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One-Eyed Archive

Metadata Reflections on the USVI Photographic Collections at The Royal Danish Library

Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer, Temi Odumosu

Abstract

During 2016, the Royal Danish Library digitized more than 200.000 pages from the library's, collections all of which related to the former colonies in the Caribbean. This included books and other printed matter, but also sheet music, manuscripts, personal documents, photographs and drawings. Images were published in Digital Collections, the library's platform for digitized materials, and were accompanied by limited metadata, thereby posing challenges in terms of accessibility and important historical contextualisation. This essay therefore reflects on the gaps and the silences that haunt indexing and descriptive practices in the migration online. Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer is Senior Research Fellow at the Royal Danish Library and has been project-managing the digitisation. Temi Odumosu is Senior Lecturer in Cultural Studies at Malmö University and has worked intensively with the collection as user and collaborator in the project What Lies Unspoken. As the Library embarks on initiatives to address the limited metadata associated with its digital collections, the authors come together to unfold key questions about approaches and process. They describe the characteristics of Digital Collections and the metadata currently provided, and ask what is left out and why; thereby engaging cultural biases that uneasily mirror the colonial project. The authors also explore how more inclusive user involvement, particularly in the United States Virgin Islands (USVI), could shift language and epistemology. The leading inquiry question is: In the one-eyed colonial archive, what is it possible for metadata to do?

Keywords: Colonialism, photography, Denmark, US Virgin Islands, Royal Danish Library, metadata, archives, description, keywords, participation, open access, crowdsourcing, Caribbean, visual culture

Old and New Ground

In 2015 Danish cultural heritage collections prepared for an important commemorative moment in Denmark: the centennial of "transfer day", marking the official sale of the former Danish West Indies (St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John) to the United States on 31 March 1917. Public discourse during this period was polarised and uncomfortable, as the limited and somewhat nostalgic attention previously paid to these histories in Denmark was exposed. Moreover, the mainstream discussion was unable to sufficiently grapple with the enormity of colonial reverberations: reconciling the actuality of slavery and its remembrance; political and economic entanglements with other Danish colonial settlements; traumatic effects on Caribbean people, their identity and culture; acknowledging and accepting participation in colonial violence; and, also apology and healing. Meanwhile, arts and cultural heritage institutions embarked on a process of consolidation that involved identifying collections evidencing these histories, and also digitising the material for greater access. In the context of postcolonial relations, digitisation also served as a symbolic gesture of return, or rather historical redress (Agostinho 2019a). The weathered, fraying and burnished documents, the fragile mirrored daguerreotype plates, and the dust-infused maps were all digitally converted and joined databases as JPEG and TIFF files. This dematerialisation process was generally understood as a practical way to reach out, share and visualise materials that were subject to strict protocols and often kept in storage, also rarely used in exhibitions.

Open-accessing Danish colonial archives and collections as digital data had several effects. The 'scandal and excess' that characterised slavery and its archival footprint, was now available for consultation and witnessing outside the walls of institutions (Hartman 2008). This effort provided a scaled overview of Danish colonial endeavour, but it also registered ongoing African-descendant and Indigenous presence, and role, in the shaping of Denmark (and Danish families); further revealing how they too were agents of change in emancipation from slavery. Open access also meant that a wider range of artists, researchers and other interested stakeholders now had the possibility of engaging with this material on their own terms. At the same time, institutions were somewhat absolved from accountability with regards to guidelines for general use of material, since many Danish collections have made a commitment to creative commons licensing for historical material.

Ill. 1: Installation view of What Lies Unspoken: Sounding the Colonial Archive designed by Temi Odumosu for the exhibition Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies Colony (2017-2018). Photo: Brian Berg.



Writing together as cultural practitioners with research and curatorial roles during the 2017 commemorations, we use this reflective paper to engage with what informs current praxis, and therefore address the ongoing possibilities for oversight and symbolic violence in Danish collections cataloguing and metadata. During the year of commemoration, we both worked with unfolding the context and the reaction to the material. Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer (MKKM) co-curated the exhibition *Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies Colony* together with Senior Lecturer Mathias Danbolt, and Research Librarian and Curator of Photography Sarah Giersing. Confronting the notion of images as neutral windows to the world, the exhibition focused on the lopsidedness of the images in public collections, which were created by Danish colonial actors, at home and abroad. It analysed the exclusions, the embellishments, the condescending typologies, and the power-over expressed in Danish colonial imagery; all in an effort to contribute a Nordic perspective to the critical work being done internationally on colonial

visual cultures. Having researched and written about similar material in a British context, Temi Odumosu (TO) designed an experimental sound installation called What Lies Unspoken: Sounding the Colonial Archive, which was developed collaboratively with Statens Museum for Kunst (SMK), with curator Henrik Holm as internal project lead (Ill.1). This double collections intervention at the library and SMK, involved a participatory process of gathering diverse people to critically respond to the physical artefacts in workshop settings, their voices being recorded and later edited into sonic compositions, as an alternative interpretive layer in the exhibition spaces (See Krabbe Meyer 2019; Odumosu 2019). Both manifestations are still available online, to some extent, but most users will meet the colonial material in their usual virtual state, which is without interpretation and with basic metadata. Having experienced the colonial collections in various unique manifestations, we wanted to think together, and return to unanswered questions about their condition online in the Digital Collections. We will describe and contextualise the digitisation process, in order to unfold what haunts indexing and classification systems as they migrate online.

