

Second Cosmopolis Conference
'Abolition and the Idea of Slavery in Global Perspective, 1750-1950'
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa, 18-19 June 2015

Abstracts

Servants, Slaves, Masters and Slave-holders: Textures of Enslavement and Convict Transportation in the British Empire

Clare Anderson, School of History, University of Leicester

In 1823, a parliamentary commission of enquiry visited the Cape, spending two and a half years investigating the colony's government, before moving on to similar concerns in Mauritius and Ceylon. The chair of the committee, John Thomas Bigge, had served previously as chief justice and judge of the vice-admiralty court of the slave colony of Trinidad. Shortly before his dispatch to the Cape, he had also chaired an important and highly critical commission of enquiry into the penal colony of New South Wales. The Bigge Reports, as they were known, became influential in directing metropolitan and Australian policy to render transportation 'an object of real terror.' This paper will use the reports of the 1823 commission, specifically on the prison at Robben Island and the Indian penal settlement of Mauritius, to open up a discussion of the many intersections between ideas about penal reform, abolitionism, and anti-slavery during the first half of the nineteenth century. Read alongside the reports of Quaker travellers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, who toured the Cape and Mauritius a decade later, as well as later critics of the Australian convict colonies, I will show how contemporaries investigated within the same politics of comparison the conditions of prisoners and transportation convicts, slaves, apprentices and indentured Indian labourers. Moreover, ordinary people caught up in imperial networks of coercion and unfree labour formed their own understandings about enslavement, convictism and servitude; in which depending on the specificities of local context, penal transportation could represent alternatively a journey into freedom or bondage.

Provincialising British Abolition

Indrani Chatterjee, Department of History, University of Texas at Austin, USA.

Metropolitan British and transatlantic abolitionism after the late 18th century appears distinctly provincial when historians of South Asia try to juxtapose British regulations and laws with the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim notions of property in the same terrain. Using the frame-work of property laws which protected third parties against the loss or theft of their property in slaves, this paper offers three moments under the administration of the English East India Company when these laws of property came undone. These three moments, spread out between 1789 and 1838, help to explain the ease with which early Company taxation regimes in South Asia worked with Evangelical moral capital and English middle-class antislavery sentiment to diminish the powers of slaves in Mughal households. Secondly, they explain the dramatic 'secularisation' of property held by Buddhist and Hindu temples in the Indian subcontinent in the late 18th –early 19th century. And finally, they explain the gradual disruption of the Muslim shipping and mercantile networks that tied together different parts of a vast Indian Ocean world which ran with the labor of young African Muslim apprentices.

The 1706 Slave Conspiracy in Dutch Mauritius' as a case of collective resistance and views slave resistance in its complexity as a precursor of abolition in its self-emancipatory stance.

Joel Edouard, Leiden University

Raford Blunt and the Experience of Emancipation in Natchitoches, Louisiana

Adam Fairclough, Leiden University

According to Eric Foner, the United States was the only society to accord its (male) ex-slaves the right of suffrage, and he argues that their experience of political participation during Reconstruction, although limited to a decade or two, gave black Americans distinct advantages over blacks in other former slave societies. Another school of thought, however, believes that Reconstruction was a definite failure, and that a political order based upon white supremacy reduced blacks to semi-slavery. A third historiographical trend emphasizes how “black agency”-- blacks acting in a united, politically conscious and clear-sighted way—created a strong sense of community that both shaped Reconstruction and outlasted it.

Taking the black-majority parish of Natchitoches, Louisiana, this paper examines how the freed people experienced emancipation and Reconstruction. It uses the life of Rafeed Blunt, a former slave who organized the first Baptist church in north Louisiana, as a symbol of this experience. Blunt typified the kind of leader who emerged from slavery: a self-taught man who became, at one and the same time, a preacher, teacher, and politician. The freed people formed their communities around the church, the public school, and the Republican party, and preacher-teacher-politicians like Blunt wielded great power. The Democratic Party blamed Blunt’s influence from the pulpit, rather than its own policy of white supremacy, for blacks’ enduring loyalty to the party of Lincoln. Having repeatedly failed to break black unity, Democrats regained power by forcing Blunt into exile, thereby undermining the Republican Party. After Blunt died in 1905, whites tried to erase his memory by memorializing “the good darkies of Louisiana.”

