.[81]

The investigation that followed the killing uncovered the path that transformed the young man into a domestic terrorist, including several pictures featuring him in various slavery heritage sites in Charleston, such as Sullivan Island where newly arrived enslaved Africans and crew members were put into quarantine aboard ships or in pesthouses upon their landing in South Carolina, the slave cabins of Boone Hall Plantation and Gardens, and Magnolia Plantation and Gardens.[82] In one picture, he is posing holding a gun and a Confederate battle flag, which during the Civil War and still today is a symbol associated with the heritage of those who fought against the union to preserve slavery. The pro-slavery symbol has been appropriated by white nationalists who, during the twentieth century, persisted in promoting racial hatred.

Irrespective of these heinous events, the Confederate battle flag continued flying on the grounds of South Carolina statehouse in Columbia. But honoring their long tradition of protest, African American women responded to it. In the early morning of Saturday, June 27, 2015, Bree Newsome, a fearless educator, artist, and activist of Charlotte, North Carolina, climbed the thirty-foot flagpole and took down the flag. In a public statement, she declared: "We removed the flag today because we can't wait any longer. We can't continue like this another day. It's time for a new chapter where we are sincere about dismantling white supremacy and building toward true racial justice and equality."[83]

Newsome's action was neither a new nor isolated event. Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts explain that as early as in the second half of the nineteenth century, African Americans have contested monuments honoring pro-slavery white supremacist individuals such as John C. Calhoun (1782–1850), the South Carolina politician who served as the seventh vice-president of the United States (1825–1832).[84] Karen L. Cox also underscores that in 2000 the Confederate battle flag that flew atop the South Carolina state capitol was removed from the building, even though it remained in the capitol's grounds.[85]

In the months that followed Charleston's terrorist attack, black residents and activists along with other anti-racist allies organized demonstrations demanding the removal of the Confederate battle flag and monuments honoring military leaders and other individuals who fought the Civil War to defend slavery, but who lost their fight. White nationalists and

white supremacists immediately responded to the protests by occupying the public space to reclaim these symbols. Bringing back the old flawed argument that the Confederate statues and battle flag honored their alleged ancestors who died fighting for the Confederacy, these extremists argued that removing them was erasing "history," as if the statues built several decades after the end of the war constituted some kind of contemporary historical record of the Civil War. Still, neither these monuments nor any other statues derive from the work of history. They are rather part of the realm of public memory, which in this context is a reconstruction of the past that aims to fulfill the present-day political agenda of a specific group of white individuals who pretend to claim the legacy of those who fought to keep slavery alive. As part of this context, public memory of slavery and emancipation once again emerges as a racialized process. On the one hand, white individuals embrace the Confederate flag as a quintessential symbol of white supremacy. But on the other hand, as historian Kevin Levin has demonstrated, to accomplish their political project, especially starting in the 1970s, these white conservative groups also needed to fabricate the idea that black individuals not only supported the Lost Cause of the Confederacy but also joined the Confederate army not as "camp slaves" but as "soldiers."[86] Likewise, Confederate monuments are commemorative devices built nearly four decades after the end of the Civil War as part of the battles of public memory to reinforce the position of Southern whites who with the end of slavery continued promoting racial violence against African Americans in order to prevent them from acquiring economic and political power. Ultimately, Confederate monuments are devices produced by white supremacists to perpetuate white supremacy as a system intended to annihilate and make black subjects invisible.[87]

The debates and rallies around Confederate markers are useful examples of the ongoing battles of public memory of slavery, which like in Britain are intrinsically related to the dominance of white supremacy that marginalizes black subjects in urban settings, while promoting the representations of pro-slavery white men as righteous. Whereas white supremacists continue to appropriate devices commemorating Confederates, whether or not their ancestors fought in the Civil War, black activists, ordinary citizens, and their white allies appealed for the removal of these monuments because not only did they memorialize men who took arms to defend slavery, but also these statues and memorials erected during the Jim Crow era when African Americans were victims of racial hatred and denied civil rights remain quintessential symbols of white supremacy.

Tension increased when, in November 2016, Donald Trump was elected president of the United States. His discourse fomenting hate against immigrants was supported and disseminated by white supremacist and white nationalist men and women. More than ever before, these groups instrumentalized Confederate monuments by organizing demonstrations in various US cities

where the municipalities voted to remove them. On August 11 and 12, 2017, the Unite the Right rally gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, the home of University of Virginia, founded by Thomas Jefferson, a few dozens of neo-Nazis, neo-Confederates, and Klansmen. The alleged reason for the meeting was the municipality decision to remove the statue of Robert E. Lee (1807–1870), the slave owner and general who commanded the Confederate Army during the Civil War. On the night of August 11, prevented from convening in the now Emancipation Park, where Lee's statue was covered while awaiting a decision from the city council, hundreds of extremists marched throughout the campus of University of Virginia. Carrying torches, the group freely walked around the university Rotunda and congregated at Jefferson's statue chanting slogans such as "blood and soil" and "Jews will not replace us." The following day, the far-right participants armed with assault guns, shields, and clubs were met by counter-protesters. One white terrorist drove his car in high speed over the counter-protesters killing Heather D. Heyer (1985–2017), a thirty-two-year-old paralegal from Charlottesville, leaving dozens of people injured.

The next two days after this tragedy, the movement to take down Confederate monuments gained new force. In some cities, such as Durham, North Carolina, citizens took these actions in their own hands and tore down a statue representing a Confederate soldier.[88] Following this trend, several cities in Missouri, Virginia, Florida, Texas, Maryland, Ohio, North Carolina, New York, Wisconsin, Louisiana, Kentucky, and even California decided to remove their Confederate monuments, sometimes during the night to avoid turmoil. As of 2019, nearly 1,700 Confederate markers remain standing in the United States, including nearly 780 monuments.[89] Yet, as statues were removed, various associations of descendants of Confederate soldiers started erecting new monuments in private-owned spaces around the country, suggesting that the battles of public memory of slavery and its legacies are far from over.[90]

Whereas Black Lives Matter activism evolved, similar debates and actions continued emerging in various universities in the United States. As discussed in Chapter 2, at the turn of the twenty-first century, many universities started launching initiatives to study their links with the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. During the last five years, university students, and especially black students, several of whom joined Black Lives Matter or at least sympathized with the movement, also protested the existence of markers named after slave merchants and pro-slavery individuals in university campuses. Charleston's terrorist attack impacted these debates. At Yale University, students, faculty, staff, and alumni started once again to demand the institution change the name of Calhoun College, named after John C. Calhoun, the infamous pro-slavery South Carolina politician and vice-president of the United States who graduated from the university in 1804. The pressure produced initial results. On August 29, 2015, during his address to the incoming class of 2019, Yale University president, Peter

Salovey, decried Charleston's tragedy. By acknowledging that one of the university's colleges was named after the notorious white supremacist who defended slavery, Salovey called the community to debate the issue. As the new academic year began, students organized protests denouncing long-lasting racist practices in the university, described by the protesters as an unwelcome environment for black and minority students, faculty, and staff.[91] In April 2016, Salovey declared the university's intention to examine Calhoun's legacy and develop initiatives to encourage diversity. Yet the announcement also stated that Calhoun College's name would be preserved: "More than a decision about a name, we must focus on understanding the past and present, and preparing our students for the future."[92]

While demonstrations for the removal of Confederate monuments spread all over the country, Yale University's students continued protesting. Pressed by the demonstrations, Salovey appointed a Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming, in August 2016, to determine standards for renaming university buildings. Along with community leaders and nonprofit organizations, students formed the Change the Name Coalition. After numerous rallies, including occasions when students were arrested by the police, on February 11, 2017, Yale University president announced that Calhoun College would be renamed to honor Grace Murray Hopper (1906–1992), a computer scientist and US Navy rear admiral and alumna.[93]

Outside university campuses in other northern cities of the United States, a variety of black citizens and activists also demanded the renaming of buildings associated with the Atlantic slave trade. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Boston had 16,000 inhabitants, of which nearly 10 percent were bondspeople.[94] Enslaved men worked on a variety of tasks associated with the city's mercantile economy, including shipbuilding, blacksmithing, coopering, and printing. Most enslaved women performed domestic work, even though in some rich households enslaved men were also coachmen and butlers. Slaves could work directly for their owners, but some owners hired out their human property, and in some cases allowed them to hire themselves out.[95]

Peter Faneuil (1700–1743) was probably Boston's richest merchant and slave trader, the son of a French Huguenot (Protestant) couple who fled Catholic France to escape religious persecution and settled in New Rochelle, New York.[96] After the death of his parents, Faneuil and his siblings moved to Boston to live with his uncle Andrew Faneuil, a wealthy merchant, landowner, local slave trader, and owner of Boston's Merchant Row where he bought and sold enslaved people. Faneuil inherited a large part of his uncle's assets and participated in the Atlantic slave trade through the commerce of tobacco, produce, rum, molasses, and fish, as well enslaved Africans. He owned at least one slave ship, the *Jolly Batchelor*, which on November 23, 1741, sailed from Boston to Sierra Leone. On August 15, 1743, after Faneuil's death, the slave ship disembarked twenty enslaved individuals in Newport, Rhode Island.[97]

To respond to its great trading activity, Boston opened a public market in 1733 at Dock Square, but four years later a mob opposed to trade regulation destroyed the facility. In 1740, Faneuil offered to pay for the construction of a new hall market in the same location where the previous market was located.[98] The town accepted the offer and voted in favor with the declaration, "in testimony of the town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil, Esq. and to perpetuate his memory, that the Hall over the Market place, be named Faneuil Hall, and all times hereafter, be called and known by that name."[99]

Unveiled in 1742, Faneuil Hall functioned as a marketplace and meeting hall, and quickly became one of the most important of Boston's landmarks (Figure 3.3). Over more than two centuries of its existence, the building has been the stage of several important events associated with the history of the United States. When ~~Samuel~~ Adams (17~~22~~–18~~03~~) was invested as president of the United States, a banquet celebrating him was held at Faneuil Hall, and later the site was also the place where William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) delivered passionate speeches demanding the end of slavery.[100] Although Faneuil's connections with the Atlantic slave trade are well documented, until recently the iconic building carrying his name has been remembered as a "cradle of liberty."[101] But Charleston's tragedy and the movement to take down Confederate monuments have impacted the city of Boston, where 25 percent of its overall population (estimated at 694,583) identifies as black or African American.[102]

John 1735-1826

FIGURE 3.3 *Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, United States. Photograph by Robert Linsdell, 2013/cc-by-2.0.*

Faneuil's connections with the infamous trade were never a secret, especially for those who take the guided tours of the building provided by the rangers of the National Park Service. Likewise, on August 23, 2015, the National Park Service and the Museum of African American History commemorated the Day of Remembrance of the Middle Passage and its Abolition that acknowledged the role of Boston in the Atlantic slave trade.[103] Still, the city historically failed to make any significant effort to bring to light its connections with the slave trade and slavery. This erasure, combined with the racial tensions that emerged all over the country during the wave of protests to take down Confederate monuments, led Boston's concerned black residents to occupy the public space in unified demand, calling for the city to rename Faneuil Hall and to acknowledge the building's links with the history of the slave trade. In August 2017, the New Democracy Coalition, led by Kevin C. Peterson, challenged the city to officially change the name of the building. In a public statement, the Mayor of Boston Marty Walsh responded negatively to the request, arguing that instead of renaming he preferred to add more information about Faneuil's past to the site.[104]

But the movement to rechristen Faneuil Hall persisted. Peterson called for a boycott of the building in August 2018, along with other actions including a picket line and a sit-in.[105] Meanwhile, African American artist Steve Locke proposed the construction of a memorial consisting of a bronze plate representing an auction block embossed with the map of the Atlantic slave trade. The memorial proposal was supported by Boston's mayor, but the New Democracy Coalition criticized the project and accused the artist of undermining the demands to rename the building, as according to the group no black leader has requested a memorial.[106] On November 10, 2018, as part of a larger demonstration against racism in Boston, Peterson and other activists reenacted a slave auction at the entrance of Faneuil Hall: "I would like the community to understand that slavery was a reality in Boston, and I would like the community to connect the fact that what happened in the 1740s, in terms of the denigration of black people, continues into 2018."[107] As debates on Faneuil Hall persisted, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Boston Branch eventually opposed the project by arguing that the community had not "been given enough of a voice in the selection of the location and proposal." Reacting to this position, Locke decided to withdraw his proposal of a slave memorial on July 16, 2019.[108] In an op-ed justifying his decision, he stated that the purpose of his project "has been mischaracterized and maligned by people who have other agendas."[109] Like in other cities involved in the Atlantic slave trade where the battles of public memory are in play, the calls for renaming of Faneuil Hall are deeply associated with how over the last two centuries the tentacles of white supremacy spread throughout the urban fabric by making Boston's black population invisible, while perpetuating long-lasting racial inequalities.

Public Memory in Black and White

This chapter shows how public memory of slavery is a specific modality of memory carried out by living groups who fight to occupy the public space and have their political views prevail. Like collective memory, public memory of slavery is racialized and gendered, and fueled by the structures of white supremacy. In the second half of the twentieth century, especially after the end of the Cold War, Britain and the United States became the ground of continuous fights between racialized groups with opposing views about the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. Either in Britain or in the United States, the battles to make these atrocities visible in the public spaces of port cities such as Bristol, Liverpool, Charleston, and Boston cannot be dissociated from the ways white supremacy has operated on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Despite different contexts, many decades after the end of the slave trade and slavery, former slave ports continued to actively promote the memory of slave merchants, slaveholders, and pro-slavery social actors as benefactors and philanthropists by maintaining multiple tangible markers paying homage to them. But this hegemonic perspective never remained unchallenged. Black activists and other racially oppressed groups, along with white allies, have led various kinds of actions to oppose the public memory of pro-slavery historical actors. Individually represented or organized in associations and coalitions, these citizens use a variety of strategies such as demonstrations, performances, and works of art to bring to light the history of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. By contesting the public memory of slave merchants, slave owners, and white supremacists, these social actors denounce the persisting structures that maintain black individuals and other minorities economically and socially excluded in former slave societies and societies that participated in the inhuman trade. Their fight shows, to the degree that racism and white supremacy remain alive, the painful past of slavery is doomed to echo in the present, thus propelling the battles of public memory of slavery to endure.

54 These are interviews of Pearl M. Graham with Anna Ezell, Lucy Williams, Minnie Arbuckle, and Charles Bullock, cited by Lucia Stanton, "The Other End of the Telescope: Jefferson through the Eyes of His Slaves," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2000): 145.
55 See "Hemings Family Tree" indicating which slaves were freed, sold, or given as gifts as reproduced in Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), x.
56 Stanton, "The Other End of the Telescope," 145.
57 University of Massachusetts Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, 1803–1999, "Letter from Pearl M. Graham to W. E. B. Du Bois," February 13, 1961, 1.
58 Stanton and Swann-Wright, "Bonds of Memory," 170.
59 Stanton and Swann-Wright, "Bonds of Memory," 177.
60 Stanton, "The Other End of the Telescope," 139.
61 Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014), 48.
62 Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, 55.
63 Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, 56.
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Humans in Shackles

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Contents

CHAPTER 10

Sex and Violence

On August 3, 1882, Honorata, a twelve-year-old enslaved girl, was purchased by Henriques Ferreira Pontes in Olinda, in the northeast state of Pernambuco in Brazil. Before bringing her to his house, Pontes took her to the place where Tiburcio, an enslaved man also owned by him, resided. Asking the bondsman to leave his residence, Pontes locked himself in his room and raped Honorata, who was a virgin.[1] Honorata's ordeal was not an exception, and her tragic story survived in the written record only because in 1882, slavery existed only in Cuba and Brazil. Therefore, publicity of the case was greatly influenced by the intensive abolitionist movement that was finally shaking Brazil.

In all societies where slavery existed in the Americas, slaveholders maintained coerced sexual relations with their human property. Not just slave owners but overseers as well subjected enslaved women and men to sexual abuse. In the domestic environment, enslaved maids and wet nurses lived under the continuous control of their owners. Sexual abuse often began in childhood, sometimes under the slave owner's promise of release from enslavement. Slave owners and overseers conceived the bodies of enslaved people as property and therefore available to them. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Jesuit priests such as Antonil wrote about the abuses perpetrated by the overseers against enslaved women in Brazil. According to him, they inflicted physical punishments on bondswomen who refused to

engage in sexual relations. These accounts of violence contrast sharply with the widespread image that until recently prevailed in Brazil and Latin American societies disseminated sometimes in European travel accounts but especially through the work of early scholars such as Gilberto Freyre, which advanced the misleading idea that enslaved women maintained harmonious and consensual sexual relations with slaveholders.[2]

People engage in sexual activities for many reasons, often in search of pleasure but also in response to social and religious demands from their communities. Bondspeople engaged in sexual exchanges with other bondspeople, freed persons, free people, and white individuals of various social positions. They also sometimes had sex with their owners. Needless to say, these relations were tainted by inherent imbalance of power, coercion, exploitation, and violence. For enslaved men, women, and children, the possibility of experiencing sexual abuse began when they were captured and gathered by force into coffles, then confined in coastal structures along Atlantic African shores. This potential for abuse continued in the holds of slave ships, and, once in the Americas, sexual violence haunted all activities involving enslaved people and their owners, overseers, and other free white individuals.

