DSPACE

https://dspace.org/

Whispers of the deep: an exploration of the ‘unshackled history: the wreck of the slave ship São José, 1794’ exhibition

Abba Omar, Rabia

2021
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/33884

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

Whispers of the Deep: An Exploration of the 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' Exhibition

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree Masters of Arts (Heritage Studies)

Rabia Abba Omar
1079590

Date of final submission: 30 April 2021

Supervisors: Dr. Nicola Cloete and Professor Isabel Hofmeyr

Research Project: Southern African Literature: Hydrocolonial Perspectives Project

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It has been submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts in Heritage Studies by Coursework and Research Report at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.



_____
Rabia Abba Omar

25th day of August 2021

Ethics protocol number: HREC (non-medical) WSOA201008

Abstract

On 27th December 1794, the *São José Paquete d'Africa* wrecked just off the shores of Cape Town. Battling the rough winds, high swells and stuck between two reefs, the crew set about to rescue their most precious cargo - the 512 enslaved people held in the ship's hold. Despite the efforts of the crew and the people on the shore, 212 enslaved people succumbed as the ship broke into pieces. For over two centuries the story of the São José was no more than a footnote, as the ship and the objects on it began to erode on the seafloor. A discovery by researchers from the Slave Wrecks Project has shed light on this story and a part of South Africa's history that is not often discussed.

In December 2018, nearly 224 years after its wrecking, the Iziko Museums' Slave Lodge in Cape Town unveiled an exhibition dedicated to telling this part of South Africa's slave history, entitled 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794'. This exhibition was made possible through the work of a global network of researchers, divers, maritime archaeologists, conservationists and curators. Together they dredged the São José from the murky and salty realm of the forgotten and the unremembered and created an interactive exhibition with tangible touch points to slavery, both locally and globally.

This research report explores the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, specifically the use and display of intangible and tangible heritage, the use of affect and aesthetic representations, as well as the presence of the ocean and water within the exhibition. To do this, I have employed a range of methods, including thinking of, with, and through the ocean, emotion networking, interviews with people involved in this exhibition and the São José from the Slave Wrecks Project and the Slave Lodge, and reading for water. The effect of this is a deep dive into the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, discussions on the production of heritage and the importance of feelings and emotions within memorywork.

Acknowledgements

This research was generously supported by the National Research Foundation-funded project Southern African Literature: Hydrocolonial Perspectives through Professor Isabel Hofmeyr. I am forever grateful for the opportunity to produce this research and be a part of the Oceanic Humanities shoal of researchers.

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Nicola and Isabel, for their valuable advice, incredible support, belief in my abilities, and patience during what has undoubtedly been a very, very difficult year. Thank you for walking this journey with me.

I must extend my sincerest thanks to all of the people I interviewed for this research report. Thank you for being generous with your time and experiences. Thank you for sharing so candidly and being willing to share so much with me.

To my family - my wonderful parents and darling Zahra - thank you for cheering me on to the finishing line. To my Mum and my Dad, I am extremely grateful for your guidance and for your incredible proof-reading skills. Thank you for your eagle eyes and unwavering love. Thank you for holding me together whenever I have thought I would surely break into pieces.

To my friends, those who have been by my side for many years, you have been instrumental in helping me get through a Masters degree during a global pandemic. A special thanks to my loves/family/comrades/breaths of fresh air: Carina, Gideon, Grace, Hamza, Ihsaan, Jacana-Joy, Kamal, Mahfouz, Masego, Michelle, Raees, and Zain. To my new friendships, the ones I have made during this journey at Wits, thank you for your kindness, sharing necessary information, and for making Wits seem less impersonal. A special thanks to Anezia, Arisha, Luck, Maphuti, Naudia, Nomvula, and Ryan.

Thank you to everyone who, when I told them about my research, suggested books, movies, poems, series, and articles for me to check out. This research, how I think about slavery, violence, the oceans, and feelings, has been greatly shaped by all you have shared.

Table of Contents

Declaration ***1***

Abstract ***2***

Acknowledgements ***3***

Table of Contents ***4***

Acronyms and Abbreviations ***6***

List of Images ***7***

Chapter 1: Introduction ***9***

Introducing, Locating, and Unshackling **9**

The Middle Passages **11**

The Journey of the Slave Ship São José Paquete d'Africa **13**

Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794 **17**

Conceptual Framework **19**

Research Methodology **21**

Chapter Breakdown **27**

Chapter 2: Slavery, Memory, and the Sea ***29***

The Sea as History and The Sea as (a Memory of) Slavery **29**

Concretion: Making History Underwater and Submerged Heritage **31**

(Re-)Constructing the Past **33**

Thinking of the Past in the Present **36**

Chapter 3: Slavery, Aesthetic Representations, and the Museum ***40***

The Slave Lodge and Memorializing Slavery **40**

Affect and Experiencing *Something* **49**

Exhibiting and Memorializing the *São José* **54**

Chapter 4: 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' Exhibition ***59***

The Exhibition: Objects and Displays **59**

Portrayal of Water **68**

Emotion Networking of the 'Unshackled History' Exhibition **70**

Shackles 73

Ballast Bars 75

Pulley 76

The Ocean 77

Creating Memory, Creating Heritage **79**

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Findings ***82***

Images Reference List ***85***

Bibliography ***86***

Appendices *91*

Appendix 1: *My Name is February* by Diana Ferrus **91**

Appendix 2: Panels from the 'Unshackled History' exhibition **93**

Acronyms and Abbreviations

São José	*São José Paquete d'Africa*
'Unshackled History'	'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794'
SWP	Slave Wrecks Project
NMAAHC	National Museum of African American History and Culture

List of Images

Image Number	Description	Page Number
Image 1	Map of the Cape Peninsula with Camps Bay, Cape Town, Clifton, the Indian and Atlantic Oceans indicated.	12
Image 2	Cargo manifest for the São José Paquete d'Africa, from Lisbon to Mozambique, 1794	16
Image 3	Photograph of the opening of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition on 12 December 2018. Photographer: Nigel Pamplin.	18
Image 4	Drawing of the 'Brookes' slave ship, first published in 1780, held by the British Museum.	25
Image 5	Photograph of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, on the second panel from the left, The Ship São José, the Brookes ship image is used. A clearer image of the exhibition panel is in the Appendix. Author's own photograph, 2020.	25
Image 6	Drawing of the lower floor gallery rooms at the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum in Cape Town, not to scale.	41
Image 7	The light up map showing the slave trade routes of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in Gallery Room 3.	42
Image 8	Exhibition panel from Gallery Room 2, Slave deaths recorded in 1659 for the Amersfoort.	43
Image 9	Exhibition panel from Gallery Room 2, Exhibition panel describing the mutiny on the slave ship Meermin.	43
Image 10	Exhibition panel from 'Under Cover of Darkness' exhibition on Ansela van Bengal from Gallery Rooms 9 and 10.	43
Image 11	Photograph of the 'My Naam is Februarie: Identities Rooted in Slavery' exhibition at the Slave Lodge, Photographer: Nigel Pamplin.	44
Image 12	One of the first exhibition panels in Gallery Room 1 at the Slave Lodge. It details the vision for the Iziko Slave Lodge.	46
Image 13	Photograph of an exhibition panel in the entrance foyer of the Slave Lodge on child trafficking and child soldiers.	47
Image 4	Photograph of exhibition panel in the entrance foyer of the Slave Lodge that draws parallels between slavery in the past and modern-day slavery.	47

Image 15	Photos of the exhibition at the Museu da Ilha de Moçambique, taken from the museum's digital inventory, 2021.	56
Image 16	Diagram of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition with a key to show which panel is which.	59
Image 17	Photograph from the entrance of the exhibition, looking into the gallery room.	60
Image 18	Photograph of one of the covered-up touch screen panels.	60
Image 19	Photograph of the first four exhibition panels, showing the dim lighting used in the gallery room.	60
Image 20	Photograph of exhibition panels 5-9.	61
Image 21	Photograph projection of the shore and the name of the exhibition that the audience see as they enter the exhibition	61
Image 22	Photograph of the reflection of the video projection of the shore on the exhibition panels in the room.	62
Image 23	Photograph of the video footage from underwater, at the wreck site	62
Image 24	Photograph of the video footage from underwater, at the wreck site, shown against the wall with the exit door next to it.	63
Image 25	Photograph of the display case filled with objects found in the wreck site of the São José.	64
Image 26	Photograph of the descriptions of the objects in the display case in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition (image 11)	65
Image 27	Photograph of the descriptions of the objects in the display case in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition (image 11)	65
Image 28	Diagram showing my route through the 'Unshackled History' exhibition on my first visit.	67
Image 29	Shackle 2 after being treated with some concretion on it.	72
Image 30	X-ray of shackle 2 done at the beginning of the process to reveal what is there	72

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing, Locating, and Unshackling

On 27th December 1794, the *São José Paquete d'Africa* wrecked near the shores of Cape Town, just off Clifton 4th beach. Battling the rough winds, high swells and the reef upon which the ship ran aground, the crew set about to rescue their most precious cargo - the 512 enslaved people held in the ship's hold. Despite the efforts of the crew and the people on the shore, 212 enslaved people succumbed as the ship broke into pieces. The Iziko Museums Slave Lodge in Cape Town has an exhibition dedicated to this part of South Africa's slave history, entitled 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794'.[1] This research report explores the exhibition, specifically the use and display of intangible and tangible heritage, the use of affect and aesthetic representations, as well as the presence of the ocean and water within the exhibition.

The 'Unshackled History' exhibition is a permanent exhibition at the Iziko Museum's Slave Lodge in Cape Town, close to the Company Gardens. The exhibition opened on 12 December 2018 and guides visitors through the story of the slave ship São José (Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794 b, 2021). The exhibition first opened as a semi-permanent exhibition and in April 2021 it was made a permanent exhibition at the Slave Lodge. The exhibition was primarily curated by Jaco Boshoff alongside his colleagues in the Marine Archaeology department at the Iziko Museums and the curators within the Iziko Slave Lodge (Participant A, 2020 & Participant D, 2020). This exhibition was chosen as a case-study for this research on account of how it represents the first known shipwreck that carried enslaved African people on board that has been identified, studied and excavated (Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794 b, 2021).

Continuing from previous research into the Slave Lodge and exhibitions and presentations relating to slavery in South Africa such as Cloete (2015), Wares (2013), and Gqola (2010), I am interested in how the 'Unshackled History' exhibition presents the history of the São José by focusing on the experiential nature of the exhibition – how affect and affective atmosphere is created within the museum and the exhibition. Initially, I chose this exhibition as a case study to understand how the presence of water, through the divers' experiences, the audio and visual material contribute to the affective atmosphere created and how this produces heritage and memory. Additionally, I chose this specific case study as it was a semi-permanent exhibition within the Slave Lodge and I was curious about how this specific narrative would be constructed to fit within the Slave Lodge's theme of 'from human rights to human wrongs'.

Theoretically, this work sits at the intersections of multiple points of thinking, but at the heart of this study is hydrocolonialism, and specifically looking at how colonialism occurred by means of water (Bystrom and Hofmeyr, 2017: 3). I look at how the history of colonialism in South Africa has shaped slave memory and heritage presentation at the Slave Lodge in Cape

[1] Until April 2021 the exhibition was a semi-permanent exhibition after which it became a permanent exhibition. When most of this research was conducted and written up, the exhibition was a semi-permanent exhibition, but to reflect this recent change, the exhibition is referred to as a permanent exhibition. From here onwards, the exhibition will be referred to as the 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

Town. In terms of heritage presentation, I am exclusively focusing on the 'Unshackled History' exhibition at the Slave Lodge as a contact zone of slave history, its memory and the ongoing negotiations of its memory in the present, and intangible and tangible heritage that relates to slavery and the oceans. I am interested in Tiffany Lethabo King's conceptualization of a shoal as a point of contact between land and water and through expanding this contact zone, the shoal becomes the contact zone between the past and present, both influenced by external forces (2019). In addition, a guiding mode of analysis for this work is Christina Sharpe's wake work, multi-modal method of analysis, used to analyze the memorialization of slavery while we continue to live in its wake (2016). By looking at the museum critically, we learn that through the construction and presentation of the history of slavery, visitors can feel something as a response, yet how do we repair, and how can the museum be a space of reparation, when we are still in the wake of slavery?

To explore the use and representations of memory, I rely on Dorothy L. Pennington's (1985) double-helix model of memory and Patricia William's (1991) idea of an omnipresent past hovering in the present, which are explored by Pumla Gqola in *What is Slavery to Me?* (2010). Additionally, by looking at the ongoing negotiations of the memory and experiences of slavery in the present day, this work forms part of the wake work, a way of living and being within the ongoing afterlives of slavery. This work employs an amphibian approach, both in its conceptual framing and within the design of the research. This amphibian approach looks at the contact zones of land and water, by orienting itself towards both. Land and water are not bound by single conceptualizations, but rather exist in multiple forms, iterations, and aesthetic representations.

The idea of a contact zone is influenced by Mary Louise Pratt's definition of a contact zone as a "social space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991: 34). Here, a contact zone refers to the clashing in the grappling of engaging both land and water in this amphibian approach as these are often set up in opposition with one another and in this research as they relate to slavery and colonialism within the history and presentation of the São José.

This research is qualitative research and I have made use of a variety of methods borrowed from different disciplines. Oceanic studies critically brings together reading methods from history, literature, and cultural studies to weave together ways of thinking through, of, and with the ocean - methods I use to frame my thinking of the São José and the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. Through interviews and personal observations, I explore sensory based memorywork in heritage sites, in this case the Slave Lodge museum, and how it is used in the creation and negotiation of heritage. In addition, I write about the effect of Covid-19 protocols on the creation of affective atmospheres and visitor engagement with the Slave Lodge and 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

To locate myself, I am drawing from my interests and past experiences to help me shape this research and my engagement with the different aspects of it. I rely on my training from the discipline of history to approach the past as an arena that needs continuous re-engagement to uncover different truths about it, with the understanding that nothing is constant or universal. In addition, my training in history has given me skills to weave together primary

and secondary sources, especially through my work with archival material in courses I took in my Honours and Masters degrees. My work with Stellenbosch University's Transformation Office and InZync Poetry has shown me that we need to find creative strategies to understand how the past impacts our lives in the present. This work is painful and difficult and requires us to show up as our whole-selves and be open to unpacking the pain that lives in and around us. Through this research I have found new ways of expressing this - we live in the wake of various traumas, historical and ongoing, and it is through understanding how our past hovers and is ever-present in our daily lives, then can we better understand its impact.

The purpose of this research is to explore how heritage and memory are represented within the 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' exhibition at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town. This research report is primarily concerned with how slave histories and the ocean are presented within the museum context, by focusing on the use of affect, the visual material displayed, and through the display of the objects found. To do this, this paper will concentrate on the case study exhibition 'Unshackled History', looking at how slave history and the experience of submersion in water is re-membered and re-constructed in the exhibition space. The audiences of the exhibition will not experience being enslaved on the São José and it is assumed that most audience members will not have had the opportunity to dive on the wreck site, therefore, I am interested in how these experiences are transmitted on to the audience without their first-hand participation in these events. Through the exhibition, how can the audience re/collect and recall memories and experiences that they did not personally partake in? With this research I want to unshackle the São José from the confines of being one ship and one tragedy and place it firmly within the context of the enduring tragedies of slavery and the slave trade, globally and locally.

In this introductory chapter I will briefly present the history of the São José Paquete d'Africa's journey and a short description of the 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' exhibition. I do this to place the São José in the network of events, institutions, and processes that led to its wrecking and recovery. Additionally, I will locate the seemingly disparate (oceanic) geographies, as well as present in more depth the conceptual framework of this research report and the research methodologies I employed to conduct this research.

The Middle Passages

To better understand the historical period in which the São José sailed, I will begin by giving a brief historical background to the middle passages, both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, through which millions of enslaved people were transported. Then, to best understand the different people, events, and processes involved in the wrecking and recovery of the São José, in the next two sections, I will briefly present the 226-year long journey of the São José since its wrecking and its presentation at the Slave Lodge in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

Gabeba Baderoon makes the distinction that both the Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean are "oceans of middle passage", through which the haulage of enslaved people occurred (2009: 91). In 1652 the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or the Dutch East India Company, established its colony at the Cape which provided provisions for ships that were engaged in the spice trade. From here, the colony grew, and by 1658 enslaved people were brought to the colony to provide labour for the settlement (*Ibid.* 90). By the end of the 17th century, Cape

Town served as the midpoint in these middle passages, the halfway mark for the slave route to the Americas and the halfway mark for the spice and slave route of the Dutch East Indies (*Ibid.*). The Dutch and later the English transported slaves from East African Islands, such as Mauritius and Madagascar, Eastern and southern African hinterlands, as well as from South East Asia (Gqola, 2010: 6).



Image 1: Map of the Cape Peninsula with Camps Bay, Cape Town, Clifton, the Indian and Atlantic Oceans indicated. Original map from VACorps.com.

Globally, the transatlantic slave trade began in the 1600s and on 18 December 1865 slavery was abolished in the United States of America, almost 32 years after the British abolished it. From the time it began to when it ended, it is estimated that 12 million enslaved Africans were shackled and transported across the Atlantic. The last documented slaving voyage across the Atlantic occurred in 1867 and it was a slave ship headed to Cuba (Boshoff et al., 2016: 35).

Jaco Boshoff and Steve Lubkemann describe the East African slave trade as a "addendum to the main event" in the history of the slave trade. This is because the narrative of the Atlantic slave trade is dominated by histories that begin along the west coast of Africa (Boshoff et al., 2016: 31). Additionally, many enslaved people from East Africa were taken to ports within the Indian Ocean basin, and it was only within the last few decades of the Atlantic slave trade that enslaved people were taken from East Africa and across the Atlantic to the Americas. Within

the 90 years between 1780 and 1870, nearly half a million enslaved East Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to the Americas (*Ibid*. 31).

The transatlantic slave trade is often referred to as a triangular trade with ships moving between Europe to Africa to the Americas and back again (Boshoff et al., 2016: x). Slavery that occurred in the Indian Ocean is described as being more multi-nodal as there were different port cities set up along the coast of Africa as well as different south and east Asian ports that would have been involved in the slave trade (Kootker et al., 2016: 2).

The discovery of the São José was an important one for researchers of the slave trade because it provided more information about the journey of Portuguese ships from Mozambique to Brazil. In 1793, a year before the departure of the São José from Lisbon, the Portuguese crown revoked its ban on enslaving people from its Mozambican colony and transporting them to its colony in Brazil. The reasons for this change of heart were because the demand for enslaved people on plantations in Brazil was high and there was a need to keep as much taxable income from the trade for themselves (Boshoff et al., 2016: 30). It is interesting to note that the first documented successful voyage of a Portuguese slave ship from Mozambique to Brazil was in 1795, and this ship would have sailed the exact same route as the São José just one year prior. It is currently unclear if other Portuguese slave ships making the same journey met a similarly tragic fate as the São José did on its journey from Mozambique to Brazil before 1795 (*Ibid*.).

In 1811, the British and Portuguese came to an agreement that banned the slave trade from areas north of the equator, but this meant that the slave trade south of the equator was still a possibility, meaning that the Portuguese could engage with the slave trade with Angola and Mozambique (Harries, 2016: 423). The Cape was an important refreshment station for ships departing from Mozambique Island towards the Atlantic, so much so that historian Patrick Harries describes it as "the Indian Ocean's gatekeeper to the Atlantic" (*Ibid*. 426). From 1797 to 1808 more than 20,000 enslaved people passed through Cape Town at the refreshment station at Table Bay, and historian Harries estimates that this included more than 7,000 slaves brought to the Cape from East Africa (*Ibid*.).

Gabeba Baderoon writes that the "Atlantic and Indian Oceans are oceans of middle passage", and that they are more than that, they are also "of cosmology, memory, and desire, tracked in the movement, language, and culture of enslaved and dominated people." (2009: 91). These two oceans are bound not only by a shared history, but by constellations of memories of life before and after slavery, as well as the memory of those lost to these oceans (Baderoon, 2009: 95). The seas and oceans allow us to juxtapose multiple histories that can be mapped through rituals and memory (Baderoon, 2014: 67). The history of the São José fits perfectly into Baderoon's characterization of the slave trade. Being a ship bound for the Atlantic with its journey beginning in the Indian Ocean, the ship links oceans, continents, and hemispheres.

The Journey of the Slave Ship São José Paquete d'Africa

On 27 April 1794 the São José Paquete d'Africa set sail from Lisbon, Portugal to Mozambique Island just north of Mozambique, where it would take on board cargo, enslaved Africans, headed to the plantations of Maranhão, Brazil. When the São José Paquete d'Africa left the

shores of Mozambique Island, 512 enslaved people were confined in the ship's hold. On its way to Maranhão, the ship was meant to make a routine stop in Cape Town, a refreshment station for ships traveling across the Atlantic. On the evening of 27 December 1794, eight months after leaving Portugal, the São José got caught in the storms and swells off the coast of Cape Town. Strong south-easterly winds and rough seas meant that the ship could not anchor safely. The ship hugged the coast through the night and in the early hours of the morning, the crew realized the ship had failed to anchor properly. After a second failed attempt to anchor the ship, the crew also realized that the stern of the São José had struck a rock, was beginning to take on water and later became wedged between two reefs (Boshoff et al., 2016: 38).

A third attempt to anchor the ship was made and the crew tried to use the ship's windlass in an attempt to get the ship away from the rocks and reefs, but the rope snapped as well. Realizing how close they were to the shore, the captain and crew sent a small boat and a raft with crew members and some of the enslaved people to the shore. At the shore a basket was rigged to a rope which was attached to the ship and this was used to move the crew and enslaved people to the shore. The captain and crew managed to rescue 300 of the enslaved African people on board the ship. The remaining 212 enslaved people drowned as the rough seas broke the São José to pieces and it sank (*Ibid*. 39). The São José wrecked and sank no more than 100 meters away from the shore (*Ibid*. 87). The surviving enslaved people were sold shortly after reaching Cape Town to local slave owners, except for eleven who died in the days after the tragic wreck (*Ibid*. 60). Currently the archival records relating to the sale of the survivors of the São José is limited. However there is a reference to them in a document from 20 February 1795:

> "The Captain of the stranded St. Joseph, having sent a memorial to the Council announcing that of the slaves saved during the shipwreck, eleven had died before they could be sold at auction, and that the usual duty had been charged, as well as on the sale of the wrecked ship and its equipment and requested that such duties be waived. After considering the reasonableness of this request the Council concurred and would therefore instruct the Fiscal Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, who was responsible for collecting the duties for the Company, not to levy any further duties, except on those slaves rescued by him and subsequently sold."
>
> - Archival Group Council of Policy, 20th February, 1795, quoted by Meghna Singh, 2019: 86

What is known about the sale of the enslaved people aboard the São José is found in a legal case that looked into the wrecking of the ship, since it was unknown how to value the slaves, considered cargo aboard the ship. The archival record reads:

> "The most important question, however, is whether the slaves who were saved after the wreck must be regarded as cargo or not and whether the value of the 341 on board, calculated at 30 Spanish Matts each, should be 10230 Spanish Matts, so that the owners had derived considerable profit from this. He requests a postponement."

- Archival Group Council of Policy, 20th February, 1795, quoted by Meghna Singh, 2019: 87

The discovery of the wreck site of the São José is of global significance, as described by Rebecca Davis, "[n]ever before has a wreck been found of a ship which met its watery end while transporting slaves" (2015). The location and recovery of the São José was a global initiative supported by the Slave Wrecks Project (SWP), founded in 2008. The SWP is an international network of partners with the mission of uncovering the lost and submerged stories to help communities and individuals understand and come to terms with a history that has for a long time been considered as unknowable (Boshoff et al., 2016: 8). Using the lens of slave ships and their voyages allows the SWP to directly link Africa, the Americas, and Europe through the various stages of the project, from research, using the skills and tools of other colleagues to finding submerged tangible objects of the past (Slave Wrecks Project, 2020).

Some of the partners of the SWP are the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture who serve as the project's host, the Iziko Museums of South Africa, George Washington University, the U.S. National Park Services, Diving with a Purpose and the African Centre for Heritage Activities (*Ibid*.). Together the various partners pool together their skills to support the international search within archives, communities, museums, along coastlines and in water (Boshoff et al., 2016: 10).

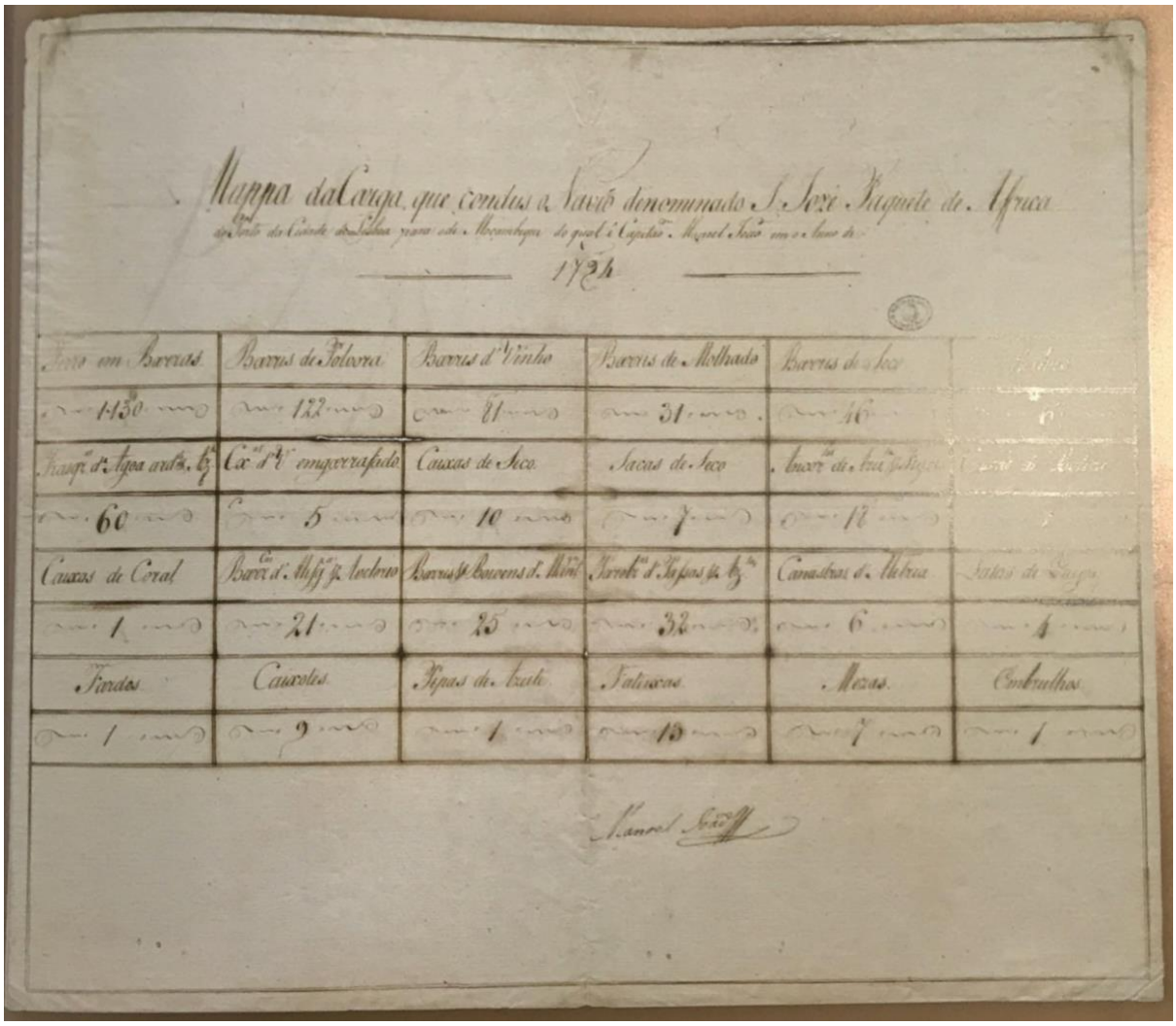
The historical record on the São José is relatively thin. However, from the few archival documents and footnotes of other researchers and divers, the SWP team was able to reconstruct the passage and story of the ship (Participant G, 2021). While looking for references to ships that wrecked near Cape Town at the height of the slave trade, around the mid 18th century, they found a reference from another researcher from a daily journal of the Dutch East India Company that read "a Portuguese ship ran aground in a place called Camps Bay (approximately six kilometers from Cape Town) and 200 of the 500 slaves on board perished" (Boshoff et al., 2016: 26). This one passage provided a location for where the SWP team could start the search for a slave wreck in the waters around the Cape. However, for two years this search was not fruitful, and the magnetometer searches of Camps Bay did not yield the results the team were looking for (Participant B, 2020).

In his deposition to a Dutch lawyer in Cape Town following the wrecking of the São José, Captain Manuel João located the site of the wreckage under the well-known mountain Lion's Head (Boshoff et al., 2016: 38). The discovery of this deposition refocused the search of the SWP team to concentrate their efforts in Clifton rather than Camps Bay. At Clifton, there was only one known wreckage identified as the *Schuylenburg*, a Dutch East India Company supply ship that wrecked in 1756. The Schuylenburg was identified by an amateur treasure hunter in the 1980s who needed a permit to dive on the site (Participant C, 2020).[2] The treasure hunter chose the Schuylenburg because it was a ship that was on a voyage that would have brought it past Clifton and had not been found yet. When the SWP team started diving on the

[2] To be granted a permit to dive and excavate on a shipwreck site, the site needs to be given the designation of a known maritime loss (Boshoff et al., 2016: 39).

'Schuylenburg' wreck site, it became apparent that the wreck in Clifton could not be the Schuylenburg (Boshoff et al., 2016: 39).

The first two indicators were the cannons and the copper sheathing, spikes and nails. The presence of cannons ruled out another possible shipwreck, the Hopefield Packet, which wrecked as it ran aground near Camps Bay in 1869. The copper sheathing, spikes, and nails were used to protect the bottom of wooden ships that sailed in tropical waters from shipworms. These instruments were only used in the late 18th century, well after the Schuylenburg wreck occurred (Participant C, 2020). The third indication that this wreck was not the São José was that, according to the deposition of the Captain, the ship was stuck between two rocks and was close to shore. The remains of the 'Schuylenburg' wreck were wedged between two reefs and close to shore as well (Boshoff et al., 2016: 45). The discovery which confirmed the SWP's team's hunch were iron ballast bars. Jaco Boshoff discovered the first iron ballast bar, about 2 feet in length. This discovery was further supported by an archival discovery by Steve Lubkemann and Yolanda Teixeria Duarte who found the cargo manifest of the São José, and on it the first line read "1130 iron bars" (*Ibid.* 46). The image below is from the book 'From No Return', and is of the cargo manifest of the São José for its journey from Lisbon, Portugal to Mozambique in 1794.



Mappa da Carga que conduz o Navio denominado S. José Paquete de Africa

1794

Ferro em Barras	Barras de Folora	Barras d'Vinho	Barras de Molhado	Barras de Seco	
1130	122	81	31	46	
Caixas d'Agoa ardente	Cx.as d'V.o empecerafado	Caixas de Seco	Sacas de Seco		
60	5	10	7	12	
Caixas de Coral	Barris d'Mel	Barris de Barris d'Mel	Tarolas d'Tapas	Camadras de Madeira	
1	21	25	32	6	4
Pipas	Caixotes	Tipas de Arroz	Fardos	Mezas	Embrulhos
1	9	1	15	7	1

Manoel Soares

Image 2: Cargo manifest for the São José Paquete d'Africa, from Lisbon to Mozambique, 1794. Top row (l-r); iron bars, 1130; gunpowder, 122 barrels; wine, 81 barrels; liquids, 31 barrels; dry goods, 46 barrels. Boshoff et al., 2016: 47.

Just over 226 years after the physical journey of São José Paquete d'Africa, the ship continues a different journey by helping us to re-member and grapple with the global impact of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades. Locally, it helps us understand slavery in South Africa, and the brutality and legacies of it in the Cape. Paul Gardullo, the Museum Curator at the National Museum of African American History and Culture and the Co-Director of the Slave Wrecks Project, describes the São José as being a way to reclaim "the human scale" of the long history of the slave trade and that it "provides a tangible reference for us to grapple with the trade and its legacies in Africa, Europe and the Americas" (Boshoff et al., 2016: 4).

Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794

The 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' exhibition is a permanent exhibition at the Iziko Museum's Slave Lodge in Cape Town. The dimly-lit exhibition takes visitors through the story of the slave ship São José, from its wrecking to discovery, the conservation process as well as a brief introduction to who the enslaved aboard the ship were. This exhibition was constructed to bring into memory the story of the São José which for over two centuries remained a forgotten footnote in South Africa's history. The Chief Executive Officer of the Iziko Museums, Rooksana Omar, said that "[t]his story speaks more about our shared histories, than the constructed notions of separateness perpetuated in, and throughout history" (Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794 b, 2021). An important question to ask here is who this history can be shared by? Which audiences have access to this museum, exhibition, and how this history is shared with them? This I will unpack in the coming chapters of this research.

The exhibition opened in December 2018 as a semi-permanent exhibition and in April 2021 it was made a permanent exhibition. Normally, the exhibition is made up of three touch-screen panels, 16 wall-mounted exhibition panels, two displays of artifacts found on the wreck site, and two projected scenes – one of the waves crashing on the shore and the other of the underwater wreck site, displayed on opposite walls. However, to be compliant with Covid-19 regulations the touch screens were switched off, which meant there was no sound playing in the room on both of my visits, on 29 September 2020 and 6 October 2020. Pre Covid-19, the one touch screen played the sounds of former Constitutional Court Judge Justice Albie Sachs speaking about the importance of social justice and history, South African poet Diana Ferrus reciting her poem about the São José, *My name is February,* or videos of members of the SWP team talking about their experiences in the project (Participant C, 2020)[3] .