Ill. 2: Participant in 2018 CHANT Summer School photographing the current site represented in a 20th century postcard Children's Home Frederiksted, St. Croix, D.W.I, from the library collection, with photographer David Berg. Photo: Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer. Original postcard in The Royal Danish Library. http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object301944/en/



Thinking about digital rights and responsibilities in an information society is tentative work, and the proposed goal when considering the library collections is ultimately to produce a more open and inclusive digital collection; one that can both articulate and resignify its colonial inheritances. The 2017 commemoration disturbed habits and produced openings (possibilities) for change that we want to hold on to, therefore our discussion articulates some of what we heard in a patchwork of critical responses that came from different kinds of meetings in the process of commemorative work: with independent artists and researchers who used the collections on and offline; in recorded workshops with artists, historians, students, and curators during the What Lies Unspoken project; with visitors to the Blind Spots exhibition; and on USVI with participants in the 2018 Archive Summer School at Crucian Heritage and Nature Tourism CHANT, run by Frandelle Gerard, which MKKM held together with Mathias Danbolt, artist Katrine Dirckinck-Holmfeld and photographer David Berg (who also volunteered in the library when visiting Denmark) (Ill.2). These encounters were eye-opening, intensive, and sometimes challenging, and they were not always planned as spaces for considering collections online specifically. However, the layering of perspectives in this way has been profoundly important for understanding the affects and effects of Danish colonial collections, when they appear in different contexts. That said, it is important to highlight that the lopsided nature of the archive also mirrors who is tasked with doing the work of curation and transforming possibilities. We do recognise that resource extraction can also happen when seeking collaboratively to open up a collection, which has been closed to any significant reconsideration for much of its history. Specifically, a lot of affective labour (energy, good will, critical concern, enthusiasm, and love) has paved the way for shifting awareness and catalysing a reevaluation of institutional practices. We hope to honour this work with our words, and in our attempt to envision expanding Digital Collections to become more meaningful for the many, rather than the few. Finally, we must insist that this text is not a forging of new concepts, but rather a moment for careful assessment and pause. We consider this going over trodden ground as an ethical act of threshing, in the sense that we write with purpose to clarify, to sift, and to nuance, in preparation for future initiatives (Tuck et. al. 2014).

Digitisation as a means to set "our" cultural heritage free

As a National Library with Legal Deposit Law and Special Collections dating back to the beginning of colonialism The Royal Danish Library holds substantial source material evidencing this history. The current scope is vast, in terms of time, content, and media: encompassing a 1494 German edition of Christopher Columbus's conquest letter to the King of Spain, all the way to recent media documentation of the artist monument *I AM Queen Mary* (2018), co-produced by Jeannette Ehlers and LaVaughn Belle. Back in 2015, when organisations were preparing for

"Transfer Day" commemorations, the National Archives had already scanned and made available written sources associated with the political and administrative history of Denmark's colonial rule in the Caribbean. These documents have long been considered an important part of Danish cultural heritage, and in 1997 they were included alongside all of the archives of Danish overseas trading companies in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. To contextualise their newly digitised Caribbean material, the National Archives developed a bespoke website in English and Danish, where the material could be explored in thematically curated sections, and searched through a simple catalogue interface. With much more limited resources, the library wished to follow their lead and digitize and make available its collections too. The main focus at the time was the historical collection, consisting of manuscripts, books, periodicals, but also images in the form of postcards, photographs and drawings. In terms of content this included scientific material pertaining to the study of the Caribbean landscape, as well as details about the colonial structure, such as trade and military operations. Also, fictional works (novels, plays, poetry), as well as documents illuminating personal experience and living conditions. It is fair to say that the collections represent the Danish colonial worldview, as it was intentionally recorded for posterity, and in so doing also includes (or rather entangles) Afro-Caribbean and Indigenous subjectivities, experiences and modes of knowledge production.

Positivist formulations of digitised cultural heritage have characterised the effort to transform collections into big data, as a herculean feat of unprecedented sharing. All over the world museums, archives and libraries promote the digital replicants of their collections as opportunities to come closer to those things that are ordinarily out of reach, or difficult to see properly behind glass vitrines. In Denmark, digitisation has long been hailed as a form of soft cultural diplomacy that bridges the gap between institutions and new audiences, through the rhetoric of collective ownership (Sanderhoff 2014; Valtysson 2017). The desire to reach users where they are, can be seen as a byproduct of an evolving experience economy in Danish cultural industries, where visitors are encouraged to engage on their own terms (often framed as participation), rather than being educated by specialists and institutional gatekeepers. For context, it is important to highlight that since the 2000's Danish heritage institutions have been subject to a slow assault on specialisation, where a new governmental focus was placed on accessibility. In his 2002 New Years Eve speech Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen criticized specialists from "statslige råd og nævn og institutioner" for diminishing the rights of citizens to decide for themselves (Rasmussen 2002). Since then, the cultural sector has experienced financial cutbacks, whilst at the same time receiving extra pressure to be more content-driven, since institutional relevance and success are increasingly measured by the quantity of material available (rather than the depth of knowledge about them). Added to this, technological developments that lowered the cost of scanning, also contributed to the cherishing of digitisation as the tool for speeding up public engagement, relegating bespoke knowledge and detail to

the domain of academic articles and hefty catalogues. In such a climate digitised material from libraries, museums, and archives, are introduced to users doubly as gifts, but also as shared cultural property that can be accessed anytime, generally used for any purpose, and stored on personal devices. A notable example from the Royal Danish Library collection are the open-access catalogues of the department store Daells Varehus, which have been digitized for their cult value as widely known and beloved examples of Danish vernacular culture.

