Heritage on Statia

The relevance of the remnants of slavery for the tourism strategy.

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This thesis is dedicated to

the descendants of those involved in the transatlantic slave trade

and

my ancestors, whose name I carry.

Abstract

Sint Eustatius is a small island in the Caribbean region. This island played an important role in the transatlantic slave trade. It grew from a plantation economy to a trading economy. The island traded in textiles, furniture, clothing, food, drinks, weapons and slaves. Today there are many historical remnants such as slave walls, from this period of slavery found on the island. This thesis tries to understand how the historical remnants are infused with the local identity and if they can somehow be integrated in the tourism strategy. To understand if remnants can be integrated, data has been collected from literature, interviews and a survey.

Inhabitants seem interested in the integration of the slavery (remnants) in a future tourism strategy. Stories and habits have been passed from one generation to the next. Nevertheless a nuanced historical knowledge is missing. This seems to influence their inferior feeling: 'tweederangsburger'. This feeling may have been enhanced by the current Black Lives Matter Movement.

The Sint Eustatius tourism vision plan is to develop the island sustainable. Currently the focus is much more on nature than history. The aspects of history are being neglected. There are however many traces of the past on this island. These traces consist of tangible and intangible remnants. These remnants may evoke memories of the past.

Remnants have a ravishing potential for the future. The remnants illustrate the ingenuity and adaptability of those involved in times of slavey. Tourists and residents visiting these sites can give 'new' meanings to these 'places'. It may affect their sense of identity.

Keywords: Heritage, Identity, Memory, Remnants, Sint Eustatius, Slavery, Tourism

Acknowledgement

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Abbreviations

ABC-islands	Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao islands
BES-islands	Bonaire-, Sint Eustatius-, Saba- islands
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CNSI	The Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute
OLE	Het Openbaar Lichaam Sint Eustatius (Public Entity of Sint Eustatius)
SECAR	St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research
SEHF	St. Eustatius Historical Foundation
SEMB	St. Eustatius Monuments Board
SSS-Islands	Saba-, Sint Eustatius-, Sint Maarten- Islands
STENAPA	St. Eustatius National Parks Foundation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WIC	West-Indische Compagnie (Dutch West India Company)
WTO	World Tourism Organization

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1. Introduction

1.1. Sint Eustatius, a short introduction

Sint Eustatius (or locally known as Statia)[1] is a volcanic island located in the Caribbean region, as seen in Figure 1. To the northwest of the island lies Saba and to the north east lies Sint Maarten. Together these islands are part of an island chain called the 'Windward Islands[2]'. They are also referred to as the 'SSS-islands'. To the south of the island lies Sint Kitts.

Figure 1. Location of Sint Eustatius (Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc, 2013).

Sint Eustatius[3] is a rather small island, to be precise 21 km² large. It is a special municipality[4] of the Netherlands, like Bonaire and Saba. Together these islands are known as the BES-islands or Caribisch Nederland. The island is shaped like a saddle. It is recognized by two dormant volcanoes: 'Quill' and 'Bergje' on either side of the island as seen in Figure 2. In between is an area called the 'Cultuurvlakte' which is relative flat. The island has a tropical monsoon climate with an average temperature of 30 degrees Celsius (Klimaatinfo, n.d.). The population consist of approximately 4000 inhabitants from many different nationalities. Most of the local population is black. Their ancestors originate from Western Africa. The islands' official language is Dutch but, English is recognised and widely spoken. It likely stems from the island's politics during the period of the transatlantic slave trade.
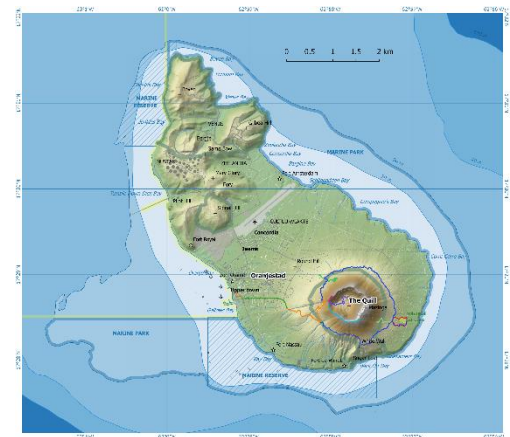
Figure 2. Sint Eustatius (Erren, 2017).

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[1] This thesis will use the names synonymously.
[2] In British-English, the 'Windward Islands' are part of the 'Leeward Island Group'.
[3] In Appendix A. a more elaborated description of the island is given.
[4] A separate entity as a public body within the Dutch government.

This thesis is situated in the context of the transatlantic slave trade. From the 16th to the 19th century, the transatlantic slave trade transported approximately 11 million enslaved Africans to the Americas (Lewis, 2020). Slavery caused the movement of people with an African heritage to be spread throughout the world, known as the African Diaspora. Africans call it 'Maafa', the great disaster (Morris & Morris, 2002). This network is rather unique due to size, geographic reach and its global significance. It has connected (the histories of) Europe, Africa and the Americas (Walvin, 2020). Sint Eustatius became a vocal point in this network. Thousands of ships called at its shore. Sugar, cacao, tobacco, gunpowder and slaves were sold legally and illegally through the island to other regions in this triangular network. The island is characterized by a constant exchange of people, goods and ideas that were facilitated by the sea (Stelten, 2019).

The sea continues to play a role in the Statian community. It represents freedom but also allows the island to remain rather isolated. Islands itself are seen as mysterious to people. They are an escape from routine, a place to unwind (Baldacchino, 2007). The island is unaffected by mass tourism as found elsewhere in the Caribbean region. It is a safe and aesthetic island. Cultural interaction occurs in proximity, is part of its charm. The natural space of Sint Eustatius drives the tourism industry. The focus lies on the diving and hiking industry (De Albuquerque & McElroy, 1992). Despite the desire not to have mass tourism, tourism is a promising economic pillar besides the oil industry. The island is popularly known as the historic gem of the Caribbean. There are thus opportunities for the legendary history of slavery to be interwoven into the tourism industry. The island is riddled with remnants. It breathes history.

1.2. Problem statement

Many remnants on Sint Eustatius are linked with the slave-trade as is explained in Section 1.1. Prior to 1970s the debate on slavery in the Netherlands was practically non-existent due to the debate not fitting in the ideas of the Dutch national identity of freedom and tolerance. Thus, it was erased from public consciousness (Horton & Kardux, 2004). This debate first came to light around the 1970s. At this time people from the African diaspora settled in the Netherlands (Jans, 2017). They are the instigators to awaken the debate on slavery. The people from the African diaspora wanted to be recognized for their shared past (Grever, 2009).

Recently the debate on slavery in the Netherlands has spiked interest because The Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement has reinforced this discussion (Savenije, van Boxtel & Grever, 2014). The debate on slavery tends to spike the following themes:

- The tangible inheritance of the African diaspora.
- The enduring effect of racism that justified ideologically the slave trade.
- Widely divergent economic situations of the three continents involved in the triangular trade (Oostindie, 2008).

The contemporary debate on slavery is complicated (Oostindie, 2008; Savenije, van Boxtel & Grever, 2014). Often attention is given to the oppressor, the slave owner and/or the Western role whereas the African role in the slave trade is forgotten. The idea of the debate is to break the silence of the descendants of those who suffered through slavery. Yet we need to be aware of the risk of silencing difficult truths (e.g. free black slaves had slaves).

As mentioned earlier, Sint Eustatius is covered with historical remnants particular pertaining to the transatlantic slave trade. This thesis tackles which remnants visualize and materialize the history of Sint Eustatius and how these historical remnants are entwined with the identity of the local

community. It further examines how or if the remnants of the transatlantic slave trade should be embedded in the tourism strategy of Sint Eustatius. This case could give an insight in how to handle or tackle the debate of slavery in a global perspective, while focusing on the small island of Sint Eustatius which has a large representation of descendants of slaves.

The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation brought it to my attention that they are unsure as how to tackle and integrate the remnants into the tourism strategy. They recognize the importance of their history. Yet it is barely noticeable on distributed information from this foundation. The homepage of the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation website opens with the words, 'Discover the Golden Rock', suggesting that the island's history is an important topic (St. Eustatius Tourism Development Foundation, n.d.). Underneath a promotional video of the island is displayed. This video emphasizes the natural, cultural and historical aspects of the island (bestdestination, 2013). In addition, many pages on the website convey life on the island. There is a small section on its history. However, the word slavery or slave trade is not uttered at all. It is tucked away, almost as if it did not happen on the island. It is only allured to in the following sentences 'the extent of the legal trade was only slightly larger than that of the illegal trade' and 'the famous Dutch West India Company used these beads to trade in tobacco, cotton, rum and slaves' (St. Eustatius Tourism Development Foundation, n.d.-a). Hereby implying that a form of slave trade did take place on the island, even if it was illegal at one point.

The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation focus lies on the trend 'sustainability', particularly on the natural aspects. As Sint Eustatius is known as 'the historical gem of the Caribbean' assumingly for the many historical sites, they are missing out on addressing a cultural aspect through these historical events (Hofman & Haviser, 2015).

If the foundation finds a way to overcome their uncertainties whereby the historical, cultural and natural aspects each have a say in the tourism strategy, it may demonstrate an understanding of the island. The place belongs to everyone but also belongs to everyone individually. The meanings people attach to their island 'place' may give us insight in how they see, understand and experience their island. Therefore, it is important to derive an understanding of the local community's identity in relation to place and its history.

1.3.   Research questions

This research aims to understand how the transatlantic slave trade is part of Sint Eustatius' history and how it forms the identity of local people. Thereby achieving to grasp an understanding of place in relation to identity before it can potentially be advised to be part of the touristic strategy. Therefore, this thesis has three main questions, as seen below. The first two main questions are theoretical while the third question is rather applied. This difference is established to differentiate between questions related to understanding versus incorporating advice. The third main question is added due to my collaboration with the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. This will allow the opportunity for recommendations to the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation based on the theoretical research.

1. How is the collective past of the local community of Sint Eustatius reflected in their identity?
    a. To what extent is there knowledge (a historical awareness) about the common past (linked to the transatlantic slave trade) among the islanders?
        i. Is this knowledge available in a particular section of the population or is it widespread?

       b.   How do local people relate their memories of the transatlantic slave trade to the remnants on the island?

2. How do the material and narrative remnants of the history of the transatlantic slave trade in Statia relate to the tourism strategy of the island?
       a.   What is the current tourism strategy of the island?
       b.   Which role do the remnants of the transatlantic slave trade play herein?

3. How can the remnants be integrated into a future tourism strategy in which the population of Statia also recognizes itself?

1.4.   Outline

To answer these research questions, my thesis is divided into eight chapters. The second chapter covers the concepts which will be used to analyse the topics. The overarching theme of this thesis is heritage. The other main concepts are identity, memory and tourism. The third chapter discusses the various methodological approaches this research takes. The fourth chapter covers key historical events of Sint Eustatius. It tackles the events which have shaped the island as it is today. The included events are based on data collected (interviews, conversations and literature) through the research and provides the necessary background for the subsequent chapters.

The fifth until the seventh chapter consist of the data analysis. Each chapter gives an answer to one of the main research questions posed in Section 1.3. The fifth chapter tackles the Statian identity. It discusses how their ancestors' past reflects in contemporary society. It covers both tangible and intangible topics which form their identity. The sixth chapter covers if the current tourism strategy tackles history in any shape. It discusses what remnants, both narrative and material, are available on the island and if they are reflected in the tourism strategy. The seventh chapter tackles if and how it is possible to integrate remnants of the transatlantic slave trade in a future tourism strategy. The final chapter concludes this thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter includes theories which are relevant for this research. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section defines the overarching theme of this thesis: heritage. The following three sections tackle the concepts of place, belonging and identity (Section 2.2), remembrance and memory (Section 2.3) and tourism (Section 2.4). These sections are subordinate to the overarching theme of heritage. The final section integrates the research questions, stated in Section 1.3, to the given concepts.

2.1. Heritage

Heritage, the overarching theme, has a broad scope of definitions. The most straightforward definition of heritage is 'the contemporary use of the past' (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2016, p. 2). Based upon this definition time is important to understand heritage. This is also reflected in Collins' definition which notes that 'heritage is an accumulation of daily details and large traditions, social, racial and religious built from time and memory' (Collins, 1990 as cited in Yusifov, 2014, p. 4). A similar definition is given by Laurajane Smith (2006, p. 44) whereby 'heritage is seen as cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present'. We could argue that heritage represent different meanings for different people and groups in society (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009).

Elements of the past have the capacity to contribute to an understanding of the human story (Ndoro, Mumma & Abungu, 2009). Hereby indicating that heritage does not only consist of the tangible but also the intangible, which is also written in the Venice Charter 1964 (Ahmad, 2006). The tangible consists of landscapes, buildings and monuments while the intangible consists of expressions, knowledge and skills that belong to peoples' cultural identity (Munjeri, 2004; Graham & Howard, 2008; Harrison, 2010).

The intangible is tough to grasp as you cannot 'own' people, in contemporary society, in a way that buildings can be owned (Logan, 2005 as cited in Graham & Howard, 2008). In many cultures, tangible heritage is not as important as this type of heritage only gets meaning through the intangible. For example, a church would be considered tangible heritage. The religious belief practiced in the church is intangible heritage. Thus, in this case the tangible becomes meaningful due to the intangible (Harrison, 2010). It could otherwise just be another building. It is therefore important to record and protect the intangible (Dei, 2012; Vecco, 2010). If the intangible heritage disappears, it could devalue the tangible heritage (Graham & Howard, 2008).

Some tangible and intangible heritage sites are included on various heritage lists. 'The World Heritage list', the most well-known, of UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, is used to preserve heritage of outstanding relevance for future generations (Caust & Vecco, 2017). The heritage sites on these lists are acknowledged to be of value. In the Dutch Antilles federal law of 1989 stated that each island had to develop an Island Monument Law which specified which sites and structures had to be protected (Eastman, 1996). There is a list of protected buildings in present-day Sint Eustatius. Hereby focusing on tangible instead of intangible heritage. There is no heritage list on intangible heritage on the island. My thesis tackles all heritage: tangible heritage on the list, tangible heritage not on the list and intangible heritage. If a heritage site is found on a heritage list, the value of the place is enhanced. These sites tend to be economically and socially exploited (Hartog, 2005; Caust & Vecco, 2017).

As mentioned earlier, heritage sites try to encapsulate the human story (Ndoro, Mumma & Abungu, 2009). Hereby indicating that meanings are somehow intertwined with the sites. As people we give meaning to a particular place through what we say and do (Hall, 1997 as cited in Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2016). Thus visitors to a heritage site may attach different meanings to the site because they have certain expectations (Austin, 2002 as cited in Poria, Biran & Reichel, 2009; Markwell, Stevenson & Rowe, 2004). Hereby allowing for a link between heritage and identity (Crompton, 2000; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2016; Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009).

As this thesis discusses the relevance of the slavery remnants for the tourism strategy, it is necessary to understand how people relate to heritage. It encapsulates memories of the past in the present. This heritage, these remnants, tell the (human) story of slavery on the island.

2.2.   Place, belonging and identity

For many people, a 'place' is an anchoring point in someone's life. In anthropology it has been questioned if people are naturally rooted in places. In this thesis we will touch upon the meaning of Statia as a 'place' for the Statian inhabitants.

It would then be useful to grasp an understanding of 'place'. 'Place is space to which meaning has been ascribed' (Carter, Donald & Squires, 1993 as cited in Massey, 2004, p. 5). This phrase gives us an understanding of how to define the concepts of 'place' and 'space':

- 'Place' is a meaningful location.
- 'Space' is a realm without meaning.

If people attach meaning to a given 'space', it becomes a 'place' (Cresswell, 2015). Hereby indicating that 'place' gathers things, thoughts and memories (Beauregard, 2013; Casey, 1993 as cited in Escobar, 2001). Geographer John Agnew determined three dimensions of understanding 'place':

1. Place as location – where?
2. Place as a series of locales – material settings for social relationships (e.g. buildings)
3. Place as a 'sense of place' – subjective and emotional attachment (Agnew, 2011; Cresswell, 2015).

'Space' or 'Place' has been the medium through which history was written. As mentioned earlier Sint Eustatius has been formed through the legacy of slavery, colonization, and commerce. By understanding how these processes have shaped the space of Sint Eustatius into a particular place for its residents, this could lead to an understanding of the island's identity.

The term 'identity' has become a buzzword in contemporary society and academic research. There is not one agreed definition of identity. One definition of identity is derived from the Latin term 'idem' meaning the same or sameness. This sameness is found in the identity of the individual as well as the collective (Sökefeld, 1999; Finke & Sökefeld, 2018). Individual identity (or personal identity) describes the need to seek who you are while the collective identity provides a feeling of belonging to a community (Golubović, 2011). A sense of belonging allows for social cohesion within the community (Grever, 2006).

It has come to light that a shared past ('sameness') binds people (Halbwachs, 1950 as cited in Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012; de Koning, 2011). It tends to connect personal and collective memories and give groups a common identity. Identity means 'people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others' (Hogg & Abrams, 1988 as cited in Fearon, 1999). In a sense

identity is perceptions, memories, feelings and other characteristics of consciousness aspects (Klein & Nichols, 2012). According to Fearon (1999) identity refers to either:

- A social category
- Socially distinguishing features

Identity is thus embedded in social, cultural and historical context (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018). What constitutes the individual is a subjective assessment that changes over time (Belk, 1988 as cited in Ahuvia, 2005). Identity is constructed upon the vision of the present in relation to the past (Grever, 2009). Thereby suggesting that people find their own place in time and preserve continuity which may also be referred to as a 'symbolic construction' (Giddens, 1993 as cited in Golubović, 2011). Each person's life combines elements of social frameworks in which a person participates. Each of us can tell stories about our life as our identity formed contextual and/or situational. Thus individuals tend to modify their identity based on the best way to deal with a given situation (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996) and thereby indicating that identity can be considered as a historical concept (Grever, 2009).

Historical identity indicates the unity in an individual or collective process of change (den Hollander, 2002; Grever, 2006). A shared past can increase awareness of belonging to the same group (in the present). A shared past on the island is most likely linked to slavery. The remnants of the slavery past may be the links that connect people. This sense of 'we-ness' or belonging to a group can create and strengthen collective identity (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010). So, the question is which remnants visualize and materialize the history of Sint Eustatius and how these historical remnants are entwined with the identity of the local community.

It is important to analyse the Statians' identity in relation to slave trade, the way it shaped the 'space' and, thus, created a particular 'place' from some perspectives. A site can hold various meanings (site as 'place') or no meaning at all (site as 'space') and interpretation of a site varies per individual (Markwell, Stevenson & Rowe, 2004). It can remind people of 'who they once were, who they are, what they are and where they are' (Crompton, 2000). Their identity is constructed through a given location, which is also referred by environmentalist Mitchel Thomashow as the 'ecological identity' (Pomeroy, 1995). This allows for a deeper understanding which environmental aspects may have shaped an individual and thereby given them a 'sense of place' (Clayton & Opotow, 2003).

A 'sense of place' is defined as 'the complex bundle of meanings, symbols and qualities that a person or a group consciously and unconsciously associates with a particular locality or region' (Datel & Dingemans, 1984 as cited in Shamai, 1991, p. 348). Thus 'a sense of place' connects people to a given locale. It also frames that the given locale is not determined by a particular scale (e.g. home to region) (Najafi & Shariff, 2011). A 'sense of place' can both be an individual or collective feeling.

Inhabitants may have a distinct attachment to a given locale of the island (Escobar, Rocheleua & Kothari, 2002). Slaves or descendants of slaves may attach a different meaning to the island. During the 17th century slaves did not have a place to attach strong social and economic ties to. 'Placelessness' was in essence the way slaves related to a given locale. In consequence, they formed strong ties with one another (Friedman, 1997). These ties came to form an important basis for the establishment of a social and cultural identity among the slaves in Sint Eustatius (Friedman, 1997). Today a large section of the population of Statia are qualified as 'newcomers' (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005). These people could, again, but in different ways, be considered rootless to the place (Crompton, 2000). These newcomers will need to integrate into the identity which already exists or they might contribute to the development of a new identity. Symbolic spatiality becomes part of the lives of these newcomers. They are not yet part of the local community but are nearby in distance (Grimson, 2010). They could potentially reshape the meanings of 'places' on the island.

According to Escobar (2001) 'place' is central to issues of development, culture and the environment. It is also essential to construct politics, knowledge and identity. He argues like Friedman (1997) that the local exists in the global arena. Both believe that there is a dichotomy between the local and global. Massey (2004) on the other hand believes that there is a relational link between various 'places' and 'spaces'. Thereby not creating a distinction between the global and the local.

A shared 'sense of place' could be a call for action which results in a collective feeling of responsibility of a certain 'place'. It does not necessarily lead to action, but occasionally it can result in a local social movement (Cresswell, 2015; Horlings, Roep, Mathijs & Marsden, 2020). People within these movements prefer their 'places' to be autonomous. Thereby people tend to 'defend the place' from outside influences (Escobar, Rocheleau, & Kothari, 2002). These local movements rely on the tools of global movements in order to defend its place (e.g. racial undertones of the BLM movement). In a sense the local practices the global instead of the local being practiced by the global (Escobar, 2001). Thereby overcoming the dichotomy of local to global. In relation to Sint Eustatius, the island tries to protect its local identity from the global identity within the context of the transatlantic slave trade. The notion of identity is layered, complex and dynamic (Hekman, 1999; Clayton & Opotow, 2003). It deserves a nuanced approach.

2.3.   Remembrance and memory

There is a consensus among scholars who consider the slave trade as 'one of the worst crimes perpetrated against humanity' (Dann & Seaton, 2001, p. 19) and as such the source of a difficult history for places such as Statia (Macdonald, 2016; De L'Estoile, 2008). Sint Eustatius is covered with remnants represented of the transatlantic slave trade. These remnants consist of forts, plantations, churches and so on. These reminders of the transatlantic slave trade could allow or hamper the healing of a society (Nguma & Gill 2020).

Narratives of the past can be mobilized in the concrete expression of these remnants (Bell, 2006 as cited in Conway, 2009). In a sense these remnants emerge in an individuals' memory. A memory is a person's capacity to store and retrieve information (Mayer, 1989; Zlotnik & Vansintjan, 2019). We have become dependent upon the memories of individuals or the collective as we can no longer hear the first account stories of the transatlantic slave trade. This is referred to as post-memory (Hirsch 2008).

Post-memory, coined by Marianne Hirsch in 1992, is described as the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective trauma of those who came before (Hirsch, 2008; Şimşek, n.d.). Even though the next generation did not experience the trauma, they were witnesses to the previous generation's trauma (Hirsch, 2008; Şimşek, n.d.). They saw the behaviour of those who came before or were told of the experiences through stories and images (Columbia Press University, n.d.). In a sense, they experience symptoms linked to trauma. They could be considered as 'a generation carrying a wound without getting one' (Baranowsky, 1998 as cited in Şimşek, n.d., p. 24).

'The paradoxes of indirect knowledge haunt many of us who came after' (Hoffman, 2004 as cited in Hirsch, 2008, p. 106). The decedents of slaves become a secondary source who create a secondary narration of the transatlantic slave trade. If the traumatic experience becomes ingrained into the future generation, recalling of memory could feel as constituting as one's own memory (Hirsch, 2008). The interviewees and conversationalists in this thesis all have memories of the past whereby some could be described as post-memory. In a sense an event of the past continues in the present

(Hirsch, 2008). This transmission of knowledge through for example a family setting can lead to shared memories. Shared memories can only be considered collective if it defines and binds a group together (Assmann, 1995 as cited in Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). These memories are formed through interactions with one another by actively doing similar things such as going to the same school, reading the same books and so on. These activities shape a collective memory. This can also give an insight in the collective identity (Tavani et al., 2017). So, through the memories a community's collective history can be foreshadowed (Halbwachs, 1950 as cited in Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). These principles could be one of the ways of how Statians form their memories of the transatlantic slave trade which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

We perceive our history by recollecting our memory. Frederic Bartletts, a social psychologist, formed ideas on recalling stories through memory. Stories tend to be multi-layered. People tend to make sense of a story according to the narratives available. They even have the power to identify sites. Stories are constantly restructured and shaped by its personal / community discourse. The order in which a story is told is important as we tend to focus on the beginning and the end (Olton, 1977; Ost & Costall, 2002). As mentioned previously, Sint Eustatius is covered with remnants situated in the landscape of the island. A remnant is often a starting point of a story as the physical evidence makes the story more tangible. Recalling of a memory may be done through the medium of space, also referred to as spatial memory (McCrone, 1998 as cited in Winter, 2004). Recalling stories from our memory could incorporate details that have not been experienced by the ancestors. The narrator has inevitable formed a new memory. The process of incorporating memories is called social contagion (Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). So, distortion of stories take place based on the observer's perspective (Midgley, 2003).

Some of the remnants are selected for historical preservation which scope the transformation of the transatlantic slave trade memory. A few remnants dug from the soils of Sint Eustatius are exhibited in the Historical museum (Eastman, 1996). The stories told in these museums build upon a powerful symbolization of ways to interpret the world (Midgley, 2003). As mentioned earlier knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation. We should be aware of the following question 'how to bear witness, to give space to absent people, objects and cultures, to present violent conflict without perpetuating its logic?' (Lehrer & Milton, 2011 as cited in Apsel & Sodaro, 2019, p. 56). Regardless individuals will take different positions in relation to various remnants. The way we identify with these remnants can hold different meanings to us all. Thus, the past is continually reshaped in the present through memory traces (Casey, 1977 as cited in Till, 2010). People tend to locate themselves within historical trajectories to understand who they are (Bohland & Hague, 2009). The way we identify with the past narrates how we belong to a community. So, a form of remembrance – memory could lead to a formation of identity.

2.4. Tourism

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world which impacts nowhere more pervasive and transparent then on small islands (Baldacchino, 2007). The World Tourism Organization (WTO) has a list of glossary terms in relation to tourism. For this thesis understanding the terms tourism and tourist are relevant. The WTO defines tourism as 'a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment'. They define tourist as 'a visitor taking a trip to a destination outside his usual environment, for less than a year but consisting of at least one overnight stay, for any purpose other than to be employed by a resident entity in the place visited' (UNWTO, n.d.). Based on these definitions, at its core tourism is

about the difference of place, achieved by distancing yourself from routine (Relph, 1996 as cited in Hall, Johnson & Mitchel, 2002).

The general impression of the Caribbean islands consist of pristine waters, loads of flora and fauna, sandy beaches and so on (Jayawardena, 2002). This image is reflected in the promotion of the region through the 'three S's-model': sun, sand and sea (Beekhuis, 1981; Dixon, Hamilton, Pagiola & Segnestam, 2001; Zappino, 2005). This model gained a boom from the 1960s as airplane travel became accessible (Gmelch, 2012). Thereby attracting a lot of people, known as mass tourism, who came looking for paradise (Wong, 2015). Mass tourism became a significant source of revenue for the Caribbean region (Sealy, 2018). Scholars have compared this form of tourism to the plantation economies of the 17th century (Weaver, 1988; Pattullo, 2006; Kondo, 2008; Sealy, 2018). Tourism operators tend to supply everything that the tourists demand (Davenport & Davenport, 2006; Goffi, Cladera, & Osti, 2020). It is therefore believed that metropolitan countries try to dominate foreign tourism markets, especially in those areas where their own inhabitants travel most frequently (Matthews, 1978 as cited in Hall & Tucker, 2004). This contributed to the degradation of the region's resources, criminality and a loss of the populations' identity (Davenport & Davenport, 2006; Goffi, Cladera, & Osti, 2020). This said, Sint Eustatius has never been a destination for mass tourism due to it being relatively isolated (De Albuquerque & McElroy, 1992). Only a handful of tourists dare to go beyond the well-known tourism destinations. They aspire something different.

In the late 1980s sustainability came to the forefront of the tourism debate. Sustainable development is defined by The United Nations in the Brundtland Commission Report as 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Mathis, 2011, p. vii). Sustainability[5] is then a paradigm for pursuing an improved quality of life by balancing the environment, the social and the economic (UNESCO, n.d.). It thus challenges the way humans use the environment. The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation states that sustainability is about preserving and enhancing its natural environment, but also on the preservation of its historical, social, and cultural heritage (Statia Government, n.d.). The foundation is about tourism but does prioritize sustainability.

Sustainable tourism interacts at the core of the definition as stated by the United Nations. It is about how activities of tourism development intersects at the components environmentally appropriate, socially acceptable and economically viable (McCool & Bosak, 2016; Liu, 2003). The activities allow communities to become more resilient and take pride in their environment. It can be beneficial in sensitive areas (Liu, 2003). The value of sustainability may differ between stakeholders involved in the tourism sector (McCool & Bosak, 2016). In the end sustainable tourism is about moving forward in a positive way.

About a decade later, the shift to include heritage tourism into touristic strategies has seen interest (Poria, Butlet & Airey, 2003). History can be used to attract tourists. Some knowledge of history allows for a deeper understanding of the place a tourist is in (Mooney-Melvin, 1991). According to the WTO heritage tourism is 'a type in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions in a tourism destination' (UNWTO, n.d.-a). Heritage tourism is a spatial phenomenon (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2016) and tends to tackle issues such as multiculturalism, national ideology, identity and culture (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009). However, societies are often unaware of these topics (Midgley, 2003). The location of heritage are generally highly contested areas (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009). This is reflected in Hall & Zeppel (1990, p. 54) statement 'heritage tourism whether in the form of preferred

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[5] Sustainability is a contested term (Sharpley, 2020).

landscapes, historical sites, buildings or monuments, is also experiential tourism in the sense of seeking an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place'.

Some heritage sites attract tourists due to their fascination of places where lawful and unlawful acts were performed (Botterill & Jones, 2010). To be considered for heritage sites to belong to the market of dark tourism tragedy or death has occurred. These sites range from participating in paranormal activities to visiting concentration camps. Nevertheless, these sites allow for tourists to interpret meaning through experiencing a form of the past (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009; Prentice, 1993 as cited in Yusifov, 2014). A tourist perception varies on one's belief, ideas, feeling, expectations and impressions (Chon, 1990 as cited in Botterill & Jones, 2010). Thus, each tourist experiences a site differently. In a sense there are many histories found at a heritage site. Tourists do not necessarily need an accurate representation of the past. This allows the tourism industry to manipulate historical facts to reinforce the legitimacy of the island (Mooney-Melvin, 1991; Johnson, 1996).

The fascination of visitors to experience dark tourism has existed for centuries (Foley & Lennon, 1966 as cited in Lennon, 2017). In recent years attention has been given to the transatlantic slave trade as a potential (dark tourism) heritage site (Araujo, 2010). Some Caribbean islands have transformed plantation houses into hotels or offer tours along slave quarters (Caribbean Wanderer, n.d.). These experiences can be important sites for the interpretation of the slavery experience (Dann & Seaton, 2001). Thereby undoubtedly linking slavery with tourism, also referred to as slavery tourism (Dann & Seaton, 2001). Jennifer Craik said,

> Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations (sites) for tourists (the Pacific Rim; Asia; Africa; South America); while the detritus of post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sights (including exotic peoples and customs; artefacts; arts and crafts; indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories). (Craik, 1994 as cited in Hall & Tucker, 2004)

Postcolonialism refers to a process of disengagement from the colonial syndrome, which takes many forms and is probably inescapable for all those whose worlds have been marked by that phenomenon (Ul-haq, n.d.). It looks particular at the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized (Chousein, 2013). Slavery tourism reflects a legacy of colonial practices. Thereby undoubtedly referring to these sites as contested: these sites can become obliterated or commemorated, adding a complex layer (Lennon, 2017). There are limitations to consider in relationship to the impact of slavery tourism:

- These sites are predominantly catered to white tourists, even though it is predominantly situated in black heritage.
- The conflictive memories and/or feelings of those who visit (Araujo, 2010).

The uprooted identity of slaves, due to displacement, may have been passed to the next generations. Recently there is a surge in tracing DNA to discover country of origin, so that they can travel there to discover and understand their roots (Bruner, 1996; Goldsmith, 2019). Then tourism could become an unexpected beneficiary of postcolonial dislocation. However there is also a risk that tourism could perpetrate colonial attitudes (Hall & Tucker, 2004). It is needed to carefully examine the identity of postcolonial Sint Eustatius and how that could impact tourism.

Tourists visiting heritage sites come from various backgrounds and have different purposes for travelling to these heritage sites. These purposes vary from sightseeing to personal growth (Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015). The meaning tourists attach to these heritage sites in Statia shape their interpretation of the transatlantic slave trade. These feelings may invalidate or validate current

practices of heritage tourism in Sint Eustatius. The analytical chapters of this thesis will further elaborate on current practices of heritage tourism and which meanings may be attached.

It is important to look at the consequences of incorporating the story of slave trade within the tourism strategy of the island. It could therefore allow for reflection of stories through cultural, historical and natural resources. In general, these local communities may be the best guardians of their own heritage (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009). There are many opportunities for heritage to be included in Sint Eustatius as the island is often referred to as 'the historical gem of the Caribbean'.

2.5.   Conceptual links

The previous sections of the theoretical framework give us an understanding of the concepts in relation to the overarching theme of heritage. The goal of this thesis is to understand how the historical remnants are infused with the local identity and if they can somehow be integrated in the tourism strategy. This goal is derived from a problem posed by the Sint Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. To understand and answer the goal three research questions were stated, see below.