Paths through Slavery in the Age of Abolition

Karwan Fatah-Black, Leiden University

The “agricultural myopia” of Suriname slavery studies results in oversights regarding the role of cities in determining the faith of (former) slaves in the “Age of Abolition”. The historical debate on the period leading up to Abolition is now divided between those appreciating and those dismissing the development of a proto-peasantry on the Suriname countryside, and relatedly the question whether proto-peasantry adequately prepared slaves for their lives after slavery (Emmer 1993; Schwartz 1995; Stipriaan 1995; Klinkers 1997). The attention to agricultural slavery is with good reason: in the heyday of the plantation economy nine out of ten slaves lived on the plantations (Lamur, 1987; Oostindie, 1989; Van Stipriaan, 1993). Regarding proto-peasantry Klinkers (1997) remarked that at Abolition only half the slaves were field workers, the other half was versed in crafts (seamstresses, carpenters, coopers, etc.), which opened opportunities for them in town. In Paramaribo the late 18th to the 19th century saw the growth of the group of freedmen as well as slaves. The fate of bere (kinship groups) of the manumitted in town in the run-up to Abolition, however, remains to be discovered.

"There and back again: The continued importance of the specific and the human in the world of big data and theory"

Jan-Bart Gewald, Leiden University

In this session I will reflect upon the central theme of the conference and the outcomes of the discussions.

The experience of slavery in the victim societies of west Dutch New Guinea

Ligia Giay, Leiden University

My research intends to investigate how Papuan societies in former Dutch New Guinea lived with slavery. The research takes the premise of Papuans in New Guinea as ‘victim societies’ and wishes to see how the societies entangled in these systems lived with the hovering possibility of kidnapping. It is difficult to explain how slavery was experienced by Papuans, as victim societies were defined by

their position as target of slave raiding. This research instead to see how freedom was experienced in these societies, and how the societies collectively dealt with the fact that they were targeted.

'We are in the position to explain and interpret our Law and not you': Contested Abolition in Barotseland, 1897-1925.

Jack Hogan, Centre for Africa Studies, University of Free State

The abolition of slavery in Barotseland has generally been treated as an uncomplicated footnote in the history of Northern Rhodesia. Yet, as this paper argues, it was in fact a highly contested process, and one worthy of greater scholarly attention. From the arrival of the outriders of the British South Africa Company in 1897 onwards, slavery in the Lozi kingdom was deeply enmeshed in the politics of the colonial moment. In the early twentieth century, the question of slavery became increasingly central to the often fractious relationship between the colonial administration and the Lozi elite. The consequences of the growing colonial ascendancy were often far-reaching, but the proclamation of abolition by the Lozi king Lewanika in 1906 notwithstanding, the realities of life for many slaves changed little for the better part of a decade. This was, at least in part, the direct consequence of the realpolitik of a colonial state which connived in the subversion of the terms of the proclamation. Drawing on Lozi sources, missionary records and colonial archives, this paper charts the causes and consequences of an abolition which was, in effect, no abolition at all. From a reflection on the meaning of Lozi slavery, the paper moves to the political struggles at the turn of the century and advances a new understanding of the machinations which preceded abolition. What followed, and is the focus of the latter part of the paper, was a bitter struggle between Lewanika's successor Yeta III in the closing years of the 1910s over not only the effects, but the very meaning of slavery and abolition in the kingdom. By examining, in particular, the shaping and reshaping of Lozi projections and colonial understandings of slavery, and the disputes of which these were a part, the paper foregrounds the fundamental ambiguities of the end of slavery in Barotseland.

Atlantic India: Oceanic Slaving Circuits and the Limits of Abolition in the 18th and 19th century Arabian Sea

Pedro Machado, Indiana University, Bloomington

Increasingly from the middle of the eighteenth century, the slaving worlds of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans were entangled in dense circuits of financial and commercial exchange that were underpinned by a combination of Brazilian, South Asian, French and 'Portuguese' merchant capital. An expansion especially in slave exports from coastal West Central Africa – particularly from Angola – was made possible largely through maritime circuits that brought cloth manufactured in western India and elsewhere in the subcontinent that was critical to slaving transactions to slave trading centres such as Luanda and Benguela. These cloths were transacted in sizeable volumes and as 'official' cargo already by the second half of the eighteenth century through Goa which served as an important commercial enclave and node in the transoceanic slaving economy connecting the Indian and Atlantic oceans. Indian textiles were shipped on Carreira da India vessels to Lisbon before being redistributed to Angolan slaving ports. However, especially from the early decades of the eighteenth century, South Asian cloths began to be shipped in greater number directly to Brazil from Goa as vessels bypassed Lisbon on their return voyages and sailed directly to Rio and particularly to Bahia, which became a transshipment centre for the Atlantic African trade in Indian cloth.

