

CE	Image Title	Image	Ref
	Enslaved Africans transported to slave ships, Gold coast, late 17 <sup>th</sup> cent	LCP-54	
	Houses and Village scenes, Sierr Leone, late 17 <sup>th</sup> cent	LCP-51	
	Court of King of Sestro, 1681	LCP-50	
	Male and Female clothing styles, Gold coast, late 17 <sup>th</sup> cent.	LCP-49	
	Male and Female clothing styles, Gold Coast, late 17 cent.	LCP-48	
	Wooden Yokes used in Coffles, Senegal, ca. 1789	LCP-16	
	Wooden Yokes used in Coffles, Senegal, ca. 1789	LCP-17	
	Iron and shackles used on slave ships, late 18 <sup>th</sup> cent	FD18	
	The British slave ship "Brookes" 1789	EO14	
	Loading Coal on a steamer, St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, 1864	LCP-18	
	Newly Baptized slaves, Moravian Congregation, St. Thomas, West Indies, 1757	NW017a	
	Stacking wheat, Culpeper, Virginia, 1863	LOC-Forbes188	
	Wooden Yoke used in Coffles, East Africa, 1882	Swann	

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm24939742

Author: Chamberlain, Henry, 1796-1843.

Title: Views and costumes of the city and neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil,

Physical description: [72] p. 36 col. plates (part double) 39 cm.

Publication info: London, Printed for T. M'Lean by Howlett and Brimmer, Columbian Press, 1822. [Rio de Janeiro, Kosmos, 1974]

General note: Facsimile reprint of 1st ed.

General note: Printed in the Netherlands.

General note: Accompanied by "Biographical notes by Joaquim de Sousa Leão."

Personal subject: Chamberlain, Henry, Sir, 2d bart., 1796-1843.

Subject: Costume.

Subject: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) Pictorial works.

Subject: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) Social life and customs.

Personal author: Sousa-Leão, Joaquim de, 1897-

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Chamblain  
Praesimile edition

~~W. A. A. A. A.~~

VISTA 09 ✓

from 1974 Praesimile edition (ILL Harvard)

plate # 5

title: THE SEJE, OR CHEGE, AND CADEIRA.

PREVIOUS to the Emigration in 1808, the Cadeira, or Chair, was the usual mode of conveyance for men as well as women, but they have been superceded by the Portuguese Chégé or Chaise and few are now to be seen in the Streets.

Cadeira (right)

The Cadeira consists of an arm chair, with a high back, firmly fixed upon a foot board, having an oblong wooden top from which hang curtains, generally of blue cloth with coloured border and lining, closely fastened before and behind; but opening at the sides and capable of being drawn back, or closed, at the pleasure of the person carried. Formerly, those used by the ladies were splendidly decorated according to the taste, the wealth, or rank of the owner. The tops were usually painted red or black, and adorned with carved flowers and other ornaments richly gilt. The bearers were chosen from the stoutest and best looking negroes in the family, and were dressed in gay liveries; sometimes wearing coloured feathers in their hats.

The Cadeira is still in great use at Bahia; carriages being rare upon account of the exceeding steepness of the hills on which the City is built.

The Chaise, or Chégé, resembles in every respect those of Lisbon, except in being more clumsily made, and frequently more richly ornamented. The curtains in front are of leather and draw close to exclude the sun or rain; they are furnished with two small round glasses, enabling those inside to see, when they do not choose to be seen. This sort of Vehicle is very well suited to the badly paved and uneven streets and roads of Rio de Janiero, and in it, as in all other carriages, ladies invariably take the right hand seat.

(left)

The House, with the King's Arms over the door, was for some years the residence of the British Mission.

Note: at 600m that these maps were taken from Praesimile edition (Harvard)

VISTA  
 from 1974 ~~143~~ P.A.C.S. im. led. (144 H. H. H. H.)  
 SICK NEGROES.  
 VISTA 10  
 plate # 29 dly.

IN early Morning, but more usually about Sun-set, Parties of newly-im-  
 ported invalid Negroes are seen taking the Air, in the Suburbs, under the  
 care of a Capataz, or Keeper, who generally bears the Badge of his Office  
 —a Whip—more for show than use.

These miserable Creatures, actually reduced to Skin and Bone, have  
 the appearance of Scarecrows, and it is sometimes extraordinary how such  
 emaciated Beings can muster sufficient strength to walk about.

The other two Negroes, totally unconcerned at the passing scene, and  
 inattentive to every thing but their Musick, to which, as well as to Dancing  
 and Finery, they are all passionately given, are pursuing their way. One  
 a Native of Moçambique, playing upon the rude Instrument of his  
 Country, called the Madimba, a sort of Violin with a single Wire; whilst  
 the other, a Congo Negro, is performing a different tune upon the Sambee,  
 an Instrument of his Country. Native Airs are generally preferred by  
 them to all others, and when these Instruments are in the hands of Profi-  
 cients, the Musick they are made to produce is by no means displeasing.



VISTA 

for 1974 Paesmile edition

~~VISTA AA~~

Bill Howard  
plate # 30

VIEW FROM THE LANDING-PLACE AT THE  
GLORIA.

IN this View, which is taken from the Landing-Place near the Gloria, are seen the Buildings at the S.E. extremity of the City, called Punta de Calhabouço; the opposite Shore of the Armação; the grand Anchorage for Ships of War: and, in the distance, the lofty range of the Organ Mountains, so called from the fancied resemblance of two or three naked Peaks to the Pipes of that Instrument.

The Man with the Tin Can on his Head, is a Milkman: the Woman with the Pail, a Retailer of Water; the Iron round her Neck showing that she is given to absenting herself in the Woods.—And the other a Seller of Fruit.

The usual manner of Sawing Timber is here represented. When a Log is to be cut, which is generally done in the open Street, it is securely fastened at about two-thirds of its Length by a Chain, beneath the vertex of a Triangular Frame: upon the projecting third, one of the Negroes places himself, the other leisurely taking his seat below. Thus disposed, they commence their Work with a short, narrow, powerless Saw, generally stopping for a few seconds after every third stroke; and thus they continue alternately sawing and stopping, perfectly indifferent to the progress they make, until the job is concluded. This may be taken as a sample of the rude way in which labour of every sort is generally performed in this Country; where it would almost seem that, provided the Slave be kept constantly employed, the quantity of Work done signifies little, on which point the Slave is perfectly agreed with his Master; and the example is not lost on the Free Workman, who is rarely better or more industrious than his sable Companion.

from right to left:



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### Vistas e costumes da cidade e arredores do Rio de Janeiro em 1819-1820;

Henry Chamberlain, Sir 2d bart.; Rubens Borba de Moraes

1943

Portuguese Book 3 p., 9-234 p., 1 . incl. mounted plates (part col.) mounted plan, mounted facsim. 33 cm. Rio de Janeiro [etc.] Livraria Kosmos editora, E. Eichner & cia. Ltda.

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Title: Vistas e costumes da cidade e arredores do Rio de Janeiro em 1819-1820;

Author(s): Chamberlain, Henry, Sir, 2d bart., 1796-1843.; Moraes, Rubens Borba de.; 1899-; tr.

Publication: Rio de Janeiro [etc.] Livraria Kosmos editora, E. Eichner & cia. Ltda.

Year: 1943

Description: 3 p., 9-234 p., 1 . incl. mounted plates (part col.) mounted plan, mounted facsim. 33 cm.

Language: Portuguese

Series: Coleção de temas brasileiros.; v. 1;

Standard No: LCCN: a 45-934

#### SUBJECT(S)

Geographic: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) -- Pictorial works.

Note(s): With facsimile of original t.-p.: Views and costumes of the city and neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from drawings taken by Lieutenant Chamberlain, Royal artillery, during the years 1819 and 1820, with descriptive explanations. London, Printed for T. M'Lean by Howlett and Brimmer, Columbian Press, 1822.

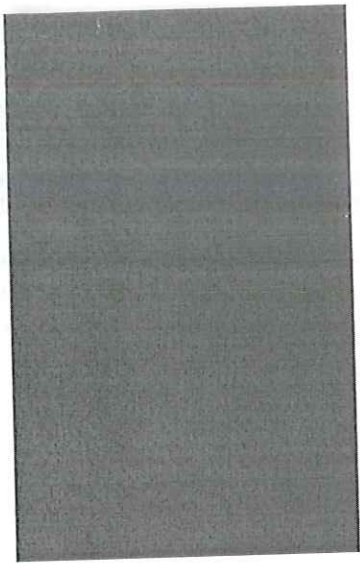
Class Descriptors: LC: F2646

Responsibility: segundo desenhos feitos pelo t.te Chamberlain, da artilharia real durante os anos de 1819 a 1820, com descrições.



Tradução e prefácio de Rubens Borba de Moraes. Em suplemento texto do original inglês.

Document Type: Book  
 Entry: 19790502  
 Update: 20010228  
 Accession No: OCLC: 4921239  
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✓ 161	The STALL market	228-29	05 <del>04</del>
167	Preto's de Banho	229-231	06
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**Author:** Chamberlain, Henry, 1796-1843.

**Title:** Vistas e costumes da cidade e arredores do Rio de Janeiro em 1819-1820;

**Physical description:** 3 p. \*, 9-234 p., 1 \*. incl. mounted plates (part col.) mounted plan, mounted facsim. 33 cm.

**Publication info:** Rio de Janeiro [etc.] Livraria Kosmos editora, E. Eichner & cia. ltda. [1943]

**Local LC call number:** F2646 .C5 1943

**Series:** Coleção de temas brasileiros, v. 1

**General note:** With facsimile of original t.-p.: Views and costumes of the city and neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from drawings taken by Lieutenant Chamberlain, Royal artillery, during the years 1819 and 1820, with descriptive explanations. London, Printed for T. M'Lean by Howlett and Brimmer, Columbian Press, 1822.

**Subject:** Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) Pictorial works.

**Personal author:** Moraes, Rubens Borba de, 1899- tr.

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm1737761

Author: Chamberlain, Henry, 1796-1843.

Title: Views and costumes of the city and neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil,

Physical description: 1 v. (unpaged) 36 col. plates. 39 cm.

Publication info: [Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1974]

Local LC call number: F2646 .C5 1974

General note: Biographical notes by Joaquim de Sousa Leão [8 p., port.] inserted.

General note: Issued in slipcase.

Subject: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) Pictorial works.

Holding Libraries: COUNTRY: US STATE: AZ  
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OCLC Accession No.: ocm39910836

Author: Chamberlain, Henry, 1796-1843.

Title: Views and costumes of the city and neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil /

Physical description: [80] p., [41] leaves of plates (some folded) : ill. (lithographs), ports., views, 36 cm.

Publication info: London : Printed for Thomas M'Lean ..., by Howlett and Brimmer, Columbian Press ..., 1822.

General note: Each plate is followed by 2 or more p. of explanatory text. Cf. Rodrigues, Bib. brasil. for comments on views of the city.

General note: List of plates on p. [5].

General note: The plates are signed: Lt. Chamberlain del., H. Alken, J. Clark, G. Hunt. T. Hunt sculps.

General note: Originally issued in boards, with a printed title on a loose leaf, cf. Moraes.

Citation/reference: Holmes, Ruth E.V. Bibliogr. and historical description of the rarest books in the Oliveira Lima coll., no. 183.

Citation/reference: Moraes, R. B. de. Bib. Brasileira, p. 178.

Citation/reference: Rodrigues, J.C. Bib. brasiliense, 631.

Subject: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) Pictorial works.



The Cadeira is still in great use at Bahia; carriages being rare upon account of the exceeding steepness of the hills on which the City is built.

The Chaise, or Chége, resembles in every respect those of Lisbon, except in being more clumsily made, and frequently more richly ornamented. The curtains in front are of leather and draw close to exclude the sun or rain; they are furnished with two small round glasses, enabling those inside to see, when they do not choose to be seen. This sort of Vehicle is very well suited to the badly paved and uneven streets and roads of Rio de Janeiro, and in it, as in all other carriages, ladies invariably take the right hand seat.

The House, with the King's Arms over the door, was for some years the residence of the British Mission.

Plate 36 in  
original  
1822 edition  
English

## LARGO DA GLORIA

VISTA 01

(Plate on page 45)

The various Personages here depicted are supposed to be in a part of the Suburbs called the Largo da Gloria, one of the great Thouroughfares.

The Negro on the left, bearing a load of Wood, is amusing himself along the Road with his favourite Madimba de Btsché, a Congo Musical Instrument; formed of a number of narrow thin flat pieces of Iron, a little bent at the end where struck, securely fastened to a square piece of Board, on the under side of which is a Calabash, or Gourd, ornamented with a string of coloured Beads, or gaudy coloured Worsted. The pieces of Iron are of various lengths, and are played upon by both thumbs. The notes produced are agreeable and harmonious, and in the hands of some of the Performers the Musick is by no means despicable.

The Negress, next in the fore-ground, is a Quitandeira, or Femele Pedlar, vending a variety of Wares, such as Hats, Books, Trays, Cottons, Muslins, &c. &c. and her with the Pyramid of Baskets is selling Milho, or Indian Corn, with Feijão or Beans.

The Man in the fore-ground to the right, carries in a glass case, suspended round his neck, either a small figure of our Saviour, called a Bom Jezus, or of the Virgin, Nossa Senhora, — for the truly pious to kiss: and for which act of devotion he expects them to pay five or ten Reas, por Amor de Deos and his own advantage; though he generally pretends that he collects these Alms for more holy purposes.

The Negress near him whom he is persuading to bestow her charity and save her soul, is a seller of Sugar Cane, and of Liquor made of Rice, called Alhoá. The Figure behind is a Seller of Old Mats, Brooms, &c.

## THE RÊDE OR NET

VISTA 02

(Plate on page 51)

A SORT of Hammock, usually made of cotton net, dyed of various colours and fringed, in which Females, a little above the lower classes, are carried about by their Slaves; it is furnished with a pillow to lean upon, and across the bamboo, from which it is suspended, is thrown a covering or curtain fantastically striped. When the Lady wishes to stop, the Carriers plant their sticks in the ground, and support the ends of the bamboo, on the iron fork fixed at the end of each for that purpose, until their Mistress chooses to proceed. They are carried at the rate of four or five miles an hour.

The Rêde is now rarely seen in the City, but it is common in its Neighbourhood, and in the Country, being much in use amongst the Females of the Gipsey Tribe which is found in many parts of Brazil. This extraordinary race, called here Ci-



ganos, form, as in Europe, a class distinct from the other inhabitants, have the same character as to habits, and preserve their peculiar customs and language; but they are much more respectable in point of property, dealing, many of them largely, in Slaves, Cattle, and Horses.

Their Females are generally very handsome, but inclined rather too much to 'en bon point', probably from want of exercise.

The negro is supposed to be returning to Town with a load of Capim or Guinea Grass, which for the greater convenience of carriage is fastened round a stout pole. These Grassmen go along in general at a very smart pace, a sort of trot, beguiling the road and their labour with a discordant noise, something between singing and grunting.

The Negress with a Child at her back is seling Pine Apples. The House in the back ground is situate on the road between the City and Botafogo; it was once occupied as a country habitation by His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Lord Viscount Strangford, and latterly by the American Minister.

## WESTERN SIDE OF THE HARBOUR OF RIO DE JANEIRO

(Plate on pages 56/57)

THE Plate exhibits a View of the Western Side of the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro, as it appears when seen from the Anchorage a little above Fort Santa Cruz.

From this point of View the eye commands at once the whole range of Mountains on the Western Side of the Bay, and the Spectator is enabled to form a much more correct notion of their appearance, than from any other spot.

VISTA 03

PEDLARS are very common at Rio de Janeiro; going about from house to house, and visiting the Neighbourhood to the distance of several leagues, with Wares of various descriptions for sale.

They are rarely the Carriers of their Goods, but, furnished with an Umbrella to protect themselves from the rays of the Sun, walk their accustomed rounds, followed by a Slave bearing a Tray, and sometimes a Glass case, containing the various articles they have for sale.

Formerly the Tradesmen of this description were Brazilians, or Natives of the Northern Provinces of Portugal; but latterly French and Italians have taken up the calling, and being more industrious, have nearly engrossed the whole of the Trade.

The Figure in the back-ground, with a Pot on his Head, having an Iron round his neck, is known by this appendage to be in the habit of running away from his Owner and living in the Woods. This Instrument is not one of punishment, but of prevention, and is intended to render it difficult for him to make his way amongst the Bushes. The other Figure is afflicted with the Leprosy, a common disease of the country, and the leaf of the Banana being considered a good remedy for reducing the swelling, he has fastened one round the part affected.

## HUMA HISTORIA — GOSSIPING

(Plate on page 101)

THE generality of Houses, more particularly those in the Outskirts of the City, are of one Story, with Doors and Windows of Lattice Work, called Rotolas, very convenient for the admission of Air and Dust, and for intercepting a great proport-



ion of the Rays of Light, which tends unquestionably to keep the apartments cool, whilst the Inhabitants can see all that is passing in the Street — no small gratification to Brazilians.

The Visits of Male Friends within-doors, whilst the Master of the House is absent, is considered indecorous by the Ladies of Rio; wherefore it is not uncommon for them to receive Visits, as it were, in the Street, in the manner represented in this Plate. Interviews of a tender nature are frequently carried on in this manner. Upon the near approach of a Passenger the Rotola drops, and the Female disappears until the risk of being seen by a Stranger no longer exists.

Of the Negroes here depicted the Woman is a Seller of Mi-lho — Maize; the Man of Gamellas — Wooden Bowls; some of which are of large size. They are made out of a single piece of wood, are low priced, but easily broken, and therefor dear. The other two Figures are a Lady and her Maid.

It appears strange that in a Climate so constantly hot, the heavy Cloak (Capote), of Portugal should be worn and preferred as an outward Garment; yet it is so by Females of the middling and lower ranks. Such is the force of habit!

## A MARKET STALL

VISTA 04

(Plate on page 105)

THE Praça da Lapa, whose Church and neighbouring buildings are seen in the back ground, is on the road leading towards the Gloria after passing the Public Gardens. In this Praça is held the feast of Whitsuntide.

The Market Stall here represented, is such as is generally found in open parts of the city. Its construction is exceedingly simple, the whole being set up in the morning and taken away at night, and consisting merely of four upright posts, with a

COVERING OF THE LEAVES OF THE BANANA TREE & SOJA COME TO  
keep off the scorching rays of the sun.

These Stalls are usually the property of free Negresses who deal in poultry, vegetables, fruit, pulse, and Indian corn, sometimes also selling bread and fried fish. They are the resort of idle, gossiping blacks, of which several are seen indulging their natural inclination of listening to other folks business. Here a boy with a basket sent out by his master to seek employment, has got into a dispute with the stall woman, which attracts the attention of a negress carrying a tray with wine and caçhaça (a kind of bad rum, the common spirit of the country) for sale; of another vending milho or Indian corn; of a barber's boy who forgets that his master's customers are anxiously waiting for him; and of the owner of another stall which she has abandoned for the moment from an irresistible desire to become a party in the war of words.

The Negro with a loaded basket on his head, though arrested in his progress by what is going on, does not however cease playing upon his favourite madimba lungungo, an African musical instrument in the shape of a bow, with a wire instead of a string. At the end where the bow is held is fixed an empty calabash or wooden bowl, which being placed against the naked stomach enables the performer to feel as well as to hear the music he is making. The manner of playing is very simple. The wire being well stretched, is gently struck, producing a note, which is modulated by the fingers of the other hand pinching the wire in various places according to the fancy; its compass is very small, and the airs played upon it are few; they are generally accompanied by the performer with the voice, and consist of ditties of his native country sung in his native language.