As this chapter will show, sex under slavery was shaped by relations of power and physical violence. Several slave narratives published in Britain and the United States reported that slave owners could claim the bodies of enslaved women to provide sexual services whenever they wanted. Indeed, in urban settings as well as on plantations located in remote rural areas, enslaved women were constantly exposed to sexual violence. Bondsmen were also victims of sexual abuse by their male and female owners. Regardless of racial ideologies that emerged during the era of slavery, bondswomen lived in constant threat of being raped by slave owners, other male members of the household, and overseers. By examining the problem of sex and slavery, this chapter argues that despite the existence of relations based on bondspeople's own choices documented in written documents such as wills, postmortem inventories, and marriage records, sexual violence

against enslaved women and men was widespread throughout slave societies and societies with slavery in the Americas.

Sex in Atlantic West Central Africa and West Africa

Most of what we know about how people engaged in sexual activity in Africa was made available after the period of the early contact with European traders and colonizers. Biased by their Christian religious and moral values, these men produced accounts and travelogues that often described African sexual behaviors in derogatory ways. Their European views on what it means to be a man, a woman, or a child have predominated ever since, most often ignoring how African peoples assigned or associated particular roles and behaviors to people who were biologically identified as males and females.

Both today and in the era of the Atlantic slave trade, African sexualities are not homogeneous. Instead, they were as diverse as the numerous societies and groups whose members were sold into slavery. Cultural practices and traditions were not fixed and, in fact, continued to evolve during the more than three centuries during which the Atlantic slave trade devastated the African continent. Sexual preferences and activities varied across cultures and age. Religion and kinship framed the development of sexuality of African individuals, shaping gender roles at an early age.

As on other continents, sexuality was a crucial dimension of the lives of West African and West Central African men, women, and children who were enslaved and forcibly transported to the Americas. Yet, scholars have challenged the existence of cultural and social characteristics that distinguish what it was to be a man and to be a woman in Africa. In other words, gender appears to be a Western invention, an idea that may have been foreign to many African societies prior to the European arrival on the continent.[3] In Yoruba, a language spoken in several regions of present-day Nigeria and the Republic of Benin, the words *k* and *aya* (respectively translated in English as "husband" and "wife") are gender-free, and therefore can designate either a male

or a female.[4] Likewise, in Yorubaland, the division of labor did not correspond to gender norms but was very often based on age. Young male bachelors had limited access to premarital sexual activity. Most marriages were monogamous, though polygamous practices existed as well. In Yorubaland and in other regions of West Africa, women abstained from sexual activity during pregnancy and until nearly three years after giving birth, as the tradition established that having sex during this period could put the child's life in danger.[5] Couples did not share the same room. Usually, the mother, her children, and sometimes several dependents occupied the same small room, making unlikely the idea of a husband sexually abusing a wife.[6]

In the decades that followed their first contact with African societies, Europeans described the sexual behaviors of African women as promiscuous, often referring to them as prostitutes and whores. But it was their own behavior that was predatory; Africanist scholars have highlighted how European men violated the bodies of African women during the period they remained stationed on the coasts of Africa. In 1588, the governor of the Portuguese fort São Jorge da Mina, in Elmina, on the Gold Coast, was denounced and sentenced by the Portuguese Inquisition for having had sexual intercourse not only with Christian women but also with young African women who were considered pagans by the Roman Catholic Church. As shown by historian Kwasi Konadu, the Inquisition trial revealed that Pessanha had his African agents bring young local African women to the fortress, where he raped them.[7]

Early European writers described African women as sexually available because their sexual practices and gender roles contrasted with Western and Christian views of European women, who were expected to marry as virgins and remain tied to the same man for their entire lives. Based on observations of European travelers, Olfert Dapper, a Dutch physician and amateur geographer who never visited the African continent, published an account in the seventeenth century that described the sexual practices of men and women in West Africa. According to him, in the Kingdom of Quodja (north of present-day

Sierra Leone), young people "make love like they do among us." Dapper supposed his readers would be surprised to learn that these young women slept with men before being married and that the men did not mind whether the women they were to marry were virgins as long as they pleased them.[8] When describing the populations living in the eastern part of modern-day Côte d'Ivoire up to the Gold Coast in today's Ghana, he observed that not only could men have several wives, but each village had two or three enslaved women who, after an initiation ceremony, were appointed as prostitutes (*abrakrees*) and would be paid to provide sexual services.[9] These "public women," as they were called, were enslaved women owned by Akan elite members who were recruited and "coerced into what was definitely a social institution designed to alleviate sexual pressures among unmarried men."[10] Despite these reports, however, it is possible that in this early period the European men from whom Dapper received his information were referring to polyandry, the practice in which a woman has more than one husband.[11]

Understanding these interpretations helps us measure the impact of enslavement on women who had previously held influential roles, who prior to their capture were not expected to submit to men's control but rather occupied complementary positions in their homelands. In the Kingdom of Dahomey, for example, the king's wives had important religious roles. They constantly influenced political decisions.[12] Dahomey also had a select group of royal women (*ahosi*) warriors (*agodjie*) referred to by Europeans as "amazons," a term evoking the mythological Greek female warriors. This group of women soldiers, whose story has been recently portrayed in the motion picture *The Woman King* (2022), may have emerged in Dahomey in the early eighteenth century as an armed royal guard that served Tassi Hangbé, the daughter of King Wegbadja (who reigned between 1645 and 1685), who ruled as a regent for a brief period following the death of Akaba, her brother and successor to the throne (who reigned between 1685 and 1708).[13] These Dahomean women warriors were legally considered as king's wives and regarded as his dependents. Drawing from European chroniclers, American

anthropologist Melville Herskovits wrote that these women were unattractive and were expected to remain virgins.[14] Yet, as pointed out by Robin Law, they did not live in celibacy as they "were all legally married to the King."[15] For example, British officer Richard Francis Burton reported an incident when dozens of *agodjie* were imprisoned after becoming pregnant, in the second half of the nineteenth century.[16] More likely, their alleged virginity and unattractiveness were the products of male Europeans' prejudice and gaze. Although most "amazons" may have remained virgins while they were in active service, several of them were married before becoming warriors, whereas others had children, and their descendants still live in Abomey.

Depending on the period, women warriors could make up nearly one-third of the Dahomey army. They became central players in the military campaigns against neighboring polities that captured prisoners to be sold into slavery to the Americas.[17] In Dahomey and other West African societies, women married other women, even though these same-sex marriages did not always include sexual relations.[18] These features did not make West Africa a paradise where sexual freedom reigned absolute, however. Historian Nwando Achebe has noted that in Igboland, in today's north-central Nigeria, women were not "free to do as they wished with their bodies before marriage" but rather had several restrictions imposed on them to ensure their "sexual morality and chastity."[19] Olaudah Equiano reminds the readers of his narrative that in his native Igboland, women who committed adultery were sometimes sentenced to death or sold into slavery.[20] Overall, many Africans forced onto slave ships were captured at such a young age that they were prevented from experiencing the rites of passage into adulthood that would prepare them for sexual activity.[21]

In West Africa and West Central Africa, soldiers, traders, and middlemen raided villages, capturing men, women, and children. They also ventured into kidnapping vulnerable persons near the coast or in the regions far in the hinterland. These agents gathered the captives in coffles, tying them together in chains or restraining their bodies with bamboo or wooden collars and yokes to prevent them from escaping.

On foot or on board canoes, they transported these coffles of naked, sweaty, smelly, and soiled human bodies, moving them through narrow trails and, depending on the distance, crossing forests, rivers, and lagoons until they ultimately arrived at coastal trading posts.

European and African encounters generated more than derogatory representations of African peoples. As early as in the fifteenth century, European explorers and traders made implicit and explicit references to the sexual availability of African women and girls in their written accounts. In his first contact with the populations of Cape Verde islands in 1455, Venetian navigator and slave trader Alvise Cadamosto, by that time around twenty-five years old, reported that a local chief gave him as a gift "a girl twelve or thirteen years of age, Black and very beautiful [*una garzona de annj 12 in 13 negra e molto bella*]" to serve him in his room.[22]

We will never know how this West African girl faced the idea of having sex with a stranger who did not even speak her language. Was she a virgin? Was she an outsider who was locally enslaved? Or perhaps in her community being offered as a sexual partner to a foreigner placed her in an important position of intermediaries between European explorers and local African rulers? Admittedly, as briefly discussed on chapter 3, after Cadamosto's voyage, starting in the sixteenth century, European slave merchants, captains, and other lesser crew members who were established on African coastal regions engaged in sexual relations and even long-term relationships with free African women living in coastal areas such as Gorée Island and Saint-Louis, in today's Senegal, and Luanda and Benguela, in modern Angola, where their daughters, known as *signares* and *donas*, became prominent slave traders.[23] But in the context of the Atlantic slave trade, the bodies of African women also became sites that facilitated commercial transactions.[24]

Rape on African Shores and Slave Ships

European men and African male agents also introduced new forms of sexual exchanges, often shaped by violence.[25] In regions such as

the Gold Coast, as early as the fifteenth century, either in their own homes or confined in forts, African women and girls provided sexual services to fulfill the demands of European traders established in the coastal areas. Flemish trader Eustache de la Fosse sailed to the Gold Coast in 1479. He walked the streets of Elmina, a slave port in present-day Ghana, trying to sell two bowls. When he stopped at one of the houses, a young woman reportedly invited him to have sex with her while already taking off her loincloth, though apparently, he declined the offer.[26] During the eighteenth century, as the slave trade intensified on West African coastal areas, travelers and slave traders increasingly described the activities of African women who provided paid sex in other ports of the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin.

West African rulers sent African women and girls onto slave ships anchored at their ports to provide sex to ship captains. Sometimes, although free, these women were sent into slavery to the Americas.[27] Men, women, and children remained vulnerable to sexual abuse during the entire time they remained confined in coastal trading structures waiting to board the slave ships. Amid hunger and exhaustion, sexual activity, once voluntary and private, was relocated in the shared spaces of dungeons, pens, and barracoons. As one historian has noted, the trading posts where slave merchants and ship captains resided during their long stays in the coastal area of Sierra Leone during the nineteenth century were "replete with food, wine, and sex slaves handpicked from the barracoons."[28] This forced and painful proximity exposed captives to continuous sexual abuse, even though the surviving records produced by European and American slavers obviously rarely provided explicit accounts of how they violated the bodies of enslaved women.

After the long waiting period in coastal enclosures ended, a new nightmare started. Enslaved men crossed the Atlantic Ocean attached in chains and shackles to prevent uprisings. Women of all ages and children traveled unchained, occupying a separate and more spacious compartment in the lower deck. In French slave ships, a rule prevented ordinary sailors, always in greater numbers, from having access to the women's quarters. Similar provisions were also applied in Dutch slave

ships, confirming the dangers of enslaved women being raped by multiple men. Yet, in French slave ships, officers had "easy access to the women's compartment."[29] This context favored by the organization of various compartments surely allowed crewmen to sexually exploit enslaved women during the Middle Passage.[30] In Dutch slave ships, the women's quarters were referred to as the "whore hole" (*hoeregat*). Sailors and ship officers carefully selected not only women but also children and men as the most suitable sexual partners.[31] La Rochelle's mariner Jacques Proa, who sailed to Ouidah aboard the ship *Duc de Laval* in 1777, explains that as soon as the slave ship left the coasts of Africa transporting its human cargo, the ship captain and crew members selected their preferred African women to serve them "at the table and in bed."[32]

African men who published narratives of their harrowing lives under slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reported episodes of sexual violence during the Middle Passage. For example, Quobna Ottobah Cugoano retained a vivid memory of the weeks he spent in the hold of the slave ship, which included a countrywoman "who slept with some of the headmen of the ship" as "it was common for the dirty filthy sailors to take the African women and lie upon their bodies."[33] In 1785, La Rochelle's slave ship *Caraïbe* returned from the Bight of Benin carrying 351 enslaved Africans. Upon anchoring in Port-au-Prince, a main port of the French colony of Saint-Domingue, the ship captain Etienne Dufaud brought to the hospital a sailor and the vessel's cook, who had both contracted a sexually transmitted infection, presumably either during their stay in West Africa or during the Middle Passage.[34]

Crew members did not spare pregnant women or young girls from their appetite for sex and violence. Although rape was rarely reported by captains until the rise of the movement to abolish the inhuman trade, a few written accounts denounce these violations. On May 11, 1776, the slave ship *L'Aimable Françoise* left from Nantes to Gorée Island and then to the Gambia. According to the report by ship captain Lazare-Antoine Peroty, the second captain Philippe Liot was

arrested after mistreating the crew and the enslaved people on board the ship. Despite his detention, he managed to violently attack an African woman, described as "very beautiful." He broke two of her teeth and left her in such a bad condition that upon arrival in Saint-Domingue she was sold for a very low price and died fifteen days later. Liot also raped an African girl between the age of eight and ten for three consecutive nights, covering her mouth to prevent her from screaming, nearly killing her.[35]

A decade after Liot's crimes, abolitionist James Field Stanfield published a poem and a series of letters addressed to his friends, including the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, in which he only alludes, without any details, to what might have been the rape of a young enslaved girl by a ship captain.[36] British surgeon Alexander Falconbridge, who participated in four slave voyages to Africa before becoming an abolitionist, noted in his account that "common sailors are allowed to have intercourse with such of the black women whose consent they can procure. And some of them have been known to take the inconstancy of their paramours so much to heart, as to leap overboard and drown themselves. The officers are permitted to indulge their passions among them at pleasure, and sometimes are guilty of such brutal excesses, as disgrace human nature."[37]

Although initially framing these encounters as consensual, and even suggesting that enslaved women died by suicide after falling in love with their rapists, the surgeon ended up admitting that British sailors raped captive African women. Likewise, British slave ship captain John Newton, who later became an evangelical priest and abolitionist, noted that women and girls were taken on board a ship "naked, trembling, terrified, perhaps almost exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger." Regarded by the crewmen as prey, the women were "divided, upon the spot, and only reserved till opportunity offers."[38] During the voyage of the British slave ship *African*, Newton also reported in his journal that William Cooney, a member of his crew, publicly raped a pregnant African captive, identified only as number 83, whom he forced "into the room and lay with her brutelike in view of the whole quarter deck."[39]

Bondswomen and children were victims of sexual violence in slave ships flying flags of all nations involved in the Atlantic slave trade. After the prohibition of the British slave trade in 1807 and the end of slavery in its colonies in the West Indies, Britain continued to pressure all countries that persisted in transporting enslaved Africans to the Americas, not only through the signature of treaties but also by patrolling Atlantic waters to search and apprehend vessels that violated these agreements. Consider the case of the Portuguese brigantine *Arrogante*. The vessel departed from Gallinas River in Sierra Leone to the port of Havana in Cuba in 1837 carrying 407 enslaved persons. The British Royal Navy intercepted the ship approaching the Cuban coast and brought the case to the Anglo-Spanish Court of Mixed Commission (a slave trade court based on British law) at Sierra Leone, where in 1838 the vessel was adjudicated and condemned for illegally practicing the trade in enslaved Africans.[40] During the voyage of the *Arrogante*, 75 slaves were killed. The 332 men, women, boys, and girls who survived the ordeal to the point of the British interception were disembarked in Jamaica and emancipated from slavery. Nearly 60 were reported to be very sick, having endured repeated beatings and rapes.[41] Abolitionist newspapers also reported the sexual violations against enslaved women on board slave ships during the nineteenth century. In January 1841, the British Royal Navy captured the overcrowded Spanish schooner *Jesus Maria*, which was carrying 252 enslaved Africans in deplorable conditions to Cuba. Upon rescuing the survivors, British officers found out that "instances both of rape and murder had taken place in the vessel and that the captain of the slave vessel had been guilty of those crimes."[42] With the rise of the abolitionist movement, sexual violence perpetrated by crew members on enslaved women, men, and children gained recognition for the first time.

Forced Reproduction

Sex continued to be linked to violence in the daily experiences of enslaved people in the Americas. Slave dealers sold women and men

to perform a variety of tasks in cities, mines, and plantations. As discussed in chapter 6, buyers and sellers scrutinized, smelled, and touched the seminaked bodies of human commodities displayed in slave markets. This forced intimacy was a concrete form of violation. Slavers selected enslaved persons to perform a variety of activities, but physical strength and attractiveness were essential features that led them to purchase specific men and women and favor them over others. Slave traders knew the preferences of slave buyers who sought to purchase attractive enslaved women to become their sexual partners.[43] Regardless of age and sex, bondspeople were expected to provide sexual services to their owners and to whomever their owner chose for them.

For slave owners and slave dealers, the sexuality of their enslaved property was linked to their capacity for reproduction. Some slave owners also coerced enslaved people to engage in sexual activity as well. The practice of forced reproduction of bondspeople is documented in the Iberian Peninsula as early as in the sixteenth century and in colonial North America as early as the seventeenth century.[44] With the ban of the Atlantic slave trade to the United States in 1808 and the rise of cotton production in the United States in the early nineteenth century, some slave owners started forcing enslaved men and women to engage in sexual intercourse with the hope of increasing the size of the enslaved population.[45] Historian Daina Ramey Berry defined compulsory breeding among enslaved people as "third party rape." She reminds us not only that "rape and breeding are unified by the use of force—both physical and mental" but also that "slave breeding represented one form of sexual abuse that adopted the machinations and mannerisms of rape because it forced people to engage in unsolicited sexual activity."[46] Freedpeople and their descendants remembered forced reproduction with words associated with animal husbandry that compared bondspeople to mules and cows. As one historian reminds us, these analogies, largely employed in narratives by freedmen and freedwomen collected as part of the Works Progress

Administration's Federal Writers Project in the United States in the 1930s, underscored the "inhumanity of this practice."[47]

As the trade in enslaved Africans to Brazil continued until the 1850s, the country never witnessed the same birthrate levels as the United States. Surviving written records rarely document forced breeding in Brazil, but similarly to the United States during the twentieth century, journalists and historians collected testimonies by freedpeople and their descendants who reported the use of enslaved men as breeders in Brazilian plantations. For example, Roque José Florêncio (1827–1958), known as "Pata Seca," was an enslaved breeder in the coffee plantation Santa Eudóxia near São Carlos in the state of São Paulo in Brazil.[48] Oral tradition among Florêncio's descendants emphasizes his role as an enslaved breeder who fathered 249 children, though only nine of them were conceived by his wife.