1. How is the collective past of the local community of St. Eustatius reflected in their identity?
2. How do the material and narrative remnants of the history of the transatlantic slave trade in Statia relate to the tourism strategy of the island?
3. How can the remnants be integrated into a future tourism strategy in which the population of Statia also recognizes itself?

The islands situation is complex and historically sensitive. To shed light on the sensitivity, the island is interpreted through the voices of the local population. Hereby uncovering the Statian identity.

The historical legacy serves the pattern of tourism. It constructs our understanding of 'place' and identity. Hereby emphasizing how people remember and think of the past. This allows us to understand how their identity links to memories of their past usually through tangible remnants. Occasionally it, identity, can particularly intertwine to memories of trauma.

A combination of these answers could integrate into a future tourism strategy. The island mirrors a scaled down version of a larger world. It could therefore be very interesting as it could offer potential solutions to other places.

In short, heritage is a combination of tangible and intangible remnants. The memories of people inform the intangible and can give meaning to a 'place'. This allows the intangible remnants to give meaning to the tangible remnants. This research looks at how the local people view their heritage and what this implies for making use of their heritage in attracting tourists.

3. Methodology

This chapter explains how I have collected and analysed the data. This chapter is divided into six sections. The first three sections explain when, what and how the data is collected and analysed. The last three sections dive deeper into limitations and issues of the field.

3.1.   Timeline of the research

The following table distinguishes the timeline of the research.

Table 1. Timeline of the research

Month	Stage	What?	Location
September	Desk research		The Hague, NL
October	Desk research	Finalize proposal	The Hague, NL
25 October 2020		Flight to Sint Eustatius	
November	Fieldwork		Sint Eustatius, NL
December	Fieldwork		Sint Eustatius, NL
19 December 2020		Flight to the Netherlands	
January	Write, analyse, edit		The Hague, NL
February	Write, analyse, edit		The Hague, NL
14 February 2021		Hand-in Chapter 1-6	
27 February 2021		Hand-in Chapter 7 & 8	
March	Write, analyse, edit		The Hague, NL
April	Write, analyse, edit		The Hague, NL
27 April 2021		Hand-in final draft thesis	
May			The Hague, NL
24 May 2021		Hand-in final thesis	
31 May 2021		Presentation	Online
June			The Hague, NL
1 June 2021		Defence	Online

3.2.   Used sources for the research

There are three stages: desk research, fieldwork and writing in the thesis phase. Each phase has an end goal in sight: proposal, data collection, thesis. The methods used throughout the thesis process depend fully on the research questions, see Section 1.3. The second phase (the fieldwork phase) has corrected ideas of certain methods. In my thesis a mixed methods approach has been used with a higher focus on qualitative data. The following table demonstrates what type of sources are used for my research and if they are qualitative or quantitative data. The table is ordered by the importance of the method for the research.

Table 2. Used methods for research.

Methods	Qualitative data	Quantitative data
Literature	X	
Listening to podcasts	X	
Interviews	X	
Participatory observation:	X	
Conversations	X	
Fieldwork notes	X	
Site visits	X	
Survey		X
Photo diary	X	
Social media	X	
Radio interview		X

3.3.   Data

Within this section each method used in the research will be further explained by how the data is gathered and analysed. All data gathered throughout the research is subjective. This chapter follows the order of Table 2, see Section 3.2.

Literature:

Literature was read in all phases of the thesis. In the first phase it was needed to create a picture of the island. I read five historical books and many articles to get more insight into the WIC and the transatlantic slave trade. Besides this I tried to gain an insight in the island itself. During the second phase I read four books from the library of Sint Eustatius and some articles which complemented the data gathered from the interviews. Also I listened to several podcast and radio interviews to gain more insight into (the historical narrative of) Sint Eustatius. I have stated them here as the data gathered is like data gathered from books. These podcasts vary from professional to informal. During the final phase I read four more books to emphasize knowledge and scanned everything I read beforehand to capture a complete overview of data for this thesis. Throughout the last two phases I also read documents from the various archives in the Hague, Middelburg and London. The information within the literature is checked through triangulation, thereby validating the data (Bernard, 2017). Overall, the data gathered of literature in the various phases has given me a good picture of Sint Eustatius. This data contributed to all research questions.

Interviews:

My thesis proposal had a list of people I was interested in speaking to. The list indicated that 12-16 interviews would be relevant for my thesis. The tourism office assisted in completing the contact information of this list. It was further expanded by Charles Lindo, director of the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. Some of the interviewees recommended follow ups of which most I have had contact with.

Most of the interviews were taken on the island, between October 25th and December 19th 2020. A few interviews were taken in January 2021. The interviews which were held on a later date took place via Zoom. The interviews ranged from an hour to three hours. Some of the interviews were voice recorded via my phone[6] while notes were also written, only more extensively if the interview was not recorded.

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[6] Only if the person gave his or her permission.

The interviews were semi-structured. This allows the interviewer to prompt and probe information out of the interviewee. There is even a possibility to rephrase questions if the interviewee does not understand (Bernard, 2017). The questions of the interviews were conducted to gain an understanding on the topics of identity, history and/or tourism. I was open to receiving more information from the interviewee however, if we drifted, I would intersect. Thus, I had a standard set of questions I preferred to ask and then based on the interview follow up questions were tailored accordingly. The risk could be that the interviewer accidently spills or forces the interviewee to answer a certain way, which means that the 'right' information may not be gathered. The risk simply had to be accepted and the data shared was fact checked through triangulation. The oral statements complement the data collected from literature.

I have had 28 interviews with a total of 30 people. Two interviews were taken with two interviewees present (e.g. a couple). This meant that they strengthened the information shared, but it was no longer a singular memory. These interviewees are divided between five government officials, six professionals of the tourism industry, seven professionals of the public sector, five persons working in the private sector and seven private individuals. The interviewees ranged from young to elderly. I do not know the exact age range. I have interviewed people from various backgrounds. By analysing the list of interviewees, I can conclude that the poorly educated were not well represented in the interviewees. I did speak to people who did not go to high school or further education but who educated themselves in other ways.

Participatory observation:
Participatory observation is about experiencing the lives of those who are involved in the research (Bernard, 2017). Being immersed in society allowed me to observe and gather data on interactions between and/or with Statians, experience the know-how of historical remnants and simply make as many notes as possible. The inhabitants of the island were aware that I was doing research. As the island is rather small, a newcomer is easily identified. Most people were aware that I am personally related to the crisis manager[7] and that I collaborated with the tourism office in writing my master thesis.

As I became immersed into society, I had beside the formal interview casual conversations with various people. Some of them I have spoken to multiple times. In general, the casual conversations took place in an informal setting. I had twenty-three conversations. These conversations are divided between four government officials, five professionals of the tourism industry, three professionals of the public sector, seven in the private sector and four private individuals. The conversationalist ranged from young to elderly. I have spoken with people from various backgrounds however I have not spoken with the poorly educated Statian. Before the start of this research, I had not expected this many 'random' conversations. The conversations stretched all topics of this thesis. If something relevant for my thesis came up, I usually asked for some more details or made a mental note, so I could write it down later. The oral statements of a conversation complement the data collected from literature.

As mentioned earlier, there are many remnants found all over the island. The questions of my thesis analysis material and narrative remnants. Therefore, it is relevant to visit these sites and get an idea of how it looks, how it feels and how they are structured in society. Some of these remnants are more formed monuments while others are not. The two museums: St. Eustatius Historical

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[7] The crisis manager is my father.

Foundation Museum and Lynch Plantation Museum on the island are also remnants. These were visited as well.

Throughout the fieldwork phase I have written notes in a notebook. From an interview or conversation, I wrote down the relevant information in a keyword format. Each day I wrote the offline keyword format into a more comprehensive online format, particularly if I had not recorded the conversation. Writing the information down while it still fresh in my mind allows for the most accurate information. I wrote observing notes on the remnants of the island. These notes complement the notes taken during the day. Also, I would make some reflective, interesting ideas or perspective, follow-up notes. The data gathered consist of information, fact checking and underlying observations.

Survey:
Early on I realized that social media is used as a means of communication through the island. Therefore, I posted an online survey on various Facebook pages. This survey was distributed concurrently as I was interviewing people on the island. The survey gave some ideas for questions to ask the interviewees. The survey can be seen in Appendix B. This survey was used to allow for more information on historical awareness of the transatlantic slave trade. To assure a good response I contacted social media influencers and broadcasted over the local radio a call for participation.

The survey was filled in by 37 respondents. Most of them have the Dutch nationality but they feel Statian (twenty). Approximately three quarters of the respondents are female. The respondents were above 18 years old; the largest group of respondents (nine) were between the ages of 45-54 years old. The majority of respondents have a bachelor's degree. Eleven respondents noted to belong to the Methodist denomination while nine respondents do not belong to any denomination. In the last five years respondents have lived besides Sint Eustatius in places such as the European Netherlands, the United States of America and elsewhere in the Caribbean region.

Photo diary:
This method took place in an offline / online setting. I requested the inhabitants (who have at least lived one year on Statia) to share a photo of a remnants which has meaning to them and to add a few sentences why it means something. Photo diaries address representations of locals' own perception instead of pleasing the researchers wishes (Dodman, 2003 as cited in Langevang, 2007). Online I posted a flyer at four Facebook pages, see Appendix C. I have not spoken to everyone who posted a photograph as a response to the flyer. In this case I could not get more information in regards why a certain meaning was attached to a remnant. While I interviewed people, I grasped the information which site meant something to them. Some people were able to take a photograph while others were not due to various reasons (e.g. physical ability). So, I looked online or took a photograph at their location. The meaning of these photos will be analysed. The photos taken by the participant themselves show their point of view and what is important to them. The photos which were not taken by the participant can give us an idea of which places are important to the person but the photo itself cannot be analysed. The information given about a certain place does transpire the meanings people attach to these remnants.

Six people have responded to this request with one or more photographs. Approximately ten interviewees and conversationalists spoke about their place of importance. Two interviewees pointed as their place of important to a narrative remnant: music and knowledge of medicinal plants.

I had hoped for a greater response on the photo diary. It nevertheless gives an impression.

Social media:

Social media was used in two ways. On one hand to spread various methods: survey and photo diary. On the other hand, social media was used to observe what historical narratives are shared on the Facebook pages. Table 3 gives more information on these pages. This data gives more insight in the discourses that are being spread. I also monitored the Facebook pages of the organizations relevant for my thesis, see Table 4.

Table 3. Facebook groups for information related to Statia.

Page name	Members
STATIA Rent borrow and sell	3,2 thousand
STATIA: LET'S DEBATE THE TOPICS!	1,5 thousand
Statian: A Scroll Down Memory Lane	1,2 thousand
Caribisch Cultureel Erfgoed	954

Table 4. Facebook pages of relevant organisations.

Page name	Members
St. Eustatius Tourism	3,1 thousand
St. Eustatius Historical Foundation	898
St. Eustatius Center for Archeological Research	923
Government of Sint Eustatius	2,3 thousand
Stenapa St. Eustatius	2,8 thousand

Radio interview:

This method was used to promote the survey and to inform the inhabitants that I was doing research on the island. I was being interviewed by Charles Lindo, the director of the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. I gave some insights into the research I had done so far. In return he gave some valuable information. Some people even reached out to give more information. It may not have been a research method perse, but it has been a valuable tool in getting more information.

3.4. Access

Throughout the research many people assisted me, both online and offline. People were happy to help. Due to various reasons, mainly related to the coronavirus, I was unable to gain access to for example the local historian Walter Hellebrand. It could have been an asset as he is both Statian and aware of its history.

As mentioned earlier I also asked for assistance online through the various Facebook pages. I had only 37 respondents to my survey, even though I have promoted the survey several times on the Facebook pages and through my radio interview. In my proposal I hoped to have a 10% response rate of the population. As mentioned, Facebook is an important means of communication for the island. However, it seems as if Statians get the information they need, but do not share. It also seems as if the active members of the Facebook pages are more or less the same people for all the pages. The respondents of the survey are not representative for the whole island, see for example their level of education. The section 'Identity-Statian' within my survey has only been answered by those who feel that they are Statian. The information reflected in this section is comparable with the interviews and conversations.

The national archive in The Hague was closed due to the corona crisis. This prevented me from studying physical archival records. In Sint Eustatius I physically viewed several archive documents. I also studied a few archival records online as the various archives are slowly digitizing their records. I have however not done any archival research. I have read many books in which people have done research in the archives (related to slavery).

3.5.   Additional limitations of the research

This research, like any other is subject to several limitations. These limitations are post-memory, the coronavirus pandemic and the consequence of not having any tourists present on the island.

Post-memory

The inhabitants of Statia are sharing information from the transatlantic slave trade. Some of which have been passed down from generation to generation. As time has passed, this information is no longer a first account story. As the transatlantic slave trade is a contested history, it could have sparked a historical trauma. This trauma can be passed on to the next generation who inadvertently re-experienced the slave trade (Hirsch, 2008; Şimşek, n.d.). This could have a few limitations such as 1. selective memory, 2. mixing various experiences, 3. exaggeration of the events and 4. assumptions based on contemporary issues (Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). I had to be aware of these possible outcomes and used literature as reference. But even if what they said was not the 'historical truth' I would take it onboard as this thesis covers how the Statians perceptions of history is linked to their identity.

Coronavirus pandemic – consequence of no tourism:

The coronavirus pandemic has not limited most of my research on the island, because the island was free of the coronavirus. However, the island had a strict entry policy (e.g. mandatory two week quarantine). This strict policy meant that tourists were not allowed to come to the island. A large part of my research focuses on slavery in relation to tourism. Due to this policy, I could not interview or speak to tourists' reasons for visiting Statia and their experiences on the island. I however had the opportunity to speak to stakeholders working in the tourism sector. Also, I had the chance to speak to people who first came as tourist before they started working on the island. This gave me two perspectives: 1. How they first experienced the island, 2. How they experienced the island now. Other tourist-based data is taken from other resources, either online or offline.

3.6.   Ethical issues of the research

Within this research I have come across several ethical issues. These ethical issues are whether to record an interview, anonymity, respect, moral judgement and positionality. Below I will go to each issue in more detail.

Whether to record an interview:

Before an interview I asked interviewees if I could record the interview. Three type of responses were given, namely accept, refuse and hesitancy. I always explicitly said if you do not want to, that is fine too. I would say it again if someone was hesitant, just to confirm that it is okay to say no. A couple of interviewees preferred not to be recorded due to past interviews or feelings of being unfairly reflected in papers. The data collected from these interviews may be less precise and it cannot be used for paraphrasing.

Anonymity:
Many of the interviewees did not mind being recorded but preferred to remain anonymous in the paper. As the island is rather small, people do not want others to be able to track them down. If something was said from a specific organization anonymity cannot be promised. In all other cases anonymity was given. Anonymity has not been an issue for this paper.

Respect:
Respect is a valuable tool to display trust. Some people shared a lot of detail. Some joyous but also some painful things. Some showed physical emotions (e.g. shedding tears). By giving people time and room to breathe, I showed respect physically and emotionally. This allowed me to be given access to interviewees thoughts and feelings. Nevertheless, I respected them enough to say, 'I don't want to talk about it'. In that case I would move on to the next topic.

Moral judgement through the eyes of today:
As my thesis tackles slavery in some capacity, I have to be careful how to deal with this topic. I have experienced that the topic of slavery is sensitive. It brings emotion to the table which are not always linked to slavery but to family relationships. Today slavery is condemned. In the golden era slavery was normal. So, I needed to be careful in how to phrase questions about this topic. I tried to leave my opinion of the topic slavery out of the research[8].

Positionality:
It is important to reflect upon the researcher's positionality in the field. My background may influence how I perceive things that may have been experienced throughout the research.

As my research tackles the topic of slavery, inadvertently race may come up in the field. I could be faced with the task to represent myself well (as a 'white' person) in potential conflicting situations. The island used to be under Dutch colonial rule. Some part of the population may feel strongly against European Dutch people due to the past. It is important to maintain the integrity of representing people and communities of colour (Milner IV, 2007).

I was fortunate to have a collaborative partner in the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation as this organization is run only by Statians. This organisation gave me access to the field but also gave me the opportunity to emphasize to those researched that my research could be helpful for the island but that for me it would be for my master's degree. Some interviewees indicated that they did not always have good experiences with outsiders who interviewed them. I stated my intentions. This prevented the idea that I had potential ulterior motives to rise in the mind of those interviewed.

As a Dutch researcher in a public entity of the Netherlands I did not experience a language barrier. Some of the population speaks Dutch, the official language. As the island is in the Caribbean, most people speak English. If inhabitants speak another language such as Spanish, they can conform to the English language. I understand Spanish but, I am not fluently in speaking it. The research took place either in Dutch or English, depending on the decision of the researched. Throughout the research I learned that occasionally white persons are approached in the Dutch language, I was unaware that it was happening, likely as my mother tongue is Dutch.

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[8] As I am formed as a person with norms and values, it is impossible not to have an opinion on slavery, but my aim has been to try to leave my opinion out of the research. This assured that I could grasp a better understanding of the opinion of the population of Statia.

4. History of Sint Eustatius

This chapter gives a historical timeline of Sint Eustatius. In Appendix D. there is document which indicates the historical events relevant for understanding the timeframe in which the analytical Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are situated. In Appendix E. the occupation of the countries of the island during slavery can be seen. The data transpired in this chapter come mainly from the literature review. Only a few details from personal communication come to the forefront in present day Sint Eustatius (Section 4.6). Afterwards a short conclusion will be given which is relevant for the following analytical chapters.

4.1. Previous research

The aim of this literature review is to discuss the current knowledge of the topic 'Heritage on Statia'. The subtitle 'the relevance of the remnants of slavery for the tourism strategy' gives more insight into the topic. The underlined words demonstrate which topics have been researched. Due to this thesis being situated in the context of the transatlantic slave trade, it demonstrates that it is situated in a historical context.

Over time a lot of research has been done in this historical context. The scope of the research was not limited to literature of the Caribbean region and involves developing an understanding of the past through the interpretation of evidence. This evidence is gathered from primary sources (such as diaries, letters and so on) and secondary sources (such as books, articles and so on) (Hacker & Fisher, 2010).

Original documents of the transatlantic slave trade are kept in various archives across the globe. These are primary sources of evidence. Some of these documents were stored underneath Fort Oranje in Sint Eustatius. As Sint Eustatius lies in an active part of the Atlantic hurricane track many documents have been destroyed over time (Gilmore III, 2006). Today these storms may not have such significant impact on the destruction of documents as most have been digitalized. The documents can be found in several archives in Europe[9]. These documents mainly consist of letters or diaries which had been sent to Europe. Recently a discovery of blue beads and gold rings was found in The National Archives of London (van der Doe, 2020). It is important to carefully analyse these documents as its often written from the perspective of the colonizer (Gilmore III, 2006).

Within this thesis various remnants will be discussed. Some material remnants have been excavated through archaeological research. These are primary sources of evidence. The first excavations in the Antilles were carried out in 1878 due to a priest noticing scattered pot shards and seashells (van Heekeren, 1960). The first excavation in Sint Eustatius was carried out for similar reasons in 1923 by anthropologist De Josselin de Jong in the Golden Rock area (Versteeg, Schinkel & Wilson, 1993). Since then, multiple archaeological excavations have taken place on the island. The William & Mary college operated an archaeological school from 1981 up to 2004 in which marine excavations also took place (Stelten, 2019). From 2004, the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR) took over the research. Their aim is to protect and develop the historical resources located on the island (SECAR, n.d.). This information will help to answer my second research question which focuses on the role of historical remnants in the current tourism strategy.

The authors Attema (1976) and Hartog (1976) described an overview of Sint Eustatius history. Other authors, for example Gilmore III (2006) and Enthoven (2012) have expanded to the previous works.

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[9] The National Archives in London, Het Nationaal Archief in The Hague and Het Zeeuws Archief in Middelburg.

The cultural heritage of Sint Eustatius was further explored by Julia G. Crane (1999) and Vivian Graham (late 1970s) through documenting stories from Statians about their history and culture. These books are secondary sources of evidence. This information will contribute to the first research question on the Statian identity.

There are three organization at Sint Eustatius focused on the importance of history and nature. In 1974 the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation was founded to promote the exploration of the history of the island (DutchCulture, n.d.). The museum of the Historical Foundation is found in the Simon Doncker's house. The islands history is presented here. In 2007 they created booklets of a historical walking tour in the historical center. Hereby combining remnants with tourism. In 1992 the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation was established. This foundation aims to promote the island as a destination of choice for those who seek something different from the mainstream Caribbean tourism product (St. Eustatius Tourism Development Foundation, n.d.). The research on tourism has been done through or in collaboration with this foundation. The organization focusses on sustainability (Autar, 2019). The third one, the St. Eustatius National Parks Foundation (STENAPA) was established in 1995. This foundation manages, conserves and restores St. Eustatius' natural resources within the three national parks. Within these parks material remnants can be found. Research from STENAPA offers a unique setting of the flora and fauna found on the island (STENAPA, n.d.).

Overall, the above-mentioned underlined words 'remnants', 'slavery' and 'tourism strategy' have been researched to a certain extent. On the island, these concepts have been research almost exclusively in relation to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The topic of slavery is researched quiet extensively. The topics of remnants and tourism could be researched further. A combination of these three topics will be discussed in the remainder of this thesis.

4.2. Indigenous people

The excavation of the Golden Rock site has given insight in the Saladoid culture (Haviser, 1985). The first inhabitants of Statia, an indigenous tribe called Arawaks belong to this culture. They can be traced back to current Venezuela. This tribe arrived to Aloi[10], the Arawak-name for Sint Eustatius, by canoe from the Southern Windward islands. They likely migrated to the island to expand their territory.

The Arawaks settled on the island near the sea (Keegan, Hofman & Ramos, 2013; Stenapa St. Eustatius, n.d.). They were skilled as hunters and gatherers. Everything that they found was used in some capacity (Helman, 1982). Their diet consisted of crabs, turtles, whales, dolphins, birds, iguanas, snakes, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, callaloo, guavas, pineapples, hot pepper, casava and papayas (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020). Their skills thus allowed them to maintain a healthy livelihood by fishing and the start of some agricultural practices (Keegan, Hofman & Ramos, 2013). They lived peacefully until the Caribs came[11]. It is alleged that they killed and ate the men and enslaved the females (Helman, 1982; Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 2019; Lonely Planet, n.d.). The Arawaks who managed to escape left as far as Cuba.

It is presumed that the natives of Sint Eustatius either disappeared or died due to diseases brought by colonists (Aceto, 2006; CNSI, n.d.; Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). By the time Christopher Columbus sailed across the Atlantic Ocean, Statia was no longer occupied by people.

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[10] 'Aloi' meaning cashew tree. It is assumed that the island was covered with them (Stenapa St. Eustatius, n.d.).
[11] Named after their assumed cannibalism.

Columbus is well-known for discovering new areas. Nevertheless, the Arawaks discovered Sint Eustatius. Columbus saw the island for the first time on November 1st, 1493 but did not set foot on the island (Soffers & Zahedi, 2013). He named the island 'Isla de Santa Anastasia' for the Spanish rulers (Cahoon, n.d.). His legacy led to centuries of transatlantic colonization.

4.3.   West-Indische Compagnie (WIC)

During the sixteenth century the Dutch were trading in salt and spices at the Iberian Peninsula[12]. Salt was used for flavour, conservation and as payment, so it was very valuable. The Spanish monarch forbade/hindered trading for the Dutch within this region. Therefore, the Dutch had to go to other areas to gain these materials. They went to Asia for the spices and to the Caribbean for salt (Blussé & de Moor, 1983). Thus, the Dutch colonization period within the transatlantic region started.

In 1600 Willem Usselincx wrote about his ideas for a West-Indische Compagnie (WIC). His ideas were focused on creating agricultural colonies. The chambers Zeeland and Holland were enthusiastic but the Staten-Generaal[13] was not. The Staten-Generaal eventually permissioned the WIC as a private company to trade and ship in the Atlantic region. In addition, the WIC claimed commercial exclusivity over shipping to its overseas settlements like other European forces (Enthoven, 2012). It would be a way to defeat the Spanish in the war[14] (den Heijer, 2002).

The establishment of the WIC did not happen until 1621. The WIC was structured by the control of the Heren 19 and divided into five chambers: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Middelburg (referred to as Zeeland) and Groningen. Nevertheless they had to be accountable to the Staten-Generaal (den Heijer, 2002; Blussé & de Moor, 1983; Helman, 1982). The WIC had been given permission to operate until 1645. Then another contract was given for 25 years. They decided not to set up a third contract but to dissolve the WIC to create a 'new' WIC. In 1674 the second WIC, a private company, commenced and focused solely on trade instead of war. The WIC would dissolve in 1791 (den Heijer, 2002; Blussé & de Moor, 1983).

The Spanish were dominantly present in the Atlantic. In 1624 the WIC strategically positioned itself to takeover power within the Atlantic's (Den Heijer, 2002; Rijksmuseum, n.d.). They focused simultaneously on colonizing Brazil and getting the upper hand in Africa's trade (Den Heijer, 2002; Helman, 1982).

The Dutch settled in the south of Brazil where they claimed some territory. They fought the Portuguese to expand their area. The Dutch settled here as the climate was favourable for crops. They grew sugar and tobacco in the plantations. Creating a Dutch colony in Brazil took about fifteen years. The WIC provided the workers (i.e slaves) for the plantations as they had simultaneously gained a foothold in West Africa.

In the mid fifteenth century there was an increasing demand for slaves in the Atlantic. The slaves came from what is now known as Angola. The WIC focused on gold, ivory, grain and so on. They did not focus too much on slaves as there was not much demand for it. In 1635 they changed their mind and started to organize the slave trade by gaining slave depots. Thus, the WIC either build (e.g. Fort Nassau) or conquered Portuguese forts (e.g. Fort Elmina) in Western Africa (Den Heijer, 2002). Here they captured or traded slaves (Helman, 1982). They traded blue beads for slaves. In the eyes of

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[12] The coastal region of present-day Spain and Portugal.
[13] Government of the Dutch Republic, 1588-1795 (Parlement.com, n.d.).
[14] Today called the Eighty Years War or Dutch war of independence.

many the blue beads became a currency of trade (AFRICAN BEAD BLOG, 2020). From 1658 the WIC became more and more involved in the slave trade, particularly in the Caribbean region. They continued to dominate the gold coast until the seventeenth century.

During the eighteenth century the WIC released the slave trade. Thereby allowing private shipping to take over the slave trade (Blussé & de Moor, 1983). This led to the dissolution of the WIC. The colonies established under the WIC became part of a ministry directly under the Staten-Generaal (den Heijer, 2002). Overall, the Dutch dominated the slave trade, but Gold was their most important source of income.

4.4.   Trade on Sint Eustatius

As mentioned in Section 4.2 Christopher Columbus found Sint Eustatius while sailing under the Spanish flag in 1493 (Soffers & Zahedi, 2013). Yet, no one set foot on the island until 1625. By then the English had gained significant control around the Caribbean. They inhabited the island, however, they soon left as no fresh water could be found. A few years later the French tried and left for similar reasons.

The Dutch slowly started to position themselves as written in Section 4.3. From 1628 onwards if you wanted to colonize an island in the Atlantic region, you had to ask permission of the WIC. If you gained permission, materials and colonists needed to be gathered to prepare for the journey. The Zeeuwse merchant Jan Snouck gained permission. His motivation for colonizing an island was to plant tobacco (Stroo, n.d.). In 1636 his ship left the harbour of Vlissingen with the destination Sint Kruis[15] (Attema, 1976; Blussé & de Moor, 1983). When he arrived, the island found was unfertile, so he moved to the next island, then known as 'Isla de Santa Anastasia'. The main anchorage point appears to have been 500 to 800 metres from today's shore, somewhere between Billy's Gut (also known as Godet) to Gallows bay in the centre of Lower Town (Nagelkerken, 1984 as cited in Kandle, 1985). This area was the safest point of approach due to its protection from the winds. He changed the islands name to 'Nieuw Walcheren' (Blussé & de Moor, 1983; Cahoon, n.d.).

Jan Snouck and his companions solved the freshwater issue by installing rain barrels or cisterns. However, they struggled with the drought climate as it caused the soil to be unfertile. Regardless they stayed on the island because they had a desire to create a plantation economy. By then they decided to rename the island 'Sint Eustatius' named after Saint Eustace, a legendary Christian martyr (The Caribbean Pet, n.d.). The island remained in a neutral position surrounded by political strategic colonizers such as the English and the French.

Three years after their arrival the first Statian tobacco arrived in the harbour of Vlissingen. It was auctioned off in the markets of Middelburg and Vlissingen (Stroo, n.d.). It was the only product that was grown profitable on the island (Blussé & de Moor, 1983). To maintain a high produce on the island workers (i.e. Indian slaves, formerly Arawaks or Caribs) were brought in from neighbouring islands (Aceto, 2006). It paid off as the produce arriving in Vlissingen doubled by the year (Stroo, n.d.). About a decade later African slaves were brought in from Western Africa. The remainder of this thesis speaks of slaves in general. The largest faction of slaves is African. In Appendix F a description of how slaves entered Sint Eustatius is given. Some slaves were paid a small 'negro wage' or given blue beads. These blue beads are occasionally referred to as slave beads (Burger, 2019).

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[15] Known today as Sint Croix.

Figure 3. Drawing of a sugar plantation in Sint Eustatius by Jan Veltkamp, 1750 (Erren, 2017).

Halfway through the century the plantations switched crops from tobacco to sugar[16], see Figure 3 (Stroo, n.d.). The demand for sugar rose in Europe due to a change in eating habits. The prices for sugar rose while those for tobacco declined. This switch meant that plantations had to be larger to maintain the same output. Also, the work was rather intensive, therefore there was a demand for more workers (BBC, n.d.; Enthoven, 2012). By 1675 the slave trade in Statia took place as the WIC had established themselves in Western Africa, albeit illegally. The Caribbean region promoted the idea that slavery was progressive and that all parties involved would benefit (Aceto, 2006; Beckles, 1997).

In 1688 the WIC allowed foreign ships to trade with the island. If for example French ships traded here, they were violating their own laws as most European forces hold an exclusivity claim over their settlements. Nevertheless, foreign ships were obliged to pay a two percent tax over incoming and outgoing goods (Enthoven, 2012). Over a decade later, commander Isaac Lamont recommended the WIC to open the island for trading, specifically slave trading. He was convinced that it was possible to sell between 3000-4000 slaves yearly (den Heijer, 2002). The first peak of the transatlantic slave trade in Sint Eustatius happened around the 1720s. Lamont's ideas of how much slaves could be traded were met, albeit mostly illegally. Only in 1724 the WIC started to supply and sell slaves legally on Sint Eustatius (Attema, 1976). One of the Dutch slave ships which moved slaves during this time was called Beeckesteyn, see Figure 4 (Kuiper, 2020). A slave ship carried between 100 to 500 slaves. It was rather important to keep them alive during the Middle Passage, the journey from Africa to the Americas, as money could be earned per slave (Zeeuwse Ankers, n.d.).

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[16] Referred to as the sugar revolution.

Figure 4. Recently discovered print created by Hendrik de Leth: Slaveship 'Beeckesteyn' transported almost 5000 slaves from Africa to the Americas (Stadsarchief Amsterdam / de Leth, H, ca. 1735).

At the end of the decade the French forbade any trading with Sint Eustatius. This led to a decline in the slave price (Postma, 2008). At the time there were about 35 plantations. It significantly grew to about 75 plantations in the 1750s, see Figure 5.
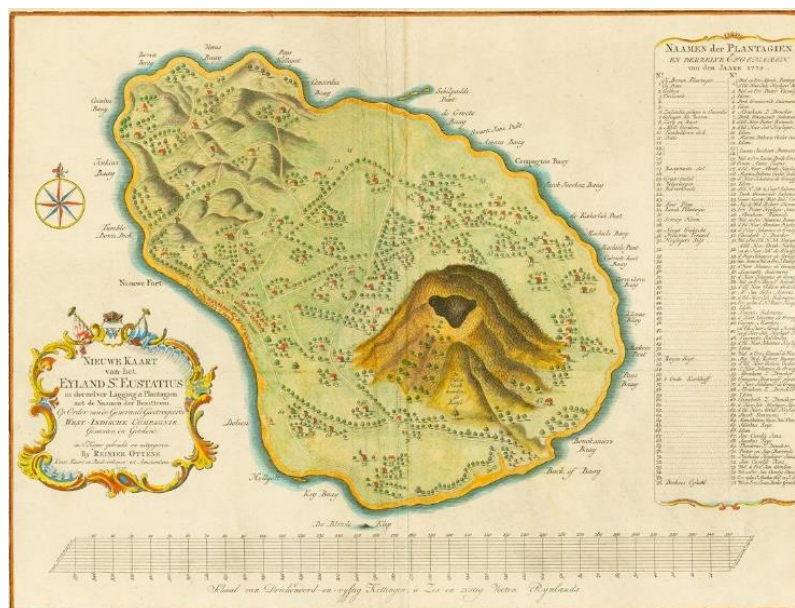
Figure 5. St Eustatius, 1775 (Hoitink, 2018.).

In 1754 the Dutch acknowledged Sint Eustatius as a free port, meaning taxes would not need to be paid over goods being traded on the island (Stelten, 2009). This would secure the islands place among the international trade in the Caribbean, and legally open its port to all nations. Around the same time Jan de Windt junior became commander on the island (Hartog, 1976).