The second touch screen characterizes the physical nature of the site, talking about the history, other ships that wrecked near it, the oil slick in the mid-90s, and the conditions of diving underwater on the site. The third and final touch screen is an interactive game developed by the Smithsonian which simulates for the audience the experience of working underwater by finding an object, excavating it properly, conserving it, analyzing it and then

[3] A copy of Ferrus' poem *My name is February* can be found in the Appendix.

finally archiving it and telling its story (Participant C, 2020). Image 3 shows visitors at the opening of the exhibition engaging with the interactive game and behind them is the video of the wreck site. Due to Covid-19 regulations, visitors are now discouraged from touching the Dalbergia wood that is also on display and not kept in a case (*Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794*, 2020).



Image 3: Photograph of the opening of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition on 12 December 2018. Photographer: Nigel Pamplin.

Furthermore, the mounted exhibition panels make use of archival materials related to the São José, such as the cargo manifest, alongside text, other drawings and photographs to visually aid the reconstruction of the journey of the São José from Mozambique to the Slave Lodge. This wide focus means that there are many different possible touchpoints with the exhibition – there is the conservation process, the scientific processes, the process of diving, or the history of the people aboard the ship, to name a few. In addition, due to the layout of the Slave Lodge, this exhibition serves as a tangible example of slavery. The gallery room preceding this is the 'Map of Origins' and the one following this is the exhibition on 'Cultural Echoes', objects that originate from places where enslaved people brought to the Cape were from. The 'Unshackled History' exhibition room holds objects that were used to keep people captive, for example an image of the shackles, or supported trade activities alongside slavery such as the iron ballast blocks or the pulley.

The Slave Lodge is divided into two sections. The lower level is dedicated to telling the history of slavery in South Africa, and the upper-level galleries showcase a series of changing exhibitions, including its Egyptology collections, ceramics, and more recent South African history. The theme of the museum is 'from human wrongs to human rights' (Slave Lodge,

2020). Later in this research report, I will situate the 'Unshackled History' exhibition under this theme and explore how the theme limits the wake work that can be performed within the space, as it creates a clear distinction between the past and the present.

Moreover, the Slave Lodge itself is an historic site as it was used to house enslaved people from 1679 to 1811. It is the second oldest colonial structure that remains in Cape Town and was used as a slave lodge for enslaved people owned by the Dutch East India Company (Slave Lodge | Heritage of Slavery, 2020). They would work on the facilities of the Company, for example in the Company Gardens adjacent to the Slave Lodge, where nearly 500 enslaved people were made to work (*Life in Bondage*, 2020). In 1807, the British colonial government took the decision to turn the Slave Lodge into a government building, and by 1811 the building housed the office of the Attorney General, the Government Secretary, the Bank, the Library, and the Post Office, to name a few (Slave Lodge | Heritage of Slavery, 2020). In 1817, the building became the Supreme Court and in 1827 it became the Council of Advice (*Ibid.*).

By 1820, the enslaved people who lived in the Slave Lodge were either sold or moved to a nearby rented building and by 1828, the remaining 135 enslaved people were manumitted (Slave Lodge | Heritage of Slavery, 2020). In 1966 the building was transformed yet again to become the South African Cultural History Museum. And finally, in 1998, the Museum was renamed to become the Slave Lodge, dedicated to telling the story of the history of slavery in South Africa (*Ibid*.). In 2006, 327 years after the Slave Lodge was first built, the first permanent exhibition on slavery was opened (Cloete, 2015: 93).

Following these brief historical sketches, in attempting to locate, unshackle and introduce the São José, the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I gather these oceanic geographies, this transnational history, and the centuries-long legacies of slavery. To do this, I rely on a series of concepts and theories which I will explore in the next section. Following that I will qualitative research methodology engaged for this project.

Conceptual Framework

Through examining the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, special attention is paid to heritage and memory presented within the exhibition, specifically presentation of tangible and intangible dimensions of underwater cultural heritage in South Africa and the embodied experience of the audience. In addition, this exhibition is read alongside the other exhibitions on the lower level of the Slave Lodge to better understand how these exhibitions work together in re-membering the histories of slavery in South Africa, as well as how the museum and exhibition layouts lend themselves to presenting different types of heritage and memories of slavery.

In considering water and the oceans, it is necessary to think with or in the sea, to submerge oneself in it. Fitting into the theme of hydro-colonial research, which is at the heart of this project, is the idea that the São José was a part of the colonial project, where colonization and the actions linked to it were enabled "*by means of* water" (Bystrom and Hofmeyr, 2017: 3, emphasis is their own). Additionally, I am interested in another definition of hydro-colonial, which is the "colonization *of* water" which includes the politicization of the ocean's natural geography, such as the declaration of territorial waters (*Ibid*.). The São José wrecked in what

is considered South African waters. However, where would the history and subsequent or possible heritage of the São José be claimed by, if the ship had wrecked 16 kilometers away from the shore?[4] While this question is not dealt with in detail in this paper, the research does situate itself within the transnational fluidity of the oceans and uses this as an important element of its conceptual framing. This is explored further in the discussion on the use of the São José in the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington D.C.

Using elements of Tiffany Lethabo King's theoretical framework in *Black Shoals*, this research uses a notion of a shoal as a space of contact and interaction between land and water (2019: 4). Expanding on the idea of a shoal as a space of contact between land and water, in this study it becomes the contact zone between land and water, slave history and its memory in the present, intangible and tangible heritage, the forgotten and remembered. The shoal becomes a place of memory-making, between the past and present, shaped and influenced by external forces. This amphibian approach is suggested by Meg Samuelson which is oriented towards both the land *and* the sea (Samuelson 2017: 16).

To theorize with the amphibian form means to think with both the land and the sea, rather than focusing on one at the expense of the other. This conceptual framing allows one to think of the relational aspects of land and water and their areas of confluence (Gagné and Rasmussen, 2016: 58). This can be achieved by thinking through the materiality of land and water and their interactions, for example the landscape of the seabed, the processes of erosion that underwater cultural objects go through while submerged in water, including the processes of incrustation or concretization. These processes will be explored further in this research. With regards to the conceptual ways of thinking through the amphibian, land and water are not bound by singular understandings of them, rather they are constantly redefined by the people around them or by industrial or state actors (*Ibid*.). Therefore, they can have various uses and have many identity meanings relating to their respective uses. This conceptual form of thinking also includes thinking about land-based human relationships to water.

To understand these themes in relation to the São José, the research uses both the material and conceptual forms of thinking of land and water and their amphibious relational interactions as outlined by Karine Gagné and Mattias Rasmussen, explained above. Coupled with this, the research uses the conceptualization of amphibiousness by Meg Samuelson who writes that the coast allows us to think of both the shore as a dynamic space, it is "an elastic, fluctuant, and permeable zone" that changes with the incoming or receding tides, and through the processes of erosion and sedimentation (2017: 17). The ocean and the earth can converge at the shore and then separate themselves as the tide pulls the waves back to the ocean. In this way, this research looks at how elements of land and sea come together, pull apart and interact with one another. Interestingly, the São José is not far from the shore of Clifton, in fact for early dives on the site, the team would swim out to the site rather than take a boat out (Participant C, 2020).

[4] 12 nautical miles (approx. 22 kilometers) from shore is considered International Waters according to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS 1982).

This research also makes use of Dorothy L. Pennington's double-helix model of memory, as described by Pumla Gqola in *What is Slavery to Me?*, where the past is an indispensable part of the present, and brings it meaning and reveals the ongoing negotiations of power and its present-day articulations (2010: 10 & 11). In other words, understanding the present is predicated on understanding the past, where the memory of the past is based on power and control of the present. This is especially relevant when considering the presentation of slavery and slave history, the experiences of diving on the site and how these have been translated into the 'Unshackled History' museum exhibition. In addition, also described by Gqola, this research uses Patricia William's conceptualization of memory as an omnipresent shadow of the past that hovers in the present (*Ibid.)*.

This research aims to be part of the process of doing wake work, as described by Christina Sharpe, a multi-modal method of analysis which is "inhabiting *and* rupturing this episteme". Additionally, where new ways of living and being are constantly being imagined while we are in the wake of slavery, as we find ways to survive in this wake, and continue to live with the afterlives of slavery (2016: 42). This includes seeing the different ways that we "do, think, feel in the wake of slavery" (*Ibid*. 45). The questions I used to guide my thinking on this is: How and what does the 'Unshackled History' exhibition call on its visitors to think and feel in the wake of slavery? And how does the wider Slave Lodge present the terrors of slavery and show their connections to the present day?

Below the waterline, the coast of the Western Cape is dotted with sunken ships, which include slave ships like the São José Paquete d'Africa. The Cape is described as a 'shiptrap', an archaeological term used to describe places that have characteristics that easily trap ships, such as shifting winds or reefs that have been missed or unmapped (Boshoff et al., 2016: 25). Water serves as a liminal space, holding traces of heritage and memory that are visible, invisible, and imagined. Yates et al. argue for seeing water as creolized, they place emphasis on the existence of multiple water worlds, in localized waters, which are recognized in different Indigenous Knowledge Systems (2015: 13). By drawing on scholarship of the Middle Passage and its submarine afterlives, this project assesses what histories of slavery are re-membered from the creolized, shiptrap waters of southern Africa.

By examining the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I grapple with how slavery is remembered and represented and how the ocean informs the processes of representation in the museum space. This research explores the reimagining of the sea and the heritage situated in it. It also attempts to understand how intangible and tangible heritage exist with one another underwater and are presented and represented within the museum. In addition, this research is part of Oceanic Studies, by resisting the limitations of national and localized area studies, but rather understanding that the sea serves as an arena for transnational fluidity of ideas, texts, and practices (Samuelson 2017: 16). Using the museum to do this, this study will make use of the granules of rock and sand, as described by King, to rethink the shoals of underwater cultural heritage pertaining to slavery within the museum (2019:12).

Research Methodology

For this research report, a qualitative design approach has been used because it focuses on how people make sense of the world and their experiences within it (Merriam, 2016: 15). It

takes the form of a case study approach to qualitative research, as the focus of my research is on the 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' exhibition at the Slave Lodge. In addition, I use a narrative approach to answer some of my research questions, where the data I have collected is interviews with people involved in the SWP. I have made my research echo the fluidity of water in the ways that it examines the presentation of intangible and tangible heritage within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition by not constructing them as a binary but looking at the fluid intersections between them. I have made use of interviews with people involved with the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and the São José project from the Slave Lodge and the SWP. I have also visited the exhibition and used my personal observations and insights when writing about the exhibition - its design and aesthetic strategies employed within it.

This research is part of Oceanic Studies, which brings together critical readings from literature, history, and cultural studies, to understand how water has shaped these, not just on the surface, but by also looking at their depths that are "unfixed", "ungraspable", and "in multi-dimensional flux" (Philip Steinberg quoted in Blum, 2013: 151). Oceanic Studies resists the limitations of national and localized area studies and makes use of an understanding that the sea serves as an arena for transnational fluidity of ideas, texts, and practices (Samuelson, 2017: 16). It is through the interdisciplinary and transnational lens that my research is focused. When thinking about the São José's intercontinental, interhemispheric, and interoceanic journeys - a part of a global slave trade, a two-century long journey, a ship that connects three continents - these are the unfixed, transnational, and fluid ideas that shaped these research methods.

The process of looking at the depths of the sea for the São José, by turning towards the ships in sea is a method of understanding memory proposed by Renisa Mawani. She proposes that by turning towards the sea ship we can understand their journeys, the places they ventured to, and also their wrecked pieces, some of which now rest at the bottom of the sea (Mawani, 2018: 92). The sea ship, and in this case the slave ship, fits into a richly interconnected pattern of history woven of archival material relating to the ship, for example cargo manifests or captain's ledgers, to networks of religious developments, in/formal trade relations, realms or spirits of ancestors. Not all of these are recorded in the written form, but they exist as ways of engaging with the sea, therefore creating a memory of the sea (*Ibid.* 91 & 92). By turning towards the sea and the slave ship, we can literally and figuratively find the stories of the historically submerged - the enslaved (*Ibid*. 90).

To think with the São José means using the few archival documents available about the ship. While I have been unable to use these in their original form[5], in this research I have made use of the ones listed, described and presented in the book on the slave ship São José *From No Return: The 221-Year Long Journey of the Slave Ship São José.* I do this in conjunction with looking into the objects that were found at the site that are related to the ship, and what it tells us about the history of slavery. For example, the ballast blocks were used to offset the weight of the ship, and while the SWP team have found some, they have not found all 1130 that were listed on the ship's manifest as it left Lisbon (Boshoff et al., 2016: 46). This could be

[5] Many of the archival documents relating to the São José are in Lisbon in Overseas Historical Archive and are also in Portuguese.

because ballast blocks were also used in the trade of the enslaved, which could be a possible reason as to why there are not 1130 ballast blocks found or buried in the sand (*Ibid*.).

Mawani also reflects on how by turning to the sea as history, we can begin to rediscover and recover the events that have been unremembered or forgotten from historic memory (2018: 90). From here, the process of understanding how these events, the recovered memory of these events, and our understanding of history, freedom and violence can be shaped by our knowledge of the past. We are invited "to remember what we cannot see, what is forgotten but always there: a past that has shaped and informed our global condition." (*Ibid.* 94). With this in mind, this research is greatly influenced by Christina Sharpe's conceptualization of wake work which looks at how we mourn the seemingly never-ending event of slavery, while also caring for one another as we perform this mourning work on "local and trans*local and global levels" (2016: 45, asterisks is author's own).

While Sharpe's wake work is primarily concerned with Black experiences of violence and living in the wake of slavery in the United States of America, through this research I apply her analytical framing of wake work, presented in *In the Wake,* to South Africa and more pertinently the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and the Slave Lodge. I understand that slavery, the trauma and memory of it differs from place to place, and this is why I can only use Sharpe's wake work as an analytical tool, rather than comparing the experiences of Black life and experiences of violence in these different contexts. Part of doing the wake work is understanding the constant proximities to death that is experienced in Black life and how to survive in the wake of slavery (Sharpe, 2016: 42). To further explain this method of analysis, Sharpe writes:

> "[i]n short, I mean wake work to be a mode of inhabiting *and* rupturing this episteme with our known lived and un/imaginable lives. With that analytic we might imagine otherwise from what we know *now* in the wake of slavery."
>
> - Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 2016: 42

This idea of wake work, of thinking through, of, and about how we exist in the wake of slavery is a method of analysis I have returned to throughout this research. Similar to Sharpe's interest in wanting us to "think through what it calls on "us" to do, think, feel in the wake of slavery – which is to say in an ongoing present of subjection and resistance", I have analyzed much of my research through the various lenses of wake work outlined by Sharpe to understand what it means to *feel* in the wake of slavery (2016: 45). Feelings, the transmission of them and the experiences of them are important considerations in this work. For this I turn to understanding affect as a tool employed by museums to transmit feelings or sensations to their audiences. I have done this to show how the exhibition design and the built environment of the exhibition of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and the presentation of tangible and intangible memory of slavery and the São José are capable of constructing an affective atmosphere within the Slave Lodge. I have also engaged with the theorization of affect within museums that deal with difficult histories and heritage and within the exhibition space.

On my first visit of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and the Slave Lodge, I used Ydessa Hendels' method of visiting an exhibition, which is walk through the exhibition quickly,

pausing only when I feel something and then connecting with element of the exhibition that is making me feel something (Fisher, 2006: 32). This allows me to connect with the exhibition through my instincts, without overthinking all of the content I am working through. On later walks through the Slave Lodge, I systematically worked my way through each gallery room on the lower level and retained a connection to the elements of the museum that caught my initial interest. Fisher writes that both rapid and slow viewing conditions alter our perceptions and are alternative ways of knowing the exhibition. Hendel describes her reasons for the process as:

> "[f]or me the best initial access is with spontaneity. My unthinking, unconscious, gut reaction either engages me in the work's issues or not. I want to get at my own personal truth, my own particular unique reaction to the work, and that truth resides in my unconscious."
>
> - Ydessa Hendels, quoted by Jennifer Fisher, 2006: 32

Jasmijn Rana and her colleagues used the methodology of emotion networking as a way to show how people connect with heritage items and with one-another as a result of their shared emotional responses to heritage items (Rana et al., 2017: 985). Rana et al. describe this process as a way to bring different people together over shared emotional responses to a heritage item, even when their other identities do not allow them to convene so easily (*Ibid*.). Rana and her colleagues write from a space of reflection after two events where this method was experienced. Here, I have used emotion networking to create a constellation of emotions around the different elements of underwater cultural heritage presented in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. For this research, this brings together people who have worked on different elements of the project (researching, diving, excavating, and curating) in unlikely ways because of their emotional responses to the underwater cultural heritage in question.

With regards to the visuals presented on the exhibition panels, the photographs and illustrations, I am interested in the use of the mnemonic aesthetics of the slave ship, but how in this case, the images created as markers for the memory of the Atlantic Slave Trade are used within the panels of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition (Finley, 2018: 4). Within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, the image of the Brookes ship is used on the second panel within the space.[6] Cheryl Finley writes that the slave ship icon has become a prominent visual metaphor for the historical memory of the Middle Passage and contributed to a sustained and recognizable remembrance in African diaspora visual culture (2018: 4). Considering the prominence of the image and the repetitive use of it, it is understandable then that it is used both in the exhibition and on the cover of the book about the slave ship São José. Image 4

[6] The Brookes ship icon was first developed by British abolitionists and has since become a prominent icon for the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Finley, 2018:1). It illustrates how enslaved African people were transported across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas by depicting how 454 people were crammed into the hold of the slave ship Brookes, which could carry up to 609 enslaved people at one time (Drawing of the 'Brookes' slave ship, 2021). Finley describes how the slave ship icon has lived two lives, one during the abolitionist movement in the 18th and 19th centuries and another more recent life where it has been "symbolically repossessed" by the African diaspora and black Atlantic artists (Finley, 2018: 5).

shows the Brookes ship and Image 5 shows its presence within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

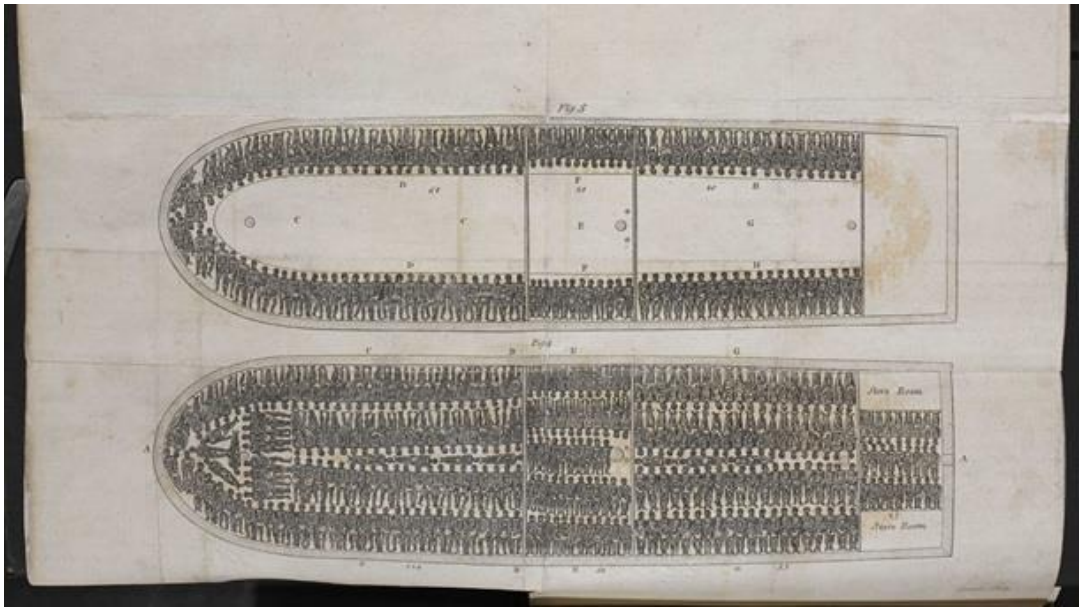


Image 4: Drawing of the 'Brookes' slave ship, first published in 1780, held by the British Museum.

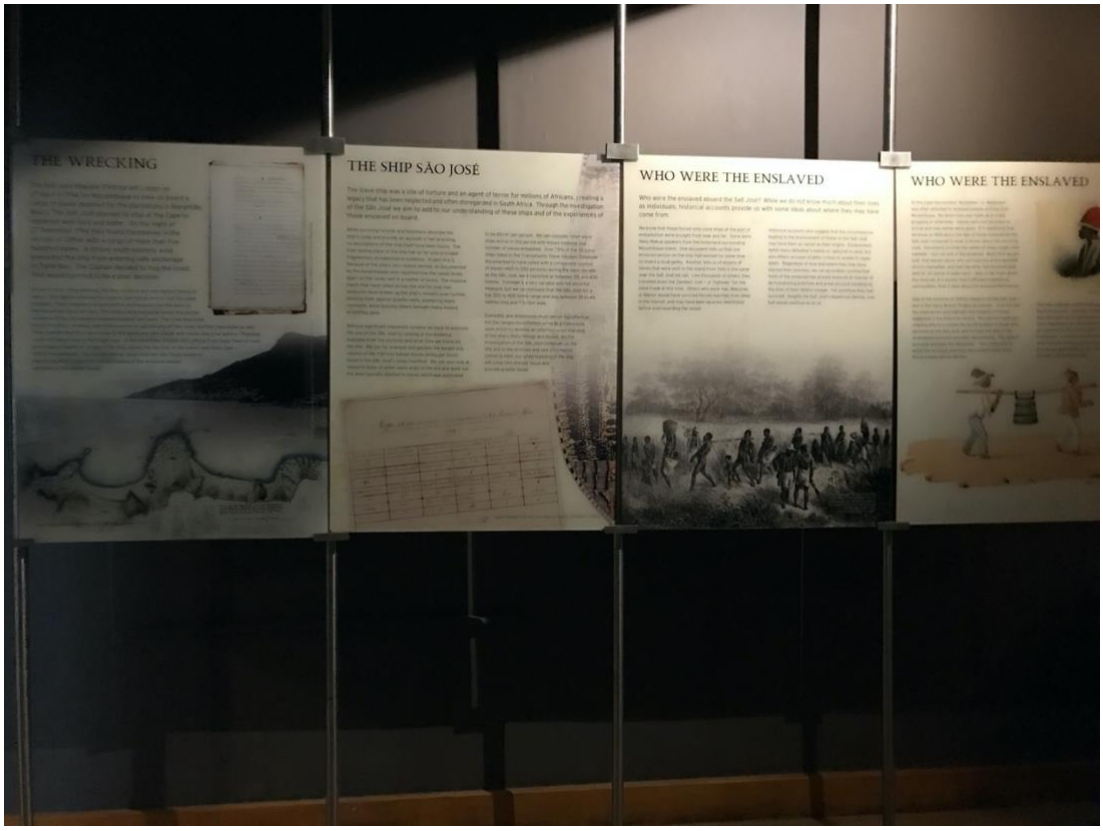


Image 5: Photograph of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, on the second panel from the left, The Ship São José, the Brookes ship image is used. A clearer image of the exhibition panel is in the Appendix. Author's own photograph, 2020.

Furthermore, the illustrations and archive material, such as the cargo manifest, are read with the more modern photographs of the excavation process, and panels about modern-day slavery, to allow for what Sulamith Graefestein describes as a sealing off of the past but inviting visitor activism in national museums about violent pasts (2019: 2). This sealing off of the past challenges the wake work, a process central to this research, yet it falls under the broader messaging of the Iziko Museum, 'from human wrongs to human rights'. I briefly examine how to continue the wake work, while encouraging audience participation and activism towards slavery past and present.

Additionally, I propose that the method of organisation used in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition "exerts strong cognitive control" over the objects, therefore removing the agency of the viewer to organize and understand them, and for the objects to locate or stand for themselves (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 21). Barbra Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes the exhibiting of ethnographic fragments as being in context by the use of labels, diagrams, and other objects, all methods employed by the curatorial team behind the 'Unshackled History' exhibition (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, the 'Unshackled History' exhibition has panels which explain the "circumstances of excavation, collection, and conservation of the objects on display", another characteristic of the ethnographic exhibition that places its objects in context rather than in situ (*Ibid.*). When an object is presented in context, as seen in the exhibition, accompanied by labels, diagrams, and charts, the curators are placing the object within a larger idea, or creating an idea of a 'whole' for the viewer (*Ibid*). However, when the object presented in situ, it is a fragment that represents the 'whole' and gives it an "aura of its realness" (*Ibid*. 20). While the 'Unshackled History' exhibition is not described as an ethnographic exhibition, nor is the Slave Lodge an ethnographic museum, I have found it important to look at these traits while performing the Sharpe's wake work on the museum, to better understand how slavery is memorialized and the audience's experience is mediated for them.

Julietta Singh writes about the "ghost archive", a state of desire where one wishes and wants access to a rounder and fuller narrative, rather than the one/s provided (2018: 96). In the chapter 'The Inarticulate Trace', Singh explains how the death of her father left within her a memory of care from him that, although it did not happen in real life, is "deeply embedded as historical fact" (2018: 80). It is an act that never *really* occurred but the memory of it happening is real, and therefore rests in her 'impossible archive'. This idea of an impossible archive, an archive of an experience unlived by the person who holds it, yet still so important, is the final method I am looking at. I propose that the videos shown in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, those projected on the walls of the museum create within the viewer a ghost archive, a memory of water and diving that they have not experienced, yet one they can hold within them. In the interviews I conducted I asked some of the participants about this and have shared insights from my experiences of visiting the 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

This research makes use of a variety of methods as demonstrated above. These methods lean into one another, following the conceptual framework of this research which makes use of fluid and unfixed ways of thinking. I was curious to see how the emotional connections to the heritage items on display within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition possibly mirror the aesthetic representational choices and the creation of an affective atmosphere within the exhibition space. Additionally, I was curious to understand how history, memory, and heritage

are created within the exhibition space and how the place of water, within this history, memory, and heritage, is mediated as well as presented.

The following table presents my interview participants and their affiliations to either the Iziko Slave Lodge and/or the Slave Wrecks Project. I refer to these participants and my interviews with them throughout this research report, but mostly in Chapter 4.

Participant Code	Affiliation	Role/s[7]
Participant A	Iziko Museum Slave Lodge	Curator
Participant B	Slave Wrecks Project	Heritage Officer, Assistant Archaeologist, Site Surveys, Diving and Excavating
Participant C	Iziko Museum Slave Lodge and Slave Wrecks Project	Diving, Excavating, Conservation, Curating, Collections Management, and Outreach
Participant D	Slave Wrecks Project	Curator, Co-Director of SWP
Participant E	Slave Wrecks Project	Lead Diving Instructor at Diving With a Purpose, Diving and Excavating
Participant F	Slave Wrecks Project	Archive Researcher
Participant G	Slave Wrecks Project	Co-Originator of the SWP, Research Associate, Diving and Excavating
Participant H	Slave Wrecks Project	Heritage Management, Site Surveys, Diving, and Excavating
Participant I	Iziko Museum Slave Lodge and Slave Wrecks Project	Co-Originator of the SWP, Curator
Participant J	Slave Wrecks Project	Diving, Excavating, Skipping, and Researching

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter Two is an exploration into memory, slavery and the sea. I begin this research report by performing what Renisa Mawani calls for in her chapter 'Ships at Sea', which is a "geographical, historical, and ethical reorientation" that directs attention away from solid land and to the interconnected and vast aqueous areas of the world (2018: 90). It is by doing this that we can understand the sea as a site of memory, a sea of history and a sea of slavery. I examine how the oceans hold memory, and how as submerged archives, we can never fully account for or contain all that they hold or have held. Following this I investigate the process of concretion in the re-making of underwater history as an activity that combines human and

[7] In the interviews I conducted I asked each participant to introduce themself and what role they played in bringing this history to light. The roles listed here are the ones they mentioned in their answers and for some participants these are roles they held at the time but no longer work in.

non-human engagements within the ocean. I propose that these eco-factual and artifactual objects serve as ghostly echoes left to represent the violence and horrors of the slave trade.

Next, I explore how to fill the silences of the official archive, where there is limited information on the experiences of the enslaved. To do this I propose reading beyond and against the grain of the archive and relying on the speculative or imagined to re-construct and re-imagine, and I refer to the work of Saidiya Hartman and Toni Morrison. Lastly, I dive into how to think about the past in the present. For this section, I make use of various writings on memory, including Christina Sharpe's *In the Wake* and Pumla Gqola's *What is Slavery to Me?*. Additionally, I use the work of Jaco Boshoff and Steve Lubkemann, Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, and Christopher J. Colvin to examine different configurations of how the past affects our understandings of the present.

In Chapter Three, I open with a brief extract by Christina Sharpe's on conducting wake work within the museum and memorials to slavery. I use this as a scaffolding for the chapter, which is centered around the museum and aesthetic representations of slavery, questioning the museum can enact and perform the wake work required. I use Norbert Fischer's idea of a maritime memory landscape and extend this to the Slave Lodge, a public museum dedicated to slavery at the Cape. I analyze how, using Sulamith Graefenstein's three-tiered memory imperative, the Slave Lodge seals off the past and the present for its visitors. I believe that it is important to be aware of the ongoing connections between the past and the present, which does not happen when the past is sealed off and disconnected from the present.

After this, I look into how the audience of a museum exhibition can feel or experience something while looking at the exhibits. I look at three writings on affect: those of Jennifer Fisher, Joy Sather-Wagstaff, and Divya Tolia-Kelly, to interrogate how affect and affective atmospheres are created within the museum space. Following this, I unpack my own experiences of being within the Slave Lodge and the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. To close Chapter 3, I do a brief survey of the exhibitions that use the São José and its narrative to see how and if these exhibitions have been constructed while still performing the wake work necessary. I also briefly describe the two memorial ceremonies for the São José that have taken place.

The final chapter of this research report is focused on the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. In this chapter, I analyze the exhibition by looking at the displays and objects within it. I explain my first encounter of the exhibition, where I made use of Ydessa Hendel's method of experiencing an exhibition. Then, I perform a reading for water within the exhibition by looking at the function and portrayal of water. Here I look at the exhibition panels as well as the video projections on the walls to understand how water contributes to the narrative of the São José.

In the last two sections of this chapter, I turn my focus to Jasmijn Rana and her colleagues' method of emotion networking to explore multi-perspective sense-making in heritage production. Using the interviews I conducted, I study the networks created around the different objects found in the wreck site of the São José. To end this chapter, I look at how memory and memorywork are a part of heritage production.

Chapter 2: Slavery, Memory, and the Sea

The Sea as History and The Sea as (a Memory of) Slavery

> "The sea is slavery. Sea water boils in its own current. Salt gives the sea the texture of fabric, something thick and close-knitted, not unlike the fine dust of a barn seen floating in a shaft of light. Sea receives the body as if that body has come to rest on a cushion, one that gives way to the body's weight and folds around it like an envelope. Over three days 131 such bodies, no, 132, are flung at this sea. Each lands with a sound that the sea absorbs and silences. Each opens a wound in this sea that heals over each body without the evidence of a scar."
>
> - Fred D'Aguiar, *Feeding the Ghosts,* 1998: 362

> "Where are your monuments, your battles, martyrs?
> Where is your tribal memory? Sirs,
> in that grey vault. The Sea. The sea
> has locked them up. The sea is history."
>
> - Derek Walcott, *The Sea is History*, lines 1-4

I begin with these two quotes to open this section on the ocean, slavery, and memory. In this chapter I am reading of, through, and with the oceans, as a means to place the story of the São José both below the waterline and within the museum. I have done this to understand how the São José can be read as memory, a water-bound object, and slave ship. Part of this includes looking at the speculative and imaginative forms of understanding the past, through examining different theories on memory studies and looking at the objects found in the wreck site of the São José. This chapter shapes how I later write about the presentation of the ocean within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, as well as how I consider intangible and tangible heritage and their use within the exhibition.

To think of the seas or oceans as memory requires a reorientation of historical and geographical considerations away from firmness of land and towards the fluid vastness of their watery being (Mawani, 2018: 90). This means being no longer bound by the surface of land, but rather turning towards, downwards and sinking deeply into the depths of the oceans, much of which is still uncharted.[8] In addition it requires thinking of the many roles the ocean has played and plays, as an ecological environment, through which enslaved people were carried, over which storms develop, in which we find various items relating to human-life – from the Pacific Garbage Patch to underwater cultural heritage such as shipwrecks. Viewing the ocean as a holding space of slavery and as history reminds us that these two are deeply connected and that these histories of capital, exploitation, racial discrimination and death are all connected with the sea.

[8] More than 80% of the sea is still unmapped, unexplored, and unobserved (National Ocean Service, 2021).

In her chapter 'Ships at Sea', Renisa Mawani makes the point that the two views of the sea – the sea as history and the sea as slavery – are inseparable (2018: 92). As Derek Walcott points out in 'The Sea is History', history is recorded by and amongst the natural and unnatural underwater environment. Part of the history that is recorded in the sea is also the Middle Passage, which in this case does not rely on typically recorded or archival documentation, but rather it holds the memory of the events, drowned enslaved people and sharks that followed ships.[9] This image of bodies thrown overboard and drowning in the sea is also explored by Fred D'Aguiar, and while he does not focus on the historical elements of multiple journeys across the sea, the sea becomes a record space of the number of people thrown overboard and those enslaved.[10]

Additionally, Mawani writes that to understand the sea as memory, we need to look beyond the written texts pertaining to the sea, and one of the possible focuses could be the memory of the ship. By reading the ship as a historical artifact and as memory, we glean from it the interconnected histories of the geography below the waterline, the developments of technology, the development of global capitalism, and the forced passages of the enslaved, migrants, and refugees, all which are ongoing today (2018: 93). In this way the sea reminds us that history is not over, its legacies have continued to live with us, and we are constantly shaped by them and shaping them, akin to Patricia William's conceptualizing of memory (Gqola, 2010: 9). By submerging our understanding of history and memory by turning into the sea, we understand that our past has shaped our present. Although we may not be able to see or fully grasp our past, it has shaped the present moment we are in (*Ibid*. 94).

