Dienke Hondius

Mapping Urban European Histories of Slavery

New Developments in Historical Research, Commemoration, and Heritage

Although historians specialised in the field of American studies, Caribbean studies, Latin American and West African history have all mentioned the Transatlantic slave trade and plantation slavery, there are still significant gaps in historical research and knowledge concerning the European perspective of trading in enslaved Africans and investing in overseas plantations. In the first years of the twenty-first century, Asian and black African communities in Europe are developing into a small, often significant and predominantly urban presence. Halfway through the twentieth century, decolonisation began to change the face of Europe. Generations of white Europeans went through cycles of surprise about meeting their »first« non-white neighbour, classmate, colleague, or family member. The first postcolonial generation of black Europeans finds itself in most settings to be a very small community. The history of race relations in Europe is subject to new research questions that often emerge as a result of this new black presence. Integrating fields of historical research will help to develop European slavery studies. American slavery and abolition studies as well as critical race studies can help to point out similarities and differences with regard to the European involvement in slavery.[1]

We are now looking back at roughly two centuries since the formal prohibition of the slave trade (1807 in Great Britain, 1814 in the Netherlands for example), and at 180 (Great Britain 1833) to 125 years (Brazil 1888) since the formal abolition of slavery. Today, a commemorative culture is developing with monuments, remembrance days, exhibitions, calls for restitution and reparations, educational projects, websites and films.

In this article, I will address some of these recent developments, with a focus on the Netherlands, and present a research project called *Mapping Slavery*.

1. Short History of Race Relations in Europe Since the Prohibition of the Slave Trade and the Abolition of Slavery

The Netherlands have been involved in this history in many different ways. State institutions like the States of Zeeland, the City of Amsterdam, and the States General (national government), merchant companies and clubs like the *West Indische Compagnie* (»West India Company«, WIC) and the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (»East India Company«, VOC), the *Societeyt van Suriname* (»Society of Suriname«), the *Societeit van Berbice* (»Berbice Society« or »Berbice Company«) and the *Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie* (»Middelburg Commercial Company«), and urban authorities like the mayors and aldermen, church authorities, banks and insurance companies, as well as entrepreneurs in shipbuilding and outfitting,

1 Dienke Hondius, Blackness in Western Europe. Racial Patterns of Paternalism and Exclusion, New Jersey 2014.

maritime trade and investment companies, can all be considered in one way or another involved in enabling slave trade and slavery. Urban networks in European cities were small and overlapping, with many families and firms connected through marriage and shared economic, political and legal interests. This is also true for Portugal, Spain, France, Great Britain, and some cities in Germany and Scandinavia.

However, very few if any European cities, families, firms or institutions recognise this historical involvement in the Transatlantic slave trade and slavery. The use of slave labour and the investment in and profit from slave-based plantations overseas is mentioned in general and abstract terms that avoid and mask the harsh realities: think of ›European expansion‹, ›stimulating the sugar refining industry‹ or ›establishing new markets‹. The production, trade and industrial processing of sugar, coffee, cocoa and spices are mentioned as flavourful new products, ignoring the background of slave labour based agriculture. Among economic historians, two opposing interpretations emerge, one regarding the slave trade as a basic rational economic choice process, ›business as usual‹, the other regarding the slave trade as inhuman bondage, exploitation and a crime against humanity.

In two recent books and in our current research project *Mapping Slavery* I show examples of how the new reality of modern multicultural European cities and the new broadly accepted post-World War II, post-Shoah and post-colonial adherence to the concept of human rights and equality are now provoking new research questions about the historical background and construction of modern European cities and societies.[2] Centuries-old collections of paintings, notary, family and company records, and very visible remnants in cities today are ready to be searched and observed with new eyes. This can be seen in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities, in some of the old canal houses and warehouses, and the Golden Age collections. Many things are still here, around us. Many people are able to genealogically trace their family history as descendants of enslaved Africans, Asians, Americans, and also as descendants of slave traders and slave-owners.

After the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of the slave trade, Europe's population remains predominantly white. World War II provokes real change in international colonial and race relations for the first time in the entire period of European expansion and exploration. Entering Europe becomes a possibility, regardless of age, gender, economic position, or level of education, for people from outside Europe who have the nationality of one of Europe's nation states at the time. A significant factor preventing non-white emigration to Europe remains: the price of a ticket for passage by ship or, later, by plane. Even when there is – suddenly, unexpectedly, and temporarily – the possibility of settling in Europe, few non-Europeans can readily afford the shipping costs or airfare, few are able to make the arrangements to travel. Time is of the essence, because all European nation states attempt to close their borders again for postcolonial migrants in a variety of restrictive measures to control immigration.