The second peak of the transatlantic slave trade in Sint Eustatius happened in the 1770s. At the time Sint Eustatius was the largest trading center in the Caribbean. It was nicknamed 'the Golden Rock' (Attema, 1976; Stelten, 2019; Hartog, 1976; Leslie, 2020). Many ships anchored off the island in which approximately 20,000 people lived among them merchants, slaves, freed slaves, sailors and plantation owners (Stelten, 2019). The island traded in various products such as sugar, cotton,

tobacco and slaves (Aceto, 2006; Stelten, 2009a). These products were traded against other products, coins or blue beads (Burger, 2019). The trade was not always legal. They also traded in gunpowder hidden underneath fruit or sugar intended for the American insurgents who fought for their independency in America (Kandle, 1985). This illegal trade led to frustration within the English empire as the insurgents where fighting against them.

Commander Jan de Windt junior passed away before Ms Janet Schaw arrived on the island. Together with her brother she travelled from Scotland to the Caribbean. She wrote about her experience in her diary. The following quote is of Ms Schaw, a first account story of products traded in Lower Town in 1775.

> The town consists of one street a mile long, but very narrow and most disagreeable, as every one smokes tobacco, and the whiffs are constantly blown in your face. [...] goods of the most different uses and qualities are displayed before the shop-doors. Here hang rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered muslins, with all the manufactures of the Indies. Just by hang sailor's jackets, trousers, shoes, hats etc. Next stall contains most exquisite silver plate, the most beautiful indeed I ever saw, and close by these iron-pots, kettles and shovels. [...] But it were endless to enumerate the variety of merchandize in such a place, for in every store you find every thing, be their qualities ever so opposite. I bought a quantity of excellent French gloves for fourteen pence a pair, also English thread-stockings cheaper than I could buy them at home. (Andrews & Andrews, 2001, p. 136-137)

Commander Johannes de Graaff took over control in 1775. He, however, made one decision on November 16th, 1776 which dictates his career. A warship under the banner of the American insurgents entered nearby the port. He greeted them firing nine-gun salutes, thereby recognizing the independence of the United States of America (de Bruin, 2019; den Heijer, 2002). This fractured the relationship with the English further as Statia could no longer hold a neutral position. As a result, admiral George Rodney under the English flag attacked the island in 1781. The Dutch surrendered quickly as they feared for the consequences. Nevertheless, the consequences were severe as the island lost its prosperity. He confiscated many products. He left the Dutch flag hanging for over a month, even though it was already under the English flag, to confiscate even more goods. Towards the end of the year the English were ambushed by the French. For the next three decades the island was under different control every couple of years. In 1816 the island returned to Dutch control and it has remained that way ever since (Aceto, 2006).

4.5.   Abolition of slavery

At the end of the eighteenth century the opinion on slavery changed within the European forces. Many countries decide to abolish slavery. The English were one of the first to abolish the slave trade. They pressured the Dutch to do the same. In 1814 the Dutch abolished the slave trade, meaning there would not be any new additions. Thus, those who already were enslaved remained in slavery (Rijksmuseum, n.d.-a). The abolition of slave trade has been condemned by multiple respective people such as Thomas Carlyle, a political philosopher. He argued that 'it had been a mistake as we failed in our duty to help the primitives by keeping them in tutelage through slavery' (Beckles, 2002, p. 200).

In Sint Eustatius a group of free and enslaved people gathered in June of 1848 in front of Governor Johannes de Veer's townhouse to demand their freedom. They shouted 'Liberty, Liberty, Liberty!' (Balentina, 2010). The leaders of the group were free slave Thomas Dupersoy and the enslaved

Prince, Joseph, Valentine, Abraham and Oscar (Statia Government, n.d.-a). The governor addressed the group and asked them to return to the plantations. The group did not. The governor opened fire against the group. They fled to higher ground from which they threw rocks. Some gunman went up the hill and the group suffered some injuries. They eventually had to give in. The leaders of the group were exiled to Curacao. One of the enslaved leaders sent a death notice of Thomas Dupersoy to his former owner in 1851. After the slave revolt the slaves received a wage for fear of repetition (Sint Eustatius, 2021; St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.).

The slave revolt of Statia forced the Dutch to address abolishing slavery in 1848. In a sense the process of abolition was accelerated by this revolt (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.). However it would take another fifteen years before slavery would be abolished. The Dutch had to consider the consequences of abolishing slavery. The Dutch estimated that 1138 slaves would be freed on 1 July 1863 (The Daily Herald, 2018). They lasted in a transition period of ten years in which the slave owners would be retributed for 250 guilders, roughly €115 per slave. The proof of payment was a 'Wisselbrief', see Figure 6 (Gomes, 2017). Meanwhile the slaves would be working for their owners for a wage. The slaves were officially freed from their owners on 1 July 1873.
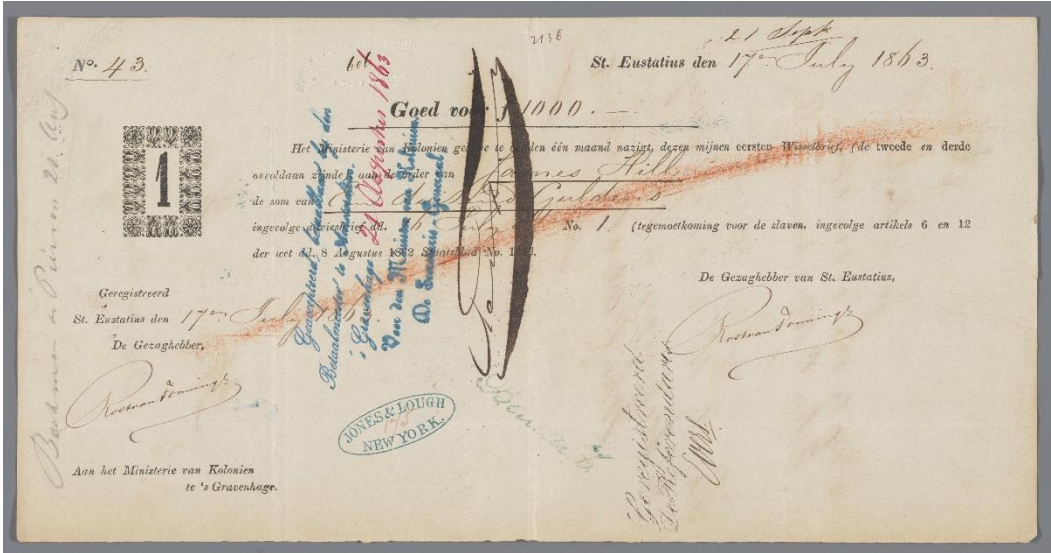
Figure 6. 'Wisselbrief' for James Hill, slave owner on St. Eustatius (Rijksmuseum, 1863).

Nevertheless they celebrated their freedom on 1 July 1863 as this is for them, the slaves, the moment that they were free. Throughout the day the flamboyant tree (royal poinciana) was blooming (Stelten, 2019). The freed slaves were singing a song, see Textbox 1. On the day itself special church ceremonies were held. The Dutch flag was hanging on all the public buildings. Historian Walter Hellebrand said 'Twente-one canon shots rang out from Fort Oranje to salute this momentous day' (The Daily Herald, 2018). The slaves went to the top of the cliff and threw their blue beads into the sea to celebrate their freedom: The beads represented bondage (Stelten, 2019).

> Happy, happy July Day,
> I glad I live to see the day.
> Happy, happy July Day,
> Humbug won't come humbug me,
> Happy, happy July Day.

Textbox 1. Slave song - 1 July 1863 (The Daily Herald, 2018).

4.6. Present-day Sint Eustatius

This section discusses the main developments on Statia since the end of slavery. It gives an overview of the (relatively) recent history and sketches a background of the current Statian society.

The trading economy was already on its decline before the end of slavery. This led to a declining economic situation for the population. In the 19th century some of the men[17] left Sint Eustatius for the whaling industry to increase their economic situation (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). The whaling industry practices hunting whales for their meat, blubber and/or bones. The whaling industry expanded upon the trading maritime legacy of the previous century. At the end of the 19th century the whaling industry morphed into the oil industry. Aruba discovered oil in 1899. The men on the island left to work in the oil industry in Aruba, thereby leaving only a handful of men in Sint Eustatius.

At that time Sint Eustatius was very poor. It was a society driving on survival. As the men left to earn money the women remained behind. The men who remained tended to have a wife and a few mistresses. The men who remained had big families (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021; Attema, 1976). The current larger families of the islands can be traced back to this moment. These families are currently rather powerful in this society.

This organisation of society, a few men with large families, continued through World War II. In 1954 the governmental structure changed, the colonies where abolished and the Dutch Antilles came into existence. The Dutch Antilles became a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The islands which belong to the Dutch Antilles are Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao (ABC islands) and Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba (SSS islands). Eventually Aruba became independent as tourism was developing on the island (Netherlands Antilles, 2021). Meanwhile Sint Eustatius remained poor, focused on itself while many men worked elsewhere (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021).

In 1966 electricity was introduced to Statia. It would be available to everyone in 1970. Today it is solar energy driven and only during the nights fuel-based generators are needed (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a; SMA Solar Technology, 2017).

There were a few hotels on the island (Burger, 2019). In 1971 they build the airport allowing the island to be accessible by air. However the airstrip was already opened in 1946, then the airport was called 'Golden Rock Airport'. It allowed the influx of tourists to the island. Resulting in the development of a small tourism industry (Cado van der Lely, Warning, Schep et al., 2014; Statia Government, n.d.-e).

In 1972 the hotel Old Gin House, located in the cotton gin factory, opened its doors (Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020). The infamous Studio 54, a nightclub in Manhattan had a slight influence on Statia (Sayej, 2020). The participants of Studio 54 were chasing pleasure. On Statia they could practice what was not allowed in New York. The inhabitants of Statia sold some of the blue beads to the participants of Studio 54 - American tourists. The Americans may have been interested in the blue beads as there was a story going on that Manhattan was possible bought by the blue beads. Today that story has been proven to be false (The Beadchest, n.d.; Burger, 2019). It caused an influx of tourists to the island (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021).

In 1982 oil was discovered in the region. This became an important export-based activity in Statia. The island was chosen by the company Nustar (in 2019 taken over by the current owner GTI) due to

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[17] In the beginning of the century, they could have been slaves. Towards the end they were Dutch. In this case we speak of Dutch people living on Sint Eustatius.

its ideal location in the region. The company represents the oil industry in which it is a leading terminal and pipeline operator. It is one of the sources of Statias prosperity alongside commerce (Jordan & Jollife, 2013; Chamber of Commerce & Industry, n.d.). The males of Sint Eustatius no longer had to work in Aruba or Curaçao, but they could stay on the island. Oil became the primary economic driver of the island.

In the 90's society transformed significantly. The island changed as people saw themselves reflected in the American tv advertisements. Society was no longer about survival or the 'I need food, I need…'-mentality but it became 'I want a car'. This meant that new trading routes had to be developed (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). In a sense Sint Eustatius became depended upon other countries such as Sint Maarten in relationship to trade of subsistence and services (Curtis, 2011; Cado van der Lely, Warning, Schep et al., 2014; Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020).

In 2004 referendums were hold among the islands of the Dutch Antilles to see their preferred relationship to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. There were three voting options: independence, becoming part of the Netherlands or to remain in the Dutch Antilles. Curaçao like Sint Maarten and Aruba before voted for independence. Bonaire and Saba voted to remain part of the Netherlands and Sint Eustatius voted to remain part of the Dutch Antilles. In the end, Sint Eustatius, Saba and Bonaire became a public entity of the Netherlands on October 10, 2010 (Het Nationaal Archief, n.d.). Sint Maarten, Curaçao and Aruba (the last already had independence) became countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In 2018 the government of the Netherlands stepped in to dissolve the island council and remove the island commissioners and governor from office. They were replaced by Dutch appointed commissioner Mike Franco (Dijk, 2020; Samson, 2018; Government of the Netherlands, 2018). They took this huge step due to a 2017 report from the Wise men installed by the minister of Kingdom relations that alleged the neglect of the island. The inhabitants have mixed opinions on this drastic step. One of the comments was 'The way it happened was a bit problematic for me. […] for the progress of the island something had to happen' (Dijk, 2018). The Dutch government will return democracy to the island slowly. In 2020 government commissioner Marnix van Rij and deputy government commissioner Alida Francis took over the function from those who led the overtaking of the Statian government. In October 2020, the re-election of the island council took place (Dijk, 2020). The winning party is the Progressive Labour Party (Henriquez, 2020).

In 2020 the coronavirus pandemic hit the world. The Public Entity of St. Eustatius (OLE) has been preparing measures to prevent a possible coronavirus outbreak. The OLE closed the airspace. From march onwards every arrival had to go in a mandatory two-week quarantine. This has severely reduced the number of tourists entering the island. A day later, they already had to deal with a person carrying the virus. There was no further contamination until the beginning of September. However, on September 3, 2020, the COVID-19 crisis peaked after a lab technician who had arrived on St. Eustatius to train medical staff with the PCR test himself tested positive. Sharp measures were immediately taken including a curfew. On 22 February 2021, the vaccinations started with the Moderna vaccination. The planning is to vaccinate the entire population within 2.5 months. There is debate if this will be successful as the population's willingness to get vaccinated is rather low. A campaign is now underway to hopefully motivate people to get vaccinated. Overall, Sint Eustatius has managed to keep to coronavirus pandemic under control. There have only been twenty corona infections whereby no one has been hospitalized or passed away because of the virus. The measures taken to control the virus have had a significant impact on the public body, on the public health and on the economy (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2020).

4.7. Take away message

This chapter has tried to describe the historical events which have shaped Sint Eustatius and its inhabitants. As mentioned, Appendix D. consists of information which indicates the historical events relevant for the remainder of this thesis. It allows the reader of this thesis to understand in which a given historical event described / analysed in the following chapters is set.

This chapter dealt with how Sint Eustatius converted from a plantation economy to a trading economy. The trade flourished and the island became relatively rich. The island lost momentum after Rodney's raid and the abolition of slavery. Those who remained on the island (i.e. mainly former slaves) ended up in a difficult existence.

The island has a rich history. But it is a history of colonialism. People (i.e. slaves) were exploited for colonial gain. The island has changed hands many times. This led to foreign influences to be embedded into the island. Thus, the island was not only shaped by colonizers but also by slaves. The current relationship with the Netherlands is still difficult. The local population occasionally accuses the Netherlands of re-establishing colonial domination on the island.

5. Statian identity

In this chapter the research question 'How is the collective past of the local community of St. Eustatius reflected in their identity?' will be answered. The first chapter gives a short description of what the island looks like today. The following seven chapters analyse aspects which formed the identity of Sint Eustatius and its inhabitants. The last chapter concludes this chapter.

5.1. Background

Statia is a small island. There are almost 4000 people living on the island. About three quarters, 3139 are residents of Statia (Statista Research Department, 2020). There are slightly more men than women, see Figure 7 (CBS, 2020). The other quarter are persons who for all kinds of reasons work or stay short term on the island[18]. They are over 40 nationalities on the island (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). Nevertheless, the island is predominantly black. Many of them have a black heritage and an African heritage, see Appendix G. Thus, it is a place where cultural interaction occurs in proximity.
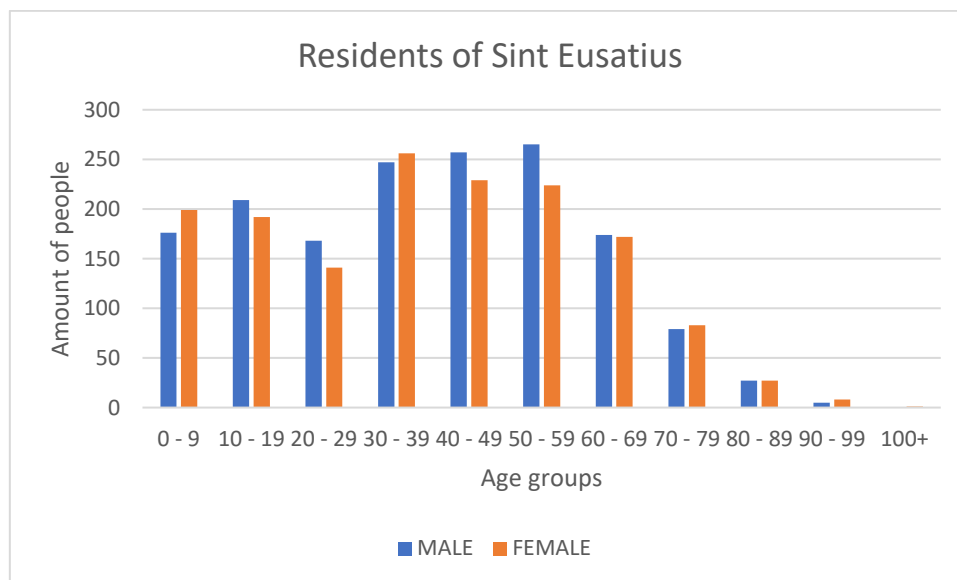
Figure 7. Graph male-female division (CBS, 2020).

The area of living on the island is relative compact due to the higher grounds on either side of the island. Janet Schaw described the island in 1775 as

> […] the Island itself the only ugly one I have seen. Nor do I think that I would stay on it for any bribe. It is however an instance of Dutch industry little inferior to their dykes; as the one half of the town is gained off the Sea, which is fenced out by Barracadoes, and the other dug out of an immense mountain of sand and rock; which rises to a great height behind the houses, and will one day bury them under it. On the top of this hill I saw some decent-looking houses, but was not able to mount it, to look at them nearer. (Andrews & Andrews, 2001, p. 136)

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[18] This includes sailors who work on tugboats, maintenance staff of GTI, construction workers, expats, snowbirds and so on.

Most people live in the Cultuurvlakte, in between these higher grounds. The town is called Oranjestad which is divided between Lower Town, next to the beach, and Upper Town, on top of the cliff. In Appendix A, a map of the island is presented showing the locations which are discussed in this thesis.

5.2. Intergenerational tensions

5.2.1. Nicknames

The island Sint Eustatius has been referred to as Statia, The Golden Rock, Money Mountain, Diamond Rock, Emporium of the Caribbean, small speck in the ocean and The Historic Gem (Aceto, 2006; Andrews & Andrews, 2001). The nickname Statia has been used synonymously to Sint Eustatius. The most common used nicknames are 'The Golden Rock' and 'The Historic Gem'. These are the nicknames that have been further researched. 79% of the survey respondents indicated that 'The Golden Rock' refers to the trading centre of the eighteenth century. The remaining 21% indicated that it refers to richness. One of the survey respondents said 'because of its rich past which was derived from our unique geographical position which was perfect for passing ships. We were a trading hub.' About three quarters of the respondents indicated that Statia is referred to as 'The Historic Gem' due to the many historical sites that are still stand untouched. The other quarter is divided between similar responses to the Golden Rock question and uncertainty of why its named that way. The interviewees and conversationalists have responded in a similar manner.

Many Statians tend to have a nickname in similar fashion to nicknames given to the island. These nicknames are extensions of your name or descriptive features of an individual appearance or experience. Occasionally they are named after folkloric figures. These nicknames have stuck over time. An elderly interviewee said 'Lot of folks around here have nicknames... you know. […]. It is difficult to remove the name from the person. That is why there is a tradition of nicknames on the island. It is not that heavy like before... in the sense that I know when we were going to school, I think all… most children had nicknames (Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020)'.

According to Goodenough (1965) names are either reminders of people's personal identity or reminders for people to know their fellows (Goodenough, 1965 as cited in Aceto, 2002). In communities with a few large families, there is a higher chance to come across people with the same first names (and of course last names). These names become in a sense non-functional in society, therefore it is useful to have nicknames (Manning, 1974). In a sense nicknames are then used as a language within the community. These nicknames allow people to differentiate themselves within the community. In Sint Eustatius, these nicknames are both used while speaking to and referring someone. They are meant to be endearing (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 7, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 2, personal communication 2020; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 26, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 28, personal communication, 2020).

It is assumed that the nicknames are linked to the times of slavery. Slaves were given a name by their slave owner, however between themselves they used their own name. The names slaves used between themselves became nicknames to their new formal name (name given by their owner). When slaves gave birth, the babies names needed to be reported. Often a slave could not write / read, so they could not spell their child's name. The one documenting the names would give the baby the name of his/her slave owner, for example Berkel. The family would call the baby differently

(Burton, 1999; Interviewee 13, personal communication, 2020). Thus, it could be argued that nicknames are derived from the times of slavery. You can however argue that other places use a lot of nicknames too, so it cannot be certain that nicknames are linked to slavery. Several people pointed out that on this island it likely originated in times of slavery (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 13, personal communication, 2020). Even though the use of nicknames originated during slavery, people do not associate their nickname to slavery. The larger families as mentioned earlier strengthened the use of the nicknames.

Over the last years the nicknames of local people are disappearing. As mentioned, Sint Eustatius is since 1954 part of the Dutch Antilles and since 2010 a public municipality of the Netherlands, thereby gaining rights of participation in public Dutch life. In a sense formal identity became more important. In the past an actual name would have not been revealed until their funeral (Burton, 1999; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020). But now, nicknames have lost its value as formal names gained more functionality in society (Het Nationaal Archief, n.d.; Allen, 2010). Thus the importance of nicknames in Statian society is slowly disappearing.

5.2.2. Place names

Functionality of society, similarly as to the nicknames, is also found in the names given to places. The spatial landscape of the island was formed during slavery (see Section 5.6). Many place names on the island are directly or indirectly linked to slavery.

Some names are Anglicisation of Dutch words or vice versa, for example White Wall, previously Witte Hoek and Kay Bay, previously Keij Baaij. A mixture of languages as seen in Figure 8 is still visible in the street signs of Sint Eustatius. The sign 'Emmaweg' is in Dutch while the sign 'Ada de Veer Southern Rd.' is in English. Occasionally the sign is a conjunction of the two languages, for example 'Cottageweg'. This shows the regular changes of languages during the occupation in the slavery period.
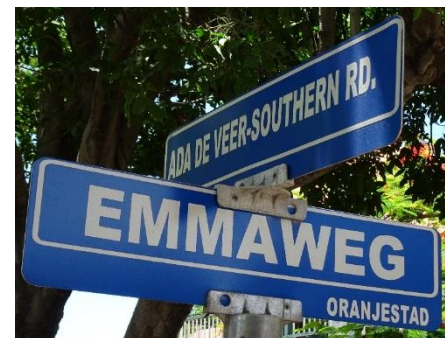
Figure 8. Street signs of Sint Eustatius in both English and Dutch (own collection).

All places along the coast of Sint Eustatius have been named, representing their maritime culture (Stelten, 2019). One of the places is Gallow's Bay named after the place where criminals were put to death in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Some of these places along the coast have been named after people, for example Jenkins Bay and Tumble Down Dick, see Textbox 2 (Hartog, 1976; Kandle,1985; Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020). Along the coast there are many forts and batteries that are named either after the one who created them, for example Battery de Windt after commander Jan de Windt or a representation of the royal family, for example Fort Oranje. These names occasionally changed as another empire was in power.

Textbox 2. Stories of names (Hartog, 1976).

In Oranjestad there are several direct links to slavery. To connect Lower Town and Upper Town, one can use the slave path (see Section 6.3.1). There are also several streets named after a slave owner, for example Heyligerweg. There is also a street called 'De Ruyterweg' but it is known as 'Black Harry Lane', who was a slave (see Section 5.6). When we go further into the landscape, some of the places are named after previous plantations, for example 'English Quarter' or plantation owners[19], for example 'Godet'.

In general, the street signs vary from people to plants, fruits and shrubs. The further away from Oranjestad the street signs become more descriptive of the landscape, for example 'Behind the Mountain' or point out where you are heading, for example 'road to White Wall'. The people of the island, however, rarely use the signs to explain someone where to go. It does not seem as if they actively choose to avoid these signs because they (may) relate to slavery. They tend to give directions based on sites in the landscape, for example 'Big Stone', see Figure 9. By naming these objects meaning is given to these objects. A local may see the Big Stone and interprets it as 'place' while a tourist may see the Big Stone and interprets it as 'space' (Cresswell, 2015). The way locals relate to objects in a 'place' shows that they are spatially aware of their surroundings. They are able to tap into their memory to portray a sense of direction (McCrone, 1998 as cited in Winter, 2004). Place-names identify and represent people's sense of home.

Figure 9. Junction 'Big Stone' (own collection).

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[19] A plantation owner is also a slave owner.

The traces of past experiences are thus found in place names that still exist today. In a sense the origin of these names give meaning to heritage. It connects both the tangible and the intangible. So, place names are a matter of historical documentation.

5.2.3. Way of life

When the elite of the island or expats arrive at Statia they tend to live on the outskirts of town near the ring of the Quill. They tend to live higher on the land. The ring around the Quill is also referred to as 'Welfare Road'. The houses along the road are exquisite however the road itself looks poor. Most people living in this area have a white skin colour (Conversationalist 2, personal communication, 2020). In 1792 Zimmerman the Elder wrote 'On each plantation there is usually a village of 30 to 40 little huts, […] where the poor rascals live' (Kandle, 1985). Hereby indicating that slaves lived away from their slaveowner(s). The slaveowners tended to live higher on the island than the slaves did. It was then used to show a sense of power, see Figure 10 (Miller & Gilmore III, 2016). It is interesting to notice that this segregation in some capacity still exists on this island.

Figure 10. Drawing plantations, from left to right slave owners house, buildings used for work and slave dwellings (Stelten, 2013).

Beth Fowkes Tobin said 'Africans and their descendants knew techniques for raising African plants, and they also mastered growing Amer-Indian plants such as cassava, corn, and sweet potatoes' (Tobin, 1999 as cited in Mahendran, 2001, p. 50). Hereby indicating that slaves did not only bring knowledge but also seeds from Africa (Carney, 2003). The movement of slaves from Africa to Sint Eustatius was a vector of change without a secure destination. In Figure 10 it is shown the slaves lived in their own quarter on the plantation. Many of them had their own garden in which they grew their own food: herbs, vegetables and fruits (Gilmore III, 2005; Mahendran, 2001). They would eat yams, cassava, maize and sweet potatoes (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a). These gardens allowed slaves to form a connection to the island (Mahendran, 2001). Some slaveowners provided slaves with food while others did not. This meant that occasionally slaves would steal food (Gillmore III, 2005) or escape from the plantation and run into the Quill. Here they would survive on snakes, iguanas, crabs and fruits (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020). The slave owners on the other hand ate all kinds of food as a wide variety of food and wine was traded on the island.

Slaveowners occasionally allowed their slaves to leave the plantation for hunting, fishing or trading (Stinchcombe, 1994 as cited in Gilmore III, 2005), then they could technically also be eating fish or meat (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a). In 1792 Zimmerman the Elder wrote 'On this island the pineapples are the best of the entire West Indies. I've seen them of 10- or 12-pounds' weight, and very ripe. For 5 of 6 Dutch stivers you can buy one from the negroes, and they cost them, so to speak, only the cutting' (Kandle, 1985, p. 183). Hereby indicating that slaves trading network interacted with slaveowners and merchants. They also traded with slaves and free slaves. This trading system allowed people to not only trade products but also clothes or other items. This allowed slaves to use similar utensils as their slaveowners, see Figure 11 and 12 (Gilmore III, 2005). Selling products in the market could also elevate slaves to buy their freedom (Gilmore III, 2005). In a sense the slaves on Sint Eustatius were relatively free in comparison to other areas.

Figure 11. Utensils – shards of a plate - used by slaves / slaveowners (Photodiary Respondent).

Figure 12. Utensils – shards of a plate - used by slaves / slaveowners (Photodiary Respondent).

As said, some slaves were able to gain their freedom, see Textbox 3, through trading products (Gilmore III, 2005). The population of free slaves grew over time. They tended to live on the periphery of Oranjestads' Upper Town. It is alleged that some lived as a community in a 'free black village' on the opposite of the current Seventh day Adventist church (van Keulen, 2020). In present day no one is living at the 'free black village'. It is alleged that since 1785 the free slaves had to carry their manumission papers and had to wear a red ribbon on their chest to signify their freedom (Gilmore III, 2006). In Section 5.6 it will be shown that this colour is now recognized with Emancipation Day. This ribbon creates a distinction between 'black' people: slave and free slave. Some of these freed slaves had slaves themselves (Gilmore III, 2005; Gilmore III, 2013; Cook & Stelten, 2014). In 1818 Fraces Cuffey, a free slave, bought Glassbottle Fort Plantation including 14 slaves for approximately $3000 (Du Veer, 1818 as cited in Gilmore III, 2005). It is interesting to note that relatively many female free slaves had land or slaves of their own (Gilmore III, 2005). Thereby indicating that these women had some power which is still visible in contemporary society.

> Robert King, a prominent Quaker merchant bought the slave Olaudah Equiano for 40 pound in 1763. He promised his freedom if Olaudah could provide the 40 pound plus dividend, roughly 47 pounds. On one of the trading trips to Sint Eustatius Olaudah bought a glass tumbler with half a bit. On Montserrat Olaudah sold it for a bit. With the next trip Olaudah bought two glass tumblers and sold it for two bits. The following trip Olaudah bought four more glasses which were sold for four bits. On the next trip Olaudah bought two glasses with one bit and a jug of jenever (from Weesp) with three bits. He sold the glasses for two bits and the jug for eight bits. His capital amounted to a dollar. This took him just over a month. He felt very rich. Several more trips followed and four years later he was able to buy his freedom.

Textbox 3. Olaudah Equiano (Equiano, 1789).

The Statians used to be agricultural focused (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 11, personal communication, 2020). Today the elderly take pride in agricultural practices, but the younger generation looks away. An elder interviewee took me around the garden and showed me various shrubs and herbs from the regions mentioned by Beth Fowkes Tobin. The interviewee said that she enjoyed working in the garden. She could pass on knowledge to the next generation, but at the same time could keep herself

healthy (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). The younger generation Statians look down upon those working in the garden as it refers to working as a slave. It reminds them of their ancestors struggling for their freedom. It feels as if they would take a step back (Interviewee 5, personal communication, 2020). Thus slaves working in their garden experienced it as a bit of freedom, while the current young generation reflect it as a part of slavery which it historically was not. While this is a 'distorted memory', it also shows how the memory of slavery is very much alive and linked to how younger generations engage with 'gardening' as part of their identity.

The traditional food as we used to know it, is disappearing from present-day Sint Eustatius. The food of today is Americanized (Conversationalist 14, personal communication, 2020). The elderly of Sint Eustatius have some memories related to food. They remember that when they were younger that they ate turtle. Their parents hunted for these animals. They remember a delicious flavour and festive family moment (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020). The idea of the sea and turtles brought up emotional memories. Also, they remember the preparation of food in stone ovens, which are found outside someone's home (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a). Today similar memories can no longer be formed. STENAPA for example has put measures in place to control and monitor the turtles - they can no longer be eaten (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020). The cooking in stone ovens is only used today during celebratory events (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). In short, there is a traditional food culture on the island that is slowly disappearing. This implies that a piece of tangible heritage is disappearing.

The slaves did not only use seeds for food purposes but also for religious and health practices (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020). An interviewee pointed out that knowledge of traditional medicines is passed down from generation to the next (Conversationalist 5, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 10, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 3, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 26, personal communication, 2020) and it originated from the ancestors who learned them in Africa (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). Medicinal plants are found all over the island, especially in the national parks (Conversationalist 5, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 18, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 3, personal communication, 2020).

A few examples are aloe, bush tea and sugar apple, see Textbox 4. Juices from the leaves of aloe are meant to be put on burns to alleviate the pain and stimulate the healing. A bush tea, from hibiscus or lemon, is good for digestion (Conversationalist 3, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020; St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a). Eating sugar apple is supposed to be a way to overcome cancer (Interviewee 26, personal communication, 2020) and live a long life (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020).

During Christmas time people carefully avoided the horns on the fruits and flesh of the Prickly Pear Cactus. The fruit contained juices. Rum was usually added to fortify this drink. The flesh of this cactus is edible. The drink is supposed to regulate your blood sugar.

The famous, Alexander Hamilton is rumoured to have enjoyed this Statian specialty!

Textbox 4. Drink 'Miss Blyden' (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-a).

The younger generation seem to be losing interest in traditional medicines as pharmacies are widely available (Posthouwer, Verheijden & van Andel, 2016). This suggests that knowledge of traditional medicine is heritage within the Caribbean region. Only a few people interested in traditional medicine continue to practice this form of knowledge.

In short, the social cultural identity is tied to traditions of the land: gardening and agricultural activities. The younger generation shunned engaging in activities associated with the land. The

elderly sense of identity remained embedded in the land and was not imbued with thoughts about the legacy of slavery.

5.2.4. Family structures

My interviewees feel and describe Sint Eustatius as a matriarchal society. A society is considered matriarchal when descent, inheritance and succession are all in the female line (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 as cited in Uberoi, 1995). Cheikh Anta Diop beliefs that matriarchy unlike patriarchy should not be described as a society ruled by women (McGee, 2015). Instead, matriarchy should be seen as a harmonious dualism between males and females. It is expected that males accept and defend this society (Diop, 1978 as cited in Wolfstone, 2018).

As discussed in Chapter 4 many men left the island for the whaling and then the oil industry. The lack of men on the island caused a surge in a few families. This is visible today with some of the larger families named 'Lopes, Spanner, Gibbs, Van Putten, Brown, Woodley and Berkel' (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020). The women had to rely on themselves to survive, not just for themselves but also for their children.