To return to Christina Sharpe, I want to highlight the concept of residence time, which is the amount of time a substance takes to enter and leave the ocean (2016: 77). Sharpe considers this in relation to African people who jumped or were thrown overboard ships in the Middle Passage and the traces of them that are still around today, left in the wake of the ship and mixed with the ocean (*Ibid*. 43). She later writes that the residence time of sodium, a component of human blood, is 260 million years (*Ibid*. 77). With this in mind and thinking about the history of the São José and the 212 enslaved people that drowned in the wrecking, it is therefore possible to think of the drowned as still existing, over 226 years after the wrecking of the São José, as part of the ocean. Similarly, D'Aguiar writes that the sea becomes the bodies thrown overboard, how the salt causes the body to disintegrate and through that process the sea "becomes their memory" (1999: 4). I want to draw out this thinking to reflect through residence time and how through it the presence of drowned enslaved people allows one to consider the invisible elements of underwater cultural history and the heritage associated with that. I believe that this challenges the sealing off of slavery as part of the past, when it is still enduring, elementally still existing in water.

[9] It has been widely recorded that sharks would follow slave ships as they crossed the Atlantic: "The historical record provides abundant evidence that sharks actually swarmed around the slave ships. Proof comes from the testimony of ship captains, officers, sailors, and passengers, many of whom were decidedly against abolition. Such people routinely mentioned sharks in their logs, diaries, memories, and travel accounts." (Rediker, 2008: 287).

[10] In this quote, Fred D'Aguiar is referring to the story of the slave ship Zorgue, more commonly known as *Zong*, where 132 enslaved Africans were thrown overboard to "save the rest of the cargo" because the ship was carrying far too many enslaved people than it could hold and that it had provisions for (Sharpe, 2016: 68).

Julietta Singh writes about the body as being an archive of the infinite number of traces of interactions it has had with the world, itself and others (2018: 18). This is the idea of an impossible archive - an archive that is impossible to gather, impossible to store forever, impossible to be fully conscious of at all times, impossible to decipher between the real/remembered/imagined (*Ibid*.). While Singh's book is primarily concerned with embodied archives and the making of the body as an (impossible) archive, it contains elements that are applicable beyond thinking about the body. Singh weaves together queer theory and her personal experiences through different stages of life to examine the many ways that the body can become an archive of itself, its environment, and the traces of others around it. Moreover, Singh writes about the "ghost archive", a state of desire where one wishes and wants access to a rounder and fuller narrative, rather than the one/s provided or experienced (*Ibid*. 96).

Considering these ideas of an impossible archive and infinite traces, I am drawn to thinking about how the oceans and seas serve as impossible archives. Ones that can never be fully gathered and accounted for, ones that are impossible to store forever, ones where the boundaries of real, remembered, and imagined are blurred, and they are made up of the infinite number of historical traces that will remain unknown to us. Christina Sharpe asks the question, "how does one account for surviving the ship when the ship and the un/survival repeat?" in relation to the lives of those who survived the slave ship *Zong* (2016: 38). This question is equally important for the survivors of the wrecking of the São José. Although the São José broke into pieces, it has still been identified, and in many ways survives, while the lives of the enslaved on board it have not (officially) survived, yet we have this knowledge and possible memory of them that is both ghostly and impossible to contain.[11] This impossibility of fully knowing the ocean and not being able to fully know what happens and happened in, on, or through and how to imagine filling the silences is explored more fully later in this chapter.

Concretion: Making History Underwater and Submerged Heritage

The conservation process of the items found on the São José is a long one with many carefully calculated steps because of the processes needed to stabilize the objects that remained submerged in salty sea water for over 220 years. Some of these objects did not survive their submersion on the sea floor in their original form, and became concretized objects (Participant C, 2020). In his video presentation for the Post-Imperial Oceanics conference in October 2020, Killian Quigley describes the process of concretion underwater and how this process can have three outcomes - preservation, obfuscation and amalgamation. He says concretions are "ambiguous assemblages of human and more than human artifactual and eco-factual matter, conduct, and history" (Isas Departmental, 2020). He asks how we can interpret these processes of making oceanic memory that are ongoing and their futurity. Commonly mistaken for fossils, concretions are geological structures, made as sediment,

[11] Here I mean that the enslaved have not survived in the official archival record, there is no knowledge of them, individually, other than their collective history, which is also brief. It is therefore difficult to imagine their survival when so little is known or remembered about them, yet there are objects which have survived from the ship's wrecking, and these have continued to survive long after their collective story is officially recorded.

species and other organisms that form inside gaps within rocks or underwater objects (Concretions, 2020).

In the case of long submerged items, such as iron or ceramics, concretion takes place at the same time as the process of erosion. The first process highlighted by Quigley is preservation, which is when partial boundaries are created between the encrusted material and the salt water of the ocean. This process creates a form of in-situ conservation and this can diminish the rates of corrosion that happen to the encrusted material. The second process is obfuscation, which creates what Quigley describes as "giant blobs, mysterious and unrecognizable lumps, thick formless mass". These are the artifacts that are not easily recognizable on the seafloor due to the processes of concretion with matter such as algae, spongey organisms or bryozoan (Isas Departmental, 2020).

The final process is amalgamation whereby the concretized objects as well as underwater matter combine together. Unlike the other outcomes, this process is made up of multiple submerged objects. The example Quigley shares is a piece of amalgamated concretized objects, including ceramics, stone, shell, antler, iron, and the remnants of sea creatures from the 'Lost at Sea: Art Recovered from Shipwrecks' exhibition at the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco. This process is the amalgamation of the eco-factual and the artifactual, tangled together in one piece (Isas Departmental, 2020).

I want to draw on the first two outcomes Quigley describes – preservation and obfuscation – which are visible in the underwater historical items found at the wreck site of the São José. Preservation and obfuscation occurred with the pulley block, now on loan to the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC). The pulley block is made of both wood and metal, and because it was submerged under water the wooden part became waterlogged wood and this resulted in immediate degradation once it was removed from the water. The concretion indicated the presence of metal, and while this did not preserve the metal, it created a barrier between the eroding metal and the sea (Conserving the pulley, 2020).

Where the object is nearly completely eroded, such as the shackles, the process of obfuscation rendered the shackles an unrecognizable blob, until they were x-rayed (*Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794* b, 2020). As described on the Iziko Museum's website, the concretized shackles were "very difficult to recognize to the untrained eye" (Preserving the Shackles, 2020). As with the metal in the pulley block, the iron of the shackles had corroded, and the iron chemically bonded with the sea sand, shells and other items on the seabed. As more and more iron corroded, the thicker the layer of concretion surrounding the shackles became. X-rays were used to show what was inside the concreted lumps.

Thinking through this, I am interested in how these concretions of the shackles became echoes of what was there centuries ago. They are not the actual shackles, but are made of them, envelope them, and obscure them. These concretized items are echoes left as markers of history, the technological developments to make the pulley, the history of slavery from the shackles. They serve as parts of the ghost archive, both ghostly echoes in their nature and remnants from which the SWP team can better reconstruct and understand the history of the

São José. Furthermore, they are amphibious entanglements, objects that started out on land, later submerged and eroding on the seafloor, becoming an amphibious mix of land and sea.

While not described as a concreted object, the Dalbergia wood found at the wreck site, and on display in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, is an example of an object that sheds light on the transnational element of water and the slave trade. The wood, which is found along the East African coast from Tanzania to northern Mozambique and southern Kenya, was used as cargo during the 18th and 19th century. It is believed that this wood was used onboard the ship as a form of cargo, in exchange for the ballast blocks and other goods brought by the slavers (*Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794*, 2020). Interestingly, on the wood are *chthamalus dentatus*, toothed barnacles, a crustacean found in the upper intertidal zone of Namibia, Angola and southeast South Africa, not on the western coast, which is where the São José wrecked. On the exhibition panel relating to the Dalbergia wood and the toothed barnacles, it reads that possibly the wreck site and the wreck, reef and rocks of Clifton beach "has a potential role in the introduction of a rare foreign species to the wreck site" (*Ibid.*). This organic material, albeit now dead, growing on the wood in the waters where it is not normally found shows how through human interaction, the forced movement of both people and non-human forms were disrupted and shaped the ghostly echoes of the wrecking spot of the São José.

These concretized objects, these eco-factual and artifactual objects serve as a memory of what was once there, especially in the case of the shackles. The x-rays showed "what is left – the solid metal parts and the outlines of what was once there, before the shackles corroded away" (Preserving the Shackles, 2020). The ghostly echoes left represent the violence and horrors of the slave trade, yet the actual objects used to enforce and enslave have naturally corroded in the sea. Again, the sea becomes a sea of history and a sea of slavery. The objects of slavery, in this case the shackle, intermingled with the sea becoming a tangible representation of the forgotten, the preserved, and of new life created by the reef. Similarly, this is the case with the Dalbergia wood and the toothed crustaceans, where the echoes of another land, of other tidal areas, of other life forms are found submerged where they do not naturally form. To think of the São José is to think about the multiple transnational and transoceanic entanglements that make up its continuing history, the knowledge and memory we have about it. These eco-factual and arti-factual objects help us re-construct a past and a story where there is limited archived knowledge about it.

(Re-)Constructing the Past

Saidiya Hartman writes about how the lack of archival material on first-hand or autobiographical experiences of enslaved people, especially women, means there is a silence, the result of which is scholarship on the Atlantic slave trade focuses on the quantitative makers, for example ship manifests or invoices which claimed people as property (2008: 4). A method around this, suggested by Hartman, is to read the history that is written in the archive as well as reading against the archive (*Ibid*. 12). This is not to give a voice to the enslaved, but rather to imagine the experiences that cannot be verified, the experiences of being "situated between two zones of death – social and corporeal death – and to reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the moment of their disappearance" (*Ibid*.). This work seeks to reckon with the disappearances of the lives of the enslaved aboard the São

José, of their narratives and examine how this reckoning is presented within the museum, and re-membered within the institution of the Slave Lodge.

In the case of the São José, this requires reading the echoes etched into the tangible remnants of the ship and the objects on it, those presented within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. It would be to reconstruct, as far as possible, the events of that night to include the experiences of the enslaved in the hold of the ship, therefore reading beyond the archived deposition of Captain Manuel João. Furthermore, it would be to speculate what happened to the enslaved once they arrived on shore and were sold into slavery at the Cape. Lastly, it would be to envision the narrative of slavery past in the present, thus performing the wake work Sharpe calls on us to do, which gives space for the viewer to mourn the tragedy in the present and as it continues.

To bring back Singh's notion of a ghost archive, the physical remnants of the São José serve as the elements within this ghost archive. By using these items, the SWP team were able to re-construct a narrative and history of the ship which had, for so long, slipped into the place of being forgotten and unremembered. These physical remnants of the São José served as an important way for the SWP team to identify the ship which had been inaccurately identified and therefore further pushed down into the depths of the territory of the unremembered (Boshoff et al. 2016: 42).

These methods are particularly important to employ in this work where the archival material available is scant and does not take into account the human lives lost or the extent of the violence inflicted on them. In Captain Manuel João's deposition to the lawyer in Cape Town, there was a clear distinction between "the people" and "the slaves", furthering the dehumanization of the enslaved within the archival record (Boshoff et al., 2016: 61). While re-humanizing the enslaved might not be possible to do on an individual basis because close to nothing is known about their individual lives, this exhibition and the work of the SWP illuminates the stories of 512 enslaved people out of the millions trapped and lost through the slave trade.[12]

Furthermore, when reading the archival material included in the exhibition and the book about the slave ship São José, *From No Return: The 221-Year Long Journey of the Slave Ship São José*, engaging reading with and against the archive can provide insight into what might or could have been (Hartman, 2008: 13). This leans into narrative practice of critical fabulation, where the goal is to paint as full a picture of the lives of the enslaved using the archive and disciplinary methods, then going beyond those to use methods that are absent from traditional scholarship (*Ibid*. 11).

This echoes Toni Morrison's method of writing illustrated in *The Site of Memory*, which requires moving from the image to the text, from the picture of the past and the feelings that are associated with it to the written text (1995: 92). This allows for the interior lives of the

[12] There is only one archival record about one of the enslaved people aboard the São José, who was kept in the gallows of the Sheikh of Mongincual in order to repay the debts of Joaquim de Aranha e Oliveira and, who was sold to the Captain Manuel João and put aboard the São José (Boshoff et al, 2016: 40).

enslaved and other marginalized people to be written when their narratives have been left out and omitted from the written record.

Boshoff and Lubkemann attempt to reimagine the night of the wrecking of the São José, they do this using the sterile Captain's deposition, their imagination, and their own experiences of diving on the site:

> "What the captain's curt account fails to reveal about the drama that unfolded throughout the final hours of the São José we can still imagine with some certainty. Struggling to breathe in the heat of the hold, swamped with the stifling stench of sweat and urine, the enslaved would have found themselves awash in their own vomit, or that of the other enslaved succumbing in droves to the nauseating unrest of the violent sea. Entombed in the lightless hold of a ship shrouded by the pitch black of a storm-tossed night, surely the next of the human senses to be overwhelmed would have been that of sound. As awareness of the ship's plight took hold amongst the crew – and as sheer panic set in after it struck the reef – the enslaved would have heard desperately shouted orders, punctuated by sailors swearing in one breath, before perhaps invoking their patron saint in the next. Hurled in Portuguese over groaning timbers and the cracking whip of sails, these invocations would have mingled with prayers to Allah or pleas for protection to the ancestors uttered in a variety of tongues – Macua, Sena, Yao, Makonde… As the ship finally broke apart, the early morning air would have resounded with the shrieks of those injured or drowning – played out against the deafening drumbeat of the relentlessly crashing waves and the concluding, calamitous crescendo of the ship breaking apart. The final clamors of the doomed may well have been brief, as the angry sea would have claimed its victims quickly. Any still in the hold would have been instantly entombed. Others weighed by shackles or chained to each other would have been dragged beneath the surface in mere moments… Most of the enslaved would have been weakened, and few, if any, would have known how to swim. Most of those not overcome by the towering waves, or battered by the swirl of jagged debris, would have quickly succumbed to the frigid waters that are ushered into this cove by the Atlantic currents"
>
> - Jaco Boshoff and Stephen Lubkemann, *From No Return: the 221-Year Long Journey of the Slave Ship São José,* 2016: 55-58

While we will never know for certain what the enslaved aboard the São José experienced or felt in the hours before and during the wrecking of the ship, by using imagination, personal experience and the limited and one-sided archival records available, Boshoff and Lubkemann were able to reconstruct a possible version of events for that night. Performing Sharpe's wake work requires us to inhabit and rupture the way we live and the "un/imaginable" lives, so that we engage with the praxis of imagining, between what is redacted and annotated (Sharpe, 2016: 42 & 182). The imagined, or even that which we are yet to imagine, are necessary for us to engage with as we grapple with living in the ongoing aftermath of slavery.

Another silence experienced by the team searching for information about the São José was that there is no information about where the eleven enslaved who died after surviving the wreckage and those who washed up on shore have been buried. For now, they suspect that the bodies were buried as soon as possible, likely on Clifton beach. In the cruel irony of the world, the systems of capital and exploitation that decreed these people as property and cargo have been part of the development of Clifton as one of the richest areas of Cape Town. Boshoff and Lubkemann suspect that below one or more of those mansions lies the final resting place for those who died in the wrecking of the São José (Boshoff et al., 2016: 65.

Morrison writes that when writing from imagination, "nothing in it needs to be publicly verifiable, although much in it can be verified" (1995: 93). The work of imagining is also addressed by Sharpe who writes that engaging in the wake work means being able to "imagine otherwise from what we know *now* in the wake of slavery." (2016: 42). This is part of the work of re-memorying, to recast, reconstruct, relook and reformulate the parts of history and memory that are only available through traces (Gqola, 2010: 8). Gqola writes that to conceptualize of Morrison's idea of rememory and to use this helix model to think of memory requires "constant attention" and "reworking" with and through the echoes that remain attached to memory (*Ibid*. 199).

Thinking of the Past in the Present

Sharpe's *longue durée* approach called for by doing wake work is a form of ritualized remembering of death and grief (2016: 47). In *In the Wake*, Sharpe uses the metaphor of being in the wake as a way to explain the means of living in the present with the ongoing terror of the past as the background of everyday existence for Black people (2016: 37). Sharpe uses literary and historical texts relating to the past and situates them in conversation with daily experiences of exclusion and violence against Black people. These are the experiences of living in the wake of slavery, where the wake is defined as being "the track left on the water's surface by a ship; the disturbance caused by a body swimming or moved, in water; it is the air currents behind a body in flight; a region of disturbed flow" as well as a place of mourning, the recoil of a gun, and the state of "wakefulness" – of consciousness (*Ibid*. 3, 8, & 4).

Throughout *In The Wake*, Sharpe proposes multiple definitions of what it means to live in the wake and to perform wake work. The definition I found most useful in relation to this research is that it "requires theorizing the multiple meanings of that abjection through inhabitation, that is, through living them in and as consciousness" (Sharpe, 2016: 65). I find this definition useful because it calls for more than just an awareness of the past and of life in the wake of slavery, but rather for living through it, to live in the many different afterlives of slavery that exist in its wake. Furthermore, Sharpe uses the image of the wake and the ship to describe how trauma is made "maximal [in] the wake." (*Ibid*. 40).

The *Zong* is an event, place, and object that Sharpe returns to often *In the Wake*. She uses it to draw parallels between the different events that have taken place in the past and in recent years. In some ways the *Zong* becomes a mnemonic technology employed by Sharpe to illustrate living in the wake. For example, it is used to examine contemporary accounts of

people in the hold of boats that take migrants over the Mediterranean and the brutality they faced aboard the ship as well as the imminent threat of death or being thrown overboard, as was the case with the enslaved people aboard the *Zong* (2016: 73).

Boshoff and Lubkemann write that the history of slavery represented within the slave ship São José is only one piece of the chain of the past which cumulatively links to the present (2016: 64). In thinking through the repetitive use of the *Zong* by Sharpe, I am intrigued by how the same methods of terror are re-enacted in the present day, as if belonging to the same repeating cycle or linked by a chain.

Upon thinking more about these chain links, I am reminded of the helix model of memory Gqola discusses (2010). Dorothy L. Pennington's double helix model of memory speaks of the connections between the past and the present, the manner in which they connect with one another, and how the present is built on the events, history, and memory of the past. What I appreciate about the idea of the helix is that it seems more flexible than the metal of the chains. What I mean by this is that memory is also able to shift and change, as the helix moves where it "turns back upon itself and depends upon the past from which it springs to guide and determine its nature" (Pennington, 1985 in Gqola, 2010: 9).

Gqola's book *What is Slavery to Me?* traces evocations and expressions of slave memory across the South African landscape, including in the areas related to coloured identity, religion, food and artistic practices. By making use of a feminist post-colonial memory lens, Gqola is concerned with the "ongoing effects and processing historical consciousness" after slavery in South Africa. Similarly, to Sharpe, this wide breadth of subject matter allows Gqola to examine the nuances with which slave history is considered and experienced in South Africa.

I have found Gqola's theoretical framing of memory the most useful part of her book, as she uses three key frameworks that guide thinking through memory. The first is Pennington's helix-shaped memory, where memory resists flatness and completion, and requires "analysis, contextualization and explanation" because the daily lives of people are influenced by the past (Gqola, 2010: 9). Secondly, throughout the book she discusses Toni Morrison's rememory, a process of understanding and processing the echoes of memory from various stages of history, from the slavery of the past to the present (*Ibid*. 146). Lastly, Gqola refers to Patricia Williams' work where memory and history serve as shadows, omnipresent and hovering, that shapes ongoing and current experiences of the present (*Ibid*. 91).

Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone write in the introduction of *Contested Pasts: The politics of memory* that to contest the past is to contest what the past means in the present. This means engaging with our understanding of the past in terms of the different consequences it has on the present, be they ethical or political (2003: 1). These conflicts and contestations are often linked to who has the place to speak of the past from the present. This brings into question debates around representation, memorialization, silence of the past and what is considered truth. Moreover, they write how memory is able to reshape, address changing needs, and attempt to comfort (*Ibid*. 16).

While Hodgkin and Radstone illustrate the ties between memory and nationalism when it comes to forging ideas of space and place, in another chapter in *Contested Pasts: The politics of memory*, especially tied to specific land-based landscapes or geography, I am thinking away from nationalism or memory that is tied only to land (2003: 170). Instead, when thinking of space or place and public memory, I am engaging with multiple geographies of water *and* land, this amphibian method of thinking as Meg Samuelson writes about (2017: 16). Memory here comes from an engagement with the transnational histories and legacies of the slave trade, the oceans that enabled colonialism and slavery, and the shores that saw arrival, trade, and death. This is with the understanding that the experiences of slavery and the slave trade were not homogenous across these global geographies and nor are their legacies homogenous in the present day. I am still pulled towards using Sharpe's wake work as a critical conceptual framework for thinking through how we live in the ongoing afterlives of slavery in South Africa and critique exhibitions and museums dedicated to slavery. Additionally, it is important to critique the way in which museums, especially national museums, have been used to affirm national identity, so if this national identity does not critically examine the continuous afterlives of slavery, public memory will lack engagement with this history.

In his chapter 'Trauma and History in the New South Africa', Christopher J. Colvin discusses post-apartheid trauma and memory in South Africa through looking at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, its processes and the way it shone a light on trauma in South Africa (2003: 153). He is interested in the cultural strategies of representing the past. While his focus is on post-apartheid history and memory, specifically relating to the TRC process and Robben Island, I am extending this to look at how cultural strategies are employed in the representing of slave history and memory. He outlines how trauma becomes a "powerful interpretive framework" to make sense of specific historic pains and also more generally the past itself (*Ibid*. 156).

From the interviews Colvin conducted at Robben Island, the consensus of the people he spoke was to want the past to be presented "as multifaceted and contextual" giving people a "balanced picture of various actors, events and constraining conditions," so that contradictory memories of history can be effectively brought into or disregarded from crafting the narrative (2003: 161-162). Additionally, some of the people he interviewed wanted Robben Island to be placed more within the context of history, so that it is understood for other historical and ecological aspects, rather than as just a prison (*Ibid*. 161). This means that they sought to bring private memories into a flow with public narratives but remaining as objective as possible and as "unemotional" as possible (*Ibid.* 162). This unemotional view of heritage is something I disagree with and will explore further on in Chapter 3.

This tension of what is official memory versus what is not is also raised by Hodgkin and Radstone in their introductory chapter. They write that the contestation between what is 'official' versus what is in opposition to the 'official' shifts the concern to the manner in which "particular versions of an event may be at various times and for various reasons promoted, reformulated and silenced" (2003: 5). Gary Minkley and Phindezwa Mnyaka describe this as the difference between the 'official' and the 'vernacular', where the official is the narrative of the state, "more dominant and authorised" heritage productions. The vernacular heritage imagination, a production of the average person and the public "constitutes the everyday city,

the realm of routine activity associated with everyday life" (2015: 56). To appeal to memory means to appeal to a particular ideology, that might not be accepted in the private or public spheres, the official or vernacular narratives, or all of these. For Colvin it is important for society to recognize the trauma of its members, as a means of healing the painful memory that hovers around it (2003: 164).

To return to Colvin's research, some of the other participants in his research are from the Khulumani Victim Support Group, where the group, engaging in a storytelling workshop, critiqued storytelling about trauma and trouble because it "carries with it an implication that the suffering is over and that the narrator is now in a position to reflect on and speak about it." (Colvin, 2003: 164). This understanding that the past and the pain and hurt connected to it is not over, is an important distinction to make. I disagree with his interview participants from Robben Island that the past should be presented in an unemotional way. The ritualized remembering of grief and pain, this way of analyzing life, both the known and un/imagined, is part of the wake work Sharpe calls on us to do in the afterlives of slavery (Sharpe, 2016: 42).

These models of thinking construct memory as flexible, changing and moving, comprising many different parts and experiences that are brought together. It is also ever present, and its presence is what supports its flexible and changing construction. As we live in the present, we re-negotiate and re-construct the past and our experiences. Boshoff and Lubkemann's model of memory as links in a chain do not take into account this changing nature of memory as it is contested and re-negotiated in the present. This is clearer in Pennington's model of memory being a double helix that is flexible and able to double back on itself (Gqola, 2010: 9). This flexibility is necessary because heritage is produced by multiple narratives and an awareness of the similar or divergent memories and narratives about the past enable us to re-negotiate the past as it appears in the present.

Keeping this in mind and connecting this discussion with previous ones in this chapter, it is important to think of the sea and the memories associated with it as a physical space. Similarly, to think of the Slave Lodge, a historical building in its own right, which now houses and presents the history and memory of slavery at the Cape. This requires us to think of both the wet world of the submerged and the dry land of the exhibition. The next chapter will engage further with these ideas of memory and space, the memorialization of slavery within a museum context, as well as work through the theory of affect and aesthetic representational forms within the museum.

Chapter 3: Slavery, Aesthetic Representations, and the Museum

> "(I)f museums and memorials materialize a kind of reparation (repair) and enact their own pedagogies as they position visitors to have a particular experience or set of experiences about an event that is seen to be past, how does one memorialize chattel slavery and its afterlives which are still unfolding? How do we memorialize an event that is still ongoing?"
>
> - Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake,* 2016: 45

The Slave Lodge and Memorializing Slavery

Moved by Christina Sharpe's quote above, I sought to understand how slavery is memorialized through the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and more broadly through the Slave Lodge in Cape Town. For this chapter I focus on the lower level of the Slave Lodge, which is dedicated to the history and memory of slavery at the Cape. Explored briefly in the introductory chapter, this chapter will expand on my personal observations and reflections of visiting the Slave Lodge in September and October 2020. Additionally, I intertwine these observations with the insights from the interviews I have conducted and other texts that relate to the Slave Lodge, memorialization and representations of slavery, and affect and exhibition design.

To better understand how intangible and tangible heritage that relates to slavery is memorialized, in this chapter, I look at how memory is tied to space and objects within the museum context at the Slave Lodge. Norbert Fischer writes about the 'maritime memory landscape' that is created by the historic experience of the "shipwrecks, storm surges and inundations" (2018: 169). These landscapes are both the material heritage as well as the ideas of maritime history of a particular region or group of people (*Ibid*. 170). I draw these ideas out as the tangible and intangible that relates to the oceans and seas, the maritime heritage.

As Heather Wares explores in her Masters dissertation, maritime archaeology in post-apartheid South Africa has difficulty unravelling itself from its colonial past, because the main focus has historically been on the presence of the slave ship (2013: 1 and 79). This focus on the physical slave ship, while useful to read and understand as explored in the previous chapter, limits the full extent of memory that is engaged with. Fischer's focus on both the physical and non-physical landscapes of maritime memory is the framework I used when analyzing the exhibitions at the Slave Lodge. While not solely dedicated to the parts of slave history that engage with water, the memory landscape created by the Slave Lodge clearly stresses the connections of slavery and colonialism to water, especially the oceans.

Norbert Fischer's explanation on the maritime memory landscape is centered around coastal landscapes and memorials of European seas, specifically the North Sea coast and islands. I am extending this idea of a memory landscape to the Slave Lodge in Cape Town because of the way the Slave Lodge uses objects, history, and memory to construct its memorialization of slavery. Fischer writes, "[a]s experiences of death and grief were passed on, reflected and materialized in memorials, they gained historical importance and this ultimately made them perceptible as a memory landscape." (2018: 171). Additionally, Fischer's concentration on

maritime death and memorials relating to it in the maritime memory landscape is different to the aim of this study. However, the idea that this memory landscape allows for "specific adaptations of past events" and that it "can be seen as a symbolic condensation of the tragic past" are important points of departure for my analysis of the Slave Lodge (*Ibid*. 178).

Wake work upends how we understand trauma and mourning as states of being that have ended (Sharpe, 2016: 45). By thinking through this enduring mourning and Fischer's memory landscapes, the memorialization of slavery is collected into this one space where people can engage with it. Following this line of thought, the memorialization of slavery in this one environment does not rupture the wake, but simply contains the expression of this history to one site. This one space of expression is also historically important and symbolic, in the case of the Slave Lodge. The exhibitions I discuss below are presented from a specific angle which means they do not engage with the ongoing mourning, but rather present slave history as an event of the past.

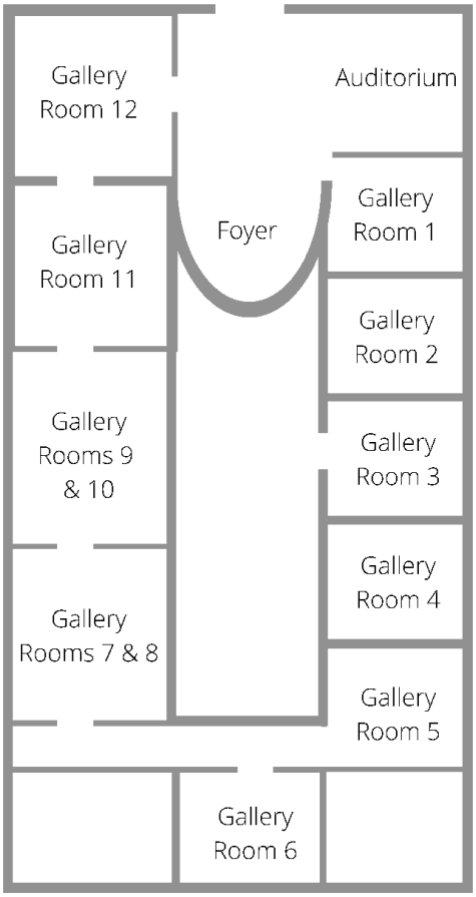


Image 6: Drawing of the lower floor gallery rooms at the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum in Cape Town, not to scale, drawn by the author.

At the center of each exhibition at the Slave Lodge is a connection to South African or global history. The lower level of the museum, called 'Remembering Slavery', uses objects, archival documentation, and a suggestion to memory to construct its memorialization of slavery. Additionally, while the experiences of death, grief and trauma are visible throughout the museum, these are not described as being ongoing. By using a mixture of storytelling, reconstructed objects, through invoking the memory of the unremembered and forgotten,

on a collective and individual level, the Slave Lodge presents this heritage as a landscape of memory of the slave trade and slavery at the Cape. The material objects and the ideas or stories relating to slavery and the slave trade are the intangible and tangible heritage of slavery presented within the museum.

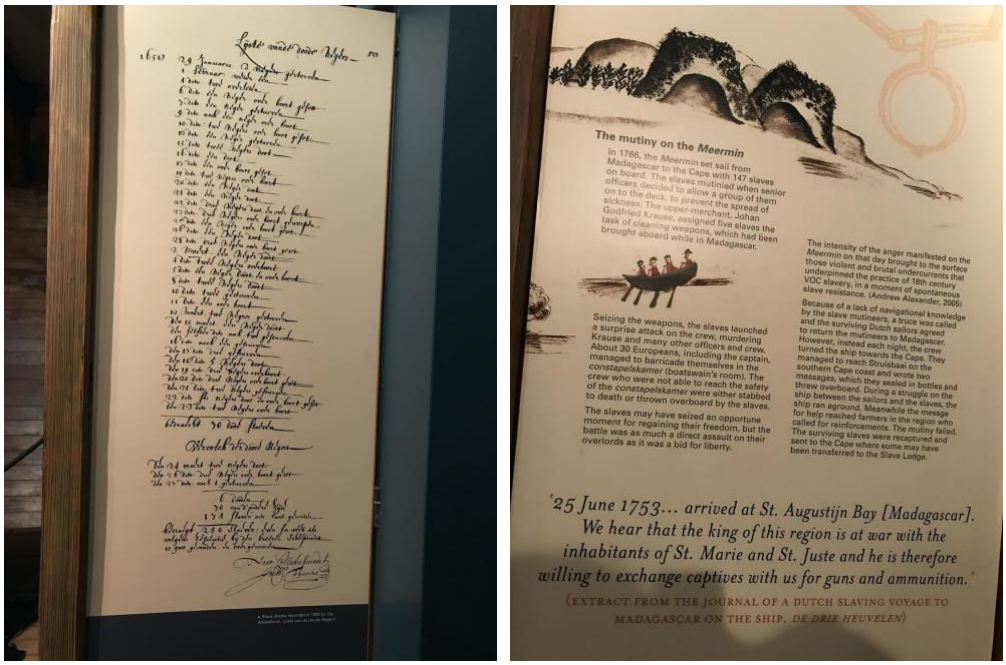
The exhibitions which link slavery and the oceans together the most are in Gallery Rooms 2, 3 and 4. These are the exhibitions on slave voyages, origins and arrival, and the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. Here, memory is created through the use of reconstruction – the reconstruction of a slave ship as seen in Gallery Room 2 and a light-up map showing the journeys of slave ships across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in Gallery Room 3. Additionally, there is the invocation of memory of those forgotten and unremembered – seen through the column of memory, also in Gallery Room 2, and in the history of the São José in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, as well as the textual evidence of the archival record which is interspersed in the different gallery rooms.



Image 7: The light up map showing the slave trade routes of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in Gallery Room 3, author's own photograph, 2020.