The timing of the periods when European borders opened and closed again is related to the history of colonial independence, varying from one nation state to the next. Great Britain was earlier, Portugal was late, and a multi-phase pattern can be observed where postcolonial migrants from Asian ex-colonies came to Europe somewhat earlier, and migrants from African and Caribbean ex-colonies arrived later. Overall, it is safe to say that between

2 Hondius, Blackness in Western Europe; Dienke Hondius/Nancy Jouwe/Dineke Stam/Jennifer Tosch/Annemarie de Wildt (Eds.), Amsterdam Slavery Heritage Guide/Gids Slavernijverleden Amsterdam, Arnhem 2014.

1945 and 1980, migrants from former European colonies experienced least hindrance in finding full citizenship in the European nation state that had previously been their coloniser. There is yet little comparative research available. According to estimates of Andrea Smith, five to seven million postcolonial immigrants settled in Europe between 1945 and 1990.[3] Every European nation state had its specific ›time slot‹ for postcolonial migration: a short period in which emigration was possible. Hindrances and restrictions were in place up until as well as after this period. One of the consequences of the postcolonial blockades to European citizenship was that postcolonial migration became partially legal, partially illegal, depending on the legislation of the respective European country. Consequently, many African- and Asian-European families now consist of both ›legal citizens‹ and ›illegal migrants‹, within and outside Europe.

Coming to terms with the history of enslavement and the involvement in the slave trade is a process that has not been very active in Europe until recently. For postcolonial migrants coming from the former colonies, settling in Europe has often had unexpected elements. Historical knowledge and awareness of the history of slavery remains very limited and even lacking among the better-educated parts of European societies. The black Dutch historian Patricia Gomes noted a division of labour in the recent Dutch historiography about slavery: prominent historians in the debate who present their views in the leading newspapers are »all white; so were most of the journalists«. On the other hand, the writers of critical letters to the editors of the same newspapers, as well as the respondents quoted in the articles are »mostly of colour«. Gomes argues that the convention to regard the year 1863 as the moment of emancipation is in need of correction because of the ten-year period that followed formal emancipation, the episode of *staatstoezicht*, »state guardianship«: »I state that the [period of] *staatstoezicht* in Suriname belongs to the slavery past. […] A period of unfreedom.« There is reason to regard the 1863–1873 period as part of the slavery past. Gomes noted that the terminology of trauma was introduced in the debate about the memory and legacy of slavery from the late 1990s onward, but only by white historians and journalists to describe a »black« traumatised minority, the descendants of the enslaved. »The possibility of a white trauma that could be part of the foundation of the need to let the slavery past rest, remained outside consideration.« She called for new research into the »white psyche« that may lead to more insight in »the nature of Dutch society and the general relationship between white and black descendants«. On the occasion of the 150th celebration of abolition, Gomes initiated an impressive international conference on slavery and cultural trauma at the City Archives in Amsterdam.[4]

According to a new study by Amsterdam historian Pepijn Brandon, referring to the early modern historian Jonathan Israel, »[n]owhere else in the early modern world was the close economic collaboration of a network of maritime towns, inland manufacturing towns, fishing ports, and inland specialised agriculture anything like so intricately organised and fed-

3 Andrea L. Smith, Introduction. Europe's Invisible Migrants, in: idem (Ed.), Europe's Invisible Migrants, Amsterdam 2003, p. 32. See also http://www.imiscoe.org (accessed in October 2014).

4 Patricia D. Gomes, Slavernijgeschiedenis in de landelijke dagbladen, in: Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 124 (2011) 3, pp. 351–367. The international symposium on *Slavery and Cultural Trauma* took place on 30 June 2013, in the Stadsarchief, Amsterdam. See: http://www.ninsee.nl/news/Verslag-Cultureel-Trauma (accessed in October 2014) and http://www.forum.nl/Home/Agendadetail/EventListId/1/EventItemId/541 (accessed in October 2014).

erated as in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century«.[5] Brandon connects early modern socio-economic historiography with the history of war and military investments, in particular in his study of the Amsterdam Admiralty, based on extensive research. This close-knit network was in many ways related, directly and indirectly, to the history of slavery and the slave trade.