The older owner of this stall entirely  
enveloped as the funny and delicate of her pipe,  
needs not what is going on around her.



immediately behind which rises a high hill, composed, like all the others in the neighbourhood, almost entirely of granite. The distance across from Fort Santa Cruz to the batteries of San José and San Theodoso immediately opposite, is estimated at 850 Portuguese braças, or nearly an English mile and a quarter.

In the opening west of the Sugar Loaf close to the sea is another low fort called Praia Vermelha, or Red Beach, extending entirely across the flat ground between the mountains.

Over Fort Lagé are seen some of the buildings on the hill which commands the town, and to the right the shipping at anchor.

The mountains in the distance are a part of the chain called Serra dos Orgãos, or Organ Mountains, with some intermediate ranges between them and the bay.

## THE SLAVE MARKET

(Plate on page 161)

IN the North-West part of the City is the Street called Vallongo, or Long Valley, where Slaves are sold; for, properly speaking, there is no Slave Market. The lower parts of the houses are allotted for these unhappy Beings, who sit huddled together in rows, one behind the other, waiting to be purchased. A Keeper constantly walks about to keep order amongst them, which is not difficult, as their demeanour is very peaceable, and frequently gay. They are encouraged to sing and be merry, and whether from their enjoying greater liberty, and having better food and kinder treatment than on board ship, their countenances bear few signs of sadness.

In the evenings they are allowed to sit at the door, and in front of the house, for the benefit of the air. Those that are

VISTA 05

When a person is desirous of making a purchase, he visits the different Depôts, going from one house to another, until he sees such as please him, who, upon being called out, undergo the operations of being felt and handled in various parts of the body and limbs, precisely after the manner of Cattle in a Market. They are made to walk, to run, to stretch their arms and legs violently, to speak, and to show their tongue and teeth; which latter are considered as the surest marks whereby to discover their age and judge of their health.

*Truth requires it to be added that they are neither cruelly nor harshly treated.*

The Plate represents an elderly Brazilian examining the Teeth of a Negress previous to purchase, whilst the Dealer, a Cigano, is vehemently exercising his oratory in praise of her perfections. The Woman looking on is the Purchaser's Servant Maid, who is most frequently consulted on such occasions.

The number of wretched Africans imported into Rio de Janeiro every year from Congo, Angola, Benguella, or Moçambique may be computed to average about 20,000; rarely falling short of 18,000, and as rarely exceeding 22,000. The revenue the State derives from this inhuman traffick may be estimated at about 80,000 sterling, per Annum. The sufferings of the miserable Captives during the voyage from Africa are not to be described.

VISTA 06  
→

### PRETOS DE GANHOS OR BLACK PORTERS

(Plate on page 167)

Plate 7

THE two modes by which wine and other heavy articles are conveyed, are here represented.

The Negroes who are employed as hired porters to carry burthens, are always to be found in considerable numbers, in the wide part of the Rua Direita, near the Custom House, with



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ponderous poles and strong ropes for carrying, or with low, badly contrived trucks for dragging merchandize from place to place.

These men are generally, perhaps it may be said invariably, Slaves working for their masters, to whom they pay a fixed sum every evening upon their return home, keeping for themselves the overplus, if any, of what they may have earned; and at other times, after a bad day, making up the deficiency.

Many families are entirely supported by Slaves of this description.

When the burthen is too great for one man, it is slung to one of these poles, and thus carried by two to its place of destination; with still heavier loads, four, six, or even more, are called in, as the case may require; one of them generally bargains for the whole, and acts as their leader, or as he is called, Capataz. When all is ready they gently raise the burthen, and, each putting his hand on his neighbour's shoulder for support, begin to move; to maintain the regularity of step, so necessary to produce uniformity of effort, the Capataz chants a few African words, at the close of which the whole body join in chorus, and thus singing, and stepping together, they perform the service undertaken.

The Negroe Porters of Rio are however, either not so powerful, or not so willing to exert their power, as their fellow labourers the Gallegos at Lisbon, where four make no difficulty in carrying a pipe of wine, whilst at the former, less than eight will not attempt to lift one.

The truck is a most inconvenient unmanageable machine, with low solid wheels fixed to the axle-trees, which therefore turn round with them; and the bed, being merely laid upon the axles, (which are received in a semicircular concavity, rudely formed, having nothing to secure them in their

position,) is constantly slipping from its place, causing delay, besides great additional labour.

The load to be carried is first firmly fixed, and then the truck is dragged along in the manner represented. The Capataz generally contrives to get behind, and push the load forward, saving himself, at the expense of his people, to whom he sings, and by whom he is answered in chorus, as before described.

The houses seen are in the Rua Direita, the great street of commercial traffic; the street branching off is Rua das Violas.

## SICK NEGROES

(Plate on page 171)

IN early Morning, but more usually about Sun-set, Parties of newly-imported invalid Negroes are seen taking the Air, in the Suburbs, under the care of a Capataz, or Keeper, who generally bears the Badge of his Office — a Whip — more for show than use.

These miserable Creatures, actually reduced to Skin and Bone, have the appearance of Scarecrows, and it is sometimes extraordinary how such emaciated Beings can muster sufficient strength to walk about.

The other two Negroes, totally unconcerned at the passing scene, and inattentive to every thing but their Musick, to which, as well as to Dancing and Finery, they are all passionately given, are pursuing their way. One a Native of Moçambique, playing upon the rude Instrument of his Country, called the Madimba, a sort of Violin with a single Wire; whilst the other, a Congo Negro, is performing a different tune upon the Sambee, an Instrument of his Country. Native Airs are generally preferred by them to all others, and when these Instruments are in the hands of Proficients, the Musick they are made to produce is by no means unpleasing.



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## GALLEY SLAVES

(Plate on page 173)

AMONGST the various Characters and Costumes to be met with in the Streets of Rio, are the Galley Slaves or, more properly speaking, the gangs of Condemned Felons, employed under the superintendance of a Guard to fetch Provisions and Water for their fellow Prisoners, besides furnishing the Palace, Hospital, and some of the Publick Departaments with the latter useful article.

These Men, who are invariably Culprits of the worst description, few of them free from the horrid crime of Murder, are securely chained together by the neck, before they leave the Prison, and appear to feel neither their degraded state, nor the broiling heat of the Sun to which they are exposed.

They generally walk at a smart pace, and carry in their hands various trifling Utensils of Bone of their own manufacture, which they are permitted to sell.

A White Negress, of which there are several in Rio, is seen carrying Sugar Cane and Caju Apples. These poor people are disgusting objects, and like the Albinas of Europe, see best at twilight.

The Buildings seen in the distance at the foot of the highest Hill on the opposite Shore are the Armacão; a set of Offices and Warehouses occupied by the Contractors for the Whale Fishery near St. Sebastian's.

## FOOD FOR CRIMINALS

VISTA 07

(Plate on page 177)

In a former Plate some Criminals were represented chained together, carrying Water. In the present one they appear employed in carrying the daily pittance given by the Hospital

of SAN JOSE for the subsistence of their miserable brethren in  
the Gaol. The Box on the Head of the foremost contains Bread  
or Biscuit — the suspended Iron Pot, the Soup, Meat, and  
Vegetables.

These Wretches have, in general, committed such atrocious  
crimes, that little commiseration is felt for their situation: the  
worst and most hardened are distinguished by Irons round the  
Leg, in addition to those on the Neck.

The Aljube, or common Gaol, where they are confined, is  
a most noisome place, and the sink of every kind of wretched-  
ness and vice.

Persons occasionally confined by order of the Magistrates,  
are put down into the lowest Cells, amongst the worst and most  
desperate Outcasts, unless they comply with all the exorbitant  
demands of the Gaoler, and thus forced to consent to whatever  
sums he chooses to extort as the price of breathing a less fetid  
air, and of release from Wretches so abandoned that their bare  
touch is a contamination, the thought of which makes one  
shudder. Unfortunately no redress is to be obtained for such  
practices.

The View is in the City.

## FUNERAL OF A NEGRO

(Plate on page 183)

THIS Plate represents the mode in which dead Negroes are  
carried to the Burial Ground allotted for their Interment —  
the Cemetery of the Misericordia.

The Corpse is sewn up in a coarse Bag, put into a Hammock  
slung to a Pole, and an old Blanket flung over all. It is thus car-  
ried to the Grave by two Negroes, without ceremony or  
Mourners; a short Prayer is then muttered over the Body, and  
the Earth is thrown in by one of the Polebearers, whilst the



other with his Feet and a heavy wooden Stake, beats it down compactly over the Body. This being concluded, they depart. — Such is the simple Funeral of a Negro!

The Man, with the Woman and Child selling Mats, are Caboucos, or Aborigines of the Country; a harmless inoffensive set of People, of serious deportment. They are low in stature, muscular, and of copper colour; have long straight black hair, high cheek bones, and in short, all the wellknown features of the Indians of America.

The View represents part of the opposite Shore, from the Road between the Lapa and Gloria.

(THE END)

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181  
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The life and labors of David Livingstone, LL. D., D.C.L., covering his entire career in Southern and Central Africa. Carefully prepared from the most authentic sources...The whole rendered clear and plain by a most accurate map of the whole region explored and the routes clearly indicated. By Rev. J.E. Chambliss.  
 Philadelphia, Hubbard bros.; [etc., etc., 1875]  
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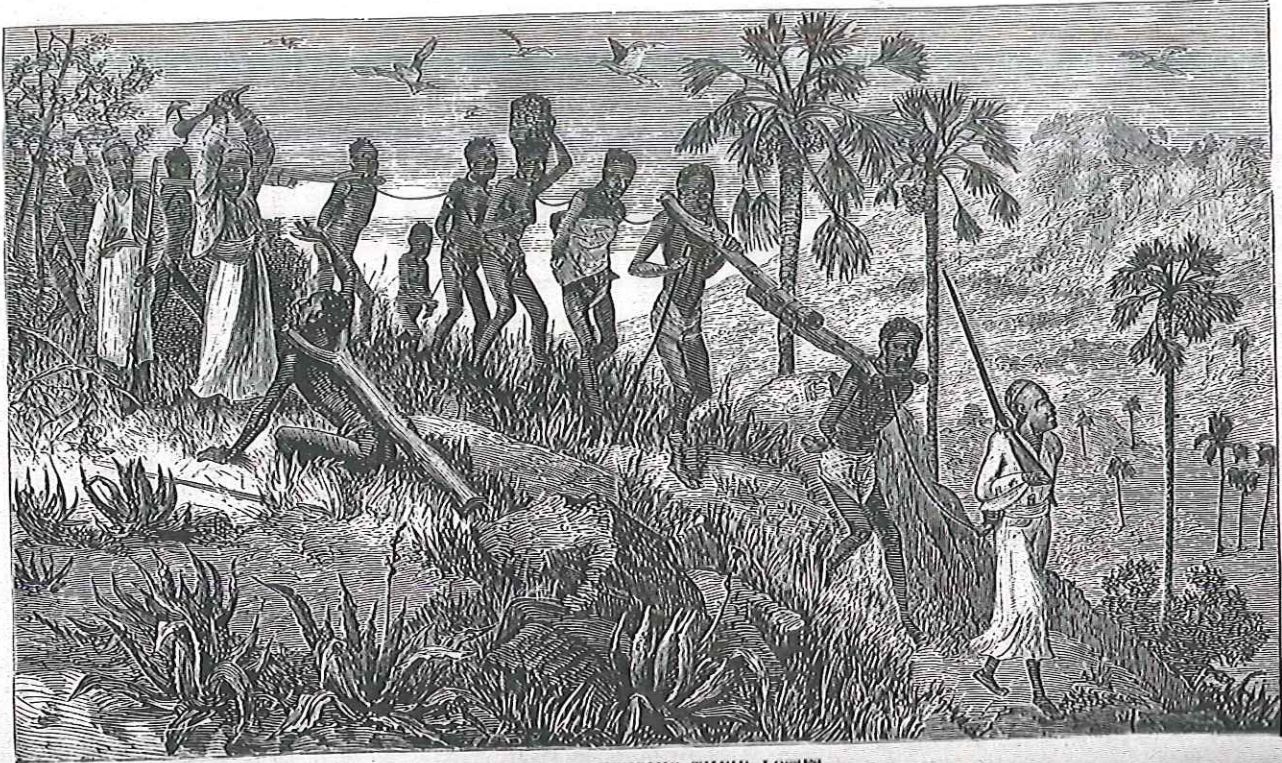
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the continent for the special purpose of deciding some great geographical questions as fully as it might be in his power, but his great heart was full of anguish as he contemplated daily the misery which this accursed traffic had brought to the poor untaught beings who had been made its victims.

The temptation which these traders have to offer readily affects the minds of many of the natives who exercise a petty authority over their fellows. Sometimes those who are sold are captives in some village war; sometimes they are accused of a trifling crime as a justification, and they are sometimes simply taken by violence and sold. There is very little difficulty about an Arab with beads or cloth obtaining all the claim he desires to any particular man or woman on whom he may fix his choice, and when once the slave yoke is on the unfortunate creature, he may hardly hope to escape. On the 19th of June, Livingstone mentions passing a woman tied by the neck to a tree dead; at other times men were found stabbed, some who had been shot or struck with the axe. These the natives said were those who had been so unfortunate as to fall down of fatigue; they were no longer able to walk, and must become the victims of the anger of their masters, when it was clear that they could not contribute to their wealth. Livingstone lost no opportunity to urge on the minds of the head men of the villages with whom he came in contact the great and irreparable mischief they were doing themselves by hearkening to the voice of their tempters; warning them that the trade which seemed to enrich them for the time was rapidly depopulating their villages, leaving their gardens desolate and diminishing their strength. These head men seemed to be a little uneasy about it. They recognized the unrighteousness of selling their people even according to their rude ideas of justice and wisdom, but they were up to the old trick of blaming some one else for their faults. Village after village which was passed as the party journeyed along the Rovuma was found deserted. One of these villages had only been deserted a few hours before Livingstone entered it; its inhabitants had moved off in a body towards the Notembue country, where food was more abundant, and a poor little girl was found in one of the huts. She was too weak to travel, and had been left behind, and there is a wealth of tenderness in the



SLAVES REVENGING THEIR LOSSES.

C 14

435

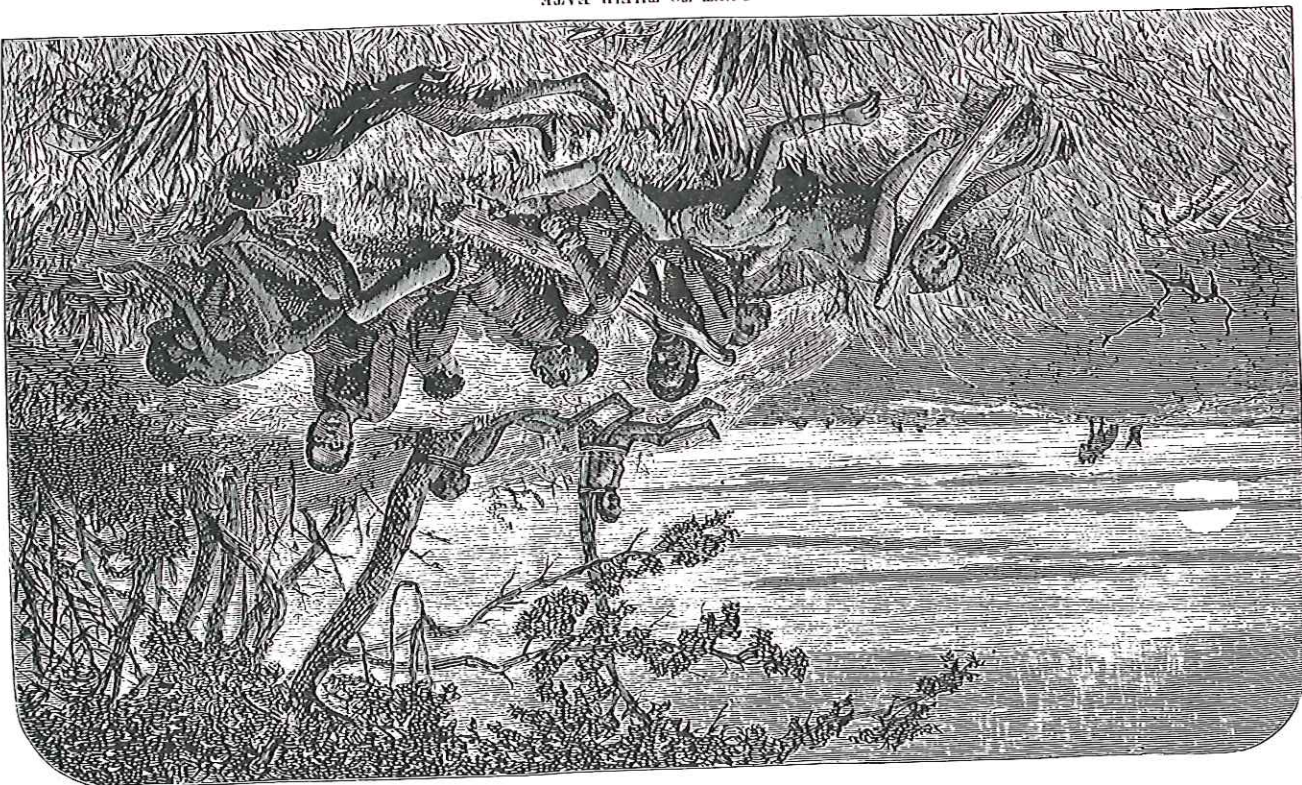


my son?" He grew up and had many fine sons and daughters, but none deformed like himself.

After leaving the village of Chirikaloma, while passing along in the bright morning, they were loudly accosted by a well-dressed woman who had just had a very heavy slave-taming stick put on her neck; she called in such an authoritative tone to them to witness the flagrant injustice of which she was the victim that all the men stood still and went to hear the case. She was a near relative of Chirikaloma, and was going up the river to her husband, when the old man (at whose house she was now a prisoner) caught her, took her servant away from her, and kept her in the degraded state they saw. The wifches with which she was bound were green and sappy. The old man said, in justification, that she was running away from Chirikaloma, and he would be offended with him if he did not secure her.

Livingstone asked the officious old gentleman in a friendly tone what he expected to receive from Chirikaloma, and he said, "Nothing." Several slaver-looking fellows came about, and he felt sure that the woman had been seized in order to sell her to them, so he gave the captor a cloth to pay to Chirikaloma if he were offended, and told him to say that he, feeling ashamed to see one of his relatives in a slave-stick, had released her, and would take her on to her husband.

This woman was evidently a lady among them; her superiority not only consisted in the rank which a wealth of fine beads indicated, but she was manifestly a woman of uncommon spirits. She proved herself well worthy of the kindness she had received. During the few days in which she was with Livingstone's party, her deportment was that of a lady, kind and helpful, but modest and retiring enough to satisfy even the fastidious prudence of the most refined. And she was not ungrateful. She had been rescued from a dreadful fate indeed; a few moments earlier or later she might have reached no friendly, pitying ears with her cries. Yes, there are ears always open to the cry of the oppressed; there are eyes that always bend pityingly on the suffering. Sometimes the Lord allows the yoke to cut deeply into the neck that bears it, but does he ever forget to be gracious? Will he disregard the cry of Ethiopia when she stretches out her hands unto him? and when the time of his de-



LEFT TO THEIR FATE.

