

Antislavery and Abolition in the Spanish American Mainland

Marcela Echeverri, History, Yale University

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.505>

Published online: 20 September 2023

Summary

One of the major changes that was produced by the wars of independence and the consequent foundation of new republics across the Spanish American mainland during the first five decades of the 19th century was the abolition of slavery. The history of the abolition of slavery in this region illustrates how economic, political, and social factors were entwined in the Spanish American revolutions as processes that were at once embedded in the broader imperial and transimperial dynamics of the 19th century, yet also singular in the origins and consequences that the end of slavery had in that region due to its connection to republican formation and the integration of African-descended people in legal and political terms.

Keywords: Spanish American mainland, antislavery, republicanism, abolition, citizenship, revolution, slavery, independence, war, labor

Subjects: 1492–1824, 1824–c. 1880, Afro-Latin History, International History, Slavery and Abolition

Introduction

During the first two decades of the 19th century, the Spanish territories on the American continent went through profound, irreversible changes generally described in historical narratives under the unifying label “wars of independence.” Although those wars were by all measures crucial in the history of Atlantic decolonization, until recently, the radical transformations that independence unleashed at the economic, political, and social levels had been ignored. That is, from a materialist interpretative framework prevalent throughout the 20th century, historians did not consider the independence wars to be “real” revolutions. In light of such assessment, the complexity of the actual diverse processes that took place between the late-18th and the mid-19th centuries in the Spanish American mainland were left unexamined. Recent research that has placed the Spanish American independence processes within the Age of Revolution paradigm has revealed their crucial revolutionary elements from Mexico to Río de la Plata (present-day Argentina and Uruguay), such as the widespread social mobilization that they entailed and the profound implications of those revolutions for the wider Atlantic, mainly their particular experiments with republicanism and liberalism.¹

The study of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish American mainland—which took place between the decades of 1810 and 1860—gives new relevance to ongoing debates about the history of social revolutions and raises new crucial questions about the political and economic transformations during the Age of Revolution. The earlier experiences with abolition in the United States North and Haiti, as well as the British campaign to end the slave trade, were for

state makers in Spanish America—most of whom were Creoles or Americans of Spanish descent—important examples that suggested possible avenues to designing institutions that would uphold the principle of antislavery while preventing the radical racial wars and loss of labor power that they feared. At the same time, because slaves participated in the armies for and against independence, people of African descent became a radical social force at the base of the political anticolonial project. This was a fundamental reason why antislavery and republicanism were intertwined in the Spanish American mainland with multiple deep consequences over state formation in the 19th century.

Through the lens of the abolition of slavery in this wide region of the Americas, this article examines one of the major changes that were produced by the wars of independence and the consequent foundation of new republics across the Spanish American mainland during the first five decades of the 19th century. The history of abolition in this region illustrates how economic, political, and social factors were entwined in the Spanish American revolutions. These revolutions were processes at once embedded in the broader imperial and transimperial dynamics of the 19th century, yet also singular in the origins and consequences that the end of slavery had in that region due to its connection to republican formation and the integration of African-descended people in legal and political terms.

The social and political battles over the abolition of slavery that took place in mainland Spanish America at the beginning of the 19th century had economic and ideological foundations. In that process, local confrontations among national elites and between these and the laboring classes were paralleled by transnational and transimperial ideological, financial, and diplomatic changes. Locked within founding constitutional arrangements, abolition almost everywhere across the Spanish American mainland was nonetheless designed to be a gradual process. Moreover, slavery's destruction was anything but a linear process. And though national histories shaped specific outcomes, abolition needs to be examined regionally because national events were everywhere framed in a common broader context and produced through transnational connections among the Spanish American republics and between these and the United States, Haiti, Britain, France, and Spain/Cuba.

The legal experiments for abolition in republican Spanish America not only contrasted with the US Republic's constitutional tolerance of slavery. The antislavery republics also had important differences with the path of the Spanish Caribbean possessions and the Brazilian Empire. At the same time that slavery expanded in those three areas—largely through an illegal slave trade—the Spanish American republics took measures to abolish the trade and slavery, seen as fundamental to the rejection of colonial legacies and the adoption of universalist values reflected in the institution of citizenship at the base of the new independent states. After independence, the end of slavery in Spanish America was a powerful political discourse that gave legitimacy to the new republics in the international arena. Equally, the abolition of slavery was an issue tied to republican diplomacy and, as such, had the potential to generate alliances or violent fissures with other imperial or republican nations.

However, abolition did not follow a linear route because, first and foremost, it paralleled the process of state formation and it represented a major transformation to social relations and the laws of property. Everywhere—in Mexico, Río de la Plata, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru—abolition was a slow and erratic process that produced major political conflicts within these republics. The intense contests for ending slavery in the decades between 1810 and 1860 were integral to defining the character that labor and citizenship would have in the region. (This was articulated to the changing status of indigenous people as well.) Moreover, gradualism in the design of laws of Free Womb gave way to the creation of new categories of labor such as *patronato*, in which free-born children—called *manumisos* or *libertos*—were in an intermediate category between freedom and slavery until a certain age (in some cases 18, in other cases 25).² In addition to age, gender created another gray area within abolition because in some of these countries the complete abolition of slavery was tied to military service during civil war, which left enslaved women under similar categories of *patronato* for years (up to the final abolition of these *patronatos*). This means that during the 19th century the new republics adapted slavery to the demands of state formation; abolition as well as citizenship were themselves adapted to elite interests in maintaining labor under control. Furthermore, the process of slavery's abolition gave way to new connections with the broader Atlantic and Pacific worlds and spurred new diasporas of migrant laborers who became integrated into new republican models of economic development.

Yet abolition shaped citizenship rights and it did so not simply as a result of the enlightened visions and gestures of the elites. The participation of free and enslaved people of African descent in the military process of independence and later civil wars, and their struggle to see abolition happen, was one of the most potent and radical processes of social mobilization in 19th-century Latin America.

Slavery as an Economic and Political Institution in Spanish America

The history of antislavery in the Spanish American mainland needs to be understood in relation to the particular form that slavery had in the region. Slavery was an institution at the base of the Iberian process of colonization across the Americas. It was an economic and political part of the construction of the Spanish Empire from the 15th century onward. Yet, although foundational, it was not a singular or homogeneous institution. The incorporation of natives to the colonial economy began with their enslavement in the Caribbean and other areas where early contact took place. At the same time, in the mainland from Mexico to the Andes, since the 16th century the Spanish monarchy redefined the economic structures of native societies. Though eventually the Crown prohibited the enslavement of “Indians,” they were an essential labor force and part of the colonial extractive dynamics.³

In a parallel though different way, the enslaved Africans who arrived between the 16th and early 19th centuries also became crucial agents in the Spanish American mainland’s economic structure and shaped the colonial social landscape. And the availability of Indian labor was one factor that explained the degree to which certain economies depended or not on African slave labor. The economy based on slavery that developed through the growth of the transatlantic slave

trade from Africa, initially led by the Portuguese, gave way to the articulation of the labor of enslaved Africans to the colonial economy across the continent and the progressive growth of a population of free people of African descent. The temporal depth of slavery in this region—in other words, the fact that Africans arrived at the Spanish continental possessions in a steady flow from the 16th until the 19th centuries when the slave trade was halted—explains why the diasporic populations in Spanish America were very diverse in origin.⁴

One of the earliest ports of disembarkation and trade of enslaved Africans in the Spanish American mainland was Veracruz, in Mexico. In South America it was Cartagena de Indias, on the Caribbean coast of the New Kingdom of Granada (today Colombia) where slaves were brought into the continent. Cartagena functioned as a hub and was linked to the economies of all of South America, Mexico, and the Caribbean through this commerce in slaves.⁵ The slaves that arrived in Cartagena went to Panama, Quito, Peru, and Chile. They generally traveled to Panama via the Caribbean and then on land across the Isthmus of Panama to continue their journey in the Pacific to their destiny in the south of the continent. After the Crown authorized the free trade in slaves, Buenos Aires became another important port of legal and illegal entry of enslaved Africans, some of whom were taken from there to other northwestern regions of Río de la Plata, Chile, and Peru.⁶

The history of slavery in the Spanish American mainland, therefore, is chronologically deep and derives from slavery's foundational role in empire-building. As such, then, slavery was not exclusively an economic institution and enslaved Africans were not only laborers. The enslaved people who had been uprooted from Africa represented the margins of the body politic, symbolizing, in legal terms, the links of sovereignty and vassalage and the frontier between freedom and slavery across the Spanish Empire. In this way, the basis for sovereignty and the principles of social organization in the Spanish American mainland were from the beginning linked with the laws that upheld slavery as an institution.⁷

The logic whereby the state protected the freedom of some and made the enslavement of others legal was, in turn, the source of the legal identities of the vassals of the Spanish monarchy in its Atlantic empire. In other words, the categories that defined labor forms were also the source for political identities. This means that in looking at African slavery in the Spanish American mainland in the broader context that it developed, it is fundamental to see the enslaved in a defining relation with the indigenous people who were “free.” Indians inhabited a singular category as vassals but with different rights than the Spaniards or the Creoles. Most importantly, as natives, Indians had a right to own collective land. Taken together, the existence of populations of indigenous people and of slaves in Spanish America reflected the essential form in which land, property, and labor were produced legally and embodied in social categories.⁸

One of the crucial singularities of the laws of slavery in the Spanish Empire, which impacted the mainland, was that enslaved Africans had access to freedom through the legal avenues of manumission or self-purchase. Historians have demonstrated that this was a mechanism that the enslaved exploited, progressively forming a new class of freed and free-born Black people that became a characteristic trait of the region's social formation. Moreover, because the enslaved and free people of African descent in Spanish America coexisted with indigenous people, that relationship influenced the political vision and political activism of the Afro-descendants. The

influence was expressed mainly in Afro-descendants' perception that the Crown granted justice to populations considered as "minors" and free as much as enslaved Black people used the law as a political tool. Because of the deep differences that derived from ethnicity—initially an attribute of Indians but eventually also of people of African descent—the collectivities formed by Afro-descendants sought to claim their own place in the physical territorial space and in the legal structure, particularly seeking the right to land.⁹

The slaves' lived experience and their opportunities for mobility varied depending on their geographic location and their occupations, which across the Spanish American mainland were extremely diverse. Importantly, for the most part, in continental Spanish America plantations did not predominate. In places like Mexico City, Lima, Buenos Aires, Valle del Cauca, and Caracas slaves worked in haciendas and as domestic servants. In other regions like Popayán and Esmeraldas, slaves worked mining for gold. And in Guayaquil, Cartagena, and Coro the enslaved were central to the economies of those important ports.

Even if from the perspective of the plantation economies of the 19th-century Caribbean the numbers and proportion of the enslaved populations was smaller, slavery and slaves were fundamental to the Spanish mainland economies. In fact, the whole Spanish Americas, including the Spanish Caribbean, was second only to Brazil in the volume of slave arrivals during the entire history of the traffic.¹⁰ Particular developments due to the centrality of the enslaved in urban activities, for example, gave way to forms of wage labor inextricably linked to enslaved labor.¹¹ The enslaved in the cities worked for a wage that they provided to their masters. These economic strategies not only benefited the masters who profited from the labor of their slaves. This was one of the spaces in which the rise of a parallel economy, and the degree of freedom that it gave the enslaved, allowed them to focus on and in many cases fulfil the goal of self-purchase. Similarly, in rural areas as well as in the mining regions customary arrangements allowed slaves to have their own plots to cultivate one day a week or to mine for themselves. These economic dynamics shaped the history of freedom in the Spanish mainland by contributing to the expansion of populations of free people of African origin and descent and of forms of free labor.

At the same time, all the geographies of slavery in the Spanish mainland developed on the basis of alliances between local elites and the colonial state. Some of these elites emerged from agricultural production, or from mining, and others from commercial projects. In many cases it is clear that elites combined these different ventures making their flexibility greater and their interests more varied. It is an important question when and why parts of these different sectors turned more receptive to the project of abolishing slavery. Though historians have not reached a consensus to explain it, the context of the 18th and 19th centuries' reforms and imperial crisis are especially relevant to understanding the antislavery measures that became so central to the Spanish American mainland republican states.

Transformations of Spanish Atlantic Slavery in the 18th and 19th Centuries

The political essence of slavery, slavery's connection to other labor regimes across Spanish America, and the changes in the slave economies of the Atlantic were radically exposed in the 18th century and early 19th, during the crisis of the Atlantic empires.¹²

As the plantation economies of the British and French Caribbean colonies thrived during the 18th century, Spain attempted to follow suit and reformed its economy by opening it to free trade in slaves. Though the focus of that reform was the Caribbean, some mainland colonial officials and Creole entrepreneurs sought to expand the African enslaved labor force and economic activities related to slavery. For example, in Venezuela slave imports destined to work in cacao plantations increased from about six hundred per year during the first half of the century to one thousand a year between 1774 and 1807. The cacao plantations were located in Cumaná, Valencia, Caracas, and Maracaibo as well as other Andean areas of Venezuela. In Peru, sugar plantations gave way to a powerful slave-owning class on the northern coast and the population of slaves increased around 25 percent between 1795 and 1826. Similarly, for slave and mine owners in New Granada's southwestern province of Popayán, even up to the 19th century during the republican period, slaves were the core population upon which their fortunes were founded.¹³

Proportionally, the weight of the slave economies should be measured in relation to their regional economic importance. As can be seen in table 1, in places like Peru, Paraguay, Quito (Ecuador), or Mexico, indigenous people were most of the population and so was their economic impact. Even if in lower numbers than in the plantations across the Caribbean or in Brazil, by 1800 slaves formed a significant, major part of the workforce in the Spanish American mainland. In urban areas such as Buenos Aires or Lima, aside from domestic service, the economy of "hiring out" continued to create a widespread dependence on the enslaved. In Buenos Aires slaves became central to manufacture. And in the rural areas like Mendoza they were involved in agriculture (in wine production, harvesting fruits, and to a lesser extent wheat for Potosí and the fast-growing populations of Buenos Aires and Montevideo) and in the cattle economy. As the process of abolition in Río de la Plata in fact demonstrates, in the 19th century slavery had relevance and even gained new force—thus the ubiquitous difficulty of dismantling it.¹⁴

Table 1. Population c. 1800

Country	Free Blacks	Slaves	Subtotal	Whites	Mestizos	Indians	Total
Brazil	587,000	718,000	1,305,500	576,000		61,000	1,942,000
	30%	37%	67%	30%		3%	100%
Mexico	625,000	10,000	635,000	1,107,000	704,000	3,676,000	6,122,000
	10%	1%	10%	18%	12%	60%	100%
Venezuela	440,000	112,000	552,000	185,000		161,000	898,000
	49%	12%	61%	21%		18%	100%
Cuba	114,000	212,000	326,000	274,000			600,000
	19%	35%	54%	46%			100%
Colombia	245,000	61,000	306,000	203,000	122,000	156,000	787,000
	31%	8%	39%	26%	16%	20%	100%
Puerto Rico	65,000	25,000	90,000	72,000			162,000
	40%	15%	56%	44%			100%
Peru	41,000	40,000	81,000	136,000	244,000	771,000	1,232,000
	3%	3%	6%	11%	20%	63%	100%
Argentina			69,000	70,000	6,000	42,000	187,000

Country	Free Blacks	Slaves	Subtotal	Whites	Mestizos	Indians	Total
			37%	37%	3%	23%	100%
Santo Domingo	38,000	30,000	68,000	35,000			103,000
	37%	29%	66%	34%			100%
Panama	37,000	4,000	41,000	9,000	12,000		62,000
	60%	6%	66%	15%	19%		100%
Ecuador	28,000	5,000	33,000	108,000	288,000		429,000
	7%	1%	8%	25%	67%		100%
Chile			31,000	281,000	34,000	37,000	383,000
			8%	73%	9%	10%	100%
Paraguay	7,000	4,000	11,000	56,000	30,000		97,000
	7%	4%	11%	58%	31%		100%
Costa Rica			9,000	5,000	30,000	11,000	55,000
			16%	9%	55%	20%	100%
Uruguay			7,000	23,000			30,000
			23%	77%			100%

Source: Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 41.

Transformations to sovereignty with decolonization processes in the French Caribbean and along the hemisphere in the British and Iberian Americas went hand in hand with redefinitions of slavery, property, and political belonging. Though the experiences were markedly different in the varied contexts—mainly North America, the Caribbean, and mainland Spanish America and Brazil—and within each of these, the revolutionary era gave way to radical changes in slavery that resulted either in its redefinition or destruction. Specifically, the attack by some transnational classes on slavery that intensified in certain places was actually paired with the growth of slavery in different areas and the resilience of other transnational classes who defended slavery and adapted it to the changing discourses and institutions. This is important because one of the leading agents of proslavery activism in the Atlantic world was the Spanish Empire, building upon its major investment on slavery and the plantation economies of the Caribbean ongoing since the late 18th century. While the Haitian Revolution was a watershed in the history of Atlantic antislavery, inspiring ever greater fears and doubts among the slaveholding classes about the dangers of African and Afro-descendant populations—and of the viability of slavery in the Americas—Creole and colonial elites in the Spanish colony of Cuba bet on its profitability.¹⁵ In contrast, after the loss of their North American possessions, British agents who debated the negative prospects of slavery in their empire embarked instead on the project to put a halt on the slave trade, mainly seeking to curb the dangers of growing African populations in the Caribbean.