From observations I noted that women tend to hold a strong foothold within their families, even if they have a partner. One interviewee said, 'If [name] snaps her fingers, he [her husband] will drop to the ground (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020)'. This is not only visible in Sint Eustatius but also in the rest of the Caribbean region (Gibbs, 2021). It is debatable if the family unit, as we are used to in Western Europe, exists on the island. It could thus be argued that Sint Eustatius is a 'matriarchal society' as considered by Cheikh Anta Diop (Conversationalist 6, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). While this does not correspond to an academic definition of matriarchy, it does point to the gender imbalance on the island. It has nothing to do with slavery, but with the period afterwards in which there was poverty on the island. It can however be argued that some patterns of matriarchy were already visible during the times of slavery in the free slave community through for example Fraces Cuffey as discussed in the previous section.

The larger families have a strong influence in the community. The shared connection allows strong bonds to be formed with one another (de Koning, 2011; The Daily Herald, 2016). The family can give you a sense of belonging. According to the community there are both advantages and disadvantaged to this influence. An advantage is for example receiving / giving support in joyous times but also in difficult times. A disadvantage are situations in which power is involved. It could potentially lead to an abuse of power. For example, if you would be in a government position and you need a company to contract for a job. If a family member vs a non-family member would both be able to this job, it could be easier to choose family (as you know their situation). An interviewee pointed out that she preferred not to choose family for a job, even if that causes a relationship to fracture, as family members do not always take you serious as their boss (Interviewee 20, personal communication, 2020).

Most of the larger families have installed 'two rules' within their families. It is also present in other families but to a lesser extent. The first rule is often addressed to women in the family; however, it also counts for men. The rule is 'marry outside of the island' or 'check before you start dating if you are not related' (Interviewee 16, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 3, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 17, personal communication, 2020). Thereby showing a deeper understanding of the risk involved if you marry and have children with a family member. As

the island is small the chances of running into a family member, even if it is a 3rd or 4th distant cousin is relatively high. The second rule is 'you always have to come back to Statia' (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). The second rule intends to avoid a possible brain drain. Further information on this topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Statian community values 'Respect', 'Integrity', and 'Honesty' as reflected in Figure 13. This word cloud is created by a question of the survey (see Appendix B). One section of the survey was only filled in by those who feel Statian. Eighteen survey respondents stated 46 words to describe the Statians values. The only meddling that I have done is to accurately write these words, so that the word cloud would be as accurate as possible. The larger the word, the more frequent it has been mentioned. The Statians look upon themselves as hardworking and proud people who strive for excellence (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020). They strive in adversity but are community minded. They are loving, kind and god fearing (Leerdam, 2020). It also seems that Statians are resistant to change. This is visible in the following examples: language (Section 5.4) and, abolishing Dutch Antilles (Section 4.6). In its essence it is about respect and unity. It is expected that Statians respect their elders, their family and their knowledge (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). This is reflected in the word 'Heritage'. As stated, Statians strive in adversity. This can be linked to any period on the island. In a sense slaves persevered and then women persevered. It is also interesting to see that they value 'History', 'Culture' and 'Freedom'. It shows that the Statians think about their heritage and how it may relate to slavery. In short, Statians value respect and unity. To a degree they care about their past.

Figure 13. Word cloud 'survey response on Statian values' (own collection).

5.2.5. 'Tweederangsburger'

This section discusses why and how some people of Statia feel as if they are 'Tweederangsburger[20]' of the Netherlands. It literally translates to 'secondary citizen'. In a sense some Statians, even though they are Dutch, feel inferior to European Dutch citizens.

The high school was opened approximately 25 years ago (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2021). Until 1985 every Statian who wanted to progress their educational development had to leave the island at the age of 11 or 12. Today they can remain on the island until they go to a university or college. The islands educational system is like the Netherlands. The secondary institution is divided into three levels: MAVO (lower level), HAVO (middle level), VWO

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[20] Secondary citizen

(higher level). The secondary institution only educates on the MAVO and HAVO level. If you are very intelligent, you may still leave the island at the age of 11 or 12 to further educate yourself (Interviewee 17, personal communication, 2020).

In a distant past most women would remain on the island. They would take care of their family. They would be assisting their mothers in the garden or while cooking. They would learn household trades (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). Over time like men, they would be allowed to further educate themselves. Nevertheless, it meant you had to go somewhere else, usually somewhere in the (former) Dutch Antilles. Often this meant that at a young age you would live with distant family, 'strangers'. If you had no family on that island, you would go to boarding school. Every other year you would go home for the summer holiday (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020).

After high school either you return home or continue your education in either the United States of America or in the Netherlands. According to my interviewees, this is often the first moment in their life in which their skin colour would be pointed out. In the Statian society 'white' and 'black' live side by side and there is strong we-feeling (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010). The stereotypes and assumptions of who they are in the hosts country come to light. They feel 'out of place' and experience a form of racism. This is the first time they experience a we vs them feeling. Their identity is shaped through the 'space' in which they and others see themselves. The individual may find a sense of belonging with those who experienced the same (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Sökefeld, 1999; Grever, 2006; Dutro, Kazemi, Balf & Lin, 2008). This experience impacts their identity even if they return home.

They feel as if they are 'tweederangseburgers' in comparison to others in the host country. The skin colour is different, almost as if they are less. The stigmatization of colonialism comes to the foreground (Mullings, 2005). This feeling does not disappear when they return home. On the contrary this feeling may even be emphasized in a different manner. The College for Human Rights has criticised the Dutch government for their treatment of the Caribbean islands (Marijnissen, 2018). Some of the benefits befitting the European Dutch do not match or do not occur on the islands. For example the Statians, who are Dutch, do not have a postal code on the island and do not have a 'burgerservicenummer[21]' which makes it harder to get a bankcard in the Netherlands (Conversationalist 19, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 13, personal communication, 2020). This has led to the Statians feeling as if they are 'tweederangsburgers'. On the other hand, some of the Statians do not realize that certain benefits match as they are measured against Statian statistics. For example, Statians like the European Dutch receive social benefits if you are not able to gain enough income to support yourself. It is measured against the minimum wage. The Statians find it unfair that they receive less income in comparison to European Dutch which factual they are not. It is measured against different minimum wage as the living standards are different (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 13, personal communication, 2020).

There is an identity gap between the elderly and younger generation in Statia. The elderly do not believe that racism on the island exists while the younger generation does. The elderly belief that those who came before them, worked hard to give them a better life. They prefer to give a better life to the next generation. They do not belief that racism is a part of their existence (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 5, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 14,

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[21] Personal identification number.

personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 18, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 28, personal communication, 2020).

The generation in between grew up with no discrimination or racism in their eyes. They notice that it becomes more prevalent on the island. An interviewee said 'sitting in a classroom, with white people, back and brown people, all kind of people... discrimination was never engraved in us. Now discrimination is a topic and starts being part of the island' (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 20, personal communication, 2020).

There is a precarious trend going on in relation to racism. Racism is used to gain a political and social advantage of the Dutch (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020). For example if a discussions takes place in the workplace, and a disagreement arises, a Statian may say 'racist', 'plantation owner', 'colonialist' to the other person. Hereby creating a social / political foothold on the workplace by guilting the other of the past (Conversationalist 23, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). Some global movements, for example the BLM movement are copied and inflicted in Statian society. The younger Statians are active on social media and through this medium they took over the BLM opinions. The core issues of the BLM movement are not occurring in Statian society. It is a very dangerous trend (Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020). I One of the interviewees said 'Wicked people want us to create animosity and division among the population to instil racism/discrimination…. Its evil' (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020).

Those who did not leave the island do not gain these experiences. They do not see what other cultures are like, they do not know, and they do not understand it (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020). They might copy what is being shared with them. It does not mean that these people are stupid (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). It means that the people who share their experience make a lot of noise and they confuse them.

Thus, the topics of slavery and racism are related. The increased focus to racism makes the subject of slavery more sensitive. This makes it more difficult to promote heritage related to slavery in the tourism strategy. Accurate information appears to be necessary to do justice to the past. It could also assist in positioning the locals to feel less like 'tweederangsburgers'.

As mentioned earlier families expect their children to return to the island. Yet there is a limited return among the highly educated, the brain drain phenomenon. They remain in the Netherlands or the United State of America for job opportunities. Then they start a family and prefer to stay in a country where there is more opportunity. On the island this leads to problems. This means that others, not from Statia, must come in to fulfil the positions with educational requirements. It reaffirms this notion of 'tweederangsburgers' because they are unable to fill in the positions themselves. They become second choice.

5.2.6. Take away message

There are generational tensions in relation to slavery on the island. The older generation has acquiesced while the younger generation has not. The older generation has accepted that slavery happened and want to move on to something better. They also wish something better for the generations to come. Yet the younger generation are more militant about the past.

It is doubtful if there is enough historical knowledge on the island to stimulate the slavery debate to overcome the gap between the generations. The younger generations have pushed for the slavery debate. Now, however, the slavery debate seems to be a political and social issue.

5.3. Language

Janet Schaw gave a detailed description of language on the island in 1775. She said 'But never did I meet with such variety; here was a merchant vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc. etc. They all wear the habit of their country, and the diversity is really amusing' (Andrews & Andrews, 2001). Hereby indicating that during the Golden era the merchants were selling their goods in all kinds of languages. It is even more interesting as the Dutch varied in terms of how they colonized an area in comparison to the rest of Europe. The Dutch tended to adopt the language spoken on the island instead of imposing their own language (Hartog, 1976). When Jan Snouck first arrived, it was Dutch with a Zeeuws dialect as they were the only one there. The only thing that remained in Dutch were the laws and legislations. Over time the language, as the colonizers did, changed to an English language (Aceto, 2006). The residents of Statia adapted to this language (Williams, Schneider, Trudgill & Schreider, 2015). Zimmerman the Elder wrote 'The local language of the natives, as well as the mulattos and blacks, is English' in 1792 (Kandle, 1985).

The Dutch had control through slavery over the island and its population. Eventually the Golden Era ended, and slavery was abolished. This meant that the Dutch lost control. They looked for other ways to maintain control over the island and its population, and one way to do this was to put a stronger emphasis on the Dutch language. An emphasis that had previously not been there as the spoken language on the island was a form of English. This led to a focus on Dutch spoken education and religious practices (Interviewee 25, personal communication, 2020). Eventually this changed back to English as more people of the island spoke a form of English.

From 1933 onwards educational institutions switched back and forth between English and Dutch every couple of years (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). Dutch knowledge was required for governmental positions on the island (Hartog, 1976). It also reinserted the power of the Dutch (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020). The languages in which someone is instructed may form your identity (Interviewee 25, personal communication, 2021). The language skills and the language you use form your outlook on the world. As the language of instruction changed every so often, there is a kind of language breakdown among the generations. It is even possible that you cannot communicate well with a brother that is a couple of years older (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021).

As mentioned previously Sint Eustatius became a public entity of the Netherlands in 2010. The Netherlands asked a research group to investigate the benefits of Dutch and English as language of instruction in the educational institutions. The results led to a permanent switch to English as the language of instruction and Dutch as a foreign language. There were many reasons offered for this switch. The most important reason being that most of the population is only exposed to Dutch in the educational institutions. An interviewee of the research said 'There is a general resistance to the Dutch and Dutch language, because people feel that it is being imposed on them. People here have a history of people telling them what to do. [....]'. Many of them thus tend to speak a form of English first. The report gives their way of speaking a name: Statian English (Mijts, Kester & Faraclas; 2018; Mijts, Faraclas & Kester, 2013).

Statian English is a creole language. Language is a piece of intangible heritage. By giving the Statians power of their way of speaking it will first legitimize their language but also give people a sense of pride. Pride about the way they speak (Interviewee 25, personal communication, 2020). Statian English is also referred to as 'Broken English'. Their Statian English is for example shortened: 'Come here! – Comèr!'. This way of speaking relates all the way back to the times of slavery. Slaves would speak this way among each other, so that their master could not understand what they were speaking about (Conversationalist 9, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020).

In short, most of the population speak Statian English as their first language, Standard English as their second language and potentially Dutch, Papiamento or Spanish as a foreign language. Thereby indicating that most Statians are bilingual or multilingual (Interviewee 25, personal communication, 2021; Mijts, Kester & Faraclas; 2018). Based on the survey, people on Sint Eustatius speak averagely three languages. These languages include Dutch, English, Spanish, Papiamento, German and French. Thus they have a Statian identity in which language of other identities is very much interwoven.

5.4. Music

Music is generally rooted in society. It is an oral form of expression (Arnold, 2001). The traditional music on the island is known as Calypso. It can also be seen as intangible heritage. Calypso is a style of Afro-Caribbean music whereby the rhymes can be traced back to West Africa. Music, like seeds was transported onboard the slave ships to the Americas (Calypso, 2021; Boxill, 1994; Hill, 1972 as cited in Boxill, 1994; de Beaugrande, 1997 as cited in Masiola & Tomei, 2016). The subject of a Calypso song is often politically or socially motivated. The tone of the music is usually one of allusion, mockery and double entendre (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1992 as cited in Boxill, 1994). In a sense its witty and somewhat satiric. You are able to sing what cannot be said in speech.

During the times of slavery, Zimmerman the Elder (1792) wrote

> Day before yesterday the captain-commandant came to fetch me and asked if I would like to see a negro company and how they amused themselves. I was soon ready and went thence with the group. I don't know that I've every laughed so much. It was a negro ballet. I wish you could have seen what wondrous and bizarre figures these gentlemen made. They were quite honoured with our company and showed us all submission and friendship. They were drinking their punch and grog, which the leader offered us, and we accepted. Their music consisted of 2 tambourines, 2 vocalists and one piece of old iron that was beaten with a tenpin, and then a violinist who had probably never played before. Presently the harmony of this difficult music affected me painfully in the ears. There were some mulatto women[22] there in that illustrious company, most of them doing English contra-danses. We danced 2 or 3 dances with them, and at the end had a black musician taken out of the place, who performed the music passably. After we brave ones were worn out, we left the company and they thanked us greatly for the honour that we had done them. (Zimmerman the Elder, 1792 as cited in Kandle, 1985, p. 186)

Since Zimmerman the Elder was invited to see a 'negro ballet', it seems as if the societal influences from hierarchal structures were blending together. He was interacting with 'negroes', even though he himself was likely a merchant. For slaves the art form of music acted as a form of communication. The songs were encompassing to fit the social and emotional needs of the community. It was used to

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[22] Mixed raced women.

keep up morale while working on the plantations (Boxill, 1994; Arnold, 2001). The signing of these songs created a sense of belonging to the community (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010).

The music of the island always tends to hold meaning, for example in Textbox 1 a celebrative song of the abolition of slavery was given. Often the lower class influences the development of this type of music (Bilby, 1999). The hymn as seen in Textbox 5 is like the traditional and marching song 'One More Drink for the Four of Us' (One More Drink for the Four of Us, 2021). It allows those who sing it to feel some sense of national pride. It legitimizes unity (Boxill, 1994).

> No Yes, big to Yes.
> One bottle of rum for the whole big bang.
> When we are drunk, we are happy as can be.
> We are the members of the long company.
>
> - Lord Gene

Textbox 5. Hymn by Lord Gene (Interviewee 26, personal communication, 2020).

This sense of unity is also visible in the Statian band 'Hippie Boys' which was founded in 1959. As they gained notoriety and became a cultural icon on Statia they changed their name to 'Killy Killy Band'. This name refers to the native Statian bird, Killy Killy. The bird makes a melodic sound that attracts the inhabitants. The band plays similar soothing music. Their songs are generally played during community gathering or in informal settings such as bars (Interviewee 26, personal communication, 2020; Groeneveld & Hortencia, 2013; Arnold, 2001). In 1997 they received a statue in front of the guesthouse, see Figure 14. The people representative in the statue are from left to right Eeshi, Teddy, Walton, Dip Spoiler and moon, the nicknames of the players (Statian: A Scroll Down Memory Lane, n.d.).

Figure 14. Statues of the 'Hippie Band' (own collection).

The musical influences of the 'Killy Killy band' must have inspired the 'Rebels Band HD' in some shape. The 'Rebels Band HD' was founded in 1996. They are a socaband, which is an offshoot of the calypso music. It is slightly more soulful (Antilliaanse Feesten, n.d.; Rebels Band HD, n.d.).

In the Caribbean music expressions of daily life are given to spark a sense of identity (Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin, 2010). We should not forget that Calypso was in a sense promoting unity in a time in which violence and loss of identity was all around them (Boxill, 1994; Masiola & Tomei, 2016). Calypso in the Caribbean provides hope. It can provide and strengthen the collective identity of Sint Eustatius.

5.5. Public holidays

Public holidays are days in which an (historical) event is commemorated on a (inter-)national scale. This topic is included in this thesis as some public holidays have a strong link to the history of the transatlantic slave trade and contribute to the Statian identity. These public holidays are generally

established by law and allow employees a day off (Feest-en gedenkdagen, 2020). There are 12 public holidays in Sint Eustatius, as seen in Table 5 (Lonely Planet, n.d.-a).

Table 5. Public holidays in Sint Eustatius (Lonely Planet, n.d.-a).

Name	Date
New Year's Day	January 1st
Good Friday	March / April
Easter Sunday	March / April
Easter Monday	March / April
King's Day	April 27th
Labour Day	May 1st
Ascension Thursday	40th day after Easter
Emancipation Day	July 1st
Statia Day	November 16th
Kingdom Day	December 15th
Christmas Day	December 25th
Boxing Day	December 26th

The most celebrated public holidays in Sint Eustatius are Easter, Emancipation Day, Carnival (no longer officially recognized as public holiday) and Statia Day (CNSI, n.d.-a). In the following two sections Emancipation Day and Statia Day will be further explored due to their link to the period of slavery.

5.5.1. Emancipation Day – July 1st

In Section 4.5 a description of the abolishment of slavery is given. As stated July 1st, 1863 was celebrated widely in Statia. It is also referred to as July Day. The slaves were no longer in bondage. In a sense 'space' or 'place' as they knew it dissolved. They were no longer tied to a location or within the structures of hierarchy. Ever since the abolishment of slavery is celebrated. Twenty years after the abolishment, the island planted a flamboyant tree in the square of the town (The Daily Herald, 2018). It is assumed that this tree was blooming during 1863 (Stelten, 2019). It represents freedom.

> Every first of July, we used to have some kind of celebration. Each house was decorated and everything and the island was decorated with those July flowers, because the First o' July was the Freedom Day and the July tree blossomed so much in July that that was something to them, like a plant that represents their freedom. Every place you could find the July branches stickin' under the houses and so on when I was a kid. (Charlie Arnold as cited in Crane, 1999, p. 135)

Decorating houses and singing is representative of the Statian community. Some interviewees noted that they participate in this act. Early in the morning of July 1st, people in the community are awoken by drums. People are free to join the drums parade which finishes at Wilhelminapark (Kuster, 2009). They are encouraged to sing the song as seen in Textbox 1 or Textbox 6. It is like the community is serenading those within the community (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 28, personal communication, 2020; SXM Talks, 2018). Another widespread tradition is to have a picnic either in Wilhelminapark or elsewhere.

Oh July was the day,
When the joyful news was told,
Come [...]
For the people young and old,
Oh July was the day.
I glad I live to see the day.
Happy, happy July Day,
Humbug won't come humbug me,

Textbox 6. July song (SXM Talks, 2018).

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Food and music would be prepared (Interviewee 9, personal communication, 2020). People are dressed in traditional clothing. Females are often wearing a white dress with a blue ribbon. It is unclear why these colours are chosen. Some would wear a headband interwoven with flowers of the flamboyant tree, see Figure 15 (The Daily Herald, 2018). This tradition will continue onwards. As you can see the flamboyant tree blooms red-orange flowers. This is one of colours to represent mourning in Western Africa, the region from which most slaves originated (The Associated Press, 2020).

Figure 15. Flamboyant Tree (own collection).

Besides these traditions a more formal recognition for the abolishment of slavery also takes place. The government of Sint Eustatius places a wreath of the flamboyant tree in front of the historical museum and holds a speech, see Figure 16 (Statia Government, n.d.-d). The island does not have a government owned monument recognizing and remembering the abolishment of slavery, which will be further discussed in Section 6.4.2.

Figure 16. Governor Marnix van Rij and deputy governor Alida Francis placing their wreath (Statia Government, n.d.-d).

During my stay on the island, the government officials spoken to referred to the wish of July 1st to become a public holiday (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 20, personal communication, 2020). The reasons varied among those spoken to. It also relates to the discussion posed in Section 7.2.3. The common theme was to reflect and commemorate the liberation of the slaves. Apparently, the island voted in May 2017 for adopting July 1st as an official holiday. It would take until January 2021 to become a reality. The island council has decided not to create an extra holiday but to replace it with another namely Carnival Monday as it is expensive for local businesses to pay employees on a public holiday.

This decision was taken as not everyone celebrates Carnival Monday. This is a Catholic event which in its origin celebrates abstaining from meat. In the Caribbean it transformed to an outward celebration of freedom. It is mainly celebrated within those people who align with the Catholic denomination. Due to some legal issues, the first official Emancipation Day which is a public holiday is July 1st, 2022 (The Daily Herald, 2021). By recognizing Emancipation Day as a public holiday, the Statian government acknowledges that the Statian community was liberated from slavery. It then also acknowledges that slavery did take place on the island.

5.5.2. Statia Day – November 16th

Sint Eustatius seems to be rather oriented towards America. People tend to buy products in America as they use the same currency and focus on their connection. The island has played a key role in ensuring the establishment of the United States of America. As former American president George Bush (1991) said,

> On November 16, 1776, a small American warship, the ANDREW DORIA, sailed into the harbor of the tiny Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies. Only 4 months before, the United States had declared its independence from Great Britain. The American crew was delighted when the governor of the island, Johannes de Graaf, ordered that his fort's cannons be fired in a friendly salute. The first ever given by a foreign power to the flag of the United States, it was a risky and courageous act. Indeed, angered by Dutch trading and contraband with the rebellious colonies, the British seized the island a few years later. De Graaf's welcoming salute was also a sign of respect, and today it continues to symbolize the deep ties of friendship that exist between the United States and the Netherlands. (Bush, 1991 as cited in U.S. Embassy and Consulate in the Netherlands, n.d.)

He declared November 16th as Dutch-American Heritage Day (U.S. Embassy and Consulate in the Netherlands, n.d.). In Sint Eustatius it is a public holiday, establish around 1960, called Statia Day. This event commemorates that Sint Eustatius recognized the independence of the United States of America. Leading up to this event a connection between Sint Eustatius and the United States of America was already established and continues to affect today's society. This can be seen in the following examples.

- Benjamin Franklin, founding father of the United States of America, send his letters through Statia during the second peak of the slave trade. He knew that their European allies would have the best chance to receive the information within the letters (CNSI, n.d.).
- Aldophus, brother of Franklin Roosevelts' forefather Isaac, came to Statia to manage the sugar trading business. It is assumed that when he needed labourers, he hired slaves. When his wife Elizabeth Groebe was a widower, she was a slaveowner who had received slaves from her father. They did not own slaves as a couple (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020; The Daily Herald, 2021a).
- Alexander Hamilton, founding father of the United States of America, spend parts of his childhood in Sint Eustatius (1753-1765). It is uncertain where he was born. The National Archive in the Hague displays a census record of the Hamiltons living in

Figure 17. The earliest entry of the entire Hamilton family in Statia in 1763, the fifth entry from the bottom (Stelten & Hinton, 2020).

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Statia in 1763, see Figure 17. The record show that James Hamilton had a wife, two sons and five slaves (Stelten & Hinton, 2020).

While I was on the island, Statia Day was celebrated in a limited capacity due to the Corona pandemic. In the morning glory people gathered in front of the Sint Eustatius Historical Museum to listen to several speakers who commemorated the event. Afterwards a big breakfast was served at the Lions Den, followed by the start of many festive celebrations during the day.

Normally the week leading up to Statia Day consists of celebrations: flag ceremonies, parades, speeches, dance events, singing events and music. Everywhere there are food stands – barbeque with meat and fish and so on (Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020). Statia Day usually closes the event. This day starts early in the morning with a re-enactment of the first salute at Fort Oranje. Here a plaque is found which recognizes this event. It was given by former American president Franklin Roosevelt (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020; The Daily Herald, 2021a).

5.6. Religion

Sint Eustatius religious background goes back to the arrival of Jan Snouck on the island. He brought Protestantism with him. They were preaching in Dutch. As the island was focused on becoming an agricultural colony, the reformed church was built in between the plantations and the town. This decision was taken as it would intensify its presence in the community. The church would be seen on the way from town to the plantation and vice versa. By ringing its bell, physical dominance was enhanced as it could be heard from all over the island (Stroo, n.d.; Miller & Gilmore III, 2016). It likely stood where the old church cemetery is located in contemporary Statia. The graves here date back to 1671 – 1772 (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-c). It is assumed that in 1689 the French destroyed the church (Kock, 2015). The islanders continued to preach on this land or in Fort Orange until the newly constructed church would be in place. Both slaveowners and slaves were able to pray here, however, slaves did not use this church as it was considered a 'white' place (Miller & Gilmore, 2016). Hereby showing that religion, regardless of a building, provides a sense of unity within the 'white' community (Oppong, 2013).

The new church would not be rebuilt on the same location instead the commanders decided to build the church behind Fort Orange as it would reflect the change in the social structures of the island: from plantation economy to trading economy. In 1755 the new reformed church was consecrated (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-b). The church was built from local volcanic stones and Bermuda lime stones. From the sea the church would be used as an anchorage point, see Figure 18 and 19 (Stelten, 2019). What is left today are ruins. The church was destroyed by hurricanes and subsequent storms (Attema, 1976).

Figure 18. View of the reformed church (de Graf, 2020[23]).

Figure 19. Sideview of the reformed church (own collection).

From 1730 onwards the religious diversity of the island came into play. The 'Union of Utrecht' allowed freedom of religion but it did not guarantee that it was free to exercise this religion in public. This treaty was signed by the chambers of Zeeland, Amsterdam and Utrecht in 1579 (Union of Utrecht, 2021; Knippenberg, 2006). If you practiced a religion other than Protestantism, you had to hide your belief in public society. Your place of worship may from the outside look just like another ordinary house (Kaplan, 2007 as cited in Miller & Gilmore III, 2016). However, permission had to be asked from the WIC before a place of worship, hidden in the landscape, could be operated. In a sense these religious places were the worst kept secret of Sint Eustatius.

In 1730 the Sephardic Jews of Sint Eustatius asked the WIC permission to construct a synagogue. The WIC granted permission if the synagogue would not be visible in the landscape. The synagogue 'Honen Daliem - He who shows mercy to the poor', was built on an empty lot within a housing block in assistance with the Jewish community on Curaçao. They were much richer than those on Sint Eustatius. The building was constructed with yellow brick brought from the Netherlands. Most of the

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[23] The photographer gave permission for me to use this picture.

Jews of the island were merchants who had several slaves (Abbattista, 2008; Hartog, 1967). The congregation grew until Rodney captured the island. During Rodney's raid the Jews were treated badly. They were expelled to Sint Kitts (Hartog, 1967). It is alleged that Rodney felt resentment towards the Jews. They were known to trade in contraband, especially to the insurgents of the United States of America (Abbattista, 2008). The congregation of Jews diminished significantly. After Rodney's occupation, some Jews returned to the island. As the island never regained its economic prosperity the Jews moved to Sint Thomas, Sint Croix and the United States of America (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.-d). The synagogue was no longer in use and gradually became a historical remnant, see Figure 20 and 21.

Figure 20. Ruins of the Synagogue (own collection).

Figure 21. Ruins of the Synagogue (own collection).

In the mid-17th century, the Dutch stopped baptizing slaves in the protestant religion (Leslie, 2020). Prior to this decision, slaves were able to obtain their freedom by their slave owner, by marriage, by baptism or by their parents being freed (Hondius, 2011). This ruling created a distinction between 'white' and 'black' religion. Some of the slaves already experienced a sense of exclusion from these places of worship as they stood out from generally 'white' places (Miller & Gilmore III, 2016; Hartog, 1976).

Towards the end of the 1770s 'Black Harry' arrived on Statia. He came from North America or Antiqua. He was enumerated with methodism due to John Wesley (Crane, 1999; Bor 1981 as cited in Paonessa, 1990). On Statia 'Black Harry' worked on the Industry Plantation and was said to be a slave of Gidion Godet (David, 2019-2020). He gathered his fellow slaves and started holding church services. These services took place on the estate 'Behind the Mountain'. His church services were spirited, emotional and full of sound (Crane, 1999). During this time various Methodists preachers such as Bishop Thomas Coke, came to the island to spread their ideas. Thomas Cook stayed with a family of free blacks and saw several church services of the Methodist congregation (Neal, n.d.).

When the authorities heard about a slave preaching on the island, they were scared that the slaves may disrupt social stability and/or revert to cannibalism. Each option would have a significant impact on the life on the island (Goslinga, 1985 as cited in Miller & Gilmore III, 2016; David, 2019-2020). Laws were put in place to limit the power of the Methodist religion. If 'whites' were caught preaching or listening to church services, they would have to pay a fine. If 'blacks' were caught preaching or listening to church services, they would be beaten. Each broken law would result in 39 lashes (Hartog, 1976). 'Black Harry' was tied to a tree and given many lashes, see Figure 22. It is suggested

that 'Black Harry' of Statia is the first Afro-American Methodist to be a missionary. Eventually the authorities had enough of 'Black Harry'. He was sent on a slave depot to North America (Neal, n.d.).

Figure 22. Narrative of the island: Tree 'Black Harry' was tied to. There is no prove that the story is true (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.).

A wooden Methodist church was not established until 1825. Permission to build a church was given by the English rulers in 1811. This wooden church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1843. The stone church was eventually built. In 1895 the bell of the reformed church was given to the Methodists church (Hartog, 1976). This church is still visible and in use on the island today, see Figure 23. The church is located on the 'De Ruyterweg', also known as 'Black Harry Lane'.

Figure 23. The Bethel Methodist Church (own collection).

In 1910 a church on top of the Bay Path would be constructed. This area was declared sacred to the Catholics on the island (Conversationalist 14, persona communication, 2020). The building is created from the ruins of Lower Town. This church represents the Catholics on the island (Hartog, 1976).

It is assumed that Pastor Clifton Garfield Van Putten travelled to the United States of America and became a Seventh-day Adventist. He brought Adventism to the island in 1921 (North Caribbean Conference, n.d.). A church was built in the Kerkweg in 1951 (Hartog, 1976). A larger church began construction in 1993 and it was opened in 2013. The old church will be used as a community center

for the island (Interviewee 6, personal communication, 2020). The Berkel family has instrumentally contributed to the growth of the church. They have even donated parts of their land to build the SDA school (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 12, personal communication, 2020). The street 'Josiah N. Berkel Road' going to the school was dedicated to Josiah N. Berkel his endorsement of Adventism (North Caribbean Conference, n.d.).

In contemporary society there are 11 churches on the island. The largest congregations are Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Roman Catholics. These are also reflected in the educational institutions of the island (Interviewee 10, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 11, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 12, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 17, personal communication, 2020). According to an interview with a black elderly, the 'black' population beliefs in various traditional religions such as traditional healers, witches, (ancestral) spirits or voodoo (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020). According to Olmos & Gebert (2011) this belief system is called 'Obeah' (Olmos & Gebert, 2011 as cited in Fricke & Zahedi, 2020). These believes can be traced back to the tribes the slaves originated from in Africa (Interviewee 14, personal communication, 2020; Allen, 2007 as cited in Blom, Poulina, van Gellecum & Hoek, 2015). To some, the Blue Beads, further discussed in Section 6.3.2, have a significant meaning as they are used to ward off evil from these witches, (ancestral) spirits or voodoo. They are supposed to bring good luck (Fricke & Zahedi, 2020). The interviewee occasionally referred to this type of belief as superstition. Another elder 'black' interviewee pointed out that when she was a child, the elders would meet at a cotton tree near her home, and they would practice these traditional beliefs and plan the week for the community. In a sense practicing 'Obeah' provides a sense of belonging to the community.

Religion played an element in how the landscape was structured. The intention may differ from how people actual experience a particular place. The slaves experienced the Dutch reformed church as a place of exclusion due to the 'whiteness' of its believers. The religion, Christian denominations, once practiced by slaves is more common than that practiced by the colonizer in contemporary society. In a sense a switch of religion has taken place. The traditional religion 'Obeah' still plays a part in society, even if it is in a minor capacity. Among society religion still plays a key element, but somewhat lower than in the past. It pervades every aspect of life such as for example in education. It serves both in individual and collective identity formation (Oppong, 2013). It can help the individual to interpret new experiences. It does not matter as much to which congregation you belong as you are welcome in all churches on the island. Nevertheless each congregation focuses on its own ideas of god (Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 6, personal communication, 2020). Thus the importance of religion has been modernized but it still reflected in the Statian identity.

5.7. Historical awareness

The historical awareness among the Statians is limited. According to the survey 43.3% of 30 respondents gain knowledge on the history of Statia from their family, see Figure 24. The interviewees and conversationalist willing to speak about their history knew a lot about their island. Most of them seemed to have a curiosity to learn. Many of them pointed out that either they had families who told them about the history of Sint Eustatius, or they secretly listened to the elders speaking with one another.