Furthermore, more individualized and specific histories of slavery are exhibited through the exhibitions in Gallery Rooms 2, 9, 10, 11, and 12. In Gallery Room 2, using a mix of archival records and quotes, the Slave Lodge tells the story of the slave ships Meermin and Amersfoort. The main focus of Gallery Rooms 9 and 10 are displays dedicated to enslaved women who are visible through the archival record as part of the temporary exhibition

entitled ‘Under Cover of Darkness: Women in servitude in the Cape Colony’. These women’s stories are those of “injustice, violence, suffering and abuse,” as remarked by Rooksana Omar, the CEO of Iziko Museums of South Africa’s (Under Cover of Darkness: Women in servitude in the Cape Colony, 2021). In Gallery Room 11, there are more stories of enslaved women from the ‘Under Cover of Darkness’ exhibition as well as more archival documentation of slavery, including clothing made and worn by slaves.



Images 8 and 9: Two exhibition panels from Gallery Room 2, L-R: Slave deaths recorded in 1659 for the Amersfoort; Exhibition panel describing the mutiny on the slave ship Meermin, author’s own photographs, 2020.

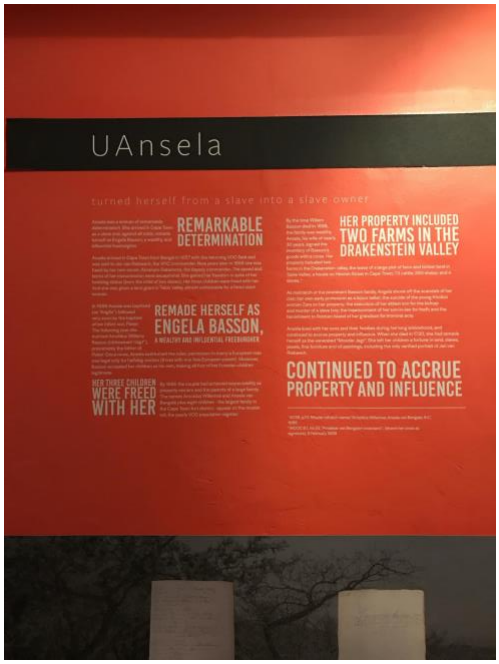


Image 10: Exhibition panel from ‘Under Cover of Darkness’ exhibition on Ansela van Bengal from Gallery Rooms 9 and 10, author’s own photograph, 2020.

From my experience, the exhibition which observes the past by examining its legacies in the present most effectively is the temporary exhibition 'My Naam is Februarie: Identities Rooted in Slavery'.[13] It is an exhibition of a calendar created by the Slave Lodge, in Gallery Room 6, of people whose surnames are the different months of the year, from Januarie to December. Accompanying their portrait is a short write-up of what it means to each person featured to have a surname with slave origins. This calendar of memory is in reference to the practice of stripping the names and identities of the enslaved and replacing them with the month of their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope (My naam is Februarie, 2020).

The 'My Naam is Februarie' exhibition opened on 21 October 2016 and was meant to close on 31 March 2018, however, when I visited in September and October 2020 the exhibition was still up. The exhibition was part of the Slave Calendar which was produced for the Iziko Museums by Geometry Global (Artslink.co.za - My Naam is Februarie). Along the dark walls of the gallery room are large black and white photographs taken by Cape Townian photographer David Prior of the descendants of enslaved people brought to the Cape (My naam is Februarie, 2020). The CEO of Iziko Museums, Rooksana Omar, described the purpose of the exhibition as being "not to showcase 'The History of Slavery' in South Africa, but to continue to drive awareness about a tragic part of our history that is all but forgotten… This exhibition aims to bring these shared histories back into our collective consciousness." (Artslink.co.za - My Naam is Februarie). Thus, this exhibition is examining the ongoing afterlives of slavery, by presenting the stories of the descendants of the enslaved and the significance of their surnames, in the present day.



Image 11: Photograph of the 'My Naam is Februarie: Identities Rooted in Slavery' exhibition at the Slave Lodge, Photographer: Nigel Pamplin.

[13] A video by the SABC on the 'My naam is Februarie: Identities Rooted in Slavery' exhibition can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrEHbrdq6uI
A playlist of videos created by the Iziko Museums about each person showcased in the exhibition can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sxTnIzjFKGU&list=PLleQOsc1o-Jzo3QG0SE4lMkkH7Kd8PT-S

Other than being the exhibition that best examines the afterlives of slavery in the present, the exhibition also stood out because of its design. On the days I visited, the lights were off in the room, and the only source of light was from the windows along the one wall. This created an eerie feel with the dark paint on the walls and the black and white photographs and no specific sounds playing in the room. The photographs are large and contrast the other visual material in the previous gallery rooms as these are more modern in their presentation – for example the portraits were hanging from the ceiling and not mounted on the walls - and subject matter.

Similar to Pennington's double helix model of memory described by Gqola, Fischer's idea of a memory landscape is that it is subject to change and evolution over the course of time (2018: 170). When referring to the maritime memory landscape Fischer writes about the many stages of history that create layers in the palimpsest of the public space (2018: 171). The public space I am examining is the Slave Lodge. As briefly examined in the Introduction, the Slave Lodge is a museum dedicated to slave history built on a historic site that is deeply tied to slavery at the Cape. Fischer's idea of layers is echoed by Karen E. Till and Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto-Arponen in their article on the complexities of memory and space (2015). Here, they describe a strand of scholarship in the geographies of memory where "site-specific symbols and practices of visualizing the past are contextualized in new settings, their meanings and politics change." (Till & Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015: 294). Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's layers make different linkages which connect both locally and the wider world (*Ibid.*).

Sulamith Graefenstein describes how national museums in Europe and America dedicated to violent pasts have developed as spaces which identify with the concept of human rights in their titles or themes. The main theme of the Slave Lodge is 'from human wrongs to human rights', thus looking at past human rights injustices and moving towards a society that is based on human rights. Graefenstein suggests that this seals off the past and encourages activism of the museum's visitors by pointing out ongoing struggles or suffering (2019: 2). He continues to write that the effect of this is that the legacies of past injustices are often side-lined in favor of presenting a favorable view of the current political system and to incite visitor activism about present-day human-rights injustices (*Ibid*.).

Graefenstein writes that this process of inciting visitor activism by sealing off the past happens in a series of steps through the design of the museum space. This he calls the three-tiered memory imperative, which serves as a template for the narrative in the museums he writes about. These museums are all human-rights themed museums in Europe and America. While the Slave Lodge is not primarily a human-rights museum, its overarching theme is around human rights, which is why Graefenstein's theory applies to the Slave Lodge. In the first gallery room of the Slave Lodge, there is a small exhibition panel which reads, "the Iziko Slave Lodge is taking up the challenge to become a focus for building a culture of human rights in the present" (Slave Lodge | Heritage of Slavery, 2020). The three tiers that Graefenstein describes are firstly an expression of guilt of state-sanctioned violence in the past, secondly paying tribute to the victims of this violence, and thirdly celebrating a specific political system or the triumph of human rights over this past (2019: 4). By admitting to past violence but not discussing how this past violence is experienced today, the museum's narrative creates a disconnect between the past and the present. This final focus on a political party, or in the

case of the Slave Lodge, on human rights, is what seals off the past and encourages visitors to be activists around present-day issues that align with the museum's narrative (*Ibid*. 5).

This three-tiered memory imperative shows up in the Slave Lodge, but not in the same precise order stipulated by Grafenstein. The first tier, the admission of guilt of violence in the past is visible through a small exhibition panel, Image 6 – quoted above. The exhibition rooms of the gallery all present how this violence occurred and pays tribute to the victims of the violence. The anomaly to Grafenstein's theory is the 'My naam is Februarie' exhibition, as this briefly discusses how legacies of slavery are felt today. The final tier is a recurring theme of discussing modern-day slavery as a human rights abuse and disconnecting it from the past. However, one exhibition panel links slavery of the past in South Africa to modern-day slavery through a quote by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, which I believe further encourages visitor activism, as seen in Image 8.

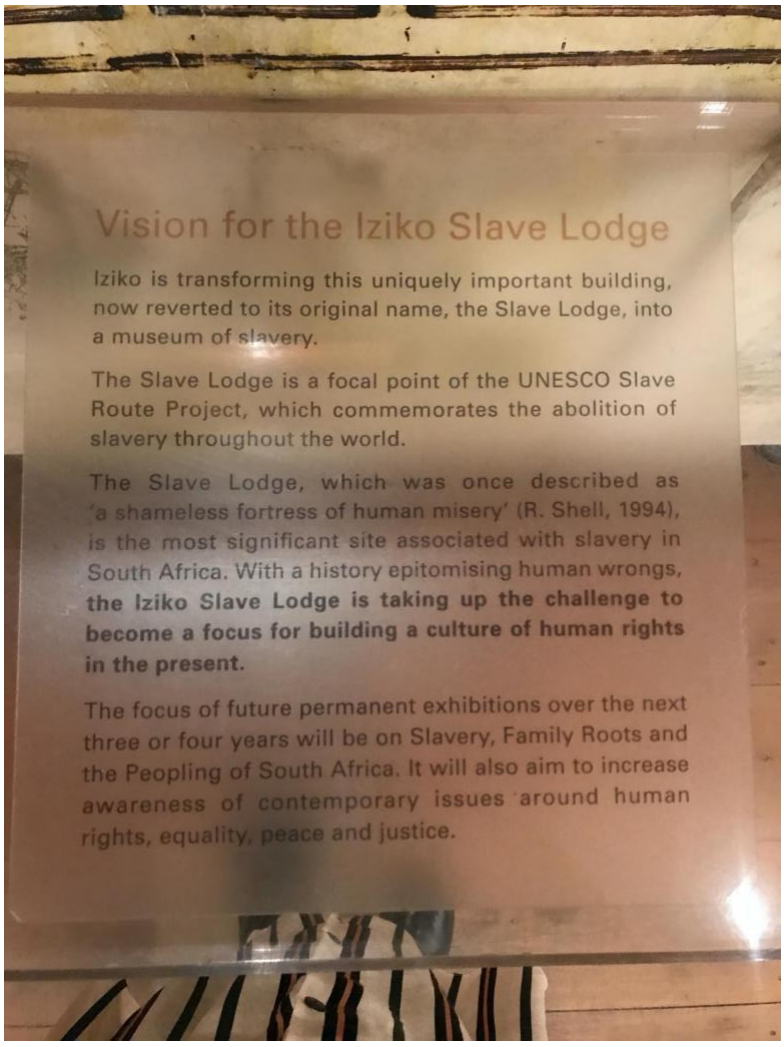


Image 12: One of the first exhibition panels in Gallery Room 1 at the Slave Lodge. It details the vision for the Iziko Slave Lodge, author's own photograph, 2020.

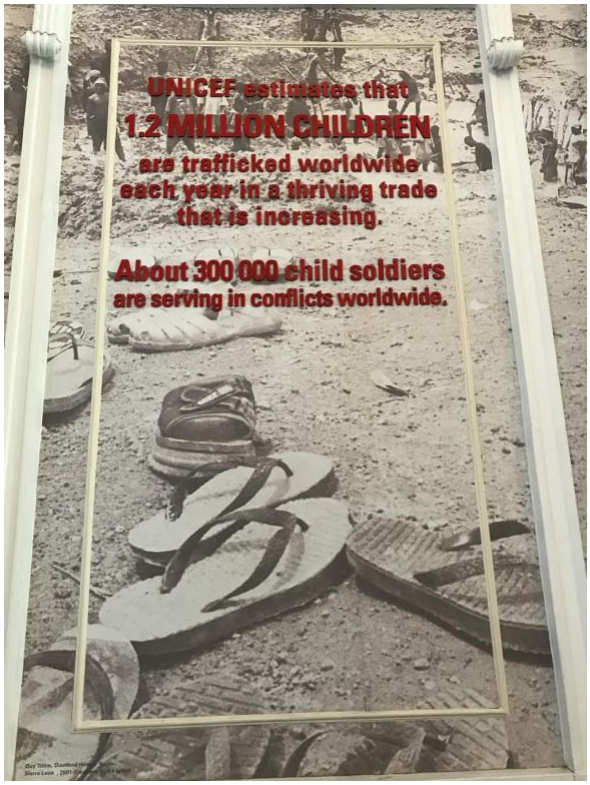


Image 13: Photograph of an exhibition panel in the entrance foyer of the Slave Lodge on child trafficking and child soldiers, author's own photograph, 2020.

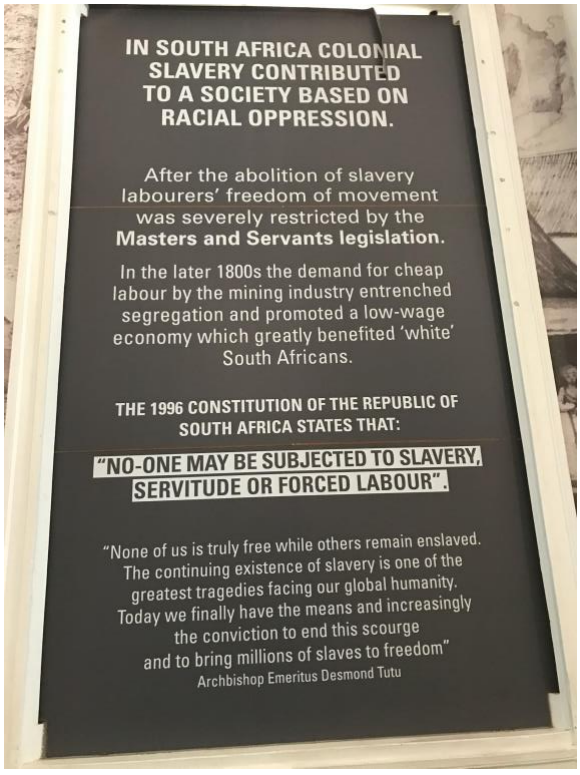


Image 14: Photograph of exhibition panel in the entrance foyer of the Slave Lodge that draws parallels between slavery in the past and modern-day slavery, author's own photograph 2020.

Recalling Christina Sharpe's quote at the beginning of this chapter, the current memorialization of slavery at the Slave Lodge can be understood as a layer upon a stack of layers of history, heritage, and memorialization, each of which has links to temporally specific negotiations of space and memory. We are still in the wake of slavery, as illustrated by the 'My naam is Februarie' exhibition, and the events of the slave trade and slavery at the Cape of Good Hope still have visible and ongoing legacies today. These memories of lived experiences and legacies accompany us and returning to these affects the way we process living in the wake, in the present. As presented by Patricia Williams, the legacy of slavery will remain like a shadow that hovers over us. We are in its wake, while trying to memorialize it, trying to seal it off to the past in ways that the Slave Lodge attempts.[14] Rebecca Davis points out that slavery is still an "under-confronted" part of South Africa's history, which I believe is why there is less of an engagement with its ongoing legacies today (2015).

Joy Sather-Wagstaff writes that museums that deal with difficult history and heritage are often regarded as museums of conscience. The museums of these histories are created as "a means to generate social conscience and action in the present and future" (2017: 21). The Slave Lodge is an example of this kind of museum, where the terrors of the past are represented for audiences in a manner that is meant to provoke action for the present and the future, under their theme "from human wrongs to human rights". Understanding this purpose of the Slave Lodge, and thinking with Sharpe's wake work, I propose that the Slave Lodge can, through its memorialization of the past, create exhibits that ignite an awareness of the ongoing legacies of slavery today by more clearly showing the effects of these afterlives in South African society.

Very clearly missing from these exhibitions is an engagement with the imagined lives of the enslaved. The 'Under Cover of Darkness' exhibition, for example, is powerful in presenting information about the lives of enslaved women, yet the information about them is still limited and disfigures their lives. The main sources for this exhibition were archival records about the women highlighted. However, to quote Saidiya Hartman:

> "how does one recuperate lives entangled with and impossible to differentiate from the terrible utterances that condemned them to death, the account books that identified them as units of value, the invoices that claimed them as property, and the banal chronicles that stripped them of human features?"
>
> - Saidiya Hartman, Venus in Two Acts, 2008: 3

We do not know the interior lives of these women, the best we can do to bring them out of the archive is to imagine them outside of the documents that recorded them as property, a unit of value, or in death. Hartman proposes that this could be a form of reparations, while Sharpe proposes that memorials can enact pedagogies of repair. To re-member the enslaved outside of the archive requires thinking beyond the archive as the repository of life, rather

[14] I am aware that there are exhibition panels in the Slave Lodge that are dedicated to sharing information about modern-day slavery, including a panel in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. In this case, I am referring to the history of slavery in South Africa, and specifically at the Cape, as the slavery of whose legacies we are still experiencing up to today. The use of modern-day slavery is a tool to seal off the past and present Cape slavery as an event that has ended and one we are no longer living with.

viewing it as a vault of death and dehumanization and turning towards alternative ways of reckoning the interior lives of the enslaved.

To engage with the Slave Lodge and its memorialization of slavery, as a public institution, an 'official' narrative producer, it is important to remain critical of how slavery is framed as an event of the past and present-day examples of slavery are the examples where visitor activism is encouraged. This disconnect from the past and the present fails to highlight the broad systems that connect slavery of the past and modern-day slavery, such as racism or exploitation of people under capitalism. Therefore, to unshackle the São José requires us to think of the enduring systems of domination in the past and the present and to understand how they are linked, ongoing, and still unfolding.

Affect and Experiencing *Something*

While thinking through the extract from Sharpe at the beginning of this chapter, I have considered how the museum and memorial space can transmit certain feelings to the audience. To me, this is the way that a museum can "position visitors to have a particular experience or set of experiences about an event that is seen to be past" (Sharpe, 2016: 45). By making the audience have some kind of response or feel *something*, the museum or memorial site is positioning its visitors to have an experience of the past, without making them recreate it. The theorizing of affect emerged as a convergence of revisionist theories of aesthetics alongside cultural studies in the 1990s. This was a way of formulating discourse where affect became the "locus of sensation, ambiance and synaesthetic cognition" (Fisher, 2006: 28). In the case of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition on the slave ship São José, performing the wake work required getting the visitors to experience something about the wrecking of the São José and the horrors of slavery means creating an environment that transmits *something* to the audience.

Affect is understood as a way of understanding the impact exhibitions have on the visitor of the exhibition. Jennifer Fisher writes that affect is the transmission of "feeling", "moods", or "sensation" and not individually felt emotions (2006*:* 28). In a somewhat similar, vein Joy Sather-Wagstaff writes that affect is what is experienced through the body through sensorial experiences through emotions and feelings, and this is necessary for the creation of memory as it builds up these responses (2017: 18). A third definition of affect is provided by Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, who distinguishes between affect and emotions in the heritage arena. She writes that emotion is an individualized response, whereas affect is a collection of emotional responses that are not easily determinate or identifiable, yet it is an embodied engagement (2017: 35). Sather-Wagstaff makes an important distinction here that affect is identifiable and that feeling *something* and not being able to identify it is the excess of affect (2017: 24).

The similarities of these three definitions are that affect refers to an embodied experience by the viewer or audience. It is the sensorial engagement of the body. The three writers agree that affect is not emotion, however according to Sather-Wagstaff and Tolia-Kelly emotions are an element of affect. Fisher's article 'Exhibitionary Affect', focuses on affect as a curatorial strategy for art events, which "consolidates collectively sensed singularities of feeling", such as love or terror (2006: 28). This contrasts to Sather-Wagstaff and Tolia-Kelly who both write about affect in relation to heritage and memory. Sather-Wagstaff's chapter 'Making

polysense of the world' focuses on the relationship between memory, affect, and other subjectivities in relation to how we know the world through embodied experience. She does this by researching "the potential of sensoria-attentive" narration of people's experiences (2017: 12). She focuses on what is considered dark heritage, heritage that is built upon "the darkest aspects of the human experience," such as genocide, war, or slavery (*Ibid*. 13) and I suppose apartheid could be added to that list. Tolia-Kelly's chapter 'Race and affect at the museum' makes use of postcolonial theoretical perspectives on the experience of the 'other' and racialized people/communities within the museum space, using affect and emotion to understand these experiences. She does this with specific reference to the British Museum's exhibit on the Māori people.

Fisher writes about how rarely the atmosphere created is discussed and elaborated on when staging an exhibition. She proposes that the "energies that connect an exhibition to its beholders", that the experience that the audience undergoes, is equally as important as the methodologies that are used in the framing and production of the exhibition (Fisher, 2006: 27). Hence, she is focused on the experience or the mood states within an exhibition space, rather than only focusing on the visual arena of an exhibition (*Ibid.*). In part one of his book *The Eyes of the Skin*, Juhani Pallasmaa critiques the ocular-centric tradition of Western knowledge (1996: 19). Although the primary focus of this book is on architecture and not exhibitions, I do find Pallasmaa's thinking on the need to privilege other senses over sight requires reflection and is returned to below.

Fisher points out when transmitted, affect impacts the viewer or visitor's visual and non-visual sense (2006: 28). Additionally, Fisher proposes that postmodernist curatorial strategies allow the immersion of the subject, in the case of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition – the visitor, to engage with how affect is transmitted to them (*Ibid*. 33). In referencing Lisa Corrin, Fisher writes that if permanent gallery spaces feel different each time a new exhibition is set up in them, then that is how affect is transmitted. Affect is transmitted through the combination of representational and non-representational codes of the exhibition. The representational codes are the typical elements of an art exhibition, the catalogue essay, the title and wall panels, these are all textual elements. Fisher's non-representational codes are what enables the viewer to look at the exhibition in a continuum, "the impact of colour, lighting, spatial resonance, choreography, and flow, as they contribute to an exhibition's tone or ambiance" (2006: 29). Lastly, Fisher makes a distinction between the kinaesthetic plane through which exhibitions are presented and the representation of them through a more ocular-centric plane. Interestingly, Pallasmaa notes that text enforces the sight dominance of the senses and impacts how we understand space and memory (1996: 24).

Sather-Wagstaff argues that the entanglement of the senses and emotions are crucial in the construction and performance of heritage, and this is achieved through paying attention to affect and how affective experiences translate into knowledge, then memory, and then possibly into heritage (2017: 13). The construction of this mean-making process is what Sather-Wagstaff calls the 'polysensory' approach, which includes more dynamic considerations of the complex bodily stimuli and the body's responses to those, including the ways of thinking about these (2017: 17). This constellation of considerations includes the imagined and the experienced, the oral and textual, and the sensory responses they provoke. Sometimes the responses people feel are not identifiable. Sather-Wagstaff writes about

feeling “something”, an unplace-able experience, which she writes is the excess of affect which has yet to be identified and transformed into knowledge that can be explained (*Ibid.* 23).

In her writing on dark heritage, Sather-Wagstaff underscores that the heritage produced by heritage institutions that deals with dark heritage is “difficult knowledge” (Leher *et al.*, quoted by Sather-Wagstaff, 2017: 19). The artefacts and landscapes invoked as heritage have dynamic, changing and highly contested histories and memories associated to them by groups and individuals (*Ibid.*). To analyze the way these materials, the landscapes or artefacts, impacts an audience, Sather-Wagstaff proposes a series of analytical tools, which include paying attention to how the audience narrate the range of senses they experience, what memories they carry with them, how they felt during the encounter with the material – both emotionally and physically, and which material ignited specific feelings and memories (*Ibid*., 21). Part of the polysensory approach includes acknowledging the power of prosthetic memory, which is a method of witnessing history as it is mediated and represented by institutions that represent the past. This is a type of witnessing that informs the viewer’s experience of the present and the future, as this witnessing becomes a part of the viewer’s archive of experiences (*Ibid*. 20). This witnessing can be stimulated by seeing or experiencing certain material culture in an exhibition, such as photographs, videos, or hearing audio recordings (*Ibid*.).

Tolia-Kelly writes that “affective atmospheres are everywhere”, that they are felt and gather in spaces that relate to heritage, including museums. This could be because the affective pasts are consolidated in the present. This echoes Patricia Williams’ omnipresent and haunting shadow of the past that hovers in the present, which Gqola refers to (2010: 10). Tolia-Kelly continues that these affective atmospheres are “embedded with memories” that carry and are configured by “geopolitical situations, national sensibilities and visceral relationships with the past” (2017: 36). This leaves them to be contested as the audience of a museum or heritage site is not a singular body, but rather many people who have different modes of feeling and experiencing the space. This is why Tolia-Kelly calls for “pluralities of orientation towards the logics of curatorship” as these will disrupt the imperialist, homogenizing cultural space that is created within the museum (2017: 36 & 37). In referencing Andrea Witcomb, Tolia-Kelly describes how through the transmission of affect and thinking through emotions, it can generate critical ways of thinking about inequality and misrepresentations, which would ultimately lead to social reconciliation (*Ibid.*). In this process, the visceral outcome are the challenges to social hierarchies, ‘othering’ of people and their material cultures, and the different representational embodied accounts of the affective atmosphere (*Ibid.* 44).

An important point that Tolia-Kelly focuses on are those racialized or the ‘other’ within the museum or memorial space. In thinking of Sharpe’s wake work, she writes about Black lives that are racialized and othered in the wake of slavery (2016: 13). Tolia-Kelly writes that “postcolonial affective encounters can disrupt homogenizing, occidentalist, imperial accounts of culture” and from this comes museum spaces that are co-produced in the ways that they are anti-imperial and inclusive (2017: 37). However, she also writes that when the audience feel alienated from the museum space and its overarching narratives, this creates an affective response of the subjugated visitors. Therefore, the museum space becomes one of violence,

denial and greater subjugation (*Ibid.*). This results in a plurality of orientations and affective atmospheres within the museum space (*Ibid*. 36).

In thinking about my experiences with the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I am struck by how closely they connect to Tolia-Kelly's suggestion that affective atmospheres are everywhere and that they almost haunt how we experience space. I think this is especially true with the Slave Lodge. Having read up about its history before visiting it, I was acutely aware of the visceral relationship the space had with slavery and how it is now used to present its history. It is a symbolically laden site filled with the affective atmospheres of the past, the present and the atmospheres of the visitors to the museum. On my second walk-through of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I noted the following, in my research notebook:

> "The room is dark as I walk in, there's light on the opposite side. Am I walking towards the light? Haha. Knowing the exhibition panels means I know the order in which they are presented online, if I follow these I'm walking towards the light and then turning back towards darkness. Darkness of the depths of the sea. Lightness from the shore. Waves crash in front of me, while behind me the waves crash above, unseen, but I can still see the movement of the ocean. The washing machine as [Participants B and I] described it. There is sound, haunting, crying (?) not from this exhibition room, another. Further away, crying out. It is the only sound I can hear, other than my breathing and footsteps. Definitely sound of deep pain, recorded, singing, crying not shouting."

And

> "My feelings:
> - Drawn in by the shore towards the light, almost feels like a reprieve from the darkness?
> - There is comfort for me in knowing I can see this in real life and not mediated to me over a screen
> - I feel lost, wanting more about the people, less about the science, but I know there is little known about the people. What can be imagined about the people?
> - I can hear the calls (?) songs (?) pain sounds (?) from another gallery room, how would this normally compete with Ferrus reading the poem? A backing track of pain perhaps? These sounds make me feel unsettled, no particular word, just unsettled.
> - The clashing lights, clashing(?) contrasting (?) softer, brighter light from the shore, darker, dimmer light from under the sea. Finding this contrast conflicting or maybe it's meant to be hopeful, the darkness, scariness of the depths of the sea which take life, the shore which meant there was still survival?
> - I can see more than anything, minimal sound, no touch, no smell. Sanitizer as a smell? But that's not something they chose to do, a sign of the times.
> - I feel cold. How cold did this space feel in the past? Cold, scary, dangerous?

- What room was this before? Who was forced to live here? What was their life like?

- Rabia Abba Omar, field research notebook 1, 2020: 2 & 3.

Additionally, in our interview Participant E shared their experiences of their first visit to the Slave Lodge:

> "I just have that sensitivity when I went in that space couldn't sort of disconnect the whole time I was there, regardless of what was being curated or presented, the stories I was being told, just continued to feel the throb of the suffering and the pain and agony that was encapsulated in that structure."

- Participant E, 2021

In both of these extracts, from my experiences as well as that of someone who had visited the Slave Lodge and played a role in the diving and excavation of the São José, it is clear that Tolia-Kelly's suggestion is true for both of us. We both experienced feelings of being unsettled and a disconnect from what we were seeing because of our knowledge of the history of the Slave Lodge.

The haunting sounds came from a recording of a performance piece called 'ELEGY' by Gabrielle Goliath as part of the 'Under Cover of Darkness' exhibition at the Slave Lodge.[15] The 'Under Cover of Darkness' exhibition highlights the experiences of enslaved women, the few whose existence is recorded in the archives, out of the many that we have no information on. Goliath's piece brings together female vocalists who "collectively enact the ritual of mourning", it is a "sustained , sung 'cry' – evoking the presence of an absent individual" (Elegy by Gabrielle Goliath, 2018). While listening to the sounds of the performance piece, from a distance and close up, I was struck by the sounds of the feeling of pain. Julietta Singh writes about how pain cannot be disassociated from cultural, historical, and political legacies that give rise to embodied subjects, such as ourselves (2018: 57). To think about pain as part of the affective atmosphere that we experience as embodied beings, and within the space created at the Slave Lodge, these are the haunting echoes of our past that linger on with us in the present. I felt this affective atmosphere of both the pain of the past – through sound and physical space – and the pain of the present, which is what Tolia-Kelly writes allows the body to become "the counter-museum, counter-culture and counter-memory all at once" (2017: 43). This countering – creating a counternarrative - is another form of performing Sharpe's wake work (2016: 105). Thus, my bodily experiences created a counternarrative to the Slave Lodge, one rich with pain and haunting.

Juhani Pallasmaa contends that gradually visual material has taken over other material, such as audio material (1996: 24). He writes that this follows the development in Western ego-

[15] To watch the full video of the performance piece, use this link: https://www.gabriellegoliath.com/full-videolouisa-van-de-caab

consciousness, which sees a greater separation between the world and the self, "vision separates us from the world whereas the other senses unite us with it" (*Ibid*. 25). With the majority of the exhibition being visually based, to adhere to Covid-19 regulations, I argue that this separates the viewers from fully engaging with the experience of the affective atmosphere that the curators intended to create. This is because the full synesthetic experience cannot be felt by the audience members, as they cannot engage any of the other senses, other than sight. Under pre-Covid-19 conditions, the full experience would be possible and therefore the audience could feel immersed within affective atmospheres that engaged multiple senses.

I was unable to fully immerse myself in the experience of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition for a number of reasons. Firstly, my sensorial engagement with the space was primarily visual. I read the exhibition panels, looked at the objects found by the Slave Wrecks Project team, and watched the projections on the walls. Secondly, my visual sense was that the room was dark, that the blue hues of the projections, cast over the exhibition space moved it from dark to light to dark - if the exhibition is read through from panel 1 to panel 16. Thirdly, the only objects that visitors are allowed to touch is the Dalbergia wood, but because of Covid 19 restrictions that had a 'Do Not Touch' sign near it, and the touch screens were disabled.

While looking at the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I could hear Gabrielle Goliath's 'ELEGY' playing distantly in the background, but it was not a particularly overwhelming sound. My previous memories of the Slave Lodge are deeply tied to my sensorial experiences within the space. From a visit in 2017, my clearest memory of the space is the sounds of waves crashing, looking at the reconstructed ship in Gallery Room 1, in the dim light of the space. I was transfixed, the darkness of the hold recreated through lack of lighting in the room, the sound of waves crashing around me, the tight space of the gallery room, yet I was on land, far from the shore let alone the open waters. While holding these pre-pandemic memories of the space, I tried not to compare them to my experiences of the Slave Lodge during the pandemic, but rather view them as a continuum of the space. The new silences that have gathered, the lights that I experienced as brighter but still not very bright at all, the fewer people, the scent of hand sanitizer, these have created a Covid-19 affective atmosphere as well. To return to Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's thinking of layers of memory, my experiences of the Slave Lodge during the global pandemic serve as another layer upon previous layers of experience, knowledge and now memory of the Slave Lodge.

The Slave Lodge is fascinating to think about when applying Sharpe's wake work to it. It is a visible legacy of slavery at the Cape and it has been reconfigured to present the history of slavery in a present day. However, with the understanding that we are still living in wake of slavery, which is evident in the 'My naam is Februarie' exhibition, how does the Slave Lodge reconcile this? With the legacies of slavery still ongoing, how does the museum rupture these? I do not think the Slave Lodge does this. Instead through its exhibitions and the ways they are framed, it seals off the past as something that happened and that there are newer and different forms of slavery in the present. This creates a distance from the reality of being in the wake of slavery, when there is not.

Exhibiting and Memorializing the *São José*

In an attempt to better understand how to perform the wake work called by Sharpe in the memorialization of slavery, I asked participants briefly about their experiences of the exhibitions about the slave ship São José outside of Slave Lodge. To my knowledge there are two other exhibitions, one which uses objects found on the wreck at the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington D.C. and the other in the *Museu da Ilha de Moçambique* on Mozambique Island. These museums appear to be very different from the 'Unshackled History' exhibition in their design, the feelings they left the participants with, and the way they use the São José in the narrative of slave history.

In my interview with Participant D, they brought up that one of their dreams would be to have an exhibition, which contains a ballast block from the São José, in each of the cities involved in its story: on the Island of Mozambique, in Lisbon, Portugal, in Maranhão, Brazil, in addition to the already existing 'Unshackled History' exhibition in Cape Town. They said that this would help "anchor in the consciousness of these people, their connection to the shared history" (Participant D, 2020). This sentiment is shared by Participant G who believes that as the ballast blocks are representative of this specific voyage, they are also representative of the slave trade. So, exhibiting them in the different cities tied together by the São José would allow them to be "cornerstone[s] to another kind of conversation" about the slave trade (Participant G, 2021).