In the years from the 1750s, Brazilian merchant capital also began to invest more directly in the purchase of slaves from Mozambique as merchants broadened their source of captives in response to intensified antislaving patrols along Atlantic African shores in a context of expanding slave trading in the southwestern Indian Ocean involving Madagascar and the French Mascarene Islands. Moreover, as part of a growing 'private' trade, merchants from Rio and Bahia invested heavily in the purchase of Indian cloths for Atlantic markets but did so in Surat and not in Goa. For Brazilian merchants involved in the Mozambique slave trade, however, they acquired the textiles necessary for slave purchases on Mozambique Island and elsewhere along the Southeast African coast from Gujarati merchants who had established themselves over the course of the eighteenth century as central to the exchange and credit economies of the African territory. This paper examines how competing networks of Brazilian, South

Asian and other merchants brought the intersecting slaving circuits of Goa, Surat, Mozambique Island, Rio de Janeiro and Bahia into close relation with one another and thereby helped structure both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trades as interrelated slaving spheres. It will, furthermore, discuss how abolitionist pressures of the nineteenth century were negotiated across these oceanic arenas as merchants utilized state apparatuses for the development of 'clandestine' slave trading.

South Africa's three (or is it four?) Emancipations (Keynote 1)

Robert Ross, Leiden University

In this paper I will compare and contrast the three moments of emancipation in South Africa, namely Ordinance 50 (1828), which ended discrimination on the basis of race within the Cape Colony, (and by extension in the rest of the British Empire, outside of India) and entailed specifically the relief of oppression of the Khoesan; that of the slaves in 1834/1838 in the Cape Colony; and that in the Afrikaner republics, where, because slavery was never legal, (though existing) it could not be abolished—it did not survive the incorporation of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State into the British Empire in 1901. I will also, discuss how far the political processes since 1994 have led to a further emancipation of farm labourers, and indeed how much of that has been and may still be necessary.

Freedom and bondage in 18th century Jaffna

Alicia Schrikker, Leiden University

Slavery in Sri Lanka is a barely touched subject. Yet through the VOC records, we encounter Sinhalese and Tamil slaves in the Cape and in Decima, while slaves from South- and Southeast Asia and Madagascar populated the island's coastal town. It is by now well known that slavery formed an intrinsic part of the world of the VOC in Asia and through legislation and courtcases historians have started to reconstruct the social world of this group of people. We know much less about the indigenous practices and perceptions of slavery and bondage in the places in the Indian Ocean where these slaves came from. This contribution focuses on the Jaffna Peninsula in Sri Lanka and looks at indigenous practices and norms of slavery and bondage. Central stands a legal text, the Thesawalamai, or codification of Tamil customary law, written down by the Dutch in 1707. While the text itself is rich in references to practices of slavery, the codification process bears witness of a clash of indigenous and Dutch norms of slavery around the fundamental question of freedom.

Comparing Abolition across the Indian Ocean (Keynote 2)

Kerry Ward, Rice University, Houston

This paper compares responses in Cape Town and the Straits Settlements to the long process of the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the Indian Ocean during the nineteenth century. Arguing that formal abolition sparked debates about the meaning of slavery and free labour in the expansion of British colonialism in both southern Africa and Southeast Asia, this article focuses on how colonists and colonial administrators viewed and responded to abolition locally and formulated comparisons with other colonial contexts, most particularly in the Netherlands East Indies.

'In the Name of Sovereignty: Spain's Tackling of 'Moro' Slave Raiding and Piracy in the Sulu Zone, 1768 -1898

James Warren, Murdoch University

As the Sulu Sultanate organized its economy around the collection and distribution of marine-jungle products for the China trade at the end of the 18th century, there was a sudden increased demand for large scale recruitment of slaves in the Sultanate's economy to do the labour intensive work of procurement and processing of commodities for the burgeoning Chinese market. Systematic maritime slave raiding developed to meet the accentuated demands of this Asian based global trade. Driven by a