For 2017 commemorative work, digitisation certainly provided the means through which a more transparent negotiation of the library's colonial collections could unfold, especially in the space of visual culture. However, because the resurfacing of challenging histories is not usually the intended outcome of such a process, the materials were treated in the same way as all other collections, following digital collections standards with only basic metadata and no contextual framing. One of the key aims of the Blind Spots exhibition was to counter the nostalgia involved in looking back at the sepia past, which has (to some extent) been facilitated by a longstanding practice of using images as an illustrative backdrop to history; an easy way to show how things used to be for Danes, rather than everyone else included in the space of colonial imagery. Formulations of Danish heritage have shifted over time, but a narrative of innocent colonialism has characterised Danish storytelling about the country's role as a small-time colonial power that was less brutal than other European nations, and also the first to legally abolish the Slave Trade in 1792 (Andersen 2014; Danbolt & Wilson 2018; Olwig 2003; Simonsen 2016). When the islands were sold in 1917, the populations living there became American overnight, which means that there has been a limited immigrant community with Caribbean-Danish background to challenge the dominant understandings of this history with their embodied presence: that direct awareness of "we are here because you were there" prevalent in other European post-colonial contexts. The nostalgia for a lost paradise, and the celebration of courageous Danes who opposed slavery, has therefore endured, and come with consequences for the way Danish colonialism is represented, explained, and treated. In this context digitisation is not a simple scan and release of data, but a process of implication, a graphic exposure to documents that evidence the seen and unseen of the colonial world, and therefore a haunting (Gordon 2008); for institutions and users (Agostinho et al. 2019b, 2020). This is why the library's Digital Collections have become a point of focus for this discussion, since we consider it a space of possibility, but also an information resource that is troubled by gaps, absences and silences.

Who owns cultural heritage?

The characterisation of the Royal Danish Library's colonial collections as an open cultural commons is somewhat misleading, given their mixed acquisition history. The library collections were not like those of the National Archives, which were transferred from the islands to Denmark, specifically to be archived as heritage, when the US took over (Bastian 2003; 2001). There is no inherited "colonial collection" as such, although the digitisation process (and the 2017 commemorative context) have facilitated a specific categorisation of this material under "Dansk Vestindien" in order to make materials easier to find. Collections from and about the Caribbean, including prior to Danish rule and after, have come by legal deposit (handing over of printed material from printers), donations from private entities, and purchase on auctions. This means that the colonial "views" the library has are uneven to begin with, and the collections themselves represent formulations of private property that are inherently colonial. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the photographic collections, where questions of power and ownership reach all the way back to the taking of photographs. The thousands of anonymised Afro-Caribbean people who appear in albums and on commercial postcards made from photographs, show extractive representational practices that disconnected subjects from familial ties, making questions of rights and consent impossible to answer.

A daguerreotype in the collections illustrates these asymmetries of power clearly (Ill.3). Taken in 1847, the double portrait of Charlotte Hodge and Louise Bauditz (an Afro-Caribbean servant and the child she was nurturing) has been kept in the library as former property of the German Bauditz family of St. Croix. Questions of rights here are complex. Research in local parish records suggests that Hodge was free at the time of the photograph, a widower, and a mother who had lost at least seven of her eight children. But this was also a year before emancipation, and though she may have been legally free, the extent of her freedoms under an ongoing colonial regime are difficult to ascertain; especially where she may have worked among fellow servants counted as enslaved property. Photography in these situations was generally a privilege for white colonial families who were recording (and fashioning) their existence away from Europe (Langford 2001). In many colonial contexts, native maids and wetnurses appear in family photography, particularly due to their closeness to children (Wood 2013; González-Stephan and Good 2016; Hirsch 1999; Stoler 2002). Also, in the early days of the medium, nannies were called on as supporting figures and "props" for children, who needed to be kept still to produce clear portraits. It was not uncommon for

¹ A short biographical summary entitled 'Who was Charlotte Eliza Hodge of St Criox?' was written in June 2017 by USVI historian George Tyson, and is available to researchers upon request.

some of these women to be veiled or cloaked, to obscure their identities as "hidden mothers" (Nagler 2013). The ambiguities surrounding how and why such women appear in these photographs thus tend to result in a default reading of their role as marginal, and any rights are assigned/assumed to the dominant family (Hirsch, 1997). But, these images depict multiple subjectivities, with gazes that often address the viewer directly, and therefore need to be recognised. The 'labor of imagination' involved in making connections between what is visible and invisible in photographs, is the ethical work involved in facing colonial histories (Smith 2013, 98; Azoulay 2008).

Ill. 3: Record in Kunstindeks Danmark of daguerreotype depicting Charlotte Hodge and Louisa Bauditz, 1847. The Royal Danish Library. https://www.kulturarv.dk/kid/VisVaerk.do?vaerkId=480073





Dobbeltportræt af Louisa MacPherson Bauditz med sin amme Charlotte Hodge

Kunstner:

Titel: Dobbeltportræt af Louisa MacPherson Bauditz med sin amme Charlotte Hodge

Datering: ca 1847 Værktype: Daguerreotypi Nettomål: lysmål: 71 x 55 mm Signatur/betegnelse: Ikke bet.

Museum: Det Nationale Fotomuseum, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, inv. nr. 2007-65/10

Erhvervelse: [Blank], 2007



Perhaps Charlotte Hodge considered it an honour to be photographed alongside the children she cared for; perhaps it was an infringement on personal boundaries that she had to swallow; or perhaps she simply accepted that being photographed was a part of her role attending to a wealthy colonial family. We do not know. Even with historical hindsight, engaging her presence as a willing photographic subject is tentative work. For example, a second, slightly damaged, daguerreotype shows Hodge in another group portrait, once more with Louise on her lap and the two other Bauditz boys on either side of them. What can we realistically infer from her repeated presence in the family frame? There are other ethical considerations. Since the library's collections bridge public and private interests, the broader issue of image circulation is also critical. For Hodge to become part of 1840's white Danish family photography is a situation we cannot change, but what about uses of her image in the present day? During 2017, the photograph was used as a poster and promotional eye-catcher for the library's Blind Spots exhibition. This was done intentionally, in order to visualise and give space to Hodge's story, as an example of the many nameless ones that had not been told. However, reflecting back on this choice it is important to ask: Who truly "owns" the portrait within which Charlotte Hodge features? If Hodge had or has living descendants, should they be involved and recognised in the library's stewarding of this portrait? And importantly, how should the Royal Danish Library explain, and allow use of, this image? In an official legal response to such questions, the library may refer to personal rights having expired, making digital use and reproduction freely available, without needing to seek permission. But this does not neutralise the underlying frictions, nor the brutalising historical and material conditions that permanently bind the library's collections to slavery and colonialism. Thus, the library is left to contend with ethical issues, leaving the safe harbour of legality to engage in more delicate conversations about fairness (Dalgleish 2011; Odumosu 2020); or what Marika Cifor theorises as 'emotional justice' (Cifor 2016).