Florêncio's story is not the only surviving account about enslaved breeders in southeast Brazil during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the trade in enslaved Africans was prohibited and the coffee industry blooming. Another former Brazilian enslaved man provided testimony that included telling details about his role as a breeder in a southeast coffee plantation in Brazil. In 1973, João Antônio de Guaraciaba, by that time reportedly 122 years old, told the journalist Jorge Andrade his mistress would bring him to the slave quarters and separate a "herd" of ten enslaved women. Some of them were as young as fifteen years old and were all in their fertile period. Guaraciaba told the journalist that to perform his work of breeder, he was well fed, with the same diet as his owner, which included beef, milk, and rice. Some bondswomen cried and resisted, but as he had one month to impregnate the women, he was able to convince them to have sex by offering them affection and sharing his food. According to him, "if a woman is at the 'moment' she becomes fiery, stepping on fire. Women are like sow, cow, mare. At her 'moment,' she delivers herself. Ugly or old, any male will do."[49] Guaraciaba's account, bragging about his manhood and evacuating the violence involved in forced breeding,

is probably exaggerated, leading some historians to approach similar accounts with caution, very often labeling them as the product of collective memory passed down from generation to generation and not as reliable oral historical accounts.[50] But in the context of the second slavery and the final thirty years of slavery in Brazil, it is plausible that such a figure could have existed as recounted in Guaraciaba's telling.

Like the accounts of the Middle Passage, written records are often silent about sexual violence against enslaved men, women, and children. These gaps are not surprising, as these documents were written by white male officers who officially corroborated the views of elites who endorsed the Atlantic slave trade and slavery as legitimate, even after they became illegal. Indeed, almost everywhere in the Americas the silence of archival documents regarding sexual abuse and rape only confirms that usually slave owners and overseers who committed sexual violations against their human property were not breaking the law. In their roles as slaveholders, they could freely take possession of the bodies of their human property. Despite persisting gaps, a number of written accounts tell stories of sexual violence inflicted on enslaved persons in the West Indies, the United States, Latin America, and Brazil.

House bondswomen who performed domestic service in cities and plantations were especially exposed to sexual violence. More often than not, they could not escape the brutality of slave owners and overseers. In Jamaica, slaveholders systematically sexually abused enslaved women. Thomas Thistlewood, the notorious British overseer, planter, and slave owner who settled in Jamaica in 1750, maintained a detailed journal during more than three decades of residence on the island. His diaries report how white settlers, often heavily drunk, gang-raped bondswomen. This was the tragic fate of Eve, a young enslaved woman, who on the night of March 12, 1755, was raped by six drunk males.[51] In its multiple entries, Thistlewood's journals provide firsthand accounts of how he sexually assaulted enslaved women on a regular basis. On the first property where he worked as an overseer, he had sex with at least ten of the seventeen women he oversaw.[52] A self-confessed rapist and sadist, his diaries document with vivid details how he violated

and tortured Sally, one of his bondswomen. But Sally was not his only victim. Thistlewood raped other slaves multiple times as well.[53]

Bondswomen endured sexual violence in other regions of the British West Indies. As explained in chapter 6, Mary Prince, who lived and worked as an enslaved woman in Bermuda, was sold multiple times to different owners who physically and mentally abused her. In her own words, one of her owners "has often stripped me naked, hung me up by the wrists, and beat me with the cow-skin, with his own hand, till my body was raw with gashes." According to her, this same man sexually molested her. He "often got drunk" and "had an ugly fashion of stripping himself quite naked, and ordering me then to wash him a tub of water. This was worse to me than all the licks. Sometimes when he called me to wash him I could not come, my eyes were so full of shame. . . . He was a very indecent man."[54]

Harriet Jacobs, the enslaved woman whose dramatic story was also briefly presented in chapter 6, went through similar experiences. Enslaved in North Carolina, she lost her mother at the age of six, and at twelve years old, her mistress died. Her early life was marked by family separation. As her owners either died or married, she and her relatives were separated. But when she became a teenager, she was constantly physically abused and sexually harassed by her owner James Norcom (whose pseudonym in the narrative is Flint). In her words, "He peopled my young mind with unclean images, such as only a vile monster could think of. I turned from him with disgust and hatred."[55] As Norcom continued his audacious advances, his wife became extremely jealous and confronted Jacobs. Meanwhile, Jacobs lived in fear, as she did not know for how long she would be able to repel a man who was notorious for raping other enslaved women and had already fathered eleven children on the plantation. In her situation, a free white girl could have denounced her harasser to a relative or to another member of her community. But Jacobs was an enslaved girl. Her body legally belonged to her owner, as he told her. Even though many of her enslaved fellows knew about Norcom's abuse, denouncing it was useless. Desperate to escape her owner's threats,

Jacobs entered a liaison with a lawyer and future US congressman Samuel Treadwell Sawyer. He impregnated her with two children, who remained Norcom's property, because of Jacobs's slave legal status, until they were later purchased by Sawyer.

Jacobs was not alone. In Brazil, many other enslaved girls were sexually harassed and forced into coerced sexual intercourse with their male owners. Consider the example of Rosa (alias Rosa Egipcíaca), an African enslaved girl of approximately six years of age transported from the Bight of Benin to Brazil in 1724.[56] We know her story because when she was forty-four years old, the Holy Office of the Catholic Church's Inquisition accused her of heresy because of her unusual religious activities. After being denounced and investigated by the church's officials, she was sent to the Inquisition prison in Lisbon. The several pages of her interrogation reveal information about her life and religious activities. Among other things, she told the inquisitor that when she disembarked in Rio de Janeiro, she was purchased by a man named José de Souza Azevedo, who had her baptized in the Candelária Catholic Church.[57] Unlike Jacobs, who managed to resist her owner's harassment, Rosa was raped by Azevedo, who "had deflowered her and treated her awkwardly" until the age of fourteen, when he sold her to the province of Minas Gerais. But her story of sexual abuse did not end in Rio de Janeiro. Once in Minas Gerais, her new female owner, Anna Gracês de Moraez, and her partner forced Rosa into prostitution, a practice that was not uncommon for enslaved women who worked in urban areas.[58] Abused by her owners and prosecuted by the church, Rosa eventually died of "natural causes" in the Inquisition prison in Lisbon in October 1774.[59]

At the end of the eighteenth century, enslaved women who since their childhood had been sexually exploited by their owners were able to use the courts to demand their freedom, while at the same time denouncing these abuses. Well-known in Brazil is the case of the young Brazilian-born enslaved woman Liberata, who also experienced sexual violence and psychological abuse. In 1790, at ten years old, she was sold to José Vieira Rebello, a man who resided near the city of

Desterro, in present-day Florianópolis in the Brazilian southern state of Santa Catarina. Rebello sexually abused Liberata and manipulated her with the promise of manumission. Within a few years he impregnated her with two children who remained his property. Rebello recognized the paternity of the first female child, baptizing her as Anna Vieira. Yet, as his wife and children condemned the extramarital relations, he refused to baptize the second baby. As late as 1812, Liberata remained enslaved. She began a relationship with Francisco José, a mixed-race free man, who attempted to purchase her freedom to marry her. But her owner rejected the offer, leading her lover to petition the municipal judge in order to obtain his bride-to-be's emancipation. Although Liberata's case made it to the court and she was eventually freed, many other enslaved women in the Americas whose owners promised their freedom in exchange for sex were not able to enjoy the same outcome.[60]

In other parts of the Americas, enslaved women and girls went to court to denounce sexual abuse perpetrated by their male owners, who would often even be supported by their own wives. Although not all testimonies were sustained by detailed evidence, some enslaved women explicitly denounced sexual violations. Cecilie was enslaved in Saint Croix, an island of the Danish West Indies, in the present-day Virgin Islands. In 1829, she testified to the police judge of the Christiansted Police Court that her owner, the overseer of the Boetzberg plantation where she was enslaved, coerced her to have sexual relations with him. Although she resisted, the man eventually raped her, but the manager's wife interrupted the violation. However, instead of blaming her husband, she violently flogged the enslaved girl instead.[61] The case never made it to the lower court, but Christiansted's authorities fined the couple and ordered that Cecilie would no longer work for them.

Similar cases occurred in Brazil. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Henriques Ferreira Ponte raped the enslaved girl Honorata in Olinda, Brazil, immediately after purchasing her on August 3, 1882. Following the violation, Pontes raped Honorata two more times.

After denouncing her owner, medical doctors submitted the enslaved girl to an examination that corroborated her words and those of the witnesses who testified in her favor. As in Cecilie's case, the judge convicted the owner of rape. But Pontes appealed the court decision. The judge considered the rape of an enslaved girl by her owner immoral, revolting, and punishable. Still, he argued that such a violation was not a crime in the Brazilian criminal code, and Pontes was acquitted one year later.[62] A few years before the end of slavery in Brazil, slave owners continued to have the right to rape their enslaved property.

Rape of Enslaved Men

Same-sex sexual relations were legally prohibited in the Americas during the period of slavery, but these interdictions were not enforced. Until the end of the eighteenth century in Latin America, the Inquisition persecuted enslaved men who were denounced for sodomy practices, even when they were raped by their owners. In 1689, Luiz Delgado, a Portuguese guitarist and tobacco merchant, was arrested by the Inquisition and sent into penal exile to Bahia in Brazil for having committed the sin of sodomy. One day before being arrested again by the Inquisition, he raped a fugitive African-born enslaved man who had recently disembarked from Africa. In his testimony, translated into Portuguese for the inquisitors, the bondsman said Delgado was a "bad white man, because on that night he wanted to make [me] a woman."[63] Historian Mariana Candido found the case of José Benguela, an enslaved man who lived and worked Salvador, Brazil, and was accused of sodomy by the Portuguese Inquisition in 1703.[64] During his interrogation, the twenty-year-old bondsman, whose owner was João Carvalho de Barros, declared he was born in Benguela in West Central Africa. He told the Inquisition officers that his owner touched his member and made him touch his own, ejaculating in his hands, an event that happened again two or three more times. He also told the officers that his owner forced him to have sex with an enslaved woman called Domingas and then submitted him

to anal penetration. According to José, his owner raped him three or four times.[65]

In 1741, the slave owner João Durão de Oliveira of Sabará, Minas Gerais, in Brazil was also denounced for the "abominable sin of sodomy."[66] During the first phase of Durão's investigation, the parish priest heard eight male witnesses. In the second phase, sixteen witnesses were heard, including one enslaved woman, one freedwoman, and several of his victims. All witnesses reported stories about Durão harassing enslaved men, women, and boys, sodomizing them in exchange for gifts. Whereas some of the enslaved individuals resisted his threats, Durão raped dozens of enslaved men and boys. But the inquisitors were not seeking to avenge the enslaved victims of rape; they were seeking to punish sodomy, which, for the Catholic Church was an abominable, nefarious act.[67] Yet, Catholic priests who were slave owners were also accused of sodomizing bondspeople, including enslaved children. Take the case of the priest José Ribeiro Dias, who owned twenty-seven enslaved men, women, and children. In 1743, Felipe de Santiago, a bondsman owned by him, denounced the priest for "having forced him to perform acts of malice and sodomy." According to Santiago, Dias "raped him with the power and commandeering respect of a master," whereas he "obeyed him out of fear because of his condition as of a slave."[68] Unlike in other cases of rape perpetrated by slave owners, Dias was arrested by the Inquisition and spent ten years in the galleys.

During the same period, many other cases of enslaved men raped by their owners are documented in the Inquisition records. Take the example of Luiz da Costa, an African-born enslaved domestic servant, who worked in Vila da Boa Vista, in the captaincy of Pernambuco, Brazil. In 1743, he accompanied his owner, Manoel Alves Cabral, in a hunting excursion. Threatening him with a musket, Cabral raped Luiz, who described the act as "penetration and ejaculation in his posterior orifice."[69] In 1761, Francisco Serrão de Castro also raped the African-born enslaved man Joaquim Antonio, with anal penetration. According to Joaquim, like him, several other enslaved men were also

sexually abused by Castro.[70] These cases bring to light how slave owners coerced enslaved men to have sex with them and how they violated their bodies through rape.

In colonial North America and the antebellum South, sexual encounters between white women of various statuses and enslaved men posed serious challenges. During most of the seventeenth century, the children of a white woman with an enslaved man would carry the legal slave status of the father. Starting in the eighteenth century, sexual relations between a Black man and a white woman were prohibited. And at any time, these liaisons could be denounced as alleged rapes.[71] Similar liaisons obviously existed in Latin America and the West Indies, but there was never any legislation preventing interracial sex and marriage. The Catholic Church punished women who had sexual relations out of wedlock, regardless of whether the sexual partner was enslaved or free, or white. But although unmarried white women who engaged in premarital sex were morally reproached, they were not legally prevented from having sex with whomever they chose.

In a famous passage of an early twentieth-century book, historian and sociologist Manoel Bomfim describes the tragic outcomes of such forbidden sexual liaisons in Brazil: "It is not uncommon for the 'little missy' who was raised touching young black boys, to deliver herself to them, when the degenerate nerves wake up in irrepressible desires; then paternal morality comes: the black or mulatto is castrated with a badly sharped knife, the wound is salted, and he is buried alive afterwards. The girl, with a reinforced dowry, marries a poor cousin."[72] Although castration is perhaps an exaggeration, this description suggests that despite the absence of legislation preventing interracial sex, Brazilian society violently punished enslaved men who engaged in sexual relations with young white elite women.

Other factors also impacted sexual relations among the enslaved population. On plantations and in urban areas, the absence of private spaces where bondspeople could engage in intimate exchanges was an obstacle to sexual activity.[73] Depending on the period and region, fewer enslaved women were available to become sexual partners of

enslaved men. In Brazil, the overall gender imbalance of the enslaved population was clear, with two-thirds of the bondspeople in plantation areas being male. In Cuba, there were similar problems. In 1839, for example, bondsmen on the Cuban coffee plantation La Suerte complained to the local authorities about the lack of enslaved women. The complaint generated results, as the authorities "sent them back to the plantation with the promise that the slaveholder would buy women slaves before Christmas."[74]

Regardless of gender imbalance, some bondsmen also chose to engage in sexual relations with other enslaved men. In his account to journalist Domingo Del Monte, former enslaved man Esteban Montejo emphasized that some male slaves preferred to have sex between themselves and did not want to have anything to do with women: "This was their life: sodomy. They washed clothes and if they had a husband they also cooked. They were good workers and were busy cultivating their plots. They gave the harvest to their husbands so that they would sell it to the peasants."[75] However, we can presume that Cuban Catholic society likely rejected and disapproved of same-sex enslaved couples.

Intimacy with and without Manumission

Violence was intrinsic to sexual relations during the era of slavery. But despite abundant evidence, until recent years, many historians tended to romanticize sexual liaisons between slave owners and enslaved women. In countries such as Brazil, these views emerged in part because a number of enslaved women performed work in urban areas, especially in mining towns, and thus could more easily purchase their own freedom. This context led scholars to pay attention to the cases of bondswomen who experienced social mobility in Brazilian slave society and also contributed to the emergence of the myth of the lustful enslaved woman who managed to use her beauty and sex appeal to seduce her owner and take advantage of this kind of intimate relationship.

In some contexts, enslaved women could definitely receive material advantages from having sexual relations with their owners and therefore could have strategically engaged these relations with the hope of being emancipated. Consider the example of the eighteenth-century captaincy of Minas Gerais, a gold and diamond mining region in southeast Brazil. Most of the population in this area was composed of males, including enslaved men, but most freed individuals were women. In this very specific context where a large white and mixed male population predominated, enslaved women had more access to manumission by engaging in sexual relationships with their male owners. As a result, these male slave owners made provisions in their wills to emancipate the women upon their deaths. Despite these opportunities, most freedwomen purchased their own freedom, and very few of them were granted manumission without providing their owners any compensation. Even fewer bondswomen were emancipated by their owners when the owners were still alive.[76]

Consider the case of Francisca da Silva de Oliveira, known as Chica da Silva. Born in the village of Milho Verde in the Brazilian gold and diamond mining region of Minas Gerais between 1731 and 1735, Chica was the daughter of an African-born enslaved woman and a Brazilian-born white man. Sources from the period describe Chica as a light-skinned woman. When she was still a young girl, her owner sold her to Manuel Pires Sardinha, a prosperous Portuguese physician and bachelor who lived in the town of Tejuco, today's Diamantina. In 1750, when Inquisition officers visited Tejuco, an individual accused Sardinha of living in concubinage with two enslaved women, one of whom was Chica. The accusation was apparently genuine, as one year later Chica was pregnant with her first son. Although Sardinha did not recognize the boy's paternity, he freed him immediately after his Catholic baptism. In Sardinha's will, he also made the child one of his heirs.[77]

But Sardinha's sexual exchanges with Chica were again disturbed in 1753, when the representatives of the Portuguese Inquisition returned to Tejuco one more time. As now Chica was a mother of a newborn,

the crime of concubinage was established. For the Inquisition officer, there was no doubt that Sardinha purchased Chica with the goal of having sex with her.[78] Thus, after signing an agreement committing to break ties with the enslaved women who lived under his roof, Sardinha sold Chica to João Fernandes de Oliveira, a Portuguese businessman and owner of a gold mine. Oliveira had arrived in Tejuco a few months earlier to represent his father, a diamond contractor who succeeded in obtaining the fourth monopoly contract of diamond extraction in the region. But weeks after purchasing Chica, on Christmas Day, December 25, 1753, Oliveira officially freed her. This unusual, quick, and unconditional manumission suggests that like Chica's previous owner, Oliveira had selected his new enslaved property based on her sexual attractiveness. But here, the situation was different. Oliveira could have engaged in sexual relations with Chica without freeing her.[79] Therefore, this early manumission indicates that bonds of affection connected Chica and Oliveira. After her emancipation, Chica continued to share her life with her former owner for seventeen years, until he returned to Portugal to fight for his father's inheritance. Although never legally married, the couple had thirteen children. Chica lived a very comfortable life. After Oliveira's return to Portugal, she remained living in the couple's large residence, administrating his properties, including dozens of enslaved individuals. Their children inherited property, and the males received university education in Portugal. Chica's story was later adapted into a movie and soap operas and became the theme of Carnaval parades and songs in Brazil.