One clear difference between the American and European situation is the physical distance between the centres of decision-making regarding investments in shipbuilding and financing plantations. In the US, the business of slavery was conducted in the same towns where enslavement took place, and slave-owners lived in very close proximity of the enslaved they regarded as their property, close to and even within the plantation homes. By contrast, in Amsterdam for example, very few Africans and Asians from territories where enslavement took place were seen. Decisions regarding shipbuilding, providing weapons on slave ships, military and police investments for the Suriname plantations, expeditions against competing nations (in particular the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French) were taken in the metropolis as well as smaller towns and country houses by people who generally did not travel outside Europe, but collected their information from visitors from around the world at home, in their private offices and during meetings of their companies and clubs.[6]

The Dutch merchant companies, the WIC, the VOC, the *Societeyt van Suriname*, the *Societeit van Berbice* and the *Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie*, were closely related to the local and national state structures. The VOC for instance had six departments, tellingly called *Kamers* (»chambers«, »rooms«), in Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. Local directors were found among the main investors who often also had public functions in the cities. Between the VOC, focused on trade with Asia, and the WIC, focused on trade with Africa and the Americas, there were many familial ties too: several families invested in both companies. There was further overlap in public functions like membership of the city council and the temporary function of mayor. Therefore, we see a close network of families with many locally overlapping functions in the merchant trade companies and state institutions. Recently, Leo Balai has shown part of this network in his study about the connections between the city of Amsterdam and the Transatlantic slave trade.[7] Another new study by Ruud Paesie provides insight in the similar history of the merchant networks active in the capital of Zeeland, Middelburg.[8] Brandon points to the

5 Pepijn Brandon, Masters of War. State, Capital, and Military Enterprise in the Dutch Cycle of Accumulation (1600 –1795). Amsterdam University, 2013. p. 26.

6 Connecting serfdom and slavery studies in West and East Europe has resulted in two inspiring volumes of studies by the Datini Institute in Prato, Italy (2014). Cf. here Dienke Hondius, West-European Urban Networks in the History of Slavery and the Slave Trade. New Research Perspectives from the Netherlands, in: Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Ed.), Schiavitù e servaggio nell'economia europea secc. XI–XVIII/Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy 11th–18th Centuries. Atti della XLV Settimana di Studi, 14–18 aprile 2013, Florence 2014, vol. 2, pp. 575–592.

7 Leo Balai, Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel. Over de belangen van Amsterdamse regenten bij de transatlantische slavenhandel, Zutphen 2013. Early sources include: Johan E. Elias, De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1963. Haarlem, digital edition: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/elias/#page=0&accessor=accessor_index-&view=homePane (accessed in October 2014). See also: http://www.geni.com/projects/Vroedschap-van-Amsterdam-1578–1795/12749 (accessed in October 2014).

8 Comparable networks existed in Zeeland, as Ruud Paesie shows in an important new study: Ruud Paesie, De Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie, Zutphen 2014.

significant military power of the companies, their assignment to conquer and secure ports and coastlines, competing ships, building of fortresses and staffing it all with soldiers and military personnel.[9] Expeditions against runaway slaves in Suriname were expensive within Suriname and also in Amsterdam. The wars with the Maroons must have been high on the agenda of the directors of the Suriname, Berbice, and West India Company.[10]

2. Recent Developments in Commemoration Policy Concerning the Slavery Past in Europe

The historiography and commemoration policies concerning the slavery past have a long tradition in the US,[11] whereas several European countries have only recently become more active in acknowledging their involvement in the history of the slave trade and slavery – particularly Great Britain, the Netherlands, and France. The British bicentennial of the abolition of the slave trade (1807–2007) became an intriguing combination of celebration, reflexivity,

9 Brandon, Masters of War, pp. 55–56.

10 See for example Frank Dragtenstein's studies about Quassie and about the Maroon wars. Frank Dragtenstein, Trouw aan de blanken. Quassi van Timotibo, Amsterdam 2004; idem, Alles voor de vrede. De brieven van Boston Band tussen 1757 en 1763, Amsterdam 2011. See also: Kwame Nimako/Glenn Willemsen, The Dutch Atlantic. Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, London 2011; Maarten Prak, Gezeten burgers. De elite in een Hollandse stad (Leiden 1700–1780), Amsterdam 1985; Femme S. Gaastra, The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and Decline, Zutphen 2003; P. C. Emmer, De Nederlandse slavenhandel (1500–1850), Amsterdam 2000. Emmer's findings were updated and critically revised in: Karwan Fatah-Black/Matthias van Rossum, Wat is winst? De economische impact van de Nederlandse trans-Atlantische slavenhandel, in: Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis 9 (2012) 1, pp. 3–29. For a first idea of the illegal aspect of the slave trade, see Rudolf Paesie, Lorrendrayen op Africa. De illegale goederen- en slavenhandel op West-Afrika tijdens het achttiende-eeuwse handelsmonopolie van de West-Indische Compagnie (1700–1734), Amsterdam 2008. See also Henk den Heijer, Goud, ivoor en slaven. Scheepvaart en handel van de Tweede Westindische Compagnie op Afrika (1674–1740), Zutphen 1997; C. Reinders Folmer-van Prooijen, Van goederenhandel naar slavenhandel. De Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie (1720–1755), Middelburg 2000; Marten W. Schalkwijk, The Colonial State in the Caribbean. Structural Analysis and Changing Elite Networks in Suriname (1650–1920), The Hague 2010; Jan Wagenaar, Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1765.