In the exhibition *Blind Spots* Charlotte Hodge's personal story was explained in the accompanying label text, which also addressed the power exercised in taking the photograph. In the sound intervention *What Lies Unspoken*, participants reacted strongly, and spoke of their ambivalence when faced with beauty in the context of horror. They found it difficult to ascertain the extent of Hodge's freedoms and agency, and also asked questions about intimacy, privilege, and self-fashioning. Both text and sound intervention are still available on the library website, and are included in learning materials for students on questions of ownership, digitisation and ethics. All these critical engagements have added meaning and context to

² This is a question that haunts engagement with photography in so many colonial contexts, such as the Zealy Daguerreotypes of elder Renty and seven other enslaved Africans photographed for a race biology project by Louis Agassiz (Barbash et al. 2020).

the Daguerreotype, as it continues to exist as historical evidence in the collection. However, when viewed online the double portrait appears with minimal metadata that belies all the efforts to resignify the image.

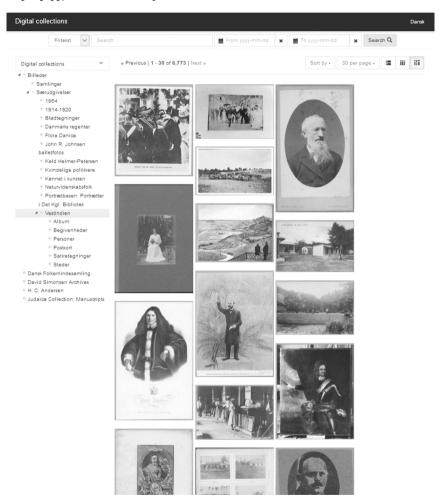
More than 10 years ago the portrait was added to Kunstindeks Danmark (the central register of artworks owned by Danish state-owned and state-subsidised museums), along with the large collection of daguerreotypes held by the library. This means that engagement with the digital record happens in the index and not the library's Digital Collections. In the public record there is no official naming of those portrayed. The names of the Hodge and Bauditz are instead included in a constructed title that was likely created in the absence of an official one, when added to Kunstindeks Danmark. Since the name of the photographer is unknown, the public record only includes the year of creation and acquisition, object material and name of institution. No information is provided about the history of the image, nor the history of the persons depicted, and as a user one is unable to contribute to or adapt the record. It is this standardised way of referencing and organising collections that allow for silencing and erasure on the basis of ownership, which is another way of establishing rights - to exist, to decide, to belong.

Historically the catalogue has been the source of information for librarians mainly; protocols, filing cards, registers have been managed by library staff for centuries, but with Digital Collections new possibilities have been created. In the following we will describe and discuss the advantages and risks involved in opening the catalogue to the public. The USVI-collection may be the collection where it makes most sense, but is at the same time a delicate place to experiment.

Applying metadata

When the library chose to digitise collections back in 2015, it was for a range of reasons concerned with accessibility for the public good: making collections available for artists, researchers and the broader public interested in understanding and entering into a dialogue about the colonial past. Online access was especially crucial for reaching an international audience, and also allowing the material to become part of the global discourse on colonialism. In practice, however, the conversion of materials into data has been a largely technical process without curation or contextualisation. The financial and time investment has been used primarily for taking materials out of storage, then out of envelopes and boxes, and then putting them into a scanner etc. To some extent it was anticipated that images could "speak for themselves", and be deciphered without added description. This meant that there were very few resources for adding metadata to the materials whether that was existing metadata or metadata added in the process of digitisation. 2017 commemorative work revealed how important descriptive practices are in situating the collections, historically and in the present day. Not only to develop research and knowledge, but also to revisit the frames of reference that guide professional practices and transfer meanings to users. As Saidiya Hartman crucially explains in the context of titles given to (and imposed on) photography, 'the caption produces what appears. It subsumes the image to the text' (Hartman 2019, 20). If we thought about metadata as an extended form of captioning collections representing colonial events, then what kind of words should we use, and why?

Ill. 4: Screen view of Digital Collections under the catalogue title Vestindien. The Royal Danish Library. http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/subject5259/en?view=masonry



In the library, as with most collections, digitisation begins with locating physical materials. In line with colonial notions of ownership and processes of land acquisition, the topographical collection already had a section titled "Danish West

Indies". Materials such as maps and landscape prints were taken out for scanning. along with a number of portraits, photograph albums and other images found through research. Collections were then sent to the Digitization Department and originals and files returned to Special Collections, where metadata were assigned by Research Librarians in the Canto database. USVI materials would then be published into Digital Collections, not Kunstindeks Danmark, and follow the template and standards of this platform (Ill.4). The template used only allows for basic information to be included in each record, and within this there are hierarchies. For example, information about the creator of an image is paramount, since copyright law requires this to be available when the image is published. Information about location, the place the photographs were taken, as well as the date of exposure (which seldom appears within the image itself), are also regarded as basic or primary metadata. In online collections there is also a field for names of recognised subjects, such as those represented in material. Very often, the older catalogues also contained other more detailed information, such as size, condition, acquisition numbers, provenance, as well as any hand-written annotation, both by original image producers and viewers, or later, by librarians. All these details are part of an ecology of information that have been critical for researchers, since they situate colonial collections within layered historical contexts. They also explain how practices of imperial prospecting and/or management, are also an institutional inheritance (Carby and Vermeulen, 2015). However the drive to digitise has exposed a gap between the information that constitutes a complete digital record, and what is required to give critical insight into the historical importance and cultural relevance of these collections.