Legend:
- Family
- Friends
- Collegues
- Educational institutions
- Media (tv, radio, newspaper and so on)
- Social media (Facebook, Instagram and so on)

30%
10%
13.3%
43.3%
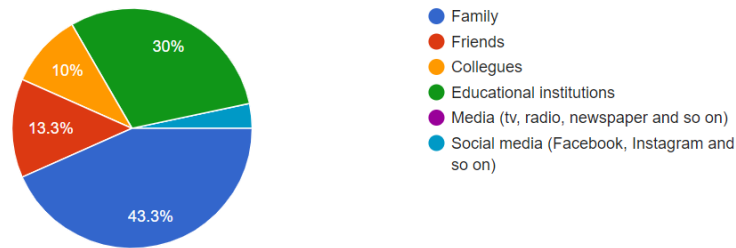
Figure 24. Survey 'Who taught you most about what you know about Statias history?

Some of them pointed out that the education institutions may play a role in the knowledge of the local people. There are a few educational institutions on the island. These education institutions are segregated religiously, nevertheless people from all religious backgrounds are welcome on all the schools (Interviewee 10, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 11, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 12, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 17, personal communication, 2020). There are four primary schools named Seventh Day Adventist School, the Golden Rock school, the Bethel Methodist School and the Governor de Graaff School. There is only one high school named the Gwendoline van Putten school. This school only offers the tracks MAVO (lower level) and HAVO (middle level). Then there is an institution for adults called New Challenger Foundation (Statia Government, n.d.-c). Education is an important vehicle for the transmission of expertise, skills and knowledge between generations.

An administrator of an educational institution said 'In Statia, we are always learning about someone else's language, culture, history' (Mijts, Kester, Faraclas, 2018). An interviewee pointed out that during his educational years he learned about trains and snow which is not relevant information for those who do not leave the island (Conversationalist 4, personal communication, 2020). The educational institutions do not have a historical curriculum covering the local history. An absence of a historical curriculum in the Statian educational system created silence regarding slavery (Nguma & Gill, 2020).

They are currently working to establish a historical curriculum. Nevertheless, it is difficult, if a class may have a 'white' foreign teacher, speaking about sites unknown to them or speaking about slavery. It is still a challenge to confront the past. The Dutch role in the slave trade did not match its national identity of freedom and tolerance which caused this topic to be erased from the public consciousness in the Netherlands and thereby from historical curriculums (Horton, & Kardux, 2004). This erasure led to a silence of knowledge regarding slavery. The educational institutions do address special events which take place on the island, for example Statia Day on November 16th (celebrates the salute). For about a week the educational institutions will discuss the event in various ways and levels depending on the classroom (Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 10, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 12, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 17, personal communication, 2020). In principle they have a Dutch curriculum without specific attention to relevant information of Sint Eustatius. There are no references to the slave trade and the African heritage. Throughout the educational system the Statians do not own their own heritage. They are restricted in developing their identity. If that does not yet happen, it may be complicated to include it in the tourism strategy.

5.8.   Conclusion RQ1

*'To become aware of one's identity one has to have a profound knowledge of
one's own history' – Luitenant Governor Th. M. Pandt (Hartog, 1976).*

This chapter tried to give an answer to the research question 'How is the collective past of the local community of St. Eustatius reflected in their identity?'. It gave a comprehensive insight in the social context of the island, primarily, based on my interviews, casual conversations and survey.

The identity of the island is determined by the historical context in which the island was developed. Firstly, the transatlantic slave trade shaped the demographic of the island. All people of the island have migrated (in)voluntarily to this island. Today the island is predominantly black, their heritage lies in Western Africa. The minority is then 'white', their heritage lies mainly in Europe. Thus, the roots of all the people of Sint Eustatius lie elsewhere. This belongs to the collective past.

Secondly, the transatlantic slave trade mobilized slaves but also their knowledge. This knowledge is considered to be intangible heritage and links strongly to their identity. The use of food and music found on the island can be traced back to Western Africa. The food culture is slowly disappearing while music continues to provide a 'sense of identity'. Language on the other hand has evolved through shipment and work on the plantations (or work elsewhere). Slaves adapted their language to survive bondage. This language has impacted how people look at the world today (Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). People still feel a connection with their ancestry in Western Africa and it is an important part of their identity.

Thirdly, the Dutch determined the spatial landscape of the island. This led to some intergenerational tensions. These tensions are in its core about 'segregation', either between families, places of living, religion or education. This segregation has shaped their historical identity. It does, however, strengthen the feeling of community within the segregated groups. These groups have a collective past. The topic of slavery is not necessarily a contested one, but it is a sensitive one. (Groups of) people have different ideas and values about it.

Segregation also exists between generations on the subject of racism. The younger generations experience racism elsewhere. Their cultural identity is re-affirmed through their ancestors' experience with the transatlantic slave trade and their feelings of 'tweederangsburgers'. Their identity is fundamentally changed. The 'tweederangsburgers'-feeling of the younger Statians cause a focus on the transatlantic slave trade as some emphasize the colonial faults of the European Netherlands. The elderly do not think that racism is prevalent on the island.

There is a lack of historical knowledge among the population. They do not know their roots well because a history curriculum is not given in the educational institutions. They are dependent upon others to get to know their history. This limitation segregates them from their historical identity / heritage. It may then be difficult to apply it within a potential tourism strategy.

6. Material and narrative remnants of the transatlantic slave trade

In this chapter the research question 'How do the material and narrative remnants of the history of the transatlantic slave trade in Statia relate to the tourism strategy of the island?' will be answered. The first chapter discusses archaeological values of the island. Then the present tourism strategy will be discussed followed by four case studies of personal experiences to heritage sites. The last two chapters narrate how the remnants could strengthen the tourism strategy.

6.1.   Archaeological interests

As is clear from the previous chapters, Sint Eustatius has a difficult past. The remnants discussed in this chapter encompasses heritage which is not just tangible but also intangible (Ahmad, 2006). Heritage is multifaceted and to a degree visualizes the burden of history.

One of my interviewees suggested that the concentration of artifacts in Sint Eustatius is among the highest density in the world (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). The question of what, why and for whom to preserve is relevant to pose. These remnants give an insight in the historical events which took place on the island.

In 2012 the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science asked SECAR to create an archaeological predictive map of Sint Eustatius. These maps are instruments to effectively manage and protect potential heritage sites. In collaboration with Leiden University and ARGEOgraph they created the map in 2013 as seen in Figure 25 (de Waal, Lesparre, Espersen & Stelten, 2019).
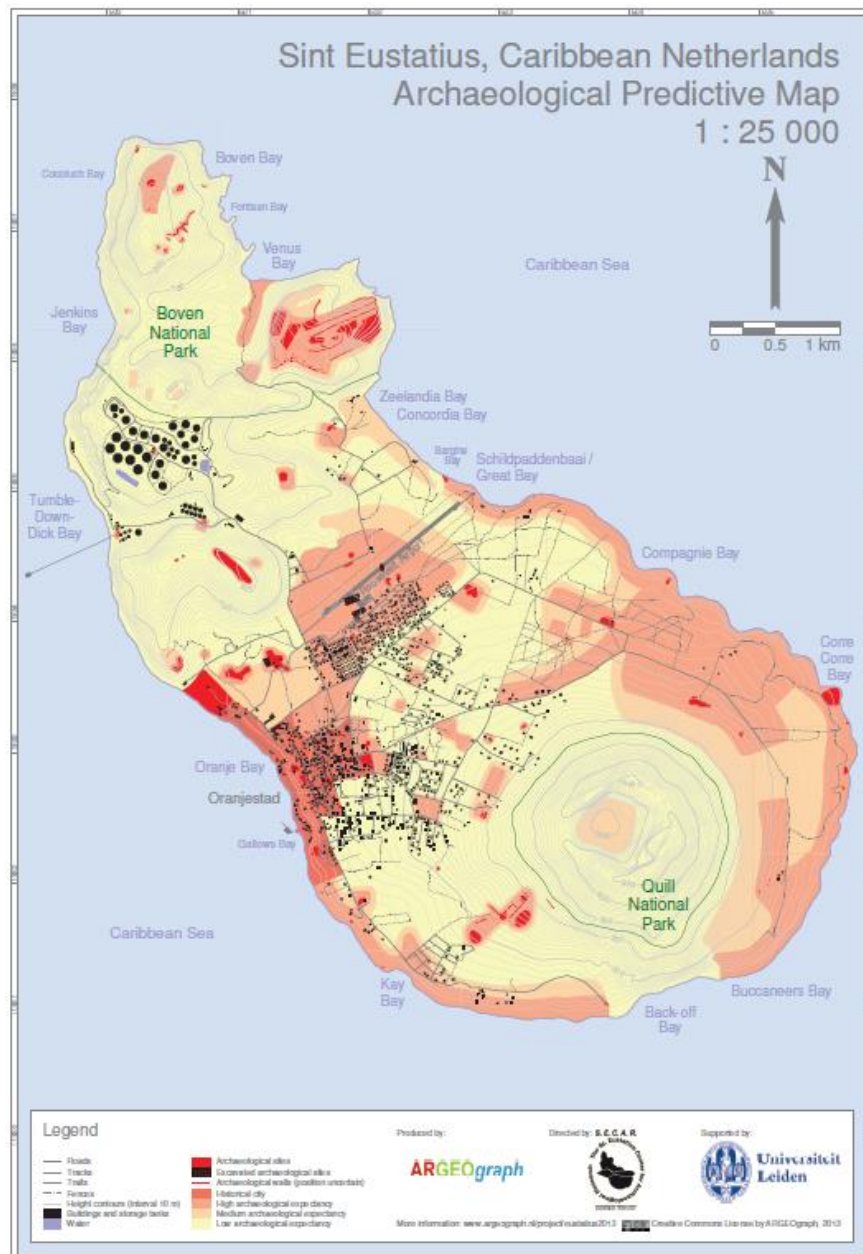
Figure 25. Archaeological Predictive Map of Sint Eustatius, 2013 (de Waal, Lesparre, Espersen & Stelten, 2019).

This archaeological map assists us in answering the research question. It shows that remnants with a certain archaeological value are found all over the island. The darker the colour the higher the chance that a site can hold archaeological value (de Waal, Lesparre, Espersen & Stelten, 2019). As can be seen Oranjestad is relatively dark. It makes sense as habitation has occurred here for centuries, which is described in Chapter 4.

The map also shows that the coastal areas show a likelihood of archaeological value. It makes sense as the island has many forts and batteries along the coastal line. This is rather interesting as it reflects the maritime past. Also, the plantations from the times of slavery were mainly found in the lower areas of the island. As discussed in Chapter 5 most slaves lived their lives on the plantation. Some were even buried on or near the plantation (Kandle, 1985). It is therefore not strange if remnants such as shards are found.

Thus, this archaeological map gives us an indication of human behaviour and landscape use in the past (de Waal, Lesparre, Espersen & Stelten, 2019). It allows us to understand and learn about the past. It shows which sites could be considered in the tourism strategy.

6.2. Tourism strategy

The Caribbean region is rather large with over 700 islands (Caribbean, 2021). Between 2017 to 2019 averagely around 26 million people came to this region (Lopéz, 2015). Tourism in the Caribbean is the most regional dependent in the world. The association people have with the word 'Caribbean' is that of a sun, sand and sea destination (Jordan & Jolliffe, 2013). Sint Eustatius does not have this appeal due to a lack of sandy beaches. The island is trying to diversify itself from this brand.

Only a handful of the Caribbean tourists, approximately 10.000, come to Sint Eustatius (Statistics Netherlands, 2018). Most of the tourists arrive per plane while only a fraction arrives per boat. Approximately 30% of tourist come from somewhere else in the Dutch Caribbean, approximately 20% comes from the Netherlands and 10% comes from the United States of America. The remaining people come from all over (CBS, 2021).

The island is promoted through two parties: the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation and the diving schools. According to several interviewees the St. Eustatius Tourism & development Foundation is not very actively promoting the island through marketing. The diving schools on the other hand are more visible (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021; Interviewee 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020). They, however, have a different purpose to promote the island - to attract divers. We must be aware that the diving schools are private businesses that need payment to survive. So, they work in a different sector in comparison to the tourism office.

On behalf of the Dutch government a tourism vision plan for Sint Eustatius has been written in 2019. This plan needs to be implemented through the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. It illustrates the willingness to enhance, preserve and protect the island's nature, culture, history, local community and identity. It is recommended that the island should not be developed for mass tourism but instead focus on sustainability. This tourism product needs to be established. Thereby hinting that the tourism product which is available now is not up to standard which is aligned with the ideas of sustainability. It does not have the (international) qualities expected of a tourism product.

There is limited information in the plan written about heritage. A short historical introduction is discussed in which a few remnants found in the historical centre are mentioned. Other remnants are not mentioned. They refer to the Golden Rock era in the sense that stories could be told about Lower Town, however the word slavery is not uttered at all. In a sense referring to slavery without addressing slavery. They follow up on potentially using these stories for marketing purposes.

The author of the vision plan interviewed several people. One of them said 'You see, the thing about Statia is that it is flexible. We have nature and history. You can incorporate all those elements together' (Autar, 2019)! This statement is used in the plan to emphasize the need on storytelling to attract tourists. They also point out that nature-based experiences are well tackled on the island. But by using this statement to point out that nature-based experiences are well tackled it excludes history.

A survey respondent said,

> I have mentioned in conversations many many times, that Statia does not have the beautiful beaches like the other islands in the Caribbean, nor shopping malls, etc. but what we do have in abundance is HISTORY! And it is unfortunate that we do not promote that more because that is our identity, that is our calling card, that is what will attract people to our shores and while we have them here, we can inform them and introduce them as well to our culture.

This statement demonstrates that people know that there is a lot of history on the island and that it is somewhat neglected. Section 6.2.1 will explain this further.

Both the vision plan respondent and the survey respondent emphasize the importance of history, but each point out that it is neglected. They also emphasize how identity is linked to history. A core element of sustainable tourism are people. In the next chapter the Statian perspective on tourism is shown in relation to the island.

6.2.1. Voices of tourism

This chapter discusses the voices of tourism for both locals and tourists and how they relate to the current tourism strategy.

The Statians spoken to in conversations and interviews have used the following words, see Figure 26 to describe the island. These words describe how the island could be marketed to tourists. In total seventeen people have contributed and have stated 37 words. The only meddling that I have done is to accurately write these words, so that the word cloud would be as accurate as possible. The larger the word, the more frequent it has been mentioned.

Figure 26. Word cloud 'description island'.

This word cloud does not reflect the 'official' tourism strategy. It does show the perspectives of locals regarding their island. At first glance you can see that 'Tranquil' stands out. It is more intangible than tangible. It is a feeling. It is not something you can see or touch. Another word that is mentioned a lot is 'Spacious'. This aligns with 'Tranquil' as often space offers a sense of tranquillity. It is notable that this world cloud mentioned 'sustainable'. It very much matches the tourism vision plan to focus on sustainability. Sustainability is meant to create benefits for the local community without harming the environment. It focuses on preserving and enhancing a natural, historical and cultural environment (Statia Government, n.d.). If you look at the other words 'Nature', 'Animals' and 'Marineworld', it

demonstrates how tourism in the local's perspective is much more linked and thought of as related to 'nature / environment' than to the 'history'.

This word cloud could describe any other Caribbean island. There is not a specific word that automatically makes you think that it is Sint Eustatius. This island however is very different as it does not attract tourist through the model sun, sea and sand. The island is trying to diversify beyond this model. As mentioned earlier diving schools are the main tourism promoters of the island. It does therefore attract divers (Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020). Each tourist spends approximately $1400 of which 70% is attributed to nature (i.e. hiking and diving) during their time on the island (van de Kerkhof, Schep, van Beukering et al., 2014). Thereby again showing that history seems less important.

Due to the corona crisis, I have little personal observations of, and interview-based insight into how tourists view the island. Previous research has been done to see which parts are important. It turns out that tourists look positively at marine and terrestrial ecosystems on the island. The activities include diving, snorkelling, hiking and birdwatching (van de Kerkhof, Schep, van Beukering et al., 2014). This said, those who came to the island first as tourist before settling on the island spoke fondly of history as well. They recognized that 'history' is part of the islands charm (Interviewee 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 22, personal communication, 2020).

Despite the fact that the tourism vision plan emphasizes a combination of history, nature and culture, it is not experienced by tourists in practice. The focus is much more on nature. The local population also indicates, as in the word cloud, that 'history' is not seen that way.

The next chapter will give a narration of my experience and that of those interviewed to the various heritage sites. The follow-up chapters tackle the material and narrative remnants which are in one shape or another related to this narration.

6.3. Material remnants

This chapter is divided in four sections. The first three sections distinguish between the various material remnants. The last section are site narrations which are brought forward by the photo diary.

All material remnants are tangible reminders which stimulates the collective memory (Wójcik, Bilewicz & Lewicka, 2010). The remnants assist people in contributing to their geographical knowledge of their island. It can help people to claim their island (Wright, 2012 as cited in Vergauwe, Bourgeois & Gheyle, 2018). It allows them to recognize 'spaces' as 'places' (Cresswell, 2015).

Historical remnants are 'lived histories' which are for example ruins in Lower Town that during the seventeenth and eighteenth century were used for storage. Memorials are 'commemorations of things that no longer exists' which are for example monuments. Historical remnants are more likely to stimulate a 'sense of place' than memorials do (Wójcik, Bilewicz & Lewicka, 2010). These historical remnants can allow remembrance and/or commemoration to deal with the silence put on the slavery past (Araujo, 2010 as cited in Nguma & Gill, 2020). = Acts of remembering can raise public awareness of slavery.

6.3.1. Overview

The Historical Foundation and the St. Eustatius Monument Board have created a list of protected buildings. In 1989 the Dutch federal law required islands from the Dutch Antilles to create a list of

which sites needed to be protected (Eastman, 1996). The list of Sint Eustatius consists of 119 protected buildings in various degrees of decay (Wikiwand, n.d.). These sites consist of fortifications, batteries and buildings. Most of these sites relate to the times of slavery. However, there are some sites which do not. There have been items found on the Saladoid culture – the Arawak tribe – for example at The Golden Rock site (Haviser, 1985).

As can be seen in Figure 25 in Section 6.1, the archaeological value in Sint Eustatius is relatively high. In many areas small artifacts can be found laying around. These vary from shards to blue beads, see Figure 27. Usually these items are more visible after tumultuous weather such as rain.

Figure 27. Shards found on Sint Eustatius (Photo Diary Respondent).

Figure 28. A canon found in Oranjebaai in front of Lower Town (own collection).

In the sea around Sint Eustatius many remnants can be found as well, see Figure 28. There are over 200 shipwrecks in the Oranjebaai, the bay of Lower Town. Many of which are from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. A few shipwrecks have been lowered on purpose to create an artificial reef (Conversationalist 21, personal communication, 2020). There are also (smaller) artifacts found in the ocean varying from ankers and canons to blue beads.

The Oranjebaai can be seen in Figure 29 from the oldest path in Sint Eustatius. This path, also seen in the photograph, has recently been renamed 'Slave Path'. Originally it was called 'Bay Path'. It was constructed in 1636 and paved in 1787. Some people refer to this path as the 'Old Path'. In observations I noted that the locals call it 'Bay Path' while the expats/tourists refer to it as 'Slave Path'. This indicates that people have orally been told its name and that is how they remember. It also shows that they decided to change its name to recognize that slavery took place on the island. Around the 1700s it had a fourth name 'Leugenaars Pad' (translated as Liar's Path). At the top of the path a few benches can be found. Here people would be able to overlook the busy Lower Town and chatted away. The stories shared here were not always true. That is why it was also called 'Leugenaars Pad' (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.). This path thus has a tangible heritage but the stories of its name are intangible.

Figure 29. Oranjebaai seen from the Slave Path (own collection).

The already mentioned decay of monuments is still ongoing. 'We have watched for so many years the few existing buildings from the historical period when Statia was called the GOLDEN ROCK just fall apart and disappear' as written by Mazinga on the Bay (Mazinga on the Bay, n.d.). These remnants (e.g. warehouses in Lower Town) will at some point disappear in the water as the coast becomes smaller due to erosion, see Figure 30 (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2021). If the sites disappear from the landscape, it tends to reduce or eliminate the recall of memory. The next generation will struggle to connect to this heritage. It can deprive people from connecting to their identity (Binney & Lowenthal, 1981). Some sites are difficult to find due to their location or are unable to be reached as its located within private property.

Figure 30. Ruins of Lower Town (own collection).

6.3.2. Blue Beads

The survey respondents mentioned that blue beads were objects that had been passed down from generation to generation (see Figure 31). 'The more beads a slave had, showed their rank, even though the slave was still poor and not free' said Misha Spanner (Bennett, n.d.). During the times of slavery, they were perceived as a form of currency. They were used in a barter system (i.e. trading)

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(Fricke, 2021; AFRICAN BEAD BLOG, 2020). An interviewee from Dr. Fricke's' research said '[..] in order for me as a slave to get married to you, I have to work for as much blue beads so that they can tie around your waist. Then I can have the opportunity to get married to you' (Fricke & Zahedi, p. 51). Hereby indicating that as a slave to get married you had to pay a bride price with the blue beads. It would be easier to marry someone who is thin, but a thicker healthier person also represents wealth (Fricke & Zahedi, 2020; Mol, 2016). It is an interesting dilemma.

Figure 31. Blue Beads (Fly & Sea Dive Adventures, n.d.).

The beads were made in (glass)factories in Amsterdam or Venice (Bennett, n.d.). They have different shapes and colours. The common bead on Sint Eustatius is a shade of blue. This colour is important as in West Africa it represent a protection from witches and spirits, which is also discussed in Section 5.7 (Fricke, 2021; Fricke & Zahedi, 2020). Hereby arguing that Blue Beads can be considered religious heritage.

For the Statian community the Blue Beads are a symbol which represents the transition from a period of oppression to a period in which the 'black' population gradually acquired an equal place in society. The inhabitants recognize the symbolization of the Blue Beads but attach different meanings to these Blue Beads. Some people treasure them while others distance themselves. Those who treasure them tend to wear them with pride (see Figure 32). Some who distance themselves recognize that they represent oppression.

These blue beads can be found almost anywhere on the island. However, they are rarely found in areas that were not inhabited during the times of slavery (Fricke & Zahedi, 2020). They also have not been found on places where slaves lived. It is assumed that the slaves found them too valuable (Fricke, 2021). Today the inhabitants of Sint Eustatius (de-)value them. The Blue Beads have thus been important in every period on Sint Eustatius.

Figure 32. Raimie Richardson and his blue beads on Sint Eustatius (NIEUW LICHT HET RIJKSMUSEUM EN DE SLAVERNIJ, n.d.).

When the slaves gained their freedom, the blue beads were thrown into the sea (Stelten, 2019). It is debatable if the tale of throwing the beads from the cliff into the sea is accurate. It is more likely that a ship carrying the blue beads wrecked in the harbour. This idea is more likely as higher concentrations of blue beads are found in the ocean, particular in certain areas. Dive spot Blue Bead Hole is such a location. It is frequented among divers in the hope to find a blue bead. Legend has it that the blue beads find you and that you will always return to Statia (Burger, 2019; Harterink, 2013). It is somewhat expected that the first blue bead you find is given to a loved one (Mol, 2016). Nevertheless, both stories, throwing the bead and shipwrecking, could be true. Perhaps these are separate occasions which are not connected at all.

Divers, who are mainly tourists, seem inspired by the blue beads as they portray the slaves' story from bondage to freedom. Tourists, like divers, hunt for these blue beads. It is the only artefact which can be taken off the island (Mol, 2016; Conversationalist 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020). I was aware that when I went on a walk, I could visibly see many artifacts and unconsciously you look for them. This hunting for blue beads was established around the seventies. As mentioned in Chapter 4 blue beads were then sold to (American) tourists for about € 12-15 (Burger, 2019). They indirectly amplified the blue bead hunting fever by both tourists and locals. These blue beads stimulated economic development of the island through the use of history. This type of hunting for treasure can stimulate a sense of community. These blue beads are still being sold today. Some replicas of the Statian blue beads are sold as well. It is however always stated which are real and which are fake. These replicas are made by a lady from the neighbouring island Saba and then sent to Sint Eustatius (Mol, 2016).

Thus, the blue beads allow both inhabitants and tourists to come into contact with the slavery past. Throughout time the blue beads were used for different purposes and many meanings were attach to them. During the slavery period they were used as salary, in marriage, in religion, for trading and so on. Now they represent pride or distance. The stories of the Blue Beads may not always be based on historical accuracy but do teach people about their tangible heritage.

6.3.3. Memorials

There are many commemorative monuments (relating to slavery) in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This chapter only deals with the monuments which remember the abolition of slavery. These monuments which tackle difficult histories engage with the idea to confront the European part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands with its humanitarian crimes (Strakosch, 2010). In total there are

twenty-one monuments in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, see Appendix H. On Sint Eustatius there is one political party owned monument which can be seen in Wilhelminapark, see Figure 33 and 34. During times of slavery this location was a marketplace where fruits, vegetables and slaves were sold by merchants, slave owners, freed slaves and slaves (Kusters, 2009).

Figure 33. Monument for the abolishment of slavery (own collection).

Figure 34. Monument for the abolishment of slavery (own collection).

As seen in Appendix H., there is not a monument found in Saba. This is likely due to the limited time range in which slavery took place. The island is more known for its piracy. Other areas in the Kingdom do have one or multiple monuments. The European Netherlands by far has most of the monuments. On one hand it is rather strange that the European Netherlands has more commemorative monuments in comparison to the oversea territories, particular as slavery took place on these islands. On the other hand, many people from these territories came to the European Netherlands to live or work. They may have felt 'out of place' and asked for a monument which would commemorate its shared past. In the end, the current situation because of the past is our collective responsibility.

Monuments are a physical reminder in a public space. They portray a narrative and give meaning and value to a certain place. Some parts of the narrative of the (transatlantic) slave trade may be visible while other parts remain invisible. The audience is the one who creates the actual narrative of a monument (Erőss, 2017). Narratives like places are continually restructured and shaped through social practices (Ost & Costall, 2002; Gustafson, 2001; Beauregard, 2013; Casey, 1993 as cited in Escobar, 2001). Thereby allowing people to form an attachment to a certain place (Escobar, Rocheleua & Kothari, 2002). It is important to understand the emotions that are experienced and evoked by a place.

Monuments are specifically built to induce remembrance of (historical) events (Gregory et al., as cited in Erőss, 2017). A widespread recognized monument in Sint Eustatius can become a meaningful place. It is an opportunity for those whose ancestors originated in Western Africa to claim their African heritage ('their slavery heritage'), but also to claim their Caribbean heritage. Two interviewees agreed with the previous statements and suggested a monument near the airport due to a new slavery-based discovery which is further discussed in Section 7.2.1 (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). A monument can connect the past with the future. It induces an integration of the island into a global network of commemorative monuments. It is important to protect the local narrative (Escobar, 2001). It could symbolize the narratives of the historical events which took place here (Erőss, 2017). A comment from the survey respondents was 'Statia deserves a powerful monument to commemorate slavery and/or the slaves

on the island'. A monument on the island will engage with different forms of atonement, remembrance and acknowledgement.

6.3.4. Narration of (heritage) tourism experience

The narration of the following heritage sites – tangible remnants – incorporates selective memories (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003 as cited in Rickly-Boyd, 2009). The sites themselves are 'lived histories' (Wójcik, Bilewicz & Lewicka, 2010). This chapter is inspired by the responses of the photo diary. The flyer of the photo diary asked for a photo of a historical remnants and a short description of why it means something to them (see Appendix C). Some people just sent a photograph without any explanation. Historical remnants have been interpreted differently. Some people sent nature-based photographs while others sent history-based photographs.

The sites chosen in this section are photographs received from people who have been on the island, for at least a year. The sites are the English Quarter, Crook's castle, the Quill and the slave walls. Each site will shortly be described in its historical context, my observations while visiting these sites, and the responses from the photo diary, survey and interviewees will be included.

6.3.4.1. English Quarter

The English Quarter is located in the Cultuurvlakte near the coast. This historical remnant, the English Quarter, tells the story of the flourishing sugar industry in the 17th and 18th century. The remnants on the plantation are two housing complexes and one factory complex. The two housing complexes vary from those of slaves at the far end of the arch (entrance) at the bottom of the slope and one from the slaveowner near the arch at the top of the slope (see Figure 35). The factory complex consists of a boiling house, a curing house, rum distillery, drying rooms, warehouses, cisterns and an animal mill and holding pen. The English Quarter utilized the topography of its plantation to its advantage (France, 1984).

Figure 35. Entrance of the English Quarter (Photo Diary Respondent).

The lineage of the plantation is rather complicated. It is important to know that Abraham, one of the leaders of the slave revolt, was a slave on this plantation. He lived in the slave quarters which were lower on the slopes than the central building (Gilmore III, 2000). Abraham was owned by David Young Campbell who was the adopted son of Theo and Maria Heyliger (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, n.d.; Geni, n.d.). The plantation is now owned by the Pandt family. This family bought part of the plantation in the early 1900s as an investment for the future. The other part of the plantation was inherited. The Pandt family are descendants of (Indian)slaves. Those Pandts living on the island are the third, fourth and fifth generation away from those who lived in slavery. Apparently, the plantation grounds are now worth millions (Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020; France, 1984).

This site is found on the outskirts of the island. During my time on the island, I visited this site regularly. At the entrance of the English Quarter is an arch. On the left side of this arch is an information board stating 'need-to-know' information of this plantation. If you enter the plantation, you can see ruins left and right (see Figure 36). They are overgrown though. Near the centre of the plantation, you are able to smell animal faeces. If you walk slightly further, you suddenly see ruins

being used to keep pigs contained (see Figure 37). It is a very interesting construction. I followed some of the animal paths to see more ruins. It reminded me of Angkor Wat, Cambodia. There the temples are overgrown but attract many visitors. I can imagine this site to be attractive for tourists.

One conversationalist said that she regularly walks in this area because it offers peace and quietness (Conversationalist 23, personal communication, 2020). The Photo Diary respondent gave similar indications. Thereby showing that feelings are more important in relation to this site. All people spoken to regarding the English Quarter refer to the beautiful aesthetic of the ruins but why they visit this area is more nature related. Some people in the tourism industry find it a pity that this historical remnant is not used in tourism-based purposes as the ruins are rather intact (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020; Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 5, personal communication, 2020).

Figure 36. Ruins of the English Quarter (own collection).

Figure 37. Ruins of the English Quarter (own collection).

6.3.4.2.   Crook's castle

Crook's castle is located at the edge of Lower Town in Gallows Bay (see Figure 38 and 39). This historical remnant used to be a sugar refinery and slave depot. It is unknown when the castle was constructed. Crook's castle was however unique in its size and complexity. It is uncertain if fields of sugarcane were attached to the refinery or if the refinery was processing sugarcane grown at other sugar plantations (Delle, 1989; Karklins & Barka, 1989; Gilmore III, 2005).

At the end of Lower Town is the harbour. It looks like you are unable to continue at the harbour, but you can. At the end of this road there are some parking facilities. You walk along the rocky coast. It is not a recommend walk by yourself. In between the rocks you can see trash. It smells and looks a little dirty. The smell of the sea is very prevalent in this location. The smell of the sea reminds me of home. The bay behind the harbour is perfect for snorkelling. There is a lot of marine life. Nowhere along the trail is information regarding Crooks Castle. While I was on the island, I had to specifically ask about it, otherwise I would have never known.

Figure 38. Crook's castle (Photo Diary Respondent).

Figure 39. Crook's castle (Photo Diary Respondent).

A Statian said, 'Getting to Crooks Castle is an adventure in itself, you'd almost think the road leading to it is forbidden, the track is nestled between the electrical power plant company and the port authority office' (11SquareMiles, 2016).

The Photo Diary Respondent said, 'I have some nice pictures from when I was still a tourist on the island. Crook's castle seems to be one I like most'.

A conversationalist said 'When I was little, you could fine blue beads at the beach near Crooks Castle. They are gone now' (Conversationalist 12, personal communication, 2020).

These respondents indicate that the journey to Crooks Castle is an adventure. This journey is more nature focused but the end goal of the journey is to reach Crooks Castle which is a tangible historical remnant. One respondent even indicated that this location is to find more tangible reminders of the transatlantic slave trade. Hereby indicated that history is flourishing at this remnant.

6.3.4.3.   The Quill

The Quill is located in a protected national park which is managed by STENAPA since 1988 (Scubaqua, n.d.). It is a dormant volcano which has a height of 600 meters above sea level. The crater of the volcano is covered with a tropical rainforest (St. Eustatius Tourism Development Foundation, n.d.-b; Teenstra, 1836). During the time of slavery, this site was used by slaveowners and merchants as a daytrip. It offered them the opportunity to escape their daily routine (Baldacchino, 2007). In Figure 40 the view overlooking the 'Cultuurvlakte' from the Quill can be seen.
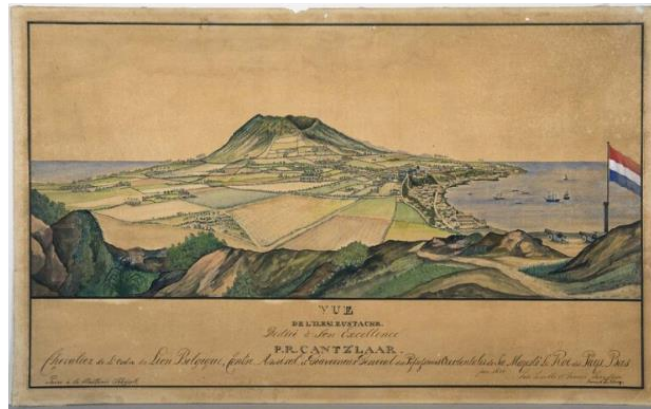
Figure 40. Overseeing the 'Cultuurvlakte' from the Quill, ca 1820 (National Museum of World Cultures, ca. 1820).