desire for wealth and power, the saltwater slavers, Iranun and Balangingi Samal, surged out of the Sulu archipelago in search of captives. Their well-armed slaving vessels scoured the coasts of the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. The long-distance maritime raiding system enabled the Sulu Sultanate to incorporate vast numbers of captive people from the Philippine Archipelago and eastern Indonesia into the Sulu Zone. This paper traces Spain's initial efforts to contain these formidable Muslim slaving populations until 1848, and then defeat and displace them over the next half century. The post-1848 hard line policy was accomplished in increments through a series of aggressive expeditions, establishment of forward bases, effective use of steam war vessels, a concerted naval blockade and campaign to annihilate all prahu shipping in the Sulu Archipelago, and the wholesale deportation and exile of captured slavers and 'pirates'. The demise of the slave raiding system and slavery robbed the Sulu Sultanate of its former importance as a major commercial entrepot in the wider global-regional economy and left it confronting severe internal social and economic problems at the beginning of the twentieth century. The anti-slave raiding campaigns and the 'guerras piraticas' were legitimated by a colonial frame of mind, and, a cant of conquest, that portrayed the Iranun and Balangingi, or 'Moros' as 'savages' and 'wildmen', who stood in the way of Christianity, freedom, free trade, and progress.

Humanitarian Reasoning and the Spectre of Slavery: Debates on a Colonial Future in Early Twentieth Century Mozambique

Rosa Williams, University of the Free State

Portugal's sovereignty over Mozambique at the turn of the twentieth century was vulnerable to being undermined not only by the remnants of autonomous polities within the colony and the strength of British imperial influence but also by the fragility of its moral integrity in the eyes of other European powers. At the end of the nineteenth century, while Portugal's claims to commanding colonial authority centred on the long presence of Portuguese subjects in African space, that presence was also too closely associated with the parts those subjects had played in the commerce in people as commodities, and Portugal's tardiness in collaborating in the effective suppression of that trade. By the first decade of the twentieth century the labour systems in place on the cocoa plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe had become the focus of new anti-slavery campaigns. In this context the system of oscillating migration of men from Mozambique to work in the Witwatersrand mines came under scrutiny, not only from outside but also from within the administration.

In the growing literature on the connections between humanitarianism and imperialism, Portugal and its former colonies tend to be considered only insofar as they were the object of humanitarian abolitionist campaigns originating in Britain and the United States. This paper approaches the histories of these campaigns from a different angle, examining moments when Portuguese administrators in Mozambique, their interlocutors in the Lourenço Marques press and their advocates in Lisbon invoked these Anglophone, Protestant voices of abolition. Their debates on the "humanitarian" dimensions of the colony's future were haunted by the spectre of slavery in Portugal's past and in its present.

About the participants:

Clare Anderson is Professor of History at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research centres on the history of incarceration and penal colonies, and their intersections with other modes of confinement and coerced labour, with a focus on South and Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and Australia. She has held grants from and fellowships with the British Academy, National Maritime Museum and Economic and Social Research Council. Her publications include: *Convicts In The Indian Ocean* (Macmillan, 2000), *Legible Bodies* (Berg, 2004), *Subaltern Lives* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), and special issues of *Cultural and Social History* (2009) and the *Journal of Social History* (2011). Clare has served on the executive committee of the British Association of South Asian Studies, and is currently a member of the British Academy Area Panel for South Asia. She is editor of the *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*. Her current 5-year European Research Council funded project – The Carceral Archipelago: transnational circulations in global perspective, 1415-1960 – employs a team of researchers to work on a global history of penal colonies, spanning Europe, Russia, the Americas, Africa, the Indian Ocean, Asia, the Pacific and Australia. Clare's homepage is <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/history/people/canderson>. Clare and her team blog about their work at <http://staffblogs.le.ac.uk/carchipelago/>; and Clare tweets about her work using the handle @sysgak.

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Indrani Chatterjee is the author of *Slavery, Gender and the Law in Colonial India* (OUP 1999) and *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages and Memories in Northeast India* (OUP 2013), winner of a Srikant Dutt Book Award at Nehru Memorial Library in 2009-2014. She has edited *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia* (Rutgers University Press and Permanent Black 2004) and coedited with Richard M Eaton, *Slavery and History in South Asia* (Indiana University Press 2006). She has published many articles and chapters in volumes on related themes and served on the editorial board of *Slavery and Abolition*. Currently she teaches in the History Department, University of Texas at Austin.

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Joël Edouard completed his undergraduate studies with a BA (Hons) in English and History from the University of Mauritius in 2005. After working as a journalist and a teacher, Joël joined the Cosmopolis Programme at the University of Leiden in 2013. He is now enrolled for the Research Master in Colonial and Global History at the Leiden University and plans to work on cases of slave resistance and maroonage in Dutch Mauritius (1638 - 1710) from a microhistorical and transnational perspective. He has a keen interest in colonial history, more particularly marginal colonial identities such as slaves, convicts, sailors and other subaltern classes.