11 Around the US, many local studies of the history of slavery have appeared. In the early 21th century, these local initiatives increased and began to bring history closer to the local present in exhibition and educational projects, for instance of the *New York Historical Society* about the early history of slavery in New York City, cf. James Oliver Horton, Slavery and Public Memory. The Tough Stuff of American Memory, New York 2006. See also the New York Historical Society and PBS programs on Slavery in New York City at http://www.slaveryinnewyork.org/PDFs/Full_Class_Materials.pdf (accessed in October 2014). As Craig Wilder tells us, several American universities have begun to study, to mention and to mark their historical ties to the history of slavery too. One example is Brown University, where this research has now resulted in a monument on campus and a Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice, cf. http://brown.edu/slavery-andjustice (accessed in October 2014); Robert P. Emlen, Slave Labor and the College Edifice. Building Brown University's University Hall in 1770, in: Rhode Island History 66 (2008) 2, pp. 35–46; Craig Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy. Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities,* New York 2013.

pride, and research mostly presented in positive terms, remembering slavery as an era that thankfully is now long behind us. For many archives, museums and schools it was reason for initiatives to study local connections with this history. For others, a present-day connection was made by mentioning current forms of forced and unfree labour around the world.

An impressive explosion of activities across the United Kingdom in 2007 has provided new knowledge, new connections, and also international inspiration. The commemorative year in the UK showed other Europeans the diversity and potential of a broad approach. There were official commemorative activities and institutional programs, but also many spontaneous local initiatives around the country.[12]

Around the same time, activities in France increased as well. Here local initiatives that had been active found positive support in organising the first national commemoration in May 2006. In an article in 2002, the French scholar Françoise Vergès criticised the 1998 French commemoration of 150 years of the abolition of slavery in France: »Condemnation of slavery went uncontested; reconciliation was the theme. The abolition of slavery was everyone's favourite story.«[13] More variety in commemoration activity emerged in the first years of the twenty-first century. After a French law, adopted in 2001, declared slavery and the slave trade a »crime against humanity«, the *Comité pour la mémoire de l'esclavage* (CPME) was established. The writer Maryse Condé was its first president, followed by Françoise Vergès in 2008, and by Myriam Cottias in 2013.[14] In 2009, the national commemoration took place in Bordeaux where a new exhibition was opened in the *Musée Aquitaine*. In Paris, another new monument was unveiled on 4 April 2009 to honour the first black African general in the French army, Alexandre Dumas. The monument shows two broken chains and handcuffs, an image that could easily be recognised as a monument of the memory of slavery as well, and indeed it was the site of a commemoration ceremony on May 2009. In Nantes, one of the cities most heavily involved in the transatlantic slave trades, permanent markers to commemorate this history have recently been installed. The *Comité* has installed commissions for educational projects and activities.

Comparable developments are taking place in the Netherlands, where the Dutch national organisation *National Institute Netherlands Slavery Past and Heritage* (NiNsee) was established in 2002, with a permanent exhibition, research center, and educational unit. At the same time, the new national monument to recognise the Dutch involvement in the slave trade and slavery was unveiled by the Prime minister and the Queen. A national commemoration day was established, to be held on 1 July every year, traditionally the day to celebrate the abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean. The Afro-Surinamese women's organisation *Sophie-Dela* was one of the crucial actors in achieving the political will to establish a national monument. NiNsee has a scientific staff as well as an educational domain and public activities, but unfortunately lost most of its funding in 2012. Since then the organisation has been

12 Stephen Farrell/Melanie Unwin/James Walvin (Eds.), The British Slave Trade. Abolition, Parliament and People. New York 2007; Joel Quirk, Ending Slavery in all its forms. Legal abolition and effective emancipation in historical perspective, in: International Journal of Human Rights 13 (2008), pp. 539–543.