The last two decades of the 18th century and first decade of the 19th century were crucial for the consolidation of antislavery movements in the Atlantic world. In the United States, Britain, and France, critiques of slavery were founded in humanitarian, economic, and imperial political visions. In Massachusetts, antislavery debates gave shape to constitutional arrangements to gradually abolish slavery.¹⁶ During the most radical phases of negotiation between France and Saint Domingue, in 1801 France decreed the emancipation of all slaves in its Caribbean territories. And though the French colonial emancipation was revoked in 1802, in 1804 the Haitian republic freed all slaves on the island. British measures to abolish the slave trade beginning in 1807 also marked a turning point in the Atlantic struggle against slavery.¹⁷

Like was seen in the broader Atlantic revolutionary context, in Spanish America anticolonialism became tied to antislavery through the strategic need to gain supporters and enlarge armies during rebellions and revolutionary wars. One early expression of this crucial phenomenon was the Andean Revolution in Peru between 1780 and 1782. As leader of the movement in Cusco in 1780, Tupac Amaru published a decree in which he called upon slaves to join his army, offering to free them. He was very clear about the goal of hurting his enemies, showing that slavery was extremely significant economically and a symbol of power and status in the Andean colonial societies.¹⁸

Meanwhile, 18th-century political tensions in the Spanish imperial framework around labor included the debates about the conditions of Indian labor, particularly the *mita*, that had taken place from the 18th century and then also in Cádiz. The debates contemplated making the indigenous populations more central to the Spanish economy as workers and consumers. In Cádiz, moreover, Indians were included as citizens in the new imperial nation. The significant

presence of Indians across the Spanish American mainland, therefore, was a crucial consideration when envisioning postemancipation societies. Liberal measures from Cádiz (and this would continue to shape national politics across the Spanish Americas up to the radical liberal reforms of the 1850s) considered that Indians as much as people of African descent were fundamental objects of legislative reform aiming to create liberal economies in relation to labor, land, and property.¹⁹

In the 18th century Spanish reformers also debated the benefits of African slavery for the monarchy.²⁰ While the final decision was to open the trade and invest heavily on slavery to promote the Caribbean plantations, there were voices that highlighted the specificity of the population across the Spanish mainland to argue for considering indigenous people as the best and largest group upon which to base the Spanish colonial economy. These imperial debates about expanding slavery in Spain, however, did not always reflect the perception of slave owners in the Americas. For slave owners in places like Caracas or Popayán, the importance of the enslaved was unquestionable. It was partly so because of the type of economic projects that slave labor enabled but, also, because slaves represented a significant part of these colonial elites' property and were the basis for their social standing.

At the same time, a sort of "judicial abolitionism" emerged. It came from judicial practice and theological debates in Spanish America considering slavery as an institution of Positive Law rather than Natural Law (rejection of ideas of natural slaves a-la Aristotle as a result of the debate about indigenous slavery), and the actions of slaves and (mostly White) men of letters to liberate enslaved men and women.²¹

Dimensions of Antislavery in Mainland Spanish America up to 1820

The Spanish American abolitions were complex, multisided processes that involved a multiplicity of social forces and factors linked to the political economy of independence. At least two dimensions of the long- and short-term history of slavery and antislavery in Spanish America constitute relevant precedents. A long-term one is the activism of free and enslaved Afro-descendant individuals and communities. As discussed earlier, everywhere, from Río de la Plata to Chile and Mexico, through institutional and insurrectional means enslaved and free Afro-descendants eroded the power of slaveholders. The visible expansion of these populations illustrated the instability of slavery as an economic and social system of racial domination. A related precedent that laid the ground for the abolition of slavery was the growth of communities of free people of mixed descent, who increased the labor force by becoming wage laborers. The second dimension of slavery's crisis was materialized in the emerging independent states' promulgation of laws and decrees to reform or abolish slavery in Spanish America, a process that needs to be framed and understood simultaneously in the Atlantic revolutionary context and in the local emergence of republican experiments across the mainland.

Politics of People of African Descent

The growth of an alternative labor force, resulting from the agency of Afro-descendants in establishing significant populations of free people, had implications for the end of slavery. This demographic change should be seen in relation to the process of racial mixture that began in the Spanish American mainland since the 16th century. Around 1600, for example, on the coastal settlements between Venezuela and Panama Africans and people of African descent were as much as 75 percent of the entire population, more than anywhere else in the Spanish Americas at the time. By the 19th century, free people of color (including mestizos and mulatos) were majorities in places such as Venezuela or Panama, also representing important parts of the population in Mexico, New Granada, Ecuador, and Río de la Plata. Though socially and politically marginalized by Spanish laws, their economic impact was clear. Everywhere they owned rural and semirural properties and were involved in all sectors of the economy, sometimes playing a big role in the contraband economies that proliferated along the coasts and in ports.²²

Mixed populations, including people of indigenous and African descent called mestizos, mulatos, or zambos, developed economies that, although initially were illegal, became central to the colonial and later republican economies. This is the case in Panama, where free Black populations were central to commercial life between the 16th and 19th centuries. In the llanos or plains between New Granada and Venezuela cattle-raising was an economic strategy for mixed populations, including some descendants of runaway slaves who formed communities and became economically powerful.²³

The activism of free Afro-descendants undoubtedly destabilized the institution of slavery. Aside from creating a consciousness among the enslaved that they could overcome their status, it enhanced the awareness of vulnerability among slave owners. Meanwhile, slave rebellions had, in most cases, connections to knowledge of political events at a larger imperial scale and could be articulated to local struggles to gain legal freedom for communities of slaves. For example, in 1781 during the “Comunero” Rebellion in New Granada, slaves in Antioquia joined the insurgency with a proposal based on their situation and their specific vision of freedom: They were willing to pay tribute (the head tax that Indians paid to the Crown) if they were recognized as free vassals. And this suggests that for the enslaved freedom implied a political status in which rights were granted in exchange for fiscal duties. In the Caribbean also, for example, in Venezuela following the Haitian Revolution, populations of enslaved and free Afro-descendants were central to plots and rebellions that deeply destabilized the Spanish slavery regime.²⁴ From Mexico to Montevideo, these free Black and mixed ancestry men were already involved in armed struggles through militia service (not regular army), which preceded and shaped the process of antislavery and militarization that began during independence.²⁵

Atlantic Processes

The Atlantic context and processes are crucially relevant for understanding antislavery in the Spanish American republics. The 18th century and early 19th saw the rise of critiques of slavery in the Spanish Atlantic among both elites and the populations of African descent. As part of the Age

of Revolutions in the Iberian Atlantic, revolution and antislavery were interconnected during the monarchical crisis in Spain and in the context of the independence wars in the Spanish American Main. Moreover, the Spanish American abolition processes ignited during the independence wars were also deeply connected to developments in the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions and British antislavery diplomacy.

After Napoleon's invasion of the Peninsula during the Cortes of Cádiz when Spanish and Spanish American liberals drafted a constitution for the empire, the subject of slavery had a central place. Even if Spanish slavery continued to grow stronger after Spain instituted the liberal Cádiz constitution, those discussions are relevant as precedents to the way in which the revolutionaries in Spanish America assumed the project of abolishing slavery. Furthermore, when grounding the discussions and decisions about the future of slavery in the Spanish American mainland social contexts, as the population numbers in table 2 also make evident, the prevalence of free people of African descent—in places like Venezuela, Panama, and New Granada (all of which made up the first Republic of Colombia created in 1821)—had a truly significant weight in the politics of Spanish Americans both in the Cádiz Cortes and in the incipient independence movements that began to take shape during the 1810s all across the continent.²⁶

Table 2. Abolition of African Slave Trade and Slavery (1810–1888)

Country	Slavery		
	Slave trade	Free Womb Law	Final abolition
Dominican Republic	1822		1822
Chile	1811	1811	1823
Central America	1824		1824
Mexico	1824		1837 ²⁷
Uruguay	1825 (1838)	1825	1842
Ecuador	1821	1821	1851
Colombia	1821	1821	1852
Argentina	1813 (1838)	1813	1853
Peru	1821	1821	1854
Venezuela	1821	1821	1854
Bolivia	1840	1831	1861
Paraguay	1842	1842	1869

Slavery			
Country	Slave trade	Free Womb Law	Final abolition
Puerto Rico	1820, 1835 (1842)	1870	1873
Cuba	1820, 1835 (1866)	1870	1886
Brazil	1830, 1850 (1852)	1871	1888

Source: Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 57.

The legal experiments with abolition linked to the independence wars beginning in 1810 in Chile, Antioquia, Caracas, and Buenos Aires represent the starting point of the process of dismantling slavery in the Spanish American mainland. In Mexico, as an interesting case, Father Hidalgo's 1810 movement promoted antislavery. Later, during the rule of Cádiz, when indigenous people claimed their right to citizenship, they used the language of antislavery to expose abuses to their communities. Thus, not only elite anticolonialism or liberalism were linked to the understanding that slavery should be abolished. The interpretation that indigenous people in Mexico had of the legal and political changes of the early 19th century implied that they understood the symbolic power of antislavery for struggles for rights and justice.²⁸

In another example, in 1810 the first rebels of Buenos Aires denounced slavery and racial differentiation as irrational. These legal experiments were catalyzed in the context of military mobilization. At this point, Black activism expanded and intersected with the elite visions and their measures for republican-building. In Antioquia and Venezuela, especially, free-Black populations had clear political impact by getting involved in the military dynamics unfolding during the wars for independence. As a matter of expediency, the practical needs of waging a bloody war led the contending sides—insurgents and royalists—to draw from, and make alliances with, all sectors of society to expand their armies. Royalists and insurgents recruited free Blacks and also offered freedom to slaves who joined their armies. And though those individual rewards did not lead to total abolition or general emancipation anywhere in Spanish America, politically they were very significant events that empowered enslaved people. Decrees by Simón Bolívar in Colombia and José de San Martín in Peru that offered to free slaves who mobilized were watersheds in the history of both republics. Even if those individual offers of freedom in exchange for military service did not translate into official decisions to abolish slavery, the entrance of slaves into the armies in favor of independence was a factor that destabilized social hierarchies.

In this way, the Spanish American republics were framed by, and helped frame, Atlantic processes.²⁹ Most significantly, like in Haiti, abolition in the Spanish American mainland was borne out of the revolutionary wars and Spanish American republicanism was inseparable from an abolitionist project. But it was a different type of antislavery republicanism given that, while in Haiti full emancipation was the result of the revolution, almost everywhere across the Spanish American mainland territory abolition was conceived as a gradual project. More similar to what had been the precursor experiments with gradual abolition in the US northern states of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, the laws in the republics of Chile, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru were meant to dismantle the institution in a way that would balance the interests of the slaveholding class with the humanitarian goals of the states, also inspired by the belief that people of African descent needed to be progressively integrated into their societies as free laborers and citizens. When understood from the perspective of 18th- and 19th-century debates about equality, abolition also had an inspirational value for Spanish American Creole elites whose goals were to establish “modern” societies to guarantee development, progress, and economic growth.

Antislavery and Republicanism

As a consequence of the crisis of sovereignty in the Spanish monarchy during the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, after 1808 cities all across mainland Spanish America formed *juntas* that radicalized and developed the first experiments creating independent republics. It is evident that antislavery was a major political tool for the emergent republics in their strategic efforts to break away from Spain. In most cases, between 1810 and 1814 the *juntas* prohibited the slave trade and declared laws of Free Womb, conducive to the abolition of slavery. Examples are the cases of Buenos Aires, Chile, Caracas, Antioquia, and Cartagena. Though Cartagena and Caracas both were on the Caribbean coast of South America, and therefore were closely connected, one interesting contrast between them is that Caracas' economy was tied to slavery while Cartagena, by the 19th century, was less reliant on slave labor. Yet in both cities there was a majority of free people of African descent, and it is likely that this was a factor that determined the early appearance of abolition projects in each city. If Caracas and Antioquia are compared, greater similarities are found because they both had a structural relationship to slavery, yet this fact makes it more interesting that they chose to make antislavery a priority of their new republics. In Antioquia, in 1814 Juan del Corral adopted a project for the abolition of slavery drafted by Félix José de Restrepo. In his discourse, del Corral made explicit mention of the Chilean precedent. This suggests that information traveled across the mainland and was fundamental for building a transnational social network in favor of abolition. In an important way, Chile stands as an exception in the Spanish South America because, aside from its early abolitionist legislation, it was the first republic to abolish slavery entirely in 1823. Perhaps this was because African slavery became less relevant as Creoles turned more decisively to rely on the unfree labor of indigenous people. Chile and Cartagena were similar in the sense that a decline in African slavery preceded abolition, while, for example, Antioquia was very different to both of these cases because gold mining there still relied largely on enslaved populations. In any case, from the perspective of the enslaved, everywhere these similar legislations became political tools. For example, the measures taken by the Chilean government in 1811 soon impacted slaves in Cuyo (Río de la Plata), where a group of enslaved men voluntarily offered to mobilize militarily for the independence cause in exchange for their freedom.³⁰

Almost everywhere in the Spanish Main the new republics abolished slavery in a gradual fashion. Though the history of the abolition of the slave trade was not the same as (and should not be equated to) the history of the abolition of slavery, in the Spanish American republics the abolition of the slave trade became a central element of the gradual abolition policy, in combination with the law of Free Womb and the establishment of manumission *juntas* that would slowly emancipate limited numbers of slaves on account of the state's finances. Abolishing slavery gradually, instead of by emancipating all slaves at once, was justified as necessary to embark on establishing institutions that could assume the costs and processes of manumission, as well as preventing social disorders and allowing the control of the labor force. The second and third measures of gradual abolition, the abolition of the slave trade and the Free Womb law, in conjunction with the manumission of slaves, were to guarantee that, in the course of two or three decades, slavery would be progressively extinguished.

The terms according to which the free children born from enslaved mothers (called *libertos* or *manumisos*) would be cared for, their obligations to their mother's master, and their rights were central points of analysis and deliberation in the national Congresses, especially after the initial laws were written into the republican constitutions.³¹ Among legislators prevailed different approaches to the process whereby slaves would be freed and the conditions that would regulate their social and economic integration. The libertos or manumisos who received freedom as part of these abolitionist measures were required to live in the house of the owner of the mother until they married or reached the age of majority. These conditions varied according to place and so did their enforcement. Moreover, though nominally free, libertos could be bought and sold. And in some places like Argentina and Colombia, legislation established the goal of providing them with land grants so they could become productive citizens. Other conditions concerned the candidates for manumission. For example, in Chile in 1823 the legal abolition of African slavery limited emancipation to slaves who could prove that they had an honest occupation. In Colombia the law instructed that older slaves would be selected to be freed.³²

In all regions of the Spanish Main each of the points generated controversy and resistance. Over time, responding to the slaveholding classes' activism, changes in legislation incorporated slave owners' interests. Generally, though liberalism justified the abolition of slavery morally and economically, there was one major contradiction that pragmatically complicated the liberation of slaves in the Spanish American republics: the liberal enshrining of property rights.³³

Abolition was a tool of state formation at various levels: the legitimization of the republican discourse (among the enslaved and internationally), the creation and institutionalization of mechanisms to build and shape government across the territory at the local level, and a means to establish control over regional elites. The tripartite process that made up the project of gradual abolition shared a regional logic: abolition was grounded on the emergent Spanish American states' diplomatic (external) and national (internal) challenges. That is, during the wars of independence, slavery came under attack as a result of the intersection of international interests and diplomatic factors, the expedient negotiation with enslaved people who entered the contending armies, and the ideological weight of economic liberalism as a source of state-making in the Atlantic world.³⁴

Abolition and State Formation

In the context of the foundation of the Spanish American mainland republics, from Venezuela to Argentina, the question of slavery's abolition cut across constitutional design. For this reason, the decade of the 1820s was a moment when the foundations of the process of abolition were laid in the gradualist laws, intimately linked to the liberal vision of the state and rights. As liberal ideas were shaping the ideologies and institutional foundations of the Spanish American mainland republics, so were the social dynamics that made the road to abolition a contested issue. If liberalism was from the beginning of the independence experiments inseparable from the republican state form, the principles of freedom and equality that inspired Creoles had a variety of meanings across the Spanish American mainland societies. From the start, independence, revolution, and republicanism had an emancipatory potential and the objects of such an

emancipation process were no other than indigenous people and the enslaved. As subjects, however, the people of African and indigenous descent had their own conception of freedom that shaped the historical process linking abolition and independence.

Additionally, in all the Latin American republics during the early 19th century, the abolition of slavery hinged upon, and was a mechanism of, state formation. For that reason, the project was vulnerable to the same challenges that creating republican states represented, including the establishment of bureaucracies to put it in practice. For example, within the first Republic of Colombia, throughout the decade of 1820, the system of collection for funds to manumit slaves was the object of many critiques from state officials (some of them slave owners) who sought to sabotage manumission. This problem, in any case, authentically reflected the lack of clarity on the different roles that were being created and a lack of accountability that weakened abolition for years.³⁵

The abolition of slavery, seen in relation to liberalism, was part of the economic project of independence. In particular, economic expansion in production and trade was a project that stood upon liberal principles. The new political economy linked concepts of freedom and equality to the emerging categories of citizenship with the consequence that the fiscal, landholding, property, and labor arrangements all were reinvented as a corollary of abolition. At the same time, one element of liberalism that supported the slaveholding elites' interests since the creation of the liberal republics was the essential right to property, along with the idea of nonintervention of the state in economic activities. In fact, property ownership was a defining factor for the practice and institutions of suffrage.³⁶

This tension is best understood when seen in the broader Atlantic context in which other cases mirrored the situation in the Spanish mainland republics. The heated debates about the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery in Spain, Britain, France, and the United States, the slow development of abolitionist measures in all and each of these imperial contexts, and the racist paradigms that underlaid measures to control labor and exclude people of African descent from citizenship characteristic of postemancipation societies reflect this widespread phenomenon. To see the process of abolition's complexity in its entirety, it is even more important to consider the contradictions of the 19th century in light of the expansion of slavery in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba at the same time that abolitionism expanded in the British world, parts of the United States, and the Spanish American republics.³⁷ At this time, Spanish American proslavery elites crushed by civil war and by the fracturing of the colonial protections to trade within colonies (which benefited elites from the trade between colonies and with the metropolis), saw Cuba, Brazil, and the United States as the beacons of economic progress, as societies with a strong and stable financial sector, with modern material infrastructure (e.g., trains), and with slavery.³⁸

The 1830s in the Spanish American mainland were particularly illustrative of this history. Given that abolition was part of the process of state formation, it became one of the factors that sparked regional disputes, generating conflicts between the abolitionist elites and those who sought to defend slaveholding interests in the republican contexts. The latter upheld the argument that the state should protect their right to property, claiming, in some cases, that those rights had been legitimately inherited from the Spanish state where the institution of slavery had originated. In

Argentina, for example, while the state codified the principle of attacking slave traders, particularly those arriving in Brazil, between 1825 and 1828 the captives that were captured by privateers at sea ended up in state systems of *tutela* that translated into a life of unfree labor.³⁹

During the 1840s when the elites who had interests linked to slavery held the power to control state institutions, they had the chance to change the legislation. Through activism in congress, in places like New Granada and Peru, for example, the slave trade prohibition was reversed in the interest of slave owners, their capital, and economic ventures. The goal of the slave owners in New Granada who sold their slaves to Peruvian *haciendados* was to regain the capital that they would lose under the manumission laws, while, in Peru, the *haciendados* who purchased the slaves were seeking to expand their labor force to work on the sugar plantations. That is, the economic goals of the elites in the Pacific region of South America were articulated with legal strategies within their republics and they had a transnational dimension. The same can be said of the moment when, right before the final abolition of slavery in the Republic of New Granada, slave owners from the Pacific region of Popayán sold their slaves to the Panama Railroad Company owned and run by entrepreneurs from the United States.⁴⁰

In the 1850s liberal governments brought radical changes that went along with the processes happening in other parts of the Atlantic world, especially Europe. The social and political reforms were understood to be fundamentally linked to the end of the institution of slavery. Equally important, indigenous people, their land, and their labor were objects of republican legislation that sought to either erase or adapt their social character—until then based on the principle of difference—in favor of new visions of equality and new goals regarding economic productivity. At the center of such reformist thinking was the category of “Indian” that Creole liberalism sought to discard as a perilous legacy of Spanish colonialism. Legislation was put in service of a project of social engineering that saw the abolition of the fiscal and social position of “indio” as a prerequisite for making more efficient use of land and to redirect indigenous people as a labor force to the new economic projects of expanding regional economies. At the same time, the expansion of missions into frontier areas was a measure that sought to incorporate the indigenous people into a productive labor force that would benefit state-economic objectives. Within this scheme, where Indians lived in communities, liquidating *resguardos* or common lands was a priority. The measure would have the effect of dissolving the social ties that differentiated indigenous people from other citizens and disarticulate the political hierarchies that conceded Indian elites a measure of power and authority by situating them outside of the republican institutions.