Stories comparable to that of Chica and Oliveira happened in other parts of Latin America and the West Indies during the era of slavery as well.[80] Similar cases also occurred in Louisiana but were rare elsewhere in the United States. Admittedly, there were periods in which manumission laws restricted the ability of slave owners to free enslaved women. But even when manumission was possible, unlike Brazil, the United States did not witness a trend of slave owners emancipating the enslaved women with whom they had had sexual liaisons. Take the example of Elizabeth Hemings, born in Virginia in

1735, nearly the same year as Chica da Silva. Like Chica, she was the daughter of an African woman and a white man, in this case a certain Captain Hemings, after whom she received her last name. Elizabeth's owner John Wayles was the father of Martha Wayles Skelton, the future first lady Martha Jefferson. After the death of his wife, Wayles had six children with Hemings. But unlike Chica, Elizabeth was never emancipated by her owner. After Wayles's death in 1773, Martha Jefferson inherited Elizabeth and her ten children, six of whom were her half-siblings. None of these children was freed. None of these children received college education. None of these children inherited property. The most famous of them, Sally Hemings, was impregnated by her owner, the US President Thomas Jefferson. Like her mother, Sally also had six children fathered by her owner, all of whom became his property.[81] Jefferson was not the only politician to have ever maintained a long-lasting relationship with a bondswoman. Richard Mentor Johnson, who served as the US vice president from 1837 to 1841, owned an enslaved woman, Julia Ann Chinn, who is referred to as his enslaved common-law wife and with whom he had two children.[82] But in contrast with Brazil's Chica da Silva, the US enslaved women Elizabeth Hemings, Sally Hemings, and Julia Chinn were never freed by their eminent owners.

Sex, Violence, and Human Ownership

Human bodies fueled the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. For nearly three centuries slavers captured African men, women, and children who were sold and transported to the Americas by slave traders. Slave owners purchased these captives and held their descendants in bondage. This process entirely relied on the physicality of bodies, transformed into the exemplary locus where human ownership triumphed. Africans and their descendants performed coerced work in rural and urban areas. But being the master of their bodies also meant their owners could use them to gain physical pleasure. Thus, sexuality was a significant part of the institution of slavery, marked

by a persisting tension between slavers and enslaved. Slave traders, ship captains, and crewmen sexually assaulted enslaved men, women, boys, and girls while they were confined in trading structures along the African coasts and in the holds of slave ships. In all parts of the Americas, enslaved men and women, no matter their sexual orientation, engaged in sexual encounters with other bondspeople.

Bondspeople had sex with their owners, and these exchanges were coercive by nature because enslaved people were movable property and rarely had the ability to refuse these their owners' advances.[83] As we have seen in this chapter, a great amount of evidence produced by enslavers and enslaved people confirms that sexual violence against enslaved women, men, and children predominated in the Americas. Although not all sexual exchanges between slave owners and enslaved women were based on explicit violence and some liaisons may have been based on mutual agreement, the power imbalance between enslavers and bondspeople was too huge to assume that sexual relations that may have looked consensual were based on mutual agreement—unless, as in rare instances, slave owners decided to free their sexual partners.

59. On Mina women street vendors, see M. Soares, *People of Faith*, 99–100. On Mina women in this specific market, see Farias, *Mercados Minas*, 106.

60. Louis Agassiz and Elizabeth Agassiz, *Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 82–85.

61. This case is explored in Juliana Barreto Farias, "De escrava a Dona: A trajetória da africana mina Emília Soares do Patrocínio no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX," *Locus: Revista de História* 18, no. 2 (2012): 13–40.

62. On this case, see Farias, *Mercados Minas*, 103.

63. See Sheila Siqueira de Castro Faria, "Sinhás pretas, damas mercadoras: As pretas minas nas cidades do Rio de Janeiro e de São João del Rey (1700–1850)" (diss. for full professor promotion, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2004), 200–202.

64. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, March 30, 1825, 94.

65. Patricia Acerbi, *Street Occupations: Urban Vending in Rio de Janeiro* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 60–61.

Chapter 10

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4. Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 29, 44.

5. Dapper also reports this tradition in the Jolof Kingdom, in present-day Senegal, and the Gold Coast. Olfert Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* [. . .] (Amsterdam: Chez Wolfgang, Waesberge, Bom & van Someren, 1686), 234–35, 299.

6. Oyěwùmí, *Invention of Women*, 53–54.

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8. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, 260.

9. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten* [. . .], vol. 2 (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1676), 219, 106. The passage describing these

women is absent from the French edition of 1686; see Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, 277. For an English translation of this passage, see Adam Jones, "Prostitution, Polyandry or Rape? On the Ambiguity of European Sources for the West African Coast 1660–1860," in Candido and Jones, *African Women in the Atlantic World*, 90.

10. Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Sexuality and Prostitution among the Akan of the Gold Coast c. 1650–1950," *Past & Present*, no. 156 (1997): 146.

11. A. Jones, "Prostitution, Polyandry or Rape?" 93, 97–105.

12. See Bay, *Wives of the Leopard*.

13. See Lynne Ellsworth Larsen, "Wives and Warriors: The Royal Women of Dahomey as Representatives of the Kingdom," in *The Routledge Companion to Black Women's Cultural Histories*, ed. Janell Hobson (London: Routledge, 2021), 227. See Gina Prince-Bythewood, dir., *The Woman King* (TriStar Pictures, 2022).

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17. Suzanne Preston Blier, "Mort et créativité dans la tradition des amazones du Dahomey," in *Ethnocentrisme et création*, ed. Annie Dupuis (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2013), 73.

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22. "Viagens de Cadamosto e Pedro de Sintra: Primeira viagem de Cadamosto (22-3-1455)" in Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: Segunda série*, 1:322.

23. On Senegal, see H. Jones, *Métis of Senegal*, and J. Johnson, *Wicked Flesh*. On the Gold Coast, see Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa*, and Ipsen, *Daughters of the Trade*. On Benguela and Luanda, see Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva," and V. Oliveira, *Slave Trade and Abolition*.

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Cultural Legacies of Slavery in Modern Spain

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To what end does one conjure the ghost of slavery, if not to incite the hopes of transforming the present?

—Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*

Contents

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Introduction

Akiko Tsuchiya and Aurélie Vialette

> History is not the past. It is the present. We carry our own history with us. We are our history. If we pretend otherwise, we are literally criminals.
>
> —James Baldwin, *I Am Not Your Negro*

> I, too, live in the time of slavery, by which I mean I am living in the future created by it.
>
> —Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*

Education about the history of slavery has been under attack in the United States, particularly in Republican states such as Texas and Florida. In these states, the government has made concerted efforts to silence references to slavery in education. At present, slavery is not taught in primary schools as part of the social studies curriculum, with the justification that the topic would make the students feel "uncomfortable" and should therefore be avoided. In 2015 a social studies textbook approved by the Texas Board of Education referred to enslaved Africans as "workers" (López). Initiatives, such as *The New York Times*' Pulitzer Prize–winning 1619 Project, which explains how slavery and Black Americans shaped the US, are being banned. As recently as 2022, Texas education officials proposed to change the term "slavery" to "involuntary relocation" in school textbooks. Although the

proposal was not approved by the State Board of Education, Texas is not alone: Idaho, Louisiana, New Hampshire, and Tennessee have introduced bills that would "ban teaching about the enduring legacies of slavery and segregationist past, or that any state or the country is inherently racist or sexist" (Romero). In this social and political climate, research on slavery and its legacies is urgent. Slavery is part of a global system of racial exploitation, whose repercussions we cannot forget. As Joan Scott has affirmed, we cannot assume that "the past is past" (54); the "ghosts" of slavery haunt "all subsequent American history" (58). This observation applies equally to all other nations, including Spain, involved in the crimes of slavery and the slave trade. As this book will show, to acknowledge the continuing influence of the past on the present is a first step toward historical accountability and to fighting systemic racism in our contemporary world.

A critical approach toward the collective memory of a nation, which connects the past to the present, is, therefore, crucial to understanding and confronting the global legacies of slavery. Drawing on the idea of Maurice Halbwachs, Ana Lucia Araujo argues how "collective memory becomes public when it is transformed into a political instrument to build, assert, and reinforce identities of these groups . . . it is about the way the past of a group is lived again in the present" (*Politics of Memory* 1). She goes on to explain that collective memory, while representing a continuing legacy from the past, "is not homogeneous but conflictual" (*Politics of Memory* 1) and, especially, in the case of a traumatic past, such as that of the Atlantic slave trade, the collective memory of the subaltern group has frequently been erased and invisibilized in the public space due to their social, political, and economic exclusion. This is hardly surprising in the case of societies that benefited economically and politically from their participation in the slave trade—and from the slave workforce itself. As Araujo notes, what progress has been made in the past few decades in raising the public consciousness of slavery and its legacies—on American, European and African soil—often took the form of local, smaller-scale initiatives launched by anti-racist and historical memory organizations.[1] At the same time, major cultural projects, such as museums, monuments, and slavery routes (with the UNESCO slave route project constituting a prime example)[2] have played an important role in bringing out the collective memory of slavery into the public space for a long-overdue reckoning (Araujo, *Politics of Memory* 3–6).

In her *Slavery in the Age of Memory,* Araujo scrutinizes the ways in which representations of the public memory of slavery—through museums, monuments, statues, place names, and other sites of memory—have become "a permanent battleground" (69), as (racialized) sites of competing narratives

about a nation's slaving past. As Pierre Nora has suggested, memory is an intentional, performative act that actively produces a connection to the present through its attachment to memory sites; collective memory is brought into consciousness by drawing meaning from those sites, through the act of commemoration (22–23). Therefore, what is at stake in the battle over collective memory is how we interpret history and represent it in the public arena, inevitably through the social, political, and cultural frameworks of the present. While Araujo studies the manifestations of the public memory of slavery in nations such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the US, which have led the way in engaging critically with the legacies of slavery, Spain is conspicuously absent from her work, for a good reason.[3] In spite of the progress that Spain's historical memory movement has made in confronting the legacies of the Franco dictatorship, particularly following the passage of the Law of Historical Memory (2007), there has been a dearth of government-supported memory programs and initiatives aimed to reckon specifically with the legacies of colonialism and slavery.[4] In fact, as Iñaki Tofiño has observed, despite the close links between Spanish colonialism and the Franco dictatorship, even the recently approved Law of Democratic Memory (2022),[5] presumably an improved version of the 2007 law, remains silent on the colonial question.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the field of modern Iberian studies has produced a steady stream of publications on the Spanish empire and its colonial legacies, of which slavery is a significant aspect.[6] That is, our discipline has finally taken the "imperial turn"—defined by Antoinette Burton as the "accelerated attention to the impact of histories of imperialism on metropolitan societies" (2)—forcing a recognition of the legacies of Spain's colonial past and its continued influence on the present. In more recent years, the emergence and expansion of the field of transatlantic studies have offered new perspectives on "the study of the cultures of Iberia as they transformed themselves and others in their Atlantic crossings," addressing issues such as "colonial and postcolonial legacies, genocides, circulations, appropriations, and expropriations" (Enjuto-Rangel et al 9).[7] As Michelle Murray has noted, foregrounding the history of slavery in the Iberian Atlantic forces us to confront Spain's role in the global processes of slavery and forced migration (349).

At the same time, it is understandable that much of the vast scholarship on slavery's impact in the Hispanic world has centered on Latin America (Ana Lucia Araujo, Manuel Barcia, Alex Borucki, Alejandro de la Fuente, William Van Norman, etc.) and on the early modern period in Spain (Emily Berquist, Carmen Fracchia, José Miguel López García,

Aurelia Martín Casares, Enriqueta Vila Vilar). Moreover, scholarly writings on slavery and its legacies in modern (post-eighteenth-century) Spain have been authored largely by historians, such as Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla, Josep Fradera, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, and Michael Zeuske, to cite a few of the pioneering researchers in the field.[8] Michael Zeuske, the first scholar to systematically employ the concept of the "Hidden Atlantic," has challenged the common misperception, particularly among those focused on the Anglo-Atlantic world, that the nineteenth century was the "Age of Abolition." In fact, he demonstrated that it was a period of a booming (illegal) slave trade by the Spaniards, particularly to Cuba, which became one of "the most important locations of the Second Slavery in the context of global history" (Zeuske 104). Arguing that previous accounts failed to consider the transcultural dimensions of the slave trade, he coined the term "the Hidden Atlantic" to refer to the transatlantic space of exchange—particularly, between the Americas and Africa—in which the slave-trafficking system became established as a lucrative business in the nineteenth century, more specifically after 1808.

The marginalization and concealment of the "Hidden Atlantic" as a site of slavery and slave trade, from the early modern years to the nineteenth century, have undoubtedly contributed to the general lack of representation of the Iberian Atlantic in the contemporary period, particularly in Spain (Zeuske 105). Nevertheless, the social and economic impact of slavery endured in the Hispanic world long after the nineteenth century, when it was finally abolished in 1886 in Cuba, the last of the Spanish colonies in the Americas to do so. Beyond the more obvious, enduring social and economic repercussions of slavery, which have already been well documented by historians, its "hidden" legacies also reverberated over many centuries in the cultural arena not only in the colonies but also in the metropolis, where both the central Spanish state and regional governments have failed to reckon fully with the role that slavery played in the development of industrial sectors. Granted, the political institutions of Spain have been slow to confront the legacies of colonialism and slavery, as evinced by the lack of sustained memory programs on the national level addressing these issues and by the continued presence of monuments commemorating figures linked to slavery and colonialism. Yet this problem has taken on a special urgency for Iberian studies scholars and cultural activists alike in the past decade, given the growing impact of the global racial justice movements in the Spanish national context.

In the field of Iberian literary and cultural studies, Lisa Surwillo's pioneering study, *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and Culture* (2014), was the first book to focus on the role that the slave trader played in the literature and cultural life of modern Spain; and the contributors to the volume *Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX* (2014), edited by Aurelia Martín Casares and Rocío Periáñez Gómez, scrutinized the writings of abolitionist women, as well as representations of enslaved women in literature and the visual arts in Spain. Art historian Carmen Fracchia's *"Black but Human": Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480–1700* (2019) is a groundbreaking study of the visual representations of enslaved and formerly enslaved Africans in Spain in the early modern period, as is Nick Jones's *Staging* Habla de negros*: Radical Performances of the African Diaspora in Early Modern Spain*, which elucidates the ways in which *habla de negros* language in early modern Spanish theater empowered Black Africans and enabled their resistance to white supremacy.[9] While our book builds on the work of these previous scholars, our anthology considers the manifestations of the legacies of slavery within a broader cultural context that includes literature and the visual arts, the mass media (magazines and radio programs), monuments and memorials, museums, tourist routes, historical archives, memory initiatives, and the increasingly vocal anti-racist, social justice, and immigrant advocacy movements in the Spanish state.

In sum, the contributors to this volume collectively address the question of how culture—understood in the broadest possible sense—produced in the Iberian Peninsula or in its overseas territories, from the nineteenth century to the present, both reflected and shaped ways of understanding the history and the heritage of a nation sustained on colonialism, slavery, and labor exploitation. On the one hand, our goal is to create an archive of cultural memory sites of slavery and its aftermath, and, as Aurélie Vialette suggests in her work, to investigate what is hidden behind these cultural forms and symbols—what untold stories they might hold about those of African descent in Spain, whose history and stories have long been suppressed ("Cosmetic of the Archive"). On the other, beyond the creation of this "archive," we ask how the recovery of those hidden stories might transform our vision and understanding of the Afro-descendant community's place in the national history of Spain, as well as in the global history of transatlantic crossings and forced migrations. Our contributors include literary critics, historians, anthropologists, colonial studies scholars, filmmakers, cultural practitioners,

and grass-roots activists engaged in broader historical memory initiatives. To date, there is no book-length study, of similar interdisciplinary breadth, representing such a rich diversity of voices that addresses the legacies of slavery in the modern Iberian world in a sustained fashion.

