Cultural Legacies of Slavery in Modern Spain

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Cultural Legacies of Slavery in Modern Spain

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

—Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*

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Introduction

Akiko Tsuchiya and Aurélie Vialette

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. See Tsuchiya's chapter in this volume.

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

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Part 1

The Legacies of Slavery in the Archive

Chapter 3

Cosmetic of the Archive

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

Aurélie Vialette[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

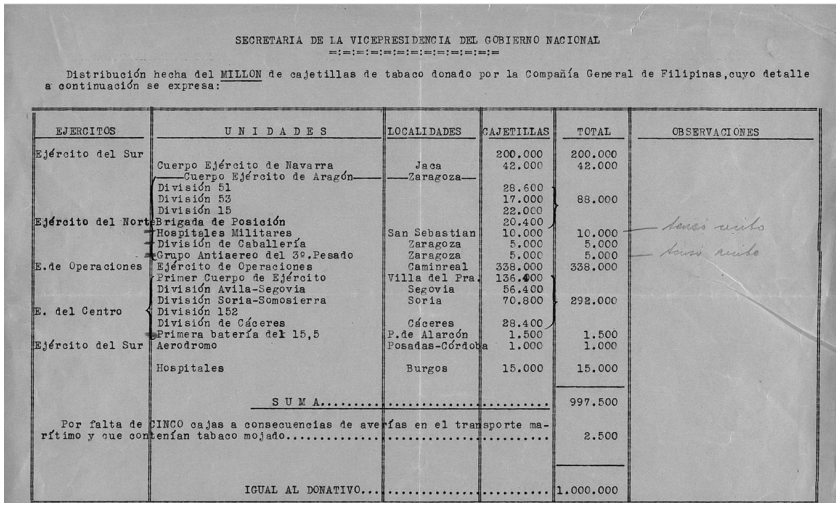
lie that only an autopsy can recover. In the same vein, as with the removal of López's statue in 2018, we need a sort of archival coroner to exhume the lie. Martín Rodrigo-Alharilla could, in fact, be considered the first archival coroner of López y López. From his doctoral thesis *Empresa, política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

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

The Economic Legacies of Slavery in the Archive

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

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



SECRETARIA DE LA VICEPRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO NACIONAL

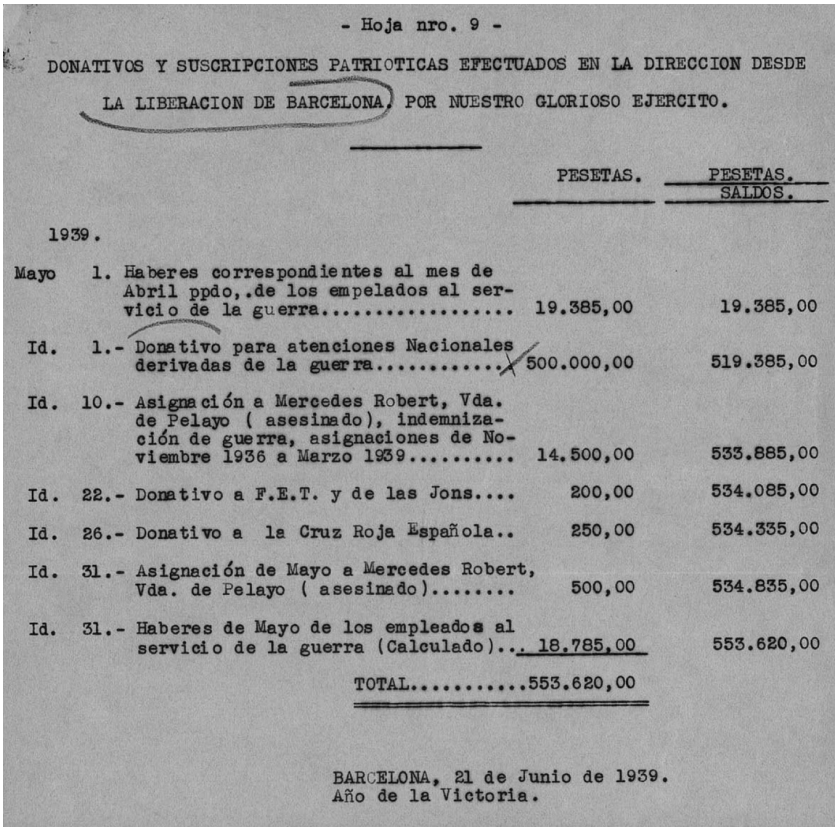
Distribución hecha del MILLON de cajetillas de tabaco donado por la Compañía General de Filipinas, cuyo detalle a continuación se expresa:

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

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

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

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



- Hoja nro. 9 -

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

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

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

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

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

Erasure of the Past

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Deciphering Documents: Clues and Enigmas