Some of the participants I spoke to have been to the exhibition at the NMAAHC, and I use their description of the 'Slavery and Freedom' exhibit to explore how the São José is presented within this exhibition. The museum, which opened in September 2016 is dedicated to documenting and presenting African American culture, history, and life. Participant C described how they love the way the NMAAHC tells the story of the African American experience in the USA, because while it is easy to focus on telling the story of the slave trade in a "sad and somber, angry way", the NMAAHC has built the story of the African American experience in the USA in a way that celebrates African American people, moving from root to celebration. This means that the exhibition on the São José and the transportation of enslaved Africans begins in the basement level of the museum, and from there the museum works its way through African American history until it reaches the successes of different African Americans in different fields, such as science, public service, and culture, to name a few (Participant C, 2020).

Additionally, Participant C describes how these objects found at the wreck site of the São José sit slightly detached within the space, which allows people to have a tactile experience with the objects, by seeing them but not interacting too much with them. Then as you move through the exhibition and get to the higher levels, the experience becomes more immersive. This means that "the object is a distance, it is [as] distant as the events, in terms of time are distant, but the impact and the stories that stem from that are close." (Participant C, 2020). The use of the São José is as an "emotional lightning rod" which kickstarts the viewer's engagement with the entire museum (Participant C, 2020).

For Participant E, visiting the Smithsonian brought up waves of emotions as they went there with their mother who was 85 at the time and who has lived through institutionalized racism in the United States. They describe how the first part of the exhibition comprises tools used by slaves, mostly farming implements and then they got to the exhibition of the São José,

where their mother began to cry as she understood the role her child played in bringing this history to life. The flow of this museum space is that one room feeds into another, so starting with the slave ship, the next space Participant E went to was about slavery in the USA. Participant E described this as "very moving" and said "the emotions, they run deep" (2021). In addition, Participant E asked a set of provocative questions around the memorialization of slavery, dealing with the pain and need to humanize the enslaved:

> "How do you try to deal with this? Do you get angry and lash out? How do you try to bring back or protect the memories of these people and restore the memories and heritage, and let the world know that these were human beings that didn't have the opportunity to be real human beings?"
>
> - Participant E, 2021

On Mozambique Island there is a small exhibition which includes information about the slave ship São José in the Museu da Ilha de Moçambique, housed inside a fortress on Mozambique Island. On display there are five panels, which present some of the archival documents about the São José that are blown up. These documents include the cargo manifest and two documents detailing the taxes and duties for the enslaved. This exhibition details the work done in the search for slave histories through archaeology, on land and under water (Participant F, 2021). In our interview, Participant F stressed that the exhibition was very small and very simple (2021). According to the museum's Digital Inventory publication, in this room audiences can read about the steps that are necessary to take in underwater archaeological investigations. It also features a documentary about the work of the archaeologists (Museus da Ilha de Moçambique, 2021).



Image 15: Photos of the exhibition at the Museu da Ilha de Moçambique, taken from the museum's digital inventory, 2021.

Rebecca Davis has written about the controversy surrounding the loaning of the items found on the São José to the Smithsonian's NMAAHC (2015). These items are the pulley block, four ballast blocks, and a piece of the ship structure with a wooden fastening in it called a trunnel (Participant C, 2020). In her article, she writes about how the discovery of the São José has historical significance for Africa, yet it was taken to the United States of America, in this she points out the repeating trajectory of the slave trade, where people were enslaved and taken to the USA (2015). The loan of these items is as per museum practice, which is ten years long (Singh, 2019: 89). In our interview, Participant D indicated that should the possibility exist, the NMAAHC would like to profile a new slave shipwreck in its 'Slavery and Freedom' exhibition space once the ten year loan period is over, which will be in 2025. However, it is important to note that while there are items from the São José at the Smithsonian in Washington D.C., none are on display in the exhibition on Mozambique Island, an incredibly important place in the story of the São José (Participant F, 2021).

The way these different museums use the São José in their story-telling interests me, as it is different throughout. In South Africa, at the Slave Lodge, the 'Unshackled History' exhibition presents a story of what happened to enslaved people that were brought to the Cape, albeit via a tragic wreck, but how they ended up here and how this story is connected to slavery in South Africa. In Mozambique, the departure place of the São José, this story seems to place the ship and its history, including recovery, as an archaeological achievement without constructing a larger story of the ship and the people, which contrasts to the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. Finally, the NMAAHC uses the São José as a touch point of slavery. While this ship was never bound for the USA, it was headed to Brazil, the NMAAHC found it vitally important that a slave ship be included in this exhibition.[16] In addition, the ship is used as starting point for a wider narrative on the African American experience in the USA, whereas in South Africa it serves as a tangible example of slavery in the Cape. The narratives that these museums construct about slavery and about the São José are different, yet they use the same items. If memory is an omnipresent shadow of the past lingering around us in the present, what is the shadow of these objects that is cast in these exhibitions? How is this memory changed when the contexts of the present are different?

There were two memorials held to remember the São José. The first was held on May 29, 2015 on Mozambique Island. Lonnie Bunch III writes about these commemoration events in the book *From No Return: the 221-year Journey of the Slave Ship São José*. He describes how in the Memorial Garden to the Slave Trade on the Island, white roses were scattered into the sea in memory of those who drowned on the São José (Boshoff et al., 2016: 76). The memorial was attended by members of the SWP team and local tribal chiefs, as well as some people from the Island. It was during this trip to Mozambique Island that Chief Evano Nhogache gave the SWP team the soil in the cowrie shell vessel and commanded them to scatter it over the wreck (*Ibid*. 80).

The second memorial was in Cape Town and took place on June 2, 2015. There was a gathering at Justice Albie Sachs' home in Clifton, that overlooks the beach where the survivors of the São José landed. This was a private ceremony, attended by diplomats, activists and

[16] Lonnie Bunch III, the Director of the NMAAHC, is reported to have said that he spent years looking for a slave ship to include in the exhibition at the NMAAHC (Finley, 2018: 1; Davis, 2015; and Participant D, 2020).

community leaders. Diana Ferrus recited her poem *My naam is February*, written for the occasion and in commemoration of the São José, and after her recitation, Stela Brandão broke into song, singing a praise song for the goddess of the sea, Orisha Yemanja (Boshoff et al., 2016: 88).

The second half of the memorial took place on the beach, close to where the shipwrecked. It was a wet and windy day, with high swells and choppy waters. In our Interview, Participant C explained how shortly before the second part of the ceremony was due to start, they were standing with a colleague and watching the waves crash on the shore when suddenly they felt this deep reverberation and rumble. Turning to each other, they realized it was the boulders shifting and slamming into one another because of the movement and force of the sea (Participant C, 2020). Three members of the SWP, representing South Africa, Mozambique and the USA, were chosen to wade into the water and deposit some of the soil from the Island of Mozambique. Due to the weather conditions, it was impossible to reach the actual site, and so going to the site a few days later, when the waves had calmed.

Interestingly the 'Unshackled History' exhibition contains no information on the memorials held to commemorate the São José. To return to the Sharpe quote at the beginning of this chapter, these museums all enact their own pedagogies which position the visitors to them to have a certain experience of the narratives they have created. However, the question remains, how can we memorialize slavery while its afterlives are still unfolding? How can we memorialize it in context-specific ways that position the visitor to understand that we are still in the wake of slavery? While I do not have the answers to these questions, in the next chapter, I discuss in greater detail how the 'Unshackled History' exhibition is constructed to create a specific narrative and experience about slavery, as well as how the objects within the exhibition have specific meaning for the people involved in the SWP and how these meanings are translated (or not) into the exhibition. Through this, I hope that by creating a memory of these objects and methods of seeing and experiencing slavery, the visitors to the exhibition can create a knowledge of the heritage of slavery that is their own.

Chapter 4: 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José, 1794' Exhibition

The Exhibition: Objects and Displays

In this section, I will analyze some of the display panels and the objects that are used in the exhibition. I do this to understand how memory and heritage are presented through the objects and the exhibition panels and other displays. I analyze these using an array of methods including exploring the mnemonic aesthetics of slavery and where they appear within the display and understanding how certain parts of the exhibition create an authoritative voice and its narrative. In addition, I return to Pallasmaa (1996), Graefestein (2019), and previously discussed theorizations on affect and apply these to the 'Unshackled History' exhibition.

At a very basic level, the exhibition is made up of fourteen exhibition panels which have a mixture of text and images. There is a small display case which houses some of the objects found by the SWP team at the wreck site. There are also three touch screens and on the opposite walls, there are videos that are projected. On the wall that is directly opposite the viewer as they walk in, a video shows waves crashing on the shore. Behind the viewer, as they enter, is a video projection of the SWP team diving underwater, showing the wreck site and the conditions on a good diving day. Image 10 is a drawing of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition space, panels on the diagram correlate to panels in Appendix 2. Images 17-24 are experiential photographs I took of the exhibition space.

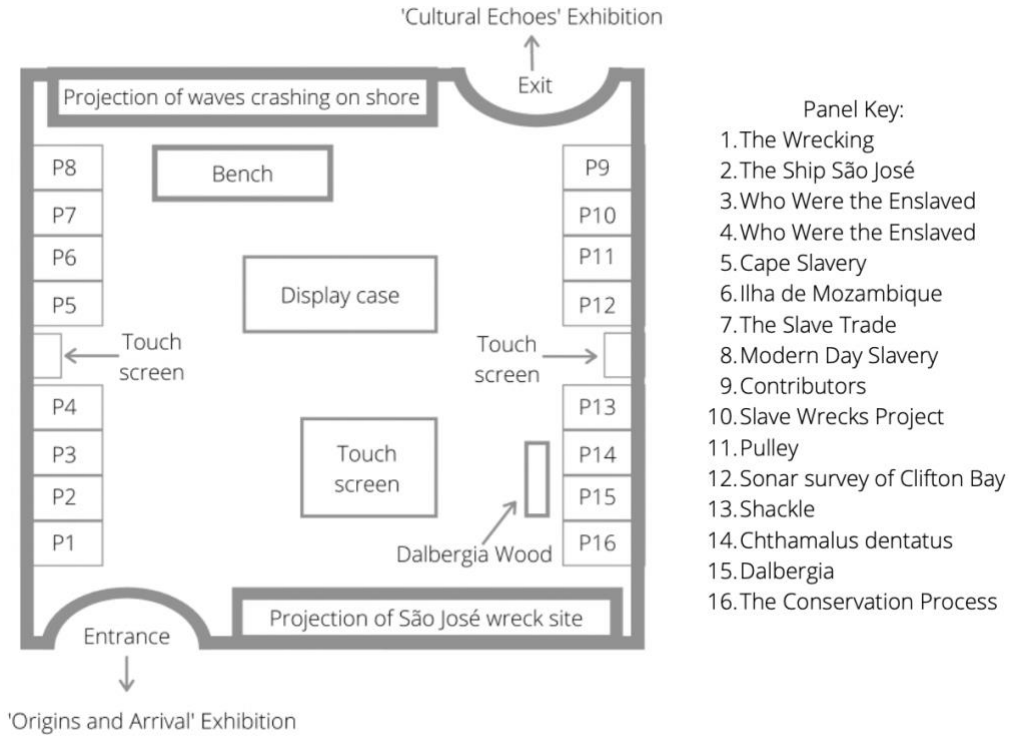
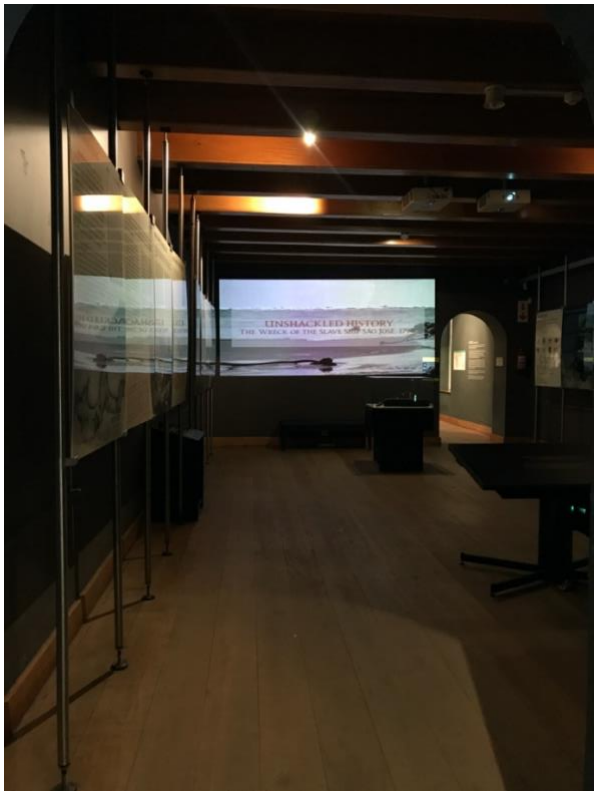
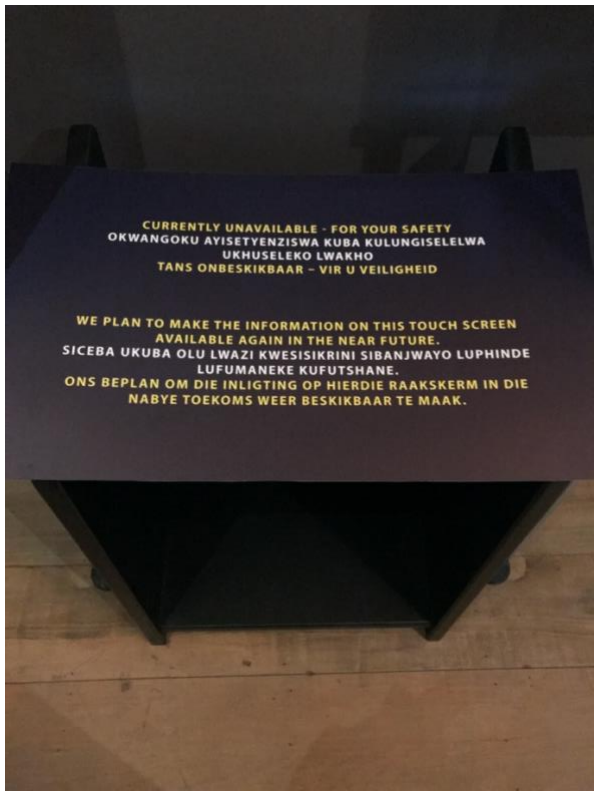
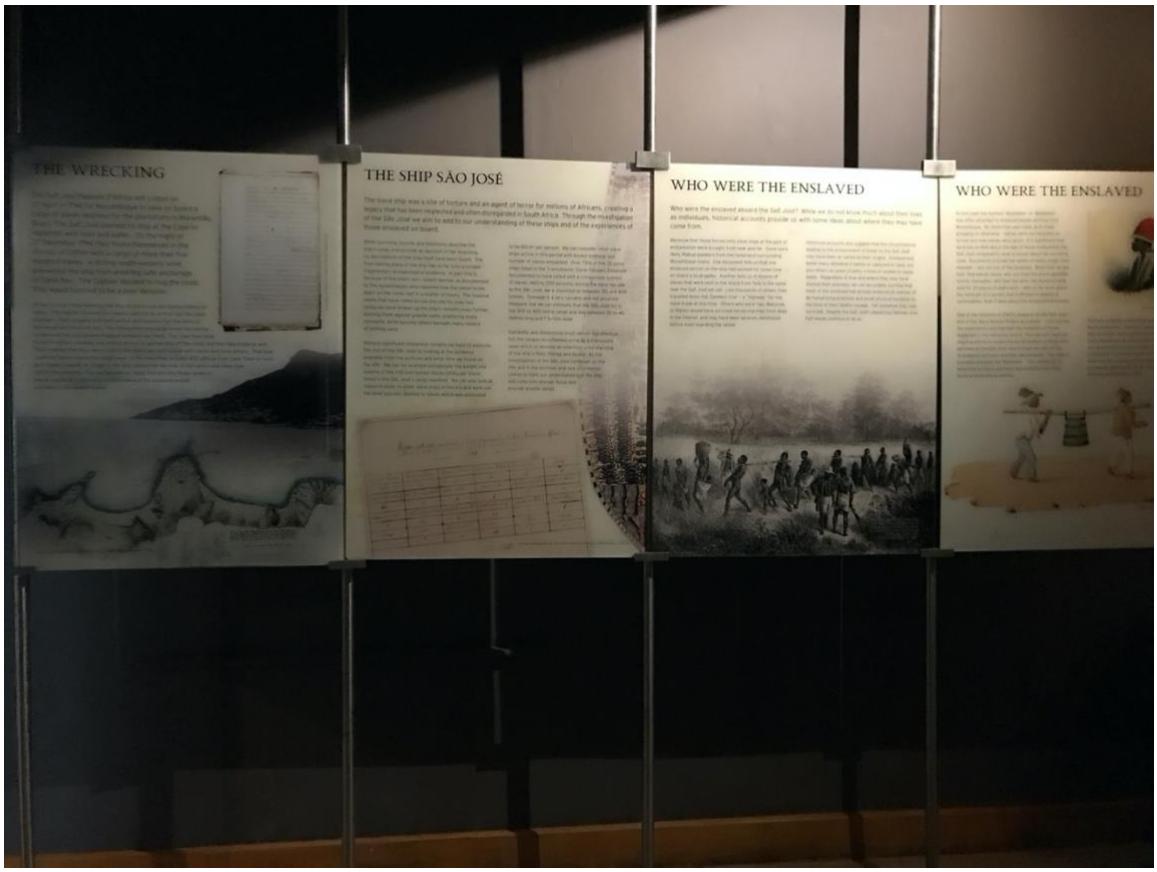


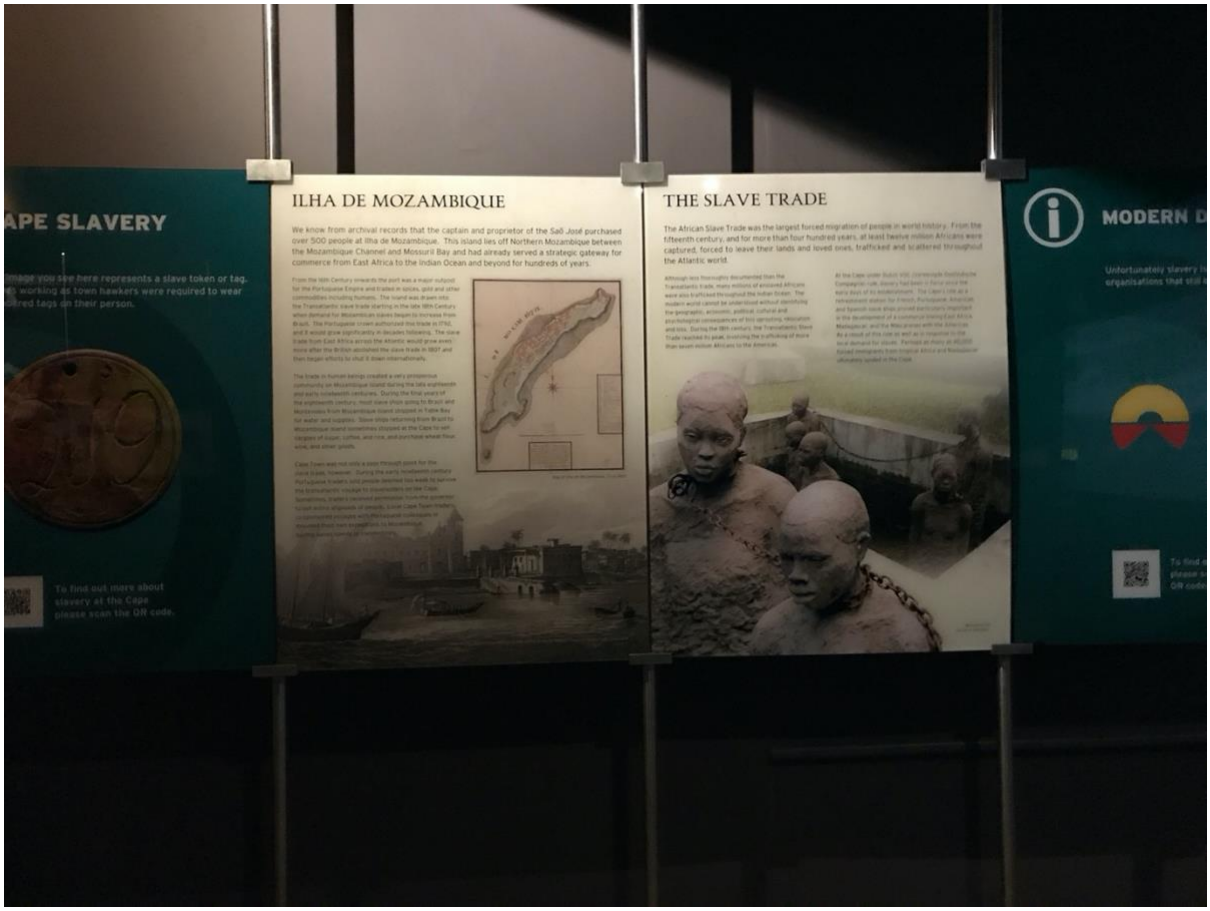
Image 16: Diagram of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition with a key to show which panel is which, author's own diagram, 2021.

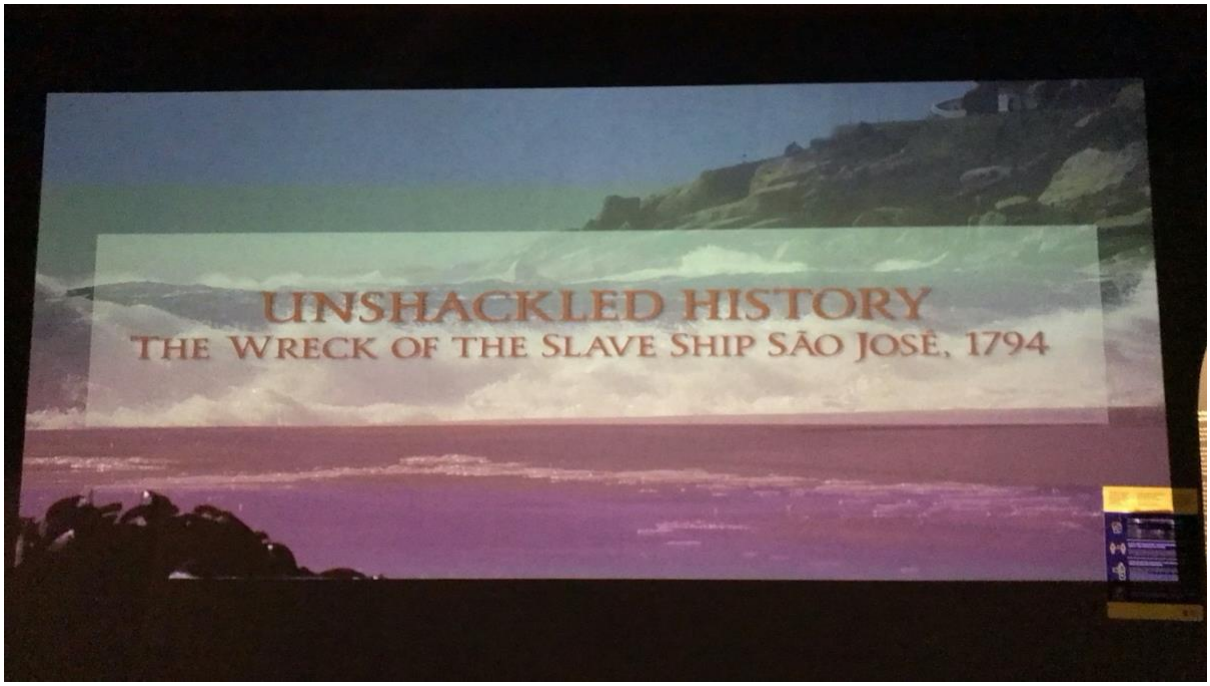




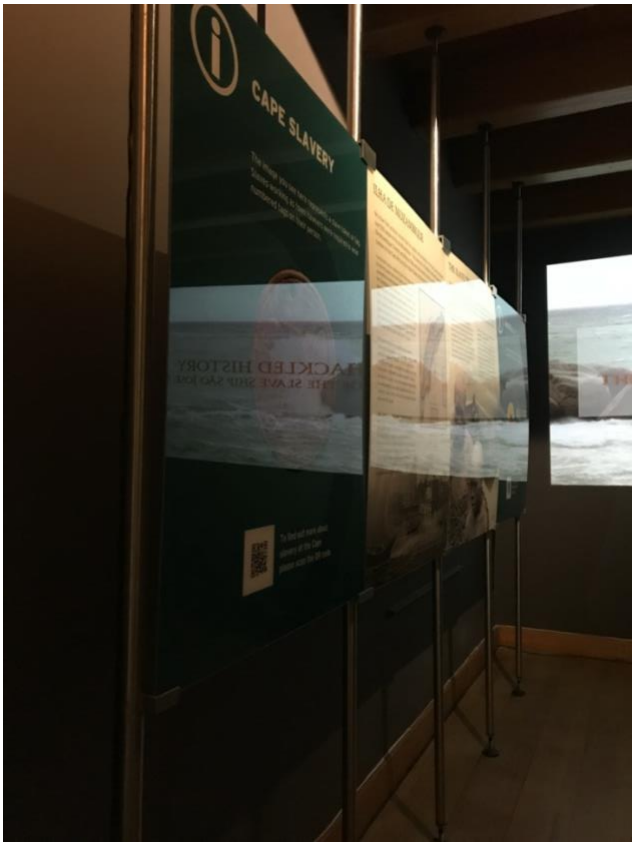


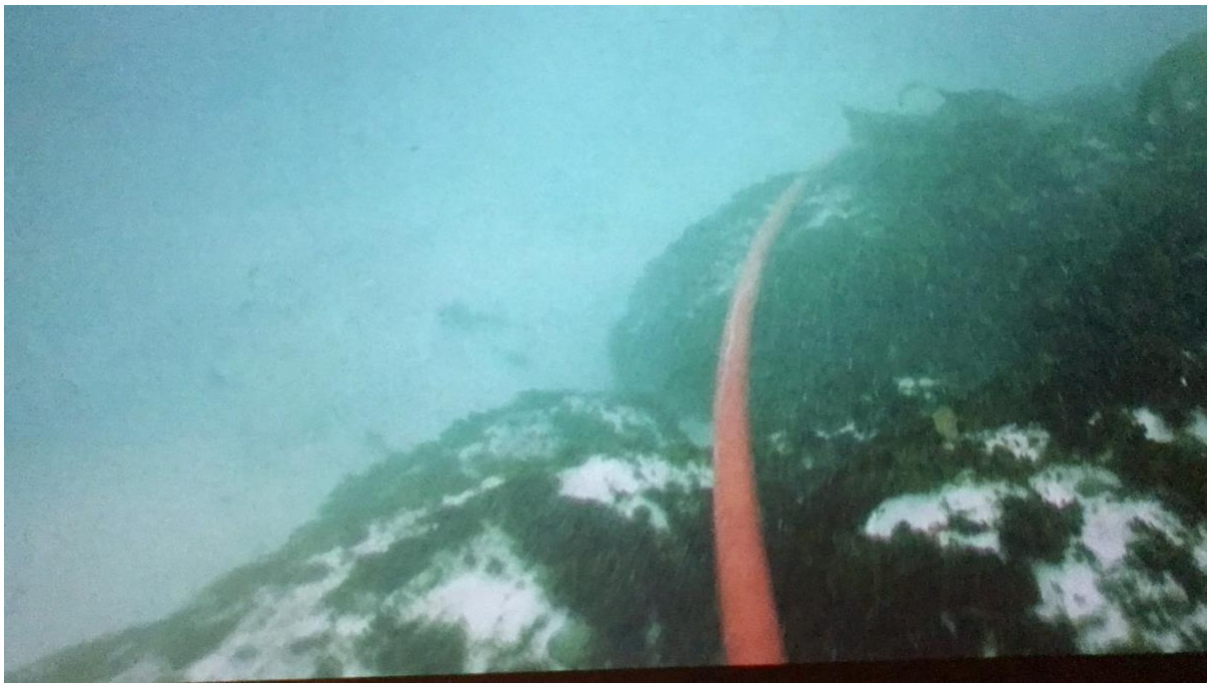
Images 17-19: Top (l-r): Photograph from the entrance of the exhibition, looking into the gallery room. Photograph of one of the covered-up touch screen panels.
Bottom: Photograph of the first four exhibition panels, showing the dim lighting used in the gallery room, author's own photographs, 2020.





Images 20 and 21: Top: Photograph of exhibition panels 5-9.
Bottom: Photograph of the video projection of the shore and the name of the exhibition that the audience see as they enter the exhibition, author's own photographs, 2020.





Images 22 and 23: Top: Photograph of the reflection of the video projection of the shore on the exhibition panels in the room.
Bottom: Photograph of the video footage from underwater, at the wreck site, author's own photographs, 2020.



Image 24: Photograph of the video footage from underwater, at the wreck site, shown against the wall with the exit door next to it, author's own photograph, 2020.

Often memorial sites are designed to be symbolically specific and intentional forms of authoritative curatorial exhibits. This means that while the visitor interacts and engages with the space, their experience is heavily mediated by a specific agenda (Sather-Wagstaff, 2017: 21). Barbra Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes how in ethnographic museums, the way objects are contextualized can exert a strong cognitive control over the objects, thus removing the viewers agency of contextualizing them for themselves (1998: 21). This is when the objects are presented in context, meaning there are labels or charts that explain what they are. The Slave Lodge is not an ethnographic museum, it is a social history museum and formerly a cultural history museum (Slave Lodge, 2020). However, the labels used to contextualize the objects are useful, as seen in Images 11 – 13 and I find the exhibition panels with the QR codes that lead the audience to other web pages are in fact building a narrative of the exhibition that is more science and conservation focused than situating these objects as objects related to slavery. I see this the most with the exhibition panels about the pulley and the shackles, where upon scanning the QR codes, the audience member is taken to a web page dedicated to the conservation of these objects. What lacks from this narrative then, is an understanding of how these objects were used and their role in slavery and the slave trade.

In our interview, Participant C, described how the 'Unshackled Exhibition' was curated so that different audiences could have different touch points with the story of the São José. This meant that if a visitor is more interested in science or conservation there are panels that will satisfy those interests, and then from there they will view the rest of the exhibition. On the one hand, I appreciate this method of curating, because it allows people to hook on to the exhibition through their interests. However, in a museum that is memorializing slavery, I think it is important to weave in reminders about the horrors of slavery and the slave trade even in the panels or touch points that are more scientific. I think a method of weaving in these

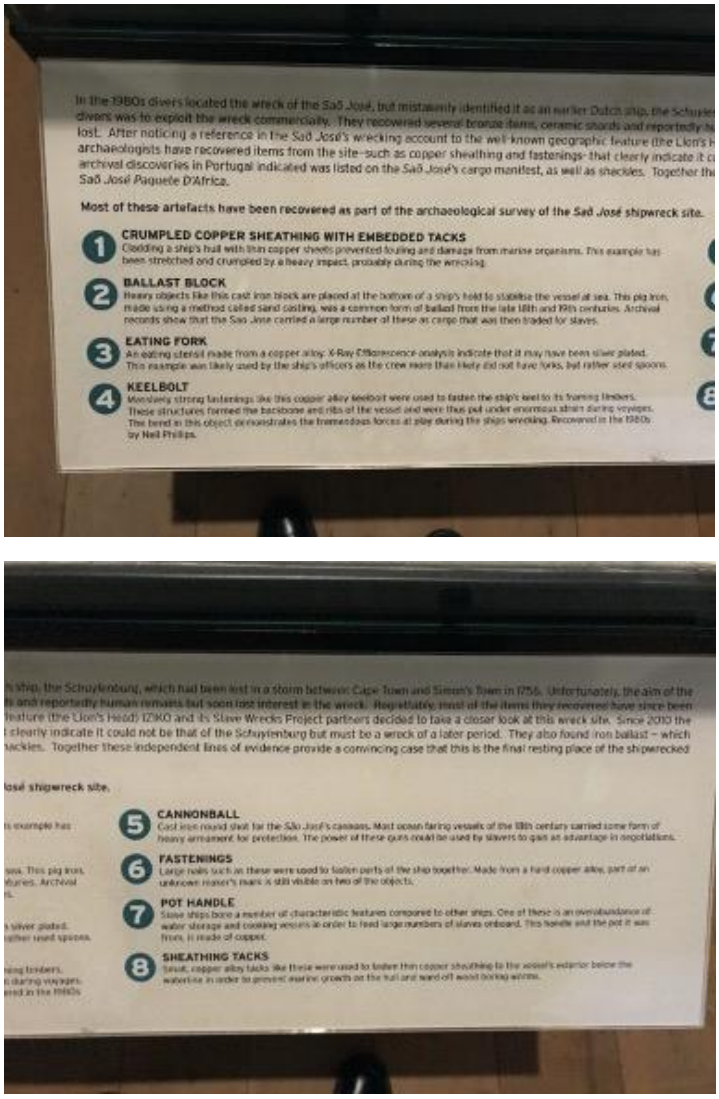
reminders, visually, can be through what Cheryl Finely calls the mnemonic aesthetics of slavery.

In her work, Finely discusses the images that stand in as markers for the memory of the slave trade and the Middle Passage, which forms the ritualized remembering of slavery (2018: 5). One of her focuses is on what she calls the slave ship icon, the Brooks slave ship drawing, a representation of the crowded hold of the slave ship, filled with human bodies (Ibid.). This image of the Brooks slave ship is used within the São José exhibition, on exhibition panel 2 'The Ship São José', strengthening Finley's point that it is used as a marker of the memory of the slave trade. By using these recurring images, it strengthens the memory that is under threat of disappearing (Ibid. 11).