13 Francoise Vergès, Post-Scriptum, in: David Theo Goldberg/Ato Quayson (Eds.), Relocating Postcolonialism, Oxford 2002, pp. 349–358, here p. 349.

14 Cathérine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Histoire, mémoire et politique: débats actuels sur la traite des esclaves et le colonialisme, in: Journal of Modern European History 7 (2009) 1, pp. 109–139. See www.comite-memoire-esclavage.fr (accessed in October 2014). Myriam Cottias, La question noire. Histoire d'une construction colonial, Paris 2007.

continuing a range of activities and national commemoration under financially difficult circumstances.[15]

The commemoration on 1 July is known as *Keti Koti Festival*, the »broken chains festival«. An annual national ceremony, sober and intense, at the monument in Oosterpark, Amsterdam, is combined with a growing number of festival-like activities in different parts of the city. Intriguingly, these activities are improvising the construction of new commemorative and heritage traditions, finding inspiration in family memories, historical research, local habits, and often in creative combinations. Since 2012 the commemoration and celebration have taken different forms. Throughout the commemorative year 2013, many activities took place. One new initiative was the *Keti Koti Table*, a series of dinner events with conversations about the memory of slavery and emancipation. The Afro-Surinamese consultant Mercedes Zandwijken designs these events, inspired by the Jewish religious tradition of the seider evening meal, where commemoration, explanation and dialogue are combined. It is a dynamic concept that has already brought together many people.[16]

Annemarie de Wildt, curator at Amsterdam Museum, has initiated several specific exhibitions using contemporary developments, inviting artists and activists from the Afro-Surinamese and Caribbean communities to show and share new insights, and actively and creatively searches to increase the museum's collections by integrating new material objects into them. In 2013, for example, she brought the museum to the Oosterpark festivities in the form of a tent where photographers invited the many participants to the festival to come in, have their photograph taken, and talk about their costume and their ideas regarding the meaning of the day. Other activities included a special exhibition, and the production of a *Kabra Mask,* a large mask used in the 1 July commemoration inspired by Afro-Surinamese and Maroon events to remember slavery. The mask is part of the museum collection and used by community groups during these events.[17] Significant and intriguing is also the inclusion and acceptance of Winti rituals during the Amsterdam, national and local commemorations in the Netherlands. Winti, a form of Afro-Surinamese religion brought from West Africa to South America and actively celebrated in both inland Maroon and urban Surinamese communities, travelled to the Netherlands with postcolonial migration of the Afro-Surinamese communities. Despite active persecution and prohibition by the dominant Christian faith in both Suriname and the Netherlands, Winti thrived and has found ways to co-exist and mix with Christian and other spiritual traditions. Older Afro-Surinamese people remember how illegal and controversial involvement in Winti activities was when they grew up. In the mostly secularised Netherlands today, the liberation ceremonies and Winti prayers addressing the ancestors of the enslaved have been accepted: they are the starting point of the annual national commemoration of emancipation in the Netherlands on 30 June and 1 July, with Winti priestesses like Marian Markelo as important ambassadors.[18]

15 Gloria Wekker, Another Dream of a Common Language, in: Darlene Clark Hine/Trica Danielle Keaton/Stephen Small (Eds.), Black Europe and the African Diaspora, Urbana 2009, here p. 284. See also www.ninsee.nl (accessed in October 2014).

16 Mercedes Zandwijken, Keti Koti Tafel: www.ketikotitafel.nl (accessed in October 2014).

17 Annemarie de Wildt, Amsterdam Museum, weblog of museum activities and initiatives: http://hart.amsterdammuseum.nl/64748/nl/keti-koti-krosi (accesssed in October 2014).

18 On 27 June 2014, the *Kabra Mask* was used as the centerpoint of dance at a commemorative event, *Kabra Neti*, in Muiderkerk in Amsterdam. See here for photographs and explanations: http://hart.amsterdammuseum.nl/87861/nl/kabramasker-danst (accessed in October 2014).