The topic of our book could not be timelier. In Spain, cultural practitioners, artists, academics, and grass-roots activists have shed light on the legacies of slavery through cultural, urban, as well as academic initiatives. Yet these inquiries have created discomfort for some politicians and the general public, who have resisted coming to terms with their nation's past slavery practices, let alone seeking reparations. The EUROM report shows that only in Catalonia and the Basque Country have there been isolated initiatives to implement materials pertaining to colonialism and slavery into the educational curriculum in the Spanish state (Muñoz and López 18–19). One could argue that, in most of the Spanish state, with some exceptions,[10] there is still great resistance to decolonial and antiracist initiatives, on the part of many sectors of society across the political spectrum that continue to remain nostalgic for an imperial past. Moreover, many members of the bourgeoisie, especially in Catalonia, who in all likelihood fear the discovery of their own ancestors' implication in the slave trade, have naturally taken a defensive position when the society's slaving past is being publicly addressed (Palà).[11] Debates in Catalonia have been particularly lively after a documentary *Negrers: La Catalunya esclavista* (*Slavers: Catalonia and the Slave Trade*), directed by Jordi Portals and produced by Abacus, was released in February 2023 by TV3 on the Catalan public television's program *Sense ficció* (*Without Fiction*). The film reveals that Catalonia, its bourgeoisie, and its numerous ports had ties to slavery, showing how Catalonia enriched itself through slave trafficking and labor. It exposes how Catalonia's industrial revolution and its Modernist movement were financed by capital obtained from the slave trade.[12] The promotional video, released a few days before the film, underscores Catalan society's denial of its colonial and slaving past and signals a wish to change how history is transmitted to citizens: it affirms "aquesta tradició és la que s'ha de trencar" (1:24) ("this tradition is the one to be broken"). Catalan nationalists' reaction to this film, particularly those of the Assemblea Nacional Catalana (ANC) and the Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC), on social media has been virulent. On Twitter, in response to a post by TV3's official Twitter account, while some users were enthusiastic about the film's reckoning with history, affirming the need to make amends for past injustices, others continued to deny Catalonia's slaving past. Some among the latter group maintained that slavery was a common practice at

the time or that Catalans themselves had suffered slavery in the past—a statement devoid of historical accuracy.[13] This denial of an uncomfortable historical truth has contributed to effacing the legacies of slavery from public debate for more than a century.

Historian Celeste Muñoz Martínez, interviewed for this book, has written on this topic in "De memòries, distorsions i conflictes: El passat esclavista i colonial català en el punt de mira" ("Of Memories, Distortions, and Conflicts: The Catalan Slaving and Colonial Past in the Spotlight"). She and Alba Valenciano-Mañé show how slavery has been silenced in Catalonia through "distorsió històrica" ("historical distortion"). They explain that historical distortion occurs when the past is erased due to an overly reductive or universalizing representation of historical events: for example, by presenting a homogenizing vision of the colonial process across different national or historical contexts, or by underplaying the harm done to specific populations in historical narratives on colonialism and slavery. Their analysis dovetails with Araujo's account of the heterogeneous and conflictive aspects of collective memory mentioned earlier. In addition, their text underscores the importance of local grass-roots initiatives to awaken public consciousness about the history of slavery and its legacy. Local memory, for Muñoz and Valenciano-Mañé, needs to incorporate a critical approach to the colonial past.

A public function sponsored by the Office of Democratic Memory, titled *La Barcelona incòmoda: Jornades de debat sobre memòria i espai públic* (*Uncomfortable Barcelona: Debates on Memory and Public Space*), which took place in 2022 at a conference in Barcelona, exemplified this critical approach. This event centered on the city, its symbols, and its uncomfortable history: "Uns símbols que, amb la seva presència, a voltes han legitimat el franquisme, el colonialisme, l'esclavatge; i han silenciat l'altra Barcelona: la de les memòries subalterns obligades a ser oblidades, les sotmeses, amagades" ("Symbols that, with their presence, have sometimes legitimized Francoism, colonialism, slavery, and have silenced the other Barcelona: that of the subaltern memories that are forced to be forgotten, the ones that are hidden, the ones that have been hidden"; *La Barcelona incòmoda* 2). For Jordi Guixé, the Director of European Observatory on Memories (EUROM),[14] uncomfortable memories make room for choices: citizens should be able to choose if they want to represent, explain, and commemorate symbols in the public spaces of their cities ("La Barcelona incòmoda—taula de conclusions" 10:30). Following Guixé, Tania Safura Adam (whose interview is included in this book) has asked pertinent questions regarding cities, urban space,

and history. To whom does the city belong? Whom does it represent? What does it mean to democratize public space? ("La Barcelona incòmoda—taula de conclusions" 24:26). In all these interventions, fundamental questions concerning collective representation and memory are at the center of debate, addressing the invisibility of Black people, women, and working classes in the use we make of urban space. In addition, the "misrepresentation" of history of the above-mentioned communities in urban spaces further exacerbates discrimination against them.

In response to these problems, many local (grass-roots) initiatives have emerged in Spain, in order to revise historical narratives of the past and to increase their visibility in the urban space.[15] The important anti-racist group SOS Racisme, as well as the collective Tanquem els CIE (Campaign to Close Down Internment Centers for Foreigners), which has campaigned to close down detention centers for immigrants, have intervened actively in the public space to protest racist and colonial monuments, and to expose institutional racism, by connecting the nation's racist and colonial past to present-day immigration policies and practices that continue to uphold racism and discrimination.[16] In March 2022, Canal Historia, which produces documentaries on historical issues of relevance to the public, broadcast the series *Encadenados*, centered on the history and legacies of slavery in Spain and its colonies, with the participation of prominent experts on slavery, some of whom are contributors to our volume. The first episode of the documentary brings to light the historical context for the enslavement of Afrodescendants in Spain and its colonies, also highlighting efforts to reckon with this past. For example, the documentary features Barcelona's slavery route, one of the public history initiatives promoted by EUROM, to address the prominent role that Catalan and Spanish entrepreneurs played in the slave trade in the nineteenth century, after it was legally banned.[17] Series such as these are crucial to bringing to the attention of the general Spanish public "el pasado esclavista de España [que] ha permanecido oculto entre los libros de historia" ("the slaving past of Spain that has remained hidden in history books"; *Encadenados*, episode 1).

In addition to the scholarly essays in this volume, we include other forms of contribution, such as interviews and creative writings, to reflect the diversity of perspectives from which the question of the legacies of slavery has been addressed in contemporary Spain. The inclusion of authors from outside of the academy is crucial to representing the broad range of important work that is being done "on the ground" by the cultural practitioners

themselves, who "carry our own history with us," as James Baldwin affirmed. Among them are interviews with journalist and cultural critic Tania Safura Adam, founder of *Radio Africa*, *Radio Africa Magazine*, and the research project *España Negra*; Flamenco dancer and theorist Yinka Esi Graves, who, in her choreographic work, explores Flamenco from an African diasporic perspective; and Oriol López Badell and Celeste Muñoz, key players in EUROM, led by the University of Barcelona Solidarity Foundation, and engaged in promoting human rights. Additionally, López Badell, through his work in the Knowing History Association (an NGO established in Barcelona in 2008 to promote democratic memory), created and led the first guided historical tour of sites linked to colonialism and slavery in Barcelona. Finally, we include a creative essay by filmmaker Miguel Ángel Rosales, who in 2016 directed *Gurumbé: Canciones de tu memoria negra*, a documentary about African slavery in the Iberian Peninsula and its cultural influences, particularly on Flamenco.

More concretely, *Cultural Legacies of Slavery* consists of three parts. Part 1, "The Legacies of Slavery in the Archive," focuses on the role that the institution of the archive has played in both concealing and exposing the long-lasting impact of the transatlantic slave trade, by mapping the global networks of slave traffickers, previously hidden in archives. Part 1 opens with Benita Sampedro Vizcaya's essay, "The *Houseboys* of Fernando Poo: Domestic Service in Spanish Colonial Africa," in which the role of the Black body and Black labor is the subject. Her work reconstructs the social history of domestic workers, the economic and political structures that governed their work, and the discursive mechanisms through which the transition from a post-emancipation era to a pre-independence one was made possible. It also resituates domestic work and servants' narratives at the center of twentieth-century written traditions in Spanish colonial Africa.

The archive is also the cornerstone of the other chapters of Part 1. Kirsty Hooper's essay, "Echoes of the Spanish Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century London" (chapter 2), sheds light on the activities of Spanish merchant families with extensive connections to the slave trade, who established their homes and offices in London during the nineteenth century. She draws on archival materials—among them, church and civil records, school registers, newspapers, and government papers—to reconstruct these families' activities, how they obscured their involvement in the Spanish slave trade, and to trace their cultural and material legacies in London, a city deeply opposed to Spain's persistent involvement in the trading of humans. For

her part, Aurélie Vialette, in "Cosmetic of the Archive: An Autopsy of Slave Trader Antonio López y López and the General Tobacco Company in the Philippines" (chapter 3), delves into the archives of slave trader Antonio López y López, who founded the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. Her study reveals the intricate web of global networks of the slave trade in the nineteenth century and shows how archives can become manipulative tools to conceal and erase the role of the slave trade in sustaining multinational businesses.

Colonial slavery, especially that affecting persons of African descent, has been one of the principal sources of racism in modern Spain. Relying on archival sources, Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla and Juliana Nalerio trace the evolution of racial thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their chapter, "From Slavery to Anti-Black Racism: Racial Ideas from Cuba to Catalonia," centers on Catalonia as a case study of this circum-Atlantic reality, referring to Cuba, which is the true point of departure for their analysis of a past that has impacted how the legacies of slavery are confronted in the present. They show how the Atlantic slave trade, on the one hand, as well as the institution of slavery on the American continent, on the other, left a profound mark on the racial ideas, concepts, and categories populating both Anglophone and Hispanophone colloquial language, as well as on legal and cultural lexical traditions.

Part 2, "Confronting the Legacies of Slavery in Cultural Memory Sites," focuses on recent cultural initiatives and activism—including the dismantling of racist and colonial monuments, museum exhibits, public history initiatives such as slavery routes, and anti-racist cultural activism—that seek to refigure memory sites of slavery and colonialism in Spain, transforming them into spaces for critical reflection on the past. Chapter 5, "Confronting the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism in Public Spaces: Debates around Racist and Colonial Monuments in Modern Catalonia," by Akiko Tsuchiya, focuses on two monuments—the Antonio López y López and Columbus monuments—related to colonialism and slavery that have become objects of public controversy in Barcelona over the years. She analyzes the significance of political and cultural initiatives that have been launched around these monuments to protest colonialism and transform the ways in which communities experience history in public spaces. She underscores the particular importance of initiatives that call attention to the connection between the past and the present, prompting the public to reflect on the ways in which the nation's racist and colonial history continues to shape society in the present. Along similar lines in chapter 6, Ulrike Schmieder centers her

study, "Spain and the Year of Toppled Statues of Enslavers and Colonizers: The Examples of Madrid and Cádiz," on fallen statues of enslavers to address the question of why confronting the legacies of slavery is so difficult in Spain. She analyzes these memory sites and their connection to history, while also drawing on interviews conducted with those engaged in the politics of memory in academia, museums, local politics, arts, the Afro-Spanish movement, and the Afro-Cuban diaspora in Spain since 2017. The article discusses the lacunae of memory with respect to the enslavement of Africans in Spanish civil society and the gaps in knowledge, even in post-colonial activism, and reflects on its reasons.

For its part, the museum is another cultural memory site, full of cruel paradoxes in its representations of the legacies of the transatlantic slave trade. Chapter 7, "Memorialized Blackness: The Case of the Museo Atlántico," by Jeffrey K. Coleman, examines the role of the Museo Atlántico in Lanzarote (Canary Islands), which has served as a space for memorializing the deaths of African migrants in the Atlantic, while evoking a parallel to the transatlantic slave trade. His analysis considers the dual purpose of the museum as a space to memorialize and erase Blackness. Coleman argues that, despite the museum's mission to create social awareness around the humanitarian crisis of contemporary migrants, its location, ecological aesthetic, and general inaccessibility obfuscate and undermine its purpose of commemorating Black life/death, participating ultimately in the objectification of Black bodies that so often pervades the media.

An interview with Oriol López Badell and Celeste Muñoz Martínez in chapter 8 closes the second part. In "Public Memory Policies in Spain: How is the Colonial Past Addressed?" we ask López Badell and Muñoz Martínez to explain the absence of an institutional politics of memory addressing Spain's colonial past, as well as the public history initiatives that have been launched in Barcelona to respond to this absence and to raise public consciousness about this issue. They contextualize these initiatives within the larger historical memory movement in Spain, since the passage of the Laws of Historical and Democratic Memories, and within global movements such as Black Lives Matter. Part 2 is central to this book in that the authors study monuments, statues, museums, and activist interventions, communicating the urgency of raising awareness about the impact of slavery on the society and cultural institutions of Spain. In addition, these chapters call for the need to open spaces for critical reflection on Spain's colonial history.

The third part of the book, "Interpreting the Legacies of Slavery in Literature, Music, and Visual Culture," considers the representations of

slavery—and of its hidden legacies—in the works of literary authors, filmmakers, and other cultural producers from the nineteenth century to the present. In chapter 9, "Pedro Blanco, the Accursed Slave Driver: Literature and Historical Memory of Slavery in Spain," Gustau Nerín carries out a comparative study of historical and fictional representations of another famous Spanish slave trader, Pedro Blanco. Drawing on literary representations of Blanco, Nerín complicates the stereotypical portrayal of the slave trader as the embodiment of evil, by bringing to light the social recognition granted to him. Through scrutiny of the ambiguity of these representations, Nerín's contribution allows us to understand Spain's ambivalence in remembering the figure of the slave trader. Rosalía Cornejo-Parriego's study in chapter 10, "Searching for Cayetana's Daughter: From Goya to Carmen Posadas," focuses on the representation of enslaved Black children in Western art, specifically on that of an eighteenth-century child in Spain named María de la Luz, whom the thirteenth Duchess of Alba adopted and emancipated. The essay aims to analyze the depiction of the child in various visual and literary texts, as well as the discourses surrounding her representation. María de la Luz appears prominently in two of Goya's artworks during the eighteenth century, as well as in a poem dedicated to her by the *ilustrado* Manuel José Quintana. Finally, in 2016, she is featured in Carmen Posadas's novel *La hija de Cayetana*. By examining the representation of the little girl in these works, the essay explores the commodification of Black bodies among the Enlightened European elites, the persistence of Africanist and Orientalizing practices, and the white savior narrative associated with the enduring discourse about Spain's exceptionalism in relation to slavery and colonialism.

Part 3 also includes the contributions of cultural practitioners, whose work helps us to understand the legacies of slavery in contemporary Spain in visual culture, literature, and dance. Our interview in chapter 11 with Tania Safura Adam, the founder of *Radio Africa*, *Radio Africa Magazine* and the leading member of the research group *España Negra*, shows "The Urgency of a Black Iberian Thought." Adam explains her efforts to "displace the center" by thinking through music, photography, and art. Her aim is to experiment with other epistemologies to better understand society and Blackness, in particular, in Spain. In her work she underscores how the Black person becomes a subject—instead of being relegated to the status of object. She problematizes commonly used terms, such as *decolonization* or *activism*, and argues for understanding Blackness as a political project. The last interview included in this volume is that of Yinka Esi Graves, a choreographer and Flamenco dancer, whose work explores Flamenco dance

as an embodied performative expression that affirms the African roots of this genre and brings the experiences of Afro-diasporic people(s) to life. Her most recent work, *The Disappearing Act*, which premiered in the summer of 2023, represents a powerful gesture of making space for the freedom of people of African descent, despite the violence of being erased and made invisible in Spain throughout history. The performance, in her view, connects her individual experiences as a Black person living and working in Spain with the collective historical reality of Afro-diasporic communities, which continue to endure the legacies of slavery in the present day; at the same time, this creative art form offers the possibility of retelling this history on her own terms. We close the volume with filmmaker Miguel Ángel Rosales's creative essay in chapter 13, "Hispano-tropicalism: Flamencology and the Denial of Black Presence in Spain." The director of the documentary film *Gurumbé: Afro-Andalusian Memories* (2016) challenges the widely accepted Eurocentric "origin stories" of this genre: these accounts have erased the African origins of Flamenco, as well as the colonial system of slavery that gave rise to this form of musical expression. The point of Rosales's essay is to reclaim the presence and legacies of Afro-descendants in the creation of this art form. However, beyond introducing *Gurumbé* to those readers who have not yet viewed the documentary—which, in itself, would be a meritorious objective—Rosales's essay reframes his cinematic work from a broader cultural and theoretical perspective. His essay serves as a critical reflection—"creative archaeology," as he calls it—on his approach to uncovering the African traces of Flamenco, the new discoveries and connections made in this process, and the limits of the hegemonic cultural frameworks through which Flamenco has previously been imagined. His essay, therefore, serves as a valuable complement to his documentary work, furthering our understanding of the critical thinking behind its production.

All these contributions together, in the three sections of the book, demonstrate the impact of slavery in the cultural realm, beyond the nineteenth century when the practice was finally abolished in the Hispanic world. Culture has been crucial to shaping social attitudes, structures, and institutions, and to producing narratives about identities of social groups and defining power dynamics between them. At the same time, culture has served as a space for representing that which was often left unspoken or concealed in public discourse; as such, it has the potential to challenge and reshape dominant social narratives. As many of our contributors have shown, narratives about slavery are far from monolithic; as members of the Afro-diasporic community in Spain assert their voices through diverse forms

of cultural production, these narratives have the potential to shift accepted versions of history written by the colonizers and the role of Afro-descendants in it. By transforming culture into a space of critical reflection on the legacies of slavery, we hope to achieve a deeper understanding of colonialism and its consequences in the contemporary culture of the Iberian Peninsula.