I propose that the use of the images of ballast blocks and shackles might form part of the process of the ritualized remembering of the São José ship and therefore slavery. The ballast blocks are the only object that both the Smithsonian and the Slave Lodge have on display. They are also the object that Participants D and G want to have in each country that forms a part of the history of the São José. The ballast block also played a highly important part in confirming that the wreck at Clifton was the São José (Participant I, 2020). In fact, Sharpe references this in *In the Wake* when thinking about property, resistance, and insurance in slavery (2016: 70). Both of these items, the ballast blocks and the shackles, were used to enable slavery to happen – the ballast blocks were used to offset the weight of the ship or to trade in exchange for slaves, and the shackles were used to keep the enslaved bound and trapped (Participant C, 2020). These are objects that were touched by the enslaved and the slavers and remain both visual and physical testimonies of the slave trade.



Image 25: Photograph of the display case filled with objects found in the wreck site of the São José, author's own photograph, 2020.



Images 26 and 27: Photograph of the descriptions of the objects in the display case in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition (image 25), author's own photograph, 2020.

This specific exhibition can be read according to Graefenstein's three-tiered template of the memory imperative. The first tier is admitting guilt over state-sanctioned violence in the past or to fail to protect groups from harm. Early on in the exhibition, the panels showcase the history of slavery and provide some insights into who the enslaved were. On the panel 'The Ship São José', it describes the ship as a "site of torture" and "an agent of terror". This use of language shows the violence that was perpetuated; however, it does not explain who caused this violence. This differs from Graefenstein's template, as no clear perpetrator of violence is established. However, because this exhibition is part of the museum, perpetrators of violence are established earlier for the viewer. The second tier is by paying tribute to the victims of the violence. In the case of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, this is a challenge, as there are no records of the individuals who lost their lives or those who were enslaved, but there are two exhibition panels under the heading 'Who were the enslaved'. In these panels the enslaved are described as having undergone a "manner of dehumanizing practices" and by pointing out possible connections to enslaved people from Mozambique labeled as "Masbieker" or "Mozbieker".

The third tier is celebrating democracy or the contemporary political system or human rights that triumph this violent past. This tier is important in separating the past from the present (2019: 5). In the case of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, this is apparent through the exhibition panel on 'Modern Day Slavery'. By not engaging with the ongoing struggles of the past, there is a disconnect in the way the past and the present are seen, meaning they are seen as detached, when they are continuations of the similar systems. Additionally, the continuing after-effects of chattel slavery and the slave trade still evident in our society, which is why sealing the past off means that audiences cannot engage with its ongoing effects. The last bit of this section is on my experiences within the exhibition and here I refer to the notes I made while visiting the 'Unshackled History' exhibition in September and October 2020.

Pallasmaa writes that because of new technologies available to us, the ocular-centric mode of experiencing the world is changing, therefore rebalancing "the realm of the senses" (1996:36). He means that through new media, such as videos and recordings of sound, we have a more communal way of experiencing our senses. I can imagine this is true for the 'Unshackled History' exhibition where the videos that play within the exhibition space can create a communal moment of listening and viewing at the same time. This is because the sound that plays from these videos is not heard through earphones, but rather played out loud. Sadly, when I visited the exhibition, these were not available. On my visits in September and October 2020, there were the sounds of Gabrielle Goliath's 'ELEGY' playing in the distance, but when I returned in October this did not happen.

In the previous chapter, I explored how I experienced the Slave Lodge according to Tolia-Kelly's affective atmospheres. In this section, I am interested in applying Fisher and Sather-Wagstaff's theories to my experiences as a way to guide how I unpack them. To understand the affective atmospheres that were created in the space, on my first visit to the Slave Lodge and the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I used Ydessa Hendel's method of walking quickly through the exhibition space and pausing only when drawn to something (Fisher, 2006: 32). For me, the parts of the exhibition I was quickly drawn to were the objects that were on display, the projected videos on the walls, and the Dalbergia wood. I paused longer here because I was drawn to the almost hypnotic rhythm of the waves crashing the shore on the wall that faces the entrance of the exhibition, seen in Image 21. It was the first thing I moved towards and stood there for a few minutes. I turned around and that's when I saw the objects, Images 25-27. This was my first time seeing the objects found at the São José's wreck site in real life, and that made the exhibition feel much more tangible. Before this, my experiences with the 'Unshackled History' exhibition were all mediated through my laptop screen and the exhibition panels that are online. After this, the Dalbergia wood caught my eye, especially the toothed barnacles upon it. I wanted so desperately to touch it, but obeyed the 'do not touch sign', which I later found out was put up because of Covid-19 regulations. Lastly, I ended my pauses in this space by looking at the footage of the wreck site, seen in Images 23 and 24. I felt both transported and alienated from this experience. At times I felt as though I could reach into the projection and feel the sand on my hands and the swirl of water around me, but in other moments, I felt far away from what I was seeing, unable to connect with the murkiness of being submerged. Image 14 shows my route through the exhibition on my first visit.

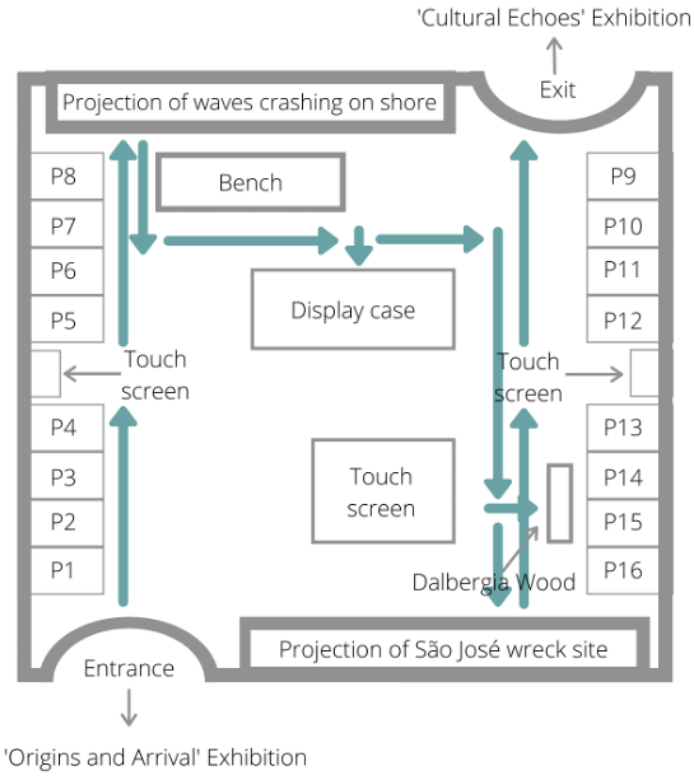


Image 28: Diagram showing my route through the 'Unshackled History' exhibition on my first visit, author's own diagram, 2021.

Sather-Wagstaff's interest in the way people narrate their experiences was useful to me, as I recorded my insights as soon as I walked out of the exhibition space, first in a voice note to myself and then I jotted some notes in my research notebook. My voice note narrations were lengthy and rambling, but the gist of them were that I experienced feelings from inside myself as well as from the space. My first interaction, on 29 September 2020, with this exhibition, my own feelings were a mixture of awe, excitement, nervousness, knowing and curiosity. I felt as though I knew the exhibition, but I did not actually know it. I knew the panels but not the feelings of the exhibition space. As I was unsure if I would be able to physically visit the exhibition, due to Covid-19 lockdowns and museum closures, I had spent many hours reading and analyzing the panels that are shown on the website. Seeing them in front of me, rather than over my laptop screen, filled me with excitement because I was able to experience them within the affective environment of the exhibition, rather than from my desk. This made me even more curious as to how the exhibition space *felt* to me.

The feelings I experienced from the actual exhibition were more of discovery and pride, perhaps this is because I had heard and read of the work that went into finding the São José and constructing this history, and this is viewed as a triumph by those who have worked on the project, and I agree, it is a triumph. I did not feel particularly moved by the exhibition, although this could be because I had seen the panels before, and they constitute a large part of the exhibition.

Sather-Wagstaff's also writes about the importance of seeing what ignites feelings, which for me were the previously mentioned objects, but especially the recordings of water that were

projected on the walls. I was drawn to these for much longer than I was to the other objects within the exhibition. To apply Fisher's non-representational codes to my experience, my movement within the space was definitely guided by the flow of the room, as I started out looking at the waves crashing on the shore, then the objects that were on display just behind me, then the Dalbergia to my left, and then the video of the SWP team underwater. Additionally, the colors of the exhibition, recurring blues on the panels, the blues of the water, and the dim lighting which cast shadows on the exhibition, made the space feel both comfortable and exciting. The exciting feelings came from the displays of objects which were always cast with a brighter light. These affective experiences of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition changed as I moved through this exhibition numerous times, and they began to be less identifiable, more blurring into one feeling of feeling something, which is what Sather-Wagstaff posits as the excess of affect.

Portrayal of Water

In this section, I briefly look at how watery language and images are used as well as what the videos of water contribute to the space. To read for water within a text is to focus on how water functions within the text (Oceanic Humanities | Reading for Water, 2021). I will be reading some of the exhibition panels for water, seeing how water functions within these texts, how water is portrayed and what images of water are used alongside the texts. The purpose of this is to understand how water functions in the exhibition with the knowledge that the ship wrecked in water, the enslaved people drowned in the sea, and the objects on display were found underwater, too To refer back to the literary works by Derek Walcott and Fred D'Aguiar introduced earlier in this research, the sea is history and the sea is the memory of slavery.

In the first exhibition panel, 'The Wrecking', water is both a necessity – the São José was headed to the Cape to replenish its food and water stocks for the journey across the Atlantic – and water is a realm of danger. The seas are described as "rough", the waves are "violent" and the ship takes on water, this is a sign of imminent danger. On this panel, a photograph of Clifton Bay is overlaid with a map of Camps Bay from 1788. Both of these images are desaturated, making them seem muted and dull, this works within the exhibition as they are not bright or overpowering images and can fit more seamlessly into the dimly lit room. Having desaturated images makes them seem genuine, historic, and they are more soothing on the eyes than bright highly saturated colours. This is good in a museum because the viewer should not get tired of looking at the information due to the saturation level of the images.

The second exhibition panel I will read for water is the 'Ilha de Mozambique' exhibition panel. I have chosen to read this panel because it speaks specifically to the role of the Island, how its strategic location enabled it to be a highly successful slaving outpost for the Portuguese empire. The water on this exhibition panel is the Indian Ocean over which enslaved people were transported, along with other commodities. This is a great place to think of Meg Samuelson's amphibian approach where continents and water are inter-articulate. In the case of the Ilha de Mozambique, the shores served as an entrance to the ever-changing and perilous seas and oceans of the slave trade as well as this key trading outpost (2017: 17). The images on this exhibition panel are a map of the island, showing how it is bounded on all sides by water, as well as a drawing of the shore and the steps towards the Government House on

the Island of Mozambique. As shown in the drawing, the shore of the Island is the amphibious liminal space, both land and water meeting, the space where they coalesce and recede.

The exhibition panel on the conservation process is, as the objects are described on the panel, waterlogged. Water here functions as both a hindrance to the conservation process and a tool to conserve the objects. In our interview, Participant C explained in detail the conservation processes for each of the major objects discovered on the wreck site. They explained that salt water is often used in this process, and the saline concentration is reduced incrementally until the water is more pure than salty (Participant C, 2020). The exhibition panel mentions that the objects are waterlogged due to their time submerged in the salty sea waters, which served as a settling ground for these objects for over 220 years. Once they are removed, water becomes a mechanism of preserving them for the future. As the panel reads, they become a record. In many ways, this panel serves as a visual shoal *a la* Tiffany Lethabo King, the contact zone of land and water, slave history and its memory in the present, as well as forms of intangible and tangible heritage.

The final exhibition panel I am reading for water is the one that presents the work of the Slave Wrecks Project. While textually this panel does not make specific reference to water, the seas or the oceans, it discusses maritime archaeology, maritime research and submerged archaeological remains. In addition to this, the photographs on the panel are all underwater scenes. On this panel, the colors are more vibrant and less desaturated than the drawings, maps and photographs of the other exhibition panels. This makes the panel more engaging and also serves as a way of bringing it into the present. The photographs are recent and by not desaturating them, they look more modern than the maps and drawings of the other panels. In a way this is potentially another method of sealing off the past and delinking it from the future.

As explored earlier, on my first visit to the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I was particularly transfixed by the video projections on the walls. For me, these video projections ignited a deep sense of awe, some comfort, and a lot of excitement. Watching the waves crashing on the shore reminded me of growing up near the beach and our regular walks along the water. Watching the other screen made me feel a larger range of feelings, I felt able to connect with being submerged, I felt as though I was a part of it, and at times I felt very disconnected. I believe this disconnect came when the video became darker, there is more sand and kelp swirling around and obscuring my view and the view of other visitors. This is what Sather-Wagstaff refers to as prosthetic memory, where my embodied engagement with the museum presentation, in this case the projections of the ocean, generate a type of second-hand witnessing (Sather-Wagstaff, 2017: 20).

Participant A believes that having the very visual element of the ocean, through the video projections, adds to the narrative of the exhibition, to the narrative of the São José (2020). I agree with Participant A's sentiments as being confronted with the site underwater and the shore and the waves crashing made the exhibition feel more real and tangible. This is the site where the São José wrecked, where the 212 enslaved people drowned in the crashing waves, and now over two centuries later their story is being told. Similarly with the shore, this was the shore where the surviving enslaved were brought, where after surviving the trauma of a

shipwreck they were sold into slavery. It is also possibly the shore where 11 of their compatriots died as they reached the shore.

Participant C described the lights that washed over the exhibition room from these projections as creating a "transitional space, this liminal space" and a "barrier between the living and the dead" where the visitors can experience themselves being immersed in this underwater environment. The technology to execute that in the ways they envisioned is too costly, which is why there are the two projections (Participant C, 2020). In a way the liminal space created by the lights echoes Tiffany Lethabo King's idea of a shoal, the lighter and softer light of the shores - of life - and the darker hues of the underwater scenes, an arena of the unknown and death. As a visitor, I moved from the dark to the light, from the forgotten and unremembered to the remembered, the found, the named.

Unlike the other exhibitions on the lower level of the Slave Lodge, this exhibition has many more references to water in different states – it is an arena of transport, it connects people and systems, it can take away and destroy life, it can re-shape and re-construct human-made objects as well as destroy them completely. In addition, the sea and water, are this place of exploration, of understanding history and the silences within our past and memory.

In the exhibition, water is obviously a strongly recurring element – visually and textually. It is regularly mentioned on the exhibition panels through referencing the seas and oceans as well as the need for water on ships as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean during the slave trade. The two projections show two forms of the ocean, as waves crashing on land and the submerged environment. This reminds me of Meg Samuelson's bifocal lens to gaze at the surface of the ocean and simultaneously gazing at the life and death beneath the surface (2013: 25). This bifocal lens, a method through which to look at the 'Unshackled History' exhibition's presentation of water, as the viewers presented with the surface of it – the arena of transport and the shore, as well as being confronted with the existence of life and death beneath that surface, that the sea is history and the memory of slavery.

Emotion Networking of the 'Unshackled History' Exhibition

Emotion networking is a methodology presented by Jasmijn Rana and her colleagues in their paper 'Moved by the tears of others: emotion networking in the heritage sphere', which is an invitation to discuss a heritage item's meaning by engaging people with different interests and emotional responses, which become networks of emotion. Rana and her colleagues write specifically about two events in the Netherlands focused on the commemoration of slavery and the imagery of 'Black Pete' (2017: 977).[17] They engaged people with different and often divergent views on heritage items because as heritage workers, they view their role as needing to consider the range of networks that people have around specific heritage items. This is with the understanding that someone's personal view might not align with rigid collective identities and viewpoints. Rana et al. involved heritage practitioners and other

[17] Black Pete, or *Zwarte Piet* is a character in the annual Dutch Sinterklaas festival. The festival is part of the Netherlands' inventory of intangible cultural heritage, however, it is highly contested because the character of Black Pete makes use of blackface (Rana et al, 2017: 983).

stakeholders in these cultural discussions to have a wide variety of voices and perspectives represented (Ibid. 978).

While Rana et al. call for the people with different views to face each other and have a conversation with one another, I chose not to engage in this part of their methodology. I did this because many of the participants I spoke to are not based in South Africa. They were not all available at the same times, and I doubted they would have strongly opposing viewpoints on the items discussed, but they would be approaching them from their own contexts and overlap in many ways. This is because they were all involved in the same project, but from different angles and with different backgrounds. Some people I spoke to had backgrounds in science or marine archaeology, whereas others were from social history. Some participants are from the USA and others are from South Africa or Mozambique. Some participants were more involved with the behind-the-scenes research in the archives or the museum curation whereas others dived on the site and were part of the excavation of the wreck site. Therefore, I am interested in how, given these different contexts, the participants viewed these items and if their perspectives on these items changed throughout their time working with them.

Joy Sather-Wagstaff's reflections on the interviews she conducted outside of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum showed that years after visiting the museum, people could still recall the experience and the feelings they felt while in the space (2017: 22). This is true for the interviews I conducted: some of the participants I interviewed have not dived on the São José wreck site for up to five years, yet they can still recall the bodily experience they went through while underwater. Sather-Wagstaff continues that a person's personal biography and historical understanding are interconnected webs that shape their perceptions and interpretations of affective experiences (Ibid. 23). Some of the participants I interviewed mentioned that there was one specific moment that shifted their perceptions of the work they were doing. This shift was often from 'this is work/this is my job' to 'this is something bigger than I am'. It was in these moments that their affective experience on this project changed and this change often provoked a range of responses, which I will explore later in this chapter.

In Divya Tolia-Kelly's interview with Rosanna Raymond, a New Zealand-born curator, artist, and performer, they discuss the importance of emotion and embodied experience in the museum space as well as when relating to heritage. Tolia-Kelly suggests that embodied experiences, or emotions, are an important part of understanding the processes of thinking and being, and that these are not meant to be viewed as separate, which is often the case within museums and academic spaces (2017: 287). When discussing an activation piece performed by Rosanna in Berlin, she remarks that the audience still had a "real resistance to actually trust what they felt", that they could speak about what they saw within very analytical frameworks, but when trying to express how the activation made them feel, they struggled to articulate their feelings. Through my interviews, I experienced this too: many of the participants seemed to struggle more when it came to asking about their feelings or emotions tied to the objects and the ocean, and at times were not able to pinpoint feelings or emotions, but rather spoke about the objects' importance for them. At times, however, some participants were moved to tears, yet, in some cases, they still struggled to express what exactly they were feeling that brought on these emotions.

Sather-Wagstaff presents the idea of "sticky" heritage objects, objects that stir up affective encounters that are artifacts of violence, and through their display and the polysensory engagement the audience has with them, they become "sticky" (2017: 24). These are objects that "extend into us as we extend into them" (Bryne, 2013 quoted by Sather-Wagstaff, 2017: 24). By asking the interview participants what their emotional connections to specific items displayed within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition was, I was asking them how the objects extended into them and how they extended into the objects. These objects have a difficult or dark heritage as they were objects connected to slavery, the slave trade, and the wrecking of the São José and the lives lost aboard the slave ship. They are also objects that provoke certain feelings – experienced and imagined – within the participants. In the following subsections, I analyze the responses provided by the interview participants to four items: the shackles, the pulley, the ballast blocks, and although not an 'item', I asked them about their emotional responses to the ocean. I thought it is important to ask the interview participants about their emotions or feelings towards the ocean because it is such a key element to the exhibition as I presented in the previous section. It is important to note that while I was drawing up the questions for the interviews, I had not seen the physical exhibition and thought that both the shackles and pulley block are part of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. They are not physically part of the exhibition but represented on the exhibition panels. The pulley block is at the Smithsonian's NMAAHC and the shackles are still undergoing conservation because they are so fragile and very concretized.

In plotting these emotion networks and looking at how people's feelings, emotions or thoughts are similar and different, it became very clear to me that there are multiple meanings for these objects that each participant has. Additionally, it is interesting to see how the meanings of these objects change over time as the participants engaged with the objects. For some, these objects took on much more emotionally deeper meanings and for others their emotional connection remained the same. In this research rather than focusing on a particular community of people – for example one united by shared life experience or language - I chose to engage with people who played various roles in the identification, excavation, and curation of the São José. This shows the converging and diverging emotions and opinions on the objects found and presented. The participants become a collective of sorts made up of a multi-perspective network around the same objects. And thus, emotion networking is useful in this research in understanding multi-perspective heritage making where different people view and understand objects differently.

While there are overlaps between certain participants for certain objects, the lens through which they viewed these objects are different. For example, Participants A, B, and C overlap in how they think about the shackles as symbols of dehumanization, an end to freedom, and commodification of people. However, when it came to the ballast bars, for example, their viewpoints were different. Participant A views them as gut-wrenching, whereas Participants B and C seem less impacted by the meaning of them as they relate to the enslaved, but more interested in their contribution to proving the wreck as the São José. This great diversity in responses to the objects I chose shows that there is a great range of perspectives and experiences represented within a small group of people who worked on the different parts of the same project.

Shackles

The shackles found in the wreck site of the São José are highly concretized objects, to the point of being unrecognizable. It was only through x-raying them that the conservation team at the Iziko Museums were able to conclude that they were shackles, specifically that these shackles are leg shackles. Images 29 and 30 show what the concretized shackle looks like now and what the x-ray of the shackle reveals. When excavating one of the shackles, Participant C accidently broke one and from that experience, their emotion towards the shackles is of guilt. On the other hand, while not a very strong feeling, they also liked the fact that they accidently broke the shackle because they associate the shackles to an end of freedom, to being bound. Their other feeling around the shackle is one of impatience because the conservation process is taking so long (Participant C, 2020).



Images 29 and 30: Top: Shackle 2 after being treated with some concretion on it.
Bottom: X-ray of shackle 2 done at the beginning of the process to reveal what is there.
Photographer unknown.

Likewise, when Participant A first encountered the shackles, their immediate thoughts were to freedom and how "the shackles symbolize the end of freedom" and that the enslaved became possessions. They also remarked that they were horrified to find out that an earlier commercial diver identified the shackles as horseshoes but also remarked that the "ocean floor does distort everything" (Participant A, 2020). When asked what their feelings about the shackles are now, they stated that they now see the shackles as part of a network of dots that are all connected around a loss of freedom. They connect the slave trade to what happened to indigenous groups in South Africa – how shackles were used on the San and the Khoi - they think of prison labor and its connections to slavery, they think of branding and loss of freedom, becoming property and a loss of humanity (Participant A, 2020). Participant I also connects the shackles with the "restrictive nature of slavery" and the conditions aboard a slave ship (Participant I, 2020). In addition, Participant F's emotional response to the shackles

was through connecting them to the enslavement of millions of people and depriving them of their freedom over centuries (2020).

Participant B shares this idea that the shackles moved them to think of the commodification and dehumanization of the enslaved. When the shackles were found and identified, Participant B experienced a change in their emotional experience as they no longer viewed them as purely a scientific find and connected them more to the wider history of slavery. For them they connected the shackles with ideas and images of enslaved people sold and tied up. Interestingly, Participant B referenced the Brookes ship image, which shows the power of that visual image as a mnemonic image of slavery (Participant B, 2020). In many respects this viewpoint is also shared by Participant D who views the shackles in multiple ways, one of which is metaphor of how we think about slavery and also the ocean's processes and power. They believe the shackle can be viewed in many ways because of its history and use, its contribution to marine archaeology, and its natural concretion (Participant D, 2020).

At the beginning of their involvement with the SWP, Participant H really wanted to find a shackle because they believed it would serve as a very tangible and stark marker of the slave trade. To them, it is the level of individuality that comes with finding a shackle, that one ring was used on one person, out of millions of people shackled during the slave trade (Participant H, 2020). For Participant J, finding the shackles evoked mixed feelings – they were happy that shackles were found because they are directly, undoubtably related to the slave trade, and the shackles made Participant J feel a lot of sadness and revulsion. They felt this sadness and revulsion towards the human race and did not even want to touch the shackles (Participant J, 2021).

Interestingly Participant C was one of the team members who had a significant shift in their mindset during this project. While on an early dive at the site, they found a piece of white, slightly porous concave material. Thinking this could possibly be a skull they immediately took it to the Iziko Museum's Marine Biology team to check it out. That evening, they spent the night in deep reflection about the impact of the work they are doing, and the lives impacted by slavery and the slave trade. The piece of material that they found ended up being a piece of sea sponge, but that experience has deeply impacted the way Participant C understands their work and its impact in telling the stories of the enslaved, which they view as a public service. They understand that their scientific rationalizing and their emotional experiences motivate one another and that one is not more important than the other (Participant C, 2020).

Similarly Participant E had a particularly powerful experience underwater, while not a mindset shift, it did shift the impact of this project on them. Their shift was also not related to the shackles in particular, they touched a piece of wood while diving on the site and immediately when they "embraced that wood, the vibrations, the energy in that wood, I could sense the horror and the pain and the suffering that was associated with it" (Participant E, 2020). When they encountered the shackles, Participant E, who found one of the shackles was initially suspicious of what it was, and once they realized it was a shackle, said they were filled with a mix of emotions which included anger and empathy for the people who had the shackles around their arms and legs, as well as greater motivation to "tell this story even more" (Participant E, 2021).

Similar to Participants A and B, the shackle also forced Participant E to think about the commodification and commercialization of the human body and the immense scale that this occurred during the slave trade. For Participant E, the shackles ignite much more intense emotions because "you can see the human form in those shackles…the shackles touch human beings" (Participant E, 2021).

Participant G has also experienced a shift in how they understand the shackles. At first they thought of them as important for their contribution to the line of evidence in proving the wreck site was that of the São José. Now they think of the shackles very similarly to Dorothy L. Pennington's double helix model of memory where "we have the imprint, it's not the same thing [as the shackle] but it's shaped by what that thing was, and then by history, time has provided an overlay that has changed what those shackles are'' (Participant G, 2021). This object of the past was shaped and re-shaped over time into the form we have today, where it is re-inscribed with new meanings and relevance for today's context.

Ballast Bars

The São José's cargo manifest listed 1130 iron ballast bars, however only a handful have been found. It is suggested that the iron ballast bars were used in exchange for the enslaved in Mozambique (Participant C, 2020). The ballast bars are made of iron and weigh approximately 39.9 kilograms each (Steckelberg et al., 2016). The first object Participant A saw from the objects brought up by the SWP team was a ballast block which for them had a gut-wrenching impact because they have become a way to represent the enslaved. They went further to say that it "was a way of really seeing something concrete…that bears witness to what happened to the enslaved Mozambicans on the São José" (Participant A, 2020). Participant A's gut-wrenching feeling still remains up to today when they think about the ballast blocks. For them, the ballast blocks are more powerful as an object than the shackles because the shackles are not easily recognizable as shackles (2020). Unlike Participant A, Participant E finds the shackles to evoke more intense emotions than the ballast blocks because the ballast blocks were part of the functioning of the ship (Participant E, 2021).

As in the case of Participant A, the ballast bars also had a powerful impact on Participant G, who is reminded that the ballasts were used to compensate for payment for enslaved people. They were hit with this thought while they were underwater diving and first encountered the ballast bars and were confronted with thoughts on how these were used and stood in for the weight of human bodies to keep the São José afloat (Participant G, 2021).

Participant D prefers to juxtapose the ballasts to the work of the SWP in their head, they do this because the ballasts "speak powerfully to issues of humanity and justice today" (2020). They also like to juxtapose the ballast bars to the cowrie shell basket that was given to the SWP team by Chief Evano Nhogache for the memorial service in Cape Town. They would like to exhibit these two items together because the ballasts represent those who we cannot name but wish to name, and the cowrie shell basket serves as a way of remembering those we cannot name (Participant D, 2020). Therefore, Participant D's emotional response is that the ballasts are a powerful tool in the narrative of the São José.

Participant J's initial feelings towards the ballast bars were that they were useful markers to demarcate the wreck site. As an amateur marine archaeologist, these were useful tools for them to know where they were on the site as they are easily identifiable as man-made objects and not rocks. Their attitude towards the ballast bars shifted when the importance of them in the identification of the São José and their use on slave ship was explained. Once this happened, the meaning of the ballast bars changed for Participant J and they became symbols of the slave ship, "an indication of life and death" and the ballasts also became more of an indicator of the slave ship than the shackles (Participant J, 2021).

Participant B's emotional reactions were initially ignited by how scientifically important these objects were to the search of the São José. The ballast bars have etched a permanent physical reminder on the body of Participant B, as they were cut on their leg by one of the ballast bars and still have a scar to remind them of the ballasts. Other than this, their responses to the ballasts are not of any particularly strong emotion and they ignite a "scientific sort of attitude" within Participant B (2020).

For Participant C there is a level of pride in knowing that an object they helped find and conserve is now on display at the Smithsonian's NMAAHC. They also like that the ballast bars are an object that connects the two museums and exhibitions. Like Participant B they were intrigued by their contribution to proving the wreck site was that of the São José and not the Schuylenburg. Additionally, as with Participant B and the shackles, the ballast bars remind Participant C of the Brookes ship image (Participant C, 2020). Earlier in this chapter I suggested that the ballast bars are a new form of the mnemonic aesthetics of slavery, especially when thinking about the slave ship São José. Although they did not specifically reference the Brookes ship image, Participant H, also likened the use of the ballasts to the way enslaved people were packed on board slave ships. The ballast bars are also a reminder of dehumanization and commodification of human lives during the slave trade (Participant H, 2020).

Recognizing the importance of the ballast bars is also the emotional response shared by Participant F, who said "I thought they were important archaeological objects that contributed a lot to the identification of the ship". They were also proud of being the person who found the archival document that linked the ballast bars to the São José (Participant F, 2020). Participant I agrees that the ballast bars were an important early discovery that helped with the identification and dating of the wreck (Participant I, 2020).

Pulley

The pulley is a piece of the ship's structure, possibly used to hoist sails or lift barrels of cargo and when Participant A first encountered it, they were skeptical of its significance, and associated it with images of ships sailing for months and months at sea, which led them to thinking about how many long months the enslaved were kept in the hold of slave ships as they crossed the oceans (Boshoff et al, 2016: 14 and Participant A, 2020). For them these feelings around the brutality and horrific conditions are what they still feel about the pulley block (Participant A, 2020).

For Participant B, the pulley block was a key piece to the puzzle. They described it as "a great find" adding that because pulleys are an important part of the rigging of the ship it helped the SWP team figure out how old the São José was and what kind of rigging it used. Their emotional connections to the pulley are still that it is a key piece, and they think of it more in terms of its scientific contribution than its cultural or emotional significance (Participant B, 2020). Initially, Participant H was not impressed with the pulley block because they wanted to find something that was more tangible and a starker marker of the slave trade. However, their attitude changed as they realized that the pulley represents another aspect of the slave trade: the purely commercial nature. They commented that the best technology of the time was aimed at getting ships to move faster while carrying as much as possible, thus the pulley for them is a reminder of the dehumanization that occurred during the slave trade (Participant H, 2020).

Participant G draws the connections between the pulley being an integral part of the ship and a pulley being used to try to get everyone off the São José, through the basket and line system that was cast out. They noted that they are reminded of the Captain's deposition where he made a distinction between the people and the slaves and that the pulley pulls these narratives together for them. They are reminded of the matter-of-factness of the slave trade and said that that is what makes the pulley a powerful item (Participant G, 2021). Likewise, Participant I remarked that the pulley represents the ship (Participant I, 2020).

Participant C's feelings towards the pulley block is a mix of their feelings towards the shackles and the ballast bars – frustration and pride. Frustration at the conservation process which required a lot of work as the pulley block is made of wood and metal and therefore requires a much more detailed conservation process. Their pride comes from being the person who found it on the site (Participant C, 2020). Participant D shares this sense of pride as the pulley is currently on loan to the Smithsonian's NMAAHC and they feel proud to have it on display. They also feel proud to have walked the journey with the pulley, having dived with the team on the day the pulley was excavated so seeing it in situ, and observing its conservation process, until its display. They also commented that they feel very anxious about having the pulley under their care because it is rare and there is a huge deal of responsibility involved (Participant D, 2020).

As mentioned earlier in this section, Participant E's strongest emotional responses came from the shackles and they did not feel particularly moved by the ballast bars or the pulley. They understand them to be parts of the ship's functionality and therefore do not feel the anger or empathy about these pieces and their connection to the atrocities inflicted upon enslaved people aboard the São José (Participant E, 2021). Similarly, Participant F does not have any feelings or emotions about the pulley block (Participant F, 2020). Participant J said that they felt a "yay" feeling when the pulley was found because of how good it was to find a piece that is recognizable as being part of the ship and rather intact. Now their feelings towards the pulley are that it was part of the ship and their curiosity around it is around what role it played on the ship (Participant J, 2021).

The Ocean

While the ocean is not an object per se within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, it is an important narrative and visual element of the exhibition, which is why I asked the interview participants what their feelings or emotions were towards the ocean. Participant A explained how they view the ocean and its interconnections when thinking of slavery, which allows one to bring the scale of it into perspective. Additionally, they remarked that to understand the full history of slavery, "it just points to how important it is that also in confronting this narrative that there is this kind of collaboration across the oceans" (Participant A, 2020). From the insights Participant A shared during our interview, it is clear that they view the ocean as very important and their feeling towards it is that it is an important, interconnected and dynamic realm (Participant A, 2020). Participant I finds the ocean mysterious and thinks of the oceans as a provider of knowledge. They also have a great respect for it (Participant I, 2020).