Even though abolition was foundational to republicanism in the Spanish American mainland, other forms of forced labor emerged at the same time, as corollaries of state’s investment in the growth of internal and external markets. Peru is an important example, where beginning in 1849 the government promoted the importation of Chinese indentured workers. The same *haciendados*, who had been able to prolong slave labor and import slaves from New Granada in the same decade, were involved in the trade of the so-called *coolies*. These workers suffered terrible abuses, which revealed that even after African slavery was abolished, the expansion of institutions of labor control and criminalization of laboring populations were compatible with the principles of liberalism and republicanism that across Spanish American mainland were hegemonic in the 19th

century. It is also a phenomenon that illustrates the deepening links of the Spanish American republics with the global economic processes that were founded on the proliferation of unfree labor practices, as well as the parallels with the economies of the so-called “second slavery” societies in the Americas.⁴¹

The transition to independence framed the construction of republican states everywhere in the Spanish American mainland, linking it to the abolition of slavery. Although the particular social and geographic characteristics of each region in the Spanish Main created differences in the political processes leading to abolition, almost everywhere the final abolitions consolidated in the middle of the 19th century as part of the rise of liberal governments. Those links were at the same time economic and political and can only be understood in an Atlantic context and in relation to the forms of free and unfree labor that preceded and resulted from abolition in this wide region.

Discussion of the Literature

The abolition of slavery in the Spanish American mainland—and in the Spanish Empire more broadly—has not been explored in depth, and it is only recently that studies are incorporating it to narratives of abolition in the Atlantic world. Comparatively with the historiography about British abolition and the later 19th-century abolitions in Cuba and Brazil, abolition in the Spanish American mainland is an exploratory and fragmented body of work. This is in part because, in terms of the comparative study of slavery, the dominant narrative portrays slavery in the Spanish American mainland as marginal since it does not fit the model of the massive and extraordinarily productive plantation economies of the 19th century in Cuba, Brazil, and the United States. Even if quantitatively there are obvious differences between those cases and the economies of the Spanish Main, slavery did not have irrelevant dimensions there; in some places it was central to the regional economies and everywhere it was constitutive of the social and political worlds that shaped the republics founded there. Moreover, the contemporary demographic presence of Afro-descendants in Spanish America is a crucial element linked to the history of slavery and underlies the relevance of the study of its trajectory.⁴²

Studies of abolition are fragmented along national lines because of the links between abolition and postindependence state formation explored in this article. A regional perspective on Latin America is the work of Hebe Clementi, who established two long-lasting arguments that historians are revising: (a) the influence of Great Britain and its “humanitarian creed” in the Spanish American abolitions, and (b) the articulation of abolition to the process of independence as a result of slavery’s weak presence in the region.⁴³ Yet already in Clementi’s pioneering work it is evident that the diplomatic question was much more complex than the single cause of British pressure. In northern South America, for example, the importance of Haiti in connection to Simón Bolívar’s liberating campaign—Bolívar being a figure that had a crucial impact on the abolitionist process in Gran Colombia—is unquestionable. This has been the object of multiple recent works.⁴⁴

The theme of Haiti's connection to mainland Spanish American abolition is not only relevant in connection to elite strategies and decisions. Haiti was a symbol of freedom and inspired Black political action across the continent. Thus, methodologically, scholars have taken up the study of slave rebellions and the end of slavery and, conversely, of the conservative reactions that slave owners had to the Haitian Revolution as becoming more oppressive. Even then the theme of fear has also been linked to the rise of antislavery ideas and measures, especially with regard to the abolition of the slave trade both in the Spanish American republics and in Britain.⁴⁵

In parallel with the historiography of the Haitian experience, the study of Spanish American independence has become object of multiple studies about the mobilization of free and enslaved people of African descent as soldiers during the war. These studies have demonstrated that slavery and abolition were essentially political themes and that the activism of people of African descent who joined the armies—royalist and insurgent—made the military dimension a crucial political strategy individually and collectively in this period.⁴⁶ This is a rich area of work that ideally will be expanding into the study of Latin American independence itself. In other words, it would be welcome that the study of independence strengthens its dialogue with the study of slavery and abolition in the 19th century. The potential here lies in articulating the important work on citizenship and republicanism in the region with the question of race and labor. With all the sophisticated advancement that the field has accomplished in the last decades, its focus on the political and legal aspects has left aside the important economic dimension of abolition that still needs to be integrated to fully account for the history of labor in the Spanish American mainland.⁴⁷

While the question of the antecedents to abolition is still a matter of inquiry, it is important to mention the lines of research that contribute to tying different social aspects and political processes together with great depth. Under the assumption of the “absence” of antislavery and abolitionism in the Spanish Empire, most of the works that study the process were centered on the 19th century and particularly the independence wars. Yet the influential works of Christopher Schmidt Nowara and Josep Fradera convincingly argue that when decentered from the 19th century, the history of antislavery in the Hispanic world reveals interesting elements that need to be considered. For example, if the histories of labor and of slavery in Spanish America begin with the articulation of native Americans into the project of colonial extraction, so does antislavery thought in the Spanish Atlantic. The debates that defined the legitimate treatment of native Americans from the perspective of the Spanish monarchy—most famously between Sepúlveda and de las Casas—were one side of the same coin with the legal justification for the enslavement of Africans. And though as de las Casas illustrates the Church’s role in slavery and antislavery was uneven or, in other words, contradictory, in theological debates a source on the critique of slavery in the Spanish world can also be found.⁴⁸

Equally significant, the school of legal history that has studied (and is still studying) the enslaved populations’ interaction with the law and legal representatives has shown slaves’ ongoing strategies to break away from servitude or to question it, eroding slavery as an institution throughout Spanish America. The thought of jurists who studied and applied the law when defending slaves in court, especially in cases where they sought their freedom, are evidence of

how the enslaved left their mark on local political dynamics and Spanish American judicial philosophy. And it is here that these studies intersect with the question of the depth of thought and activism across the region in which slavery was critiqued.⁴⁹

As a complement to studies about slave insurrections, the theme of the law continues to be very productive. Scholars are linking the slaves' tradition of using the courts in the colonial context with their continued understanding that they had rights in the republics in formation. At the same time, the study of the law, and the manumission laws and laws of citizenship more broadly, are important for explaining the ways in which slavery transformed into other forms of unfree labor, how new freed peoples' freedom was curtailed, how ex-slave owners were able to violate the law with impunity, and how states created legislation that allowed them to benefit private interests that were embedded in exploitative strategies vis-à-vis the populations of African descent.⁵⁰

At the same time that the field of studies about abolition in Latin America is seeing increased scholarly production in the different countries (especially Argentina, Uruguay, and Colombia), there is a growing interest in thinking about transnational processes. This has been clear in the proposal by Celso Castilho and Marcela Echeverri in the edited issue of *Historia Mexicana* as well as the work of Magdalena Candioti about South America. Yet there are other important strands of research in the international front emerging in works that analyze the diplomatic implications of slavery's abolition and include the study of frontiers in connection to the migration of runaways.⁵¹ Simultaneously, the historiography on the "second slavery" that has productively explored the mechanisms whereby slavery expanded in the 19th century in spite of the rise of abolitionism and liberalism has not been in dialogue with the history of slavery and antislavery in the Spanish American republics. This is likely going to change and show why slavery's slow decline in Spanish South America should be viewed in connection with its expansion in the United States, the Spanish Caribbean, and Brazil.⁵²

Primary Sources

Essential archives for diplomatic records are Archivo General de Indias and The British National Archives. For research on the individual republican abolition processes, see administrative and judicial records, newspapers, and official and private correspondence. Published primary sources can be found in:

Biblioteca Nacional <https://catalogo.bn.gov.ar/F/UJGPC7L2QXEUXX3V1RLQ8YNTRSHKAYY1UB7HVQREEJCT6DX6PK-01902?func=find-c%26ccl_term=%28+WRD+%3D+%28+alldocuments+%29+and+%28+WFM+%3D+%28+CR+%29+%29+and+%28+WFT+%3D+%28+VIEW+%29+%29>

Argentina, on newspapers as sources on abolition.

Triana y Antorveza, Humberto. *Léxico documentado para la historia del negro en América, siglos XV-XIX*. 9 vols. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 2001.

Salmoral, Manuel Lucena. *Códigos negros de la América Española*. Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá, 1996.

Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela (1800-1830). Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1964.

Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela (1829–1860). Vol. 1, Enajenación y arrendamiento de tierras baldías. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1971.

Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela (1822–1860). Vol. 2, Mano de Obra: Opinión. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1979.

The Free Womb Project <<https://thefreewombproject.com/>>

Posada, Eduardo, and Carlos Restrepo Canal. *La esclavitud en Colombia, y leyes de manumisión.* Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1935.

See also the Slave Trade Database <<https://www.slavevoyages.org/>>, including data for the intra-American trade.

The Colombian National Archive <<https://www.archivogeneral.gov.co/consulte/fondos-documentales>> has a searchable database of digitized collections.

Archivo General de la Nación, Colombia, Fondo Negros y Esclavos <<https://www.archivogeneral.gov.co/consulte/negros-y-esclavos>>, and the documents here <<http://consulta.archivogeneral.gov.co/ConsultaWeb/elemento-del-cuadro.jsp%3Fid=9885695%26total=10%26ini=1%26fin=10>>.

Universidad de la República, Uruguay <<https://anaforas.fic.edu.uy/jspui/handle/123456789/13>>, on newspapers as sources on abolition.

Further Reading

Aguirre, Carlos. *Agentes de su propia libertad: Los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821–1854.* Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993.

Alberto, Paulina. “*Liberta by Trade: Negotiating the Terms of Unfree Labor in Gradual Abolition Buenos Aires (1820s–30s).*” *Journal of Social History* 52, no. 3 (2019): 619–651.

Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Barragán, Rossana. “Dynamics of Continuity and Change: Shifts in Labour Relations in the Potosí Mines (1680–1812).” *International Review of Social History* 61, no. S24 (2016): 93–114.

Barragan, Yesenia. *Freedom’s Captives: Slavery and Gradual Emancipation on the Colombian Black Pacific.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Baumgartner, Alice. *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War.* New York: Basic Books, 2020.

Bierck, Harold A., Jr. “The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia.” *Hispanic Historical American Review* 33, no. 3 (1953): 365–386.

Blanchard, Peter. *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru.* Wilmington, DE: S.R. Books, 1992.

Blanchard, Peter. *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America*. Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2008.

Borucki, Alex. "The 'African Colonists' of Montevideo: New Light on the Illegal Slave Trade to Rio de Janeiro and the Río de la Plata (1830–1842)." *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 427–444.

Borucki, Alex, Karla Chagas, and Natalia Stalla. *Esclavitud y trabajo: Un estudio sobre los afrodescendientes en la frontera uruguaya (1835–1855)*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Pulmón Ediciones, 2004.

Bryant, Sherwin, Rachel Sarah O'Toole, and Ben Vinson III, eds. *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.

Candioti, Magdalena. "Regulando el fin de la esclavitud: Diálogos, innovaciones y disputas jurídicas en las nuevas repúblicas sudamericanas, 1810–1830." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 52, no. 1 (2015): 149–171.

Candioti, Magdalena. "Free Womb Law, Legal Asynchronies, and Migrations: Suing for an Enslaved Woman's Child in Nineteenth-Century Río De La Plata." *The Americas* 77, no. 1 (2020): 73–99.

Candioti, Magdalena. *Una historia de la emancipación negra: Esclavitud y abolición en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2021.

Castilho, Celso. "La cabaña del Tío Tom (Uncle Tom's Cabin), la esclavitud atlántica y la racialización de la esfera pública en la ciudad de México de mediados del siglo XIX." *Historia Mexicana* 69, no. 2 (2019): 789–835.

Castilho, Celso, and Marcela Echeverri. "Ecos atlánticos de las aboliciones hispanoamericanas." *Historia Mexicana* 69, no. 2 (2019): 613–626.

Clementi, Hebe. *La abolición de la esclavitud en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial La Pleyade, 1974.

Cruz, Feliú. *La abolición de la esclavitud en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1973.

Delgadillo, Jorge. "La esclavitud, la abolición y los afrodescendientes: Memoria histórica y construcción de identidades en la prensa mexicana, 1840–1860." *Historia Mexicana* 69, no. 2 (2019): 743–788.

Echeverri, Marcela. *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780–1825*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Echeverri, Marcela. "Slavery in Mainland Spanish America in the Age of the Second Slavery." In *Atlantic Transformations: Empire, Politics, and Slavery during the Nineteenth Century*. Edited by Dale Tomich, 19–44. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2020.

Ferrer, Ada. *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Fischer, Sibylle. "Bolívar in Haiti: Republicanism in the Revolutionary Atlantic." In *Haiti and the Americas*. Edited by Carla Calarge, Raphael Dalleo, Luis Duno-Gottberg, and Clevis Headley, 25–53. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013.

Fradera, Josep, and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, eds. *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire*. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

Gudmison, Lowell, and Justin Wolfe, eds. *Blacks and Blackness in Central America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Helg, Aline. *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Helg, Aline. *Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Hünefeldt, Christine. *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves, 1800–1854*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

King, James F. "The Latin-American Republics and the Suppression of the Slave Trade." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (1944): 387–411.

Lombardi, John. *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela, 1820–1854*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1971.

Mallo, Silvia, and Ignacio Telesca, eds. "Negros de la Patria": *Los afrodescendientes en las luchas por la independencia en el antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires: SB, 2010.

McGraw, Jason. "Spectacles of Freedom: Public Manumissions, Political Rhetoric, and Citizen Mobilisation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Colombia." *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 2 (2011): 269–288.

Premo, Bianca. *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Rueda, Rocío. *De esclavizados a comuneros: Construcción de la etnicidad negra en Esmeraldas, siglos XVIII–XIX*. Quito, Ecuador: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2019.

Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. *Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition in Latin America and the Atlantic World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.

Soriano, Cristina. *Tides of Revolution: Information, Insurgencies, and the Crisis of Colonial Rule in Venezuela*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018.

Washbrook, Sarah. "Independence for Those without Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Mérida, Venezuela, 1810–1854." *Slavery & Abolition* 39, no. 4 (2018): 708–730.

Notes

1. The recent literature on Latin America in the Age of Revolution includes: Heraclio Bonilla, ed., *Indios, negros y mestizos en la independencia* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2010); Beatriz Bragoni, "Esclavos, libertos y soldados: La cultura política plebeya en tiempo de revolución," in *¿Y el pueblo dónde está? Contribuciones a la historia popular de la revolución de independencia rioplatense*, ed. Raúl Fradkin (Buenos Aires: Prometeo ediciones, 2008), 107–150; Gabriel DiMeglio, *¡Viva el bajo pueblo! La plebe urbana de Buenos Aires y la política entre la Revolución de Mayo y el Rosismo* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2007); Michael Ducey, *A Nation of Villages: Riot and Rebellion in the Mexican Huasteca, 1750–1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World:*

The Story of the Haitian Revolution (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2004); Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780–1825* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Peter F. Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750–1850* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800–1857* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Lyman Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution: Plebeian Buenos Aires and the Atlantic World, 1776–1810* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia, 1795–1831* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007); Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Rigoberto Rueda, “El 20 de Julio de 1810: Una lectura en clave social,” in *El Nuevo Reino de Granada y sus Provincias: Crisis de la Independencia y experiencias republicanas*, ed. Aristides Ramos et al. (Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2009), 165–187; Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1821* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001); Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001); and Camilla Townsend, “Half My Body Free, the Other Half Enslaved’: The Politics of the Slaves of Guayaquil at the End of the Colonial Era,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 105–128.