Livingstone

Chirikaloma

439



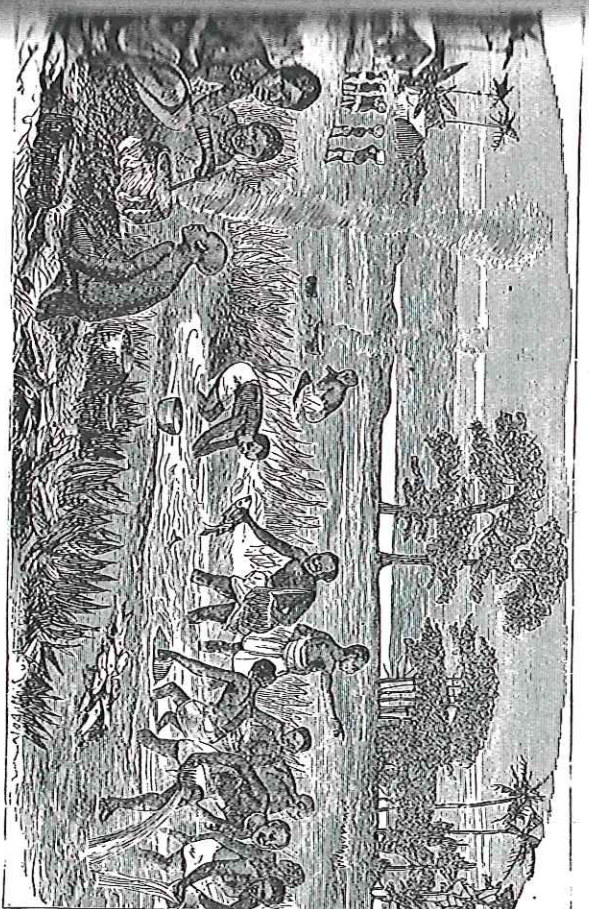
Ch. 11. 55

the carriers, the lowest free men. One class above the last obtains the privilege of wearing shoes from the chief by paying for it; another, the soldiers or militia, pay for the privilege of serving, the advantage being that they are not afterward liable to be made carriers. They are also divided into gentlemen, and little gentlemen, and, though quite black, speak of themselves as white men, and of the others, who may not wear shoes, as 'blacks.'

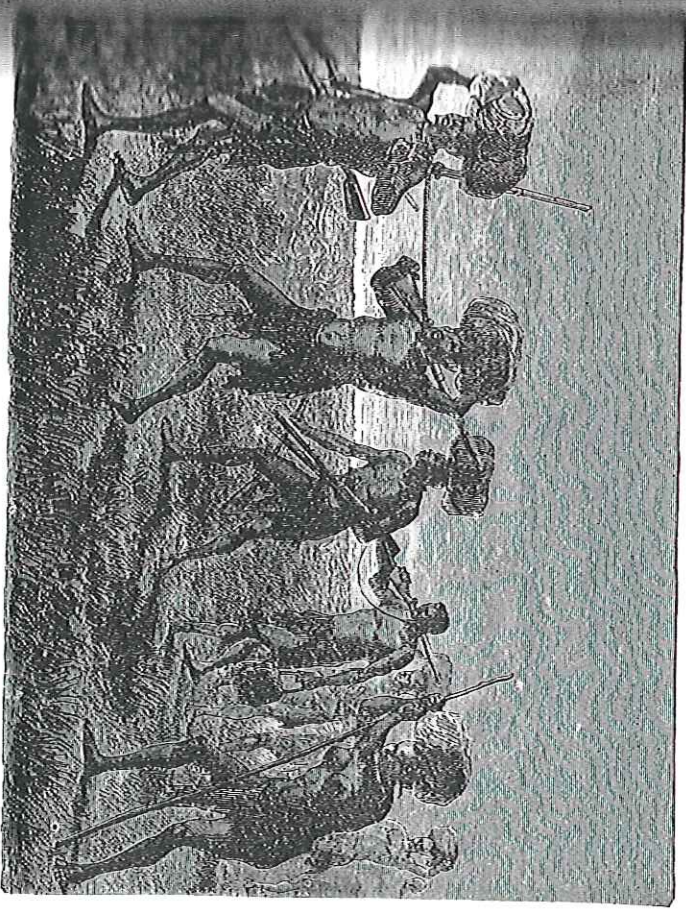
The lordly masters of the region manifest little concern whether their subjects worship a bush, or the sun, or Christ, if only their plantations and orchards yield abundantly, and their pockets growing yearly more plethoric promise leisure and comfort when they go back to their own country.

Next to the trade in slaves, perhaps the most material export from Loanda in the past has been ivory, which is brought from the interior by means of slave carriers in great quantities; and since the serious efforts for the suppression of the former, this latter article is greatly increased in relative value. Slaves, indeed, are very cheap. Dr. Livingstone mentions seeing a boy twelve years old sold for a single fowl, which was the equivalent of only a pound or two of ivory. Almost fabulous numbers of tusks are brought out by the traders yearly. And as there is no wagon way, and all burdens must be conveyed by hand, there are great numbers of men who are employed exclusively in this labor. These carriers were formerly forced into service in any numbers, as the demand might suggest; and even now it is more a service of compulsion than willingness; for the government, while almost forced in self-respect to enact laws which have a show of kindness and justice, really encourages the disregard of those laws by the leniency with which it regards their violation by the different commanders. Unwilling to relinquish its authority in Angola, the Portuguese home government seems equally unwilling to support it by the necessary expense, and prefers to hire officials for it by rich *oppo-rtunities* rather than reasonable salaries. It cannot cancel the opportunities without increasing the salaries, so the disregard of all protective ordinances is winked at, and the natives serve for nothing.

It is interesting to observe in the natives of Angola—who,



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 Pagination: v. 1: [8], 615, [1] p., [15] leaves of plates (6 folded); v. 2: [8], 618, [2] p., [8] leaves of plates (3 folded)  
 Signatures: v. 1: pi4 A-4H4; v. 2: pi4 A-4H4 4I<sup>2</sup> (4I2 verso blank)  
 Errata: v. 1: p. [1], 3rd group; v. 2: p. [1], 3rd group  
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Note  
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SCAN ✓ ✓ <sup>Open Screen Screen</sup> plate X, " " 166 — <sup>not on website</sup>

NO SCAN ✓ <sup>Marché des esclaves</sup> XI, 900 — website CΦΦ1

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 folio maps of NWorld; Martinique,  
 St. Dominque, Guadeloupe, Cayenne  
 few engravings of plants,

SCAN ✓ plate III, facing p. 366 — INDI GOTAIE — 9022Φ1

NO SCAN ✓ IV, p 382 — plan d'habitation — see SUCRIE — plate 1

NO SCAN ✓ V, after plate IV, SUCRIE SUCRIE — plate 4

SCAN ✓ VI, " p. 449 — peche de TORTUE

See explication des planches pp 572-576

See ~~00000~~ to slowly write the notes  
~~done~~

CHAMBER, Vol 2

Vol. 1

✓ plate III (top only)  
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✗ plate V - Vol. 1

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✗ Plate VI - Vol. 1

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Vol. 2, plate X, face p. 166

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Vol. 2, plate XI

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Call number: A 1847 .H35 no.23

Author: Champlain, Samuel de, 1567-1635.

Title: Narrative of a voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the years 1599-1602 ... by Samuel Champlain. Tr. from the original and unpublished manuscript, with a biographical notice and notes by Alice Wilmere. Ed. by Norton Shaw.

Publication info: London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1859.

Description: 3 p. l., vi, xcix, 48 p. col. facsim., plates (part fold.) fold. maps (part col.) 22 cm.

Note: Caption title: Brief narrative of the most remarkable things that Samuel Champlain of Brouage, observed in the Western Indies.

Subject: Latin America--Description and travel.

Related name: Wilmere, Alice,

Related name: Shaw, Norton, d. 1868,

Series: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society [no.23]

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Call number: F1030.1 .C49513 1970

Author: Champlain, Samuel de, 1567-1635.

Uniform title: Voyages et découvertures faites en la Nouvelle France. English

Title: Voyages to New France; being an account of the manners and customs of the savages and a description of the country, with a history of the many remarkable things that happened in the years 1615 to 1618. Translated by Michael Macklem. Introd. by Marcel Trudel.

Publication info: [Ottawa] Oberon Press [c1970]

ISBN: 0887500269 0887500277 (pbk)

Description: 127 p. illus. 21 cm.

Note: Translation of Voyages et découvertures faites en la Nouvelle France, first published in Paris, 1619.

Subject: Indians of North America--Canada.

Subject: America--Discovery and exploration--French.

Subject: New France--Discovery and exploration.

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Author: Chandler, David Lee, 1938-

Title: **Health and slavery in colonial Colombia / David L. Chandler.**

Publication info: **New York : Arno Press, 1981, c1972.**

ISBN: **0405139837**

Description: **iv, 307 p. ; 24 cm.**

Note: **Originally presented as the author's thesis, Tulane.**

Note: **Bibliography: p. 287-307.**

Subject: Slavery--Colombia--History.

Subject: Slaves--Care and hygiene--Colombia.

Series: **Dissertations in European economic history ; 1981**

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*Wa* M(wo)llier, G. 'Viaje por la República de Colombia en 1823' Bogota 1824

*Wa* Ulloa, Antonio de. 'Relacion Historica del Viaje a la America Internet meridiana' 4 vols. Madrid 1745



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E 763  
C 459V  
1-size**Format:** Book**Author:** Chanvalon, Jean-Baptiste Thibault de, ca. 1725-1785.**Title:** Voyage a la Martinique : contenant diverses observations sur la physique, l'histoire naturelle, l'agriculture, les mœurs, & les usages de cette isle, faites en 1751 & dans les années suivantes : Lu à l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris en 1761.**Imprint:** A Paris, : quay des Augustins, chez Cl. J.B. Bauche, libraire, à Sainte Genevieve, & à Saint Jean dans le désert, 1763 ...**Description:** [8], viii, 134, 135(1), [1], 135(1)-135(46), [1], 136-192, [80] p., [1] leaf of plates : folded map ; 29 cm. (4to)**Notes:** Signatures: pi# a# (-b1) A-D# [E]© F-R# (-R4) \*-6\*# chil S-2A# [a](P) b-s(P) s(P) [t] (P)**Notes:** Signature a2 signed "b2."**Notes:** Page numbers 135(1), 1st count; 135(1), 2nd count; 135(2)-135(46) printed as: "135 [1]", 1st count; "135 [1]", 2nd count; "135 [2]-135 [46]". Pages 33-36 printed as "33-34" ([E1r]) and "35-36" ([E1v]) on a single leaf.**Notes:** Dedication signed: Thibault de Chanvalon.**Notes:** Errata and Privilege du roi final 4 pages.**Notes:** Includes "Des Américains" p. 31-38; "Des Caraïbes" p. 38-57; "Des Negres" p. 57-67; and "Observations météorologiques ..." final [80] pages.**Citations:** Brown, J.C. Cat., 1493-1800, 3:1346.**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2196**Subject:** Natural history --Martinique.**Subject:** Meteorology --Martinique.**Subject:** Carib Indians.**Subject:** Blacks --West Indies, French.**Subject:** Voyages and travels.**Subject:** Martinique --Description and travel.**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.**Local Entry:** Imprint:FRANCE. Paris. 1763.**System No.:** PALR92-B1031pp  
only illustration is a map of  
Martinique"Negros" described, pp. 57-67  
illustration of Negros - pp. 83-91

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<All Headings> "hispaniola" -- Title 12 of 13

Options: Use Labeled Format

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JCB  
E730  
C478h  
6/29/02

**Format:** Book

**Author:** Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier de, 1682-1761.

**Title:** Histoire de l'Isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue : ecrite particulièrement sur des memoires manuscrits du P. Jean-Baptiste le Pers, jesuite, missionnaire à Saint Domingue, & sur les pieces originales, qui se conservent au dépôt de la marine / Par le P. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, de la compagnie de Jesus.

**Imprint:** A Paris : chez François Barois, Quay des Augustins, à la ville de Nevers, 1730-1731 ...

**Description:** 2 v., plates (some folded) : ill., maps, plans ; 26 cm. (4to)

**Notes:** Both volumes with individual indexes and errata (v.1 on separate leaf); vol. 2 with approbation et privilege du roi leaf.

**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2213

**Subject:** Slaves --Hispaniola.

**Subject:** Blacks --Hispaniola.

**Subject:** Hispaniola --History.

**Subject:** Hispaniola --Description and travel.

**Subject:** Caribbean Area --Discovery and exploration.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Co-Creator:** Le Pers, Jean Baptiste de, 1675-1735.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:FRANCE. Paris. 1730-1731.

**System No.:** PALR92-B1108

Vol. 1 - several fold out plans + maps but no pics of people  
Vol. 2 - ditto

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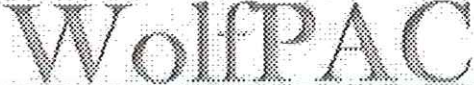

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 Author: "charlevoix" -- Title 8 of 8

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10/30/02  
 NO ILLUSTR


**Format:** Book  
**Author:** Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier de, 1682-1761.  
**Title:** Histoire de l'Isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue : ecrite particulièrement sur des memoires manuscrits du P. Jean-Baptiste le Pers, jesuite, missionnaire à Saint Domingue, & sur les pieces originales, qui se conservent au dépôt de la marine / Par le P. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, de la compagnie de Jesus.  
**Imprint:** A Paris : chez François Barois, Quay des Augustins, à la ville de Nevers, 1730-1731 ...  
**Description:** 2 v., plates (some folded) : ill., maps, plans ; 26 cm. (4to)  
**Notes:** Both volumes with individual indexes and errata (v.1 on separate leaf); vol. 2 with approbation et privilege du roi leaf.  
**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2213  
**Subject:** Slaves --Hispaniola.  
**Subject:** Blacks --Hispaniola.  
**Subject:** Hispaniola --History.  
**Subject:** Hispaniola --Description and travel.  
**Subject:** Caribbean Area --Discovery and exploration.  
**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.  
**Co-Creator:** Le Pers, Jean Baptiste de, 1675-1735.  
**Local Entry:** Imprint:FRANCE. Paris. 1730-1731.  
**System No.:** PALR92-B1108

Vol. 1 - Several good fold out maps & plans - but NO ILLUSTR  
 Vol. 2 - ditto - some neat SNM but NO illustration of people

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Search Request: A=CHAUDOIN  
BOOK - Record 1 of 1 Entry Found

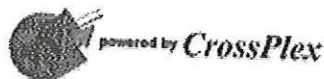
Yale Library Catalog  
Brief View

Author: Chaudoin, E.  
Title: Trois mois de captivite au Dahomey / par E. Chaudoin.  
Published: Paris : Hachette, 1891.  
Description: xi, 409 : ill. ; 18 cm.  
Subjects (Library of Congress): Benin--Description and travel.

LOCATION: SML, Stacks, LC Classification  
CALL NUMBER: DT541 C43  
STATUS: Unavailable. Try Borrow  
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Illustrations relevant to content

Life - Primary Sources

Church Missionary Intelligencer -

Vol.	yr.	Locality p.	Title description of illustration
6	1855	242	"The Emancipated at Plymouth" - Cuban ex-slaves taken to England see p. 245
6	"	266	Group of Emancipated - see p. 267 f1
7	1856	241	"Shipping slaves through the surf, West-African coast. A cruiser signalled in sight. (from a sketch by a merchant on the coast.)" - accompanying long article (pp. 241-255) "Slave-trade operations" *

File: CMI-Scrip

p. 242 - engraving of male slave tied down in block - description is on p. 242

\* long article gives an overview of the continuing slave trade in East & West Africa, particularly for providing slaves to Cuba -

The "Frontispiece" is the above engraving "Shipping slaves through the surf" (see p. 252) - shows slaving operations along Nigerian coast (Right of Benin) (get photo)

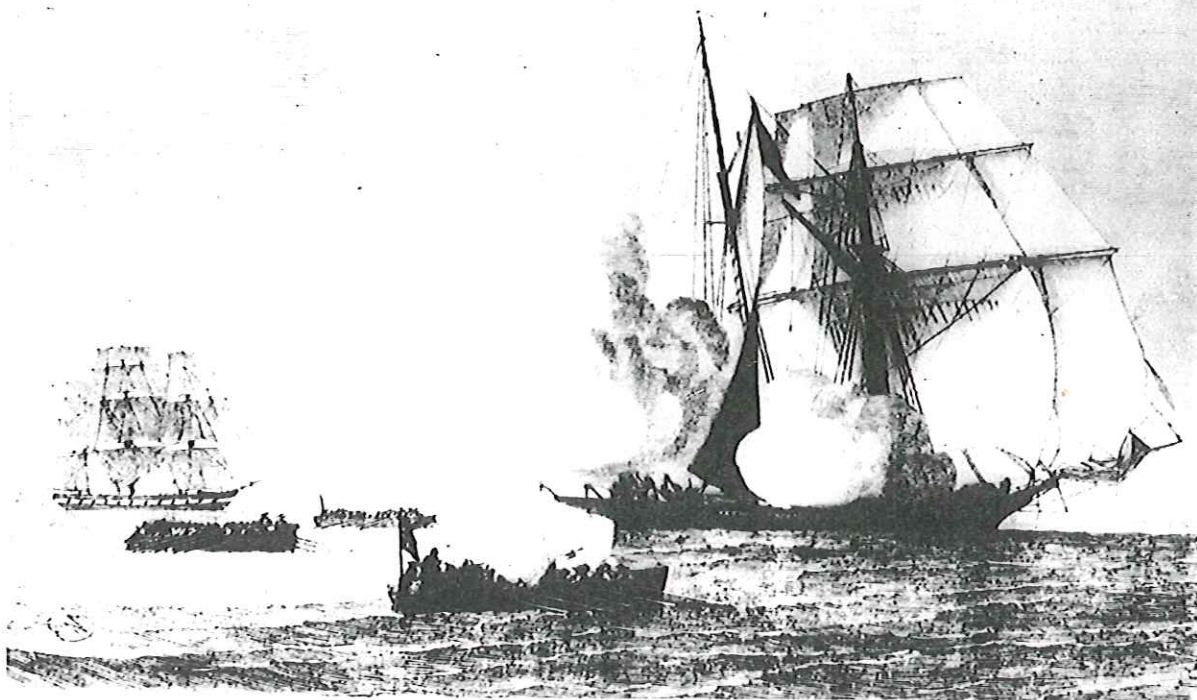
7 1856 265 "Cruiser's boats about to board a slave" - (no need for photo - illust. not informative)

10 1859 259 "Scene on a river in the Yoruba country"

as far as Fernando Po, calling regularly at Lagos. Almost at once the standard-bearers of change began to appear. In the van were the traders, seeking to tap the market in palm oil. The Sardinian subject Giambattista Scala, who arrived in February 1852, claimed to have been the first though the Hungarian adventurer Amadie, said to have been 'Secretary' to Domingo Martinez, came the same month. William McCoskry, agent for the firm of Hutton, Legresley representing Banner Brothers, and J. Sandeman of Steward & Douglas, who had all been prospecting the market at Badagry, also paid exploratory visits about this time, while in March 1852 there arrived from Whydah the German Lorenz Diedrichsen, who the following year sold his business to the Hamburg firm of O'Swald & Co., represented by Hermann Grote. Though profits were not as high as in the slave trade, they were encouraging enough, a ton (300 gallons) of palm oil selling in Liverpool for about £40, some two or three times its cost in Lagos. Thus the merchant community continued to grow and to enjoy a modest prosperity, and its ranks were soon increased by Sierra Leonean and Brazilian 'emigrants'.<sup>10</sup>

'The basis of the oil market', C. W. Newbury writes, 'was credit and cowries'.<sup>11</sup> Most of the European traders gave out the goods which they received from their principals to the local middlemen, generally Sierra Leoneans, and after an interval - perhaps as long as six months - received in return consignments of oil. Messrs O'Swald, however, were already importing cowries from Zanzibar, and after their arrival in Lagos their regular supplies of these, the most widely used currency on the West Coast, gave them a monopoly which enabled their agents to deal directly with the oil suppliers.<sup>12</sup> It was also necessary for the traders to regulate their relations with the local authorities and in particular to provide the Oba with the traditional revenue based on exports from and imports into his territories. To this end a commercial agreement was made on 28 February 1852 between Akitoye and his chiefs and a group of European merchants. This provided that a customs duty of 3 per cent *ad valorem* should be paid to the Oba on imports and of 2 per cent on exports. In return the Oba was to afford protection to the merchants and their goods, allowing them to build their warehouses and piers 'on the eastern point entering the river, and as far as the passage' - now called Five Cowry Creek - 'which divides Lagos from the sea'. The Oba was to be responsible for any stoppage of trade and would compensate this by payments of oil. He also agreed to impound the property of Lagosian traders who defaulted on their debts to merchants from whom they had taken credit and to sell this for the creditor's benefit. The last clause established a mixed committee of four under the Oba's presidency to adjudicate in trading disputes.<sup>13</sup> The treaty remained the basis of trade relations within Lagos for two years, until the practical difficulty of determining the value on which payments to the Oba were to be made led to the negotiation of a revised treaty with Akitoye's successor.