The Royal Danish Library does not have a written catalogue of the USVI collection. Materials have therefore been recorded in the acquisition protocol, very often with little information. And, in terms of organisation, the library's collections are sorted according to already established headlines in the archives. There are some keywords that feature in the protocol, but these are often simple terms, pointing to the main subjects or objects in the images. No thesaurus or other standard lists, such as Denmark's "Saglig registrant for kulturhistoriske Museer", were used as a guideline, as they did, for example, in Europeana Collections 1914-1918 project, where more nuanced terms such as "foreign policy" or "principle of neutrality" expressed the political dimensions of WWI remembrance. Of critical importance to address is the fact that words such as slave trade, slavery, imperial, or imperialism are not associated keywords for the USVI material in the Royal Danish Library; even though they are standard terms in the metadata Thesaurus for *Graphic Materials*, instituted by the Library of Congress. Most keywords concern what the image literally shows, rather than what it represents or conveys about the situation; content rather than meaning (Schwartz, 2002). This is in line with the general interest in communicating the "material in itself" and not the context it was made or understood in.

However, rather than making the collections uniform or neutral, the keywords used (or not used) reveal institutional blind spots and reify old knowledge structures, making them complicit in the violences embedded in the material. When the library does not use the Digital Collections to explain the contexts out of which its primary collections emerged, it also reproduces the nostalgic idea of colonialism (and colonial history) as abstract, free-floating, detached from the present, easy or simple, and lacking substance. Certainly, there is a need to develop metadata by considering how users approach collections, either with questions, curiosities, or more invested engagements with the material. Recent activist work in library and archival information sciences is reviewing descriptive practices within a social justice framework, and taking a stand about how we conduct this work more inclusively and carefully. For example, the Archives for Black Lives Matter in Philadephia anti-racist description resource, emphasises the importance of developing an anti-oppressive mindset in the development of metadata; and foregrounds the 'emotional ties' that stakeholder communities have to collections (Antracoli et al. 2020). Furthermore, they encourage the use of 'accurate and strong language' (words articulating forms of violence) to represent collections more faithfully, and at the same time signal to users what is at stake when they engage with this material.

There are many words missing in the library's USVI digital collection. For example, there is no reference to important terms, such as: colonial, colonialism, slavery, Transatlantic Slave Trade, or enslavement. There are also no racial, ethnic or cultural identifiers such as: Black, Indigenous, Afro-Caribbean, Creole, or even white. Without many of these words, any other keywords such as "sugar" or "worker" lose their historical intensity, as a way to cite inequitable contact. The template for digital records does, however, include information about the "placing" of objects within the collection. These markers are added in order to maintain a link between digital files and the original materials. In this context a photograph may appear as part of the digital collection bearing the term "Folkeliv". This is an old Danish word describing a genre of images (paintings or photographs) representing everyday life situations, which would not be used today. The genre also became a cataloguing term that allowed for the organisation of some collections thematically. However, in the digital collection, it has survived as one of those so-called "universal" terms that basically indicates where the original is located in collections storage. The presence of such terms in the frontend user experience online, implies continuity between (for example) a street scene in Copenhagen, Inuit fishing in Angmagsalik, and a market scene on St. Croix. This issue, and the term, was a key topic of discussion during workshops that took place during the What Lies Unspoken project, whose aim was to register the affects and effects of the library's collections. Participants noted how this term worked to frame images of Afro-Caribbean people into benign types and memories (like the "cries" compendia of 19th century street life), whilst undermining the harsh labour realities behind these images. Also, the term failed to register the imaginative tropicalisation at play in the staging of certain images for a distant audience (Thompson 2006). The migration of original metadata has been clunky in this regard, with indexing terms such as "Folkeliv" silencing specificities and structural conditions. These administrative terms are institutional leftovers, but also hauntings that produce divergent meanings for different users on and offline. In this sense, the "then" and the "now" of the collections, continue to constitute each other; meaning that they maintain colonial equivalences by reproducing centres and peripheries of power. If the collections themselves are an index for Danish colonial entanglements, then the indexing practices the library uses, also signal what and how knowledge is being constructed.

Public preferences move in

Alongside advances in cultural heritage digitisation, crowdsourcing has become popular as a means to outsource cataloguing labour to enthusiastic volunteers and general members of the public (Ridge 2017). This goes hand-in-hand with the opening of collections as a way to enhance the rhetoric of shared ownership. 15 years ago, institutions such as New York Public Library, Power House Museum in Australia, and others were frontrunners in introducing crowdsourcing technologies, which are now commonplace (See Chan 2007). Levels of engagement with these systems of data acquisition are varied. For example, users have been invited to add basic keywords in the manner of a familiar hashtag on social media, sometimes as part of folksonomy projects (Peters 2009). They have also entered into deeper classificatory and identification systems; scrolling through protocols and tapping in numbers or letters, to confirm or deny automatic translation of letters, or recognition of elements in images. In crowdsourcing, metadata is built through augmentation, in the sense that users are co-opted as a second eye, whilst also adding their own preferences; responding to what they literally see, or what is absent and they would like to be included. These work-sharing practices may not fundamentally change the institutional outlook on their collections, but at the very least crowdsourcing does propose a different way to invest in the caretaking of public culture.