2. This was the case of Cuba between 1810 and 1860, when the idea of abolishing the slave trade was considered as a way to limit the arrival of Africans to the island and reduce their social and cultural influence. See Rebecca Scott, “Gradual Abolition and the Dynamics of Slave Emancipation in Cuba, 1868–86,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 3 (1983): 449–477; and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1833–1874* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1999). On abolition in Peru, see Carlos Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: Los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821–1854* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993); Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington, DE: S.R. Books, 1992); Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima’s Slaves, 1800–1854* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *El decreto de Huancayo: La abolición de la esclavitud en el Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004). In Venezuela, see John Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela, 1820–1854* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1971); and Sarah Washbrook, “Independence for Those without Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Mérida, Venezuela, 1810–1854,” *Slavery & Abolition* 39, no. 4 (2018): 708–730. In Colombia, see Harold A. Bierck Jr., “The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia,” *Hispanic Historical American Review* 33, no. 3 (1953): 365–386; Jorge Andrés Tovar and Hermes Tovar, *El oscuro camino de la libertad: Los esclavos en Colombia, 1821–1851* (Bogotá: Editorial Universidad de Los Andes, 2009); Roger Pita Pico, *La manumisión de esclavos en el proceso de independencia de Colombia: Realidades, promesas y desilusiones* (Bogotá: Editorial Kimpres, 2014); Helg, *Liberty and Equality*; and Yesenia Barragan, *Freedom's Captives: Slavery and Gradual Emancipation on the Colombian Black Pacific* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021). In Ecuador, see Julio Tobar Donoso, “La abolición de la esclavitud en el Ecuador,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* 34, no. 93 (1959): 5–38; Camilla Townsend, “En busca de la libertad: Los esfuerzos de los esclavos guayaquileños por garantizar su independencia después de la independencia,” *Revista Procesos* 4 (1993): 73–85; and Rocío Rueda, *De esclavizados a comuneros: Construcción de la etnicidad negra en Esmeraldas, siglos XVIII–XIX* (Quito, Ecuador: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2019). In Chile, see Guillermo Feliú Cruz, *La abolición de la esclavitud en Chile* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1973). In Panamá, see Aimes McGuiness, *Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008). In Uruguay, see Alex Borucki, Karla Chagas, and Natalia Stalla, *Esclavitud y trabajo: Un estudio sobre los afrodescendientes en la frontera uruguaya (1835–1855)* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Pulmón Ediciones,

- 2004). In Argentina, see Magdalena Candioti, “Free Womb Law, Legal Asynchronies, and Migrations: Suing for an Enslaved Woman’s Child in Nineteenth-Century Río De La Plata,” *The Americas* 77, no. 1 (2020): 73–99; and Magdalena Candioti, *Una historia de la emancipación negra: Esclatitud y abolición en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2021).
3. Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016); Magnus Mörner, “The Rural Economy and Society of Colonial Spanish South America,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 217–289; and Sherwin Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
4. Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, “Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America,” *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–461; George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O’Toole, and Ben Vinson III, eds., *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).
5. The most important port of disembarkation in the Spanish Americas from 1500 to 1650 was Cartagena, followed by Veracruz and by Buenos Aires. See, *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* <<https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/7pVPMsfJ>>.
6. Peter Blanchard, “Spanish South American Mainland,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas*, ed. Mark M. Smith and Robert L. Paquette (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 68–89; and Michael Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la Antigua provincial de Guayaquil, 1763–1842* (Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 1973).
7. David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 197.
8. Sarah Chambers, “From One Patria, Two Nations in the Andean Heartland,” in *New Countries: Capitalism, Revolutions, and Nations in the Americas, 1750–1870*, ed. John Tutino (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 325–328; Gabriel DiMeglio, *Historia de las clases populares en la Argentina—Desde 1516 hasta 1880* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2012); Rachel O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); and Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*. Natives were enslaved since the beginning of colonization, but eventually, in the 1540s, the Spanish crown decreed that practice illegal. Thereafter the term *Indian* which denoted the vassalage of natives who were incorporated into the monarchical fiscal system as tribute payers, implied a state of freedom. Nonetheless, as tribute payers Indians were involved in activities that drew them to compulsive labor practices, such as the *mita* in Peru. Other forms of domestic service that Indians performed put them in the category of “servitude,” which also implied a degree of compulsion. The formal integration of indigenous populations to the edifice of the monarchy took many forms. In many places of South America, the economic integration of indigenous people took place in *encomiendas*. In those cases, the Indians became articulated to the colonial economy mainly through agriculture. This could happen by entering the work force of Spanish or Creole entrepreneurs. Colonial officials relocated Indians into towns and demarcated their lands granting them some collective territory called *resguardo* in the northern Andes. Everywhere Indians become linked to the regional economy through tribute and tithe payments, which guaranteed that their communal production would be profitable for the regional and state economies. Tribute could also be paid in textiles or other artisanal products. In that sense, the tribute economy was an expansion or redirection of native economies. Another aspect of the integration of natives was commerce. All across Spanish America Indians became agents of commercial expansion both as consumers and were involved in mercantile activities. These transformations took place not only in communities that had become integrated to the political edifice of the monarchy but also in frontier areas up until the 19th century, for example, in Rio de la Plata and Chile.

9. Michelle McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Norah Gharala, *Taxing Blackness: Free Afromexican Tribute in Bourbon New Spain* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2019); Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Jane Landers and Barry Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); and Claudia Leal, *Landscapes of Freedom: Building a Postemancipation Society in the Rainforests of Western Colombia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).
10. Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, eds., *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).
11. An analysis of this relationship for the Brazilian case can be found in Henrique Espada Lima, “Enslaved and Free Workers and the Growth of the Working Class in Brazil <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.819>>,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, ed. Stephen Webre (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
12. On the transimperial connections and tensions surrounding Cuban slavery in the 18th century, see Elena Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
13. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, chapter 2; Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition*, 5; Alex Borucki, “Trans-Imperial History in the Making of the Slave-Trade to Venezuela, 1526–1811,” *Itinerario* 36, no. 2 (2012): 29–54; DiMeglio, *Historia de las clases populares*; Alejandro Gómez, “La caribeñidad revolucionaria de la ‘costa de Caracas’: Una visión prospectiva (1793–1815),” in *Las independencias hispanoamericanas*, ed. Véronique Hébrard and Geneviève Verdo (Madrid: Colección de la Casa de Velázquez, 2013), 35–48; and Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske, “First Slaveries in Venezuela and Nueva Granada,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31, no. 3 (2008): 297–342.
14. Celia Cussen, “La ardua tarea de ser libre: Manumisión e integración social de los negros en Santiago de Chile colonial,” in *Huellas de África en América: Perspectivas para Chile*, ed. Celia Cussen (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2009); Juan C. Garavaglia, “The Economic Role of Slavery in a Non-Slave Society: The River Plate, 1750–1860,” in *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain’s Atlantic Empire*, ed. Josep Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 74–100; and Lyman Johnson, “Manumission in Colonial Buenos Aires, 1776–1810,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1979): 258–279.
15. Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*.
16. Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation, and Human Rights* (New York: Verso, 2011), 228–229; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 175; Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermaths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Chernoh Sesay Jr., “The Revolutionary Black Roots of Slavery’s Abolition in Massachusetts,” *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2014): 99–131.
17. Drescher, *Abolition*, 173; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*; Dubois, *Colony of Citizens*; and Jeremy Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
18. “Bando del 16 noviembre de 1780 para el Cuzco para que desamparen [a] los chapetones ofreciendo libertad a los esclavos,” in *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la independencia de Hispanoamérica*, ed. Boleslao Lewin, 3rd expanded ed. (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Editora Latino Americana, 1967), 398–399. Thanks to Sinclair Thomson for discussing this with me. Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2008); and Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*.

19. Rossana Barragán, “Dynamics of Continuity and Change: Shifts in Labour Relations in the Potosí Mines (1680–1812),” *International Review of Social History* 61, no. S2 (2016): 93–114.
20. Emily Berquist, “Early Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the Spanish Atlantic World,” *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 2 (2010): 181–205.
21. For a top-bottom perspective on this issue, see Emily Berquist, “Early Spanish Antislavery and the Abolition of the Slave Trade to Spanish America,” in Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, *From the Galleons to the Highlands*, 275–299. For a bottom-up perspective showing enslaved people using these arguments, see Karen Graubart, “Pesa más la libertad: Slavery, Legal Claims, and the History of Afro-Latin American Ideas,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2021): 427–458. See also Bianca Premo, *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), chapter 6; and Candiotti, “Free Womb Law,” 92.
22. Fidel Tavárez, “Colonial Economic Improvement: How Spain Created New *Consulados* to Preserve and Develop Its American Empire, 1778–1795,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (2018): 605–634; Jesse Cromwell, *The Smuggler’s World: Illicit Trade and Atlantic Communities in Eighteenth-Century Venezuela* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Jesús Sanjurjo, *In the Blood of Our Brothers: Abolitionism and the End of the Slave Trade in Spain’s Atlantic Empire, 1800–1870* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2021); and Alex Borucki, “The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare, 1777–1812,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 81–107.
23. Alfredo Castillero Calvo, *Los negros y mulatos libres en la historia social panameña* (Panamá, Panama: Impresora Panamá, 1969); Alfredo Castillero Calvo, ed., *Historia General de Panamá, Volumen II, El Siglo XIX* (Panamá, Panama: Comité Nacional del Centenario de la República, 2004); and Jane Rausch, *Una frontera de la sabana tropical: Los llanos de Colombia, 1531–1831* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1994).
24. Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*; and John L. Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 110. James Ferguson King finds a connection between the Comunero rebellion and the abolitionist measures of the independent governments. James Ferguson King, “The Latin-American Republics and the Suppression of the Slave Trade,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (1944): 389. See also Norah Gharala, “Black Tribute in the Spanish Americas <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.1051>>,” in Webre, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*; and Cristina Soriano, “Pardos, Free Blacks, and Slave Rebellions in Venezuela during the Age of the Atlantic Revolutions <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.540>>,” in Webre, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*.
25. Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*; and Allan Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773–1808* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978).
26. Calvo, *Los negros y mulatos libres*; Calvo, *Historia General de Panamá*; Rausch, *Una frontera de la sabana tropical*; and Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*.
29. Celso Castilho and Marcela Echeverri, “Ecos atlánticos de las aboliciones hispanoamericanas,” *Historia Mexicana* 69, no. 2 (2019): 613–626.
27. Baumgartner, *South to Freedom*, 6, 266.
28. Ducey, *Nation of Villages*.
30. The region of Cuyo is located on the other side of the Andes from Chile, so it is closer to Chile than to Buenos Aires (by crossing the Andes). See Borucki, “Trans-Imperial History”; Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*; Celia Cussen, “El paso de los negros por la historia de Chile,” *Cuadernos de Historia* 25 (2006): 45–85; Cussen, “La ardua tarea de ser libre”; Cruz, *La abolición de la esclavitud*; Beatriz Bragoni, “Esclavos insurrectos en tiempos de revolución (Cuyo 1812),” in “Negros de

la Patria": Los afrodescendientes en las luchas por la independencia en el antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata, ed. Silvia Mallo and Ignacio Telesca (Buenos Aires: SB, 2010), 113–120; and Thomas Mareite, "Slavery, Resistance(s) and Abolition in Early Nineteenth-Century Chile," *Journal of Global Slavery* 4, no. 3 (2019): 372–403.

31. These laws regarding libertos and manumisos framed in antislavery republican constitutions were written in laws and regulations enacted by local governments. Some countries like Argentina did not have a constitution up to 1853, yet they had a *Reglamento de Libertos* since 1813.

32. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, chapter 2; Lombardi, *Decline and Abolition*; and Barragan, *Freedom's Captives*.

33. An example of the slave-owning class' reaction to abolition in Pacific South America can be found in Marcela Echeverri, "Esclavitud y tráfico de esclavos en el Pacífico suramericano durante la era de la abolición," *Historia Mexicana* 69, no. 2 (2019): 627–691.

34. Marcela Echeverri, "Slavery in Mainland Spanish America in the Age of the Second Slavery," in *Atlantic Transformations: Empire, Politics, and Slavery during the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dale Tomich (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2020), 19–44.

35. Lombardi, *Decline and Abolition*; and Donoso, "La abolición de la esclavitud en el Ecuador."

36. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, chapter 2.

37. Ada Ferrer, "Cuban Slavery and Atlantic Antislavery," in Fradera and Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery and Antislavery*, 134–157; Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*; and Rafael Marquese, Tâmis Parron, and Márcia Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790–1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016).

38. Alex Borucki, *Abolicionismo y tráfico de esclavos en Montevideo tras la fundación republicana* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Biblioteca Nacional, 2009) examines debates on abolition.

39. Liliana Crespi, "Ni esclavo ni libre: El status del liberto en el Río de la Plata desde el período indiano al republicano," in Mallo and Telesca, "Negros de la Patria," 30–32.

40. Echeverri, "Esclavitud y tráfico de esclavos"; King, "Latin-American Republics," 389; John Kitchens, "The New Granadan-Peruvian Slave Trade," *The Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 3 (1979): 205–214; and Alex Borucki, "The 'African Colonists' of Montevideo: New Light on the Illegal Slave Trade to Rio de Janeiro and the Río de la Plata (1830–1842)," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 427–444.

41. See Marcela Echeverri and Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Shades of Unfreedom: Labor Regimes in Latin America in the Nineteenth Century," in *Cambridge Companion to Latin American Independence*, ed. Marcela Echeverri and Cristina Soriano (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

42. See Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, chapter 2; and Bryant, O'Toole, and Vinson, *Africans to Spanish America*.

43. In her argument about British influence, Hebe Clementi produces a narrative that denounces the establishment of imperial links between Britain and the new Latin American republics. See Hebe Clementi, *La abolición de la esclavitud en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Pleyade, 1974).

44. Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of Democratic Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 43–74; Helg, *Liberty and Equality*; Greg Childs, "Cuadernos escandalosos, sujetos sediciosos: Luís Gonzaga y la Conspiración de los Sastres, 1798 Bahía, Brasil," in *Los mundos de Jose Antonio Aponte*, ed. Zuleica Romay, Carlos Venegas, and Ada Ferrer (La Habana: Instituto Juan Marinello, 2017); David Geggus, "The French and Haitian Revolutions and Resistance to Slavery in the Americas: An Overview," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 76, no. 282–283 (1989): 107–124; Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution*; Claudia Rosas, "El miedo a la revolución: Rumores y temores desatados por la Revolución Francesa en el Perú 1790–1800," in *El miedo en el Perú: Siglos XVI al XX*, ed.

Claudia Rosas (Lima: Universidad Católica, 2005), 139–168; Cristina Soriano, *Tides of Revolution: Information, Insurgencies, and the Crisis of Colonial Rule in Venezuela* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018); Clementi, *La abolición de la esclavitud*, 40–41; Sibylle Fischer, “Bolívar in Haiti: Republicanism in the Revolutionary Atlantic,” in *Haiti and the Americas*, ed. Carla Calarge et al. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013), 25–53; Ada Ferrer, “Haiti, Free Soil, and Antislavery in the Revolutionary Atlantic,” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (2012): 60; and Paul Verna, *Pétion y Bolívar: Cuarenta años (1790–1830) de relaciones haitianovenezolanas y su aporte a la emancipación de Hispanoamérica* (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1969).

45. Drescher, *Abolition*, 169–180.

46. Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom*; Bragoni, “Esclavos insurrectos en tiempos de revolución”; Alex Borucki, *From Shipmates to Soldiers: Emerging Black Identities in the Rio de la Plata* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015); Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*; Marta Beatriz Goldberg, “Afrosoldados de Buenos Aires en armas para defender a sus amos,” in Mallo and Telesca, “Negros de la Patria,” 39–64; Sara Mata, “Negros y esclavos en la guerra por la independencia: Salta 1810–1821,” in Mallo and Telesca, “Negros de la Patria,” 131–147; and Roger Pita Pico, *El reclutamiento de negros durante las guerras de independencia de Colombia, 1810–1825*, 2nd ed. (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 2021).

47. Hilda Sábato, *Republics of the New World: The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018); Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020); and Echeverri and Ferreira, “Shades of Unfreedom.”

48. Fradera and Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery and Antislavery*.

49. Premo, *Enlightenment on Trial*; McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms*; and Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists*.

50. These practices were common elsewhere in Spanish America. Some important cases are Venezuela, Peru, and Uruguay. See Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad*; Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition*; Alex Borucki, Karla Chagas, and Natalia Stalla, “Abolición y esclavitud en el estado oriental del Uruguay, 1830–1860,” in Mallo and Telesca, “Negros de la Patria,” 211–228; Lombardi, *Decline and Abolition*; Donoso, “La abolición de la esclavitud en el Ecuador”; and Crespi, “Ni esclavo ni libre.”

51. Alice Baumgartner, *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2020); Magdalena Cандioti, “Regulando el fin de la esclavitud: Diálogos, innovaciones y disputas jurídicas en las nuevas repúblicas sudamericanas, 1810–1830,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 52, no. 1 (2015): 149–171; and Keila Grinberg, “The Two Enslavements of Rufina: Slavery and International Relations on the Southern Border of Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96, no. 2 (2016): 260–290. See also Keila Grinberg, “Slavery and International Relations in 19th-Century Brazil <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.814>>,” in Webre, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*; and Florencia Guzmán and María L. Guidoli, eds., *El asedio a la libertad: Abolición y posabolición de la esclavitud en el Cono Sur* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2020).

52. Echeverri, “Slavery in Mainland Spanish America”; and Simeon Simeonov, “‘Insurgentes, Self-Styled Patriots’: Consuls, Privateers, Slavers, and Mariners in the Making of the Privateering Archipelago,” *Journal of Global Slavery* 5, no. 3 (2020): 291–321.

Related Articles

[Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom in 16th-Century Santo Domingo](#)

[The Abolition of Brazilian Slavery, 1864–1888](#)

[Slavery, Race and the Construction of the Imperial Order](#)

[Beyond Slavery: Abolition and Post-abolition in Brazil](#)

[Slavery and International Relations in 19th-Century Brazil](#)

[Slave Revolts](#)

[The Legacies of British Slave Ownership](#)

Cultural Legacies of Slavery
in Modern Spain

SUNY series in Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture

Rosemary Geisdorfer Feal, editor
Jorge J. E. Gracia, founding editor



Cultural Legacies of Slavery in Modern Spain

Edited by
AKIKO TSUCHIYA and
AURÉLIE VIALETTE

**SUNY
PRESS**



Cover Credit: to come

Published by State University of New York Press, Albany

© 2025 State University of New York

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission. No part of this book may be stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means including electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission in writing of the publisher.

Links to third-party websites are provided as a convenience and for informational purposes only. They do not constitute an endorsement or an approval of any of the products, services, or opinions of the organization, companies, or individuals. SUNY Press bears no responsibility for the accuracy, legality, or content of a URL, the external website, or for that of subsequent websites.