The *Memoirs* of Giambattista Scala, though romanticised and often in-



Cruiser's boats about to board a slaver

From the Church Missionary Intelligencer, volume vii, 1856

frontpiece, facing p. 265

between pp. 36 + 37  
~~page 36~~



Reply Reply to all Forward Delete Show full headers <- Read previous Read next ->

From: Paul Lovejoy <plovejoy@yorku.ca>  
To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>  
Time: Fri, 02 Mar 2001 14:32:43 -0500  
Subject: Re: illustration

Church Missionary Intelligencer, 7:2 (1856)

Paul Lovejoy FRSC  
Distinguished Research Professor  
Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History  
www.yorku.ca/nhp

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See also -  
Robert S. Smith, The LAGOS Consulate, 1851-1861.  
London, 1978 - cover p. n  
Alderman DT 515.9 . L3 S62

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**From:** Paul Lovejoy <plovejoy@yorku.ca>  
**To:** Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>  
**Time:** Thu, 08 Mar 2001 12:59:21 -0500  
**Subject:** on the trail

well, we haven't found the drawing in CM Intelligencer, but it is reproduced in the Church Missionary Gleaner, 1874, p. 114, with the caption: Shipping slaves in West Africa Twenty-Five Years Ago

we only have this on microfilm, and it is not as good as the copy I have from the Intelligencer. still looking for that.  
Paul Lovejoy FRSC

Distinguished Research Professor  
Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History

[www.yorku.ca/nhp](http://www.yorku.ca/nhp)

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The Church Missionary Intelligencer, A Monthly  
Journal of Missionary Information. London

Published by Church of England, Church Missionary Society

4/1/01; 4/12 ✓ = consulted (Table of contents lists illustrations)

4/17 Brit. Lib. PP 951 B

Pp. 951. B.

Year Vol

Illustrations

4/17

1850

1

1850 1 ✓ none for slavery website protest

✓

1851 2 ✓ " " " " "

✓

1852 3 ✓ " " " " "

✓

1853 4 ✓ " " " " "

✓

1854 5 ✓ " " " " "

—

1855 6 ✗ see notes

11/17 10:40

1856 7 ✗ see notes

11/17

1857 8 ✓ none for slavery website protest

1858 9 ✓ " " " " "

1859 10 ✓ see notes - possibly one (Yoruba country)

1860 11 ✓ none for slavery website protest

1861 12 ✓ " " " " "

1862 13 " " " " "

Note - Valuable source for West Africa at this period, esp. Yoruba  
also illustrations

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G 160 . C56 1732  
Vol. 6 - contains  
Phelps desert

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Call number: G 160 .C56 1704

Author: Churchill, Awnsham, d. 1728, comp.

Title: **A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts. Others translated out of foreign languages, and now first pub. in English. To which are added some few that have formerly appear'd in English, but do now for their excellency and scarceness deserve to be reprinted. In four volumes. With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning ... the whole illustrated with a great number of useful maps, and cuts, all engraven on copper ...**

Publication info: **London, Printed for A. and J. Churchill, 1704.**

Description: **4 v. front. (port. v.2) illus., plates (part double, part fold.) maps (part fold.) 33 cm.**

Subject: Voyages and travels.

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Location: SC-STKS --

Library has: v.1-4

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file

Author: Churchill, Awnsham, d. 1728,  
Title: A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English ... With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning ...

Publication info: London, J. Walthoe [etc.] 1732.  
Description: 6 v. front. (v. 2) illus., plates (part fold.) maps (part fold.) 36 cm.

Note: Compiled by Awnsham and John Churchill.

Note: Vol. 2 and 3 have added t.-p., engr.  
Note: 1st edition London, 1704.

Subject: Voyages and travels.  
Subject: Voyages and travels--Collected works.

Related name: Churchill, John, fl. 1695,  
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Location: SC-STKS --  
Library has: v.5-6

SPEC-COLL CALL NUMBER

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1)G 160 .C56 1732

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Vol. 5 - Barbot's "Description of the Coast of Guinea"  
"Printed from his original manuscript" -


NO ILLUSTRATIONS

Vol. 6 - Contains Thomas Phillipps - Voyage of Hammer

NO ILLUSTRATIONS

take notes of UJA - like

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Author: "churchill, awnsham" - Title 1 of 3

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Churchill, A & J

See LCP catalog, # 6

Bottom

◀ PREVIOUS ▶  
First  Last

~~vols 5 & 6 only~~

~~Check UJA - to vol 5 & 6~~

**Format:** Book

**Title:** A Collection of voyages and travels : some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English : In six volumes : With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning : Illustrated with a great number of useful maps and cuts, curiously engraven.

**Imprint:** London : Printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill. For John Walthoe ... : Tho. Wotton ... : Samuel Birt ... : Daniel Browne ... : Thomas Osborne ... : John Shuckburgh ... : and Henry Lintot ..., 1732.

**Description:** 6 v., leaves of plates (some folded) : ill., maps, ports ;35 cm. (Folio)

**Notes:** Compiled by Awnsham and John Churchill.

**Notes:** Continued by A collection of voyages and travels ... compiled from the curious and valuable library of the late Earl of Oxford [Vol. VII-VIII]. London: Thomas Osborne, 1747.

**Notes:** Vol. 2 has added engraved t.p. for Johannes Nieuhof's Voyages and travels into Brasil, and the East-Indies.

**Notes:** "List of subscribers ..." -- following t.p. of v. 1.

**Citations:** ESTC T097846

**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2327

**Local Notes:** LCP AR 1968 p. 9.

**Subject:** Voyages and travels.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Co-Creator:** Churchill, Awnsham, d. 1728.

**Co-Creator:** Churchill, John.

**Other Title:** Collection of voyages and travels. 1747.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:ENG. London. 1732.

**System No.:** PALR92-B1363

Vol. 5 - is filled with  
illustrations  
and contains  
pp. 1-558 the entire  
entire account of Barbot -  
see LCP catalog # 6 for  
background data -

Holdings

~~Get background data on Barbot -  
see Hakluyt Soc~~

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see ~~illustrations website~~

◀ PREVIOUS ▶  
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Vol. 6 - has Phillips's  
Voyage in Hammetal  
NO illustrations for website



11/27/02 Note: UVA 1734 edition Does not have any illustrations

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Vol 5 - Barbot's account - see LCP catalogue for p. 3 Barbot

Call number: G160 .C56 1732

Author: Churchill, Awunsham, d. 1728.

Title: A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English ... With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning ...

Publication info: London, J. Walthoe [etc.] 1732.

Description: 6 v. front. (v. 2) illus., plates (part fold.) maps (part fold.) 36 cm.

Note: Compiled by Awunsham and John Churchill.

Note: Vol. 2 and 3 have added t.-p., engr.

Note: 1st edition London, 1704.

Subject: Voyages and travels.

Subject: Voyages and travels--Collected works.

Related name: Churchill, John.

SPEC-COLL--

Location: SC-STKS-F -- G160 .C56 1732

Library has: v.5,6

UVA copy of vol. 5 also contains "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea... by John Barbot, Agou - see Green How sheet

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check vol. 5, for illustrations on no 237  
 LCP- 48  
 -49  
 -50 - see caption, etc  
 -51  
 54

Note - Check UVA copy for notes to be taken

Churchill - dis. tal photos from LCP copy  
Vol. 5

page	plate	item
99	E	Bottom only - whole illustration of houses
130 ✓	G	House with figures inside
156 ✓	9	canals top & Bottom - 2 separate photos - keep caption on each
169 ✓	10	CABO CORSO
175 ✓	12	Fort NASSAW
237 ✓	21	human figures - 2 separate scans

no of photos 8

① LCP HAS negative of bottom

Specific statement on how he views Africans, p. 103  
left column, "note of the author's method" -

6 8

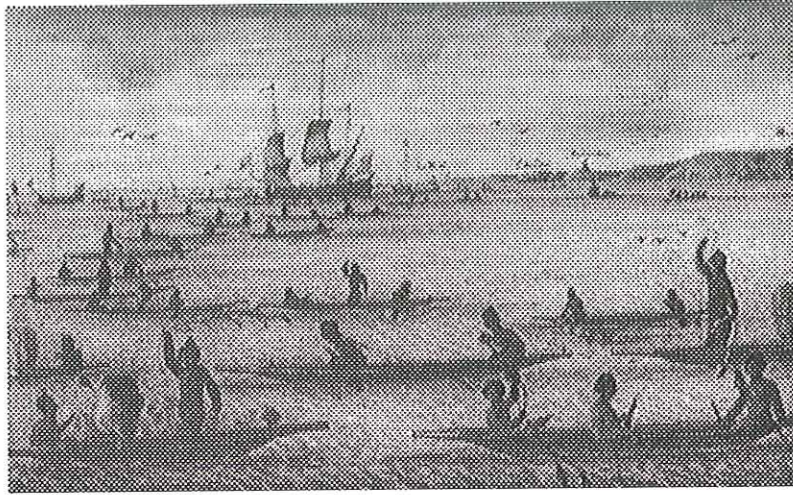


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The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Fishing Canoes off Gold Coast, late 17th cent.

*but put data ✓*



Source

P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean B on West Africa 1678-1712 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992), vol. 2, fig. 46; see v p. cxv for details.

Comments

Numerous fishing canoes, with European sailing vessel and forts, e.g., Elmina, Cabo Corso, in background. The original drawn from the 1688 manuscript, located in the P Record Office, London (Robin Law, pers. comm.).

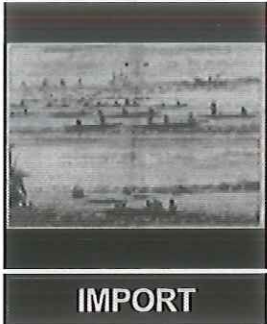
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See ~~Church~~ Churchill, vol 5 OK*

OK ✓



File Name: LCP-54 Slide Number: no slide Media Type:

Title: fishing & slave trade  
Gold Coast

**Description**

Churchill

**Source**

Awnsam and John Churchill (compilers), Collection of Voyages (London, 1732), vol. 5, plate 9, p. 156.

**Acknowledgement**

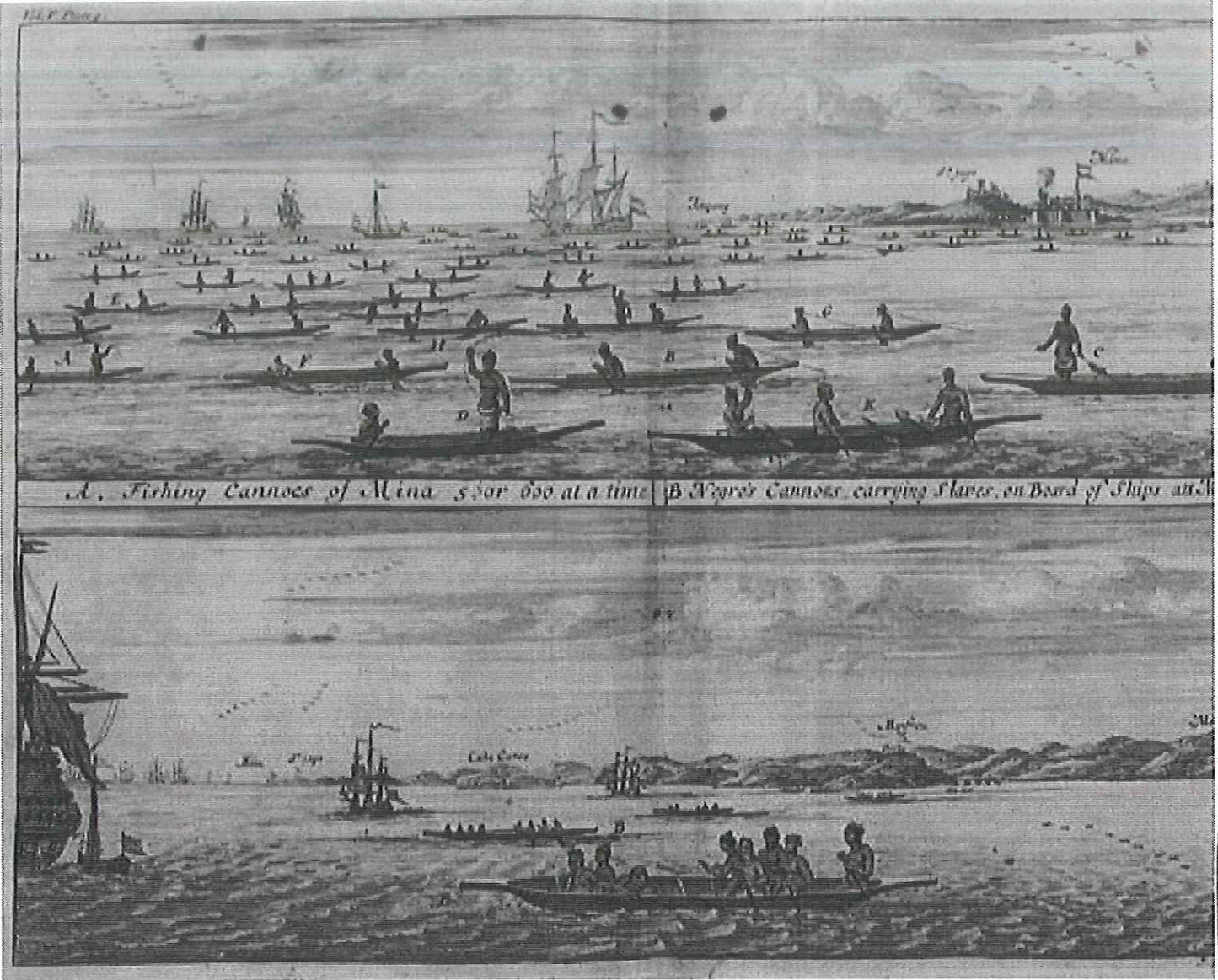
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**Comments**

canoes  
vol 5 See attached sheet for caption —  
pp. 156-157  
"The Blacks of Mina are commonly handsome, lusty, and strong men... Their usual employments are trade, husbandry and fishing; I have often seen seven or eight hundred canoes come out from Thence, at a time, ... to fish with hooks and lines... each canoe having, some  
→ (over)



(some) two, some three, some love paddlers. I was so  
pleas'd with the sight of such a number of canoes thus  
plying about, that I could not forbear representing them  
in the print here adjoin'd. ... The Mina Blacks drive a  
great trade along the Gold Coast ... and are the fittest  
and most experience'd men to ... paddle the canoes  
over the bars and breakings which render this coast ...  
so perilous ... the waves of the ocean rising in  
great surges



A. Fishing Canoes of Mina 5 or 600 at a time B Negro's Canoes carrying Slaves on Board of Ships at

- A. Fishing canoes of Mina 5 or 600 at a time
- B. Negro's canoes, carrying slaves, on Board of ships at Man Free

From the Sea Port of Africa

Note, place names in background

See Barbot around pp. 156-159 for description of Mina - about slaving and slaving activities

"These Moorish merchants..."

12/2/02 - cannot find Mina quite



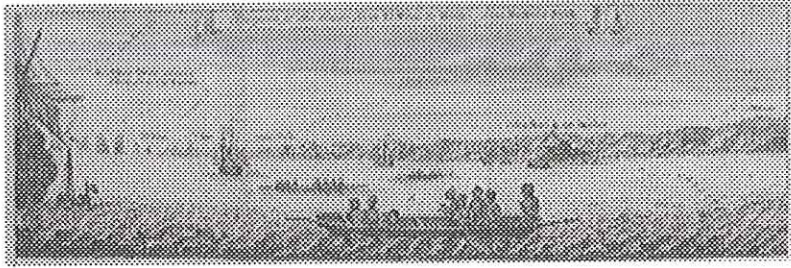
data + pilanthen ✓ help

Churchill 1734, p. 156

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Prospect of the Coast from El Mina to Mowri, Gold Coast, late 17th cent.

LCP-54



Source

Based on accounts of Jean Barbot, A Description of the Coasts of North and Sou Guinea and William Smith, A New Voyage Guinea (1744), in Thomas Astley (ed.), A General Collection of Voyages and Travel (London, 1745-47), vol. 2, plate 61, facing 589.

Comments

Places identified, from left to right: El Mina, Jago, Cape Corse, Fort Royal at Manfrow, Mowri. In foreground, European slave ship several canoes, identified by letter A, with caption reading "Negro canoas carrying sl aboard at Manfro." See Astley, p. 588 ff. fo description based on various contemporar accounts; deals with kingdom of Fetu, a co Fante-speaking kingdom. See also P.E.H. Adam Jones, and Robin Law, Barbot on Guinea [1678-1712] (London, 1992), vol. 2, after p 518. With respect to this illustration, Barbot reports: "These Moorish merchants do not trade only in gold but also in slaves, whom bring to the ships in fairly large numbers w there are wars . . . . You can see in this drawing a canoe containing slaves who are to board a vessel, and other canoes arriving to trade" (ibid., p. 518).

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check against  
chart

See Churchill, vol. 5

Acknowledgement

Special Collections Department, University Virginia Library

See page 518

G. 161 . H2 Ser. 2, no 175, 176,  
no. 176

1/11/10

See note on page 536 of Hakluyt vol. 1

Bartol, in Churchil (1732), vol. 5

156-57

Letter plate 8

f. describe Kingdom of Comandon gold coast

LCP-54

12/2/02 - cannot find quotation describing the scene with  
SIAMS that include phrase "Three march merchants,"

(See Hair et al quote

but note.