Marten Teenstra, a traveller and writer, wrote about his touristic experience at Sint Eustatius in 1836, around the same time as Figure 40. About the Quill he said

> Evidence that this volcanic mountain erupted in former times, (however it erupted before Columbus discovered it), is the presence of an awe-inspiring crater, named by the inhabitants the Kwill or Punch Bowl. The elevation of this mountain is 2300 French feet above sea-level. People coming and going from the roadstead can see the crater, as well as desolate precipices of pumice stone, and towering black and blue needle formations of ashlar and granite producing a majestic view, and forming a hole nearly 600 feet deep. When going about business, do not neglect to visit this magnificent work of nature on St. Eustatius. Around the crater on the mountain slopes lie great black boulders, probably there due to the power of volcanic eruptions. The crater rim is 1000 feet in diameter. The bottom of the abovementioned hole there has an extraordinarily fertile half hectare expanse of soil, and is overgrown with different trees, shrubs, plants and herbs, and in which a gloomy and solemn light shines. There is currently a tradition that now and then, runaway negroes have escaped into the crater, and C. DE JONG (*) says that men in 1780, men were found hidden there. (Teenstra, 1836, p. 320-321)

During my time on Statia I climbed the Quill once. There are many entrance paths to the Quill but the one at the end of Rosemary lane is commonly used. At the beginning of the path, there is an information board which shows all the possible trail tracks to walk. There is some nature-based information but the historical information is missing. About 20metres further there is a rotten from the outside sign stating that you need an entrance ticket to the park which you can buy at the tourist office and STENAPA office. I later learned from the tourist office that tickets cannot be bought there. At the time we did not buy any and honestly, I have not heard anyone who ever bought a ticket. It seems as if that was a plan or idea which was not actually actualized. The path is marked by little coloured ribbons on trees. The trail markings are not easy to see / follow. The route itself was gorgeous but the chances of getting lost, if you are not good with direction, is relatively high.

A conversationalist said 'If you come on Statia you have to climb the Quill as the Quill is so dominant in the landscape. The views from the top are great and the inner side of the crater is special. It is a totally different vegetation with some beautiful, impressive trees' (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2020). The Photo Diary Respondent shared Figure 41 and mentioned that he enjoys the Quill in the sunset. These respondents enhance meaning at the Quill through a nature-based experience. Visiting the Quill itself is a nature-based activity but it is possible to see history shine through. There is a large tree in the crater rim which stems from the transatlantic slave trade. As said by Marten Teenstra, some slaves ran into the crater of the Quill to escape their (plantation) work(van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020; Teenstra, 1836). Some of them wrote their name on a tree. This tree

is still found in the crater today (Conversationalist 5, personal communication, 2020). Also from the top of the Quill there is a (historical) view over the island. You can see Upper and Lower Town and the former plantation grounds. There are opportunities to inform visitors of the Quill about the islands history but that opportunity is missed here.

Figure 41. The Quill and little mountain in the sunset (Photo Diary Respondent).

6.3.4.4.   Slave walls

The demarcation walls are found all over the island (see Figure 42 and 43). Most of them are located outside town. These walls are currently in various decrees of decay. Most, if not all, demarcations walls were constructed by slave labour. The slaves piled these rocks upon each other. These walls vary in length and height. That is why demarcation walls are also called slave walls.

These slave walls were used to fence areas of the plantation. A tamarind tree would be planted near the wall to represent the boundaries of the plantation (Francis, 2021). Besides representing property boundary, walls were also constructed to minimize erosion damage. If some part of the wall needed repair, slaves were expected to fix the issues (Gilmore III, 2006).

During my time on the island, I saw many slave walls. These slave walls are in various decrees of decay. The slave walls are also the reason why I first spoke to the Sint Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation. People are not sure what they should do with all the walls. Nowhere I have seen a sign indicating that these walls were built by slaves and what the purpose of these walls are.

Figure 42. Slave walls (Photo Diary Respondent).

Figure 43. Slave walls (Photo Diary Respondent).

A conversationalist said 'You can find them everywhere on the island. They are visible. Sometimes the road becomes small due to these structures' (Conversationalist 6, personal communication, 2020).

The photo diary respondent said 'I have been hiking a lot in the past months and am amazed and in awe of all the walls built by the slaves hundreds of years ago. I cannot get all on camera as some are so long and go over the mountain or into gully's. These wall all still perfect, serving as boundary lines in those days and also retaining walls for erosion and they are actually still functioning in my opinion'.

Thus these demarcation walls (or known as slave walls) have two functions but multiple meanings are attached to them. They are definite representatives of slave labour. Nowhere an explanation is given on this in the terrain. This knowledge is thus not shared with tourists.

6.3.4.5.   Take-away message

During the slavery times, the aforementioned sites were involved in different facets of social life. They were also used for touristic purposes. In contemporary society they encompass a range of sensitivity. Nevertheless all heritage sites – tangible remnants – are multifaceted. Each site constructs its own narratives. These are stories that 'people tell about themselves, others and the past' (Henderson & Weisgrau, 2007 as cited in Rickly-Boyd, 2009, p. 262).

At the moment the remnants seem to have meanings that focus on nature rather than the slave-based history that they also represent. There are however many opportunities to illuminate history and thereby represent the (historical) meanings attached to these remnants.

The attachment of (meanings to) these narratives to a given site can allow the site to become 'place' (Rickly-Boyd, 2009). Some tangible remnants may be appropriated and may therefore increase the need to preserve and utilise these sites rather than neglecting it (van Roosmalen, 2013). The following chapters will give insight into how the material and narrative remnants could impact the tourism strategy.

6.4.   Narrative remnants

Sint Eustatius is a small island. Due to the many nationalities present on the island, culture is thriving. The island is spoilt for choice when it comes to material remnants, most of which reveal an intriguing story. These stories are rather intangible, but they do strengthen the tangible remnants. After all stories are needed to identify with a place. Each person attaches their own meaning to the site and to the story.

Story telling is related to tourism in the sense that when you return home, you want to share what you have experienced (Bendix, 2002 as cited in Marschall, 2015). This form of storytelling has to do with recalling memories of the tourism trip. However, there is also a group who travel based on their memories. Those tourists travel to connect with places associated to their (ancestors') history. They could be chasing their roots either to remember the past or to resist forgetting the past (Marschall, 2015; Marschall, 2015a).

Post-memory can be a barrier to intergenerational communications (Hirsch, 2008). These heritage sites can facilitate a process in which memories are shared, however difficult they may be. The memories a person has may be reconstructed by the creation of new memories at the tourist site (Marschall, 2015a). These sites will then gain more interpreted narrations (Marschall, 2015). If tourists would come to Sint Eustatius, they could become exposed to their shared history. Their memories may be reconstructed as they create new memories in the tangible remnants of the times of slavery (Marschall, 2015a). Thus the past is continually reshaped through memory traces (Casey, 1977 as cited in Till, 2010). The various memories attached to these sites could give 'new' meanings to these sites (Cresswell, 2015).

In addition, stories are tethered to emotion. The power of storytelling can preserve one's culture and traditions. It makes sense that tourism organizations try to commodify these narrations to spike tourist flow to these sites. The various stories discussed in this chapter reflect social, economic and historic processes over time (McAdams, 2001 as cited in Houkamau, 2006). They inevitable give us an insight into perception and the collective memory of Statians towards their heritage. It gives us a sense of their Statian identity and these stories could be used to potentially attract tourists. Storytelling and using them in tourism could both enhance tourism and strengthen the identity and pride of the Statians as they will witness that their history is special, of interest for tourists and something to be proud of.

6.4.1.   Fairy tales

According to Michel de Certeau 'every story is a travel story' (Certeau, 1948 as cited in Järv, 2010). Hereby indirectly linking stories with tourism. Fairy tales are found all over the world. They are often short stories catered towards children. There is no clear distinction between fairy tales, myths and folklore (Bettelheim, 1989). Some fairy tales such as 'snow white and the seven dwarfs' are rather famous across the world. Like stories, they are narratives which enable humans to learn about the world they inhabit (Zipes, 2012). A fairy tale for example allows the protagonist to explore something unfamiliar to them just like tourism does (Järv, 2010). They usually consider a conflict at the beginning and a solution towards the end. In between a quest is fulfilled with the help of technology, people, animals and so on (Ashliman, 2004). These stories are engrained in a persons' memory. They provide information on how to behave and act. They might inspire you to become your best self.

The fairy tales discussed below are Anansi, Turtle knows your name and Gulliver. These stories are mentioned by various interviewees as being important stories told to them while they were children.

It does give them a sense of their identity. These stories are told here as they reflect how traces of slavery is infused in their identity and how it relates to the island. These are stories that could attract tourists and allow them to get a deeper understanding of the island and its people and their identity. The story or one of the many stories will be written first. Then an analysis of what that story could mean for the island will be given.

6.4.1.1.   Anansi the spider

Anansi the spider had a wife and three children. One day he went into the forest and found four bananas. Then he went back home. He told his wife to cook the bananas for dinner. During dinner Anansi gave his wife a banana and his three children a banana each. One of children said 'dad, but you now do not have a banana'. Anansi said if you love me, you should give me half. Each of the children gave half of their bananas to Anansi. His wife also gave half a banana to Anansi. In the end Anansi had two whole bananas while everyone else had just half a banana (Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020).

Anansi is a character traced back to the Akan tribes in present day Ghana and Ivory Coast. Anansi is a god like character who holds the knowledge of all stories. He is often reflected through the eyes of the spider. Occasionally he morphs into a human. The story above is one of the many stories which were taken aboard the slave ships to the America's (Anansi, 2021; Marshall, 2010; Coteh-Morgan, 2006; Marshall, 2019). These stories were narrated by a storyteller. They often involve dance and music (Kidworldcitizen, 2013). These stories were told in a celebrative or an informal setting.

In the Caribbean region Anansi's stories represent the ability to survive and thrive through skills under difficult circumstances. In Africa, a spider is depicted as patient and persistent in its hunting techniques. This form of symbolization is transpired throughout the Anansi stories. Slaves on the plantation, considered a difficult history, took these stories to learn a moral lesson of resiliency (Macdonald, 2016).

These Anansi stories have been passed from one generation to the next. They continue to transform to fit the community structure as it does today. A few generations ago the Anansi story told above would describe Anansi as having more children, thereby finding more bananas and eventually having more bananas to eat (Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020). Thus, stories are constantly restructured to fit the community discourse as it exists today (Ost & Constall, 2002).

From the 1950s people have collected and written the stories of Anansi. These books have been used in African schools to teach their children (Kidworldcitizen, 2013). These stories are generally read by people with roots in Western Africa. The stories connect the Statians with their roots. The Anansi stories provide a collective identity among the people in the African diaspora.

6.4.1.2.   Turtle knows your names

'Upsilimana Tumpalerado,
That's my name.
I took my time to learn it,
Won't you do the same?'

A little boy together with his grandmother sung the text above at the edge of the sea. They danced and sang the song out loud. The turtle raised his head above the sea. When he knew the name of the

little boy, he dived deep into the sea to spell his name with seashells. He is the keeper of all the names. The little boy knew all the villagers name, but the villagers called the little boy 'long name'. The little boy did not like it and struggled to make friends with them. To cheer the little boy, his grandmother challenged the little boy to find out her name. The turtle is the one who reveals it. Her real name is even longer than his. Together they agree on simpler names (David, 2020).

The fairy tale 'Turtle knows your names' was written by Ashley Bryan and publicized in 1989. This turtle holds everyone's name. In 'black' culture names are very important. The elders of Statia recognizes the idea of someone holding their actual names and many of them being recognized by their nickname. I have further discussed the nicknames in Section 5.2.1.

6.4.1.3.   *Gulliver's travels*

Gulliver is washed ashore after a shipwreck and finds himself a prisoner of a race of tiny people who are inhabitants of the island Lilliput. He is given residence on the island after assuring he does not mean harm. He does a lot of good: putting out fires, winning competitions and so on. Eventually he gains a rank higher than the average Lilliputian, which he is very pleased with. Gulliver assists the Lilliputians in defeating the Blefuscudians, who come from the neighbouring island Blefuscu, by stealing their fleet. However, Gulliver refuses to reduce the neighbours to a province of the Lilliputians. The king of Lilliput charges Gulliver with treason. A tiny friend helps him escape Lilliput. He is eventually rescued and returns home (Gulliver's Travels, 2021).

The fairy tale 'Gulliver's travels' was written by Jonathan Swift and publicized in 1726. It was written during the time in which slavery in the Caribbean was active. Edward Said called the writer 'an outsider'. Swift viewed the social hierarchy from an outsider point of view, but was tasked with maintaining it (Jacobe, 2009). Like Gulliver most Statians were brought to Sint Eustatius. They came from elsewhere. At the start of the story Gulliver was a prisoner of the Lilliputians. Slaves on Sint Eustatius were imprisoned by their owners. They, however, were not freed for their assurance of kindness.

In the middle of the story Gulliver gains a rank and becomes somewhat superior. But towards the end he decided to undermine the king of the Lilliputians as he does not want the Blefuscudians to become inferior to the Lilliputians. He struggles with the idea of 'justice'. He is a traitor. This part of the story demonstrates the power struggle of the islands Lilliput and Blefuscu. The slave revolts which took place in the Caribbean region also demonstrate this power struggle. Even though the slave revolts do not lead to anything positive at the time, they eventually do. Just like Gulliver escaped due to the kindness of a Lilliputian.

The Statians can recognize their history of power struggle and hierarchy within the fairy tale Gulliver's travels. They can see relate to the need to overcome struggles (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020).

6.4.2. Ghost stories

Ghost stories like fairy tales are found all over the world. They often include a ghost or assume that one of the characters' beliefs in them. The ghosts are often tied to a place, object or a person. These stories intend to be scary, but they can also offer different purposes (Ghost Story, 2021). Ghost stories can attract people to visit sites, as part of dark tourism (Botterill & Jones, 2010).

On the old church cemetery there is gravestone which is like a squared house as seen in Figure 44. This gravestone is the tomb of the Heyliger family. Abraham Heyliger, once governor, built the structure in 1761. The ball on top is supposed to represent his favourite food: cornmeal (Hartog, 1976; Paonessa, 1990). His granddaughter married William Moore. Together they bought 'The Golden Rock' plantation and had 56 slaves working on it. Together they had a son who is known as Mr Moore. He married Feliciana Martins (Shields, 2019; University of Bonn, n.d.).

Figure 44. Mr Moore's grave (own collection).

During the nineteenth century Mr Moore is considered to be one of the cruellest slave owners of Sint Eustatius. He frequently hit enslaved people for his own pleasure. It is said that he whipped them for as long as it took him to smoke cigarettes (Stelten, 2019). He would whip the female slave facedown as to protect his offspring but still be able to inflict punishment. Mr Moore build an extension underneath the gravestone (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020). He was afraid that he would be buried alive by the slaves. When he eventually passed on the blue sky was clear as could be. When Mr Moore was lowered into the grave, thunder occurred. People ran as far away as possible. In the end Mr Moore had to bury himself as no one wanted to come near the grave to finish the job (Stelten, 2019)!

Today when people walk past the old church cemetery during the night, they feel the presence of evil. Sometimes they even hear moaning from the grave.

6.4.2.2.   Rodney's horses

At night when you listen carefully you might hear Rodney's horses galloping at Halfway path, see Figure 45. It is assumed that admiral George Rodney[24] buried treasure here (Stelten, 2019; Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020). He plundered valuable possessions, treasures, from the families of Sint Eustatius, as described in Chapter 4 and Section 6.5.2. Most of which were sent on fleets to the United Kingdom.

In the eighteenth century this road was called Halfway Path due to it being in the centre between the behind the Quill and the town. In contemporary society this path is called 'road to Lynch' (SXM Talks,

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[24] British invader in 1781.

2020). This is the road which leads to the Lynch Plantation where the Lynch Plantation Museum is found. People do not use the name of the road as it no longer holds a similar significance.

Figure 45. Halfway Path. The road is also called 'Road to Lynch' (own collection).

6.4.2.3. Benner's plantation

As mentioned before, on the plantation slaveowners on Statia distanced themselves from the slaves. The Benners plantation, found behind Smoke Alley is such a plantation where the slave owner lived relative higher than the slaves. Today parents tell their children about the ghost of the Benners' plantation to scare them away from this area. The ghost seems to be a slave owner. On the plantation a cemetery has been found which consisted of slave burials but also some notable figures in the history of Sint Eustatius (Delle, 1989). It is in this area that a cistern was found on which ghost marks had been left. Stories have therefore been rife on the idea of a ghost on Benners plantation.

6.4.2.4. Simon Doncker's House

The Simon Doncker's House was built in the 18th century for/by the wealthy merchant Simon Doncker, see Figure 46. Simon Doncker was the governmental secretary in 1738. On a plague in front of the house it states that he was fired for fraud. The building is built on a former plantation (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021). The building is constructed with the ballast stones from the WIC. It is a two-story house, whereby each floor consists of one chamber.

Those who have spent the night at Simon Doncker's House have experienced paranormal activity. They saw ghosts celebrating. They were haunted by sounds (i.e. music) and smells (i.e. alcohol). It was almost as if they were joining the ghosts in celebrating an eighteenth-century party. To put an end to the party, they had to ask the ghosts to be quiet. That is when the party ended, and the ghosts disappeared!

Today the historical museum is found in this building. The museum gives an overview of the history of the island (St. Eustatius Tourism, n.d.). At the moment the stories, so far described, are not used. It would be beneficial to use it in the tourism strategy.

Figure 46. Simon Doncker's House (own collection).

6.4.3. Legends

There are many stories of hidden treasures on the island. There are stories on Sint Eustatius in which 'ghosts' have visited people and informed them as to where treasures on the island could be found. Some people have been lucky while others have not. The following two short stories are relatively well-known. The stories are, however, not being used in the tourism strategy.

Hidden treasures

The people of the island disposed of their valuable possession by burying them. Instead of a body inside a coffin, they would fill it with gold, diamonds, jewellery and so on. Many pretend funerals took place. Rodney became suspicious. The next funeral that occurred he opened the coffin to find a body. He led the funeral continue. This occurrence spread as wildfire among the population. The people changed their strategy. They would put a boy inside the coffin including their valuable possessions. Rodney stopped the next funeral to check the coffin, instead of opening it he gave the soldiers the permission to poke the corpse. The boy inside the coffin sprung out and ran off in fright. What Rodney say where 'all those sparkling diamonds in the sun'. There might still be treasures buried (Arco, 2008)!

Piracy

A pirate captain yielded a very successful loot in 1717. He was very rich. He was wary of travelling with all his treasures home, therefore he decided to stash some of its loot in a cave. The island suffered a severe earthquake which rearranged the entire island. Some parts of the island disappeared into the sea. This cave was forever sealed. The pirate went looking for it but could not find it. This treasure was lost, hidden in the sea (Birnbaum, 1987; Scheller, 1994).

They are some truths to each of these stories. There are many remnants found on the island. These remnants vary from shards to blue beads, but occasionally a stash of coins or gold is found. Earthquakes are felt, as the author experienced, on Sint Eustatius. The possibility of an earthquake as heavy to change the landscape is rather low (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2021). But the idea of hidden treasures can attract tourists to come to the island.

6.5.   Conclusion RQ2

This chapter tried to give an answer to the research question 'How do the material and narrative remnants of the history of the transatlantic slave trade in Statia relate to the tourism strategy of the island?'.

Sint Eustatius in its tourism vision plan pays little attention to the material and narrative remnants of the island. Only a few sentences in the plan tackle history. The remainder of the plan describes the need to establish a well-developed tourism sector.

The archaeological map shows the places which can be of interest with historical remnants. It gives evidence that the remnants are widespread on the island. Apart from their historical value, the material remnants also stimulate people's ability to recall and connect to the collective memory of the transatlantic slave trade. This is not yet considered but it should be taken into account for touristic development. It offers opportunities to tackle slavery that not many places have.

Narrating the topic of slavery through tourism alleviates the burden of heritage sites. The chapter on narrative remnants shows that there are many stories associated with remnants of the past. Stories reflect in a sense social, economic and historic processes over times (McAdams, 2001 as cited in Houkamau, 2006). It can give us more insight in how the past relates to the future. Further research on narrative remnants will likely lead to more stories coming to the surface. Preserving and connecting the narrative remnants can give meanings to the material remnants. By enhancing stories told it may facilitate a process in which memories are shared (Marschall, 2015). It will also elevate the tourism experience as history comes alive.

Slavery is thus central to the intangible and tangible heritage of the island. Slavery is embedded in the islands' history. The focus of the Statian tourism sector, however, is much more nature based. In the tourism strategy, the slavery history and the remnants are neglected. By elevating history 'new' memories can be created by the descendents of people impacted by the slave trade. These memories can complement or replace 'old' memories.

Overall, the current tourism strategy neglects the history aspects but there are opportunities to integrate them and thereby strengthen a future tourism strategy in which historical aspects are as important as the culture and nature aspects. This would be in line with the ideas posed in the tourism vision plan.

7. Future Tourism Strategy: the integration of the slavery remnants

In this chapter the research question 'How can the remnants be integrated into a future tourism strategy in which the population of Statia also recognizes itself?' will be answered. The chapter starts with proposing to rethink tourism, followed by which ideas could be implemented and what the challenges are leading to recommendations.

7.1. Rethinking tourism

'Slavery here is a ghost, both the past and the living presence; and the problem of historical representation is how to represent the ghost' - Michel-Rolph Trouillot (Trouillot, 1995 as cited in Routon, 2008).

As discussed in prior chapters Sint Eustatius is trying to diversify tourism by focusing on sustainability. It illustrates the willingness to enhance, preserve and protect the island's natural, cultural and historical environment (Statia Government, n.d.). The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation is trying to embody this sustainability phenomenon but focuses mainly on the nature aspect. The local population and the tourists emphasize the nature aspect through the marine and terrestrial ecosystems on the island (van de Kerkhof, Schep, van Beukering et al., 2014). All parties illustrate thereby a one-sided focus on nature while neglecting the aspects of history (and culture).

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot, anthropologist, said history of slavery is difficult to represent (Routon, 2008). Nevertheless, history is engrained in the individual and collective identity of the island and its people. This sense of identity is embedded within the many tangible and intangible remnants found on the island. These remnants are therefore unique to the region and offer many opportunities.

The facilitators in the tourism industry see potential for 'history' to be marketed to tourists. Tourists who currently come to the island spend more money on nature-based activities such as diving (van de Kerkhof, Schep, van Beukering et al., 2014). Facilitators in the tourism industry assume that the largest segment of tourists are divers (Conversationalist 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020). They do not tend to experience much history while on the island (Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020). During the corona pandemic most facilitators learnt that they are not dependent upon tourists to operate their businesses. 'If one falls, the other two will step in' as said by a facilitator (Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020). Hereby suggesting that other groups (GTI workers and business workers) travelling to the island will take over the role of tourists, thereby indicating that facilitators do not necessarily need more tourists to come to the island. Nevertheless the facilitators envision a growth of tourism segments coming to the island. The tourists interested in history could be called 'history buffs' (Interviewee 19, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 22, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020).

The corona crisis has an enormous impact on the society of Sint Eustatius. The island is practically isolated from the outside world. The tourism industry has come to a standstill, even though it was becoming a prominent pillar in society. The corona crisis, thus, provides a unique opportunity to rethink the tourism strategy by broadening it to also include the history of the island. This would encompass sustainability as described in the tourism vision plan. Both 'nature' and 'history' offer

something that is rooted in the island's identity. It is related to their experiences and memories both in the past, present and future.

7.2. Implementation of ideas

This chapter encompasses ideas how history can be included in the tourism strategy. These ideas are based on the data from interviewees, casual conversations and the survey.

7.2.1. New discoveries

The airport of Sint Eustatius was built in 1971. The airstrip has been in function since 1946. The Statia government prefers to expand its tourism numbers. In order to manage an increase of tourist arrival, the airport had to be enlarged. The extension of the current airport consists of a new control tower and a passenger building. The buildings are financed by Rijkswaterstaat and the Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst and are expected to open in April 2021 (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020).

The extension can be seen in Figure 47 on the right side. It was known that this area was important for the Saladoid culture – the Arawak tribe - and possibly for slaves. SECAR researched this area and deemed it safe for the construction of the new buildings.

Figure 47. Airport extension (Statia Government, n.d.-e).

During the construction sand had to be removed from the west side of the old building to support the new buildings. Where sand was removed (area of Golden Rock 1), excavations in the 70s had previously given insight in the Saladoid culture, see Figure 48 (Haviser, 1985).
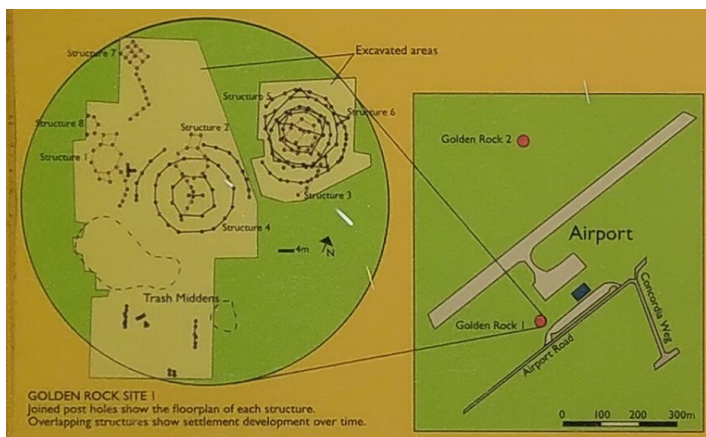
Figure 48. Information board at the airport (own collection).

At the time they found a little village, the basement of the Sint Eustatius Historical Museum refers to this excavation of the site known as The Golden Rock. This time they found human remains dating back to the seventeenth century. They have found between 60-70 slave burials (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). It is assumed that these burial sites are related to the slave village of the Golden Rock Site, of which at one point Mr Moore was the slave owner, see Section 6.5.2.1. This discovery is among the largest burial grounds for enslaved Africans and others to be found in the Caribbean region (van Keulen, Stelten & Hinton, 2020).

The Statia Government wants to reimagine culture as a dome for everything that happens on the island. It is planning to allow research to take place in known sensitive sites before constructions take place. As seen, there are important tangible remnants hidden on the island. It is important to preserve instead of harm the cultural tangible remnants of the island (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020).

This discovery is going to be announced in the beginning of 2021. It is important not to just mention it once but to mention it multiple times. This is important as it continuously reminds people of the past and how proud they can be. It allows them not to forget that something unique has been found (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). Therefore it is necessary to pose the following questions:

- What do we want to announce? For whom?
- What do we do with all the finds in the future? Store in containers? Loaning to exhibitions?
- What can we do with it? / How do we bring it to life?

Perhaps there is an opportunity to frame pictures of the recent discovery[25] in the newly built passenger building (Francis, personal communication, 2020). It would be a small exhibition which poses a narrative of the island to the Statian and to the tourist. It would show the historical identity of the Golden Rock site (den Hollander, 2002). ab

7.2.2. Exhibitions

Slavery should not be forgotten. There are several exhibitions around the world tackling slavery. The purpose of an exhibition is to inform the public about a topic (Moser, 2010). The means of communication throughout an exhibition is usually through imagery. It facilitates but takes distance from the narration told. It also shows how the photographer relates to the object and topic told (Marschall, 2015). The stories told helps us interpret the world (Midgley, 2003).

Slavery-related exhibitions are shown worldwide. The way an individual views the past reflects the narratives shown in an exhibition. This explains why many exhibitions reflect a colonial perspective. Those exhibitions frame the Dutch Golden Era as an important period of trade. Thereby impacting the audience and emphasizing the riches collected.

In Sint Eustatius there are two museums: St. Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum and Lynch Plantation Museum. Both museums exhibit stories of the transatlantic slave trade and both are remnants themselves. The first museum is located in the Simon Doncker's House. The history of the Simon Doncker's House does affect the way an audience engages with the narratives told in the

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[25] The word 'discovery' is rather ambiguous. It implies finding things that were unknown to be in existence. Usually that is not the case.

museum. It was a prominent building from the Golden Era. The museum does not just display the colonial perspective but also that of the enslaved. Instead of pitying them, they show their resilience (Prior, 2007). The audience experience is heightened if they can connect to the narrative told in the museum (Bodunrin, 2009).

An interviewee said, 'Students of Sint Eustatius go each year to the same museum and each time see the same exhibition' (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). Several interviewees pointed out that the museum is a bit dated. They would take friends and family to see the museum but would not necessarily need to see the museum again (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2021; Francis, personal communication, 2020). The layout of the museum is a mess. There is no clear narrative, path to follow. There is a too much information to chronology make sense of it (Conversationalist 6, personal communication, 2020). It is doubtful if people, even local people, go more than once to the museum.

The second museum Lynch Plantation Museum is located on the former Lynch plantation, see Figure 49. It is found next to the English Quarter. The museum shows two replicas of the family's houses. It gives an interesting peak into life on the island. The owner Ishmael Berkel is more than happy to give you a tour of the plantation. It provides an opportunity to learn about Statia's history. A conversationalist pointed out that if you go there, and the owner is not around, the experience is very different. There is some information inside the houses, but it is limited (Conversationalist 22, personal communication, 2020). The stories told by the owner are important to bring the museum to life. For tourism development it is important to see or hear stories, otherwise it is just another object without any significance (Cresswel, 2015). Therefore it is important that stories are told at historical remnants. In my opinion, for continued tourism development guides or audio tours are necessary to convey the stories, even if the current owner pass away.

Figure 49. Lynch Plantation Museum (own collection).

Both museums could benefit from enhancing the audience experience by introducing a clear narrative in which the audience can engage with the topic of slavery. This can be achieved according to the interviewees and conversationalists by creating a more participatory exhibition. A participatory exhibition allows the audience to be actively involved in the exhibition, for example through dialogue (Davies, 2010 as cited in Mygind, Hällman & Bentsen, 2015).

In recent years, the framing of slavery, mainly in the former colonial countries has changed (Loeseke, 2020; Prior, 2007). Slavery is no longer seen from just the perpetrators perspective but also from the victim's perspective. This is visible in the current exhibition 'slavernij' of het Rijksmuseum, the Dutch

national museum. It not only focusses on the role of the Dutch trade but also the inferior-superior relationship which took place. It critically addresses the Dutch Golden Era. The island of Sint Eustatius has donated several items for the exhibition (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). Exhibitions in the Caribbean region itself display more of the 'black' experience in comparison to the colonial perspective. They attempt to represent enslavement in a different light.

Worldwide there are attempts to shine a light on the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade, both for the perpetrators and the victims. Engaging with the topic of slavery could encourage people to speak about it. In Liverpool there is a museum dedicated to slavery which focuses specifically on the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade (International Slavery Museum, 2021). In the Netherlands there are ideas circling in Amsterdam to create a national slavery museum (van Leeuwen, 2019). It could lead to more dialogues on slavery. Sint Eustatius could do something similar. This provides an opportunity to revive the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum. If, in addition, a connection is also made between various (transatlantic) slavery museums. This could offer opportunities to exchange exhibitions and data that can contribute to the knowledge about this period. It has been noted by an interviewee that many Statian artifacts are stored in containers and that they do not know what to with them and if they are going to use them (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). Thus creating bonds between slavery museums could give these artifacts a home.

7.2.3. Remember slavery

> 'History is not the past. It is the present. We carry our history with us. We are our history.' — James Baldwin in 'I Am Not Your Negro' (Herzing & Ontiveros, n.d.).

Many societies such as the United Kingdom and Benin have formally apologized for their role in the transatlantic slave trade. The Netherlands has yet to do so (Sahadat, 2020). The Netherlands was one of the latest countries to abolish slavery. Today the Caribbean region, including Sint Eustatius, is confronted with secondary trauma of (post-)memory inherited from slavery and colonialism.

Black culture in the Caribbean has been developed on slavery: coercive labour and resilience. As abolitionist preacher Theodore Parker said 'I do not pretend to understand the moral universe. The arc is a long one. My eye reaches but little ways. I cannot calculate the curve and complete the figure by experience of sight. I can divine it by conscience. And from what I see I am sure it bends toward justice.' Martin Luther King paraphrased it into 'the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice'. It is how black culture in the Caribbean can be acknowledged (Branch, 1988 as cited in Spillers, 2006). This quote intends to provide hope that change is not just a singular moment but consists of many moments. Eventually this can provide a just society (Smith, 2018).

A just society is different for everyone. Breaking silence about past dehumanising acts has proven to be a key for healing (Nguma & Gill, 2020). While speaking about remembering slavery, and thereby de-silencing pain, it is important to remain vigilant as we need to prevent that resentment is perpetuated (Deveau, 2006). The Statian people have three distinct ideas of remembering slavery. These ideas are apology, no apology and reparation. These ideas may overlap but each idea on its own is just as important.

The first idea that I encountered during my fieldwork is that the Dutch **should not apologize** for their role in the slave trade on the island. Two interviewees explained their reasons as seen in the following quotes.