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

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

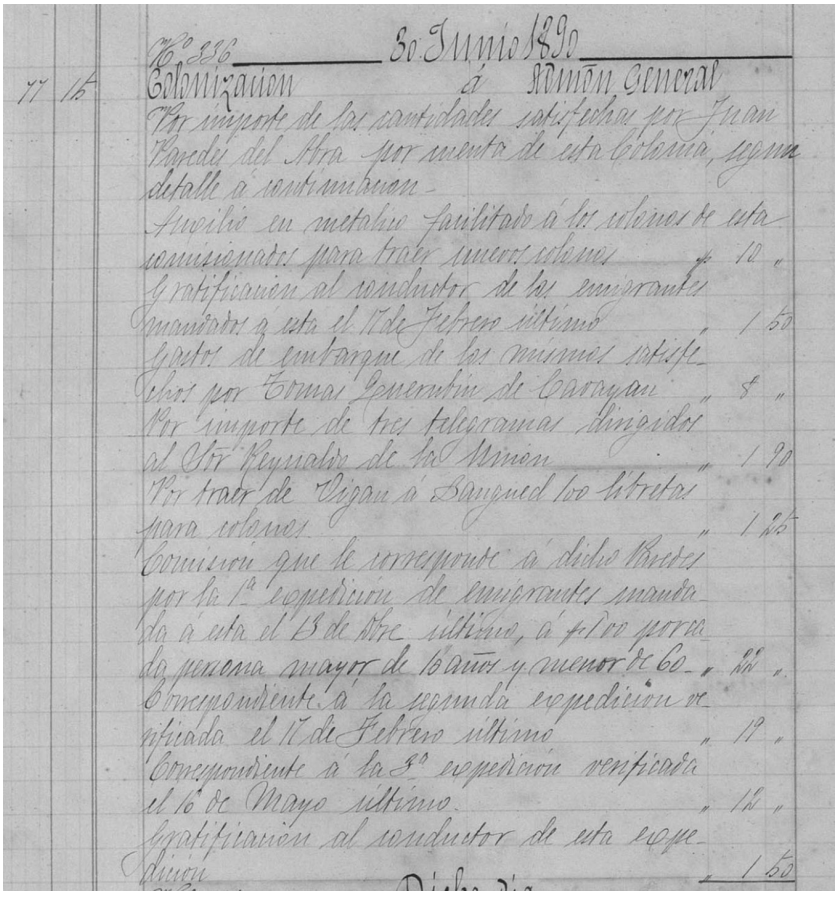
The composition and vastness of the transatlantic slave trade archive and, more specifically, of the modern Hispanic archive has yielded more questions than answers. To begin with, the vocabulary used to describe the different roles in the Atlantic trade is confusing. For instance, according to Douglas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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Banking and Friends and Family Networks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

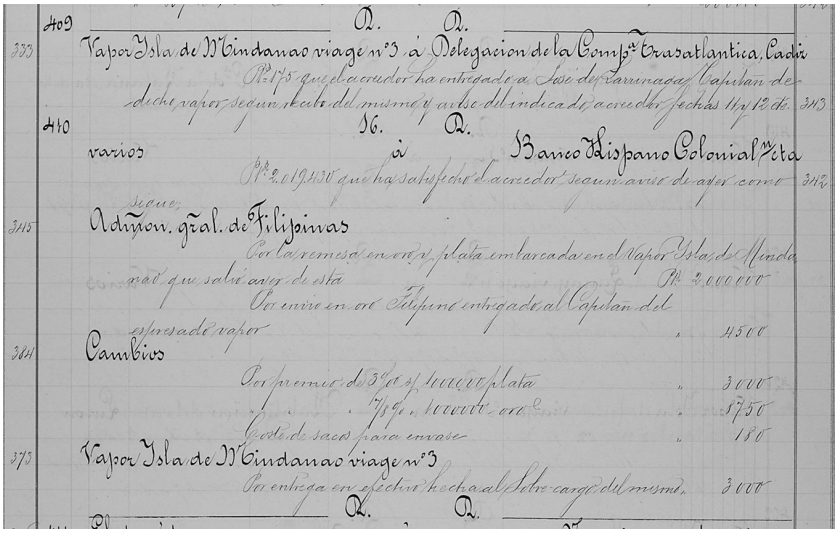
For the creation of networks and their maintenance, López y López struck up alliances with people who were connected, in one way or another, to the slave trade. Joaquín Eizaguirre, Patricio Satrústegui, and Ángel B. Pérez were involved in Banco Hispano Colonial and the shipping company A. López y Cía.,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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Bernardo Pérez was a slave trafficker in Cienfuegos.

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

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

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

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