Participant D also views the ocean as a deeply interconnected realm for considering slavery, especially the recovery of narratives of the enslaved that have been lost. This is why they hold the work of the SWP so highly - it is a way of reconnecting with losses that connect continents and oceans (Participant D, 2020). Participant E also raised the importance of the connectivity of the oceans and linked this connectivity heavily to maintaining balance in the environment and through human and non-human engagement. For Participant E, who has been diving with Diving With a Purpose for over 14 years, they are well aware of the importance of the oceans in sustaining life, as it has for millions of years (Participant E, 2021). This is echoed by Participant F who reported that their feeling towards the ocean is one of huge respect for its biological and historical importance. They also reported that they are grateful for the "good moments immersed in it" (Participant F, 2020).

Participant C grew up near the ocean and cannot conceive living in a non-coastal area. They describe the ocean as "massively complex, unknowing, an uncaring space that just is and so we then use it. And we've used it to do awful things, and we've used it to do wonderful things. And I think that a lot of people have kind of lost their respect for the ocean" (Participant C, 2020). "I've always loved the ocean, it's just always been a part of who I am," remarked Participant B, who also described themselves as having a big fondness for the ocean and seas. For Participant B this fondness stems from growing up near the ocean and being a self-proclaimed water baby (Participant B, 2020). Participant J echoes this by saying that the ocean is part of their identity, they've grown up near it and it is a part of who they are. They said "It's sort of the only place that I feel completely free and comfortable, and free of anxiety" (Participant J, 2020).

Participant G who also grew up near the ocean said that whenever they enter it, they have two distinct feelings: absolute freedom and fear. For them this is because diving is the closest they believe they will ever get to flying, as they move through this "amazing place" yet they are always "two breaths away from being dead" while underwater too. They also remarked that since they are a marine archaeologist, they always look at the ocean with the eyes of a marine archaeologist, trying to think about what the ocean would have been used for in different eras (Participant G, 2021). Participant H also grew up near the ocean and while growing up had dreams of being a marine biologist. The ocean for them is "so alien and so different" and whenever they leave the ocean, they feel energized. Additionally, the ocean

has very personal connections for them, connecting them to shared memories of diving and snorkeling with their parents (Participant H, 2020).

Through posing questions to the interview participants about the objects represented in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, I was able to create a network of emotions, feelings, and experiences between the participants. These networks of emotions highlight the overlaps and differences in how people make meaning when it comes to heritage and heritage items. It also shows how people view and engage different objects and history with their own background and experiences. They bring these parts of themselves that have existed before with them, and this informs and influences how they understood the objects and the work they were doing. Therefore, it is crucial to engage multiple perspectives in the production of heritage, so that a diversity of views, histories, and experiences are represented.

Creating Memory, Creating Heritage

In his chapter on defining 'Heritage' in *New South African Keywords*, Nick Shepherd writes that heritage "hovers uneasily in the space between the individual consciousness and the collective'' and that it "is *of* the past *in* the present" (2008: 117, emphasis his own). He proposes that the binaries and ambiguities that make heritage, that it is rooted *and* that it is constructed, that it is of the past *and* of the present, should be viewed with a both-and lens rather than an either-or one. He suggests that this is the mode of understanding heritage in a postcolonial setting. One of the key questions of my research report is understanding how the 'Unshackled History' exhibition displays both tangible and intangible heritage and using Shepherd's both-and lens I will explore this below.

Intangible cultural heritage is defined as "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith" of communities, individuals or groups which are part of their cultural heritage. This definition includes oral tradition and social practices and rituals (UNESCO, 2003). The definition of tangible cultural heritage is divided into three main subgroups: moveable cultural heritage which includes coins, paintings, or manuscripts; immovable cultural heritage which include archaeological sites and buildings, and lastly underwater cultural heritage which includes submerged cities, underwater ruins or shipwrecks (Definition of the cultural heritage, 2021). I do not want to view these forms of heritage as separate binaries, so I engage in using Shepherd's both-and method to understand heritage. Juan García-Esparza argues that in order to develop contemporary cultural practices it is necessary to reconsider heritage as a wider social and cultural process and not under the binary of tangible and intangible heritage (2019: 132). Additionally, he proposes that authentic cultural heritage sits at the intersections of tangible and intangible expressions of heritage (*Ibid*. 134). Furthermore, when engaging the ocean, I believe it is a realm of heritage that is both intangible heritage and tangible heritage, because it serves as a cultural space, which is the area of many rituals and social practices, as well as being a site of underwater cultural heritage and ecological heritage.

Rana et al. write that significance of emotion networks lie in the "shared identification" of and with heritage, meaning that while people can have differing opinions and value different objects and practices or spaces, the fact that they can identify those or with those shows that there is some sense of connection with that heritage (2017: 979). I found the significance of

these networks to be proof that people carry with them their own experiences and background knowledge which has an influence on how they view history and heritage. What was most interesting, however, was when these views changed once the participants began to engage more deeply with the meaning of these objects, rather than viewing them as just an object. I think this is true too for how an audience views an exhibition, they come with their own ideas or pre-conceived notions of the topic and can be encouraged to think differently or beyond what they know and believe.

In our interview, Participant J stressed the importance of the museums and institutions involved in the SWP making use of the narratives of the people involved in the different phases of research for the slave ship São José, especially those who have been deeply impacted by it. They continue to say that this will "deepen exhibition representations more and further and use the contemporary to feed the historical narrative", which I agree with. From understanding how deeply the experiences of researching, excavating and diving on the São José has impacted some of the people I interviewed, I believe it is important for their knowledge and memories to be informing pillars of the way the exhibitions relating to the São José are designed. This will strengthen the affective atmospheres the audiences experience as these are built on the real and visceral experiences of people with first-hand knowledge and memories. In essence, Participant J is calling for Sharpe's wake work, where a knowledge of the contemporary contributes to our understanding of the historical legacies of slavery.

As Jasmijn Rana and her colleagues point out, heritage is not a given, it is made. It is more than the process of labeling something and putting it in a museum but rather it is looking towards the future while referencing the past (2017: 978). And this process of making heritage is not a simple one, and through the process of emotion networking Rana et al. were able to show the participants at the events they research that they each have a role in the process of making heritage (Ibid.). Through engaging the interview participants' views on the items found at the São José wreck site, I wanted to show how these feelings and emotions can be used to contribute to the affective atmosphere of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition. In some instances, these emotion networks feel more tangible, for example how many participants had more scientific or discovery-like feelings or responses to the objects, and many of the exhibition panels are centered around the science and discovery of the objects. However, this is not representative with the full range of emotions and feelings experienced by people involved in the SWP. Through highlighting certain narratives about the São José's story, specific memories are created for the audience and this contributes to their understanding of the heritage of the São José and slavery in the Cape.

Additionally, Rana et al. suggest emotion networking as a method of "present-day heritage production", where there was a concerted effort placed on reflecting on people's emotions and the effects on how they make sense of heritage, making this method of heritage production a multi-perspective strategy (Ibid. 985). In Chapter 2, I briefly discussed Gary Minkley and Phindezwa Mnyaka's writing on 'official' and 'vernacular' heritage. This is a form of multi-perspective heritage and when negotiating differences between perspectives in the making of heritage it is important to understand how people feel or do not feel represented by heritage, especially within a national heritage agenda.

Joy Sather-Wagstaff also writes about the 'official' and 'vernacular' forms of history and how that shapes our understanding of heritage. She references John Bodnar who writes that there are multiple vernacular histories and official histories/'History' and their point of intersection is collective memory (Sather-Wagstaff, 2015: 195). Sather-Wagstaff argues that both history and memory are forms of knowledge that come out of selective social processes. Moreover, Shepherd argues that part of the self-mythology of heritage is that it comes from 'below', that it is spontaneous and belongs to everyone. However, in reality through official memorial projects and celebrations, history comes from 'above', it is managed and controlled by structures who determine what is remembered and what is forgotten (Shepherd, 2008: 118). These multiple perspectives of history, memory, and heritage are often highly contested as they are re-constructed or re-formulated by individuals, collectives, in the vernacular or the official forms.

The Chief Executive Officer of the Iziko Museums, Rooksana Omar, said that "[b]ringing into memory, the story of the São José, within this global context is a significant and remarkable project" (Unshackled History: The Wreck of the São José, 1794 a, 2020). The history and narrative of the São José is a transnational one, spanning multiple continents and oceans, which means that the memory and heritage relating to it will undergo many re-constructions and re-negotiations as it is reformulated by different perspectives in different contexts. Memory and memorywork within difficult heritage settings rely on multiple understandings of place, space, power, inequality and injustice, and often use tangible objects or spaces to ground them (Sather-Wagstaff, 2015: 197).

Within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition at the Slave Lodge, the tangible space of the Slave Lodge and the objects presented within the exhibition are what grounds the memorywork. It is at the intersections of these objects and the Museum space with the memories, histories, and stories that heritage is constructed. In addition, another way of producing heritage is by providing the audience with opportunities for creating prosthetic memories or encoding memories within their ghost archive and by tying these to objects or scenes within the exhibition. An example of this is with the video projection of the wreck site, by having the Dalbergia wood on display, as well as having the exhibition panels and touch screens on the Slave Wrecks Project. The audience members' senses are engaged as they see the wreck site, touch the Dalbergia and listen to the experiences of the divers, creating within them a memory of being underwater and in the site.

The official narrative within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition is presented to the audience through the panels, touch screens, and visual material, but the way the audience reads those narratives and formulates their own memories of the São José and slavery in the Cape is up to them. The intersection of these tangible panels or objects coupled with the memorywork performed by the audience members is what creates heritage. Thus the 'official' narrative is created by the Slave Lodge and the audience members reformulate this history with their own experiences, memories, and perspectives to create their connections to this heritage. The heritage produced is not adherent to the strict binary of tangible / intangible, just as it is rooted and constructed in the audience member's experience of the exhibition.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Findings

There are three questions that guided this research, and to conclude I will present a summary of my findings. As I explained in my conceptual framework, this research echoes the fluidity of water in its design, its research methods, and now in the presentation of its findings. While it is seemingly easy to delineate my concluding thoughts to answer each question that framed this research, the answers for these questions leak into one another. Therefore, the questions that guided this research are: how does the exhibition entitled 'Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship São José' make use of tangible and intangible heritage in its presentation and how does it within the permanent exhibitions at the Slave Lodge? Then, how are affect and aesthetic representations used within the 'Unshackled History' exhibition and the effect of them? And lastly, how is the ocean presented and used in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition?

One of my conclusions is that intangible and tangible heritage do not exist within a strict binary, but rather attention should be paid to their intersections, a place of shoaling, so that the heritage production is authentic to its specific context. In addition, heritage is created, it does not organically appear, and the narratives of heritage are formulated and reformulated over time and are always contested. Within a museum setting such as the Slave Lodge, a historic building dedicated to telling a part of South Africa's difficult history, visitors encounter the affective atmospheres of the museum and its exhibitions, creating an environment where memory is formed through feeling and experiencing something.

Furthermore, using Christina Sharpe's wake work as a key guiding tool of analysis, this research has delved into how museums, and other memorial sites, enact their own pedagogies in creating 'official' narratives of slavery. Coupled with this is how they position museum audiences, which is to have specific experiences and to fill a knowledge gap for the audience relating to slavery and the slave trade. I propose that through the use of affect, by creating/curating affective atmospheres and engagements, the museum is setting up the audience for a set of experiences and feelings. However, these experiences are not homogenous and will be formulated and re-formulated by different museum visitors as they journey through the exhibition and museum and bring with them their own backgrounds, experiences and knowledge, therefore the experience of the exhibition will be different for each person.

By not thoroughly discussing the ongoing legacies of slavery in South Africa and setting up modern-day slavery as a separate and unlinked form of oppression, the Slave Lodge performs what Sulamith Graefenstein describes as sealing off the past and still inciting visitor activism. Visitors are encouraged to know about modern-day slavery, yet the effects of the slave trade and South Africa's slave past are not addressed in depth.

In the case of the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, the visitors are able to create their own memories of what they see, feel, and experience. They are also provided a narrative about the São José, slavery and the slave trade, that has been crafted by the museum and serves as the 'official' narrative. The visitors interact with the space, and it is at this intersection - of space and affective atmosphere and official narrative - that the audience forms their own

memories – performing memorywork - and these memories contribute to the production of heritage within the museum.

I argue that the narratives of the people who participated in bringing the story of the São José to life should have a greater place within the exhibition. As shown through the emotion networking, people who played different roles and come from different backgrounds had similar thoughts, feelings and emotions to the objects. These networks of emotion show how people connect to history and heritage and have multiple perspectives on them.

I believe that before the Covid-19 pandemic the 'Unshackled History' exhibition presented the intersections of storytelling and poetry, through the touch screens, as they relate to slave history, the São José and the objects found in the wreck site. The use of different methods of telling the history of the São José allowed for greater construction of memory, knowledge, and ultimately heritage. However, from my experiences with the exhibition, the environment produced seemed more physical, but not tangible, and less immersive. This was to keep the exhibition compliant with Covid-19 regulations, but this still has an influence on how the public produce their own memories and understanding of heritage within the space.

The 'Unshackled History' exhibition serves as a more physical touch point with slavery and the slave trade in what Norbert Fischer calls a maritime memory landscape. Altogether the museum is this memory landscape of slavery, read as one memory experience, where the 'Unshackled History' exhibition provides an example of a journey of a slave ship, an example of a wrecking, an example of the excavation process, and examples of objects that enabled the slave trade. This exhibition is not crafted to be the only experience of the slave trade, because there are other examples that are briefly explored in the other permanent exhibitions' gallery rooms, but it does give a more in-depth view into one ship's journey during the slave trade. With the focus on just one ship and its journey, the São José becomes a powerful synecdoche for slavery, the forgotten and unremembered enslaved, and many missing histories from our collective memory.

Within the exhibition, the use of recurring textual and visual references to water allows the visitors to make use of Meg Samuelson's bifocal lens, allowing them to gaze upon the surface of the sea and below the surface, at the currents that shape life and death. Very literally, the audience can watch the waves crashing on the shore and watch the SWP team diving on the wreck site. Additionally, water exists as a powerful force, necessary for life and able to take it away. References are made to the Cape being a refreshment stop necessary for ships traversing the Atlantic. At the same time, the ocean is dangerous, and it is unforgiving.

In this research and using the bifocal lens borrowed from Meg Samuelson, the sea functioned as a space on top of which the history of slavery and the São José could be researched and conducted. In this I mean that the surface of the ocean, which, when looking at a map, connects seemingly far away and disparate places, histories, and stories. However, by using the oceans to connect Portugal to Mozambique to South Africa to Brazil to the United States of America, the surface of the ocean became the site of connection, a space of drawing together people, places, and histories. Furthermore, by looking at the currents (that shape) of life and death under the waterline, this research engaged with the ongoing work done by those who are trying to re-construct the narratives of enslaved people who died below the

waterline, those whose lives were literally taken by the currents, as a way to understand how the currents of life and death of the enslaved are figuratively shaped by the sea.

I propose that in the 'Unshackled History' exhibition, and the others about the São José in the USA, Mozambique and possibly Portugal, the ballast bars become a part of the ritualized remembering of slavery becoming a mnemonic image of slavery, similar to how Cheryl Finley illustrates this with the Brookes ship icon. These objects are visually striking and easy to recognize. They are a stand-in for the bodies of the enslaved, without having to reproduce the visual violence of showing enslaved people treated as cargo in the hold of the slave ship. I believe the concreted shackles are also very powerful visually in discussing the ghostly echoes of slavery and to further the discussions on how we are living in the wake of slavery, living with its afterlives today.

Some possible research projects that can emerge from this topic and this research report are looking at the memorial event of the São José that took place in Clifton. This research could look into the politics of private and public memorial events, the performance of remembering slavery, as well as the impact on heritage production. Additionally, another avenue of exploration is through curating context-specific exhibitions in each place that is part of the narrative of the São José. This could be done to turn Participants G and D's dream of having a ballast bar exhibited in each city relevant to the São José into a reality. Furthermore, these local exhibitions can engage and collaborate with fine arts practitioners to create works that deal with this history and the objects found, especially the ballast bars which would be in each exhibition. Thirdly, another future project could be around gathering the groups of people from across the world, impacted by the history of slavery and the São José and use Jasmijn Rana and her colleagues' method of emotion networking to see what global emotion networks about to slavery and slave history emerge. Finally, a last possible opportunity for further research would be to theoretically explore ideas around ghostly echoes of history and memory when the object is no longer 'there', when it becomes concreted underwater heritage objects, especially those related to the slave trade.

Images Reference List

VA Corps, Map of the Cape Peninsula, Date unknown, map. Map Maker Unknown. https://www.vacorps.com/2015/01/13/a-guide-to-cape-towns-beaches/.

Cargo manifest of the São José Paquete d'Africa, from Lisbon to Mozambique, 1794. Archival document. Boshoff et al., 2016, *From no return: the 221-year journey of the slave ship São José, 1794*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Iziko Museums (2018) [*Twitter*] 20 December 2018. Available at: https://twitter.com/iziko_museums/status/1075694822764240896. (Accessed: 20 August 2021)

Diagram of the 'Brookes' slave ship, created by Thomas Clarkson, published in the 1780s, held by British Library, shelfmark: G:16302. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/drawing-of-the-slave-ship-brookes.

Iziko Museums (2021) [*Twitter*] 1 June 2021. Available at: https://twitter.com/iziko_museums/status/1399653783597207554. (Accessed 20 August 2021)

Shackle 2 X-ray and how it compares to what is actually there, Date unknow, Photographer unknown. https://slavery.iziko.org.za/latest-discovery/preserving-shackles.

Bibliography

Artslink.co.za - My Naam is Februarie: iconic exhibition opens. *Artslink* [online]. Available from: http://www.artlink.co.za/news_article.htm?contentID=41080 [Accessed 20 Aug 2021].

Baderoon, G. (2009) 'The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture', *Research in African Literatures*, 40(4), pp. 89–107.

Baderoon, G. (2014) *Regarding Muslims: from slavery to post-apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Blum, H. (2013) 'Introduction: oceanic studies', *Atlantic Studies*, 10(2), pp. 151–155. doi: 10.1080/14788810.2013.785186.

Boshoff, J. J. *et al.* (2016) *From no return: the 221-year journey of the slave ship São José, 1794*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Bystrom, K. and Hofmeyr, I. (2017) 'Oceanic Routes: (Post-it) Notes on Hydro-Colonialism', *Comparative Literature*, 69(1), pp. 1–6. doi: 10.1215/00104124-3794549.

Cloete, N. (2016) *Memory, Slavery, Nation: An Analysis of Representations of Slavery in Post-apartheid Cultural and Memory Production*. PhD Thesis. University of Witwatersrand.

Concretions (no date) *Paleontological Research Institution*. Available at: https://www.priweb.org/blog-post/concretions (Accessed: 2 December 2020).

Conserving the pulley | Heritage of Slavery (no date). Available at: https://slavery.iziko.org.za/latest-discovery/conserving-pulley (Accessed: 20 December 2020).

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (no date). Available at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed: 19 April 2021).

D'Aguiar, F. (1999) *Feeding the ghosts*. Hopewell, N.J.: Ecco Press. Available at: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/38566193.html (Accessed: 14 December 2020).

Davis, R. (2015) *Of sunken slave ships and neo-imperialism*, *Daily Maverick*. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-06-03-of-sunken-slave-ships-and-neo-imperialism/ (Accessed: 20 April 2021).

Definition of the cultural heritage | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (no date a). Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/ (Accessed: 16 April 2021).

Drawing of the slave ship 'Brookes'. *The British Library* [online]. Available from: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/drawing-of-the-slave-ship-brookes [Accessed 20 Aug 2021].

Elegy by Gabrielle Goliath — A4 [online]. [online]. Available from: https://a4arts.org/Elegy-by-Gabrielle-Goliath-1 [Accessed 21 Aug 2021].

Finley, C. (2018) 'Introduction: The Practice of Mnemonic Aesthetics', in *Committed to memory: the art of the slave ship icon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1–17.

Fisher, J. (2006) 'Exhibitionary Affect', *n.paradoxa: international feminist art journal*. Edited by R. Baert, 18('Curatorial Strategies' [special issue]), pp. 27–33.

Gagné, K. and Rasmussen, M. B. (2016) 'Introduction – An Amphibious Anthropology: The Production of Place at the Confluence of Land and Water', *Anthropologica*, 58(2), pp. 135–149.

García-Esparaza, J. A. (2019) 'Beyond the intangible/tangible binary: an analysis of historic built environments in Valencia, Spain', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 14, pp. 124–137.

Gqola, P. D. (2010) *What is Slavery to Me?* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Graefenstein, S. (2019) 'The memory imperative as a narrative template: difficult heritage at European and North American human rights museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, pp. 1–22. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2019.1693414.

Harries, P. (2016) 'Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organisation of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797–1807', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42(3), pp. 409–427. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1178000.

Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2003a) 'Introduction: Contested pasts', in Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (eds) *Contested pasts: the politics of memory*. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 1–21.

Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2003b) 'Part I: Transforming Memory', in Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (eds) *Contested pasts: the politics of memory*. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 23–28.

Isas Departmental (2020) *Post-Imperial Oceanics | Killian Quigley*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuwIQ0s4vtI (Accessed: 23 November 2020).

King, T. L. (2019) *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. Durham ; London: Duke University Press.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) 'Objects of Ethnography', in *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. 1st edition. Berkely and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, pp. 17–78.

Kootker, L. M. *et al.* (2016) 'Dynamics of Indian Ocean Slavery Revealed through Isotopic Data from the Colonial Era Cobern Street Burial Site, Cape Town, South Africa (1750-1827)', *PLoS ONE*, 11(6). doi: doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0157750.

Life in Bondage (2020) [Exhibition]. Slave Lodge, Cape Town, permanent exhibition.

Mawani, R. (2018) 'Ships at Sea', in Tortell, P., Turin, M., and Young, M. (eds) *Memory*. Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, pp. 87–96. doi: 10.2307/j.ctvbtzpfm.13.

Merriam, S. B. and Tisdell, E. J. (2016) *Qualitative research: a guide to design and implementation*. Fourth edition. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass (The Jossey-Bass higher and adult education series).

Minkley, G. and Mnyaka, P. (2015) 'Seeing Beyond the Official and the Vernacular: The Duncan Village Massacre Memorial and the Politics of Heritage in South Africa', in Peterson, D. R., Gavua, K., and Rassool, C. (eds) *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures*. New York: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781316151181.

Museu da Ilha de Moçambique | Município da Ilha de Moçambique (no date). Available at: https://www.ilhademocambique.co.mz/entidade/museu-da-ilha-de-mocambique (Accessed: 18 April 2021).

My Naam is Februarie (no date). Available at: http://dev.iziko.org.za.dedi6.cpt3.host-h.net/exhibitions/my-naam-februarie (Accessed: 17 February 2021).

Pallasmaa, J. (2012) *The eyes of the skin: architecture and the senses*. Chichester : Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy ; John Wiley & Sons.

Pratt, M.L., 1991. Arts of the Contact Zone. *Profession*. pp. 33–40.

Preserving the Shackles (no date). Available at: https://slavery.iziko.org.za/latest-discovery/preserving-shackles (Accessed: 15 March 2021).

Rana, J., Willemsen, M. and Dibbits, H. C. (2017a) 'Moved by the tears of others: emotion networking in the heritage sphere', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(10), pp. 977–988. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2017.1362581.

Rediker , M., 2008. History from below the water line: Sharks and the Atlantic slave trade. *Atlantic Studies*. 5 (2), pp. 285–297.

Samuelson, M. (2013) 'Sea Changes, Dark Tides and Littoral States: Oceans and Coastlines in Post-apartheid South African Narratives', *Alternation*, Special Edition 6, pp. 9-28.

Samuelson, M. (2017) 'Coastal Form: Amphibian Positions, Wider Worlds, and Planetary Horizons on the African Indian Ocean Littoral', *Comparative Literature*, 69(1), pp. 16–24. doi: 10.1215/00104124-3794569.

Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2015) 'Heritage and Memory', in Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK :

Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 191–204. Available at: http://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9781137293565.

Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2017) 'Making polysense of the world', in Tolia-Kelly, D. P., Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds) *Heritage, affect and emotion: politics, practices and infrastructures*. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (Critical studies in heritage, emotion and affect), pp. 12–29.

Sharpe, C. (2016) *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Shepherd, N., Robins, S. L. and Shepherd, N. (eds) (2008) 'Heritage', in *New South African keywords*. Johannesburg : Athens: Jacana ; Ohio University Press, pp. 116–127.

Singh, J. (2018) *No Archive Will Restore You*. 1st edition. Santa Barbara, CA: Punctum Books.

Singh, M. (2019) *Visualising Human Migrations in Cape Town: The story of three ships through 'time', 'space' and 'memory'*. PhD Thesis. University of Cape Town.

Slave Lodge | Heritage of Slavery (no date). Available at: https://slavery.iziko.org.za/slavelodge (Accessed: 26 November 2020).

Slave Lodge (no date). Available at: https://www.iziko.org.za/museums/slave-lodge (Accessed: 26 November 2020).

Slave Wrecks Project | National Museum of African American History and Culture (no date). Available at: https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/initiatives/slave-wrecks-project (Accessed: 29 April 2021).

Steckelberg, A., Berkowitz, B., and Lu, D.,2016. Tour through the Smithsonian's new National Museum of African American History and Culture. *Washington Post* [online]. Available from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/lifestyle/national-museum-of-african-american-history-and-culture/guided-tour/ [Accessed 21 Aug 2021].

Till, K. E. and Kuusisto-Arponen, A.-K. (2015) 'Towards Responsible Geographies of Memory: Complexities of Place and the Ethics of Remembering', *Erdkunde*, 69(4), pp. 291–306.

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2017a) 'Dark seas and glass walls - feeling injustice at the museum, Practitioner perspectives: Rosanna Raymond', in Tolia-Kelly, Divya Praful, Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds) *Heritage, affect and emotion: politics, practices and infrastructures*. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (Critical studies in heritage, emotion and affect), pp. 276–292.

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2017b) 'Race and affect at the museum', in Tolia-Kelly, Divya P.l, Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds) *Heritage, affect and emotion: politics, practices and infrastructures*. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (Critical studies in heritage, emotion and affect), pp. 33–46.

Under Cover of Darkness: Women in servitude in the Cape colony (2020) [Exhibition]. Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 26 September 2018 - 31 March 2021.

Under Cover of Darkness: Women in servitude in the Cape colony (no date). Available at: https://www.iziko.org.za/news/under-cover-darkness-women-servitude-cape-colony (Accessed: 24 March 2021).

Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship, São José, 1794 (2018) [Exhibition]. Slave Lodge, Cape Town, permanent exhibition.

Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship, São José, 1794 (no date a). Available at: https://www.iziko.org.za/exhibitions/unshackled-history-wreck-slave-ship-sao-jose-1794 (Accessed: 27 April 2021).

Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Slave Ship, São José, 1794 (no date b). Available at: https://www.iziko.org.za/news/unshackled-history-wreck-slave-ship-sao-jose-1794 (Accessed: 27 April 2021).

Walcott, D. (1990) 'The Sea is History', in *Collected poems: 1948 - 1984*. 3. print. New York: Noonday Pr. [u.a.], pp. 364–367.

Yates, J. S., Harris, L. M. and Wilson, N. J. (2017) 'Multiple ontologies of water: Politics, conflict and implications for governance', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 35(5), pp. 797–815. doi: doi.org/10.1177/0263775817700395.

Appendices

Appendix 1: *My Name is February* by Diana Ferrus

My naam is Februarie
Ek is verkoop
My borste, privaatdele, my oë
my brein
is nog nie myne
soos die Sao Jose
loop ek opgekap
word ek telkens gesink deur ‘n ander storm
geen Jesus wat op die water loop vir my

My naam is Februarie
Ek soek nog die stang van die stuur
want onderwater le die familie
die kind aan ma se rokspant
die ma aan pa se hand
hoe diep lê hulle, aan watter kant

My naam is Februarie
opgeveil, verkoop, die hoogste bieder
het onstale geraak van my regte naam
geen vergoeding betaal
vir dit my naam, gesteel, gesink
onderwater lê dit nog
saam met die familie
wrakstukke van die Sao Jose
ten gronde geloop deur ‘n wind
briesende branders wat die buit
se hele toekoms besluit
die profyt teen die wal uitsmyt

my naam is Februarie
die Masbieker op die Sao Jose
so was ek genome
toe my hierse modertaal gestalte kry
toe tonge met mekaar begin te knoop
en letters ‘n vrye gang begin te loop
in ‘n desperate poging in hoop
dat magte ook nie hierdie identiteit moet stroop
word ek die Masbieker, net ‘n naam
onder ‘n ander lug gekraam
en diep gevul met skaam

My naam is Februarie

My name is February
I was sold
my breasts, private parts and eyes,
my brain
are not mine yet
like the São José
I am ruined
often sank by another storm
no Jesus walking on water for me

my name is February
I am searching for the rod of the steering wheel
because the family lies on the bottom
the child stitched to the mother’s dress
mother’s hand locked in the father’s fist
how deep down are they lying, on which side

my name is February
auctioned, sold, the highest bidder
disposed of my real name
paid no compensation
for that, my name, stolen, sunked
underwater it still lies
with the family
wrecks of the São José
ran aground by a wind
furious waves that decided
the future of the loot
smashing the profit against the embankment

my name is February
the Masbieker on the São José
that’s how I was called
when my mother tongue of here came into being
when tongues started to form a bond
and letters started walking freely
in a desperate attempt at survival and hope
that forces should not strip this identity too
I became the Masbieker, only a name
born under a different sky
and deeply filled with shame

My name is February

I reshaped this landscape –
My hands wove the patterns of the vineyards
My feet pressed the grapes
and I was paid with wine
I carry Alcohol-Foetal Syndrome children on my back

My name is February.
I still march on the eve of December one,
I walk the cobblestones of this city
when I cry in desperation,
“remember the emancipation of the slaves!”

My name is February.
Two hundred years after the Sao Jose
I was given the vote,
they said I was free

But do you see how often I am submerged,
weighed down?
I am the sunken, the soiled,
forgotten
and yet memory will not leave me!

My name is February,
stranded at Third beach
but no one comes to look for me,
no one waves from the dunes,
no bridges back to Mozambique

My name is February.
I will be resurrected,
brought to the surface
unshackled, unchained, unashamed!
My name is February!

“A poem (in progress) by Diana Ferrus
for the memorial tribute of the casualties
and survivors of the São José.”

- *From No Return: the 221-Year Long Journey of the Slave Ship São José,* 2016: 96-98.

Appendix 2: Panels from the 'Unshackled History' exhibition

THE WRECKING

The *Saõ José Paquete D'Africa* left Lisbon on 27 April in 1794 for Mozambique to take on board a cargo of slaves destined for the plantations in Maranhão, Brazil. The *Saõ José* planned to stop at the Cape to replenish with food and water. On the night of 27 December 1794 they found themselves in the vicinity of Clifton with a cargo of more than five hundred slaves. A strong south-easterly wind prevented the ship from entering safe anchorage in Table Bay. The Captain decided to hug the coast. This would turn out to be a poor decision.



Courtesy of Western Cape Archives Repository.

At two o'clock in the morning, the ship struck a rock and started taking on water. The Captain ordered the crew to cast out an anchor, but the cable snapped. They dropped a second anchor and realized that the stern of the vessel was stuck on rock. The strong wind and surge broke this anchor as well and the ship became trapped between two reefs. The crew then tried to use the ship's windlass and a third anchor to get the ship off the rocks, but this rope broke as well. They realized that they were close to the shore and sent a boat with slaves and crew ashore. This boat could not return due to the rough seas. In the meantime, a Dutch VOC official from Cape Town arrived and rigged a basket on a rope to the ship, saving the the lives of the sailors and more than half of the enslaved. The sea became so rough that the ship finally broke to pieces resulting in two hundred and twelve of the enslaved people perishing in the violent waves.

Clifton Bay Winter from Lion's Rock © Steve Gordon, Cliftonpics.co.za 2009

Map of Camps Bay and Kalk Bay by Lieutenant B.M. Barbier (1788)

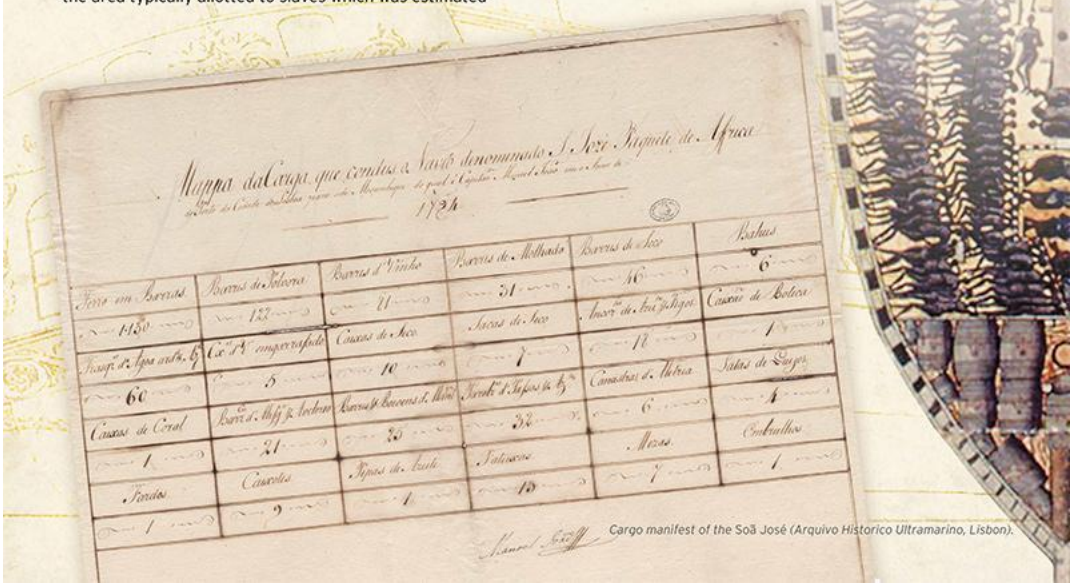
THE SHIP SÃO JOSÉ

The slave ship was a site of torture and an agent of terror for millions of Africans, creating a legacy that has been neglected and often disregarded in South Africa. Through the investigation of the *São José* we aim to add to our understanding of these ships and of the experiences of those enslaved on board.