Notes

1. There has, of course, been tremendous resistance to such recent efforts internationally, as Araujo and others have shown, a prime example being the "presentist" critique of the *1619 Project* by the right-wing in the US (Araujo, "Political Uses"). The use of the "presentist" argument elsewhere, including in Spain when the slave trader Antonio López y López's statue was dismantled in March of 2018 (Caballé), merits analysis. The question is whether historians can apply present-day assumptions and standards to study the past. In the context of US history, accusations of presentism have often been used in defense of America's founders, for example when Thomas Jefferson was discovered to have fathered children with Sally Hemings, whom he had enslaved. While to interpret the past entirely in presentist terms is limiting, the assumption that current historical understanding remains unconnected to the institutions of the past is equally problematic. It is certainly not the case that opposition to slavery and racism is a phenomenon that arose in the present, nor is it true that only present-day insights enabled this opposition (Tsuchiya, "Monuments and Public Memory" 496n20).

2. The UNESCO site explains its objectives as follows: "Since its launch in 1994, the UNESCO 'Routes of Enslaved Peoples: Resistance, Liberty and Heritage' Project has contributed to the production of innovative knowledge, the development of high-level scientific networks and the support of memory initiatives on the theme of slavery, its abolition and the resistance it generated. At the international level, the project has thus played a major role in 'breaking' the silence surrounding the history of slavery and placing this tragedy that has shaped the modern world in the universal memory" (www.unesco.org/en/routes-enslaved-peoples). The website includes a section on "Cultural expressions and slave trade abolition" (ich.unesco.org/en/slave-trade-abolition-00505).

3. Among the most notable examples of such critical engagement are museums and monuments entirely dedicated to the history and memory of slavery, such as the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, the Abolition of Slavery Memorial in Nantes, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington DC. French and British port towns (Nantes, Bordeaux, La Rochelle/London, Bristol, Lancaster) have galleries in historical and maritime museums dedicated to their involvement in the slave trade and Atlantic slavery.

In a much more recent essay ("Political Uses"), Araujo does include Spain among the list of countries that have launched a public debate about the transatlantic slave past and the European colonization of Africa; however, the specific situation of Spain is not discussed in this work.

4. Oriol López Badell and Celeste Muñoz, in the interview included in this volume, provide an explanation for the lack of an institutional politics of memory in Spain until very recently. See also Rodrigo y Alharilla (*Del olvido* 8–9). However, this is not to suggest that government-supported memory policies alone are always effective in fomenting the public's reckoning with difficult historical truths. As Huyssen has noted, given the proliferation of communication platforms easily accessible to the public in present times, dangerous forms of historical revisionism can easily proliferate on social media, thus undermining the original intentions of public memory discourse (Guixé, Interview 41).

5. The Law of Democratic Memory promotes a politics of memory, whose objectives are to bring about truth, justice, and reparation, through the recognition of the victims of violence and persecution between the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and the approval of the 1978 Constitution.

6. Book-length studies published since 2000 that address representations of imperialism in modern Iberian literatures and cultures include Alda Blanco's *Cultura y conciencia imperial en la España del siglo XIX* (2012), Mary Coffey's *Ghosts of Colonies Past and Present: Spanish Imperialism in the Fiction of Benito Pérez Galdós*, Michael Iarocci's *Properties of Modernity: Romantic Spain, Modern Europe, and the Legacies of Empire* (2006), Javier Krauel's *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-siècle Spain* (2013), Susan Martin-Márquez's *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (2008), Lisa Surwillo's *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and Culture* (2014), Michael Ugarte's *Africans in Europe: The Culture of Exile and Emigration from Equatorial Guinea to Spain* (2010), Akiko Tsuchiya and William Acree's *Empire's End: Transnational Connections in the Hispanic World* (2016), and Michelle Murray and Akiko Tsuchiya's *Unsettling Colonialism: Gender and Race in the Nineteenth-Century Global Hispanic World* (2019).

7. Another foundational text that addresses the memory of the slave trade is Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*, which examines how slavery shaped modern Black identity and consciousness in a transatlantic African diasporic context that transcends national and cultural borders. Gilroy's objective is to "explore how residual traces of [slave society's] necessarily painful expression" and "racial terror" (73) marked modern Black cultural consciousness and led to unique forms of aesthetic expression, mostly in the Anglophone world. Following the path opened by groundbreaking studies such as Gilroy's, we center on the legacies that slavery and the slave trade have left on cultural practices and institutions in the modern Iberian world, which is yet to be studied from this perspective. While some of the chapters, particularly in part 1, carry out original historiographic work based on archives, the main focus

of the volume is to analyze the *cultural memory* of slavery, as manifested in various forms of aesthetic expression, cultural institutions, and public memory initiatives.

8. Granted, some of these scholars lean more toward cultural history.

9. See also Fra-Molinero's earlier work on the representation of the African diaspora in Golden Age theater.

10. However, there are decolonial agendas being pursued in some Iberian territories, such as the Canary Islands and Galicia. We thank Benita Sampedro Vizcaya for this observation.

11. Prominent Catalan families, such as the Goytisolos, the Güell, and Artur Mas, were among those implicated in the slave trade.

12. It is important to note that historians, such as Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Josep María Fradera, have already uncovered documentary evidence of the Catalan bourgeoisie's involvement in the slave trade and have not only published their findings in works of historical scholarship, but have made this information more broadly available through their appearance in public functions and interviews with the press. However, it is not surprising that this TV program has provoked such great controversy, since given the medium of diffusion, it has the potential to have a much more widespread impact on the general public than a written text.

13. Among the many available threads on Twitter, one can consult twitter.com/Authenticindepe/status/1626306950123102208 and TV3's official twitter account twitter.com/tv3cat/status/1625487522758262786.

14. For a statement on EUROM's mission, see their website (europeanmemories.net/about-us/#mission).

15. The final report of the Trans-Atlantic Redress Network, coordinated by two of our contributors, Celeste Muñoz Martínez and Oriol López Badell, includes a summary of present-day protest movements in response to Spanish colonialism, slavery, and racism (hate crimes), as well as a list of initiatives by organizations promoting visibility on these issues and advocating for reparations.

16. See Tsuchiya's chapter in this volume.

17. On this particular initiative, see the interview with López Badell and Muñoz Martínez in this volume.

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Part 1

The Legacies of Slavery in the Archive

Chapter 3

Cosmetic of the Archive

An Autopsy of Slave Trader Antonio López y López and the General Tobacco Company in the Philippines

Aurélie Vialette[1]

> One could not learn history from architecture any more than one could learn it from books. Statues, inscriptions, memorial stones, the names of streets—anything that might throw light upon the past had been systematically altered.
>
> —George Orwell, *1984*

George Orwell's *1984*, with its analysis of how power controls history and how the state domesticates both the future and memory, has never been more relevant than in the twenty-first century. Citizens have begun to recognize the necessity of investigating what is hidden behind the names of those who are memorialized in public spaces and national history. People no longer take received history for granted, instead asking what untold story might be contained in a given monument or who really were the generals, CEOs, and bankers singled out as great advocates of national values or as indispensable philanthropists. The historical narratives or commemorative plaques beneath the statues may not reveal the full story and we might have to dig farther, into the archives that preserve their secrets.

Modern monuments, according to Eelco Runia, are metonymical and do not provide an account of the events they purport to stand for, but rather render an absence in our own present. The particular absence I study in this chapter refers to that which has been hidden, both intentionally and unintentionally, in the archives that convey the business of slave traders. I concentrate on slave trader Antonio López y López's archive to ask fundamental questions about the construction of historical narratives and the legacies of slavery effaced by the archive's political use. Indeed, I name specific entrepreneurs, businesses, and banks that were part of an intricate web of global slave-trade networks in the nineteenth century, networks that participated in the commerce of tobacco in the Philippines. Their names are found all over the archive and, yet, this same archive conceals how they profited and generated capital from their participation in slavery.

In Spain, the specific question regarding slave traders and the more general question regarding the concealment of history in public spaces have been remarkably present in contemporary public debates. As Akiko Tsuchiya demonstrates in "Monuments and Public Memory," and in her contribution to this volume, urban structures and features in Spain, such as buildings, statues, monuments, and street names have been challenged by civic associations and activists who have asked their governments to revisit the way their cities have explicitly and implicitly praised dictatorial politicians or slave traders. She argues that "as in the case of Confederate monuments in the United States, López's memorialization is anything but innocent" (482). López y López's statue in Barcelona was removed in March 2018 as a consequence of the city's rising consciousness of and desire to make amends for its participation in the slave trade during the Spanish Empire (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 9–29). At the base of the statue, erected in 1884, an inscription read "España ha perdido uno de los hombres que más grandes servicios le han prestado" ("Spain has lost one of the men who have rendered the greatest service to the country"). A laudatory poem by Jacint Verdaguer was inscribed on the pedestal. Yet López y López was one of the most important slave traders of the nineteenth century, which, in 1881, allowed him to create the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas (CGTF), popularly known as the Tabacalera. There was, of course, no reference to the slave trade on the commemorative plaque, nor is there in his archive. This absence says much about the way our past is obscured in the monuments, understood broadly, that surround us. It also reveals the kind of physical urban archive that was built so that a specific version of

the past could accompany future generations in the construction of the nation and provide a sense of harmonious historical continuity. Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla explains that the statue's removal triggered a debate in which those opposed to the change argued that López could not be called a "negrero" because there is no written record that proves he participated in the slave trade (*Un hombre* 11).

The archive of López y López's company, held at the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, is perfectly in tune with the sanitized version of the story that the monument sought to represent. It is clean, beautiful, and in all aspects perfectly legal. Its cleanliness is notable. There are boxes and boxes containing thousands of administrative documents: workers' contracts, payroll records, shipping status reports, correspondence, records of international bank accounts in New York, London, Paris, Barcelona, and Madrid, and administrative documents about the company's relationships with English, French, Spanish, and American banks, among others, all of them authorized by legal documents drawn up by the firm's numerous lawyers. And yet, in this perfectly shipshape archive, there is no sign anywhere of the slave trade or forced labor. Historians, such as Dale Tomich, have coined the concept of *second slavery* to talk about how slavery and nineteenth-century capitalism were compatible and complementary. Tomich insists on the "continuity of forms of forced labor in the historical development of the capitalist world-economy" (477). In addition, Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla has shown that the Tabacalera's regulations were extremely severe ("Del desestanco" 270). This, I would affirm, makes them resemble those of a penal institution.[2]

I argue that a hidden part of slavery is actively performed in the archive, what I call a "cosmetic of the archive." A cosmetic implies an intervention to restore, modify, or improve a condition, affecting above all the appearance or aesthetic of an object or person, more than their substance. The cosmetic of the archive is a dynamic intervention, and through it, we can better understand the intricacies of the erasure of slavery and its legacies—or the intent of doing away with it. It consists of the careful curation of data, numbers, and people and explains why researchers have had trouble finding evidence of the slave trade in the documents that are available today.[3] The archive reveals a crime scene, so to speak, and its investigation calls for a transversal reading of the data—a sort of autopsy of the archive. Through the cosmetic of the archive, we see the body of the slave trader presented as incorruptible. As if embalmed, it is physically dead but historically alive. The archive contains a

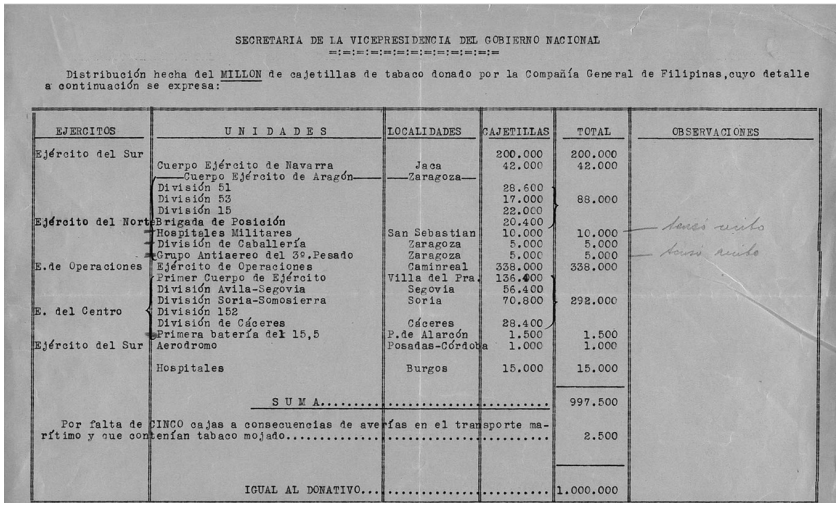
lie that only an autopsy can recover. In the same vein, as with the removal of López's statue in 2018, we need a sort of archival coroner to exhume the lie. Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla could, in fact, be considered the first archival coroner of López y López. From his doctoral thesis *Empresa, política y sociedad en la restauración: El grupo comillas (1876–1914)* to his latest book, *Un hombre, mil negocios*, he leaves no doubt regarding the source of López's fortune and his involvement in the slave trade. He explores the numerous networks constructed by López, whose impacts are part of the legacies of slavery in modern Spain, as they have permanently infiltrated the socioeconomic structures of society. With the concept of cosmetics, we can understand better how the abuses of the nineteenth-century capitalist era were similar to the colonial slave abuses, yet disguised.

In what follows, I first point out the economic legacy of the Tabacalera, which supported Francisco Franco's dictatorship in the twentieth century, and second, I address the erasure of the past in the archive. I then discuss how to decipher clues and enigmas in archival documents such as those found in López y López's archive, and proceed to analyze the relevant networks, both of banking and of friends and family.

The Economic Legacies of Slavery in the Archive

My contribution to the many studies on López y López is an analysis of his business archive, which reveals a subterfuge: how a central figure of the slave trade revamped himself as a successful CEO in the documents for posterity. In this sense, slavery was the point of departure that generated the language and activity of capitalism. "Studying the ways profit and innovation can accompany violence and inequality is particularly important in the world of modern capitalism," says Caitlin Rosenthal (xiii), who goes on to explain how easy it is to overlook the connections between capitalism and slavery (xiv). The archive I am analyzing contains clues that make this connection comprehensible. It incorporates the structure of slavery and its legacies, that is, slave traders' names, their financial capital, their businesses, and their networks, to create one of Spain's most important businesses, the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. This business survived for a century. The economic legacies of slavery went as far as supporting dictator Francisco Franco's troops during the Spanish Civil War (1933–1936) with tobacco and money lending (fig. 3.1), hence contributing to the victory of the Nationalist troops and the establishment of a dictatorship in Spain.

Figure 3.1. "Distribución" ("Distribution") details the gifts the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas made to Franco's troops during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). *Source:* Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Used with permission.



SECRETARIA DE LA VICEPRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO NACIONAL

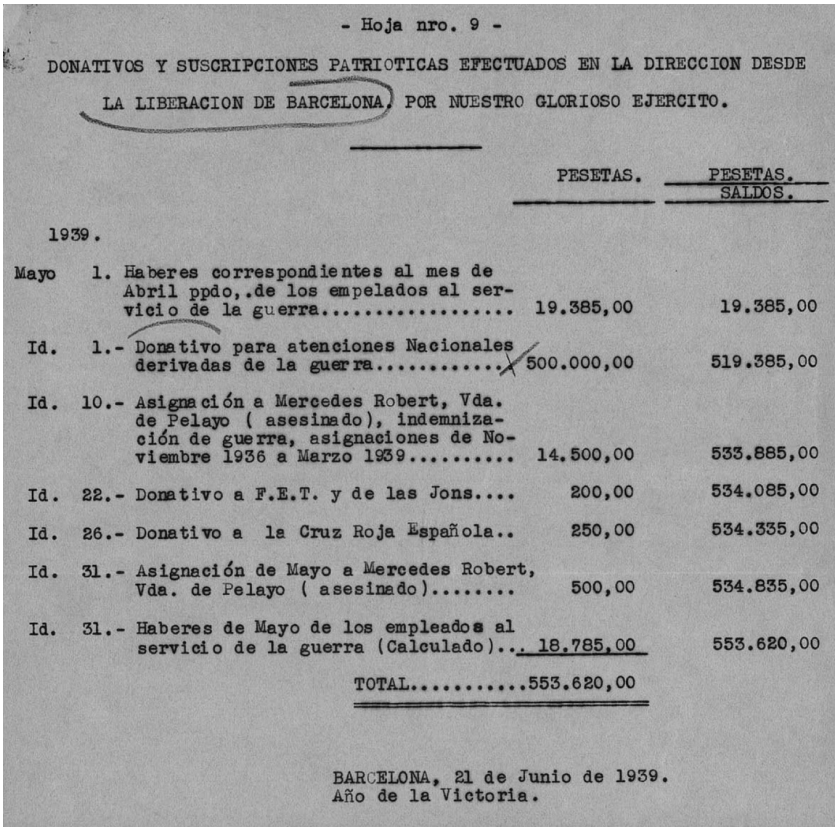
Distribución hecha del MILLON de cajetillas de tabaco donado por la Compañía General de Filipinas, cuyo detalle a continuación se expresa:

EJERCITOS	U N I D A D E S	LOCALIDADES	CAJETILLAS	TOTAL	OBSERVACIONES
Ejército del Sur			200.000	200.000	
	Cuerpo Ejército de Navarra	Jaca	42.000	42.000	
	Cuerpo Ejército de Aragón	Zaragoza			
	División 51		28.600		
	División 53		17.000	88.000	
	División 15		22.000		
Ejército del Norte	Brigada de Posición		20.400		
	Hospitales Militares	San Sebastian	10.000	10.000	hacer recibo
	División de Caballería	Zaragoza	5.000	5.000	hacer recibo
	Grupo Antiaereo del 3º.Pesado	Zaragoza	5.000	5.000	
E.de Operaciones	Ejército de Operaciones	Caminreal	338.000	338.000	
	Primer Cuerpo de Ejército	Villa del Pra.	136.000		
	División Avila-Segovia	Segovia	56.400		
	División Soria-Somosierra	Soria	70.800	292.000	
E. del Centro	División 152				
	División de Cáceres	Cáceres	28.400		
	Primera batería del 15,5	P.de Alarcón	1.500	1.500	
Ejército del Sur	Aerodromo	Posadas-Córdoba	1.000	1.000	
	Hospitales	Burgos	15.000	15.000	
	S U M A.....	.....	.....	997.500	
Por falta de rítimo y que con	CINCO cajas a consecuencias de averías en el transporte ma-tenían tabaco mojado.....	.....	.....	2.500	
	IGUAL AL DONATIVO...	.....	.....	1.000.000	

Figure 3.1 details the donations made to the different Nationalist armies during the war (in the south, north, and center of Spain), whereas figure 3.2 reveals the language used by the company to describe the Nationalist victory in 1939: "Nuestro glorioso ejército" ("Our glorious army"), "1939. Año de la Victoria" ("1939. The Year of Victory"). Among other things, we can see that the company gave money to the FET y de las JONS, Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalistas (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive). The FET y de las JONS, created in 1937, was the sole legal political party of the Francoist regime during the dictatorship. The archive reveals that the company, built by former slave traders, became a supporter of Spain's twentieth-century dictator.