Several Danish cultural institutions have made it possible for users to add keywords to digital collections, and also to identify locations by citing images geographically (for example in early street photography). Generally, however, institutions have remained conservative in their use of crowdsourcing as a method. And in fact, some scepticism was expressed, both within institutions and by users of systems, towards platforms which allowed for other metadata beyond the basic names, places, and years (Jongma and Dijkshoorn 2016). This is understandable due to the fact that this approach comes with major risks in terms of accuracy, consistency, abuse, and bias (Ibid; Bates and Rowley 2011). There are also very limited resources to review public responses on a regular basis. From an institu-

tional perspective crowdsourcing is doubly a meeting with and mode of feedback from invisible publics; a demonstrable form of outreach framed as "playlabour" (Agostino, 2015). But it's exploitative dimensions in hours of free unregulated work, has also been critiqued, and this is of special concern when we are speaking about caretaking colonial heritage. Fundamentally there is an issue of power, and the role that different actors play in cultural and historical production. However, opening up Digital Collections to users does make it possible for them to engage with and influence collections. If authority is not shared with users, collections will continue to act in monologue, as a one-way communication system.

There are many examples of participatory approaches to augmenting collections information through user influence, and they range in scale, boldness, and levels of resource investment. For example, inviting a "Wikipedian in residence" in order to develop wiki-pages on collections, which can then be maintained collaboratively and autonomously outside the institution, and meet a general webbrowsing public. Such an approach has been taken by many institutions internationally, such as the British Museum, Smithsonian Institution, and the Swedish National Heritage Board. In Denmark, the City Museum of Copenhagen took an innovative and direct approach through their former project The WALL (Væggen), which physically entered public space as a mobile interactive unit, and a website, allowing users to add their own metadata, but also photographs and memories into the collection (Sandahl et al 2011). This initiative capitalised on the situated nature of the city's collections and encouraged residents to take ownership and participate in storytelling about their urban environment, by mapping 'social lines' and 'paths of desire' (Ibid.). Another approach to transforming digital records has recently caught our attention, and is important to mention here. The "Critical Catalog" project initiated by researchers at Syracuse University Information School in New York, offers a provocative fabulation that disturbs the hidden hierarchies in library catalogues (Clarke and Schoonmaker 2020). Here they use the library catalogue as 'design material for social justice', and enter the records to shift metadata and indexes so that they privilege marginalised content (Ibid, 1). For example a query for "science fiction" would first bring results by Octavia Butler, rather than established white, male authors, who maintain prominence in such catalogues due to their organisation around chronology and disciplinary canons. The project also altered the machine-readable side of fixed date data, so that all examples of 'white normativity' in the catalogue are linked to the year when the first slave ship entered the US, in Virginia, in 1619 (Ibid, 4 & 9). Although conceived as a "what if" design speculation, the experiment presents a radical decentering of norms and perspectives from behind the scenes, pointing to ingrained structural biases, and the ways in which cataloguing shapes user experience.

Notes from imperfect data interactions

Many inspiring examples demonstrate that it is possible for each library collection, and maybe even each document, to have its own context of communication, and that the digital collection could be remodelled as a forum for user interaction and influence. Furthermore, Danish cataloguers, whose collections substantiate colonialism and its legacies, could begin to come together and formulate a broader and more critically situated set of keyword or indexing terms that carefully set the tone for public engagement; thereby taking accountability for collections and the stories housed there. In this sense the catalogue does not "lose" anything, but rather encompasses established data and alternative forms of referencing, such as user reactions, and other forms of inclusive description. Opening up to these possibilities for the USVI materials is especially important because access to physical collections is restricted in Denmark, and impossible for people in the Virgin Islands. Whilst the Royal Danish Library Digital Collections cannot fully substitute being with original materials, it is an already established platform with the potential for addressing unfinished histories and collaboratively revising descriptive practices in an ethical way. With this in mind we return to some of the important reflections that emerged from external stakeholders during 2017 commemorative work, and in continued interactions afterwards.

During workshops in both Denmark and the USVI, a primary issue noted in discussions about the Digital Collections was the issue of language barriers, since much of the metadata is written in Danish. When digitisation began, the original idea was to provide initial metadata in Danish but with the hope for multiple choice translation software that would be installed in the catalogue. However, given the time required for implementation and the ongoing issue of resources, this has not yet happened; which has thus produced another barrier to user engagement that will now need to be addressed manually, so to speak. The issue of translation is not necessarily unique to collections in a Danish context, but when viewed critically through (post) colonial entanglements with the USVI, and accompanying attempts at historical redress, this enclosure of language continues to present the sources of the past from a dominating standpoint.

Decentering the Danish tropicalisation of the USVI, and the similar approach to colonial collections, has been an important shift in perspective when considering the meaningfulness of collections in different contexts. One of the practical ways in which people from the USVI engaged with the library's digital material was by using their experiences of the lived environment as a starting point. For instance people expressed looking for the street in which they live, or browsing through the material to see if they could recognise places. When volunteer David Berg posted images from the collections on his Facebook account, he noted that often people would respond wanting to know if there were images of their house or from their neighbourhood in the collection. This is a familiar response also with Danish users. In this case institutions that utilise crowdsourcing benefit from this

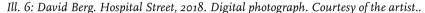
situated knowledge of place, and make it possible to identify and map locations not cited in the archive, or currently unknown to institutions. This option is available, for example, in the Copenhagen digital database Kbhbilleder.dk. Considering USVI relations to space and place is important to underscore. In Danish colonial histories, the habitual focus has been on privileging topographical (over)views, as well as historic buildings and architecture that housed Danish administration, or, were the homes of Danish colonists.