A government official said,

> The need to get rid of the pain. I do not have that pain. [...]. What happened in the past was ugly, we can now decide to be better. Descendants of slaves and slaveowners can all change. I do not need an apology. (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020)

A less strong opinion on this was given by an elderly interviewee who said,

> Slavery should not be dwelled upon. We should move forward. The past cannot help you today. Apologize is not necessary but I welcome it. If you look back, you can fall, it is better to look forward where you are going. (Interviewee 2, personal communication, 2020)

The second idea is that the Dutch **should apologize** for their role in the slave trade on the island. While I was on the island people did speak about their expectancy of gaining an apology from the Dutch. People preferred not to be on record on this particular matter as it is quickly a politicized theme in which they do not want to be involved. On one of the Facebook pages there were discussions if the Dutch should or should not apologize. One of the Facebook post read,

> Recently there was a discussion concerning making July 1st an official holiday, but having to give up another holiday. I personally feel that it is an insult to our forefathers that to this date The Netherlands does not see it fit to officially acknowledge this date and make it an official holiday throughout the Kingdom. Does 400+ years of slavery not add up to entitlement for an official Kingdom holiday or even an official apology? Is the Netherlands still playing ostrich (stick my head in the sand and hope it goes away) to the whole slavery saga? Is it their mentality that it's not their problem nowadays as it was their forefathers who committed these heinous acts? Every year they make it a big event celebrating the 4th and 5th of May namely Memorial Day and Liberation Day for a war which lasted around 6 years. 6 years vs 400+ years? You do the math.

> Comparison:
> - The Jewish holocaust of WW2 was horrible and everyone acknowledges that fact and is very sensitive to the fact that an estimated 6-11 million Jews were killed during the German occupation of Europe.
> - The African holocaust rarely spoken of mentions officially according to the U.N. around 17 million slaves died during the course of slavery. Other sources mention up to 60 million slaves died during slavery. (STATIA: LET'S DEBATE THE TOPICS!, n.d.)

The respondents of this Facebook post agreed with most of what had been said. One of the respondents said,

> Fully agree with you. I don't usually say much on FB however this topic I feel very passionate about. I've been saying this for years, however everyone agrees, but stay watching each other wondering what can we do. […] Like someone said we are still in a form of slavery that's why the Netherlands don't see the need for us to have the day off. I've always promised to buy myself some freedom chains to work with on that day as a reminder that we are suppose to be free and allowed to show respect to our forefathers but here we are still at work. I find it very disrespectful to our culture and to our forefathers that not even on independent day we are allowed freedom to celebrate in their honor and in ours. I find it quite shameful we do not have this as part of our curriculum at school. We are forced to learn about our history on our own. Truthfully speaking how many of us on our own time will pick up a history book to learn about our past, much less teach it to our kids? (STATIA: LET'S DEBATE THE TOPICS!, n.d.).

This shows that people agree with this statement and the need for recognition.

The third idea is that the Dutch **should give reparation** for their role in the slave trade on the island. Two interviewees explained their reasons in the following quotes.

A government official said,

> I think I prefer to have reparation. You make an apology, but it should be reparation. These are people who worked all these years. In Statia, our ancestors were brought here [...]. We are left now with what? Food is not everything... you can have food but having food is not everything. You need to have understanding, communication, education is important. If anything should happen for people apologizing is not good... reparation should happen... not money... but reparation should be funding in things we need. (Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020)

A young interviewee said,

> When you have knowledge about the past. What are you going to do with it? [...]. The ancestor did not ask to be here... they were forced here... or came here... whatever happened. Back then they were not seen as humans, but as animals. Everyone was making the money... looting is still going on... legally I could say. All the gold is gone... they took everything. Where are they? What happened? They are in faults. If we acknowledge that racism is gone. Why do you not give it back? You stole it. They say those in the past stole it, we built upon it. So, they are building on blood. An older man said any line that you draw that starts crooked cannot become straight. You have to start at the beginning. Apology no. It does not change the situation. You cannot fix in the process; you need to fix in the beginning. Apology is not enough. It is not about saying sorry. It is about a system. That system is trash. It affects all of us'. (Interviewee 3, personal communication, 2020)

These statements give us insights in how divided the Statian population is in terms of how to deal with the Dutch role in the times of slavery. It shows that all generations think about slavery in one shape or another. However it does inadvertently also show that there are some tensions between the generations. The elderly seem to accept what happened and want to move on. The younger generation seem to appropriate the postcolonial legacy. They either want an apology or a reparation. Perhaps it is some form of penance. This is very much related to the discussion on racism in Section 5.2.5.

7.2.3.1.   Opinions in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands (of which Sint Eustatius is a part) there is also a debate whether there should even be an apology for the transatlantic slave trade. A poll by I&O Research shows that 55% of the Dutch believe that the Dutch State should not apologize. This feeling is higher among Dutch people without a migration background (NOS, 2021).

In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it seems that people want acknowledgement / recognition for the Dutch role in the transatlantic slave trade. According to Valika Smeulers, head of history at the Rijksmuseum,

> It is important to society that the slavery past is recognized as part of Dutch national history. All our ancestors were part of this. [...]. A lot of people come from both sides of the story; they have ancestors who were slave owners as well as enslaved. We should see it as our shared history. (Soudagar, 2019)

To be given recognition of the past may signify room to develop. This acknowledgement can be given in several ways. One way is a formal acknowledgement by the King of the Kingdom of the Netherland

as he can create a national bonding moment. It could strengthen the national character of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Prime Minister Rutte has indicated two reasons that any apologies from the Netherlands will not be forthcoming. First, he indicated that private companies were responsible for slavery. Despite having close ties with the state, the government does not feel inclined to give an apology in which most Dutch people did not play a role. Second, he indicated that apologies could lead to further polarization. Within this position he doubts as to whom he should offer apologies (van der Horst, 2020). After all, there were not only 'white' offenders. As discussed throughout this thesis the transatlantic slave trade is very complicated. The inconvenient truth is that the ancestors of some of the current Dutch 'black' people were slave traders. So some people are not descended from victims, but from perpetrators (Helgers, 2020). Who should you then apologize to?

As mentioned in Section 5.5.1, Emancipation Day was adopted in 2021 as a public holiday for Sint Eustatius. The first celebration of Emancipation Day as a public holiday will take place in 2022 (The Daily Herald, 2021). This public celebration provides unique opportunities to attract and educate tourists. Like Marcelle Gibbs from the Cultural Department in 2009 said 'Because our ancestors were made free, we are here today. Otherwise, we would still have been slaves. For the children, this day can be a day where they celebrate, but they can also learn a lot about their history. Around this date, they could have projects and presentations' (Kusters, 2009).

7.3. Challenges

7.3.1. Role of St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation

The name St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation implies that they have a role to fulfil. In the local context they are seen as a tourist office. The word 'tourist office' implies that you fulfil a certain role namely that as a tourist you can get information, arrange tours and/or buy merchandise (e.g. postcard) here (Araña, León, Carbello & Moreno Gil, 2016). According to an interviewee they are not fulfilling this role (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). Due to the small scale of the island, the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation should fulfil two roles. These roles are:

1. They must fulfil the role of tourist office. In this role they pursue practicalities of the tourism industry.
2. They must fulfil the umbrella / leading role in the tourism industry. In this role they pursue policy for the further development of this industry.

Role of tourist office:
As mentioned above, the word 'tourist office' implies that you fulfil a certain role. A tourist office has a tangible location at the destination. The tourist office of Sint Eustatius is found on the corner of the Emmaweg and the market.

In a sense the tourist office needs to communicate information to tourists when they arrive. Tourists expect to be able to get information on for example accommodations, restaurants, activities and so on. They often also expect to be able to buy merchandise at this location (Araña, León, Carbello & Moreno Gil, 2016). An interviewee pointed out that when she arrived on the island, the treatment received at the tourist office was unpleasant. She had to figure it out - tourism-wise - all by herself (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2020). Thus the information shared with tourists needs to be updated and the support function of tourists need to be enhanced.

Simultaneously the tourism office needs to establish a local network. This network is needed to market tourism to tourists and residents who are on the island in collaboration with stakeholders in the tourism industry.

Role of leading the tourism sector:
In Section 6.2 the current tourism strategy is discussed. In the tourism vision plan it states that marketing should only be done if the tourism product is up to date (Autar, 2019). This can be achieved if the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation becomes the central pillar of tourism on the island. They must create their own international network. They will have to oversee and support those in charge of nature, history and culture on the island, as seen below.

- **Nature:**   STENAPA / Dive schools
- **History:**   SECAR / Historical Foundation / St. Eustatius Monument Board / Museums
- **Culture:**   The Cultural Department of the government / Museums

As discussed above the natural aspects of the tourism vision plan are already well targeted. STENAPA oversees managing, conserving and restoring the natural resources of the three national parks (STENAPA, n.d.). The dive schools are marketing dive tourism successfully as it is currently the main tourist product on the island (Interviewee 21, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 24, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020).

There are still steps to take in promoting history. SECAR is in charge to protect and develop the historical resources located on the island (SECAR, n.d.). The Historical Foundation and St. Eustatius Monument Board are in charge to oversee the list of protected buildings. The two museums are responsible for educating tourists and residents about the island's history and identity. There are in fact a 'place of memory' (Cresswell, 2015, p. 10) which can stimulate remembering. There is currently no organization promoting history to tourists. This is where The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation needs to step in.

There are also still steps to take in promoting culture. The cultural department of the government is in charge of updating the (historical/cultural) information and educating it to its residents about their culture / identity. The two museums are then responsible for educating tourists and residents about the island's identity. There is currently no organization promoting culture to tourists but there is a cultural department within the government. This is where The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation needs to step in.

Without changes, the tourists coming to the island will mostly be divers while other aspects of the island may easily get lost in the tourism sector if they are not more actively integrated into the tourism strategy. It is therefore crucial that this organization diversifies the market of potential visitors, for example history buffs (Interviewee 27, personal communication, 2020).

7.3.2. Knowledge production
Most of the people working in the tourism industry are residents but are not native to the island. It is a challenge for the natives to become more involved in this sector. Similar as to how people experience racism first outside, a tourism experience is also experienced elsewhere. There people learn how, why and what the benefit of a tourism industry can be. The natives who never leave the island may not understand this. Those who return may understand the necessity but somehow in their character they are not interested. I think it has something to do with their resistance to change

and it may then be difficult to become more involved in this sector. The fact that history is not well represented can be explained as the local inhabitants are generally the best guardians of their heritage (Orbaslı & Woodward, 2009). They are embedded in their slavery history. It may be difficult for non-natives to enforce history. It is at local level that integration takes place most effectively and a sense of belonging develops. The involvement of natives is indistinctively linked to knowledge of the island.

A survey respondent said, 'I believe there is an urgent need for our people to know more about our heritage. It should be imparted through the schools with the assistance of the Culture Dept. assisted by other partners'. As mentioned in Section 5.8 the historical knowledge among the population is limited. Most of the knowledge either comes from family or educational institutions. But their historical curriculum is practically non-existent. Nonetheless sharing knowledge on slavery remains of social and political relevance (Buzinde & Santos, 2009). Knowledge is used to educate the next generation. It is important that the knowledge shared among the islanders is accurate particular from an educational standpoint. It would be strange if a Statian is corrected by an outsider on their history. It could then diminish the Statians feelings of their history.

A survey respondent said 'The history should be promoted in workshops to different organizations. […], you bring the information to the community and children in the form of a power point presentation.'

A curriculum on slavery should to my opinion, based on the interviews and conversations, encompass the following things:

- Historical context of slavery
- Tangible and intangible remnants – heritage
- How to remember slavery

Firstly, the historical context of slavery should be accurate. Further research may be necessary to accurately represent the story of Sint Eustatius in the transatlantic slave trade. It should not only focus on its victims but also on its perpetrators. As mentioned, some freed slaves also had slaves – in essence they portrayed both roles.

Secondly, the tangible and intangible heritage should be displayed. Heritage can be interpreted in many ways. A safe way to interpret heritage is through dialogue (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). It is important that the dialogue moves the narrative in a positive direction. There is a risk if slavery is used as some type of weapon. It is a challenge to display the information accurately and in a neutral tone. Knowledge production can assist in claiming the Statians' knowledge and their voices (Dei, 2012). This could transform into a positive tangible and intangible heritage which commemorates slavery on the island. Heritage does affect people's attitude towards memorialisation.

Thirdly, the diverse perspectives of how to remember slavery, as discussed in this thesis, should be represented in this curriculum.

This curriculum is a long-term strategy but educating residents on their history gives them the opportunity to claim their story. It will de-silence their (slavery) heritage. Knowledge shared in educational institutions can enhance the collective memory of slavery among peers (Halbwachs, 1950 as cited in Brown, Kouri & Hirst, 2012). It is the basis for people to understand and see the value of the various remnants. The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation as tourist office is then responsible in assistance with various partners to use information from this curriculum to

distribute to residents and tourists. If people become more aware of their history, they can share this knowledge to potential tourists as guides. Understanding history is key to elevate the stories of remnants to tourists. This could then improve the tourist's experience. Thus the challenge is to educate residents and to a degree tourists of Statia's history and thereby involving them in the islands context.

7.3.3.   Remnants: preservation, maintenance and exploitation

This chapter discusses the challenge to preserve, maintain and exploit the remnants on the island. These steps are necessary to take care of these historical remnants.

Preservation:

Preservation is the first step, and it means the process of keeping something valued alive, intact, or free from damage or decay (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). As mentioned earlier, the tangible remnants are in various decrees of decay. All remnants are under threat from natural disasters. Sint Eustatius lies in an active part of the Atlantic hurricane track (Gilmore III, 2006). This explains for a large part why erosion occurs at the shoreline (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2020). Some of these sites may disappear from the landscape. It may therefore be difficult for people to recall memory and connect to their history (Binney & Lowenthal, 1981).

Some Statians are born with land. Land is passed down from generation to generation. It belongs to a family's legacy (Conversationalist 8, personal communication, 2020). Land claims can limit development. Eventually it is expected that land claims become irrelevant as the land you would inherit would be too small (Conversationalist 1, personal communication, 2020). But right now, land claims can occasionally lead to land disputes (Conversationalist 20, personal communication, 2020). A land dispute is a disagreement over the ownership of one or more parties (DESAUTEL LAW, 2018). Remnants such as the sugar mill in the English Quarter are almost overgrown (Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 20, personal communication, 2020). This site, even though its accessible, does not offer opportunity for tourism development as the family disagrees on what to do with the land in which the remnant is located (Conversationalist 13, personal communication, 2020). This dispute, like many others, can go on for years without any agreement (DESAUTEL LAW, 2018). Land disputes are rather complicated as they are often power struggles within families and can lead to fractured family relationships (LeFranc, 1981). Within their dispute, they are unable to temporarily open it for tourism development. This rather intact remnant will likely lose its value in the coming years as the remnants will continue to deteriorate. The future of this remnants and its land is at best uncertain.

Thus land degradation and land disputes may cause a loss of reclamation of history. It is therefore crucial to document or preserve these remnants. There is an umbrella role for the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development foundation in advertising the necessity to protect these remnants from destruction to all parties, for example the government, who may have a claim in those sites. It would be unfortunate if a resident could no longer reclaim their story because part of is gone. As a survey respondent said, 'First and foremost heritage and culture should be preserved for natives and not primarily tourist'. Thereby indicating that remnants are not just catered for tourists but also for the local inhabitants.

Another aspect in need of preservation are the intangible remnants. These remnants need to be documented for future generations or tourism exploitation. These remnants can be documented in books, for audio tours and so on. It is important to preserve this knowledge as it has been passed down from generation to the next. This knowledge encompasses language, music, way to cook, way

to use medicinal plants and so on. Also here the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development foundation should advocate the necessity to arrange preservation of these (intangible) remnants.

Maintenance:
Maintenance is the second step, and it means the upkeep of historical remnants (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation as umbrella role should interfere with the policy making of the buildings relevant to the tourism sector. Some remnants on the island are historical houses such as the Simon Doncker's House (see Section 6.5.2.4), Paper corner (formerly a liquor store from the Schmidt family) and the former tourist office (Godet house). These examples are all found in the historical center. Strict guidelines from the government must be followed to preserve the historical look. If you want to change anything a lot of money is needed (Conversationalist 15, personal communication, 2020; Interviewee 20, personal communication, 2020).

Simultaneously in my opinion someone should check up on the various historical remnants. They need to check the physicality and maintain their value in case something is wrong. Also, the intangible remnants should continue to be recorded and told.

Exploitation:
The first two steps have been discussed regarding caring for these historical remnants. The next step is exploitation and it means to utilize something (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). If it is utilized well, the value of the remnants increases. This value can be increased by informing people of the remnants or asking for a financial payment to visit this site.

These steps, preservations, maintenance and exploitation, are necessary to give both residents and tourists the opportunity to bond with these places. The third step has not yet been taken with the 'paper corner' building. This building is of historical value as it used to be liquor store from the Schmidt family. This building is still in its original glory but as a tourist you will never know. This information is important to share through a sign which can be read by inhabitants of the island and tourists.

There are, of course, many means of exploiting a place. The most important thing is to tell the story as it can give us more insight in how the past relates to the future. Make sure there are accurate information signs, that there are guides who can tell the story and that people can follow an audio tour if necessary.

Thus the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation as a tourist office needs to have this information ready. If tourists come to the tourist office, they need to be able to distribute this information.

Overall, it is a challenge to preserve, maintain and exploit these remnants. It is important that action is taken so that 'a sense of place' for the local population remains. It would be a pity if remnants disappear from the landscape. A part of this has to do with gaining (historical) knowledge on the island as discussed earlier.

7.3.4. Other challenges
There are several challenges of which some are discussed earlier, that can impact a future tourism strategy.

It is a challenge to deal with the brain drain and the feeling that may stem from it. It is difficult to hire qualified people. There is a limited return among the highly educated. Occasionally this could mean that people from elsewhere need to be hired to fill this position. This could potentially reaffirm the notion of 'tweederangsburgers'. Therefore, it is crucial that the hiring process is transparent.

The BLM movement is currently active in the world (Interviewee 7, personal communication, 2020). It stirs up a lot of discussion in for example the topic of slavery. One of my respondents suggested that this movement in fact is radicalizing the times of slavery (Interviewee 1, personal communication, 2020). The extreme oppositions come to the forefront in the positions: 'white' colonizer (superior) vs 'black' slave (inferior). This makes it challenging to integrate slavery into a tourism strategy. It may however emphasize the need to invest in slavery-based projects.

There are practical based challenges related to all that is mentioned above: time, money and manpower. The above-mentioned challenges can be overcome. There are some challenges that can only be prepared for, these challenges relate to nature. As discussed in Section 7.3.3, the island is in a hurricane zone (Gilmore III, 2006). It also has an earthquake and a volcanic risk (Conversationalist 16, personal communication, 2020). The risk is that remnants may get destroyed. Thus, the challenge is to be prepared for hurricanes and earthquakes either by having back up plans or to be nature proof.

7.4. Recommendations

In this chapter recommendations to the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation will be given. Most of these recommendations are based on the previous chapter. In Appendix I the recommendations in bullet points will be stated.

- **The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation should take responsibility for their roles in the sector:**
  - Tourism office
  - Tourism sector leader

The role of the St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation should encompass two roles. On one hand they are supposed to be a tourist office in which tourists are able to get information of the island. This should entail island marketing. On the other hand, they are supposed to be a leader in the tourism policy of the island. This should entail international marketing. The clear division of roles can enhance the tourism industry of the island. For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.1.

  - **Practical recommendations for the role of tourist office include:**

The tourist office should have clear opening times. It is important when people enter that staff is ready to assist them. Basic information should be available to pass on to the tourist. This would also include a map indicating the highlights of the island. Some merchandise should be available so people can buy them.

  - **Practical recommendations for the role of tourism sector leader include:**

The tourism sector leader should advocate the importance of the historical tangible and intangible heritage. It should assure that the relevant organisations are informed on the benefits which preservation, maintenance and exploitations could give to the tourism sector. These could also give some economic development to the island.

- **Preservation of tangible and intangible remnants:**

There are three steps to take care of the historical remnants. Preservation is the first step, and it means the process of keeping something valued alive, intact, or free from damage or decay (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The tangible historical remnants are in various degrees of decay. The knowledge of intangible historical remnants is slowly disappearing. Both tangible and intangible historical remnants are needed to be documented in case they disappear.

- **Maintenance of tangible and intangible remnants:**
  - Update and maintain information at the remnants.

There are three steps to take care of the historical remnants. Maintenance is the second step, and it means the upkeep of historical remnants (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). This means several things 1. Information should be kept updated at the tangible historical remnants, 2. The tangible historical remnants need to be regular checked to check if the physicality has changed, 3. The intangible historical remnants need to be updated and told. For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.3.

- **Exploitation of tangible and intangible remnants:**
  - Booklet 'St. Eustatius Historical Walking Tour should be widely available.
  - Information should be up-to-date and accurate at the sites.
  - International and national marketing.

There are three steps to take care of the historical remnants. Exploitation is the third step, and it means to utilize the historical remnants (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). In the tourism industry remnants are not just objects but history needs to come alive through them. The stories of these places need to be told through a guide, audio tour or sign. It is about how to attract tourists to a site, and how to sell the site to tourists (without needing to ask for money). For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.3.

- **The Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute (CNSI) should have a clear role and they should regularly publish information on the island.**

CNSI should spread (scientific) information on the historical remnants. They can acknowledge the need to preserve, maintain and exploit these remnants. But above all they are here to educate people on the historical remnants. For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.2.

- **Create a historical curriculum to increase historical awareness:**
  - Educate residents through schools and/or platforms.
  - Educate (potential) tourists.

Historical knowledge on the island is limited. There is no historical curriculum to teach people about their history of their island. For most people it is part of their heritage. Education can stimulate people to share their stories to tourist – thereby becoming involved in the tourism industry. For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.2.

- **Marketing should focus on history.**

The tourism vision plan emphasizes the need to focus on history, nature and culture. Marketing is done rather well on marine purposes. The other aspects still need to be filled.

- **Dialogue on how to remember slavery.**
  - May reduce notions of 'tweederangsburger'.

Historical knowledge can enhance people's ability to consider how to remember slavery. Historical knowledge can decrease the feelings of 'tweederangsburger'. This may also impact how you relate to remembering slavery. For more information, please refer to Sections 5.2.4. and 7.2.3.

- **Involve the local population:**
  - Expand their historical knowledge.
  - Train them in the tourism industry

The local population is not much involved in the tourism industry. For slavery to be included in the tourism industry, people need to be aware of their history. Then they need to be trained to be able to work in the tourism industry. For more information, please refer to Section 7.3.2.

- **Heritage hopping**
  - Maximizes tourism potential.
  - Emphasize historical experience.

At the moment several hotels / resorts are being built, for example Oasis Golden Rock Resort. This can significantly increase the capacity of the number of guests on the island. These hotels / resorts may partner with other places. This could offer opportunities for package deals between those places.

In 1636 Jan Snouck island hopped before settling on Sint Eustatius. In the present day, island hopping opportunities are rive due to the proximity of neighbouring islands (Interviewee 8, personal communication, 2020). Sint Maarten and Saba, for example have established daytrips or an overnight trip to diversify the activities on either island (Conversationalist 22, personal communication, 2020). In a sense package deals between some resorts and / or tourism operators have been established.

Sint Eustatius could benefit from such a relationship with Sint Maarten, Saba or another island. Sint Eustatius could add a valuable historical experience. A history focused experience can enhance the knowledge of tourist of those islands. It can also give those who travel to explore their roots the opportunity to seek belonging. This could be beneficial for post memory tourists and / or genealogy tourists.

7.5. Conclusion RQ3

This chapter gives an answer to the research question 'How can the remnants be integrated into a future tourism strategy in which the population of Statia also recognizes itself?'.

The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation should claim their roles in the tourism industry. On one hand their umbrella role in which they should create policies on sharing historical knowledge, preservation, maintaining and exploiting remnants. On the other hand, their practical

role in which they should physically be involved in spreading information to tourists (or residents). Also, The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development should rely on various partners to encompass the natural, cultural and historical aspects as stated in the tourism vision plan.

A future tourism strategy should reflect the Statian community working in the sector. The remnants integration is dependent upon the interpretation of the community. It is important to push the narrative in a positive direction. It is achievable if the Dutch acknowledge their role in the transatlantic slave trade on the island. An acknowledgement will give meaning to the past.

8. Conclusion

This chapter states the main results of the research. The answers will then be discussed by linking it to the theory. The limitations of the research will be given, herein possibilities for further research will also be stated.

8.1.   Results

This thesis zoomed in on the island Sint Eustatius. It looked at both the past, present and future. The goal of this thesis is to understand how the historical remnants are infused with the local identity and if they can somehow be integrated in the tourism strategy. Three research questions were posed to figure this out. The research questions and answers to the questions will be given below. They will be framed within the context of the theoretical framework. This research has tried to capture the nuances of the islands inhabitants and opts to explain them. In the next chapter these results will be further discussed.

1. **How is the collective past of the local community of St. Eustatius reflected in their identity?**

The identity of the island and its inhabitants is determined by the historical context in which the island was developed. People are descendants from those who were involved in the transatlantic slave trade. The island is predominantly black. Their past effects their present and most likely their future.

The silence created by the lack of historical knowledge has denied the experiences of trauma experienced through the generations regarding the impact of slavery (Nguma & Gill, 2020). People are dependent upon others besides the educational system to learn about their history. This hampers Statians to bond with their historical heritage and thus with who they are.

Intergenerational tensions are intermingled and play a role in contemporary Statian society. They exist in regard to beliefs, values and feelings about their way of life. The social memory and manifestations of racial bias impacts Sint Eustatius. It is particular prevalent in notions of inferiority. This thesis provides a picture of intergenerational interactions and understandings and could allow generation to learn from one another. This could lead to social cohesion between the generations (Grever, 2006).

Their 'sense of identity' is established through intangible and tangible heritage. Food for example is slowly disappearing while language continues to evolve and adapt. It determines how people look at the world.

Their 'sense of identity' is affected by notions of 'tweederangsburger' which is heightened by experiences of racism. This feeling is exacerbated by intergenerational tensions and segregation. It does enhance the feeling of community among the segregated groups.

2. **How do the material and narrative remnants of the history of the transatlantic slave trade in Statia relate to the tourism strategy of the island?**

The tourism vision plan emphasizes sustainability as the way forward. Sustainability should encompass the natural, historical and cultural aspects to be successful. However, in Sint Eustatius the historical aspects are somewhat neglected.

There are however many opportunities to include the tangible and intangible remnants. These remnants can strengthen one another. It would be beneficial for the inhabitants as it can stimulate and facilitate a process to their collective memory and a better understanding of their 'place'. It can then alleviate the burden of heritage sites and allows history to come alive through tourism.

The historical remnants can provide opportunity to remember the slavery past for both the inhabitants and tourists. Acts of remembering serve to raise public awareness of trauma endured by the victims and preparators of the transatlantic slave trade. There is almost a belief that the wound of history cannot be healed without honouring them. Exploring ways of remembering open and allow ways to reflect upon the past (Nguma & Gill, 2020). This can be reflected in a future tourism strategy.

3. **How can the remnants be integrated into a future tourism strategy in which the population of Statia also recognizes itself?**

The answer to research question two indicates that there are a lot of remnants on the island which can be integrated in a future tourism strategy. If the historical remnants are integrated in the tourism strategy, a connection between society and these heritage site may come to the foreground / be established. They may recognize these places as 'place'. Nevertheless whatever they include in 'place' and do not include in 'place' give us a lot of information on how the 'places' are constructed, particular in relation to slavery. If people connect to these remnants through memories knowledge will increase in society. It is, however, important to complement knowledge of history conveyed through a historical curriculum in education next to the memories of the individual and collective.

8.2. Discussion

The results as stated in the previous section have indicated that there are possibilities to integrate the remnants of slavery into a future tourism strategy. This research has contributed to the knowledge gap in the research of slavery on Sint Eustatius. As mentioned earlier, slavery on the island has largely been researched in relation to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Inadequate attention has been research regarding the effects of slavery on contemporary society. The preservation of tangible remnants has been considered but not in relation to tourism. This thesis may provide several insights into this topic. Nevertheless throughout this thesis some questions have been raised which will be further discussed in Section 8.3.

This thesis has used the theoretical concepts: heritage, place, identity, remembering, memory and tourism. There are many tangible remnants found all over the island. The remnants on the island offer opportunities, but they also offer concern. The Statian community seems not to have much knowledge about their own historical past. It is necessary to have a historical curriculum to share and transfer knowledge to the community. This curriculum should match peoples' perceptions. This knowledge should represent the nuances of the transatlantic slave trade. The remnants can be instrumentalized as a resource for learning about the colonial past. These remnants reflect and stand for recognition of the past. However it would be important that these remnants remain in good condition so that their stories can be told. The ideal way forward is that people start to feel connected to the historical heritage about which they are educated through a historical curriculum. It should connect them to a part of their identity and the place they belong to. Upon that basis heritage tourism could be developed as a strong asset for the island.

The tangible remnants are sensitive and carry many layers. It can evoke emotions of trauma and oppression in the descendants of those involved in the transatlantic slave trade. First post-memories are passed on to the next generation through stories and by copying behaviours of the elders. When one thinks of these traumatic memories, this can manifest itself in frustrations and negative feelings for the role of the Dutch and thereby the government of the Netherlands. Secondly slavery has deepened the patterns of inequality which cannot easily be solved. It is about understanding the perspectives of descendants of those involved in the transatlantic slave trade. These feelings of oppression can thus be traced back to the times of slavery.

The spatial landscape of the island as it is today was created at that time. This is physically manifested in place of worshipping and living arrangements. Intangible remnants, knowledge is slowly disappearing from society. Part of it has to do with the integration of Sint Eustatius as special municipality in the country of the Netherlands in 2010. When Statians go abroad and then return, they can encounter racism. This gives people a new sense of oppression: a feeling of being a 'tweederangsburger'.

It does not make sense that people feel 'tweederangsburgers' when they do not know their own history. Of course, the feeling can exist when they do. But now, certain discussions such as racism may spike which are not (yet) treated with any nuances. Knowing about your own history can lead to a (substantive) understanding of slavery, even if the context is difficult (e.g. free slave had slaves). Thus the discussion of their historical identity need to be taken carefully. Discussions, some of which are imported to Sint Eustatius, on 'racism', 'BLM', and 'colonialism' can easily lead to contradictions instead of establishing common ground. Moreover, the complicated relation with the Netherlands could lead people to use words such as 'racist' or 'colonialist' to describe the attitude of the Dutch government. It is important to push the narrative in a positive direction which is for example achievable if the Dutch government acknowledge their role on the island in the transatlantic slave trade. An acknowledgement will give meaning to the past. It can enhance the local population's sense of identity in relation to their slavery past. They could claim their heritage.

It is important that people know their past, so that heritage can be utilized for tourism. Heritage is thus an intersection of history, memory and identity. If people feel connected to history as part of their identity, they can be involved in sharing their knowledge with tourists to experience various heritage sites. This knowledge can include sharing stories, pointing out their own experiences and so on. This could move the remembrance of slavery into a positive direction. If history is exploited in the tourism industry, then there is more money and importance to preserve and protect its history. Then it becomes in a sense a reinforcing effect between history and tourism. This, however is only possible if the Statians themselves are proud of their identity and do not have a negative feeling towards their heritage / history.

It is important to have a solid foundation in which heritage is not only used for tourism-based purposes but also for exhibitions on heritage. This would imply that choosing heritage as part of the tourism strategy consists of collaborating with SECAR and the two museums: Lynch Plantation and Historical Foundation Museum. Considering that Sint Eustatius is a small island which had an enormous impact on the slave trade, it should create worldwide collaborations with museums to elevate the interest on this island.

8.3. Limitations and further research

New insight of the transatlantic slave trade continues to come to light. Statian-based information on slavery is discovered right now. Each contribution can enlighten our understanding of what exactly took place during this time. There are several limitations of this research.

Slavery has affected mostly black people. I myself am a white highly educated young woman from a country that has earned money from trade and slavery on Sint Eustatius. I grew up in an environment in which the period of slavery was seen as a flourishing period of the Netherlands. Unlike most Statians, I have no history of slavery in my family. While I grew up, I did not receive any education on the transatlantic slave trade. This means that I started the subject of slavery from a Dutch perspective, a colonizers perspective. In recent years the discussion on how to tackle slavery have been addressed in the Netherlands. I had an opinion on slavery but I tried to leave my opinion out of the research.

I am fortunate that, despite the Corona crisis, I was able to conduct field research on the island. I had the opportunity to interview and speak with Statians and expats living on Statia. They also completed the survey or submitted a photograph for the photo diary. Among the Statians, who participated in the research, there were only a few poorly educated Statians or those who belong to the lower class of Statian society. Also I was unable to interview tourists due to the corona crisis.

There are several context-based limitations which invite further research.

First the Statian who are poorly educated and those belonging to the lower class should be approached specifically in follow-up research.

Secondly research should be conducted among tourists visiting Statia whether they are interested in the island's slavery past.

Thirdly, a subject that has been deliberately neglected in this research is the phenomenon creolization. The Statian population does not identify themselves as creole. It does raise interesting questions that could be researched further. This could potentially offer enough material for an entire thesis.

Fourthly, it may be necessary to investigate the involvement and willingness of natives in the tourism industry.

Fifthly, it may be interesting to investigate the differences between islanders and outsiders. It would be interesting to see the impact and if colonial ramifications may be present in these distinct groups.

Sixthly, it may be necessary to research how to organize that there is a collaboration between various partners: tourism sector, museums and SECAR, on how to preserve historical remnants, especially if the ambition is to emphasize cultural heritage as a tourism pillar.

Seventhly, it would be needed to research how a collaboration between museums on slavery could look like, so that Sint Eustatius can also benefit.