Commemorative activities are increasing in other Dutch cities and towns as well. In Middelburg, a town historically highly involved in the slave trade, a monument was unveiled in 2005.[19] In Rotterdam, a monument to commemorate the involvement of the city in the slave trade and slavery was unveiled in 2013 and a programme of yearly commemorations started on a beautiful location along the river.[20] In The Hague, new walking tours and a boat tour have been initiated and researchers are active in preparing a monument and publications too.[21]

The combination of recognising a history of pain and injustice with the celebration of freedom is not an easy one, and reminds us of the commemoration of the victims of World War II, of the Shoah, and the celebration of the liberation. In an impressive and very readable recent dissertation, Markus Balkenhol has analysed this quickly developing commemorative landscape and process in Amsterdam.[22] An important difference between the commemoration of the emancipation of slavery in Suriname, Curacao and in the Netherlands appears to be the focus on liberation. The celebration of emancipation day, 1 July, has a long tradition in Suriname and celebrating Tula's revolt against slavery on 17 August is growing into a tradition in Curacao. The character of the celebration is strong and positive, and postcolonial migration to the Netherlands brought the *Keti Koti* events and celebrations over. It appears that, until very recently, much less attention was devoted to recognising the brutality of enslavement, death, torture and exploitation in Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean. It is this double movement of commemoration and celebration that is more typical of the Netherlands and other parts of Europe and which has developed around the memory of World War II in particular. In Europe today we can identify a process of inventing and creating events that draw to the complex and long history and legacy of slavery. New activities are tried out every year. On 1 July 2014, a significant intervention took place in Amsterdam during the morning parade through the city towards the Oosterpark where the national commemoration and the emancipation festival are usually held. A group of Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Caribbean activists participated in the parade, dressed in sharp contrast to the usual festive and colourful parade walkers: they were dressed in black cotton, decorated with red and white marks and performed as enslaved Africans, chained and cuffed. The activist character of this remarkable intervention continued in Oosterpark, when the same group stopped the formal ceremony by coming to the platform and taking a microphone to read a statement with sharp criticism of the Dutch government, just when the Deputy Prime

19 Yearly commemorations take place in Middelburg and in 2014, a year programme of activities in the broader region including Vlissingen is taking place to recognise, study and remember the 1814 formal prohibition of the slave trade. The local Zeeuws Archief contain world class archives of the *Middelburg Commercial Company*, an important slave trading organisation. See http://www.middelburg.nl/slavenhandel2014 (accessed in October 2014) and www.zeeuwsarchief.nl (accessed in October 2014).

20 Rotterdam merchants and companies were involved in the slave trade, and although the city was severely damaged by bombings during World War II, significant archives including those of insurance companies and banks have survived, enabling new historical research, see http://cbkrotterdam.nl/slavernijmonumentrotterdam (accessed in October 2014). A committee prepares more activities every year.

21 Valika Smeulders and Okke ten Hove are increasing and sharing their expertise here, with Haags Historisch Museum, Nationaal Archief, and genealogical research groups.

22 Markus Balkenhol, Tracing Slavery. An Ethnography of Diaspora, Affect, and Cultural Heritage in Amsterdam. Dissertation, VU University Amsterdam 2014. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AbLNVqISBH4 (accessed in October 2014).

Minister was about to begin his speech. Their call addressed the tension between celebration and commemoration critically: »In our view we are not doing justice to the struggle and the suffering of the enslaved when we treat their legacy without respect. We cannot mourn, commemorate and celebrate at the same moment.«[23] While in the US and in the Caribbean re-enactment of slavery related episodes as political theatre can be found, this had not been introduced yet as form of activism during and in part against the commemoration of the emancipation events in Europe; this was a new development.[24]

Besides the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands, scholarship in countries not immediately associated with the transatlantic slave trade or plantation slavery, like Germany or Switzerland, is addressing elements of local economic involvement in and profit of the slave trade by Germans or Swiss.[25]

Finally a word about the current movement for reparations, campaigns for compensating the descendants of the enslaved, a worldwide movement to acknowledge and repair human rights violations. The challenge, in my view, is to turn embarrassment into action, and shame into solidarity. Two new initiatives addressing the study of reparations are Dr. Nathaniel Coleman's project *Enriching Public Discourse – Empowering African People,* at University College London, and that of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and its *Reparations Commission*, who have started to address the issue with European parliaments. In a presentation at the British House of Commons on 16 July 2014, the chairman of this commission and history professor Sir Hilary Beckles said: »The reparations process will bring honour and dignity to the people of the Caribbean as well as the people of Great Britain and Europe. This 21st century will be the century of global reparatory justice.«[26] Beckles gave several examples of the direct legacy and unmistakable connections and continuities between insti-

23 From the call to come to Oosterpark on 1 July 2014 dressed in black: »In onze ogen doen wij de strijd en leed van de tot slaaf gemaakten geen recht als wij oneerbiedig met hun nalatenschap omgaan. Wij kunnen niet op hetzelfde moment rouwen, herdenken én feest vieren.« The statement during the demonstration focused more on present day developments, summarised by the activists as the status of the black Dutch as ›second class citizens‹, calling for action against racism: http://werkgroepcaraibischeletteren.nl/oproep-herdenking-slavernijverleden-draag-zwart-op-1-juli/(accessed in October 2014).