For information, contact State University of New York Press, Albany, NY
www.sunypress.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data



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*

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7
	8
	9
	10
	11
Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction <i>Akiko Tsuchiya and Aurélie Vialette</i>	1
	14
	15
	16
	17
	18
	19
	20
	21
	22
	23
	24
	25
Chapter 1 The <i>Houseboys</i> of Fernando Poo: Domestic Service in Spanish Colonial Africa <i>Benita Sampedro Vizcaya</i>	21
	26
	27
	28
	29
Chapter 2 Echoes of the Spanish Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century London <i>Kirsty Hooper</i>	49
	30
	31
	32
	33
	34
	35
Chapter 3 Cosmetic of the Archive: An Autopsy of Slave Trader Antonio López y López and the General Tobacco Company in the Philippines <i>Aurélie Vialette</i>	73
	36
	37
	38
	39
	40
Chapter 4 From Slavery to Anti-Black Racism: Racial Ideas from Cuba to Catalonia <i>Martín Rodrigo-Albarilla and Juliana Nalerio, translated by María Cristina Urruela</i>	95

1	Part 2	
2	Confronting the Legacies of Slavery in Cultural Memory Sites	
3		
4	Chapter 5	
5	Confronting the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism in Public	
6	Spaces: Debates around Racist and Colonial Monuments in	
7	Modern Catalonia	121
8	<i>Akiko Tsuchiya</i>	
9		
10	Chapter 6	
11	Spain and the Year of Toppled Statues of Enslavers and Colonizers:	
12	The Examples of Madrid and Cádiz	153
13	<i>Ulrike Schmieder</i>	
14		
15	Chapter 7	
16	Memorialized Blackness: The Case of the Museo Atlántico	191
17	<i>Jeffrey K. Coleman</i>	
18		
19	Chapter 8	
20	Public Memory Policies in Spain: How Is the Colonial	
21	Past Addressed?	209
22	<i>Oriol López Badell and Celeste Muñoz Martínez, interviewed</i>	
23	<i>by Akiko Tsuchiya and Aurélie Viallette, translated by María</i>	
24	<i>Cristina Urruela</i>	
25		
26		
27	Part 3	
28	Interpreting the Legacies of Slavery in Literature,	
29	Music, and Visual Culture	
30		
31	Chapter 9	
32	Pedro Blanco, the Accursed Slave Driver: Literature and	
33	Historical Memory of Slavery in Spain	223
34	<i>Gustau Nérin, translated by María Cristina Urruela</i>	
35		
36	Chapter 10	
37	Searching for Cayetana's Daughter: From Goya to Carmen Posadas	243
38	<i>Rosalía Cornejo-Parriego</i>	
39		
40		

Chapter 11	1
The Urgency of a Black Iberian Thought	273
<i>Tania Safura Adam, interviewed by Akiko Tsuchiya</i>	2
<i>and Aurélie Viallette, translated by María Cristina Urruela</i>	3
	4
	5
Chapter 12	6
On Making Art from Hidden Places	281
<i>Yinka Esi Graves, interviewed by Akiko Tsuchiya</i>	7
<i>and Aurélie Viallette</i>	8
	9
	10
Chapter 13	11
Hispano-tropicalism: Flamencology and the Denial of	12
Black Presence in Spain	291
<i>Miguel Ángel Rosales, translated by María Cristina Urruela</i>	13
	14
	15
Contributors	301
Index	309
	16
	17
	18
	19
	20
	21
	22
	23
	24
	25
	26
	27
	28
	29
	30
	31
	32
	33
	34
	35
	36
	37
	38
	39
	40

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

Acknowledgments

We began conceptualizing this project shortly before the pandemic. The process of completing this volume during these exceptional times has been an incredibly long road, considering the personal and professional challenges faced by many of us while trying to bring our projects to fruition. We thank all the contributors of the volume for their patience, perseverance, and collegiality. The conversations that took place virtually—many of them, across the Atlantic—have cemented our solidarity and shared commitment to bring to light the lives, histories, and stories of enslaved individuals that have been silenced and to reckon collectively with the legacies of these past injustices in the present moment.

We would like to thank the Center for the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis for providing us with a Collaborative Research Seed Grant to carry out the research for this book, and the Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Equity (CRE²) for granting Akiko much-needed release time to complete the project. We are indebted to María Cristina Urruela for her superb translations of the essays originally written in Spanish.

Akiko is appreciative of the many friends and colleagues who have engaged her in conversations about this project, assisted her in locating materials, and offered her support, encouragement, and the opportunity to share her ideas during the conceptualization and elaboration of this volume. These individuals include Alex Alonso-Nogueira, Julia Chang, Luisa Elena Delgado, Pura Fernández, Teresa Fuentes, Helena González, Rebecca Ingram, Ying Ko, Jo Labanyi, María Xesús Lama López, Oriol López Badell, Gabrielle Miller, Gustau Nerín, Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla, Erika Rodríguez, Elzbieta Skłodowska, Lisa Surwillo and, especially, Aurélie Vialette. She is also grateful for the invaluable feedback she received from the director and the other faculty fellows at the Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity,

1 and Equity on her chapter of this project during the tenure of her CRE²
2 Fellowship. Her thanks also go to James Colomina, Jordi Guixé, and Lázaro
3 Lima for granting her permission to use their photos in her chapter of the
4 volume.

5 Aurélie is grateful for the conversations and advice of many colleagues
6 and friends during the years spent preparing this volume; some of them
7 invited her to present the chapter included here or read previous drafts,
8 which helped conceptualize general ideas for the project as well. Among
9 them are Mireia Bo Gudiol (Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya), Pura Fernández,
10 Daniela Flesler, Alex Gil, María Xesús Lama López, Cristina Lee, Daniel
11 Levy, Annick Louis, Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla, Bécquer Seguín, Ann Stoler,
12 Jesús R. Velasco, and Carlos Varón. I am forever grateful to Akiko Tsuchiya
13 for her wonderful collaboration and friendship.

14 Finally, without the interest and unflagging support of our wonderful
15 editor, Rebecca Colesworthy, this volume would not have come to fruition.
16 We thank her for having faith in this project.

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

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

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

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

37 In her *Slavery in the Age of Memory*, Araujo scrutinizes the ways in
38 which representations of the public memory of slavery—through museums,
39 monuments, statues, place names, and other sites of memory—have become
40 “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,

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

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

39
40

In the field of Iberian literary and cultural studies, Lisa Surwillo's 1
pioneering study, *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Lit- 2
erature and Culture* (2014), was the first book to focus on the role that the 3
slave trader played in the literature and cultural life of modern Spain; and 4
the contributors to the volume *Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España 5
de los siglos XVI al XIX* (2014), edited by Aurelia Martín Casares and Rocío 6
Periáñez Gómez, scrutinized the writings of abolitionist women, as well as 7
representations of enslaved women in literature and the visual arts in Spain. 8
Art historian Carmen Fracchia's "Black but Human": *Slavery and Visual Arts 9
in Hapsburg Spain, 1480–1700* (2019) is a groundbreaking study of the 10
visual representations of enslaved and formerly enslaved Africans in Spain in 11
the early modern period, as is Nick Jones's *Staging Habla de negros: Radical 12
Performances of the African Diaspora in Early Modern Spain*, which elucidates 13
the ways in which *habla de negros* language in early modern Spanish theater 14
empowered Black Africans and enabled their resistance to white supremacy.⁹ 15
While our book builds on the work of these previous scholars, our anthol- 16
ogy considers the manifestations of the legacies of slavery within a broader 17
cultural context that includes literature and the visual arts, the mass media 18
(magazines and radio programs), monuments and memorials, museums, 19
tourist routes, historical archives, memory initiatives, and the increasingly 20
vocal anti-racist, social justice, and immigrant advocacy movements in the 21
Spanish state.

In sum, the contributors to this volume collectively address the ques- 23
tion of how culture—understood in the broadest possible sense—produced 24
in the Iberian Peninsula or in its overseas territories, from the nineteenth 25
century to the present, both reflected and shaped ways of understanding the 26
history and the heritage of a nation sustained on colonialism, slavery, and 27
labor exploitation. On the one hand, our goal is to create an archive of cul- 28
tural memory sites of slavery and its aftermath, and, as Aurélie Vialette sug- 29
gests in her work, to investigate what is hidden behind these cultural forms 30
and symbols—what untold stories they might hold about those of African 31
descent in Spain, whose history and stories have long been suppressed ("Cos- 32
metic of the Archive"). On the other, beyond the creation of this "archive," 33
we ask how the recovery of those hidden stories might transform our vision 34
and understanding of the Afro-descendant community's place in the national 35
history of Spain, as well as in the global history of transatlantic crossings 36
and forced migrations. Our contributors include literary critics, historians, 37
anthropologists, colonial studies scholars, filmmakers, cultural practitioners, 38
39

40

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

5 The topic of our book could not be timelier. In Spain, cultural prac-
6 titioners, artists, academics, and grass-roots activists have shed light on the
7 legacies of slavery through cultural, urban, as well as academic initiatives.
8 Yet these inquiries have created discomfort for some politicians and the
9 general public, who have resisted coming to terms with their nation's past
10 slavery practices, let alone seeking reparations. The EUROM report shows
11 that only in Catalonia and the Basque Country have there been isolated
12 initiatives to implement materials pertaining to colonialism and slavery into
13 the educational curriculum in the Spanish state (Muñoz and López 18–19).
14 One could argue that, in most of the Spanish state, with some exceptions,¹⁰
15 there is still great resistance to decolonial and antiracist initiatives, on the
16 part of many sectors of society across the political spectrum that continue
17 to remain nostalgic for an imperial past. Moreover, many members of the
18 bourgeoisie, especially in Catalonia, who in all likelihood fear the discovery
19 of their own ancestors' implication in the slave trade, have naturally taken a
20 defensive position when the society's slaving past is being publicly addressed
21 (Palà).¹¹ Debates in Catalonia have been particularly lively after a documen-
22 tary *Negrers: La Catalunya esclavista* (*Slavers: Catalonia and the Slave Trade*),
23 directed by Jordi Portals and produced by Abacus, was released in February
24 2023 by TV3 on the Catalan public television's program *Sense ficció* (*Without
25 Fiction*). The film reveals that Catalonia, its bourgeoisie, and its numerous
26 ports had ties to slavery, showing how Catalonia enriched itself through slave
27 trafficking and labor. It exposes how Catalonia's industrial revolution and
28 its Modernist movement were financed by capital obtained from the slave
29 trade.¹² The promotional video, released a few days before the film, under-
30 scores Catalan society's denial of its colonial and slaving past and signals
31 a wish to change how history is transmitted to citizens: it affirms "aquesta
32 tradició és la que s'ha de trencar" (1:24) ("this tradition is the one to be
33 broken"). Catalan nationalists' reaction to this film, particularly those of the
34 Assemblea Nacional Catalana (ANC) and the Front Nacional de Catalunya
35 (FNC), on social media has been virulent. On Twitter, in response to a
36 post by TV3's official Twitter account, while some users were enthusiastic
37 about the film's reckoning with history, affirming the need to make amends
38 for past injustices, others continued to deny Catalonia's slaving past. Some
39 among the latter group maintained that slavery was a common practice at
40

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,

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

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

33 In addition to the scholarly essays in this volume, we include other
34 forms of contribution, such as interviews and creative writings, to reflect the
35 diversity of perspectives from which the question of the legacies of slavery
36 has been addressed in contemporary Spain. The inclusion of authors from
37 outside of the academy is crucial to representing the broad range of import-
38 ant work that is being done “on the ground” by the cultural practitioners
39
40

themselves, who “carry our own history with us,” as James Baldwin affirmed. 1
 Among them are interviews with journalist and cultural critic Tania Safura 2
 Adam, founder of *Radio Africa*, *Radio Africa Magazine*, and the research 3
 project *España Negra*; Flamenco dancer and theorist Yinka Esi Graves, who, 4
 in her choreographic work, explores Flamenco from an African diasporic 5
 perspective; and Oriol López Badell and Celeste Muñoz, key players in 6
 EUROM, led by the University of Barcelona Solidarity Foundation, and 7
 engaged in promoting human rights. Additionally, López Badell, through 8
 his work in the Knowing History Association (an NGO established in Bar- 9
 celona in 2008 to promote democratic memory), created and led the first 10
 guided historical tour of sites linked to colonialism and slavery in Barcelona. 11
 Finally, we include a creative essay by filmmaker Miguel Ángel Rosales, who 12
 in 2016 directed *Gurumbé: Canciones de tu memoria negra*, a documentary 13
 about African slavery in the Iberian Peninsula and its cultural influences, 14
 particularly on Flamenco. 15

More concretely, *Cultural Legacies of Slavery* consists of three parts. 16
 Part 1, “The Legacies of Slavery in the Archive,” focuses on the role that 17
 the institution of the archive has played in both concealing and exposing 18
 the long-lasting impact of the transatlantic slave trade, by mapping the 19
 global networks of slave traffickers, previously hidden in archives. Part 1 20
 opens with Benita Sampedro Vizcaya’s essay, “The *Houseboys* of Fernando 21
 Poo: Domestic Service in Spanish Colonial Africa,” in which the role of 22
 the Black body and Black labor is the subject. Her work reconstructs the 23
 social history of domestic workers, the economic and political structures 24
 that governed their work, and the discursive mechanisms through which 25
 the transition from a post-emancipation era to a pre-independence one was 26
 made possible. It also resituates domestic work and servants’ narratives at 27
 the center of twentieth-century written traditions in Spanish colonial Africa. 28

The archive is also the cornerstone of the other chapters of Part 1. 29
 Kirsty Hooper’s essay, “Echoes of the Spanish Slave Trade in Nineteenth- 30
 Century London” (chapter 2), sheds light on the activities of Spanish mer- 31
 chant families with extensive connections to the slave trade, who established 32
 their homes and offices in London during the nineteenth century. She draws 33
 on archival materials—among them, church and civil records, school reg- 34
 isters, newspapers, and government papers—to reconstruct these families’ 35
 activities, how they obscured their involvement in the Spanish slave trade, 36
 and to trace their cultural and material legacies in London, a city deeply 37
 opposed to Spain’s persistent involvement in the trading of humans. For 38
 39
 40

1 her part, Aurélie Viallette, in “Cosmetic of the Archive: An Autopsy of Slave
2 Trader Antonio López y López and the General Tobacco Company in the
3 Philippines” (chapter 3), delves into the archives of slave trader Antonio
4 López y López, who founded the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas.
5 Her study reveals the intricate web of global networks of the slave trade in
6 the nineteenth century and shows how archives can become manipulative
7 tools to conceal and erase the role of the slave trade in sustaining multi-
8 national businesses.

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

22 Part 2, “Confronting the Legacies of Slavery in Cultural Memory
23 Sites,” focuses on recent cultural initiatives and activism—including the dis-
24 mantling of racist and colonial monuments, museum exhibits, public history
25 initiatives such as slavery routes, and anti-racist cultural activism—that seek
26 to refigure memory sites of slavery and colonialism in Spain, transforming
27 them into spaces for critical reflection on the past. Chapter 5, “Confronting
28 the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism in Public Spaces: Debates around
29 Racist and Colonial Monuments in Modern Catalonia,” by Akiko Tsuchiya,
30 focuses on two monuments—the Antonio López y López and Columbus
31 monuments—related to colonialism and slavery that have become objects
32 of public controversy in Barcelona over the years. She analyzes the signif-
33 icance of political and cultural initiatives that have been launched around
34 these monuments to protest colonialism and transform the ways in which
35 communities experience history in public spaces. She underscores the partic-
36 ular importance of initiatives that call attention to the connection between
37 the past and the present, prompting the public to reflect on the ways in
38 which the nation’s racist and colonial history continues to shape society in
39 the present. Along similar lines in chapter 6, Ulrike Schmieder centers her
40

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

1 slavery—and of its hidden legacies—in the works of literary authors, film-
2 makers, and other cultural producers from the nineteenth century to the
3 present. In chapter 9, “Pedro Blanco, the Accursed Slave Driver: Literature
4 and Historical Memory of Slavery in Spain,” Gustau Nerín carries out a com-
5 parative study of historical and fictional representations of another famous
6 Spanish slave trader, Pedro Blanco. Drawing on literary representations of
7 Blanco, Nerín complicates the stereotypical portrayal of the slave trader as
8 the embodiment of evil, by bringing to light the social recognition granted
9 to him. Through scrutiny of the ambiguity of these representations, Nerín’s
10 contribution allows us to understand Spain’s ambivalence in remembering
11 the figure of the slave trader. Rosalía Cornejo-Parriego’s study in chapter
12 10, “Searching for Cayetana’s Daughter: From Goya to Carmen Posadas,”
13 focuses on the representation of enslaved Black children in Western art,
14 specifically on that of an eighteenth-century child in Spain named María de
15 la Luz, whom the thirteenth Duchess of Alba adopted and emancipated. The
16 essay aims to analyze the depiction of the child in various visual and literary
17 texts, as well as the discourses surrounding her representation. María de la
18 Luz appears prominently in two of Goya’s artworks during the eighteenth
19 century, as well as in a poem dedicated to her by the *ilustrado* Manuel José
20 Quintana. Finally, in 2016, she is featured in Carmen Posadas’s novel *La*
21 *bija de Cayetana*. By examining the representation of the little girl in these
22 works, the essay explores the commodification of Black bodies among the
23 Enlightened European elites, the persistence of Africanist and Orientalizing
24 practices, and the white savior narrative associated with the enduring dis-
25 course about Spain’s exceptionalism in relation to slavery and colonialism.

26 Part 3 also includes the contributions of cultural practitioners, whose
27 work helps us to understand the legacies of slavery in contemporary Spain
28 in visual culture, literature, and dance. Our interview in chapter 11 with
29 Tania Safura Adam, the founder of *Radio Africa*, *Radio Africa Magazine*
30 and the leading member of the research group *España Negra*, shows “The
31 Urgency of a Black Iberian Thought.” Adam explains her efforts to “displace
32 the center” by thinking through music, photography, and art. Her aim is
33 to experiment with other epistemologies to better understand society and
34 Blackness, in particular, in Spain. In her work she underscores how the
35 Black person becomes a subject—instead of being relegated to the status
36 of object. She problematizes commonly used terms, such as *decolonization*
37 or *activism*, and argues for understanding Blackness as a political project.
38 The last interview included in this volume is that of Yinka Esi Graves, a
39 choreographer and Flamenco dancer, whose work explores Flamenco dance
40

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,
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
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

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

6

7

8

Notes

9

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

24 2. The UNESCO site explains its objectives as follows: “Since its launch in
25 1994, the UNESCO ‘Routes of Enslaved Peoples: Resistance, Liberty and Heritage’
26 Project has contributed to the production of innovative knowledge, the development
27 of high-level scientific networks and the support of memory initiatives on the theme
28 of slavery, its abolition and the resistance it generated. At the international level,
29 the project has thus played a major role in ‘breaking’ the silence surrounding the
30 history of slavery and placing this tragedy that has shaped the modern world in
31 the universal memory” (www.unesco.org/en/routes-enslaved-peoples). The website
32 includes a section on “Cultural expressions and slave trade abolition” (ich.unesco.org/en/slave-trade-abolition-00505).