Ill. 5: Katrine Dirckinck-Holmfeld at 2018 CHANT Summer School, showing students an image of a 20th century postcard titled Hospitalsgade i Frederikssted, from the library collection. Photo: Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer. Original photograph in The Royal Danish Library. http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object278054/da/



Within the last decades however USVIers have conducted research to find and contextualise the dwellings of enslaved people and the Afro-Caribbean population more generally, as well as the materials used to produce these buildings. The library's image collection is useful in this regard, since it holds many representations of houses that the Afro-Carribean population lived in, and also documents local building techniques such as shingles or embellished woodworks. Crucian artist La Vaughn Belle has explored these structural embellishments as examples of Black creativity and freedom-claiming in her work *Constructed Manumissions* (2017). At CHANT Frandelle Gerard is practically educating young men to become

woodmasters, and to assist in the reconstruction of old houses that have been weathered by time and recent hurricanes. As part of the 2018 CHANT summer school, photographs by Danish apothecary Alfred Paludan-Müller, from around 1900, were used to try to locate houses and obtain knowledge about construction, as a way of bridging present to the past. Today the Digital Collections bear no traces of this outreach activity, which has been critical for developing situated knowledge about the collections overall, as well as nuancing understanding of how Caribbean landscapes evolved, and were constructed, within (and in spite of) the confines of colonialism. Furthermore, the enthusiasm witnessed around this outreach work, physically citing and marking space in the USVI, suggests that georeferencing capabilities in digital records, might encourage more local interaction with images of buildings represented in the collections.





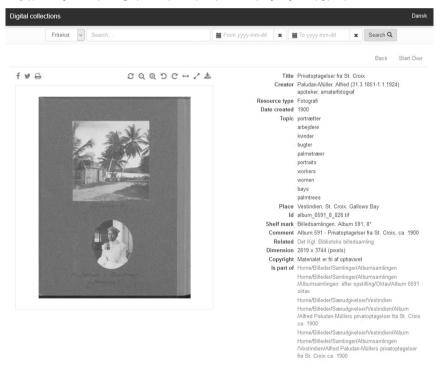
Closely connected to the interest in specific buildings and streets, is the interest in historical moments. At the CHANT, artist Katrine Dirckinck-Holmfeld drew attention to a postcard in the collection, featuring a building on Hospitalsgade in Frederiksted, St. Croix (Ill.5+6) In Digital Collections the image is accompanied with basic metadata, and a singular keyword "house" (even though on close inspection a child stands in the background of the image). Looking at the writing on the backside of the postcard it appears that this was the place where labour rights campaigner Hamilton Jackson (1884-1946) gave speeches during his efforts to galvanise resistance to colonial rule in 1915-1916. All this information is lost to international users, but also to Danish speakers, who are not given any contextual information in the catalogue. The importance of this place and the presences invoked

there, go unreferenced in the Digital Collection, simply because the current cataloguing processes leave little room for the records to grow and evolve as information resources; living (rather than dead) archives (Caswell and Cifor 2019).

Another example is a postcard with the title Queen Marys indsejling i Frederikssted / Queen Mary's arrival in Frederiksted, which represents a faded harbour scene with a scattered crowd of people, and is marked in pen with a black star, likely by the postcard's writer, to signal the presence of two army officers. The postcard was found recently by researchers looking for information about Queen Mary Thomas, one of the key freedom fighters leading the 1878 labour revolt on St. Croix, known locally as the Fireburn. However, the image does not depict Queen Mary, but rather her son Hezekiah Smith who (according to the postcard writer) had fled arrest to America, but was now returning to St. Croix. In their US Virgin Islands history resource online, The National Archives provides a more detailed account of Hezekiah Smith's troubling story, and multiple criminal convictions, describing him as the last convict from the "Danish West Indies" who was eventually pardoned by King Christian X. Contextualised, the library's photograph takes on further meaning, and its production and mislabeling is better explained. What could more rigorous metadata and cross referencing between digital resources have done to shed light on these important historical moments? Discussions about these and other materials in the Digital Collections continue to confirm that Danish colonial narrations are filled with errors, slippages, and practices of misidentification; that they are shifting, rather than fixed and stable, sources of history.

Finding people in the collections is also fraught with problems inherited from the colonial administrative mindset. This was a frustration aired by researchers as well as more casual users of Digital Collections. In the example with the return of Hezekiah Smith, the library subsequently added his name to the collection record, so that the image could be found in searches for historical persons. In the Digital Collections it is mostly white men who are featured in the category "persons". This is a result of the fact that historical sources focusing on them were used for selection, and because the portrait collection itself has the same preference towards white males; as such they have become prototypical of self-determined subjectivity. Cataloguing has absorbed these biases. For example, the initial searches for images of Hamilton Jackson were difficult because they had been placed in a section of the catalogue containing "unidentifiable" people. Many discussions over the course of commemorative work were particularly concerned with this erasure of important Afro-Caribbean presences from the cataloguing structure, and with the ways cataloguing continues to perpetuate these erasures. Colonial portraitures are, of course, varied and multimodal, as the image and citation of Hezekiah Smith's arrival points to. There are numerous images of Afro-Caribbean families, some nannies, maids and servants, coal workers, field workers, and everyday pedestrians, mixed up with Danish merchants, military officers, and colonial families. However, many Afro-Caribbean people who appear in the photographs were not named in the accompanying records. This anonymisation transferred to island postcards, where some of the same people figure as island-types with assigned labels such as "a happy worker". There are examples of people who had their names added to the physical material, by people who knew them. Charlotte Hodge is one example, where her name is written on the backside of the photograph, likely by the Bauditz family. Due to this her identity is known in Kunstindeks Danmark (here her name is added in the title due to lack of field for depicted persons). For others, such as Sarah, the maid in Paludan-Müllers photo album, her name was not entered in the record in the field "person" in Digital Collections but only appears in the scanned image, from the handwriting in the album (III.7). An open-end catalogue might include the possibility of adding names written on the materials to the record thereby making them searchable and visible.