24 The 1 July Amsterdam activists responded to calls in social media (Facebook and Twitter) by several groups, including Zwarte Piet is Racisme, Stichting Nederland Wordt Beter, Zwarte Piet Niet, New Urban Collective, Vereniging Opo Kondreman, Free Your Mind, Mad Mothers, Soul Rebel Movement, Stichting Eer en Herstel, Kick Out Zwarte Piet, The Black Coalition, Black-PowerMent, and Hotshots Events. See also: »Genoeg = Genoeg Wij eisen respect« on YouTube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BX3N5ICuj8k (accessed in October 2014).

25 Klaus Weber, Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt (15. bis 19. Jahrhundert), in: Journal of Modern European History 7 (2009) 1, pp. 37–67; Andreas Eckert, Europa, Sklavenhandel und koloniale Zwangsarbeit. Einleitende Bemerkungen, in: Journal of Modern European History 7 (2009) 1, pp. 26–36. See also: Thomas David/Bouda Eternad/Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl (Eds.), La Suisse et l'esclavage des noires, Lausanne 2005.

26 Pablo de Greiff (Ed.), The Handbook of Reparations, Oxford 2006. For the research project *Enriching Public Discourse – Empowering African People*, initiated by Nathaniel Coleman at University College London, see: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/research/grants/2013–14/reparation (accessed in October 2014). The CARICOM's *Reparations Commission* presentation on 16 July 2014 by the chairman of this commission and history professor Sir Hilary Beckles, full text of his address: http://www.caribdirect.com/sir-hilary-addresses-h-o-c-on-reparations/ (accessed in October 2014).

tutions such as parliament then and now, and between families of slave-owners and descendants of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean and the United Kingdom.

Recent developments show an increase in activism around the commemoration of slavery and abolition in several West European cities. The initiatives come from different walks of life and address the tensions between historical events and current heritage practice.

3. Outline of the Research Project Mapping Slavery and its Scientific and Political Aims

Direct and indirect connections between Europe and the history of slavery and slave trade have long been forgotten and silenced, away from public view and awareness. Today, however, we can begin to visualise the locations of this part of the European past. New guides like the *Utrecht Walking Guide* and the *Amsterdam Slavery Heritage Guide* collect these places.[27] They show (1) locations of trade and slave-owners, directors, traders and products, (2) the historical presence of black people on several locations, (3) locations connected to the history of abolitionist and anti-slavery activism and resistance, and (4) examples from the collections of major museums and archives, including churches, graveyards, family homes, institutions and shipyards.

The *Mapping Slavery* project to be outlined here started in 2012. Teams of students, local initiatives and colleague researchers have been mapping locations and connections of slave-traders, slave-owners, and of enslaved and free Africans in European cities. The idea is that maps can work as eye-openers, helping to bring history closer to home. A well-informed conversation may help to focus the debate about the next steps in research into the legacy and meaning of slavery and the slave trade.

In general, a map will show a relevant selection of data geographically, and thus will work to strengthen and clarify an argument made in the narrative. In this way the effect of a map in a text is comparable to that of an illustration and a graph or table. However, in the case of *Mapping Slavery* the effect of maps is stronger because of the long historiography of situating the history of involvement in enslavement of Africans and Asians, as well as the history of the slave trade far away from Europe and thus from the European map. History departments in the European universities (and not only there) tended to regard slavery as part of American and Caribbean history, and thus it would get – if at all – a place in the curriculum of ›non-Western history‹. In the use of maps of European locations (including smaller areas, nations, cities and rural areas) with connections to the slave trade or slavery, placing a location on a map is an act aimed at historical recognition. Like an arrow pointed at Europe and Europeans here and now, it contributes something to the existing historical consciousness of these towns, and of the families, organisations and firms and their histories. The points on the map refer to activities, memberships, investments, choices and other elements of facts that somehow have to be incorporated back into the body of personal, local, national and European histories. Together with the concept of slave-ownership as introduced by Catherine Hall and Nicholas Draper, and with the concept of descendance and heritage, the effect is stronger in contemporary multicultural European societies where a significant part of the population has a connection to the historical legacy of slavery.[28] The effect is also

27 Hondius et al., Amsterdam Slavery Heritage Guide.

28 Catherine Hall/Keith McClelland/Nick Draper/Kate Donington/Rachel Lang, Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain, Cambridge 2014;

potentially stronger in areas where the material legacy of this history is still visible on the outside and inside of buildings, in paintings and monuments, in archaeological findings, and in public and private collections.