D See foot section website for names of places on  
this illustration -

(A) See also Hair et al quote -

+ Just note in description 1 B. shows African SIAM traders  
~~but~~ carrying enslaved African to European SIAM vessels.  
place in the background in circle, for Right to left.

map

Mansfield,

Fort Royal

Cabo Corso, FAYO,

El Niemi



N.B.

File

NOTE: OVA was vol. 5 + 6

Churchill, Awnsmm + J.

4/24/01

A collection of Voyages and Travels, London 1732

Brit.

Checked for illustration of possible use of slave vessels to

Library Vol. 1 -

pp. 554 pp. A voyage to Congo, 1666 and 1667 -  
Michael Angelo of Gallina + Denis de Carl. -

NO ILLUSTRATIONS

(\*)

N.B.

Vol. 2 = <sup>between pages 136 + 137</sup> engraving "Negros Playing upon KALABASES" -

between

p. 5 - ILLUSTRATE JOHN NIEUHOFF'S

"Remarkable Voyages and Travels to Brasil," pp. 3 -

text pp. 135 "Most of these Negroes are brought thither  
from the Kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Guinea."

See  
Slide  
collection


Vol. 3 - NO African <sup>N.W.</sup> materials

Vol. 4 NO African <sup>N.W.</sup> materials

See notes on vol 5 + 6

The Library Company of Philadelphia Online Catalog

**WOLF PAC**




Full Display - Library Co. of Philadelphia  
 <Title> "voyages" -- Title 35 of 465

Options

Churchill

◀ PREV NEXT ▶

Bottom First   Last


See Vol. 1732

- Format:** Book
- Title:** A Collection of voyages and travels : some now first printed from original manuscripts. Others translated out of Foreign Languages, and now first published in English : To which are added some few that have formerly appeared in English, but do now for their excellency and scarceness deserve to be reprinted : In four volumes : With a general preface ... : The whole illustrated with a great number of useful maps, and cuts, all engraven on copper ...
- Imprint:** London : Printed for Awنشam and John Churchill at the Black Swan in Pater-noster Row, 1704.
- Description:** 4 v., leaves of plates (some folded) : ill., maps, ports. ; 33 cm. (Folio)
- Notes:** Compiled by Awنشam and John Churchill.
- Notes:** Vol. 2 has added engraved t.p. for Johannes Nieuhof's Voyages and travels into Brasil, and the East-Indies.
- Citations:** ESTC T097848
- Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2326
- Local Notes:** Acc. no. Log 425.F: Vol. 1 and 3 only. Vol. 3 is a variant setting.
- Subject:** Voyages and travels.
- Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.
- Co-Creator:** Churchill, Awنشam, d. 1728.
- Co-Creator:** Churchill, John.
- Local Entry:** Imprint:ENG. London. 1704.
- System No.:** PALR92-B1357

## Holdings

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Top First   Last



NOTE: Fill in all Banbot references to vol. 5 of Churchill

UVA, vol. 5 of Churchill contain

"A description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea...  
by JOHN BANBOT, Agent-General of the Royal Company of  
Africa, and Island of America, at Paris. Now first  
Printed ~~first~~ from his original manuscript [London, (1732),  
588 pp ... "illustrated with a great number of useful  
maps and cuts, engrave on Copper; very exactly drawn of the place"

~~NOTE: This UVA printing/copy does not  
have any illustrations, although the title page  
clearly says the volume contains "the whole illustrated  
with a great number of useful maps, and cuts, all  
engraved on Copper."~~

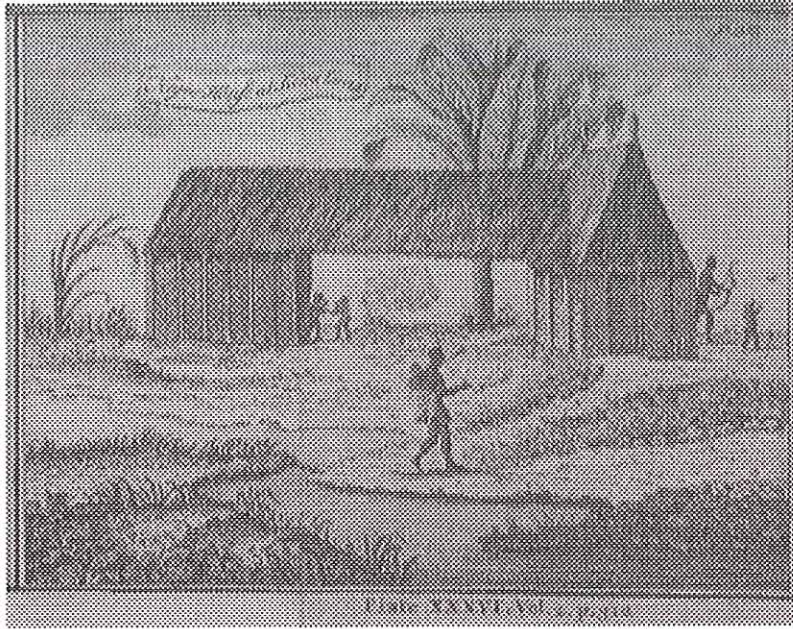
~~although plates are referred to in the text,  
no plates have been placed in this copy~~

NOTE: Banbot's ~~trip~~ in 1680s

*UAP record 2-312*

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

House and Compound, Sierra Leone, 18th cent.



**Source**

Thomas Astley (ed.), A New General Colle of Voyages and Travels (London, 1745-47 2, plate xxxvi, facing p. 312.

**Comments**

Background, children playing; foreground, woman (smoking a pipe) carrying child on back.

**Acknowledgement**

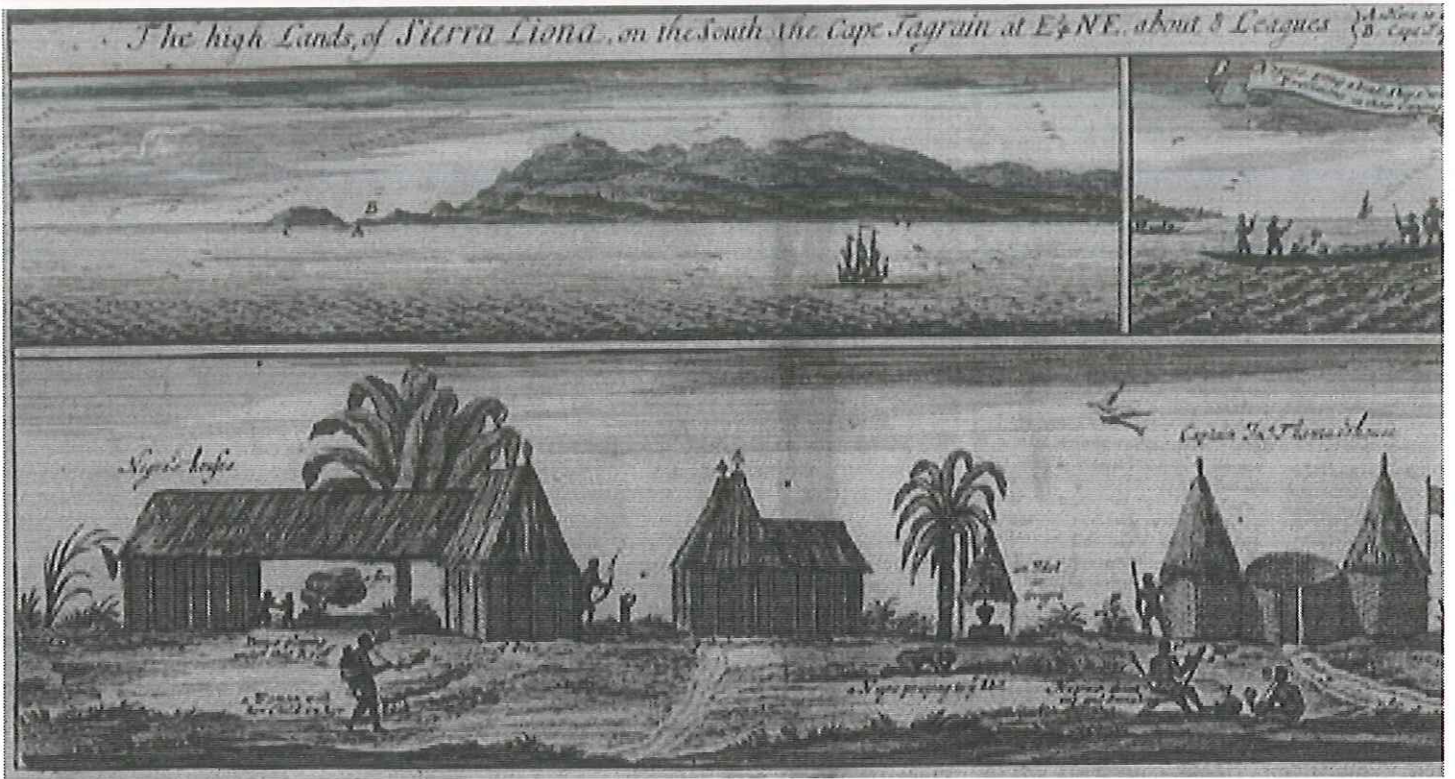
Special Collections Department, University Virginia Library

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

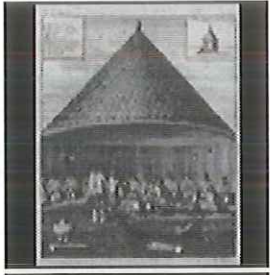
*This is taken from a larger image in Churchill, vol. 5, plate E, p. 99 - bottom*

*replace with new scan*





Negros  
 Shows ~~house~~ various structures in a village from Sierra  
 Houses and compound, Sierra Leone, late 17th cent



IMPORT

File Name

LCP-50

Slide Number

no slide

Media Type

Title

Court of King of Sestro, 1681 COMPLETE

Description

Churchill  
sestro

Source

Awnsam and John Churchill (compilers), Collection of Voyages (London, 1732), vol. 5, plate G, p. 130.

Acknowledgement

The Library Company of Philadelphia

Comments

Caption, "Barbot visits the King of Sestro, 1681." Shows interior of king's residence with king surro  
foreground. The original drawing is from the 1688 manuscript, located in the Public Record Office, I

*See Note on attached page from  
Churchill, pp 128-129*



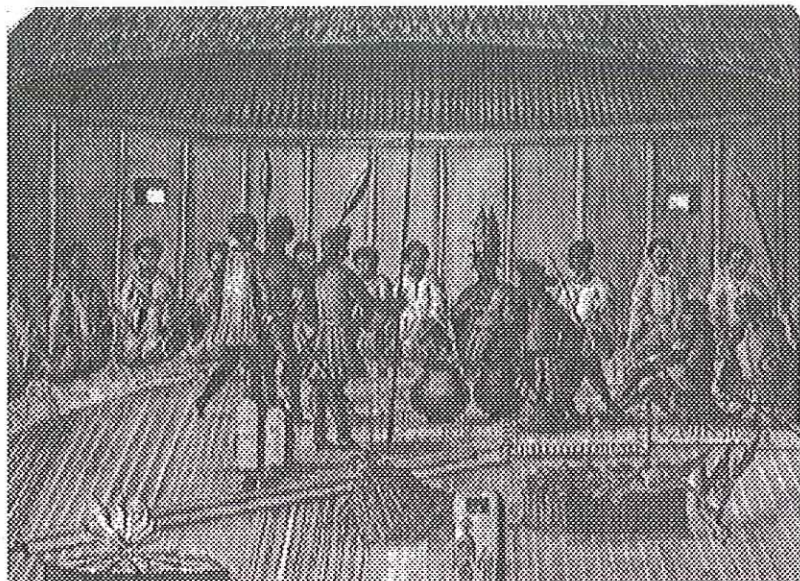
Needs barbot king SESTRO Record deleted + LCP-50  
http://gropius.lib.virginia.edu/Slavery/FMPro?-db=slavetrade.fp5&...ta.m

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Court of King of Sestro, 1681

LCP-50

Churchill 1734  
p. 130



Source

P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean B on West Africa 1678-1712 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992), vol. 1, facing title p see page cxiii for details.

Comments

Caption, "Barbot visits the King of Sestro, 1681." Shows interior of king's residence w king surrounded by retainers; European traders, including Barbot, in foreground. T original drawing is from the 1688 manuscri located in the Public Record Office, Londo (Robin Law, pers. comm.).

Acknowledgement

Alderman Library, University of Virginia

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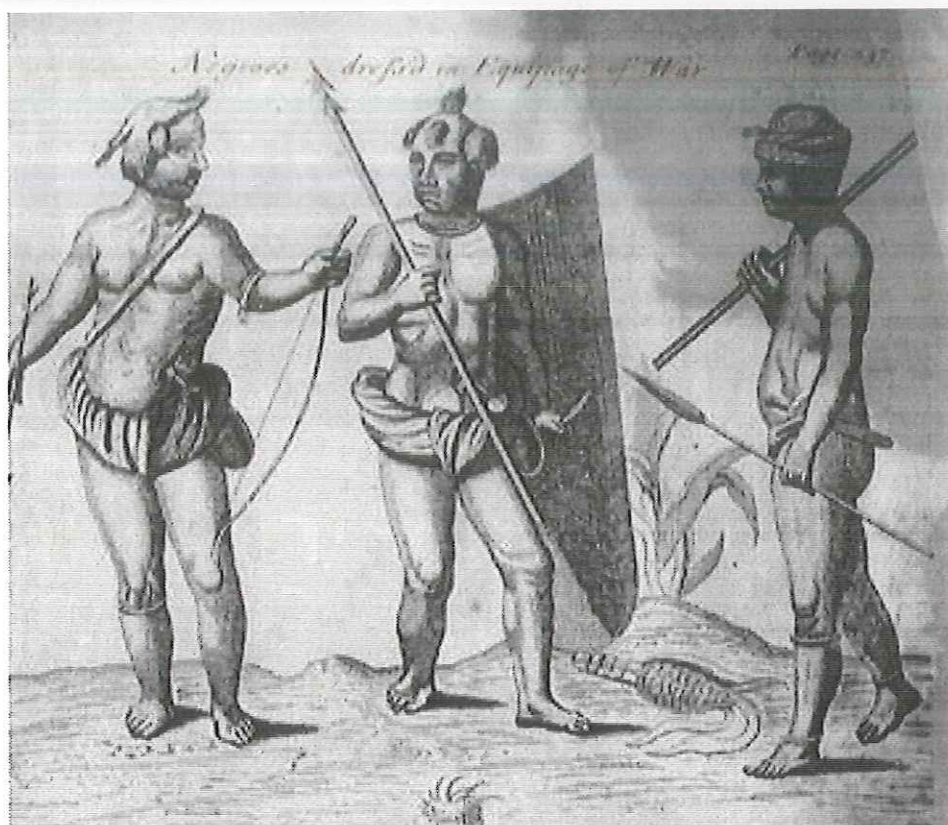
replace this with new image scan  
from LCP + Cambridge  
See Churchill, vol. 5

Churchill, 1734

Pp: 128<sup>-29</sup> (UVA edition) — see p Barbot's position

Barbot describes his visit to the king, provides a detailed description of his visit to the king who received him "in a pretty large half-round building, cover'd somewhat loftily, in form of a sugar-loaf ... standing some few paces from the enclosure of his village, and raised on timber, being in the nature of a common hall to receive strangers, and deliberate on the affairs of the country.... I found the king ... an elderly man, with silver hair, sitting on his heels on a five mat ... clad in a white cotton ... frock ... holding a very long pipe to his mouth, the bowl end resting on the floor.... (over)





Negros dressed in Equipage of War

with a letter from  
LCP-49  
title & content  
P. 237  
check

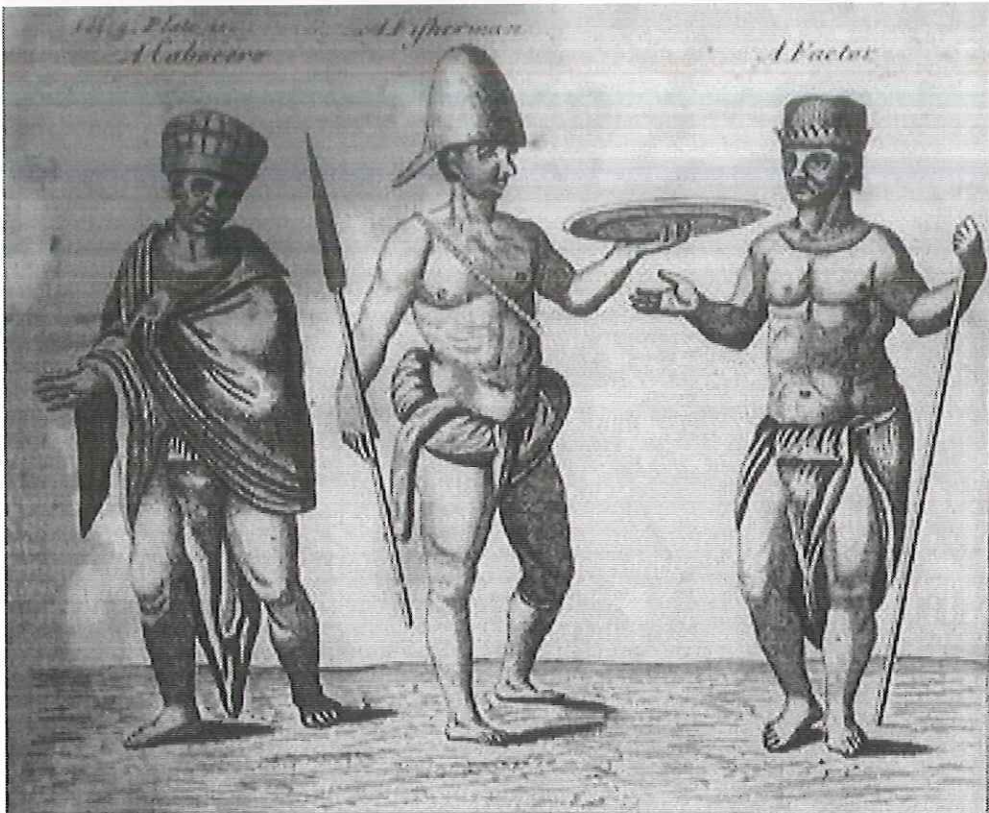


11/29/02 - USA  
Pp. 236-237, provides a  
long and detailed  
description of the dress  
Ornamentation of <sup>and hair styles of</sup> Southern Family  
Gold Coast people, which  
are represented in  
in these illustrations,  
"having drawn them  
myself for the satisfaction  
of the curious"

See dup for captiv



like



7  
 A Fisherman  
 FACTOR  
 Right or left on page

LCP-48

p. 237  
 describe titles  
 context



A Fish's wife  
 A Negro of the best  
 rank  
 A woman of the  
 good sort

SIU - 3rd floor ref.  
Ref 917.5016  
C 595C

Clark, Mann O

Traces in the New South: A Study

Vol. 1, 1865-1900

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✓ ✓	<del>17</del> 17 ✓	17 ✓	Lib. of Congress
✓ ✓	23 ✓	20 ✓	Harvard
✓ ✓	103 <del>59</del> ✓	59	Lib. Congress
✓ ✓	114 ✓	64	Lib. Congress Univ. North Carolina
✓ ✓	180 ✓	97	<del>Univ. North Carolina</del>
✓ ✓	206	108	Lib. Congress





(STU Ref. 917.5016  
C 5955

Clark, Morris D.