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

40



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

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

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

³ 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.

⁵ 10. However, there are decolonial agendas being pursued in some Iberian
⁶ territories, such as the Canary Islands and Galicia. We thank Benita Sampedro
⁷ Vizcaya for this observation.

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

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

17 13. Among the many available threads on Twitter, one can consult twitter.com/Authenticindep/status/1626306950123102208 and TV3's official twitter account
18 twitter.com/tv3cat/status/1625487522758262786.
19

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

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

²⁷ 16. See Tsuchiya's chapter in this volume.

²⁸ 17. On this particular initiative, see the interview with López Badell and
²⁹ Muñoz Martínez in this volume.

Works Cited

³³ Araujo, Ana Lucia. *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space*.
³⁴ Routledge, 2012.

³⁵ —— *Slavery in the Age of Memory: Engaging the Past*. Bloomsbury, 2020.

³⁶ Araujo, Ana Lucia, and Ynaê Lopes dos Santos. "Political Uses of the Past: Public Memory of Slavery and Colonialism." *Práticas da História*, no. 15, 2022, pp. 15–21.

La Barcelona incòmoda: Jornades de debat sobre memòria i espai públic. Conference program, 11 May 2022, Presó Model, Barcelona. Ajuntament de Barcelona.



ajuntament.barcelona.cat/memoriademocratica/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/la-barcelona-incòmoda.pdf.	1 2
"La Barcelona incòmoda—taula de conclusions." <i>You Tube</i> , uploaded by Barcelona Cultura, 11 May 2022, www.youtube.com/watch?v=GstYAO6DkAc.	3 4
Blanco, Alda. <i>Cultura y conciencia imperial en la España del siglo XIX</i> . U de Valencia, 2012.	5 6
Burton, Antoinette, editor. <i>After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation</i> . Duke UP, 2003.	7
Caballé, Anna. "Dos homes i un nomenclàtor." <i>El País</i> , 24 Feb. 2016.	8
Coffey, Mary. <i>Ghosts of Colonies Past and Present: Spanish Imperialism in the Fiction of Benito Pérez Galdós</i> . Liverpool UP, 2020.	9 10
Encadenados. Canal Historia, March 2022.	11
Enjuto-Rangel, Cecilia, et al, editors. <i>Transatlantic Studies: Latin America, Iberia, and Africa</i> . Liverpool UP, 2019.	12 13
European Observatory on Memories (EUROM). europeanmemories.net/about-us/#mission. Accessed 12 July 2023.	14 15
Fracchia, Carmen. "Black but Human": <i>Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480–1700</i> . Oxford UP, 2019.	16 17
Fra Molinero, Baltasar. <i>La imagen del negro en el teatro del Siglo de Oro</i> . Siglo XXI, 1995.	18 19
Gilroy, Paul. <i>The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness</i> . Harvard UP, 1993.	20
Guixé, Jordi. "Interview with Andreas Huyssen: Trumpism as a Social Movement Is a New Form of Fascism." <i>Observing Memories</i> , no. 6, Dec. 2022, pp. 34–41.	21
Hartman, Saidiya. <i>Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route</i> . Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008.	22 23
Iarocci, Michael. <i>Properties of Modernity: Romantic Spain, Modern Europe, and the Legacies of Empire</i> . Vanderbilt UP, 2006.	24 25
Jones, Nicholas R. <i>Staging Habla de negros: Radical Performances of the African Diaspora in Early Modern Spain</i> . Penn State UP, 2019.	26 27
Krauel, Javier. <i>Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain</i> . Liverpool UP, 2013.	28 29
López, Brian. "State Education Board Members Push Back on Proposal to Use 'Involuntary Relocation' to Describe Slavery." <i>Texas Tribune</i> , 30 June 2022.	30
Martín Casares, Aurelia, and Rocío Periéñez Gómez. <i>Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX</i> . Iberoamericana Verbo, 2014.	31 32
Martin-Márquez, Susan. <i>Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity</i> . Yale UP, 2008.	33 34
Muñoz, Celeste, and Oriol López, coordinators. <i>Trans-Atlantic Racial Redress Network: Spanish Case: Final Findings Report</i> . EUROM, 2022. europeanmemories.net/eurom-new/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2022/06/Redress-Network-2022-Spanish-Case.pdf.	35 36 37 38
Muñoz Martínez, Celeste, and Alba Valenciano-Mañé. "De memòries, distorsions i conflictes: El passat esclavista i colonial català en el punt de mira." <i>Catarsi</i> ,	39 40

- 1 26 Apr. 2023. catarsimagazin.cat/de-memories-distorsions-i-conflictes-el-passat-
 2 esclavista-i-colonial-catala-en-el-punt-de-mira/.
- 3 Murray, N. Michelle. "Coerced Migration and Sex Trafficking: Transoceanic Circuits
 4 of Enslavement." *Transatlantic Studies: Latin America, Iberia, and Africa*, edited
 5 by Cecilia Enjuto-Rangel et al., Liverpool UP, 2019, pp. 348–60.
- 6 Murray, N. Michelle, and Akiko Tsuchiya. *Unsettling Colonialism: Gender and Race
 7 in the Nineteenth-Century Global Hispanic World*. SUNY P, 2019.
- 8 "Negrers. La Catalunya esclavista' a Sense Ficció." *Facebook*, uploaded by Sense
 9 ficció, 10 Feb. 2023, www.facebook.com/watch/?v=728885632273368.
- 10 Nora, Pierre. *Les lieux de mémoire*. Gallimard, 1984.
- 11 Palà, Roger, "Qui són els descendents dels esclavistes catalans?" *El Crític*, 3 Apr. 2023. www.
 12 elcritic.cat/investigacio/qui-son-els-descendents-dels-esclavistes-catalans-161415.
- 13 Peck, Raoul, director. *I Am Not Your Negro*. Magnolia Pictures, 2018.
- 14 Portals, Jordi, director. *Negrers: La Catalunya esclavista*. Abacus, Feb. 2023.
- 15 Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín. *Del olvido a la memoria: La esclavitud en la España
 16 contemporánea*. Icaria, 2022.
- 17 Romero, Simon. "Texas Pushes to Obscure the State's History of Slavery and Rac-
 18 ism." *New York Times*, 20 May 2021.
- 19 Rosales, Miguel Ángel, director. *Gurumbé: Canciones de tu memoria negra*. Intermedia
 20 Producciones, 2016.
- 21 Scott, Joan Wallach. *On the Judgment of History*. Columbia UP, 2020.
- 22 Surwillo, Lisa. *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and
 23 Culture*. Stanford UP, 2014.
- 24 Tofiño, Iñaki. "Memoria histórica y colonialismo." *CTXT: Contexto y Acción*, no.
 25 285, 2022.
- 26 Tsuchiya, Akiko. "Monuments and Public Memory: Antonio López y López, Slavery,
 27 and the Cuban-Catalan Connection." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 41,
 28 no. 5, 2019, pp. 479–500.
- 29 Tsuchiya, Akiko, and William Acree. *Empire's End: Transnational Connections in the
 30 Hispanic World*. Vanderbilt UP, 2016.
- 31 TV3. "Al segle XIX, desenes de milers d'esclaus africans van ser venuts a Cuba per
 32 negrers catalans. Aquesta nit en parlem a @senseficcio, a les 22.05. #Esclavis-
 33 meTV3." @som3cat, Twitter, 14 Feb. 2023, 8:30 a.m., twitter.com/tv3cat/
 34 status/1625487522758262786?lang=en.
- 35 Ugarte, Michael. *Africans in Europe: The Culture of Exile and Emigration from Equa-
 36 torial Guinea to Spain*. U of Illinois P, 2010.
- 37 Zeuske, Michael. "Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the Hidden Atlantic in
 38 the Nineteenth Century." *Atlantic Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2018, pp. 103–35.
- 39
- 40



Part 1

The Legacies of Slavery in the Archive



1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	
29	
30	
31	
32	
33	
34	
35	
36	
37	
38	
39	
40	

Chapter 3

Cosmetic of the Archive

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

AURÉLIE VIALETTE¹

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.

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

14 In Spain, the specific question regarding slave traders and the more
15 general question regarding the concealment of history in public spaces
16 have been remarkably present in contemporary public debates. As Akiko
17 Tsuchiya demonstrates in "Monuments and Public Memory," and in her
18 contribution to this volume, urban structures and features in Spain, such
19 as buildings, statues, monuments, and street names have been challenged
20 by civic associations and activists who have asked their governments to
21 revisit the way their cities have explicitly and implicitly praised dictatorial
22 politicians or slave traders. She argues that "as in the case of Confederate
23 monuments in the United States, López's memorialization is anything but
24 innocent" (482). López y López's statue in Barcelona was removed in March
25 2018 as a consequence of the city's rising consciousness of and desire to
26 make amends for its participation in the slave trade during the Spanish
27 Empire (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 9–29). At the base of the statue, erected in
28 1884, an inscription read "España ha perdido uno de los hombres que más
29 grandes servicios le han prestado" ("Spain has lost one of the men who
30 have rendered the greatest service to the country"). A laudatory poem by
31 Jacint Verdaguer was inscribed on the pedestal. Yet López y López was one
32 of the most important slave traders of the nineteenth century, which, in
33 1881, allowed him to create the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipi-
34 nas (CGTF), popularly known as the Tabacalera. There was, of course, no
35 reference to the slave trade on the commemorative plaque, nor is there in
36 his archive. This absence says much about the way our past is obscured in
37 the monuments, understood broadly, that surround us. It also reveals the
38 kind of physical urban archive that was built so that a specific version of
39
40

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).¹

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

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

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

19

20

21 The Economic Legacies of Slavery in the Archive

22

23 My contribution to the many studies on López y López is an analysis of
24 his business archive, which reveals a subterfuge: how a central figure of the
25 slave trade revamped himself as a successful CEO in the documents for
26 posterity. In this sense, slavery was the point of departure that generated
27 the language and activity of capitalism. "Studying the ways profit and inno-
28 vation can accompany violence and inequality is particularly important in
29 the world of modern capitalism," says Caitlin Rosenthal (xiii), who goes on
30 to explain how easy it is to overlook the connections between capitalism
31 and slavery (xiv). The archive I am analyzing contains clues that make this
32 connection comprehensible. It incorporates the structure of slavery and its
33 legacies, that is, slave traders' names, their financial capital, their businesses,
34 and their networks, to create one of Spain's most important businesses, the
35 Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. This business survived for a
36 century. The economic legacies of slavery went as far as supporting dictator
37 Francisco Franco's troops during the Spanish Civil War (1933–1936) with
38 tobacco and money lending (fig. 3.1), hence contributing to the victory
39 of the Nationalist troops and the establishment of a dictatorship in Spain.
40

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.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

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	UNIDADES	LOCALIDADES	CAJETILLAS	TOTAL	OBSERVACIONES
Ejército del Sur	Cuerpo Ejército de Navarra Cuerpo Ejército de Aragón	Jaca Zaragoza	200.000 42.000	200.000 42.000	
	División 51 División 52 División 53		26.600 17.000 22.400	68.000	
Ejército del Norte	Brigada de Posición		20.400		
	Hospitales Militares División de Caballería	San Sebastián Zaragoza	10.000 5.000	10.000 5.000	Sacos nulos
E. de Operaciones	Grupo Antiaéreo del 3º Pesado Grupo de Operaciones	Zaragoza	5.000	5.000	Sacos nulos
	Primer Cuerpo Ejército	Madrid	320.000	320.000	
	División Ávila-Segovia	Villa del P. Ra.	136.400		
E. del Centro	División Soria-Somosierra División 182	Segovia Soria	56.400 70.800	232.000	
	División de Cáceres	Cáceres	22.400		
Ejército del Sur	Primera batería del 15.5 Aeródromo	P.d de Alarcón Pozos de Córdoaba	1.500 1.000	1.500 1.000	
	Hospitales	Burgos	16.000	15.000	
	<u>S U M A</u>			997.500	
	Por falta de CINCO cajas a consecuencias de averías en el transporte marítimo y que contenían 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*

1 Figure 3.2. “Donativos y suscripciones patrióticas” (“Patriotic donations and sub-
 2 scriptions”) details the Tabacalera’s donations to and support of Franco after he
 3 won the Spanish Civil War. Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. MS. Arxiu
 4 Nacional de Catalunya. *Source:* Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Used with permission.

5 - Hoja nro. 9 -

6 DONATIVOS Y SUSCRIPCIONES PATRIOTICAS EFECTUADOS EN LA DIRECCION DESDE

7 LA LIBERACION DE BARCELONA, POR NUESTRO GLORIOSO EJERCITO.

8

9 PESETAS. PESETAS.
10 _____ SALDOS. _____

11 1939.

12 Mayo 1. Haberes correspondientes al mes de
13 Abril ppdo., de los empleados al ser-
14 vicio de la guerra..... 19.385,00 19.385,00

15 Id. 1.- Donativo para atenciones Nacionales
16 derivadas de la guerra..... 500.000,00 519.385,00

17 Id. 10.- Asignación a Mercedes Robert, Vda.
18 de Pelayo (asesinado), indemniza-
19 ción de guerra, asignaciones de No-
20 viembre 1936 a Marzo 1939..... 14.500,00 533.885,00

21 Id. 22.- Donativo a F.E.T. y de las Jons.... 200,00 534.085,00

22 Id. 26.- Donativo a la Cruz Roja Española.. 250,00 534.335,00

23 Id. 31.- Asignación de Mayo a Mercedes Robert,
24 Vda. de Pelayo (asesinado)..... 500,00 534.835,00

25 Id. 31.- Haberes de Mayo de los empleados al
26 servicio de la guerra (Calculado)... 18.785,00 553.620,00

27 TOTAL..... 553.620,00

28

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

31 truth that is particularly compelling in Farge’s theoretical approach to the
 32 archive. Indeed, when reading documents about a business born of slave-
 33 trade capital, we should focus on the particular moment in history when
 34 this archive began to be assembled and the kind of language with which it
 35 was populated, so to speak. Working on the Southeast Asian archives, Ann
 36 Stoler is probably one of the most prominent voices in archival studies.
 37 She combines an analysis of governance and ethnography to understand the
 38 colonial archives. If we understand the archive as she does, we realize the
 39 extent to which colonial archives are the result of state machines, and that
 40



"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 inter-
vene, manipulate, and leave their traces on it, as I demonstrate forthwith.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

Erasure of the Past 10

11

The role of the heirs in the construction of an archive such as the Compañía 12
General de Tabacos de Filipinas is fundamental. The company was created 13
in 1881 by Antonio López y López with Spanish and French capital: the 14
Banque de Paris-Pays-Bas and the Crédito Mobiliario Español backed Banco 15
Hispano Colonial's initiatives, which funded the Tabacalera (Rodrigo, "Del 16
desestanco" 206–07). As established by historians, the Banco Hispano Colo- 17
nial was composed of Catalan businessmen whose capital came from Amer- 18
ica and was linked to slave-trade networks in Cuba (Rodrigo, *Un hombre* 19
212–12; "From Slave Trade to Banking" 610).⁴ The most important slave 20
traders, such as Julián Zulueta and José Baró, were the two most important 21
investors, after López, in the establishment of this bank in 1876, only five 22
years before the creation of the CGTF. The particularity of the Tabacalera, 23
and López y López's business activities in general, is that they were based 24
on a network of family and trusted colleagues (Rodrigo, "Del desestanco" 25
208). The networks that the company built were international, as it had 26
agencies and committees around the globe: in Paris, Madrid, London, New 27
York, Naples, Liverpool, and Hamburg. The company sold tobacco all over 28
the world, from Europe to the Russian Empire, Romania, Turkey, Tunisia, 29
Asia, and Australia (Bastida et al. 12–13).