There are many different types and uses of maps in history and the field is developing rapidly. With regard to the topic of this volume, historiography is still limited. In this early phase of a renewed research into the European involvement in the slave trade and slavery, maps will remain useful for the basic function of visualising new data and quick access to knowledge. It may be that, as recognition of the broad topics of slavery and the slave trade as part and parcel of local, national and European history curricula and academic research grows, mapping will loose its novelty value. By then, the power to surprise may evaporate and be replaced by common knowledge: part of what everyone knows about European history.

From 2012 onward several maps have been made and published online, starting with a map of slave-owners living in Amsterdam in 1863.[29] The basis for this map were the compensation records in the National Archives in The Hague, made available as online archives. All participants and shareholders in plantations in Suriname were recognized as eligible for financial compensation of their perceived loss when slavery was abolished in 1863. Many shareholders lived in Europe, and their shares in plantations made them automatically co-owners of the enslaved Africans living and working there. For every enslaved man or woman in Suriname, the owner received 300 Dutch guilders compensation. Shareholders received a percentage relevant to their shares. This created a detailed administration. Subsequently, local population archives could be checked to find the addresses of slave-owners at the time. At the time of the abolition of slavery in 1863, these slave-owners received financial compensation for the enslaved they then had to set free. This map project is a collaboration project of historians and archivists in the Netherlands inspired by the research project »Legacies of British Slave-Ownership« at University College London.[30] New elements in the Dutch map project still under way include local urban studies in Rotterdam, The Hague, Middelburg, Groningen, and international connections. The broader context is that of a history of race and race relations in Europe, including the history and memory of both the persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust and the history and memory of racism. In this context, it is relevant to compare 20th century developments in history and social sciences regarding ›race‹ and racial thinking in the US and Europe.

A second map shows port cities in the Netherlands that are linked to the transatlantic slave trade. This map is a very simple list of cities along the Netherlands' coastline. It is based on the collected resources in the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* and its atlas. The towns

Nicholas Draper, The Price of Emancipation. Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery, Cambridge 2013.

29 National Archives of the Netherlands: Indexen Emancipatie Suriname en Nederlandse Antillen 1863. Online archives: http://www.gahetna.nl/en/collectie/index/nt00341/view/NT00341_eigenaren. Reference: Auteur Okke ten Hove en Heinrich Helstone (Suriname), Okke ten Hove (Nederlandse Antillen), Licentie CC-BY-SA. See http://geoplaza.vu.nl/cms/component/content/article?id=198:slaveneigenaren-in-amsterdam-1863 (accessed in October 2014).

30 An extensive database is now online, research projects are ongoing: See the project by Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland on *Legacy of British Slave-Ownership project*, at University College London: www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed in October 2014).

mentioned still exist today, but until very recently none of these cities were associated with slavery history and heritage.[31]

A third map to be presented here shows the Amsterdam connections with the sugar and chocolate trade and industry deeply involved in the Dutch history of transatlantic slavery.

Chocolate Trade and Factories in Amsterdam, 1863 Map Data © 2014 Google

A map of locations in Amsterdam connected with the sugar trade was first made in an exhibition by the *Amsterdam Museum* on the history of sugar in the city. The map of locations in Amsterdam connected with cocoa and chocolate was made by me based on research of the *Geelvinck Museum*, Amsterdam, as part of their 2013 exhibition *Swart op de gracht* (»Black

31 For the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, see www.slavevoyages.org (accessed in October 2014), also: David Eltis/David Richardson (Eds.), Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, New Haven 2010.

along the canals«), the first of its kind in a home directly related to the history of the slave trade on Herengracht in Amsterdam.[32]

In 2014, a new database system and protocol is being made to advise scholars and local organisers on how to proceed from gathering information to presenting it in the form of a map. The maps are used for tours. At the moment of writing this article, tours are offered in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, The Hague, Middelburg and Groningen.[33] New developments and data will be made available through the website www.mappingslavery.nl.

32 Lodewijk Wagenaar et al, »Suiker«. Exhibition brochure, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam 2007. Geelvinck Museum, Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Herengracht 518, Amsterdam. Map by Dienke Hondius, in: idem (Ed.), Atlasje van het Nederlandse slavernijverleden: Kaarten en plattegronden/Concise Atlas of Dutch slavery heritage: Maps and floorplans. VU University Amsterdam 2013.

33 See: www.blackheritagetours.com (accessed in October 2014).