Travels in the Old South = A Bibliography.

Vol. 3. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1959.

Same as manuscript

~~MS~~ ~~Manuscript~~ - full bibliographic citation

STU Manuscript ?	<del>MS</del> <del>#</del> book Number	page	Location of copy
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X	182 ✓	144	Harvard U. Lib.
X	389 ✓	300	U.S. of Congress
X	439 ✓	335	Int. Holyoke Lib.
X	479	368	Univ. of Virginia

*Write Hamilton College to mass*

*16.2.01 requested search done by 16th*

*file*

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NY	HAMILTON COL LIBR	YHM

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Mark:

Database: WorldCat

Ownership: Check the catalogs in your library.

- Libraries that Own Item: 1
- Connect to the catalog at University of Virginia Libraries

Title: **Ten views in the island of Antigua : in which are represented the process of sugar making, and the employment of the Negroes, in the field, boiling-house and distillery /**

Author(s): Clark, W. A. V. (William A. V.)

Publication: London : T. Clay,

Year: 1823

Description: 10 col. plates, [10] leaves of text : p., ill. ; 35 x 47 cm.

Language: English

### SUBJECT(S)

Descriptor: Sugar growing -- Antigua -- Pictorial works.  
 Sugar workers -- Antigua -- Pictorial works.  
 Blacks -- Antigua -- Pictorial works.

Geographic: Antigua -- Industries -- Pictorial works.

Class Descript: LC: SB229.A63

Responsibility: from drawings made by William Clark.

Document Type: Book

Entry: 19870402

Update: 19990617

Accession No: OCLC: 15475620

*See Hudson & Hodge  
 Between  
 catalogs  
 complete list of  
 Clark views*

*Randall ERICSON  
 (315) 859-4489  
 R.ERICSON@hamilton.edu  
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Search Result --

Viewing record 47 of 83 from catalog.  Check here to mark this record for Print/Capture

Call number: **A 1824 .C53**

Author: **Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.**

Title: **Negro slavery. : Argument, that the colonial slaves are better off than the British peasantry, answered from the Royal Jamaica gazette. / By Thomas Clarkson.**

Publication info: **Birmingham : Printed by Richard Peart, [1824?]**

Description: **4 p. ; 28 cm.**

Note: **"From the Christian observer, August 1824" -- p. 4.**

Local note: **SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Tracy W. McGregor Collection. McGregor Endowment Fund, 2000/2001.**

Subject: **Slaves--Great Britain--Colonies--Social conditions.**

Subject: **Working class--Great Britain--Social conditions.**

Subject: **Slavery--Great Britain.**

Subject: **Blacks--Great Britain--Colonies--Social conditions.**

Special Collections	Material	Location
A 1824 .C53	RAREBOOK	Special Collections SC-MCGR-ST

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*6/16/06*  
*JCB - # 76-104-9*  
*# In the JCB the above pamphlet is bound with other items from various sources into a leather bound volume called "Album" - anti-slavery tracts of Birmingham - see other side*

*copy of*  
 (2) *Jamaica Gazette, Oct 7, 1826 - no illustrations*  
*(Some engravings, artist reproductions of "Acts of Slavery" - some of the found in various anti-slavery sources)*

*includes*  
 (3) *pamphlet "Case of the Vigilante, a ship employed in the slave-trade. with some reflections on that traffic" (London 1826) with large fold-out of a section of Vigilante*

Plats 2 & 3 are valuable -

Note: ✓ This work is to be referred to for his  
description of the plats on pp. 36 & 37

---

(Larkin's is based on a description of Villeneuve  
with whom he had contact in Paris in 1789)



1791 2d. not in UVA

7/1/22 edition

1791 edition LCP

Thomas Clarkson Letters  
1791

LCP-16

Facing p. 36

Plate II.

History of the rice, paper  
Essay on the slave  
Commerce

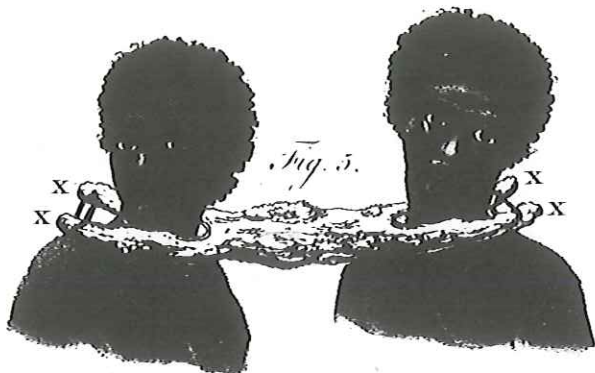


Fig. 5.



Fig. 4.

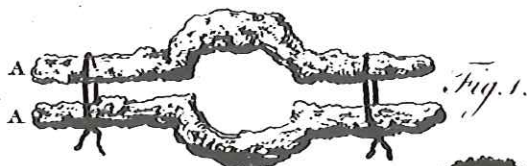


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

4808 London  
JCB

66-249

2 vols

Does not  
have this  
illustration -  
JCB non  
(UVA copy)

Chet ~~TTA~~

CLARRSON, Letters (1791)

PLATE P. 37

LCP-17

Plate III.

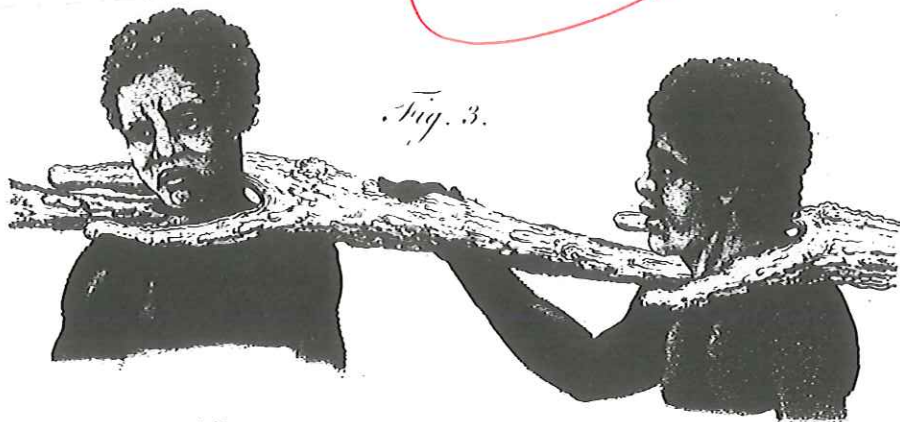


Fig. 3.

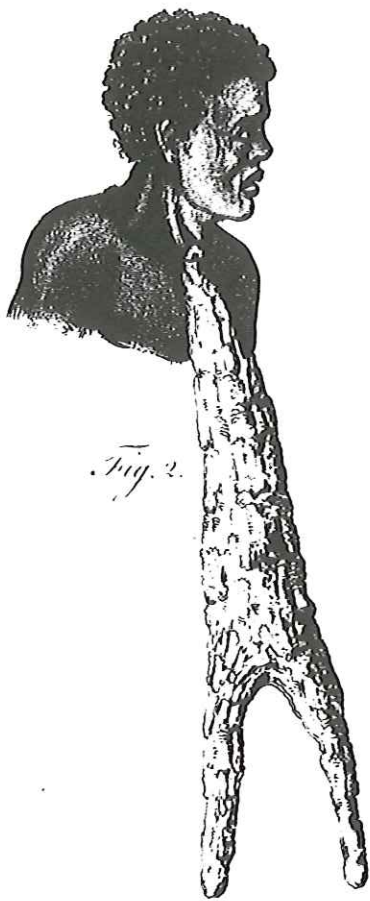


Fig. 2.

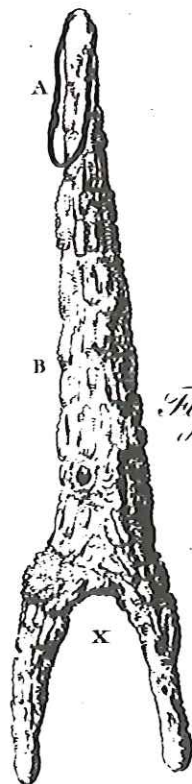


Fig. 1.



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- DISPLAY**  21 Negro slavery. : Argument, that the colonial slaves are better off than the British peasantry, answered from the Royal Jamaica gazette / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1824) **A 1824 .C53** (SC-MCGR-RM) at SPEC-COLL
- DISPLAY**  22 Thoughts on the necessity of improving the condition of the slaves in the British colonies : with a view to their ultimate emancipation and on the practicability, the safety and the advantages of the latter measure / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1823) **AB v.173** (SC-STKS) at SPEC-COLL
- DISPLAY**  23 An essay on the slavery and commerce of the human species, particularly the African : In three parts / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1816) **HT975 .C6 1816** (SC-STKS) at SPEC-COLL
- DISPLAY**  24 The history of the rise, progress and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade, by the British Parliament / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1816) **HT1162 .C62 1816** (SC-STKS) at SPEC-COLL
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- DISPLAY**  26 Memoirs of the private and public life of William Penn / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1813) **F152.2 .C61 1813 V.1** (BY-REQUEST) at IVY
- DISPLAY**  27 Memoirs of the private and public life of William Penn / Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846. (1813) **F 152.2 .C61 1813** (SC-STKS) at SPEC-COLL
- DISPLAY**  28 An account of the different charities belonging to the poor of the county of



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Call number: HT 1162 .C6 1808

Author: Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.

Title: **The history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition of the African Slave-trade by the British parliament. By Thomas Clarkson, M.A. In two volumes.**

Publication info: **London, Printed by R. Taylor and Co., Shoe-Lane, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row 1808.**

Description: 2 v. plates (part fold.) 23 cm.

Subject: Slave trade--Africa.

also JCB  
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TOP

12/4/99

Vol. I - between pages 374 + 375 -  
(top) wrist irons  
(center) thumb screw + neck splines  
(bottom) leg irons

~~drawings of~~ (engraving of) in one page  
(pg 375.tif @ 33.3%)

Vol. II - between pp. 110 + 111 -  
side ship showing  
fold out - about  
Book

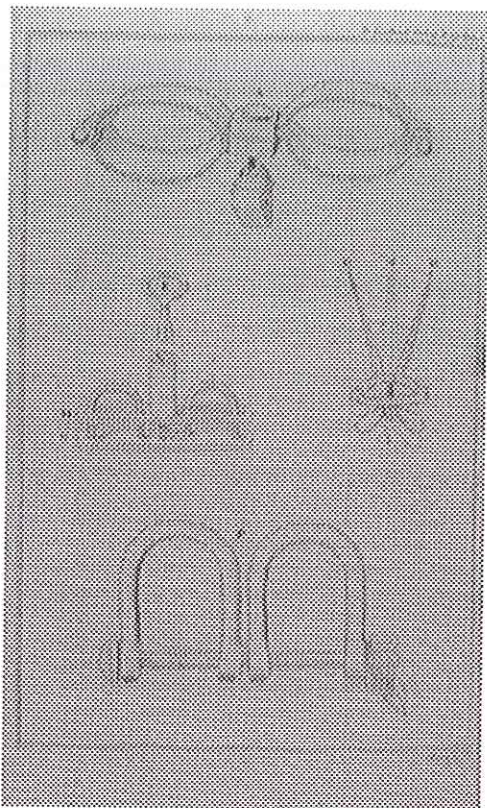
favorable drawings of cross section of  
decks, tight packing etc - only illustration  
twice the size of page - upper view  
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ship2a.tif @ 33.3% - side view, x-section)



data for elements

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Irons and Shackles Used on Slave Ships, late 18th cent.



Source

Thomas Clarkson, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament (London, 1808), vol. 1, between pp. 374-75.

Comments

for men

A, pair of handcuffs (right wrist of one person padlocked to left wrist of another); B, a pair of irons, also for two people; C, D, E, the thumb screw (a torture instrument); F, G, H, speculum oris mouth opener (for force feeding).

Acknowledgement

Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library

e  
d  
c

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

✓ Clarkson, vol. 1, p. 375-377  
✓ Clarkson writes how he purchased these various items in Liverpool - used on slave ships  
✓ A - see above ok

Note: in 1808 Philanthropist edition, same illustration between pp. 300 & 301 (vol. 1)

→ B - leg shackles for men, right ankle of one man is fastened to left leg of another

C, D, E a thumb screw used for punishing slaves. The thumbs are put into this instrument through the two circular holes at the top of it. By turning a key, a bar rises up by means of a screw from C to D and the pressure upon them becomes painful. By turning it further you may make the blood start from the ends of them...

F, G, H. - The "speculum ORIS" [NOT ORBIS] -

1 of 1 An instrument used by surgeons to help them open the jaws, as in cases of locked jaws or tetanus, used in slave ships to force feed slaves who, for one reason (poor)

The Second Report of the Female Society for  
Birmingham, West Bromwich, &c. for the relief  
of British Negro Slaves, established, 1825  
(Birmingham, N.d. [1826 or 1827])

Cowper

O my great name  
wasaw w/ chert



*file*



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Call number: **XX(4205280.1)**

Author: **Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.**

Title: **Letters on the slave-trade [electronic resource] : a in December 1789, and January 1790 / by T. Clark**

Click link: <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?c=1&stp=Author&ste=11&af=BN&ae=T148328&tiP>

Publication info: **London : printed and sold by James Phillips, 1791**

Description: **[2], vii, [1], 81, [1] p., plates : map ; 4°.**

Other format: **Also available in microfilm (click link to determine**

Note: **With a half-title.**

Note: **Reproduction of original from the British Library.**

Reproduction note: **Electronic reproduction. Farmington Hills, Mich. : collections online**

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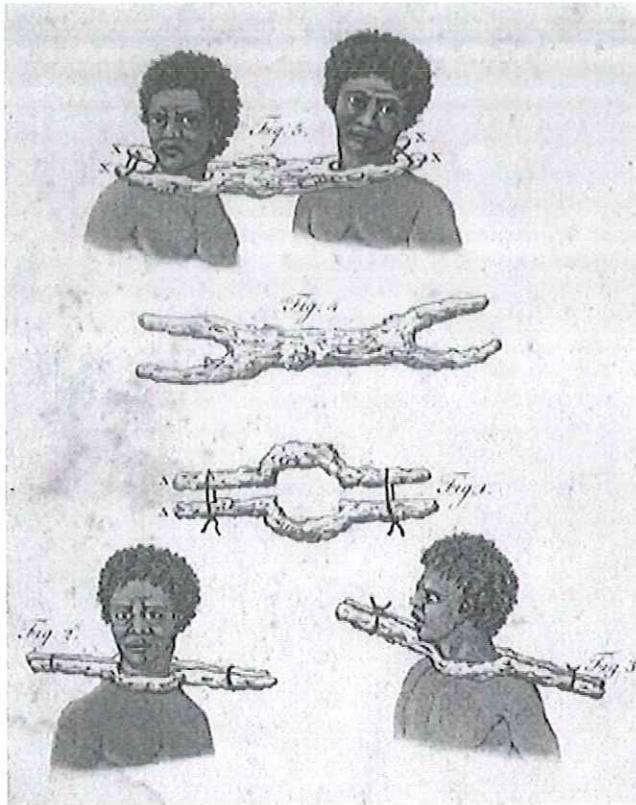
*check for coffee*

*Handwritten scribbles*

See at LCP

## The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

## Wooden Yokes Used in Coffles, Senegal, ca. 1789



## Image Reference

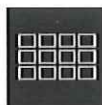
LCP-16

## Source

Thomas Clarkson, *Letters on the slave-trade, and the state of the natives in those parts of Africa, . . . contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Gor* (London, 1791), plate 2, facing p. 36 figs. 1-5. (Copy in Library Company Philadelphia)

## Comments

Clarkson writes: "In the plate . . . Fig AA represents two separate pieces of wood, which in the Fig. 2, 3 are made fast to the necks of two Negroes by means of cords, which are composed of the roots of trees, and are in use in those countries. Many of the Negroes were accustomed to be driven before the Mundingoes, one by one, each with this instrument on his neck. It was found convenient for two reasons: First, because of the roads, which lay through the woods in these parts, were often so narrow, as not to admit three or four persons to walk abreast; Secondly, Because it was an insuperable obstacle to an escape, if the trees were so close to each other in the forests, as not to suffer any person to go between them, who had such an incumbrance on his neck. The second manner of conducting them is described in the same plate. Fig. 4 represents an instrument, which is of wood. Within the crutches of this instrument, which are at each end, are placed the necks of two Negroes Fig. 5, which are confined in its extremities XX by means of certain cords, which are in use in that part of the world. Thus confined, two at a



Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

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Clarkson (letter  
Depends on his ~~basic~~ <sup>basic</sup> info on Geoffrey de Villeneuve  
Villeneuve in Africa 1777 - sequence of 1789 -  
two years

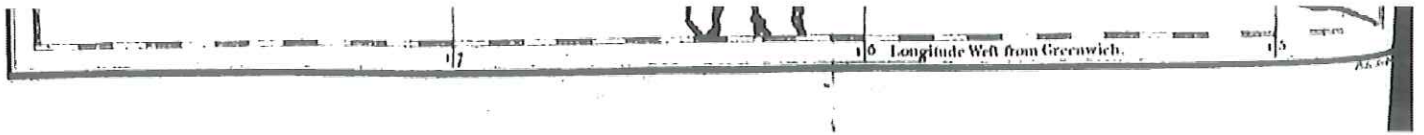
check Villeneuve info with others

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<u>Page</u>		Page (image)
page original		8
1		9
2		10
3		11
4		

51-92






Source: Eighteenth Century Collections Online  
Document Number: CW3306005737

Clarkson, Thomas. *Letters on the slave-trade, and the state of the natives in those parts of Africa, which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree, written at Paris in December 1789, and January 1790.* By T. Clarkson. London, 1791. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.* Gale Group.

THOMSON  
\*  
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## Eighteenth Century Collections Online

---

L E T T E R S  
ON THE  
S L A V E - T R A D E,  
AND THE  
STATE OF THE NATIVES  
IN THOSE PARTS OF  
*A F R I C A,*  
WHICH ARE CONTIGUOUS TO  
*F O R T S<sup>t</sup>. L O U I S A N D G O R E E,*  
WRITTEN AT PARIS  
*In DECEMBER 1789, and JANUARY 1790.*

---

By T. CLARKSON.

---

L O N D O N:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD STREET.

---

MDCXCXI.

Source: Eighteenth Century Collections Online



**Document Number:** CW3306005732

Clarkson, Thomas. *Letters on the slave-trade, and the state of the natives in those parts of Africa, which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree, written at Paris in December 1789, and January 1790.* By T. Clarkson. London, 1791. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.* Gale Group.

**THOMSON**



**GALE**

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The Library Company of Philadelphia

Online Catalog

WolfPAC



Full Display - Library Co. of Philadelphia

Title: "the history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition" - Title 7 of 9

Options:  Use Labeled Form

Bottom

First Last

10/17/02

Format: Book

Author: Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.

Title: The history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade by the British Parliament / By Thomas Clarkson, M.A. In two volumes.

Imprint: London : Printed by R. Taylor and Co., for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808.

Description: 2 v., [3] plates (some folded) : ill. ; 24 cm. (8vo)

Citations: Kress Lib. B.5319

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2388

Local Notes: LCP AR 1969 p.18; AR 1983 p.49.

Local Notes: Contemporary bookplates of M. John Phillips.