12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

There is little written about the Tabacalera's economic aspects. The few 31
studies that are available focus on López y López's personality and business 32
achievements, although they recognize his involvement in the slave trade 33
or, as some critics prefer to put it, that he made a fortune in Santiago de 34
Cuba. That statement, decoded, indicates that he was part of the many 35
networks of Spaniards who made a fortune with slavery. López y López and 36
his collaborators, including Pedro de Sotolongo y Alcantara, José Ferrer y 37
Vidal, and Eusebio Güell y Bacigalupi, among others, fought hard against 38
abolition during their lifetimes and were pro-slavery to their deaths. The 39
40

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

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

31 What does it mean to work with a multinational company's archive
32 containing documents that do not fully reflect the activities in which its
33 founders and participants were involved? I have had a great time playing
34 detective and finding clues, evidence, and concealed schemes involved in
35 these business operations. But now, as a researcher, I read in these shrouded
36 documents the dangers of a radical erasure of a specific historical reality.
37 This reality must be made present. We also should question how the past is
38 presented to us, how we relate to it, and how we are affected by it. In this
39 case, the important distinction that Ann Stoler makes in *Along the Archival*
40



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 Muslim 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

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

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

37 Likewise, the word “migrant” is a slippery term that appears quite
38 often in the slave-trade archives. Alessandro Stanziani has demonstrated that
39 in the Indian Ocean world during the long nineteenth century, there was
40

no clear-cut distinction between unfree slaves and indentured migrants (1).
1
The fact that one finds the word *migrant* in the Tabacalera's archive leaves
2
questions to be answered. In this case, the word is used to describe how
3
workers or other individuals move from one plantation to another. The
4
records of the traffic of migrants sent to work in Manila and other cities
5
and colonies (such as San Antonio and Santa Isabel, north of Manila) are
6
what most stand out in the Tabacalera archive. We know that there are
7
migrants who come from Cuba (probably industrial cigar workers), various
8
islands in the Philippines, and other parts of Asia. The archive leaves open
9
the question of which migrants it refers to for each part of the world and
10
for what type of (maybe exploitative) work they were brought to these plan-
11
tations in the Philippines to do. Strangely, for such a meticulous archive,
12
nothing is specified. Perhaps the word *migrant* is a euphemism here for
13
slave, indentured immigrants, or forced labor.
14

In this case, the challenge is not to find or verify slave labor in the
15
plantations but to understand the complexity of working with an archive in
16
which the displacement of bodies is unclear. Workers coming from distinct
17
territories were referred to with a diverse vocabulary: *workers* (the men-
18
tioned cigar workers from Cuba), *deportees*, *migrants*, and *settlers*. Margarita
19
Cojuangco has worked with archival documents, as well as oral histories
20
of Balangingi descendants, and explains that “the captured Balangingi were
21
brought to Cagayan by force and ordered to work in the plantations as
22
slaves” (138). The Tabacalera's manuscript archive (see fig. 3.3) mentions
23
paying someone to transport migrants from Cagayan to the tobacco fields:
24
“Gratificacion al conductor de los emigrantes” (“emigrant driver bonus”) and
25
“la 1^a expedición de emigrantes . . . Gastos de embarque de los mismos por
26
Tomas Qurubín de Cavayan” (“first expedition of migrants . . . Shipping
27
costs of the same to Tomas Qurubín of Cavayan”). Interestingly, Cojuangco
28
mentions not only the lack of available data for the 1880s (when the Tab-
29
calera was created) but also the certainty that slave labor persisted: “The
30
period after 1869 to the mid-80's is a blank space as far as historical data
31
is concerned. The next document found is dated 1885, describing the fate
32
of the Balangingi in the Colonia Agrícola de Alcazar in barrio Sta. Isabel
33
in Tumauini where they worked as tobacco planters. Again, this document
34
supports the stories culled from the interviews of present-day Balangingi”
35
(145). Cojuangco also adds that in the 1880s, those who worked in the fields
36
were called “migrants” and violently punished, denied food, and whipped
37
if they did not work enough (146). Even if the slave trade in the region
38
had ended officially, migrants were treated as such until the Philippine
39
40

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

4
 5 No 336 30 Junio 1890
 6 Colonización á VIVIENDA GENERAL
 7 Por importe de las cantidades establecidas por Juan
 8 Paredes del Ata por cuenta de esta Colonia, segun
 9 detailed a continuacion -
 10 Auxilio en metalico facilitado á los colonos de esta
 11 comisionados para traer nuevos colonos 10.
 12 Gratificacion al conductor de los emigrantes
 13 enviados á esta el 17 de Febrero ultimo 150
 14 Gastos de embarque de los mismos realizados
 15 por Tomás Generalem de Barayán 5.
 16 Por importe de tres telegramas dirigidos
 17 al Ofic Reynolds de los Minas 190
 18 Por traer de Oigan á Bangued los litros
 19 para colonos 125
 20 Comision que se correspondió a dicho Precio
 21 por la 1^a expedición de emigrantes enviada
 22 de a esta el 13 de Abril ultimo, a fin de proveer
 23 de panema mayor de 10 años y menor de 60. 10.
 24 Correspondiente a la segunda expedición re-
 25 aliviada el 17 de Febrero ultimo 19.
 26 Correspondiente a la 3^a expedición verificada
 27 el 16 de Mayo ultimo. 10.
 28 Gratificacion al conductor de esta expe-
 29 ción 150
 30
 31

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

35 In the same document from López's archive describing the transport
 36 of migrants, we find that the word *settler* appears to refer to the movement
 37 of other workers. Indeed, settlers are paid to go to look for other settlers in
 38 other parts of the archipelago: "Auxilio en metalico facilitado á los colonos
 39 de esta comisionados para traer nuevos colonos" ("Cash aid provided to the
 40

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 Pérez⁷), 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

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

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

24 One aspect of kinship is, understandably, the role of gender. Lisa
25 Surwillo has shown how the wives of López y López, Güell, and other
26 businessmen signed the petition against the abolition of slavery in 1873
27 (4–5). According to Surwillo, these women insisted on their status as wives
28 and mothers in the petition, accentuating “the dynastic and familial ties
29 that bind Creole to *indiano*” and thus their belonging to both marriage and
30 nation (7). And, indeed, these international networks functioned successfully
31 because most of them were built on family relationships with strong ties to
32 the nation. Daughters of slave traders were to marry other slave traders or
33 their sons, who would later be able to continue the business. Kinship is a
34 fundamental aspect to be explored for theorizing the slave-trade archive and
35 understanding its global networks if we are to illuminate the hidden nature
36 of contemporary legacies of slavery. One of the most important aspects of
37 family and kinship when it comes to business is generational continuity,
38 inheritance, and succession (Akhter 175–76), particularly because the use
39 of family and kinship relations becomes a business resource (Alsos et al.
40



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

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

6 The manuscript archive of the Tabacalera recorded all ships, invento-
 7 ries, and workers' entries and exits from one archipelago port to another,
 8 from the Philippines to Spain, and the rest of the world, including the Span-
 9 ish colonies in the Caribbean, such as Cuba and Puerto Rico. Manuscript
 10 diary entry 1 from 1882 records the steamships that arrived in Manila and
 11 indicates the fee the company paid the ships' captains.

12 Diary entry 409 (fig. 3.4) reads, "Vapor Isla de Mindanao viage nº
 13 3 á Delegacion de la Comp^a Trasatlantica, Cadiz. R=175 que el acreedor
 14 ha entregado a José de Larrinaga, Capitán de dicho vapor segun recibo del
 15 mismo . . . 11 y 12 de Diciembre [1882]" ("Steam boat Mindanao Island
 16 trip nº 3 to the Delegation of the Transatlantic Company, Cadiz. R=175
 17 that the creditor gave to José de Larrinaga, Captain of this boat according
 18 to the receipt of the same . . . 11 and 12 December [1882]"). Diary Entry
 19

20

21

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

25	409	Vapor Isla de Mindanao viage nº 3 á Delegacion de la Comp ^a Trasatlantica, Cadiz	R.	Q.
26	333	R=175 que el acreedor ha entregado a José de Larrinaga Capitán de		
27		dicho vapor segun recibo del mismo y fecha del indicado acreedor fechas 11 y 12 de 31/12		
28	410	varios	176.	R.
29		Banco Hispano Colonial S.A		
30		Pr. 2019180 que ha satisfecho el acreedor segun aviso de ayer como 31/12		
31		Admón. gen. de Filipinas		
32		Corta remesón en 250 libras embarcada en el Vapor Isla de Mindanao		
33		que salió ayer de esta	Pr. 2000000	
34		Por envio en los Filipinos entregado al Capitán del		
35		expresado vapor		4500
36		Per premio de 3% de su valor en plata		3000
37		7500 libras en		3750
38		Coste de sacos para envase		180
39	373	Vapor Isla de Mindanao viage nº 3		
40		Por entrega en efectivo hecha al Sobre cargo del mismo.		3000

410, which documents that the company paid José de Larrinaga in gold 1
and silver, does not indicate for which services the gold and silver were 2
remitted. Later, Entry 413 shows that a ship went from Manila to Cuba 3
and Puerto Rico (56). Hence, a fundamental question arises: How is it 4
that these routes from Spain to the Philippines to Cuba and back could be 5
completely separated from the slave trade and abuses of colonial power given 6
the timeframe and people involved? David Eltis affirms, “The traffic in slaves 7
was . . . the most ‘international’ of all business activities” (123). Slavery 8
was officially abolished in Cuba in 1886, five years after the creation of the 9
CGTF and four years after the recording of the aforementioned document.⁹ 10
The Atlantic slave trade was nevertheless illegal starting in 1821 (Rodrigo, 11
Un hombre 17). It is difficult to believe that the Tabacalera would, almost 12
miraculously, be exempt from any ties to the slave-trade market, especially 13
given its exchanges between the Philippines and Cuba, where slave labor 14
was common on tobacco estates in the 1880s (Morgan 243–44). As we 15
have seen, Larrinaga, a slave trader in Cuba, regularly shipped goods from 16
Cuba to the Philippines before the abolition of slavery. 17

The problems I encounter reading the Tabacalera archive are not 18
exceptional. Transparency, as Stoler says, “is not what archival collections are 19
known for” (8). Edward Ball, in “Retracing Slavery’s Trail of Tears,” points 20
out that “so much of the vocabulary of slavery has been effaced from the 21
language” and that, likewise, many records about individuals or journeys 22
did not survive. He furthermore explains how ships would sometimes carry 23
five to fifty slaves, who were oftentimes excluded from the ship’s inventory. 24
In addition, it is common knowledge that the traces of slavery were 25
effaced from many nineteenth-century archives. Contemporary slave traders 26
were well aware of how to proceed with their trade. Michael Zeuske, in 27
Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants, notes that documents 28
that provide insights into the slave trade are difficult to find since records 29
of illicit transactions were easy proof to use against slave merchants and 30
were thus destroyed (133). Even if slavery was not illegal in the Hispanic 31
world for most of the century, it was being attacked and abolished in many 32
places around the world. One example is Britain’s Slavery Abolition Act of 33
1833. From this moment on, the purchase of enslaved people became more 34
expensive, making the slave trade more difficult.¹⁰ Yet we must consider 35
that the abolition of slavery did not mean the complete eradication of slave 36
trafficking; Zeuske writes, “Slavery was considered systemic up to 1808 and 37
thereafter it was considered to have been abolished. Actually, slavery was 38
not abolished, but rather, a legal mechanism was implemented whereby the 39
40

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

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

17

18

19

Conclusion

20

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

40



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.

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

9 4. For a comprehensive list of names of slave traders involved in the cre-
10 ation of the Banco Hispano Colonial, see Rodrigo (“From Slave Trade to Banking”
11 610–14). For general information about the Banco Hispano Colonial, see Rodrigo
12 (“Del desestanco” and *Los marqueses de Comillas*).

¹³ 5. For more information on slavery and Southeast Asia, see James Warren
¹⁴ (*The Sulu Zone 1768–1898*).

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

15
16 7. Bernardo Pérez was a slave trafficker in Cienfuegos.

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

²⁰ 9. On slavery in the Philippines see Hernández Hortigüela, "La esclavitud
²¹ 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 treaties" (133–34).

Works Cited

- 30 Akhter, Naveed. "Kinship and the Family Business." *Theoretical Perspective on Family*
31 Businesses, edited by Mattias Nordqvist et al., Elgaronline, 2015, pp. 175–90.
32 Alsos, Gry Agneta, et al. "Kinship and Business: How Entrepreneurial Households
33 Facilitate Business Growth." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, vol.
34 26, no. 1–2, 2014, pp. 97–122.
35 Ball, Edward. "Retracing Slavery's Trail of Tears." *Smithsonian Magazine*, Nov. 2015.
36 Bastida Vialcanet, Ramón, et al. "Estudio económico y contable de la Compañía
37 General de Tabacos de Filipinas 1881–1922." *De Computis*, vol. 12, no. 22,
38 2015, pp. 7–36.
39 Borja, Marciano R. de. *Basques in the Philippines*. U of Nevada P, 2005.
40

Cojuangco, Margarita. <i>Kris of Valor: The Samal Balangini's Defiance and Diaspora.</i>	1
Manisan Research and Publishing, 1993.	2
Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. <i>Acta de Constitución.</i> 26 Nov. 1881.	3
Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.	4
———. Colonia de San Antonio. Diary, 1882. Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.	5
———. Colonia de San Antonio. Diary number 4, 1889. Arxiu Nacional de	6
Catalunya.	7
———. Donativos y suscripciones patrióticas.” Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya UC	8
03.02.02	9
———. <i>Memoria de la Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas leída en la Junta</i>	10
<i>General Ordinaria de 15 de Enero de 1883.</i> Establecimiento Tipográfico de	11
los Sucesores de N. Ramírez y Ca., 1883.	12
Egerton, Douglas R. “Markets without a Market Revolution: Southern Planters and	13
Capitalism.” <i>Journal of the Early Republic</i> , vol. 16, no. 2, 1996, pp. 207–21.	14
Ehmer, Josef. “Family and Business Among Master Artisans and Entrepreneurs: The	15
Case of 19th-Century Vienna.” <i>History of the Family</i> , vol. 6, no. 2, 2002,	16
pp. 187–202.	17
Eltis, David. “Was Abolition of the American and British Slave Trade Significant	18
in the Broader Atlantic Context?” <i>Humanitarian Intervention and Changing</i>	19
<i>Labor Relations: The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade</i> ,	20
edited by Marcel van der Linden, Brill, 2011, pp. 117–39.	21
Engerman, Stanley L. “Slavery after the Abolition of the Slave Trade.” <i>Humanitarian</i>	22
<i>Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-term Consequences of the</i>	23
<i>Abolition of the Slave Trade</i> , edited by Marcel van der Linden, Brill, 2011,	24
pp. 223–43.	25
Farge, Arlette. <i>Le goût de l'archive.</i> Seuil, 1989.	26
Foote, Kenneth E. “To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture.”	27
<i>American Archivist</i> , vol. 53, 1990, pp. 378–92.	28
Fritzsche, Peter. “The Archive.” <i>History & Memory</i> , vol. 17, no. 1–2, 2005, pp. 15–44.	29
Hernández Hortigüela, Juan. “La esclavitud en las Islas Filipinas.” <i>Revista Filipina</i> ,	30
vol. 12, no. 4, Winter 2008–09. revista.carayanpress.com/esclavitud.html .	31
Morgan, William A. “Cuba Tobacco Slavery in the Nineteenth Century.” <i>Tabaco e</i>	32
<i>Escravos nos Impérios Ibéricos</i> , edited by Santiago de Luxán, Joao de Figueriôa-	33
Rêgo, and Vicent Seanz, Cham, 2015, pp. 243–69.	34
Orwell, George. <i>1984.</i> Signet Classic, 1961.	35
Perry, Adele. <i>Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-</i>	36
<i>Century Imperial World.</i> Cambridge UP, 2015.	37
Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín. “Del desestanco del tabaco a la puesta en marcha de la	38
Compañía General de Tacacos de Filipinas (1879–1890).” <i>Boletín Americanista</i> ,	39
vol. 59, 2009, pp. 199–221.	40
———. <i>Empresa, política y sociedad en la Restauración: El grupo Comillas (1876–1914).</i>	
2000. U Autònoma de Barcelona, PhD dissertation.	



- 1 ———. “Familia, redes y alianzas en la gran empresa española: El holding Comillas
2 (1857–1890).” *Prohistoria*, vol. 10, no. 10, 2006, pp. 73–92.
- 3 ———. *Los Goytisolo: Una próspera familia de indianos*. Marcial Pons, 2016.
- 4 ———. *Un hombre, mil negocios: La controvertida historia de Antonio López, Marqués
5 de Comillas*. Ariel, 2021.
- 6 ———. *Los marqueses de Comillas, 1817–1925: Antonio y Claudio López*. LID, 2000.
- 7 ———. “From Slave Trade to Banking in Nineteenth-Century Spain.” *Comparativ*,
vol. 30, no. 5–6, 2020, pp. 600–14.
- 8 Rosenthal, Caitlin. *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management*. Harvard UP, 2018.
- 9 Runia, Eelco. “Presence.” *History and Theory*, vol. 45, 2006, pp. 1–29.
- 10 ———. “Spots of Time.” *History and Theory*, vol. 45, 2006, pp. 305–16.
- 11 Raimon, Eve Allegra. “Lost and Found: Making Claims on Archives.” *Legacy: A
12 Journal of American Women Writers*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2020, pp. 257–68.
- 13 Sanz Rozalén, Vicent, and Michael Zeuske. “Towards a Microhistory of the Enslaved:
14 Global Considerations.” *El tabaco y la esclavitud en la rearticulación imperial
15 ibérica (s. xv–xx)*, edited by Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and João Figueirôa-
16 Rêgo. Publicações do Cidehus, 2018. books.openedition.org/cidehus/6545.
- 17 Stanziani, Alessandro. *Sailors, Slaves, and Immigrants: Bondage in the Indian Ocean
World, 1750–1914*. Palgrave McMillan, 2014.
- 18 Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common
19 Sense*. Princeton UP, 2008.
- 20 Surwillo, Lisa. “Enslaved by Liberalism: Spain after 1868.” *Republics of Letters: A
21 Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2012,
22 pp. 1–9.
- 23 Tomich, Dale. “The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for His-
24 torical Inquiry.” *IRSH*, vol. 63, 2018, pp. 477–501.
- 25 Tsuchiya, Akiko. “Monuments and Public Memory: Antonio López y López, Slavery,
26 and the Cuban-Catalan Connection.” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 41,
27 no. 5, 2019, pp. 479–500.
- 28 Warren, James Francis. *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and
29 the Birth of Ethnicity*. Singapore UP, 2002.
- 30 ———. *The Sulu Zone 1768–1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and
31 Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*. New Day
Publishers, 1985.
- 32 Zeuske, Michael. *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*. Translated
33 by Steven Randall, Markus Wiener, 2015.
- 34 ———. “Hidden Markers, Open Secrets: On Naming, Race Marking and Race
35 Making in Cuba.” *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, vol. 76,
36 no. 3–4, 2002, pp. 235–66.
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40



Slavery in the Age of Memory





Slavery in the Age of Memory

Engaging the Past



Ana Lucia Araujo

BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY



BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY, BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC and the Diana logo
are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2020

Copyright © Ana Lucia Araujo, 2020

Ana Lucia Araujo has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs
and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted
in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying,
recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without
prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for,
any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given
in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher
regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have
ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

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

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-3500-4848-5
 PB: 978-1-3500-4849-2
ePDF: 978-1-3500-4847-8
eBook: 978-1-3500-4850-8

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printed and bound in Great Britain

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.