While surviving records and testimony describe the ship's cargo and provide an account of her wrecking, no descriptions of the ship itself have been found. The final resting place of the ship has so far only provided fragmentary archaeological evidence. In part this is because of the ship's very violent demise, as documented by the eyewitnesses who reported how the vessel broke apart on the rocky reef in a matter of hours. The massive swells that have rolled across the site for over two centuries have broken up the ship's remains even further, dashing them against granite reefs, scattering many remnants, while burying others beneath many meters of shifting sand.

Without significant shipwreck remains we have to estimate the size of the *São José* by looking at the evidence available from the archives and what little we found on the site. We can for example extrapolate the weight and volume of the 1130 iron ballast blocks (40kg per block) listed in the *São José*'s cargo manifest. We can also look at research done on other slave ships of the era and work out the area typically allotted to slaves which was estimated to be 60cm² per person. We can consider other slave ships active in this period with known tonnage and number of slaves embarked. Over 75% of the 33 slave ships listed in the Transatlantic Slave Voyages Database documented to have sailed with a comparable number of slaves (460 to 550 persons) during the same decade as the *São José*, were classified as between 315 and 400 tonnes. Tonnage is a very variable and not accurate measure, but we can estimate that the *São José* fell in the 300 to 400 tonne range and was between 30 to 40 metres long and 7 to 10m wide.

Currently, any dimensions must remain hypothetical, but the ranges nevertheless serve as a framework upon which to develop an informed understanding of the ship's likely fittings and layout. As the investigation of the *São José* continues on the site and in the archives and new information comes to light, our understanding of the ship will come into sharper focus and provide greater detail.



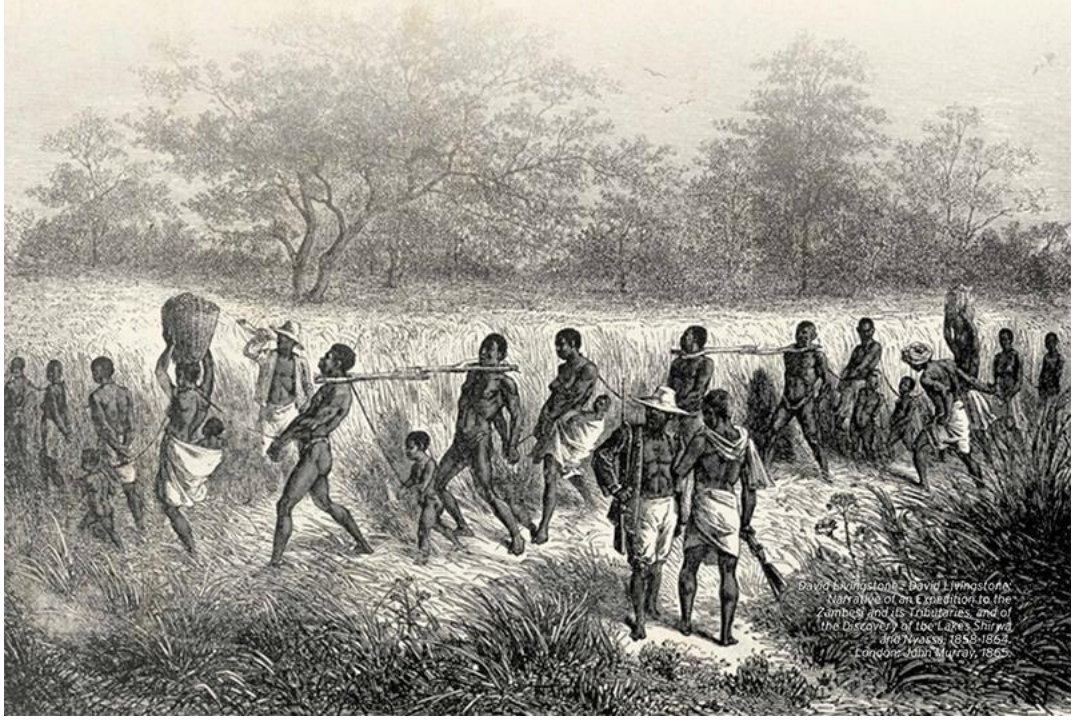
Cargo manifest of the Soã José (Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon).

WHO WERE THE ENSLAVED

Who were the enslaved aboard the *Saõ José*? While we do not know much about their lives as individuals, historical accounts provide us with some ideas about where they may have come from.

We know that those forced onto slave ships at the port of embarkation were brought from near and far. Some were likely Makua speakers from the hinterland surrounding Mozambique Island. One document tells us that one enslaved person on the ship had worked for some time on board a local galley. Another tells us of dozens of slaves that were sent to the Island from Tete in the same year the *Saõ José* set sail. Like thousands of others, they travelled down the Zambezi river – a "highway" for the slave trade at this time. Others who were Yao, Makonde, or Maravi would have survived forced marches from deep in the interior, and may have been severely debilitated before even boarding the vessel.

Historical accounts also suggest that the circumstances leading to the enslavement of those on the *Saõ José* may have been as varied as their origins. Enslavement befell many defeated in battle or captured in raids, but also others accused of petty crimes or unable to repay debts. Regardless of how and where they may have started their journeys, we can accurately surmise that most of the enslaved had already endured all manner of de-humanizing practices and great physical hardship by the time of their fateful voyage. Yet somehow they had survived. Despite the *Saõ José*'s disastrous demise, over half would continue to do so.



David Livingstone, David Livingstone's Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864, London: John Murray, 1865.

WHO WERE THE ENSLAVED

At the Cape the moniker 'Mozbieker' or 'Masbieker' was often attached to enslaved people arriving from Mozambique. No distinction was made as to tribal grouping or otherwise - names were not recorded on arrival and new names were given. It is significant that we know so little about the fate of those enslaved on the *Saõ José* compared to what is known about the surviving crew. Documents provide the names of every single crew member – but not one of the enslaved. What little we are told- that eleven slaves who survived the wreck perished shortly thereafter, and that the other two hundred were sold for 30 pieces of eight each – tells us far more about the mind-set of a society that trafficked in people as commodities, than it does about the enslaved themselves.

One of the missions of IZIKO's research on the *Saõ José* – and of the Slave Wrecks Project as a whole – is to recover the experiences and highlight the humanity of those neglected in the historical record. This concern fuels our ongoing efforts to locate the burial location of those who perished on the *Saõ José*, and to trace the fate of the re-enslaved survivors and their descendants. This search proceeds amongst the 'Masbieker' - the community in which the survivors and their descendants most likely found a home and an identity.



Image Iziko Museums. Accession No. H196

This was originally a distinct grouping in the Cape Town Slave community. However, under the weight of the discriminatory racial classifications of the Apartheid era, many Masbiekers de-emphasized their African heritage and assimilated into the broader Cape Town coloured community. In the New South Africa it remains to be seen how the recovery of the story of the *Saõ José* might provide an opportunity for the revitalization of once lost histories and identities alike.



Image Iziko Museums. Accession No. H154

CAPE SLAVERY

The image you see here represents a slave token or tag. Slaves working as town hawkers were required to wear numbered tags on their person.



To find out more about slavery at the Cape please scan the QR code.

ILHA DE MOZAMBIQUE

We know from archival records that the captain and proprietor of the *Saõ José* purchased over 500 people at Ilha de Mozambique. This island lies off Northern Mozambique between the Mozambique Channel and Mossuril Bay and had already served a strategic gateway for commerce from East Africa to the Indian Ocean and beyond for hundreds of years.

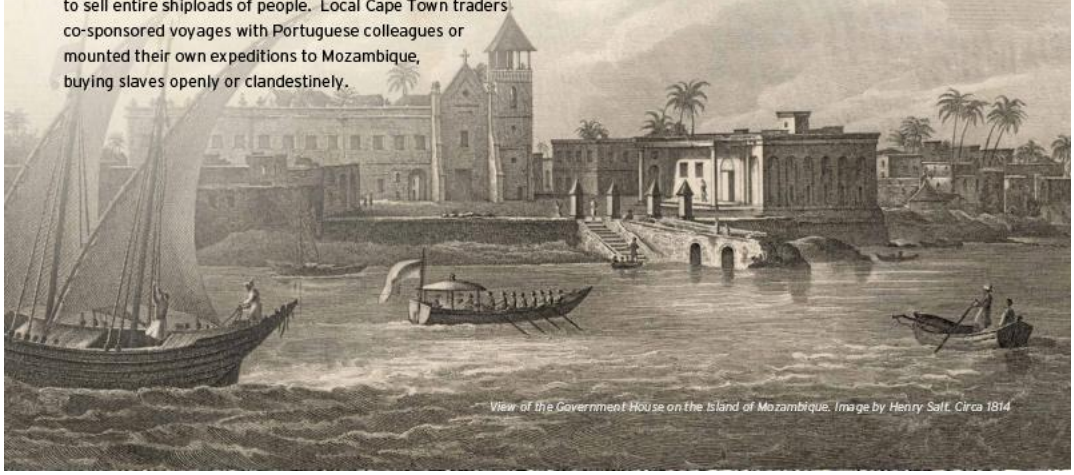
From the 16th Century onwards the port was a major outpost for the Portuguese Empire and traded in spices, gold and other commodities including humans. The Island was drawn into the Transatlantic slave trade starting in the late 18th Century when demand for Mozambican slaves began to increase from Brazil. The Portuguese crown authorized this trade in 1792, and it would grow significantly in decades following. The slave trade from East Africa across the Atlantic would grow even more after the British abolished the slave trade in 1807 and then began efforts to shut it down internationally.



Map of Ilha de Mozambique. Circa 1802

The trade in human beings created a very prosperous community on Mozambique Island during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During the final years of the eighteenth century, most slave ships going to Brazil and Montevideo from Mozambique Island stopped in Table Bay for water and supplies. Slave ships returning from Brazil to Mozambique Island sometimes stopped at the Cape to sell cargoes of sugar, coffee, and rice, and purchase wheat flour, wine, and other goods.

Cape Town was not only a pass through point for the slave trade, however. During the early nineteenth century Portuguese traders sold people deemed too weak to survive the transatlantic voyage to slaveholders on the Cape. Sometimes, traders received permission from the governor to sell entire shiploads of people. Local Cape Town traders co-sponsored voyages with Portuguese colleagues or mounted their own expeditions to Mozambique, buying slaves openly or clandestinely.



View of the Government House on the Island of Mozambique. Image by Henry Salt. Circa 1814

THE SLAVE TRADE

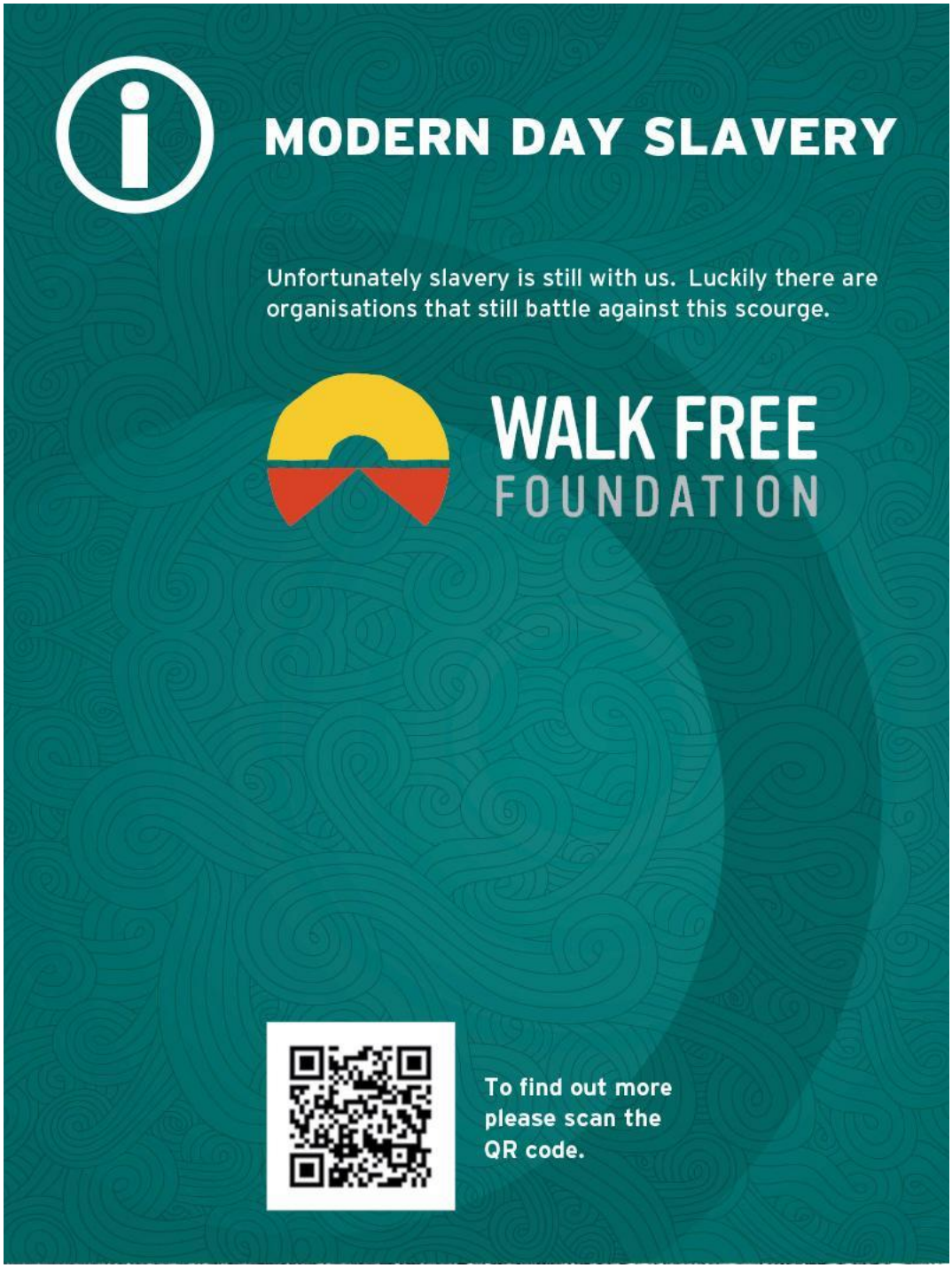
The African Slave Trade was the largest forced migration of people in world history. From the fifteenth century, and for more than four hundred years, at least twelve million Africans were captured, forced to leave their lands and loved ones, trafficked and scattered throughout the Atlantic world.

Although less thoroughly documented than the Transatlantic trade, many millions of enslaved Africans were also trafficked throughout the Indian Ocean. The modern world cannot be understood without identifying the geographic, economic, political, cultural and psychological consequences of this uprooting, relocation and loss. During the 18th century, the Transatlantic Slave Trade reached its peak, involving the trafficking of more than seven million Africans to the Americas.

At the Cape under Dutch VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) rule, slavery had been in force since the early days of its establishment. The Cape's role as a refreshment station for French, Portuguese, American, and Spanish slave ships proved particularly important in the development of a commerce linking East Africa, Madagascar, and the Mascarenes with the Americas. As a result of this role as well as in response to the local demand for slaves. Perhaps as many as 40,000 forced immigrants from tropical Africa and Madagascar ultimately landed in the Cape.



Monument to slaves in Zanzibar.


MODERN DAY SLAVERY
Unfortunately slavery is still with us. Luckily there are organisations that still battle against this scourge.
WALK FREE
FOUNDATION
To find out more please scan the QR code.

THE CONSERVATION PROCESS

Conservation of waterlogged artefacts is not just about today but the past, and the legacy of tomorrow: It's a record, it's an insurance policy and it's a way to capture evidence that helps research.

The objects from the *São José* need active conservation because they come from an unusual site - a site that is oxygen rich due to considerable movement in the sea and sediments. The items we recover are fragile and need care right away. Long term damage occurs if they aren't cared for correctly immediately upon their recovery from the sea.

For organics like timber, this means treating with a bulking agent - for example sugar, then slowly dried in a freeze drier to ensure no further damage occurs during the drying process. For metals like iron, this means treating them to get as much of the salts and chlorides out of the metal by using a process known as electrolysis. More complicated objects that include both metals and wood, such as the pulley block recovered from the site, need special and unique treatments to help stabilize them.

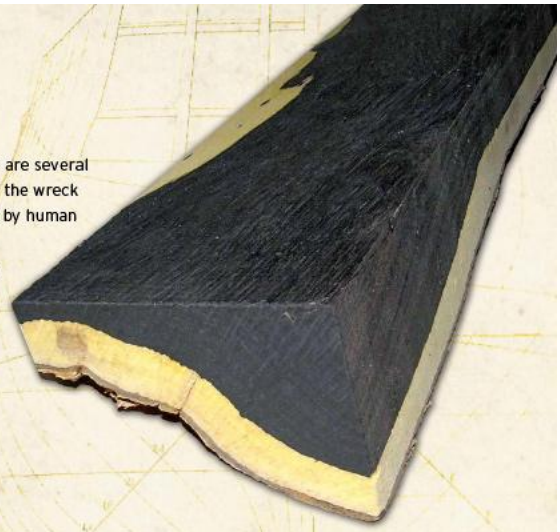


The whole process is documented with photographs, and a variety of scientific analytical techniques that include high powered microscopes, X-Rays, Scanning Electron Microscope, and X-Ray Fluorescence. One of the most important principles to remember is that the object is the main record and like an archive can tell us a great deal. We have a responsibility to use the correct conservation and recording methods to preserve this archive for the future.



The Conservation Laboratry has been sponsored by a grant from the U.S. Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation.

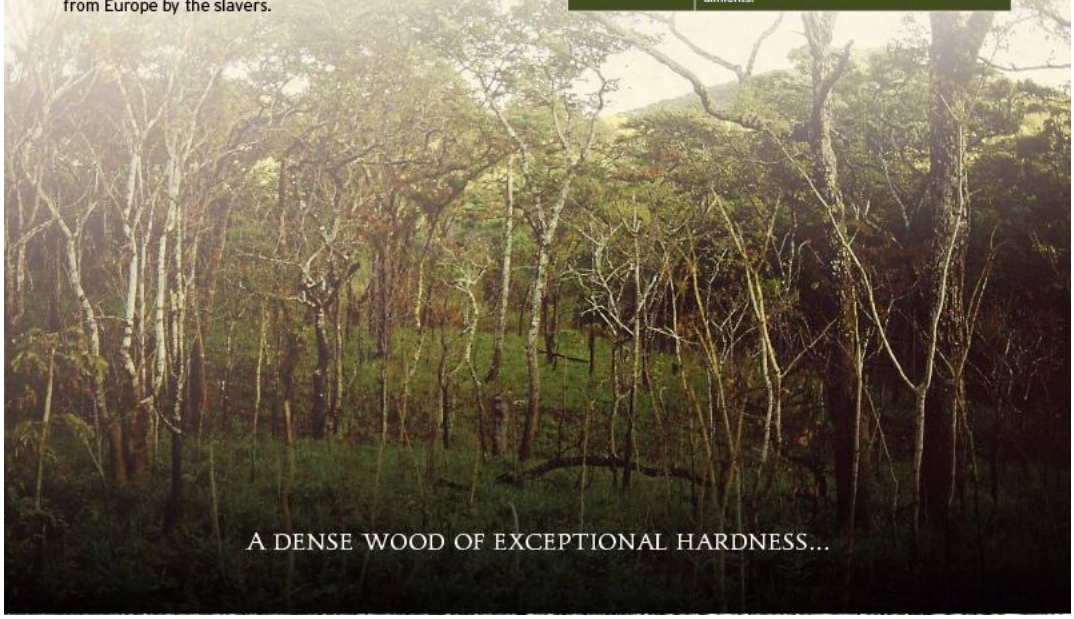
DALBERGIA



One of the most interesting finds made on the *São José* site are several East African Blackwood logs. Found on the northern side of the wreck site, embedded among the granite rocks and clearly worked by human hands, a small sample was taken and sent for analysis and identification. The results were truly unexpected. The logs belong to a species called Dalbergia melanoxylon.

A dense wood of exceptional hardness, the logs have survived over two centuries underwater with only two millimetres penetration by seawater. Their dense nature and lack of fastening marks suggest that they were part of the ship's dunnage or cargo rather than a piece of its structure but that doesn't reduce the significance of this object. Called pau-preto in Portuguese and Mpingo in Swahili, this species of hardwood is found along the East African coast from southern Kenya, through Tanzania to northern Mozambique. Unable to float or drift because of its great density, the presence of this timber on the shipwreck site was a key identifier of the wreck as that of the *São José*. Historical sources show that hardwoods such as this were used as cargo during the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact the timber is still traded today to make musical instruments though the species is threatened by over exploitation and a slow growth rate. It is believed that these limbs were brought on board as cargo along with the slaves in exchange for the iron ballast blocks and other goods brought from Europe by the slavers.

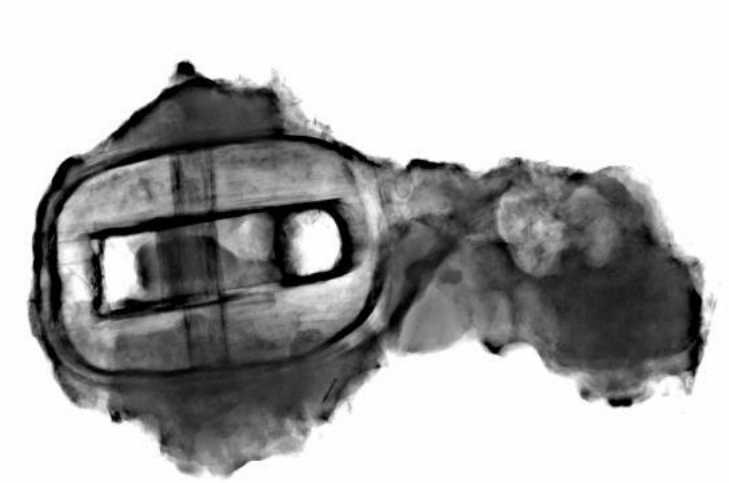
VITAL STATISTICS	
Scientific name	Dalbergia melanoxylon
Average height	4.5 – 7.5 meters
Primary pollinator	Bees
Sapwood	White/yellowish-white. Approximately 12cm thick.
Heartwood	Purplish black. Very hard and dense (1314kg/m³)
Uses	Heartwood is used for turnery, furniture & musical instruments. Roots are used to treat stomach ailments.



A DENSE WOOD OF EXCEPTIONAL HARDNESS...

PULLY

This x-ray image is of a pulley block recovered from the wreck.



To find out more please scan the QR code.

SHACKLE

This image represents an x-ray image of an artefact recovered from the wreck of the *São José*.



To find out more please scan the QR code.

THE SLAVE WRECKS PROJECT (SWP)

The *Saõ José Paquete D'Afrique* investigation is a flagship project of the Slave Wrecks Project (SWP). The Slave Wrecks Project is an international network of researchers and institutions that pursues a distinctive approach to the history of the international slave trade that uses maritime archaeology and historical research as its points of entree. The SWP integrates technical training, support for heritage protection, and deep community engagement into its maritime research. It not only produces exhibitions but is involved in developing a number of innovative public education initiatives - in schools, on the internet and through social media, and in other forums- for local, national, and global audiences.



The global slave trade represents a fundamental chapter in global history that, in many ways, continues to shape our world. Through its research the SWP seeks to contribute to the understanding of the historical roots of injustice and inequality and raise awareness of this history's enduring legacy in the present. It also seeks to foster new dialogues about this shared history that can help to overcome ethnic, racial, and national divides, and that promote cross-cultural understanding. The project actively seeks to build bridges between researchers and communities, to provide opportunities that allow descendants to connect with ancestors, and to provide those who share the past to connect in the present.



Through the SWP's efforts, previously submerged archaeological remains and long neglected history are being recovered, restored, remembered, protected, and shared. Our aim is to not only promote knowledge but to foster reconciliation and advance social justice. The SWP network spans a growing list of countries that currently include South Africa, Mozambique, Senegal, Cuba, Saint Croix (Virgin Islands), Brazil, and the United States of America.

Co-Founded by IZIKO-Museums of South Africa, the Slave Wrecks Project network is hosted by the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture and is coordinated through The George Washington University.

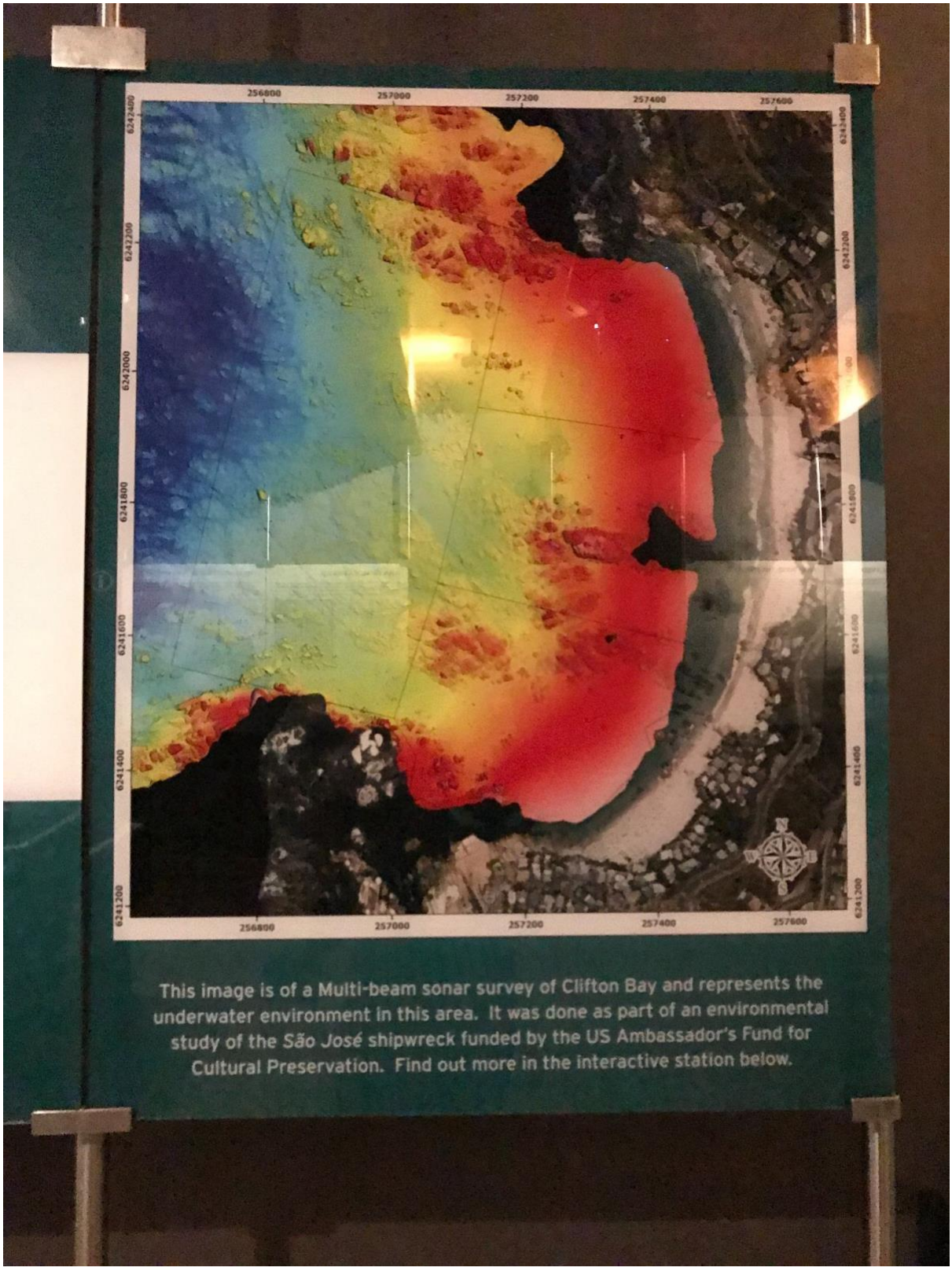
CONTRIBUTORS

Global Partners for the SWP network and the Saõ José investigation include:
Iziko Museums of South Africa
The Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture
The George Washington University
U.S. National Park Service
Diving With A Purpose
African Centre for Heritage Activities
South African Heritage Resources Agency
Eduardo Mondlane University

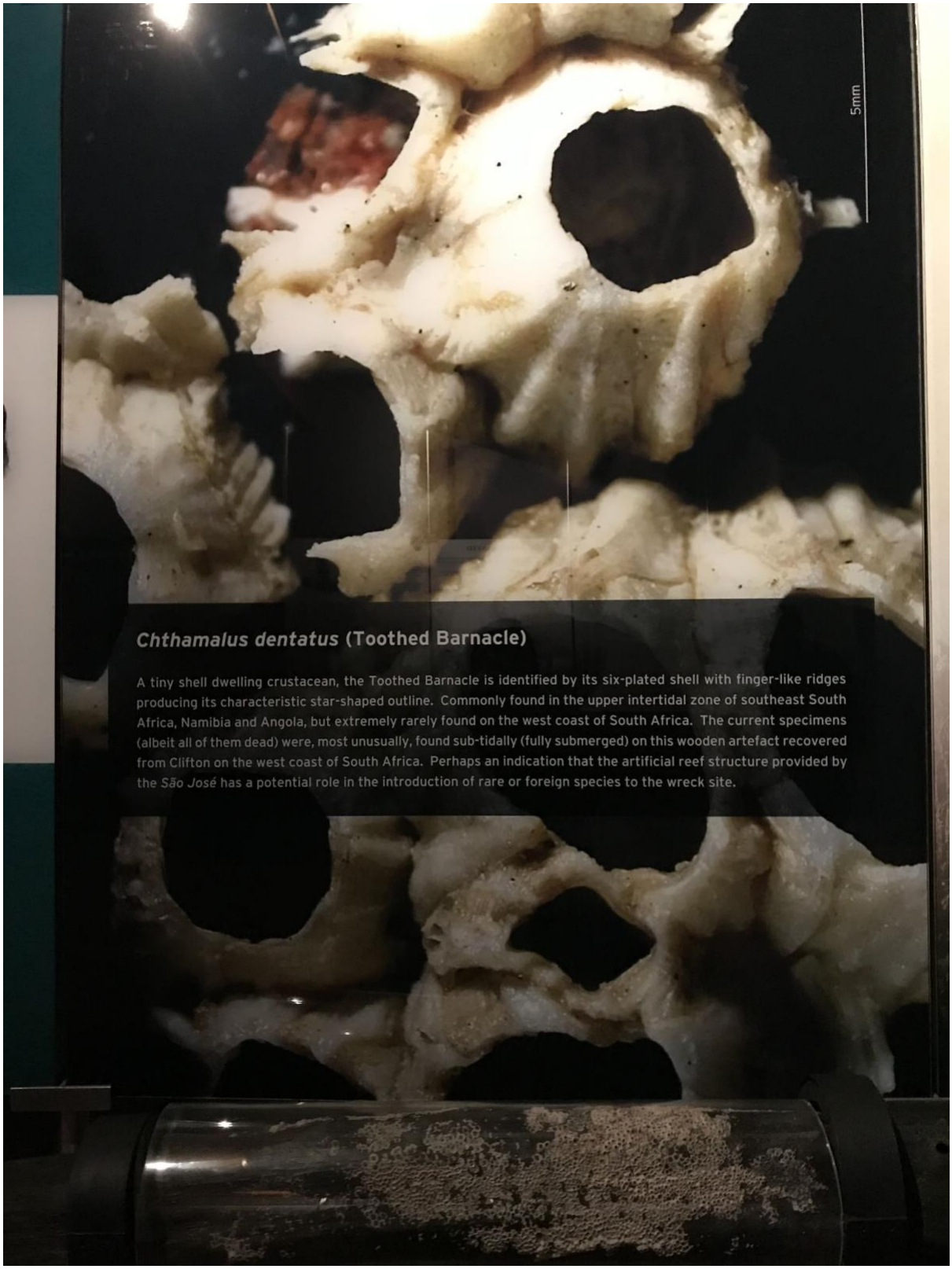
Funding for the São José Project has been generously provided by:
The U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation
The Ford Foundation
Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture
The National Heritage Council

Support in Kind was provided by:
Research Diving Unit, University of Cape Town
Medical Imaging Research Unit, University of Cape Town
Lodox Systems
Environmental Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand
Western Cape Archives Repository
United Scientific
Frog Squad
Council for Marine Geoscience

Many individuals too numerous to name



This image is of a Multi-beam sonar survey of Clifton Bay and represents the underwater environment in this area. It was done as part of an environmental study of the *São José* shipwreck funded by the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation. Find out more in the interactive station below.


5mm
Chthamalus dentatus (Toothed Barnacle)
A tiny shell dwelling crustacean, the Toothed Barnacle is identified by its six-plated shell with finger-like ridges producing its characteristic star-shaped outline. Commonly found in the upper intertidal zone of southeast South Africa, Namibia and Angola, but extremely rarely found on the west coast of South Africa. The current specimens (albeit all of them dead) were, most unusually, found sub-tidally (fully submerged) on this wooden artefact recovered from Clifton on the west coast of South Africa. Perhaps an indication that the artificial reef structure provided by the *São José* has a potential role in the introduction of rare or foreign species to the wreck site.