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Adam Fairclough is Raymond and Beverley Sackler Professor of American History at Leiden University since 2005. Previously he was a Professor of Modern American History, University of Leeds (1997-2005) and Professor of American History, University of East Anglia. His current research concerns "A study of Reconstruction in Natchitoches, Louisiana, 1865-1879".

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Karwan Fatah-Black (1981) graduated as research master from the University of Amsterdam in 2008. That same year he started as a PhD candidate in the NWO project Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1795 based at the Institute for History of Leiden University. He defended his doctoral thesis on Suriname in the early modern Atlantic world in October 2013. Presently he is working as lecturer in Leiden and postdoctoral researcher in the NWO-Vidi project 'Challenging Monopolies' led by Càtia Antunes and investigating the role of free agents in the early modern Dutch expansion.

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Jan-Bart Gewald is a historian specialized in the social history of Africa at Leiden University. His research has ranged far and wide, from the ramifications of genocide in Rwanda and Namibia, through to the socio-cultural parameters of trans-desert trade in Africa. In addition, he has conducted research on pan-Africanism in Ghana, spirit possession in the Republic of Niger, Dutch development cooperation, Africa in the context of globalisation, and social history in Eritrea. He has a particular interest in archaeology, and has participated in archaeological research in southern Africa. Currently his research deals with Zambian history in the 20th Century.

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Ligia Giay obtained her BA degree from the History Department of Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta. In 2013-2014 she participated in the Encompass Program at Leiden University, where she obtained her BA degree in History. Currently, Gia is enrolled in the Research Master program in Colonial and Global History at Leiden University, during which she will write a thesis on patterns of slave raids and the consequences for the local society in New Guinea (present-day Papua, Indonesia) during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. At the conference, she will present her research proposal of her research on slavery in New Guinea.

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Jos Gommans is professor of Colonial and Global History at Leiden University. He is the author of three monographs on early-modern South Asian history: *The Rise of the Indo-Afghan Empire, 1710-1780*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1999), *Mughal Warfare: Indian Frontiers and High Roads to Empire* (London: Routledge 2002) and with Piet Emmer, *Rijk aan de rand van de wereld: De geschiedenis van Nederland oversee 1600-1800* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2012). He edited several volumes on South Asia's interaction with the outside world (with Central Asia, Southeast Asia and Europe) and just recently, together with Catia Antunes, on colonial history: *Exploring the Dutch Empire; Agents, Networks and Institution, 1600-2000* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005). He produced various Dutch source publications including one archival inventory and two historical VOC-atlases. From 2000-2010 he served as editor-in-chief of the Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient and currently is a member of the editorial boards of *Itinerario* and *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*. He contributes regularly to the Encyclopaedia of Islam and just recently to the Cambridge World History. As (co-)director of the NWO-Horizon project on Eurasian Empires (<http://hum.leiden.edu/history/eurasia>) and the Cosmopolis-programme (<http://hum.leiden.edu/history/cosmopolisprojects>) his current work takes an ever more global and connective turn by exploring various early-modern manifestations of Eurasian Cosmopolitanism. In 2014 he was elected member of Academia Europaea.

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volume on the cloth trades of the ocean, is being prepared with Sarah Fee of the Royal Ontario Museum. He is currently working on the pearling trades of the Indian Ocean as part of an international collaborative project, and is developing research interests in the environmental and commercial histories of sponge fisheries.

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Ian Phimister is presently Senior Research Professor at the University of the Free State. He has held positions at the universities of Zambia, Cape Town, Oxford and Sheffield. His research interests encompass patterns of British overseas investment during the 19th and 20th centuries, and the political economy of Central and Southern Africa. An emeritus Professor of the University of Sheffield, and an honorary Professor at the University of Pretoria, he has been Visiting Professor at the universities of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Sydney and Geneva. He is an elected member of the Academy of Science of South Africa.

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James Warren is Emeritus Professor of Southeast Asian Modern History at Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia. He has held teaching and research positions at the Australian National University, Yale University, Mc Gill University, National University of Singapore and Kyoto University. His current research focuses upon on slavery and the creation of trans-cultural identities and aspects of the environmental history of Southeast Asia. His more recent publications include *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity* (2002) and *Pirates, Prostitutes and Pullers Explorations in the Ethno-and Social History of Southeast Asia* (2008). A Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities, in 2003, he was awarded the Centenary Medal of Australia for service to Australian society and the Humanities in the study of Ethnohistory, and in 2013, the Grant Goodman Prize in Historical Studies from the Association for Asian Studies of America.

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