For Alain Bélanger





CONTENTS

List of Figures viii

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction: Slavery and Memory 1

- 1 Weaving Collective Memory 13
- 2 Shrines of Cultural Memory 39
- 3 Battles of Public Memory 69
- 4 Setting Slavery in the Museum 95
- 5 Memory and Public History 131
- 6 Art of Memory 159

Epilogue: The Persistence of the Past 181

Notes 185

References 215

Index 236



3

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 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, Tilerston, 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 *Brookes*, 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, Threlholme, & 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 insurgency, 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 overseers 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 supremacists 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-Conederates, 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 as enslaved Africans. He owned at least one slave ship, the *Jolly Bachelor*, 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 (1722–1803) 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.
- 64 Christy Clark-Pujara, *Dark Work: The Business of Slavery in Rhode Island* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 82; Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 235.
- 65 Clark-Pujara, *Dark Work*, 90.
- 66 Michelle Obama, *Becoming* (New York: Crown, 2018), 175.
- 67 *Traces of the Trade: A Story from the Deep North*, directed by Katrina Browne (San Francisco: California Newsreel, 2008).
- 68 Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 18.
- 69 The rhyme is reproduced in Geo Howe, *Mount Hope: A New England Chronicle* (New York: Viking, 1959), 128; Thomas Norman DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade: A Northern Family Confronts Its Legacy as the Largest Slave-Trading Dynasty in U.S. History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008), 50, as well as in a sequence of *Traces of the Trade*, which shows Adjua’s graveyard.
- 70 Pauledore D’Wolf’s grave is unmarked. In addition to *Traces of the Trade*, see Glenn A. Knoblock, *African American Historic Burial Grounds and Gravesites of New England* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2016), 189.
- 71 See *Traces of the Trade* and Knoblock, *African American Historic Burial Grounds*, 190.
- 72 Tom DeWolf [Thomas Norman DeWolf] in *Traces of the Trade*.
- 73 Dain Perry in *Traces of the Trade*.
- 74 See Ledlie Laughlin in *Traces of the Trade*. His acknowledgement of the family slave’s past appears in DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade*, 17.
- 75 The DeWolf abbreviated family tree is reproduced in DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade*, VIII.
- 76 See DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade*, 4.
- 77 DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade*, 17.
- 78 James DeWolf Perry VI in *Traces of the Trade*.
- 79 Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, VII. See also Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

- 69 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, behind Every Name a Story, <https://www.ushmm.org/remember/holocaust-reflections-testimonies/behind-every-name-a-story>.
- 70 See Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*.
- 71 Amsdem, “Building the First Slavery Museum in America.”
- 72 Commander, “Plantation Counternarratives,” 37.
- 73 Stephen Small, “Still Back of the Big House: Slave Cabins and Slavery in Southern Heritage Tourism,” *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment* 15, no. 3 (2013): 418.
- 74 Shelvin Sebastian, “Sue Williamson and the Slave Trade Narrative,” *The New Indian Express*, January 2, 2019, <http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/kochi/2019/jan/02/sue-williamson-and-the-slave-trade-narrative-1919335.html>.
- 75 Witness Stones, “What Is the Witness Stones Project,” <https://witnessstones.org/what-is-the-witness-stones-project>.
- 76 See Édouard Glissant, *Mémoires des esclavages* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007).
- 77 On this essay-report, see Charles Forsdick, “Monuments, Memorials, Museums: Slavery Commemoration and the Search for Alternative Spaces,” *Francosphères* 3, no. 1 (2014): 92.
- 78 Fleming, *Resurrecting Slavery*, 78. On the genealogical work conducted by the group and the existing names database, see Les noms de familles guadeloupéennes et martiniquaises, <http://www.anchoukaj.org/>.
- 79 Thibault Camus, “Esclavage: une Fondation pour la mémoire à l’hôtel de la Marine,” *Radio France Internationale*, April 28, 2018, <http://www.rfi.fr/france/20180428-esclavage-traite-fondation-memoire-hotel-marine-macron-pantheon>.
- 80 Brown University, *Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice* (Providence: Brown University, 2007), 83–7.
- 81 See Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*.
- 82 For an overview, see Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy, eds. *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019).
- 83 Ruth Serven Smith, “UVA Begins Project to Identify, Contact Descendants of Slaves,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 19, 2019. More information on the memorial is available at Memorial to Enslaved Laborers at the University of Virginia, <https://www2.virginia.edu/slaverymemorial>.
- 84 The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation, <https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/>.
- 85 Susan Svrluga, “College of William & Mary to Explore the Legacies of Slavery and Racism,” *Washington Post*, July 31, 2019.

Chapter 3

- 1 David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London: Pan Books, 2017), 30.
- 2 See Olusoga, *Black and British*, 57. For various biographies of black men and women living in Tudor England, see Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: One World, 2017).

- 3 See Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley, and Jessica Moody, eds. *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a "National Sin"* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016). Also, of crucial importance is the project retracing the indemnities paid to former slave owners after the abolition of slavery in the British empire; see Legacies of British Slave-Ownership, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>.
- 4 Among the works focusing on Bristol's slave trade, see David Richardson, *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America: The Years of Expansion 1698–1729* (Bristol: The Bristol Record Society, 1986); David Richardson, *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America: The Years of Ascendancy 1730–1745* (Bristol: The Bristol Record Society, 1987); David Richardson, *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America: The Years of Decline 1746–1769* (Bristol: The Bristol Record Society, 1991); David Richardson, *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America: The Final Years 1770–1807* (Bristol: The Bristol Record Society, 1996); Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London: Continuum, 2001). Therefore, I use the recent edition: Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).
- 5 *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.
- 6 See Christine Chivallon, "Bristol and the Eruption of Memory: Making Slave-Trading Past Visible," *Social and Cultural Geography* 2, no. 3 (2001): 351.
- 7 Vagrancy Act 1824, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/5/83/section/4>.
- 8 Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 125.
- 9 West of England Partnership, Office for National Statistics, 1991 Census of population, Ethnic Groups by Unitary Authority, <http://www.westofengland.org/research-statistics/census/1991-census>.
- 10 Jane Mills, "Equality Profile: Black Africans Living in Bristol" (Bristol: Performance, Information, and Intelligence, Bristol City Council, October 2014); Jane Mills, *Equalities Profile: African Caribbeans Living in Bristol* (Bristol: Performance, Information, and Intelligence, Bristol City Council, October 2014).
- 11 Madge Dresser, "Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 229; Olivette Otele, "Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation: The Slave Trade Gallery in the Bristol Museum," *Social Semiotics* 22, no. 2 (2012): 156.
- 12 Otele, "Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation," 161.
- 13 See Chivallon, "Bristol and the Eruption of Memory," 355. However, this was not the first novel exploring Bristol's slave-trading activities. Madge Dresser reminds that in 1941, Liverpool-born Margaret Sean published the novel *The Sun Is My Undoing*. The book, exploring the life of a Bristolian family that participated in the Atlantic slave trade, was so successful that it had several editions. See Margaret Sean, *The Sun Is My Undoing* (London: Collins, 1941) and Dresser, "Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol," 227.

- 14 Philippa Gregory, *A Respectable Trade* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1995).
- 15 Giles, “The Great Circuit,” 16; Chivallon, “Bristol and the Eruption of Memory,” 352; and Otele, “Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation,” 171n1.
- 16 Giles, “The Great Circuit,” 16. See also Rebecca Casbeard, “Slavery Heritage in Bristol: History, Memory, Forgetting,” *Annals of Leisure Research* 12, no. 1–2 (2011): 143–66.
- 17 Madge Dresser, Caletta Jordan, and Doreen Taylor, *Slave Trade Trail around Central Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Museums and Art Gallery, 1998).
- 18 Otele, “Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation,” 159.
- 19 Chivallon, “Bristol and the Eruption of Memory,” 358.
- 20 Otele, “Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation,” 159.
- 21 Dresser, “Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol,” 230.
- 22 Richard Benjamin, “Museums and Sensitive Histories: The International Slavery Museum,” in *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo (New York: Routledge, 2012), 180.
- 23 Kenneth Morgan, *Edward Colston and Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1999), 4.
- 24 Morgan, *Edward Colston and Bristol*, 3.
- 25 Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, 3.
- 26 James Williams Arrowsmith, *How to See Bristol: A Complete, Up-to-Date, and Profusely Illustrated Guide* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1906), 26.
- 27 Dresser, “Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol,” 227. The oil painting is housed at the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.
- 28 The permanent gallery *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery* at the then Industrial Museum exhibited the painting in the late 1990s; see Otele, “Bristol, Slavery, and the Politics of Representation,” 161. See also Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, 3.
- 29 See H. J. Wilkins, *Edward Colston: A Chronological Account of His Life and Work* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1920), and Dresser, “Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol,” 227.
- 30 Peter Webb, *Exploring the Networked Worlds of Popular Music: Milieux Cultures* (New York, London: Routledge, 2007), 45–6.
- 31 Chivallon, “Bristol and the Eruption of Memory,” 355.
- 32 Chivallon, “Bristol and the Eruption of Memory,” 355.
- 33 Chivallon, “Bristol and the Eruption of Memory,” 356.
- 34 Alan Rice, “The History of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Heritage from Below in Action: Guerrilla Memorialisation in the Era of Bicentennial Commemoration,” In *Heritage from Below*, ed. Iain J. M. Robertson (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 210.
- 35 Olivette Otele, “Colston: What Can Britain Learn from France,” in *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonise the Racist Heart of Empire*, ed. Roseanne Chantiluke, Brian Kwoba, and Athniangamso (London: Zed Books, 2018), 176. See also Drayton, “Rhodes Must Not Fall?,” in which he connects the movement to remove Rhodes’s statues and other similar movements in Britain, South Africa, and the West Indies.
- 36 See Dresser, “Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol,” 237.
- 37 See Countering Colston: Campaign to Decolonise Bristol, <https://counteringcolston.wordpress.com/colston-statue/>.

- 38 Michael Yong, “Ball and Chain Attached to Edward Colston’s Statue in Bristol City Centre,” *BristoLive*, May 6, 2018, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/ball-chain-attached-edward-colstons-1539315>.
- 39 Tristan Cork, “100 Human Figures Placed in Front of Colston Statue in City Centre,” *BristoLive*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/100-human-figures-placed-front-2122990>.
- 40 Different from the position of Mayor of the city, the post of Lord Mayor is occupied by a different councilor each year. The Lord Mayor is the city’s first citizen. His or her role is to promote the city, the city council, and Bristol’s organizations.
- 41 Steven Morris, “Slave Trader’s Portrait Removed from Bristol Lord Mayor’s Office,” *The Guardian*, June 19, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/19/slave-traders-portrait-removed-from-bristol-lord-mayors-office>.
- 42 Kenneth Morgan, “Liverpool’s Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740–1807,” in *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, ed. David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, and Anthony Tibbles (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 15. See *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.
- 43 Jessica Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool in Public Discourse from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day,” (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2014), 51–2.
- 44 Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 202.
- 45 Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, 260. See also Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 54.
- 46 Abercromby Square is named after Ralph Abercromby (1734–1801), a Scottish politician and soldier whose trajectory is deeply connected to British colonial history. Among others, he became a lieutenant-general in the British Army and Governor of Trinidad. He was also a commander of the British Army in Egypt, where he was killed during the Battle of Alexandria.
- 47 Check the online exhibition *Liverpool’s Abercromby Square and the Confederacy during the U.S. Civil War*, curated by Christopher Williams, Jim Powell, and Joseph Kelly, University of Liverpool, 2005, <http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/liverpools-abercromby-square>.
- 48 Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 57.
- 49 Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 199.
- 50 Mark Christian, “An African-Centered Approach to the Black British Experience: With Special Reference to Liverpool,” *Journal of Black Studies* 28, no. 3 (1998): 294.
- 51 Christian, “An African-Centered Approach to the Black British Experience,” 295–6.
- 52 Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*, 62.
- 53 Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 3.
- 54 See among others Averil M. Grieve, *The Last Years of the English Slave Trade: Liverpool 1750–1807* (London: Frank Cass, 1968); Roger Anstey and P. E. H. Hair, *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition: Essays to Illustrate Current Knowledge and Research* (Liverpool: Historic Society of Lancashire

- and Cheshire, 1989); Gomer Williams and David Eltis, *History of the Liverpool Privateers and Letters of Marque with an Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade, 1744–1812* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Suzanne Schwarz, *Slave Captain: The Career of James Irving in the Liverpool Slave Trade* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, and Anthony Tibbles, eds. *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Anthony Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018).
- 55 Jacqueline Nassy Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 65; Jump Ship Rat, “Getting Away With It,” in *Cultural Hijack: Rethinking Intervention*, ed. Ben Perry, Myriam Tahir, and Sally Medlyn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 302.
- 56 See Tony Gifford, Wally Brown, and Ruth Bunney, *Loosen the Shackles: First Report of the Liverpool 8 Into Race Relations in Liverpool* (London: Karia Press, 1989).
- 57 To emphasize this ancient presence, Small uses the term “indigenous.” See Stephen Small, “Racialised Relations in Liverpool: A Contemporary Anomaly,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 17, no. 4 (1991): 514.
- 58 Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail*, 71.
- 59 Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail*, 164.
- 60 “Transcript of Speech Given by Eric Lynch in 1980,” in Gifford, Brown, and Bunney, *Loosen the Shackles*, 247.
- 61 For detailed descriptions of this early tours, see Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail*, especially Chapter 1. Renaud Hourcade also interviewed two other citizens who joined memory of slavery activism in the middle of the 1990s; see Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*, 168.
- 62 The permanent exhibition became known as *Transatlantic Slavery Gallery: Against Human Dignity*; see Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace, *The British Slave Trade and Public Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 310–26; and Jessica Moody, “Liverpool’s Local Tints: Drowning Memory and ‘Maritimising’ Slavery in a Seaport City,” in *Britain’s History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a “National Sin”*, ed. Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley, and Jessica Moody (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 157–8.
- 63 See Stephen Small, “Slavery, Colonialism and Museums Representations in Great Britain: Old and New Circuits of Migration,” *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 9, no. 4 (2011): 117–28.
- 64 Celeste-Marie Bernier, “Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity;” “A Respectable Trade?: Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery;” “Pero and Pinney Exhibit,” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 1007.
- 65 Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*, 286.
- 66 This omnipresence of slavery in the city’s landscape is underscored by Caryl Philips, *The Atlantic Sound* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000), 90, and Wallace, *The British Slave Trade and Public Memory*, 31.
- 67 Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 48. For the names of all twenty-five mayors with interests in the slave trade, see Peter Fryer,

- Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 2010), 485–6 n31.
- 68 Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 112.
- 69 James Walvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
- 70 Walvin, *The Zong*, 161.
- 71 Tours of Liverpool's Old Dock, http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/visit/old_dock_tours.aspx.
- 72 A full description of the digital work is available here at Layers of the Old Dock, <https://layers-of.net/olddock/about.html>.
- 73 Moody, “The Memory of Slavery in Liverpool,” 270.
- 74 See Hourcade, *Les ports négriers face à leur histoire*, 90, and Olivette Otele, “History of Slavery, Sites of Memory, and Identity Politics in Contemporary Britain,” in *A Stain on Our Past: Slavery and Memory*, ed. Abdoulaye Gueye and Johann Michel (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2017), 195.
- 75 On the memorialization of slavery and the slave trade in London, see Madge Dresser, “Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London,” *History Workshop Journal* 64 (2007): 163–99. On the permanent gallery *London, Sugar, and Slavery*, see David Spence, “Making the London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery at the Museum of London Docklands,” in *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Geoffrey Cubitt, Ross Wilson, and Kalliopi Fouseki (New York: Routledge, 2011), 149–63. I also discuss the exhibition in a previous book; see Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 26–7.
- 76 UNESCO, World Heritage Convention, Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1150>.
- 77 Larry Neild, “Slavery Streets May Be Wiped from the Map,” *Daily Post*, July 7, 2006, 10.
- 78 Lee Glendinning, “Renaming Row Darkens Penny Lanes’s Blue Suburban Skies,” *The Guardian*, July 10, 2006.
- 79 Laurent Westgaph, *Read the Signs: Street Names with a Connection to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Abolition in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Council, 2007).
- 80 Kytle and Roberts extensively examined these debates about the construction of a monument honoring Vesey, and explored the perceptions of white residents, see Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey’s Garden*, 284.
- 81 Ta-Nehisi Coates, “Killing Dylann Roof,” *The Atlantic*, May 26, 2016.
- 82 Tucker and Holley, “Dylann Roof’s Eerie Tour of American Slavery.”
- 83 Peter Holley and DeNeen L. Brown, “Woman Takes Down Confederate Flag in Front of South Carolina Statehouse,” *Washington Post*, June 27, 2015.
- 84 Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey’s Garden*, 98–9.
- 85 Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 159.
- 86 See Kevin M. Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War’s Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 123–5.

- 87 See Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 50.
- 88 Maggie Astor, "Protester in Durham Topple a Confederate Monument," *New York Times*, August 14, 2017.
- 89 Kali Holloway, "Confederate Monuments: Where Are They Now?," *Salon*, August 18, 2019, https://www.salon.com/2019/08/18/confederate-monuments-where-are-they-now_partner/.
- 90 Nigel Roberts, "New Confederate Monuments Going Up Despite Uproar," *The Jacksonville Free Press* 30, no. 47 (2017): 2.
- 91 Rachel L. Swarns, "Yale College Dean Torn by Racial Protests," *New York Times*, November 15, 2015.
- 92 Andrew Buncombe, "Yale University Keeps College Named after White Supremacist despite Protests," *Independent*, April 26, 2015; Isaac Stanley Becker, "Yale Keeps the Calhoun Name Despite Racial Controversy but Ditches the 'Master Title,'" *Washington Post*, April 27, 2016.
- 93 Yale University, Office of the President, Decision on the Name of Calhoun College, <https://president.yale.edu/decision-name-calhoun-college>.
- 94 Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1900), 98.
- 95 Jared Ross Hardesty, "'The Negro at the Gate': Enslaved Labor in Eighteenth-Century Boston," *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2014): 73.
- 96 Brown, *Faneuil Hall*, 12.
- 97 According to *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, voyage ID 25185, <https://www.slavevoyages.org>. See also Brown, *Faneuil Hall*, 45.
- 98 Caleb Hopkins Snow, *A History of Boston: The Metropolis of Massachusetts from Its Origin to the Present Period with Some Account of the Environs* (Boston: Abel Bowen, 1825), 233–4.
- 99 Snow, *A History of Boston*, 234.
- 100 Brown, *Faneuil Hall*, 135.
- 101 Marcelo Philip, "Should Boston Rename Meeting Hall with Slave Ties?" *Philadelphia Tribune*, August, 25, 2017, 4B.
- 102 United States Census Bureau, Boston, Massachusetts, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/bostoncitymassachusetts>.
- 103 Jule Pattison-Gordon, "Bostonians Mark City's History with Slavery," *The Boston Banner*, August 27, 2015.
- 104 Mark Pratt, "Should Liberty Icon Faneuil Hall's Slave Ties Mean Renaming," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 18, 2018.
- 105 Sarah Betancourt, "Boycott Looms for Landmark Named after Slave Owner," *Philadelphia Tribune*, August 3, 2018.
- 106 Adrian Walker, "The Nearly Erased Artist behind the Hidden Face of the Proposed Faneuil Hall Memorial," *Boston Globe*, August 21, 2018.
- 107 Felicia Gans, "Protestors Reenact Slave Auction to Demand Change for Faneuil Hall," *Boston Globe*, November 10, 2018.
- 108 Kellen Browning, "Artist Pulls Out of Faneuil Hall Slave Memory Project after NAACP Announces Opposition," *Boston Globe*, July 12, 2019.
- 109 Steven Locke, "Why I Withdrew My Proposed Slave Memorial at Faneuil Hall," *Boston Globe*, August 4, 2019.