Asking if archival documents are part of a complete or incomplete archive is unproductive. That is not the point. Nor is it the point to ask if the archives have been manipulated for, of course, they have been. They always are, and we should not try to find any absolute truth in them. Arlette Farge explained it beautifully when she affirmed, "L'archive ne dit peut-être pas la vérité, mais elle dit *de* la vérité" ("The archive perhaps does not speak the truth, but it speaks *some* truth"; 41). It is this insistence on *some*

Figure 3.2. "Donativos y suscripciones patrióticas" ("Patriotic donations and subscriptions") details the Tabacalera's donations to and support of Franco after he won the Spanish Civil War. Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. MS. Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. *Source:* Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Used with permission.



- Hoja nro. 9 -

DONATIVOS Y SUSCRIPCIONES PATRIOTICAS EFECTUADOS EN LA DIRECCION DESDE LA LIBERACION DE BARCELONA POR NUESTRO GLORIOSO EJERCITO.

			PESETAS.	PESETAS. SALDOS.
1939.				
Mayo	1.	Haberes correspondientes al mes de Abril ppdo, de los empelados al servicio de la guerra.....	19.385,00	19.385,00
Id.	1.-	Donativo para atenciones Nacionales derivadas de la guerra.....	500.000,00	519.385,00
Id.	10.-	Asignación a Mercedes Robert, Vda. de Pelayo (asesinado), indemnización de guerra, asignaciones de Noviembre 1936 a Marzo 1939.....	14.500,00	533.885,00
Id.	22.-	Donativo a F.E.T. y de las Jons....	200,00	534.085,00
Id.	26.-	Donativo a la Cruz Roja Española..	250,00	534.335,00
Id.	31.-	Asignación de Mayo a Mercedes Robert, Vda. de Pelayo (asesinado).....	500,00	534.835,00
Id.	31.-	Haberes de Mayo de los empleados al servicio de la guerra (Calculado)..	18.785,00	553.620,00
		TOTAL.....		553.620,00

BARCELONA, 21 de Junio de 1939.
Año de la Victoria.

truth that is particularly compelling in Farge's theoretical approach to the archive. Indeed, when reading documents about a business born of slave-trade capital, we should focus on the particular moment in history when this archive began to be assembled and the kind of language with which it was populated, so to speak. Working on the Southeast Asian archives, Ann Stoler is probably one of the most prominent voices in archival studies. She combines an analysis of governance and ethnography to understand the colonial archives. If we understand the archive as she does, we realize the extent to which colonial archives are the result of state machines, and that

"it is only now that we are seeing them in their own right, as technologies that reproduce those states themselves" (28). The historical distance that we now have in the twenty-first century allows us to perceive the extent of the cosmetic of the archive. The archive is an instrument of reproduction, yet it can also be considered, in equal measure, a production of those who inherit it, a product of the heirs (Fritzsche 3). The heirs of an archive can intervene, manipulate, and leave their traces on it, as I demonstrate forthwith.

Erasure of the Past

The role of the heirs in the construction of an archive such as the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas is fundamental. The company was created in 1881 by Antonio López y López with Spanish and French capital: the Banque de Paris-Pays-Bas and the Crédito Mobiliario Español backed Banco Hispano Colonial's initiatives, which funded the Tabacalera (Rodrigo, "Del desestanco" 206–07). As established by historians, the Banco Hispano Colonial was composed of Catalan businessmen whose capital came from America and was linked to slave-trade networks in Cuba (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 212–12; "From Slave Trade to Banking" 610).[4] The most important slave traders, such as Julián Zulueta and José Baró, were the two most important investors, after López, in the establishment of this bank in 1876, only five years before the creation of the CGTF. The particularity of the Tabacalera, and López y López's business activities in general, is that they were based on a network of family and trusted colleagues (Rodrigo, "Del desestanco" 208). The networks that the company built were international, as it had agencies and committees around the globe: in Paris, Madrid, London, New York, Naples, Liverpool, and Hamburg. The company sold tobacco all over the world, from Europe to the Russian Empire, Romania, Turkey, Tunisia, Asia, and Australia (Bastida et al. 12–13).

There is little written about the Tabacalera's economic aspects. The few studies that are available focus on López y López's personality and business achievements, although they recognize his involvement in the slave trade or, as some critics prefer to put it, that he made a fortune in Santiago de Cuba. That statement, decoded, indicates that he was part of the many networks of Spaniards who made a fortune with slavery. López y López and his collaborators, including Pedro de Sotolongo y Alcantara, José Ferrer y Vidal, and Eusebio Güell y Bacigalupi, among others, fought hard against abolition during their lifetimes and were pro-slavery to their deaths. The

networks of which López y López was part, and the institutions he worked with or created, such as the Banco Hispano Colonial, used capital from the slave trade to function and prosper (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 219).

Ramón Bastida, Antonio Somoza, and Josep Vallverdú's economic analysis of the Tabacalera in the period from 1881 to 1922 shows that the CGTF's account notebooks are very complex and detailed, especially compared to the epoch's standard. In their study, they affirm that the only way to understand this business initiative is to be cognizant of López y López's personality, and of his and his collaborators' economic, political, and financial connections. However, they never use the word *slavery* (26). Why? And why do they not even try to interpret the incongruities they identify in the archive, especially inconsistencies in the account notebooks, such as the lack of activity in all the "cuentas de tesorería/bancarias" ("treasury/bank accounts"; 21, 27), or the "valores pendientes" ("outstanding balances") accounts, which they describe as a "cajón de sastre" (22), a Spanish idiom meaning a jumble or a mess. These accounts, in their archival form, are sophisticated but hard to interpret because they contain heterogeneous documents—in this case, numbers coming from unknown sources. Researching these numbers is complicated, yet it seems timely and necessary, especially since researchers such as Michael Zeuske have underscored the difficulties of working with the slave-trade archive (*Amistad*, "Hidden Markers, Open Secrets"). It becomes clear, then, that we must investigate the archives and build a map of names, banking institutions, and ship crossings, to find and reveal what seems to have been concealed. Archival data, its organization, and its multiple connections can help undo some of the arguments presented by those who assert that we do not have proof of López's involvement in the slave trade. Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla has underscored in his latest book how such arguments are not limited to right-wing politicians and slavery deniers, but that they also circulate among Catalan intellectuals (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 16).

What does it mean to work with a multinational company's archive containing documents that do not fully reflect the activities in which its founders and participants were involved? I have had a great time playing detective and finding clues, evidence, and concealed schemes involved in these business operations. But now, as a researcher, I read in these shrouded documents the dangers of a radical erasure of a specific historical reality. This reality must be made present. We also should question how the past is presented to us, how we relate to it, and how we are affected by it. In this case, the important distinction that Ann Stoler makes in *Along the Archival*

Grain is relevant. It is the distinction "between what was 'unwritten' because it would go without saying and 'everyone knew it,' what was unwritten because it could not yet be articulated, and what was unwritten because it could not be said" (3). It seems that in the case of López y López's activities and their subsequent traces in the archive, there is unwritten data, including López's participation in the slave trade, because this data was known to the participants. In addition, in the second half of the nineteenth century, slavery and its profits would not be revealed to the outside world so readily. Finally, historians point out that there was up to a fifty-year gap between the end of the slave trade by legislation and the end of slave labor in practice. The price of slaves, naturally, peaked after slavery was abolished (Engerman 225–32), which indicates that it hardly disappeared immediately.

In addition, while the African slave trade was legally abolished in most of the Spanish colonies, when we talk about slavery in Southeast Asia, we need to account for the war between Spain and pirates, in particular the Iranun and the Balangingi, South Pacific Muslim groups. The Iranun and Balangingi participated in the slave trade in Southeast Asia between Jolo, Canton, and London; they lived and worked in the Sulu archipelago and southwestern Mindanao. Spaniards captured Muslims. Some were sent to Cagayan and from there, according to James Warren, kept as slaves in the tobacco fields of the Isabela province (*Iranun and Balangingi* 366).[5] Warren explains, "The Spanish proponents of deportation and forced resettlement argued that Spanish progress in the Philippines and their 'manifest destiny' were dependent upon the removal of the Balangingi as 'savages' from the pathway of Spanish civilization" (366). Thus, the forcible resettlement of the Balangingi in Isabela served both the nation and the financial interests of the tobacco industry in the Philippines, of which the Tabacalera was part. The vocabulary of the African slave trade justified the use of forced labor through a moral and civilizational discourse. This discourse, in turn, helped to create the Spanish tobacco monopoly in the Philippines. Those Muslims slaves, as I decipher below, might be referred to as "migrants" in the Tabacalera archive.

Deciphering Documents: Clues and Enigmas

The Tabacalera archive is a palimpsest of sorts with different levels of meaning, and the vocabulary and language provide clues that reveal the Tabacalera's ties to slavery and forced labor. These archival clues can be seen as

an example of what Stoler has called an "archiving-as-process," a proposal to consider archives "as condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety rather than as skewed and biased sources" (20). Indeed, it does not make sense, as she says, to look at "archives-as-things" (20). This is doubly important when studying the traces or erasures of the slave trade in the archive.

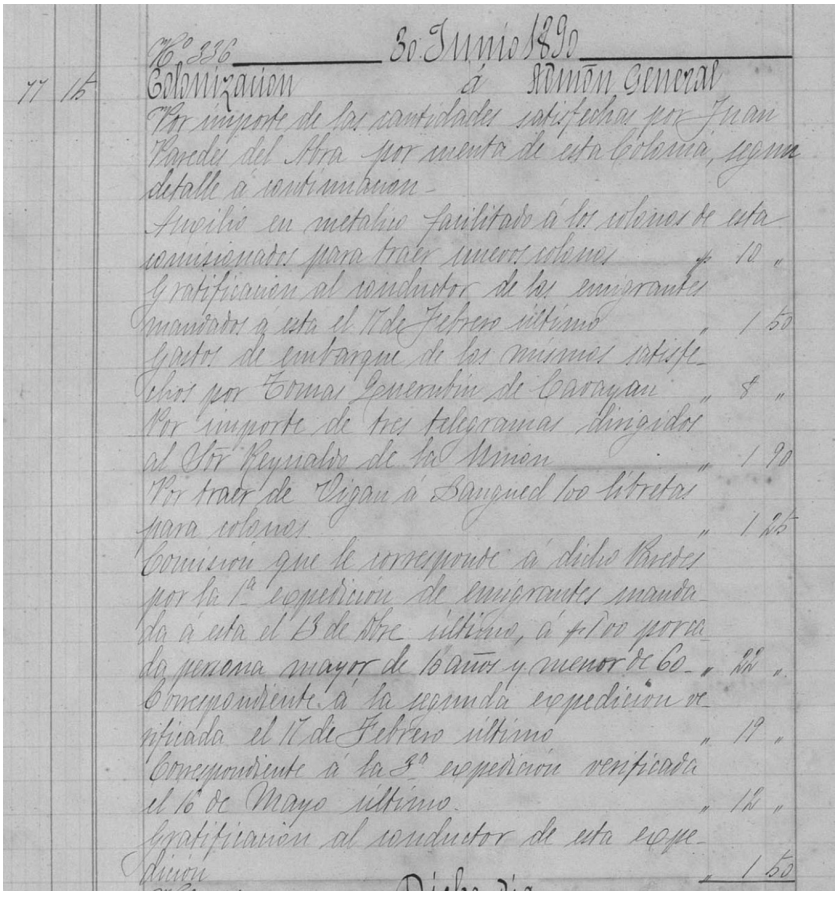
The composition and vastness of the transatlantic slave trade archive and, more specifically, of the modern Hispanic archive has yielded more questions than answers. To begin with, the vocabulary used to describe the different roles in the Atlantic trade is confusing. For instance, according to Douglas R. Egerton, some planters in the US called slaveholders "businessmen" (208). Slaveholders around the world thought of slavery as part of good market practices. Participation in the trade led to wealth and power; it was just like "any other economic venture" (Egerton 208). Many historians have used this argument to minimize the role of slave traders in their historical accounts in the era before abolition. And today, the heirs of slave traders use this qualification to distance themselves from their family's past. In *Un hombre, mil negocios* Rodrigo-Alharilla gives the useful example of María del Mar Arnús, who from 1999 to 2018 published and asserted that López was not a slave trader but a businessman who gave Barcelona an international profile (12–15). However, as it happens, del Mar Arnús is the heir of Arnús Ferrer (1820–1890), a friend and business partner of López. This assertion makes it clear that the legacies of slavery are denied in plain sight, that historical data is transformed, and that facts are ignored to safeguard a family's reputation. Hence, the heirs' silence demonstrates a refusal to recognize the socioeconomic impact of the legacies of slavery in modern Spain, with some exceptions such as the Goytisolo family.[6] We can simultaneously consider these refusals as one of the many legacies of slavery, the comfortable silence about slavery allowing Spanish and, in this case, Catalan society to function without interrogating the roots of its prosperity. Indeed, nowadays, when looking at the legacy of slavery, the euphemizing business vocabulary deployed in the characterization of these slavery networks creates another obstacle to the recognition of what those slave traders are responsible for. The polemic around the removal of López's statue, with his defenders arguing that he was a patron of the arts and an important businessman, begins with the obfuscating vocabulary of slavery in the nineteenth-century archive.

Likewise, the word "migrant" is a slippery term that appears quite often in the slave-trade archives. Alessandro Stanziani has demonstrated that in the Indian Ocean world during the long nineteenth century, there was

no clear-cut distinction between unfree slaves and indentured migrants (1). The fact that one finds the word *migrant* in the Tabacalera's archive leaves questions to be answered. In this case, the word is used to describe how workers or other individuals move from one plantation to another. The records of the traffic of migrants sent to work in Manila and other cities and colonies (such as San Antonio and Santa Isabel, north of Manila) are what most stand out in the Tabacalera archive. We know that there are migrants who come from Cuba (probably industrial cigar workers), various islands in the Philippines, and other parts of Asia. The archive leaves open the question of which migrants it refers to for each part of the world and for what type of (maybe exploitative) work they were brought to these plantations in the Philippines to do. Strangely, for such a meticulous archive, nothing is specified. Perhaps the word *migrant* is a euphemism here for slave, indentured immigrants, or forced labor.

In this case, the challenge is not to find or verify slave labor in the plantations but to understand the complexity of working with an archive in which the displacement of bodies is unclear. Workers coming from distinct territories were referred to with a diverse vocabulary: *workers* (the mentioned cigar workers from Cuba), *deportees*, *migrants*, and *settlers*. Margarita Cojuangco has worked with archival documents, as well as oral histories of Balangingi descendants, and explains that "the captured Balangingi were brought to Cagayan by force and ordered to work in the plantations as slaves" (138). The Tabacalera's manuscript archive (see fig. 3.3) mentions paying someone to transport migrants from Cagayan to the tobacco fields: "Gratificacion al conductor de los emigrantes" ("emigrant driver bonus") and "la 1ª expedición de emigrantes . . . Gastos de embarque de los mismos por Tomas Qurubín de Cavayan" ("first expedition of migrants . . . Shipping costs of the same to Tomas Qurubín of Cavayan"). Interestingly, Cojuangco mentions not only the lack of available data for the 1880s (when the Tabacalera was created) but also the certainty that slave labor persisted: "The period after 1869 to the mid-80's is a blank space as far as historical data is concerned. The next document found is dated 1885, describing the fate of the Balangingi in the Colonia Agrícola de Alcazar in barrio Sta. Isabel in Tumauini where they worked as tobacco planters. Again, this document supports the stories culled from the interviews of present-day Balangingi" (145). Cojuangco also adds that in the 1880s, those who worked in the fields were called "migrants" and violently punished, denied food, and whipped if they did not work enough (146). Even if the slave trade in the region had ended officially, migrants were treated as such until the Philippine

Figure 3.3. Colonia de San Antonio, Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. Diary entry number 336, 1890. *Source:* Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Used with permission.



Revolution (1896). Cojuangco's research describes their repeated attempts, some successful, to escape from the plantations, further reinforcing their status as forced labor or slaves (150).