Eighthly, this research emphasizes that slavery can lead to discussions on racism and vice versa. It may then be relevant to research this link and how that possible links to an apology.

Finally, the role of free slaves on the island could be further investigated. As mentioned in Section 5.2.3 they had to wear a ribbon to identify themselves as being free. This is similar form of 'othering' as the Jews who were ordered to wear Yellow badges during the Holocaust. Thus the theory of 'othering' in relation to free slaves on Sint Eustatius could be researched further.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Zooming in on the island

Legend
- Map of Sint Eustatius areas
    - A. Cultuurvlakte
    - B. Oranjestad
    - C. Lower Town
    - D. Upper Town
    - E. Quill national park
    - F. Boven national park
    - G. St. Eustatius National Marine Park
- Map of Sint Eustatius
    - a. Airport
    - b. Bergje
    - c. Big Stone
    - d. Crooks castle
    - e. English Quarter
    - f. Fort Amsterdam / Waterfort
    - g. Fort de Windt
    - h. Godet plantation
    - i. Golden Rock resort
    - j. Halfway path
    - k. Jenkins Bay
    - l. Lynch Museum Plantation
    - m. Miriam C Schmidt Botanical Garden
    - n. NuStar / GTI
    - o. Quill
    - p. The Golden Rock area – Saladoid culture
    - q. Tumble Down Bay
- Map of Oranjestad
    1. Fort Oranje
    2. Free slave village
    3. Honem Dalin Synagogue
    4. Jewish cemetery
    5. Methodist church
    6. Old church cemetery
    7. Old Gin House
    8. Paper corner
    9. Reformed Church
    10. Seven Day Adventist church
    11. St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation
    12. The St. Eustatius Historical Foundation / Simon Doncker's House
    13. Wilhelminapark

Sint Eustatius areas
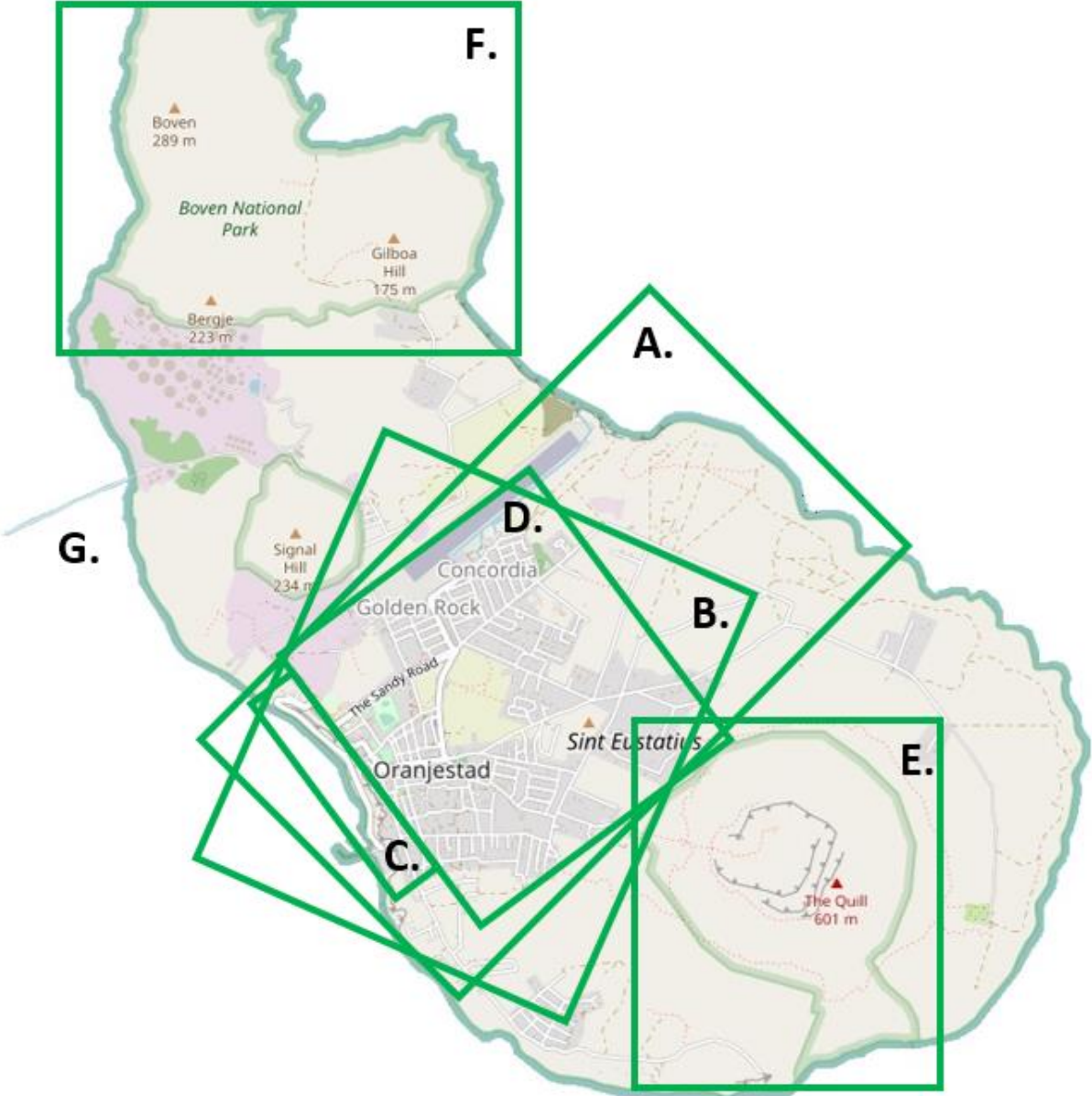
Figure 50. Sint Eustatius areas (own collection)

Sint Eustatius
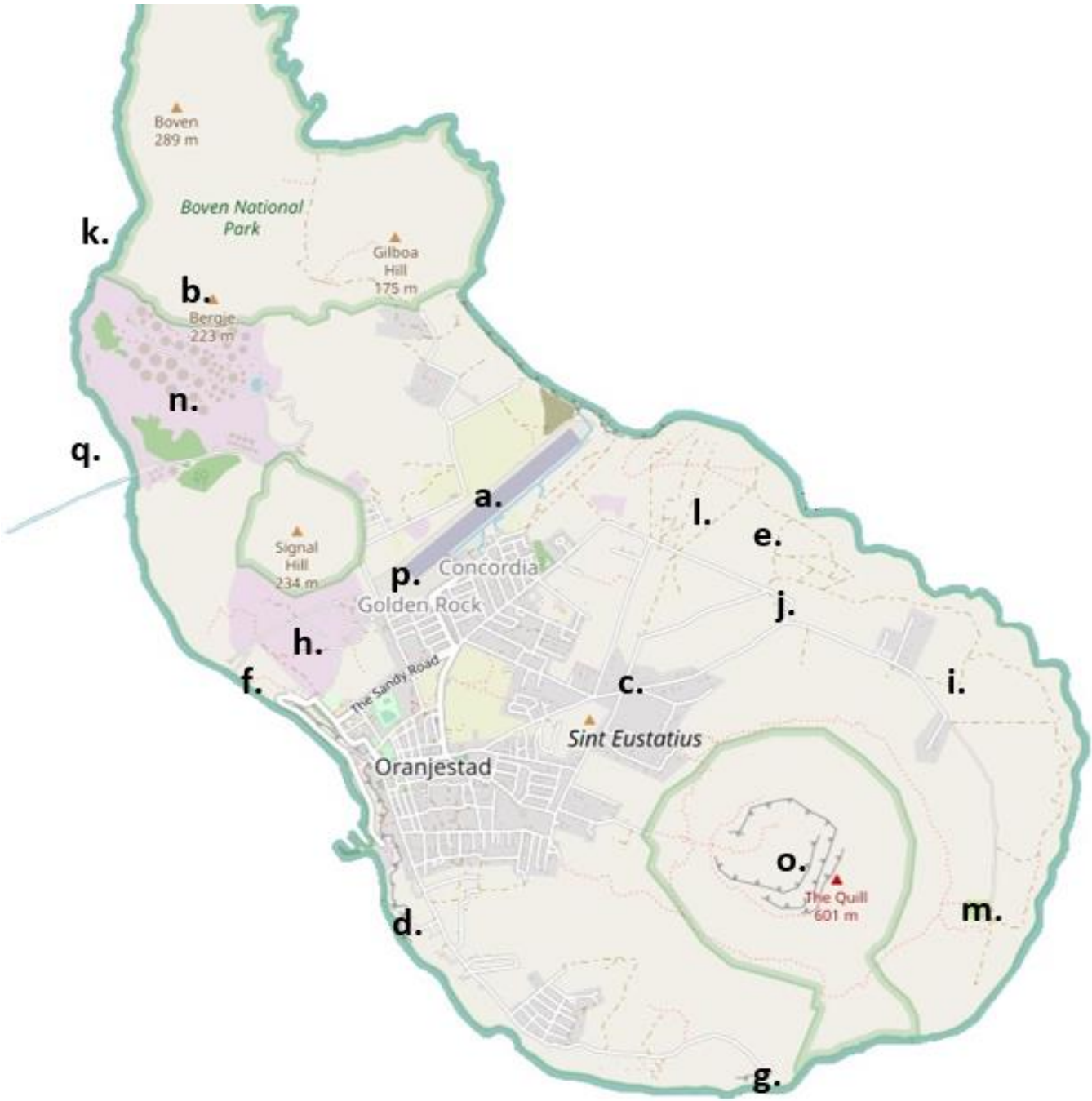
Figure 51. Sint Eustatius (own collection).

Oranjestad

Figure 52. Oranjestad (own collection)

Dear participant,

I am Joëlle Glerum, a student of the Wageningen University in the Netherlands. I follow a master in international development studies.

In collaboration with the Tourism & Development foundation, I am conducting a research on aspects of Statias' history. This research focuses on the relationship between identity and historical consciousness and how this could relate to the tourism strategy. To get a clear picture I ask for your assistance.

Please answer the questions as honest as possible. The survey will take between 10 - 15 minutes. The survey has five sections with various topics. Each question within the sections relate to Statia. The responses will remain anonymous and will be treated confidentially. The responses will be generalized as a group's response.

If you have any questions, you can always contact me by email: joelle.glerum@wur.nl.

Thank you for your participation.

General questions
The following questions define who you are. These questions will assist in determining the historical awareness among various demographic groups.

What gender do you identify as?

- o   Male
- o   Female
- o   Prefer not to say

What is your age?

- o   Below 18 years old
- o   18 – 24 years old
- o   25 – 34 years old
- o   35 – 44 years old
- o   45 – 54 years old
- o   55 – 64 years old
- o   Above 65 years old

Please specify your nationality/nationalities.
_____

Which languages are you capable of speaking fluently? (check all that apply)

- o   Dutch
- o   English
- o   Spanish
- o   Papiamento
- o   Portuguese

    o Other: _____

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed? If currently enrolled, highest degree received.

- o No schooling completed
- o Primary school
- o High school
- o Bachelor's degree
- o Master's degree
- o PhD
- o Prefer not to say

Please specify your religion, denomination or belief.

- o Adventist
- o Anglican
- o Methodist
- o Pentecostal
- o Roman Catholic
- o Prefer not to say
- o Not applicable
- o Other: _____

In which country were you born?

_____

How many years have you lived on Sint Eustatius?

_____

Which places have you lived in the last 5 years?

_____

Rate your knowledge

Please rate your knowledge on history of the transatlantic slave trade in which Statia was involved (1 low - 5 high).

_____

Please rate your knowledge on the historical remnants of the island (1 low - 5 high).

_____

History
The following questions / statements tackle historical aspects. Each question relates to Statia.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree
History should be preserved.					
History should be preserved for tourists' benefit.					
The past has shaped society.					
Slave trade was central to the development of Statia.					
Slavery was a benign system on Statia.					
More information should be available on Statias history.					

Why is Statia referred to as 'the Golden Rock'?
_____

Why is Statia referred to as the 'historical gem of the Caribbean'?
_____

Historical remnants

What do you associate with the term 'historical remnant'?
_____

Historical remnants

The following questions / statements in this section relate to all types of historical remnants found on the island. Each question relates to Statia

There are many historical remnants on Statia. Which of the following is the most important to you?

- o   Natural landscapes
- o   Historic buildings (e.g. museums)
- o   Burial sites (e.g. Berkel cemetery)
- o   Archaeological sites
- o   Stories
- o   Ruins (e.g. warehouses along the coast)

o   Monuments (e.g. Fort Oranje)

Historical remnants on Statia					
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither disagree nor agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
Historical remnants need to be preserved.					
Historical remnants demonstrate our cultural heritage.					
The historical remnants contribute to understanding Statias' history.					
The historical remnants have an aesthetic value to the island.					
Historical remnants should be more visible on the island.					
Material remnants need an explanation sign.					
Narrative remnants should be documented.					

Identity

What do you associate with the term 'identity'?
_____

Identity

The following question / statements in this section refer to identity. Each question relates to Statia.

Within the statements I distinguish between heritage and culture. Heritage is a contemporary use of the past (e.g. museums). Culture is ideas, norms and values within a society that are generally accepted (e.g. music). Please indicate if you agree or disagree.

	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither disagree nor agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
I am proud of my heritage.					
Our heritage should be preserved.					
Our heritage should be protected for the tourists' benefit.					
I am proud of my culture.					
Our culture should be preserved.					
Our culture should be protected for the tourists' benefit.					
I belong to a community.					

I feel myself _____. Please indicate which belongs the most to you.

- o   Statian
- o   Dutch
- o   Caribbean
- o   African
- o   American
- o   Other: _____

The next section, in between red, only shows if someone indicated Statian in the previous question.

Identity – Statian
The following section specifically asks questions in relation to your Statian identity.

What core values are important to you?
_____

What core values are important to the Statian community?
_____

What traditions are important to you?
_____

What traditions are important to the Statian community?
_____

Is there anything that has been handed down from generation to generation in your family/community?

- o Yes
- o No
- o Prefer not to say

If you have answered yes to the previous question, could you please elaborate what has been passed on from one generation to the next?

_____

When people from other countries think about your culture, what do they usually think of?

_____

What should the island promote to tourists? Please, select the one which is most important to you.

- o Historical aspects
- o Natural aspects
- o Cultural aspects
- o Other: _____

Which area (on the island) should the island promote to tourists?

_____

Information distribution

Who taught you most about what you know about Statias history?

- o Family
- o Friends
- o Collegues
- o Educational institutions
- o Media (tv, radio, newspaper and so on)
- o Social media (Facebook, Instagram and so on)

How often do [insert row] talk to you about statia's history?					
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither disagree nor agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
Family members					
Friends					
Colleagues					
Education institutions					
Media platforms (e.g. radio)					
Social media platforms (e.g. Facebook)					

If you would like to share anything related to this topic, please state it here.

_____

- o Please tick this box if you allow me to contact you for further information in relation to this survey.
- o Please tick this box if you would like to be interviewed for this research.

Please state your email and/or phone number if you ticked any of the previous boxes.

_____

Thank you for your participation!

Figure 53. Flyer photo diary (own collection).

Appendix D. Historical timeline

| **1493** |
| Columbus saw Sint Eustatius |

| **1621** |
| Establishment of the WIC |

| **1636** |
| First Dutch merchants arrived on Sint Eustatius |

| **+/- 1640** |
| Arrival of Indian slaves |

| **1655** |
| Arrival of African slaves |

| **1754** |
| Sint Eustatius became a free port |

| **16 November 1776** |
| Salute to the insurgents of the USA |

| **1781** |
| Admiral George Rodney invaded Sint Eustatius |

| **12 June 1848** |
| Slave revolt on Sint Eustatius |

| **1 July 1863** |
| Abolition of slavery |

Figure 54. Timeline of Sint Eustatius (Part 1).
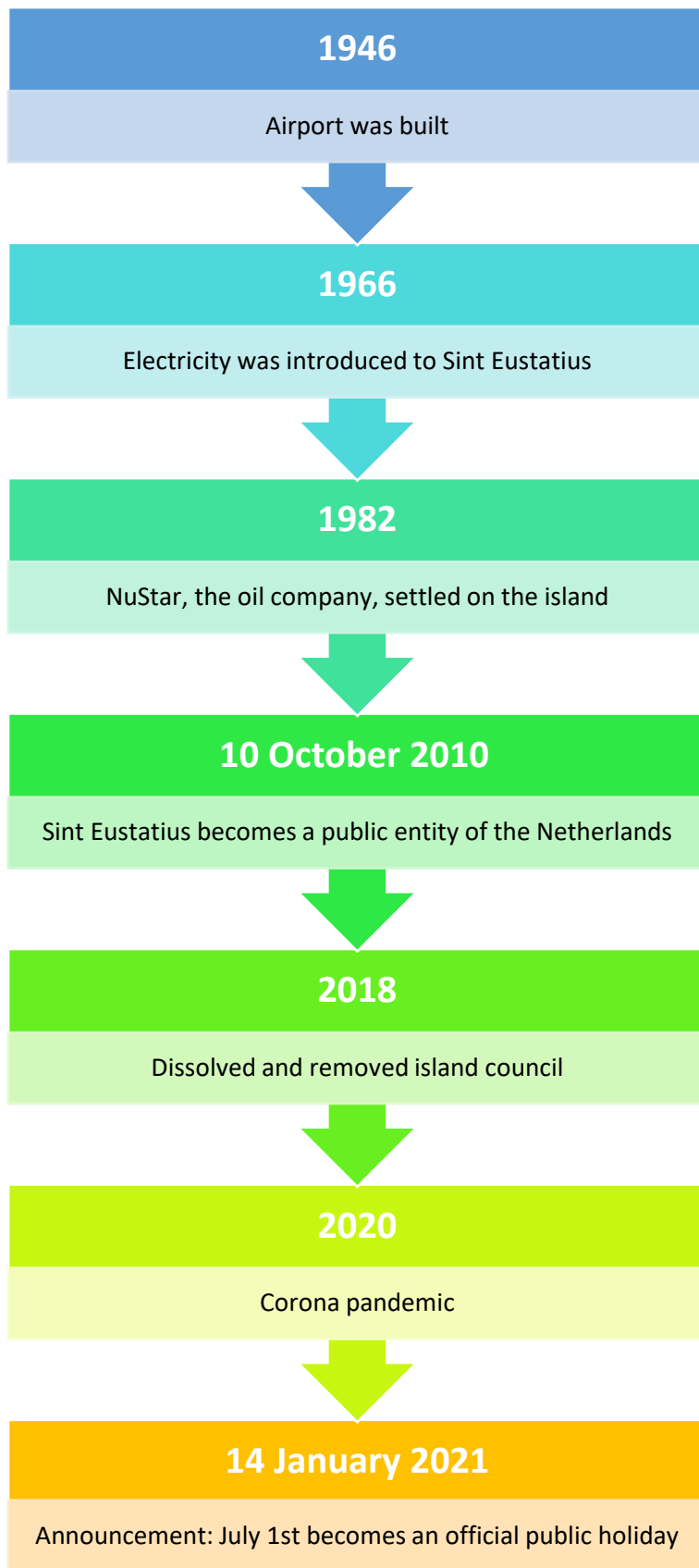
Figure 55. Timeline of Sint Eustatius (Part 2).

Legend	
	Arawak
	Dutch
	English
	French

Occupation of Sint Eustatius

Past	1620	1630	1640	1650	1660	1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	Present
Arawak																						
	1629																					
		1636 - 1665																				
					1665 - 1666																	
					1666 - 1667																	
					1667 - 1672																	
						1672 - 1673																
						1673																
						1673-1679																
						1679 - 1689																
							1689 - 1690															
								1690 - 1696														
								1696 -	-1709													
									1709 - 1713													
										1713												
										1713 - 1781												
																	1781					
																	1781 - 1784					
																		1784 - 1795				
																		1795 -	-1801			
																			1801 - 180			
																			1802 - 1810			
																				1810 - 181		
																					1816 - present	

Figure 56. Occupation of Sint Eustatius (own collection).

Appendix F. The slave trade: how slaves entered Statia

The story of slavery is prominently on the island. The first Indian slaves arrived from neighbouring island around 1640. The first African sla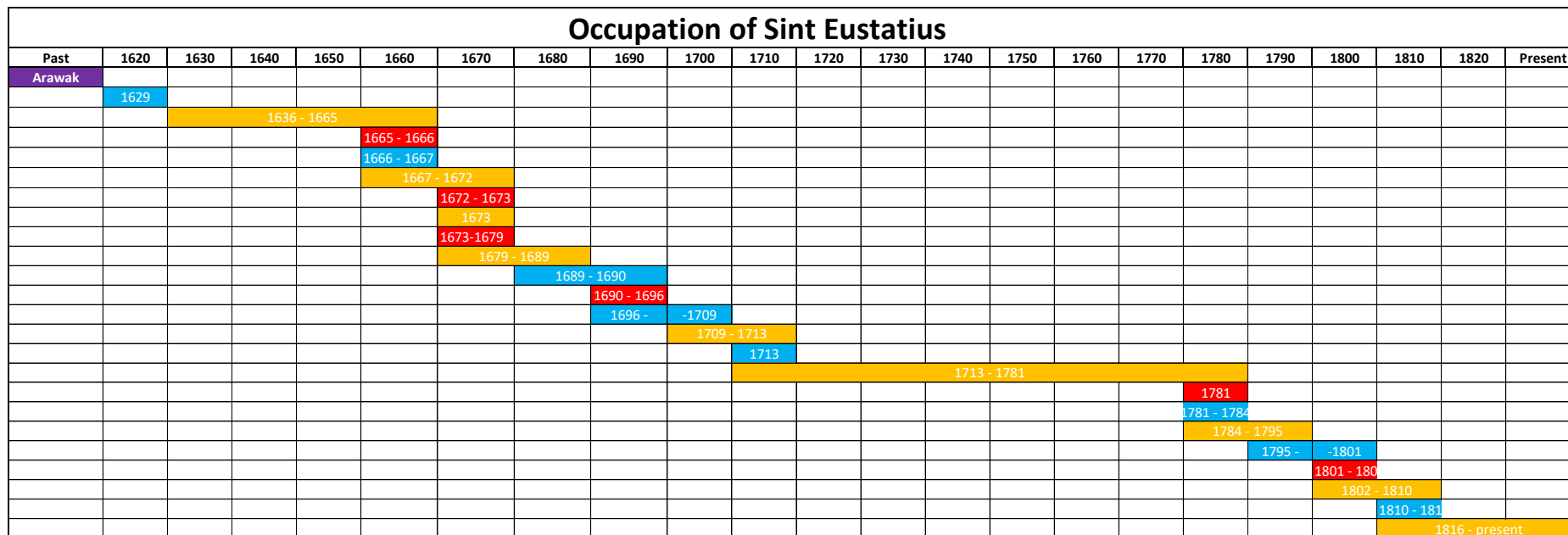ves arrived around 1655. They were transported per ship from Western Africa to the Americas. In the harbour of Sint Eustatius, they were either sold directly from one ship to another or they would be brought to the slave depot on land. In Section 4.3, it is shown that the anchorage of these ships was about 500 to 800 meters away from shore. Thus transport between ships or ships to land (and vice versa) took place via canoes, as seen in Figure 57. These canoes were steered either by slaves or free slaves. If slaves were steering the canoe, one 'white' person had to be on board otherwise the canoe was most likely stolen.

Figure 57. Drawing by S. Weuijster in 1763, ships arriving at Sint Eustatius (Statia Government, n.d.-b).

The slaves who were transported to the island would be awaiting their destiny in the slave depots Fort Amsterdam and Crooks Castle (see Section 6.3.2) on either side of Lower Town. Fort Amsterdam was commonly used as slave depot. It is assumed that Fort Amsterdam (also known as Waterfort) was built towards the end of the seventeenth century. It was built as a battery. The ruins of Fort Amsterdam can be seen in Figure 58.

Figure 58. Ruins of the Waterfort, also known as Fort Amsterdam (Kock, 1995).

Around 1720 the battery was converted into a slave depot. It would eventually have two stories in which about 450 slaves could be housed (Attema, 1976; Howard, 1991; Gilmore III & Roth, 2013). The men would be on the bottom floor while the females and children would be on the top floor (Interviewee 15, personal communication, 2020). The slaves who were healthy would be sold for a fixed price while the slaves which were not would be auctioned off in Fort Amsterdam (Enthoven,

2012). It is assumed that the Dutch fed their slaves to gain a higher price per person. Slaves would be sold to work:

- At the plantation,
- Domestically as a servant,
- As transporter on the island,
- As transporter on the sea,
- On the ships,
- As tradesmen,
- As merchants (Hondius, 2011).

Depending on the role you would play as a slave, life and a little bit of freedom was experienced differently. Some roles have been discussed (to a certain extent) in this thesis. A few examples are:

- Jack Barbados, a slave, worked as a distiller on the Golden Rock plantation;
- Olaudah Equiano, a slave, worked on the ships (see Textbox 3);
- Benjamin Fox, a free slave, worked as a merchant on Sint Eustatius.

Appendix G. Population of Statia during period of slavery

Table 6. Population during slavery (Gilmore III, 2006; Enthoven, 2012).

Year	Whites	Free slaves	Slaves	Total population
1665	330		840	1170*
1715	524	189	561	1274
1729	431		944	1375*
1732	532		911	1443*
1738	627		1191	1818*
1741	539		1239	1778*
1747	1002		1513	2515*
1758	868		1479	2347*
1762	778		1339	2117*
1768	872		1226	2098*
1779	1574		1631	3205*
1784	872	113	2962	3947
1786	3000	600	4000	7600
1789	2375	511	4944	7830
1790	2886	548	5042	8476
1795	2400	584	5140	8124
1818	501	302	1865	2668
1819	507	336	1747	2590
1847	766		1137	1903*
1850	782		1150	1932*
1863			1087	1087*

Table 6 is an estimate of the population during that year in Sint Eustatius. The total population marked with an asterisk has not considered the free slaves living onto the island.

Appendix H. Monuments in the Kingdom of the Netherlands related to Slavery

Figure 59. Freedom Fighter in Sint Maarten (Wong, 2020).

Freedom Fighters - ?

Philipsburg, Sint Maarten

Michael Meghiro, Nigerian

Meaning of Monument:
The male has his hands raised in the air showing severed chains of bondage. It represents freedom.

Figure 60. (Former) Emanicipation monument in Curaçao (Curaçao Art, n.d.).

(Former) Emancipation monument – 1963

Parke di Libertad at the Rif, Curacao

Pascual Ridderplaat, Curacao

Meaning of Monument:
Symbol of a reborn nation whose joined forces will create a new community founded on union and harmony.

Figure 61. Monument for Tula in Curaçao (Curaçao Art, n.d.).

Monument for Tula – 1963
Parke di Libertad at the Rif, Curacao

Unknown

Meaning of Monument:
Unknown

Figure 62. Desenkadená in Curaçao (Kattiel, 2020).

Desenkadená - 1998

Parke di Libertad at the Rif, Curacao

Nel Simon, Curacao

Meaning of Monument:
Three slaves, one of which is free who breaks the bondage of the other two slaves.

Figure 63. Fight for Freedom in Curaçao (Curaçao Art, n.d.).

Fight for Freedom - 1998

Parke di Libertad at the Rif, Curacao

Nel Simon, Curacao

Meaning of Monument:
The pillar represents the names of the slaves important during the slave revolt of curacao.

Figure 64. Monument 'Free at Last' in Curaçao (Hoffman, 2010).

Monument 'Free at Last' - 1998

Parke di Libertad at the Rif, Curacao

Nel Simon, Curacao

Meaning of Monument:
A fist which holds the loosened shackles representing freedom at last.

Figure 65. Nationaal Monument in Amsterdam (Buitenbeeldinbeeld, n.d.).

Nationaal Monument Slavernijverleden - 2002

Oosterpark, Amsterdam, Nederland

Erwin de Vries, Suriname

Meaning of Monument:
Past   - dramatic history of slavery
Present   - breaking the wall of resistance
Future   - urge for freedom and a better
                   future.

Figure 66. Levensboom in Amsterdam (Levensboom, Monument van Besef, 2018).

Levensboom, Monument van Besef - 2003

Surinameplein, Amsterdam, Nederland

Henry Renfurm, Surinam

Meaning of Monument:
In the canopy of the tree of life Suriname, the Netherland Antilles and the Netherlands are included to symbolize the common history. The trunk represents tribes of people with a different ethnicity.

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Figure 67. Zeeuws Slavernijmonument (Schnitzler, 2008).

Figure 68. 'One-Tété' Lohkey in Sint Maarten (Gibbs, 2020).

Figure 69. Salt Pickers Monument (Anne and David, 2019).

Figure 70. 'De Drie Wijzen' in Zoetermeer (ZoetermeerArchief, 2013).

Zeeuws Slavernijmonument - 2005

Balans, Middelburg, Nederland

Hedi Bogaers, Dutch

Meaning of Monument:
The monument consists of four granite columns, two of which are white and two are black. The columns are held together by a red stripe. This symbolizes the black and white people who have a red heart and red blood in common.

'One-Tété' Lohkey – 2006

Belair roundabout, Sint Maarten

Michael Meghiro, Nigerian

Meaning of Monument:
Slave who escaped of a plantation (on the Dutch side). She was recaptured and mutilated. She lost a breast, hence the nickname 'one-tété'. She was rebellious, resilient and determined. She eventually got a home in the hills above the plantation which was visible to all.

Salt Pickers Monument - 2009

Philipsburg, Sint Maarten

Michael Meghiro, Nigerian

Meaning of Monument:
Represents the workers (i.e. slaves) who occupied the salt industry.

'De Drie Wijzen' - 2012

Zoetermeer – Nederland

Artists of Social Sofa

Meaning of Monument:
Three women who break their chains. They represent the grandmothers and mothers of the past. They radiate comfort, love and strength. The quote references not only slavery of the past but also modern slavery.

Figure 71. Slavenhuisjes bij Oranje Pan (Slavenhuisjes bij Witte Pan en Oranje Pan, 2021).

Slavenhuisjes bij Oranje Pan* – 2012

Rincon, Bonaire

Slaves, built in 1850

Meaning of monument:
Unknown, used for sleeping.

Figure 72. Slavenhuisjes bij Witte Pan (Beautiful Bonaire, n.d.).

Slavenhuisjes bij Witte Pan* – 2012

Rincon, Bonaire

Slaves, built in 1850

Meaning of Monument:
Unknown, used for sleeping.

Figure 73. Elieser (Historisch Amstelland, n.d.).

Elieser - 2013

Oudekerk aan de Amstel, Nederland

Erwin de Vries, Suriname

Meaning of Monument:
Slave who arrived in 1610 in the Netherlands and passed away in 1626. He is buried on the Jewish cemetery Beth Haim.

Figure 74. Nationaal Monument Slavernijverleden in Rotterdam (BKOR, n.d.).

Nationaal Monument Slavernijverleden - 2013

Rotterdam, Nederland

Alex da Silva, Angolan

Meaning of Monument:
The sculpture has the shape of a stylized ship, on top of which figures dance towards their freedom.

Figure 75. Slavernijmonument in Hoofddorp (Kerken in Hoofddorp, n.d.).

Slavernijmonument in Hoofddorp – 2018

Hoofddorp, Nederland

Joost van den Toorn, Dutch

Meaning of Monument:
The monument consists of three basalt pillars and a sawn and polished basalt block with the text 'Wat gebeurd is, is niet voorbij'.

Herdenkingsmonument slavernijverleden - 2021

Vrijheidspark, Tilburg, Nederland

TBD.

Meaning of Monument:
TBD

Herdenkingsmonument slavernijverleden - 2023

Utrecht

TBD.

Meaning of Monument:
'Visible recognition for suffering'

Slavernijmonument Den Haag – 2023

Lange Voorhout, Den Haag

Artists of STROOM

Meaning of Monument:
TBD

* These are officially historical buildings but are indicated on the monument list of Bonaire.

Appendix I. Recommendations in bullet points

To sum up the following things could be considered as a recommendation for change:

- The St. Eustatius Tourism & Development Foundation should take responsibility for their roles in the sector:
    - Tourism office
    - Tourism sector leader

    - Practical recommendations for the role of tourist office include:
        - Opening times should be clear
        - Ready to assist tourist(s)
        - Map with highlights
        - Merchandise available
    - Practical recommendations for the role of tourism sector leader include:
        -
- Preservation of tangible and intangible remnants:
    - Preserve historical remnants (to keep them)
    - Document the tangible historical remnants (in case they disappear)
    - Document the intangible historical remnants
- Maintenance of tangible and intangible remnants:
    - Update and maintain information at the remnants.
    - The tangible historical remnants need to be regular checked to see if the physicality has changed.
    - The intangible historical remnants need to be updated and told.
- Exploitation of tangible and intangible remnants:
    - Booklet 'St. Eustatius Historical Walking Tour should be widely available.
    - Information should be up-to-date and accurate at the sites.
    - The intangible remnants need to be told through guides, audio tours or signs.
- The Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute (CNSI) should have a clear role and they should regularly publish information on the island.
    - Spread scientific information to educate people.
- Create a historical curriculum to increase historical awareness:
    - Educate residents through schools and/or platforms.
    - Educate (potential) tourists.
- Marketing should focus on history:
- Dialogue on how to remember slavery.
    - Enhance historical knowledge.
        - May reduce notions of 'tweederangsburger'.
- Involve the local population:
    - Expand their historical knowledge.
    - Train them in the tourism industry.
- Heritage hopping:
    - Maximizes tourism potential.
    - Emphasize historical experience.