Ill. 7: Record in Digital Collections showing photograph labeled "Sarah i Baldragt (stuepige)" in Alfred Paludan-Müllers album, ca. 1900. The Royal Danish Library. http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object300079/da/



There is much about the library's colonial collections that is difficult to put words to. This was a feeling and tension that characterised engagements with this material in the *What Lies Unspoken* project, but was also expressed in so many different interactions during commemorative work. For visual artist Jeannette Ehlers, the

portrait of Sarah, dressed in what is called a "brides dress" in the album, caused many emotions. The direct gaze of Sarah addressing the viewer, the photographer, and perhaps even her employer who set-up the situation, was particularly arresting. This confronting but ambiguous gaze led the artist to create *Black is a Beautiful Word. I & I* (2019). The work layers video portraits of Black women seated in the same pose as Sarah, slowly fading in and out of view. These stillmoving-images of quietly breathing women with an intent gaze, are accompanied by a spoken monologue addressed to Sarah, and written by Trinidadian-American writer & activist Lesley-Ann Brown (Campt 2017). The work begins with the important assertion that: "you are a possible me in the past, I am a possible you in the present".

Artistic practice and engagement with the collection has unfolded photographic situations in ways that poetically extend what can be addressed by descriptive records and single keywords. At the same time artistic interventions also pose their own questions about language, and the values invested in keyword terms. For example, the term "housemaid", which not only defines a colonial working situation, but has also become a stereotype for how Afro-Caribbean women are assumed to appear in this material; meaning that the cataloguing confines subjects to the limitations of its colonial shorthand. When David Berg worked as a volunteer in the collection this issue also came up regarding some of the street scenes. Houses in the collection had been named "workers" housing but Berg insisted that Crucians today would not make such distinctions, and more likely search simply for homes. He also pointed to the fact that "family life" (for instance) was a phrase not currently used in Digital Collections, but which might appeal as a local search term. Many of the discussions challenged the library in its proscribing of collections based on outdated terms of reference, and called for more open catalogues, and critical considerations in labelling and descriptive practices.

Conclusion, or, unfolding terms of reference

Writing in 2020 we are at a distance from the year of commemoration. 2017 moved quickly with a plethora of activities, exhibitions, media, talks, debates, and concerts. The energy and dynamism of the moment offered new perspectives and experiences, as well as revived old problems that were difficult to fully process in the moment. Once the year ended, for a short while it seemed as if the familiar pattern of "out of sight, out of mind" returned to the Danish cultural domain. But

³ Ehlers's work is now part of the Royal Danish Library collection, and joins other contemporary reformulations of colonial materials in the Library's Digital Collections, such as La Vaughn Belle's *Photomontage Series* (2016).

things are shifting slowly. Now with space and time for reflection, in a different but still urgent context, the need to address colonial legacies and structural racism is challenging all stakeholders working in the public domain. 2020 has demonstrated that anti-blackness is a collective, common, environmental issue concerning general conditions which must be changed (Sharpe 2016). In this situation the Digital Collections may seem like a strange place to begin, but it is also a structure that produces knowledge, an evident object of study and a critical site for tangible change. There are many questions that emerge when attention is focussed on templates, documents, and terms of reference in an online catalogue, but the key ones in a Danish context seem to be these: Who and what appears, and why? What kinds of information and descriptive practices would adequately reflect the nature and tenor of colonial collections? And how will this work be done, inclusively?

In this paper we have taken the experiences we gained during the year of commemoration and the time following, and reflected upon the digitization of the USVI collections in The Royal Danish Library. As we stated at the beginning our mission was not to outline new methodologies (although some ideas have appeared), but instead to soberly take stock of choices already made, and to give voice to source criticism and ethical issues, which are sometimes left out of Danish digitization discussions. We look back at a digitisation drive, with its accompanying rhetoric of sharing and openness, but which in reality has left few resources for developing metadata, allows limited exchange with users, and currently provides no formal possibilities for adding new information to the Digital Collections. In short, stories cannot be fully told. This streamlining of digitisation, with a focus on machine-reading processes and the provision of digital images, has had epistemic consequences. For example, central metadata, such as acquisition numbers that make it possible to trace the size of smaller collections donated to the library, and thus to know more about the provenance of an item, were not initially added.4 Written texts, notations and markings visible on the physical collections (such as postcard greetings or notes in photo albums), were also not added. Furthermore, the descriptive handling of the images themselves has remained on the surface denotative level, reproducing a distancing effect from historical context and social meanings that undermines the very purpose of institutions tasked with the responsibility of cultural stewardship.

Producing an open catalogue online, as a conscientious space for purposeful information sharing and user interaction, requires resources. Not simply financial,

⁴ During 2020, some students working at the library, who were sent home during covid-19, helped to begin making additions to the Digital Collections, such as adding acquisition numbers and English keywords. An overall change of the name of the collection from "Dansk Vestindien" to "Vestindien" was also made, although this will continue to be reconsidered.

but also in terms of diversity of expertise. More importantly there needs to be a will to reach out, and transform habits of being. By this we mean truly collaborative approaches to developing healthy digital resources, both in terms of learning from international colleagues who share similar challenges with their collections, but also including (and empowering) Afro-Caribbean stakeholders in the behind the scenes processes; moving forward, the USVI collection needs an international advisory panel. We also mean that a major change in mindset is required for understanding colonial collections as living entities that are emotionally charged, and the role of librarians and cataloguers as caretakers and witnesses (Caswell and Cifor 2016; Odumosu 2019). In this sense a poethic sensibility is required to consider a range of approaches to the task at hand. The question of opening up to crowd-sourcing possibilities still needs careful consideration, although we can identify key areas where this would be useful. For example, reading and transcribing written information on collections like the handwritten postcards. Also, providing USVI users the possibility of adding local knowledge to the records, whether in the form of georeferencing, or adding relevant names and events. However, alongside specific initiatives we consider the broader task to be the development of a critical digital catalogue, with a clear agenda for countering a long history of racialisation, nostalgia, and tropicalisation. For this we need words (a lexicon) to describe what the collections attest to: slavery, colonialism, dehumanisation; but also a framework for managing transformations in discourse, so that the catalogue can carefully adapt to the sensibilities of this historical moment. These are some ways we consider the process of turning an old monolith into a living information resource.

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