In the same document from López's archive describing the transport of migrants, we find that the word *settler* appears to refer to the movement of other workers. Indeed, settlers are paid to go to look for other settlers in other parts of the archipelago: "Auxilio en metalico facilitado á los colonos de esta comisionados para traer nuevos colonos" ("Cash aid provided to the

settlers of this commission to bring in new settlers"). Furthermore, and as mentioned, the Philippines and Cuba exchanged workforces for tobacco plantations, and Cojuangco mentions that tobacco plantations were "owned by some enterprising Spanish businessmen," and that the Spanish government "helped with the importation of tobacco seeds from Cuba" (137). Indeed, the *Memoria* of the Tabacalera read at the Junta General Ordinaria of January 15, 1883, addresses the company's factories from pages 15 to 17 and states that tobacco workers were sent and "contratados" ("hired") from Cuba to the Philippines. The vocabulary used in López's manuscript archive corresponded to precise categories. I find that it shows the conceptual framework developed by Stoler when she explains the unwritten or unexplained data in the construction of archives in the past. The epistemological anxiety (20) she refers to is perceptible here in the precise nomenclature used to describe the different types of workers. Yet the use of this same nomenclature reveals how people of that era knew what each word connoted, without the necessity to explain further.

Banking and Friends and Family Networks

In the Tabacalera's *Acta de Constitución*, written on November 26, 1881, the first ten names of directors, founders, and stockholders that are mentioned are directly connected to the slave trade. The directors, founders, and stockholders of the Tabacalera were intimate friends of López y López (Pedro de Sotolongo y Alcantara, Eusebio Güell y Bacigalupi). Some had signed the manifesto against the abolition of slavery (José Ferrer y Vidal, Eusebio Güell y Bacigalupi), owned shipping companies (José Ferrer y Vidal, José Carreras y Xuriach, Angel Bernardo Pérez[7]), and acted as advisers at top banks such as Crédito Mercantil, Banco de Barcelona, Banco de España in Santander, and Banco Hispano Colonial.

This data is of utmost importance for understanding the impact of slavery after its abolition in the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla has analyzed, "in the nineteenth century, there was a certain chronological parallel between the ever-increasing incorporation of the Spanish into the slave trade and the construction of a modern banking system in Spain," with slave traders converting themselves into bankers when slavery was abolished ("From Slave Trade to Banking" 601). The legacies of slavery perdured in other business ventures because, as banal as it may seem, its champions did not change their ideology and

continued to enjoy their privileges, take advantage of free labor, and discriminate against bodies they considered inferior. Tracing the connections and relationships found in the archives is not an easy task because many of the names of historical characters involved in banking networks are not cataloged in libraries, and the authorship of nineteenth-century administrative documents can be difficult to determine.

Kinship and ideological affinities are central to understanding these connections. I will illustrate this with two names connected to the slave trade to show the impact and necessity of such research: 1) Don Pedro de Sotolongo y Alcantara was an intimate friend of López y López and a slave trader in Cuba. He promoted the Asociación de Hacendados y Propietarios de Esclavos (Landowners' and Slave Owners's Association) in Cuba in 1873. Participants in this association were Juan A. Zulueta, Francisco F. Colomé, Nicolás Martínez Valdivieso, Pedro Sotolongo y Mamerto Pulido. 2) Eusebio Güell y Bacigalupi was López y López's son-in-law. He married López's daughter, Luisa Isabel López Bru, and was the son of Joan Güell, who signed the manifesto against the abolition of slavery and was a patron of the famous Catalan architect Antoni Gaudí. Eusebio Güell was also an adviser at Banco Hispano Colonial, Tabacalera, Compañía Trasatlántica Española, and Compañía de los Caminos de Hierro del Norte de España. These two examples afford us an understanding of the complex web of people and businesses involved with the institution of slavery and its aftermath, as well as the centrality of kinship in their lucrative business endeavors.

One aspect of kinship is, understandably, the role of gender. Lisa Surwillo has shown how the wives of López y López, Güell, and other businessmen signed the petition against the abolition of slavery in 1873 (4–5). According to Surwillo, these women insisted on their status as wives and mothers in the petition, accentuating "the dynastic and familial ties that bind Creole to *indiano*" and thus their belonging to both marriage and nation (7). And, indeed, these international networks functioned successfully because most of them were built on family relationships with strong ties to the nation. Daughters of slave traders were to marry other slave traders or their sons, who would later be able to continue the business. Kinship is a fundamental aspect to be explored for theorizing the slave-trade archive and understanding its global networks if we are to illuminate the hidden nature of contemporary legacies of slavery. One of the most important aspects of family and kinship when it comes to business is generational continuity, inheritance, and succession (Akhter 175–76), particularly because the use of family and kinship relations becomes a business resource (Alsos et al.

97). It was certainly the case in the nineteenth century, when, according to Josef Ehmer, "family was an important means of economic success" (187). Thus, the question of kinship and family is highly relevant in the context of the slave trade and its legacies. The private, so strongly attached to the values of family, becomes central to this type of institution.

When family, business, and empire converge, the archive must be read against the grain. Adele Perry, talking about empire, family, and archive in the nineteenth century, affirms, "all of these archives are profoundly shaped by the individuals who created them, the state and private enterprises they labored on behalf of, and by the people, institutions, and societies that preserved them" (3). The names of institutions that appear in López's archive underscore Perry's conception of the interconnectedness of people, institutions, and society. The main connection in the Tabacalera's archive is that of father and son. Claudio López Bru inherited his father's estate after his death. Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla shows how the son followed his father's steps in the organization of the company and gives the example of López Bru asking managers to disguise the high-interest loan that tied up workers because "it would look terrible" in the files ("Del desestanco" 213). This is an example of the cosmetic of the archive: the company needed to tie down its workers by incrementing their debt. These were exploitative measures, yet they could not be shown to investors in the archive.

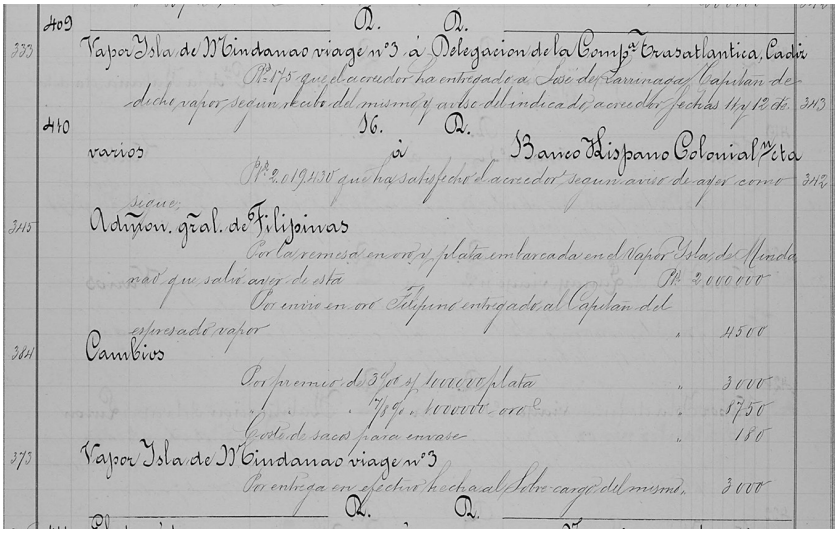
For the creation of networks and their maintenance, López y López struck up alliances with people who were connected, in one way or another, to the slave trade. Joaquín Eizaguirre, Patricio Satrústegui, and Ángel B. Pérez were involved in Banco Hispano Colonial and the shipping company A. López y Cía., founded by López in 1857. López y López also collaborated with Samá Sotolongo y Cía. In fact, the first president of Banco Hispano Colonial was Antonio López y López himself and its first manager was *his friend*, slave trader Pedro Sotolongo (Rodrigo, "Familia, redes" 79). Many merchants' surnames associated with the Hispanic slave trade appear in the Tabacalera's archive to record exchanges between Cuba and the Philippines. One of them is Ramón de Larrinaga, a Basque businessman established in Liverpool, who founded the sailing company Olano, Larrinaga & Company with fellow Basque merchant José Antonio de Olano e Iriondo. This company would travel between Liverpool and Manila, sometimes routing through Havana. The name Larrinaga, like many other Basque surnames in the mid-nineteenth century, was associated with the Cuban slave trade, and Ramón de Larrinaga's father was a known merchant and slave trader in Cuba.[8] Another aspect to sort out is the association of certain surnames

with specific ports and shipping routes. Ports were instrumental to the establishment of trade and commerce routes. The Tabacalera built itself into a global industry, closely linked to the geography of the archipelago, by establishing commercial ports on numerous islands. (Keep in mind that the Philippines comprises more than 7,000 islands.)

The manuscript archive of the Tabacalera recorded all ships, inventories, and workers' entries and exits from one archipelago port to another, from the Philippines to Spain, and the rest of the world, including the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, such as Cuba and Puerto Rico. Manuscript diary entry 1 from 1882 records the steamships that arrived in Manila and indicates the fee the company paid the ships' captains.

Diary entry 409 (fig. 3.4) reads, "Vapor Isla de Mindanao viage nº 3 á Delegacion de la Compª Trasatlantica, Cadiz. R=175 que el acreedor ha entregado a José de Larrinaga, Capitán de dicho vapor segun recibo del mismo . . . 11 y 12 de Diciembre [1882]" ("Steam boat Mindanao Island trip nº 3 to the Delegation of the Transatlantic Company, Cadiz. R=175 that the creditor gave to José de Larrinaga, Captain of this boat according to the receipt of the same . . . 11 and 12 December [1882]"). Diary Entry

Figure 3.4. Diary entries 409 and 410 of the Tabacalera, San Antonio Colony, 1882. Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. *Source:* Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Used with permission.



410, which documents that the company paid José de Larrinaga in gold and silver, does not indicate for which services the gold and silver were remitted. Later, Entry 413 shows that a ship went from Manila to Cuba and Puerto Rico (56). Hence, a fundamental question arises: How is it that these routes from Spain to the Philippines to Cuba and back could be completely separated from the slave trade and abuses of colonial power given the timeframe and people involved? David Eltis affirms, "The traffic in slaves was . . . the most 'international' of all business activities" (123). Slavery was officially abolished in Cuba in 1886, five years after the creation of the CGTF and four years after the recording of the aforementioned document.[9] The Atlantic slave trade was nevertheless illegal starting in 1821 (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 17). It is difficult to believe that the Tabacalera would, almost miraculously, be exempt from any ties to the slave-trade market, especially given its exchanges between the Philippines and Cuba, where slave labor was common on tobacco estates in the 1880s (Morgan 243–44). As we have seen, Larrinaga, a slave trader in Cuba, regularly shipped goods from Cuba to the Philippines before the abolition of slavery.

The problems I encounter reading the Tabacalera archive are not exceptional. Transparency, as Stoler says, "is not what archival collections are known for" (8). Edward Ball, in "Retracing Slavery's Trail of Tears," points out that "so much of the vocabulary of slavery has been effaced from the language" and that, likewise, many records about individuals or journeys did not survive. He furthermore explains how ships would sometimes carry five to fifty slaves, who were oftentimes excluded from the ship's inventory. In addition, it is common knowledge that the traces of slavery were effaced from many nineteenth-century archives. Contemporary slave traders were well aware of how to proceed with their trade. Michael Zeuske, in *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*, notes that documents that provide insights into the slave trade are difficult to find since records of illicit transactions were easy proof to use against slave merchants and were thus destroyed (133). Even if slavery was not illegal in the Hispanic world for most of the century, it was being attacked and abolished in many places around the world. One example is Britain's Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. From this moment on, the purchase of enslaved people became more expensive, making the slave trade more difficult.[10] Yet we must consider that the abolition of slavery did not mean the complete eradication of slave trafficking; Zeuske writes, "Slavery was considered systemic up to 1808 and thereafter it was considered to have been abolished. Actually, slavery was not abolished, but rather, a legal mechanism was implemented whereby the

government 'abolished' slavery, but in fact it was not abolished at all. It was legally hidden—it became 'legally illegal,' so to speak—making slavery and slave trading in the Atlantic part of a 'Hidden Atlantic' " (*Amistad* 137).

Upper-class families received incentives to emancipate slaves. The abolitionist discourse implied a sort of silence about slavery, and the goal was to suppress its presence in the public sphere and, as such, implement a sort of "forgetting" of slavery. Zeuske, referring to the British slave traders, explains that this collective amnesia implied a marginalization and silencing of upper-class families' involvement and participation in the slave trade ("Hidden Markers" 240). This is exactly what happened in the case of López y López. It is not a surprise that the Banco Hispano Colonial was created at the moment when the business of trafficking enslaved people became more difficult. Slave traders' money was redirected through this banking network and the Banco Hispano Colonial was used to create new businesses, closely linked to the same companies, particularly those in shipping and tobacco, involved in the slave trade.

Conclusion

A distinct point of interest herein is what is *not* in the archive. Zeuske affirms that one must read carefully between the lines and that, as of 2015, "hardly any research [had] been done on the records of the Iberian nations" (*Amistad* 137). Theorists of the archive have pointed out that it is necessary to recognize the limits of archival recovery and the inability, at times, to reconstruct a reliable narrative (Raimon 258). Kenneth E. Foote states that "archives are sometimes said to be society's collective memory" (379), although it is also certain that, as he asserts, "bureaucracies and corporations may seek to control the flow of damaging information by destroying incriminating records" (384). Indeed, the brutality and inhumanity of the slave trade is something that some countries in Europe, among them Spain, have had difficulty confronting. The archive's concealment of this traumatic past is not unexpected. Instead, it poses an ethical imperative to uncover what has been intentionally covered over and forgotten in history. The revelation of such an obfuscation illustrates a national desire to *not* remember or remember *less* of a past that is troubling and shameful. In the words of Foote, "if the violence fails to exemplify an enduring value, there is a greater likelihood of the site, artifacts, and documentary record being effaced, either actively or passively" (385).

Even if we cannot definitively prove the involvement in the slave trade of some of the actors mentioned in this chapter, the fact that they were part of networks, including banks, businesses, and capital, built by slave traders, former slave traders, or anti-abolitionists tells us about the legacies of slavery, their durability, their permeability in the social fabric and, above all, how the economic and cultural structures of a city such as Barcelona have been built through the exploitation of Black bodies. In addition, if, as we have seen, kinship was fundamental in building the networks of slavery in the past, it is still used today to cover the legacies of slavery and to both deny and hide the participation of Spanish families in it. Arguments used in the nineteenth century, such as the text at the base of López's statue in Barcelona, are still proffered by family members in the twenty-first century.

I have shown how the Atlantic space's violent history has been carefully arranged in the archive. It presents a deliberately crafted memory of the Tabacalera, the major business in the Philippines in the nineteenth century, that rehabilitates its slave-trade participants. Moreover, their public image as fundamental figures in modern and contemporary Spain's economic, urban, and political development, be it in Barcelona, Madrid, Santander, Comillas, or almost anywhere we can imagine, has been passed down to and accepted by Spanish society. We do not have to look very hard for information to affirm the impact these great businessmen have had on the urban and economic structures of today's Spanish cities. But to understand their role in the transatlantic slave trade of the nineteenth century, we must grasp at clues and seek information, which is simply, and probably intentionally, not to be had.

Notes

1. This paper began as a presentation for the Archive Symposium at Columbia University in 2018, organized by Roland Béhard (Ecole Normale Supérieure, ULM), Annick Louis (EHESS, Université de Besançon), and Jesús R. Velasco (Yale University). I would like to thank Evelyn Cruise (Stony Brook University), Nicole Basile (Columbia University), and Lexie Cook (Durham University) for their suggestions and comments, as well as Ann Stoler, with whom I shared the session at the Symposium. I would also like to thank Bécquer Seguín, who invited me to Johns Hopkins to present on this topic. I am indebted to Akiko Tsuchiya for all the fundamental comments she has provided me when I was writing this chapter. Finally, Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla offered historical data and bibliography, for which I am very grateful.

2. The company attracted indebted families by saying that it would pay off their debts. In exchange, the families would work for the company and repay the original debt with the fruits of their labor. They were immigrants who were sought after because of their fragile economic situation. They immigrated to the agricultural colonies; they became colonists with an exclusive debt to the company. See Rodrigo ("Del desestanco") for more information.

3. For a discussion on how to find evidence of the slave trade in archival documents today, see Zeuske ("Hidden Markers") and Sanz Rozalén and Zeuske ("Towards a Microhistory of the Enslaved").

4. For a comprehensive list of names of slave traders involved in the creation of the Banco Hispano Colonial, see Rodrigo ("From Slave Trade to Banking" 610–14). For general information about the Banco Hispano Colonial, see Rodrigo ("Del desestanco" and *Los marqueses de Comillas*).

5. For more information on slavery and Southeast Asia, see James Warren (*The Sulu Zone 1768–1898*).

6. For more information, see Rodrigo (*Los Goytisolo*).

7. Bernardo Pérez was a slave trafficker in Cienfuegos.

8. See *Basques in the Philippines* by Marciano R. De Borja (93–95). De Borja does not mention slavery in his analysis of Basque merchants, particularly Ramón de Larrinaga and José Antonio de Olano. See Kirsty Hooper's chapter in this volume about Basque merchants.

9. On slavery in the Philippines see Hernández Hortigüela, "La esclavitud en las Islas Filipinas."

10. According to Eltis, "In 1850 and 1865, the Brazilian and Cuban governments respectively took serious action against the slave trade. . . . Between 1810 and 1900, almost every Atlantic potentate from King Bell of the Cameroons to the President of the United States signed literally hundreds of anti-slave trade treatises" (133–34).

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