Subject: Slave trade --Africa.

Subject: Slave trade --History.

Subject: Antislavery movements --History.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Anti-slave-trade literature --Great Britain.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Local Entry: Provenance:Phillips, M. John, former owner.

Local Entry: Imprint:ENG. London. 1808.

System No.: PALR89-B837

Vol. 1 - better pp 375 & 376  
have a shockVol. 2 - large fold out of  
cross sections of 5 slave ships  
before pp. 110 & 111 -  
based on Brooks

## Holdings

Library Co. of Philadelphia Books: Rare Am 1808 Clar (2)70485 .O 1 (My Library)

First Last

Top

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The Library Company of Philadelphia  
**WolfPAC**



Online Catalog



Full Display - Library Co. of Philadelphia

Title: "the history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition" -- Title 9 of 9

Options:  Use Labeled Form

Bottom

◀ PREVIOUS ▶

First Last

10/17/02

**Format:** Book

**Author:** Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.

**Title:** The history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade by the British Parliament.

**Edition:** 1st American / from the London ed.

**Imprint:** Philadelphia : James P. Parke ; Brown & Merritt, printers, 1808.

**Description:** 2 v. : ill., 3 plates (2 folded) ; 19 cm.

**Notes:** Signatures: v. 1. A-[subscript 2]P<sup>[superscript 6]</sup>; v. 2. A-[subscript 2]Q<sup>[superscript 6]</sup>.

**Citations:** Sabin, 13486

**Citations:** Shaw & Shoemaker, 14700

**Local Notes:** Retrospective conversion record: MARC Link database.

**Local Notes:** HSP in LCP.

**Subject:** Philadelphia (Pa.). Parke. 1808.

**Subject:** Philadelphia (Pa.). Brown and Merritt. 1808.

**Subject:** Slave trade --Africa.

**Subject:** African Americans --History.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:PA. Philadelphia 1808

**System No.:** lss02450997

Vol. 1 - 5 Mar 1808  
Shaw p. 300 & 301

Vol. 2 - 10 Oct 1808  
of 51 Mar 1808, Shaw p. 90 & 91

**Holdings**

Library Co. of Philadelphia Books: HSP in LCP Am 1808 Clark LCP TW 1519 (My Library)

◀ PREVIOUS ▶

First Last

Top

no neg

The Library Company of Philadelphia

Online Catalog

# WolfPAC



New Search

Modify Search

Title List

Holdings

Start Over

Sign Off

Help

Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia  
<All Headings> "letters on the slave trade"<Date of Publication>  
"1791" -- Title 1 of 5

Options: Use Labeled Format

◀ PREV NEXT ▶

First ◀ ▶ Last

Bottom

(prn)

LCP -  
16 + 17  
See attached sheets

**Format:** Book

**Author:** Clarkson, Thomas, 1760-1846.

**Title:** Letters on the slave-trade, and the state of the natives in those parts of Africa, which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree : written at Paris in December 1789, and January 1790 / By T. Clarkson.

**Imprint:** London : Printed and sold by James Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street, 1791.

**Description:** [2], vii, [1], 81, [1] p. (last blank), [4] leaves of plates (some folded) : ill., map, plan ; 25 cm. (4to)

**Notes:** Signatures: pi, 2pi# A-K# [L]1

**Notes:** With a half-title.

**Citations:** ESTC T148328

**Citations:** Ragatz, L.J. Brit. Caribbean history, p. 489

**Citations:** Hogg, P.C. African slave trade, 2068

**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2395

**Subject:** Slave trade --Africa, West.

**Subject:** Africa, West --Social life and customs.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Anti-slave-trade literature --Great Britain.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:ENG. London. 1791.

**System No.:** PALR92-B1409

### Holdings

Library Co. of Philadelphia Books: Rare Am 1791 Cla 619.Q 1 (My Library)

◀ PREV NEXT ▶

First ◀ ▶ Last

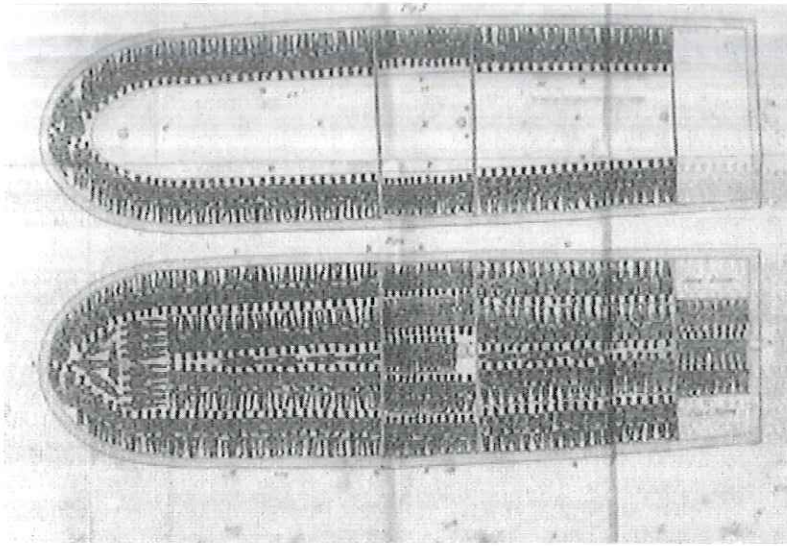
Top



Q7 Another refused to eat or could not eat

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Decks on Slave Ship, late 18th cent.



Source

Thomas Clarkson, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament (London, 1808), vol. 2, between 110 and 111; also Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-3399

Comments

Cross-section, showing "tight packing" of captive African; this represents only half of the image published in Clark

Acknowledgement

Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Li

*delete & ultimately & replace w/ LCP cross*

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

*baller 2 way*

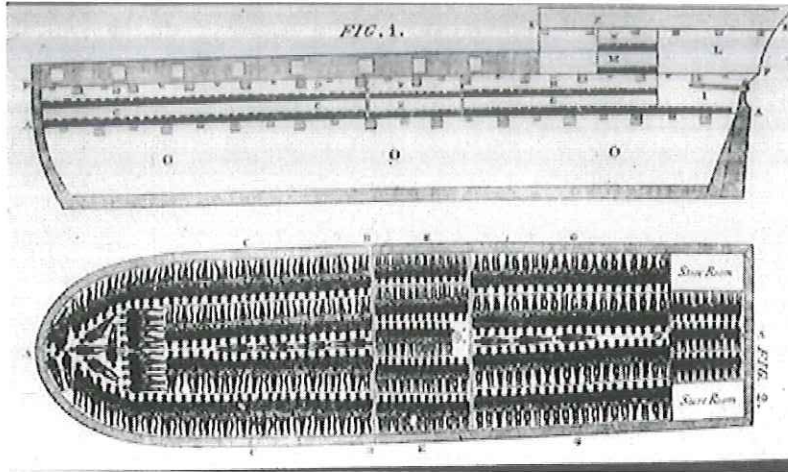
*dis of ... of ... of ...*

*In 1808 Philadelphia edition ... between pp. 90 & 91 (vol. 2)*



The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Cross Section of Slave Ship, 18th cent.



Source

Oliver Warner, William Wilberforce and His Times (Lond 1962), fig. 10, p. 97; original source not identified, but V acknowledges Kingston-upon-Hull Museums.

Comments

Shows main decks and congestion of captive Africans. Warner writes that this view was "used by Wilberforce in campaign." It seems to be derived from or based on the drawing published in Thomas Clarkson, The History of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade by the British Parliament (London, 1808), vol. 2, between pp. 110-111

Acknowledgement

Learning Resources, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

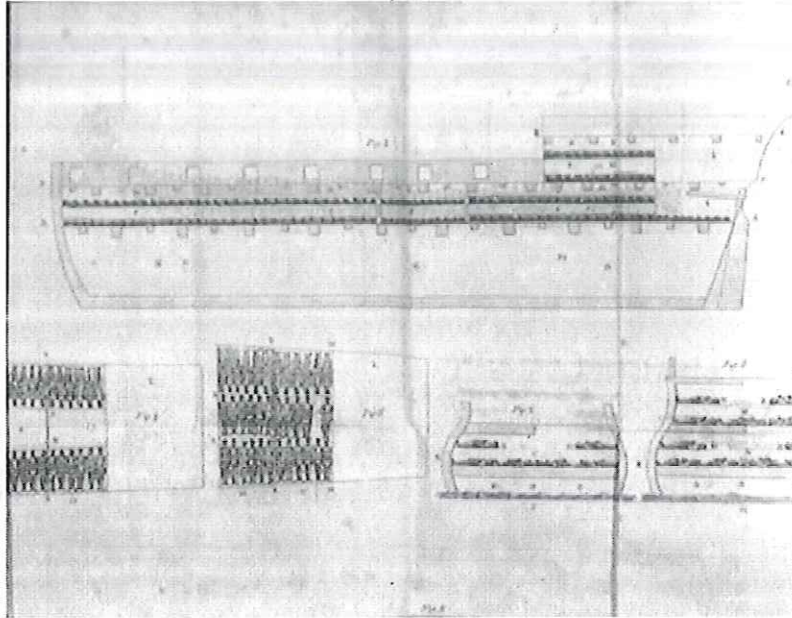
See LCP  
AFR-393

See top 2 drawings  
from a plate in Thomas  
Clarkson The History of the Rise,  
Progress, & Accomplishment of  
the Abolition of the Slave-trade, by  
the British Parliament.  
(Philadelphia, 1808) vol. 2

~~Discard~~ O'Connell &  
my word with  
LCP work

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Decks on slave Ship, late 18th cent.



Source

Thomas Clarkson, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament (London, 1808), vol. 2, between 110 and 111. also, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-339

Comments

Cross-section, showing "tight packing" of captive African. This represents only half of the image published in Clark

Acknowledgement

Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Li

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

discard this ultimately  
+ replace with image from  
LCP

In vol 2  
Philod. 1808  
This is letter no. 902-91



(1 slave)



# WolfPAC



Online Catalog



New Search    Modify Search    Title List    Holdings    Start Over    Sign Off    Help

Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia  
<All Headings> "slave" -- Title 99 of 116



Options: Use Labeled Format

Bottom

Clarkson, Thomas

PREV NEXT

First   Last

10/17/02

very clean

~~STC~~

get more

LCP-59

**Format:** Visual Material

**Author:** Kneass, William, 1780-1840, engraver.

**Title:** [Plan and sections of a slave ship] [graphic].

**Imprint:** [Philadelphia: Pub. by James P. Parke, 1808]

**Description:** 1 print: engraving; 31 x 49 cm.(12 x 19.25 in.)

**Notes:** Title from earlier plate in C.B. Wadstrom's An Essay on Colonization (London: C.B. Waldstrom, 1794). (LCP \*U Afr Wads, 728.Q).

**Notes:** Plate from Thomas Clarkson's The History of the Rise, Progress, & Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade, by the British Parliament. Vol. II (Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1808). (LCP Am 1808 Clar, 1934.D).

**Summary:** Antislavery book illustration used to illustrate the inhumane transit conditions for slaves during the middle passage across the Atlantic. Depicts aerial, horizontal, and vertical cross sections of the multi-decked ship tightly packed with prostrate slave figures. The proportional diagram, based on the dimensions of the English slave ship, "Brooke," and space calculations, based on a report to the House of Commons in London in 1798, contains fewer figures than the number of humans routinely transported on the actual ship.

**Local Notes:** Originally part of a McAllister scrapbook of Civil War portraits.

**Subject:** Slave ships.

**Subject:** Slaves --Social conditions.

**Subject:** Slave trade --Africa.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Engravings --1800-1810.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Book illustrations --1800-1810.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Anti-slavery prints --1800-1810.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Subject:** SP10 Philadelphia artists.

**Local Entry:** Printer:Parke, James P., publisher.

**Local Entry:** Provenance:McAllister, John Archibald, 1822-1896, collector.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:PA. Philadelphia. 1808.

**System No.:** AFR-393

(N13)

This image is large foldout in Clarkson (Ph London 1808) between pages 110 + 111

\* GC - Slavery

Fig. 1

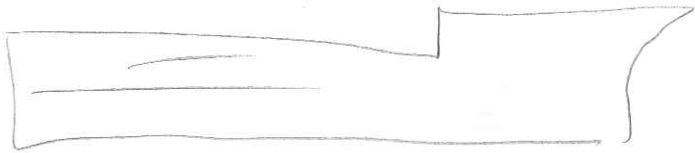
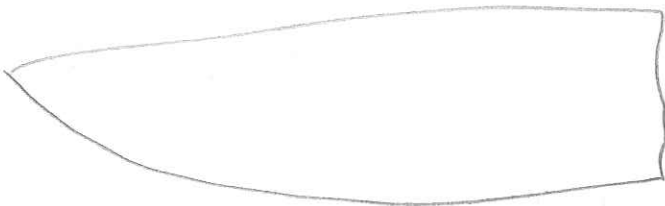


Fig 2



Fig 4





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THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA  
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← Near  
from class

Kneass William engraver  
from Clarkson, 1808 vol 2

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THE LIB  
1314

110-111



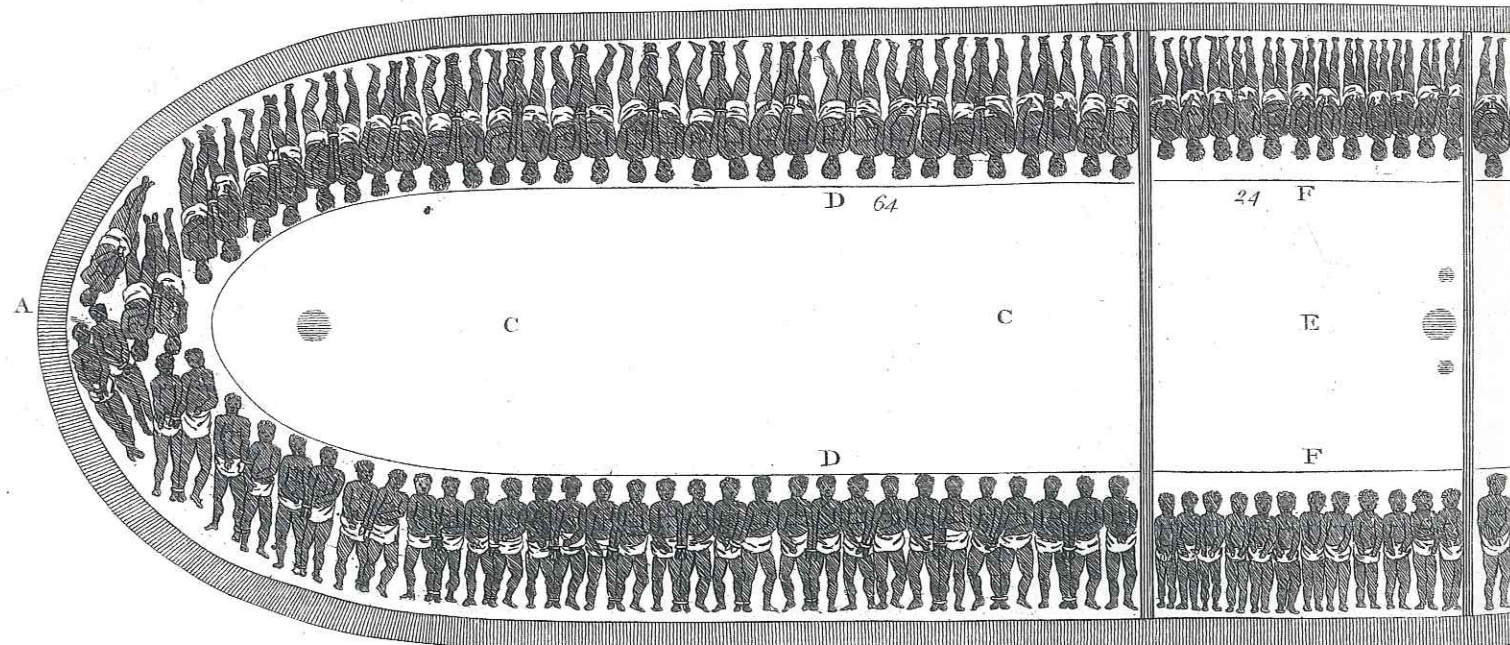
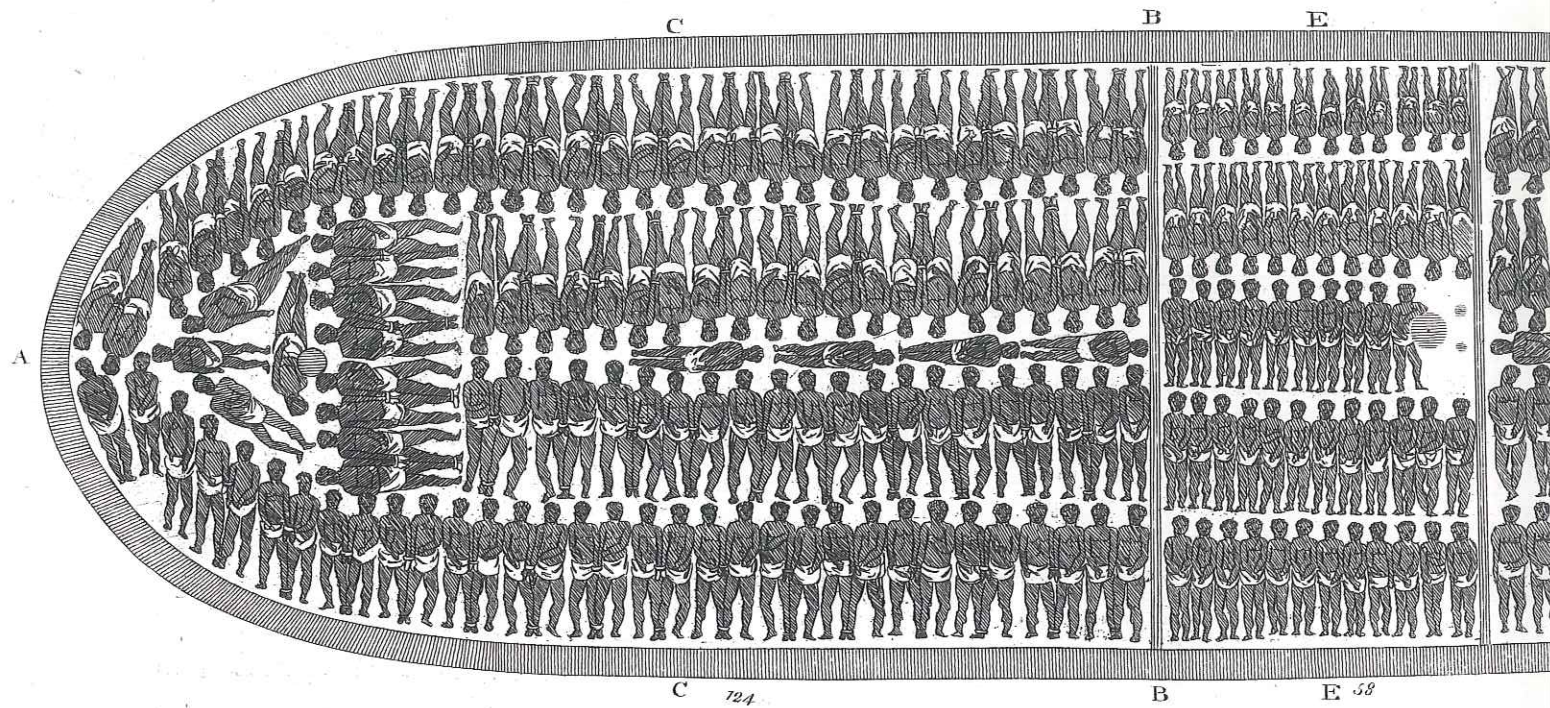
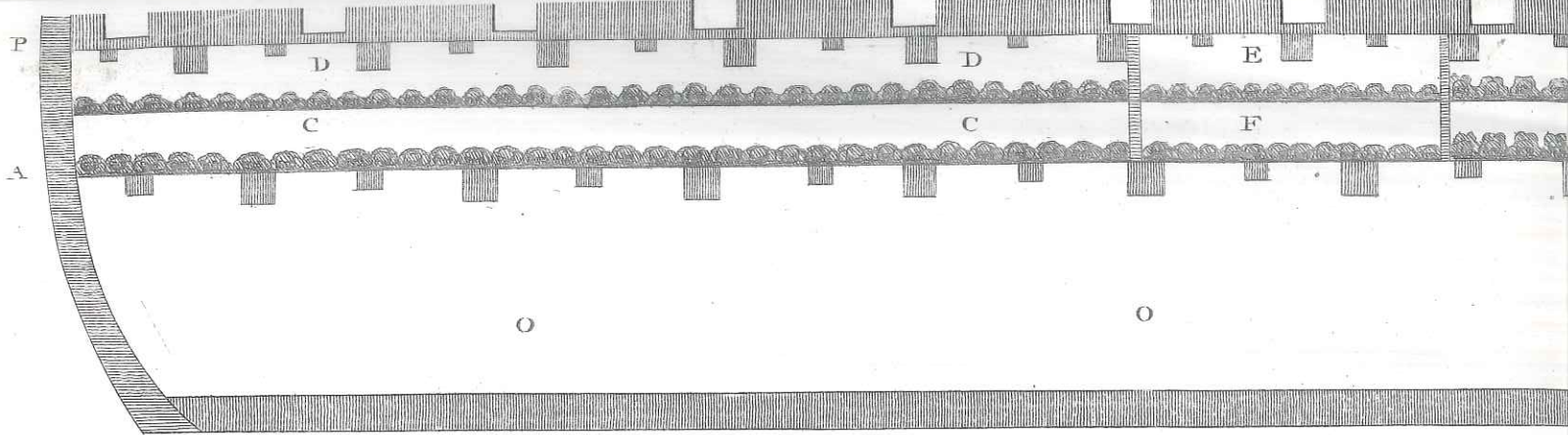
William Engman  
2105 808 202

USA

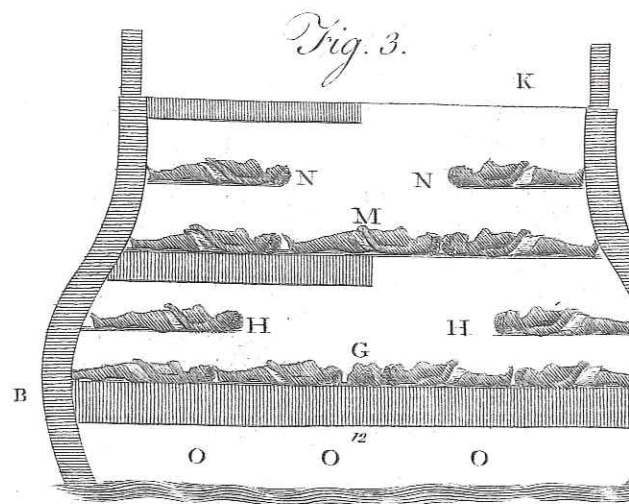
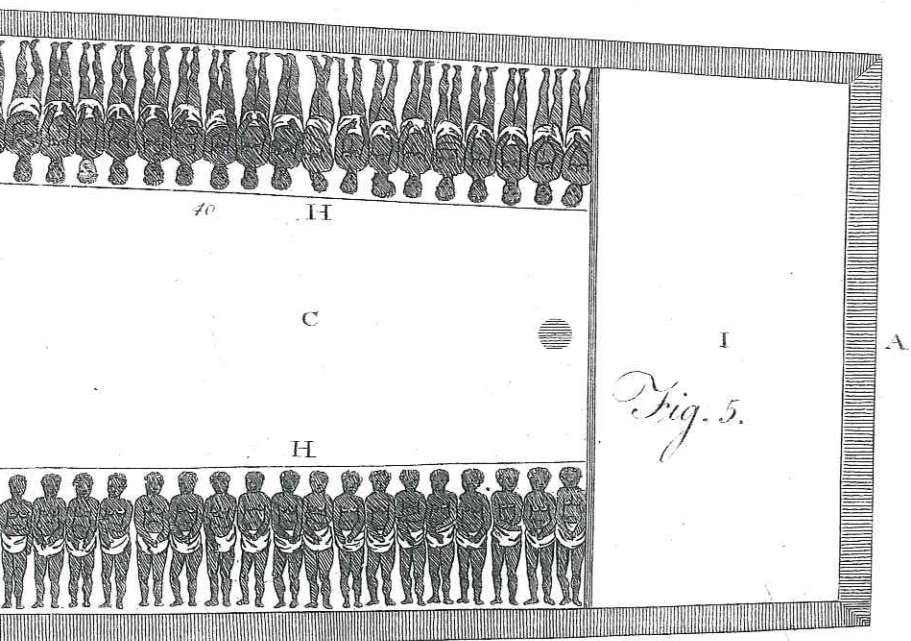
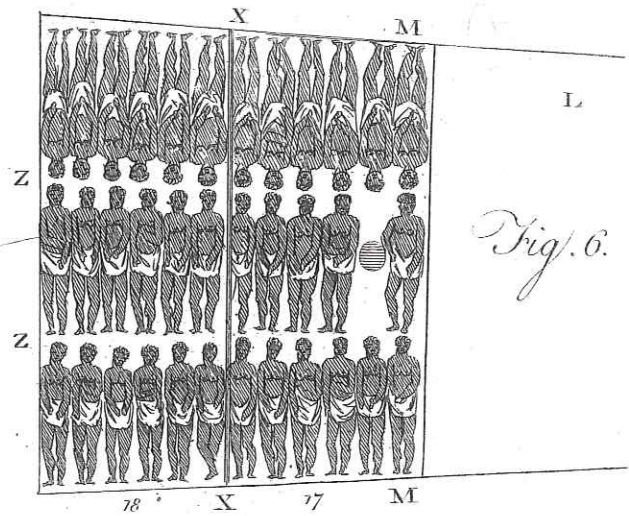
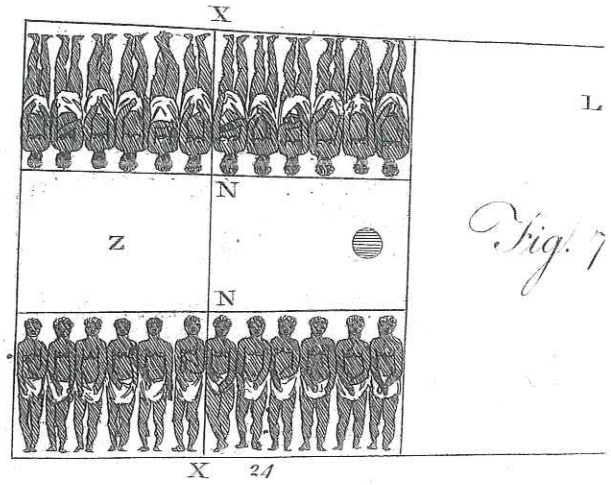
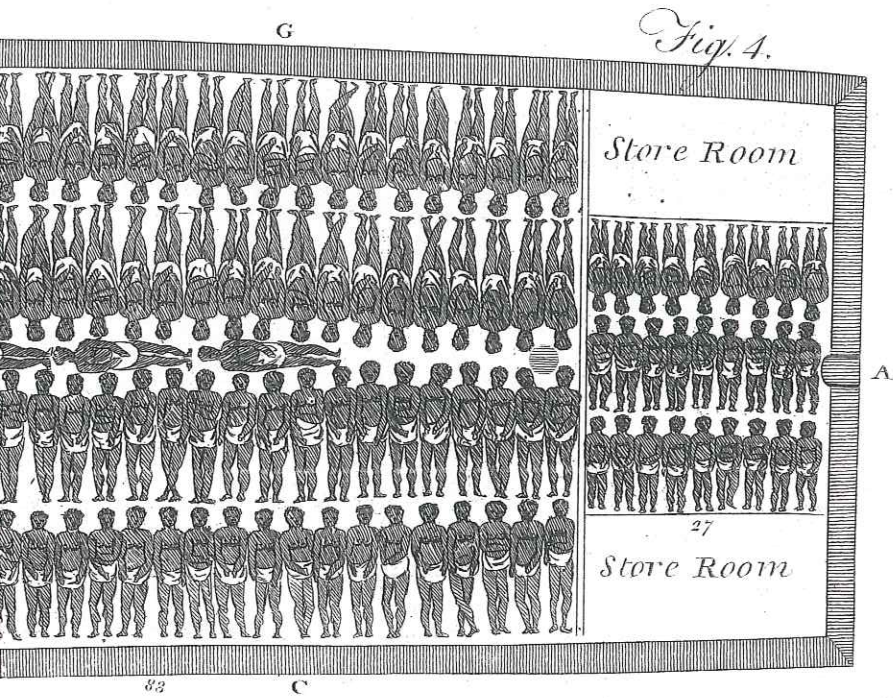
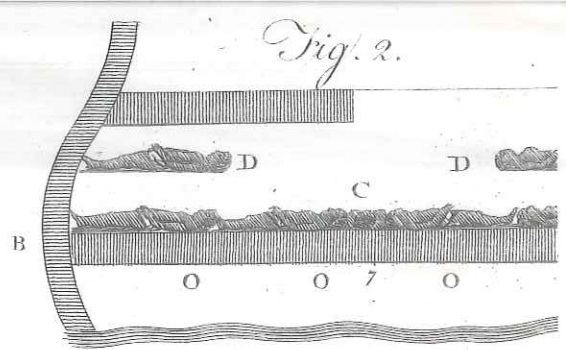
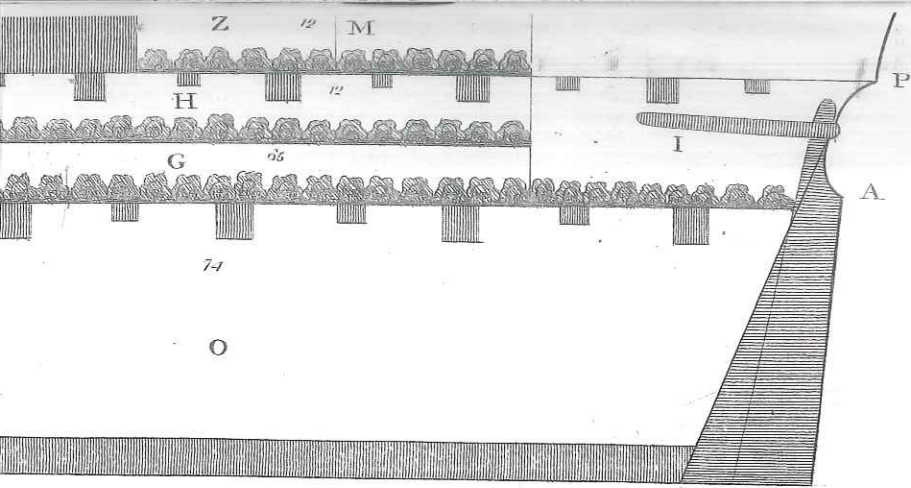
ATF-393

Note: Mr. Westerman's  
a large fold out  
clanks on 1808 (London),  
before p. 110-111









Search Result -- Quick Search

Viewing record 6 of 8 from catalog.

Check here to mark this record for Print/Capture

Call number: HT1052.5 .C55

Author: Clementi, Hebe.

Title: La abolición de la esclavitud en America Latina / Hebe Clementi.

Publication info: Buenos Aires : Editorial La Pléyade, [1974]

Description: 219 p. : 21 cm.

Note: Bibliography : p. 209-218

Subject: Slavery--Latin America.

Subject: Blacks--Latin America.

Subject: Slaves--Emancipation.

Alderman Material Location

HT1052.5 .C55 BOOK Alderman Library Stacks

Bram 3/8/06

No ill., biblio. little help



# THE MARINER'S MUSEUM

- Home
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- Combined Search
- MARC Display
- MARC Download

<p><b>Title:</b> <u>Narrative of the shipwreck of the Sophia, on the 30th of May, 1819, on the western coast of Africa,, and of the captivity of apart of the crew in the desert of Sahara / with engravings by Charles Cochelet, ancient paymaster-general in Catalonia, and one of the sufferers.</u></p> <p><b>Author:</b> <u>Cochelet, Charles.</u></p> <hr/> <p><b>Publisher:</b> London : Printed for Sir Richard Phillips &amp; Co., 1822.</p> <p><b>Collation:</b> [2], 118 p., [8] leaves of plates (some folded) : ill., map ; 23 cm.</p> <p><b>Series:</b> <u>New voyages and travels ; v. 6, no. 5</u></p> <p><b>Subject:</b> <u>Sophia (Brig)</u></p> <p><b>Subject:</b> <u>Shipwrecks.</u></p> <p><b>Subject:</b> <u>Africa, West -- Description and travel.</u></p>	<p><b>Location Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o RARE.....</li> <li>o G530.S7 C6</li> </ul> <p><i>4/30/04 -  Several neat engravings of area around Morocco or desert, but not really necessary for website - no scans requested</i></p>
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Find: Titles  
Authors that contain | v the word(s) charles cochelet Search  
Subjects  
Notes

Return 10 | v per page.

All Locations Set Limits.  
ARTICLE.....  
CLIPPINGS.....

Search Result -- Quick Search

Viewing record 1 of 1 from catalog.  
 Check here to mark this record for Print/Capture  
 Call number: F 2263 .C65 1825  
 Author: **Cochrane, Charles Stuart.**  
 Title: Journal of a residence and travels in Colombia during the years 1823 and 1824.  
 Publication info: London, Printed for H. Colburn, 1825.  
 Description: 2 v. fronts. (v. 1, col. port.) fold. map. 19 cm.  
 Subject: Colombia--Description and travel.  
 Subject: Colombia--Social life and customs.  
 Subject: Colombia--History--War of Independence, 1810-1822.

SPEC-COLL--



Location: SC-STKS --  
 Library has: v.1-2  
 Special Collections Material Location  
 F 2263 .C65 1825 RAREBOOK Special Collections SC-STKS

Hay church y16 C64 - 6/12/00 Brady no images  
JCB D825.C663 ← same




(4) ~~file~~  
See LCP file

The Library Company of Philadelphia Online Catalog

Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia  
- Author: "Lopez" -- Title: 12 of 29

Options  se Labeled Forma

Bottom 

Check - this  
were not done -  
not on original list

PREV NEXT  
First   Last

10/25/02

(query - were these done  
photographed?) NO

Format: Book

Title: Código formado por los negros de la isla de Santo Domingo de la parte francesa hoi estado de Hayti : sancionado por Henrique Cristoval, presidente y generalísimo / Traducido del frances por D. Juan López Cancelada, redactor de la Gazeta de Nueva España. Con los retratos de los principales gefes de la insurreccion.

Imprint: Cádiz : Con licencia, impreso por Quintana, 1810.

Description: viii, [9]-103, [1] p., [5] plates (ports.) ; 21 cm. (4to)

Notes: Errata p. 103.

Notes: Includes brief biographical information about Louverture, Dessalines, Cristophe, El Mentor, and Biassou.

Notes: Not in Lib. Company. Afro-Americana.

Local Notes: LCP AR 1989 pp. 27-29.

Subject: Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, 1758-1806.

Subject: Toussaint Louverture, 1743?-1803.

Subject: Biassou, fl. 1794.

Subject: El Mentor.

Subject: Henri Christophe, King of Haiti, 1767-1820.

Subject: Blacks.

Subject: Haiti --History --Revolution, 1791-1804.

Subject: Haiti --Constitutions.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Co-Creator: López Cancelada, Juan, b. 1765, trans.

Local Entry: Imprint: Cadiz. 1810.

System No.: PALR89-B2456

2/11/03 - LCP - rechecked  
book - forgot about this

a number of portraits of  
various members of  
Haitian revolution


---

taking p 10 - BIASSOU ✓  
12 - LOUVERTURE ✓  
14 - EL CIDAD ✓  
16 - DESSALINES ✓

Holdings

Library Co. of Philadelphia Books: Rare Am 1810 Cod 13650.Q 1 (My Library)

PREV NEXT

Top 

First   Last



by the Secretary of the A.M.E. Church John Moultrie one of the Black man Brown July 16th 1865."

Jan Flores, archivist at the Georgia Historical Society, helped us considerably in investigating this book. She demonstrated that "Symms" on the title page was a misprint, and provided us with useful information on both the publisher and the recipient. Simms was born a slave in the Savannah area in 1823. A good carpenter, he earned enough to purchase his freedom in 1857 and became a leader in the First African Baptist Church. By 1863 he was a licensed preacher, but that same year was caught teaching slaves to read. Simms left for Boston early in 1864, where he was ordained a minister. He served briefly in the Union army and returned to Savannah in February 1865 commissioned by the American Baptist Home Mission Society to work with freedmen. In 1865 and 1866, Simms was the primary organizer of schools for blacks in the Savannah area. He was active in a variety of business ventures including, briefly, publishing. He was also active in Republican politics as a state legislator and a county judge. We knew of him through his book in our collection, *The First Colored Baptist Church in North America* (Philadelphia, 1888), mentioned in our 1985 *Annual Report*.

The recipient of this book was Anthony Desverney, a free black born in Charleston in 1831. Desverney was a prominent and successful merchant in Savannah in the later 1860s. The inscription in the book places him at Edisto Island, S.C. in the summer of 1865. Edisto and adjacent islands were centers of freedmen education and resettlement efforts, in which Desverney was obviously involved.

No doubt there is a connection between Redpath and Simms and the production of this edition of Brown's book. Simms and Redpath may have met in Boston. They both traveled South in February of 1865, Redpath to become Superintendent of Education in occupied Charleston, and Simms to organize schools for freedmen in Savannah. In one form or another this unique edition of *The Black Man* may have traveled with them — as stereotyped plates, printed sheets, or finished volumes with Simms' imprint.

Was this edition published for use in the freedmen's schools? Possibly, but we don't think so. Unlike Lydia Maria Child's *The Freedman's Book* (Boston, 1865), a collection of essays specifically

Written by Phil Lapsanley

Annual Report of the LCCP for the year 1989  
Ph. Lapsanley, 1990

published for use in freedmen's schools, Brown's book is not a didactic work. We think it likelier that Simms published this work for readers like himself and Desverney, Southern blacks who struggled against enormous odds to obtain freedom and education under the thumb of the slave regime. Though Brown writes of such historical figures as Phillis Wheatley, Crispus Attucks, Benjamin Banneker, Toussaint Louverture and others, about three-quarters of his subjects were alive and active at the time of publication. Simms, we think, published this book to introduce his Southern black colleagues to their notable contemporaries. New times require new texts, and a new class of people require new heroes and role models. This rare edition of *The Black Man* — about half a dozen copies survive — is a paper monument to Southern blacks' hopes for the promises and possibilities of freedom.

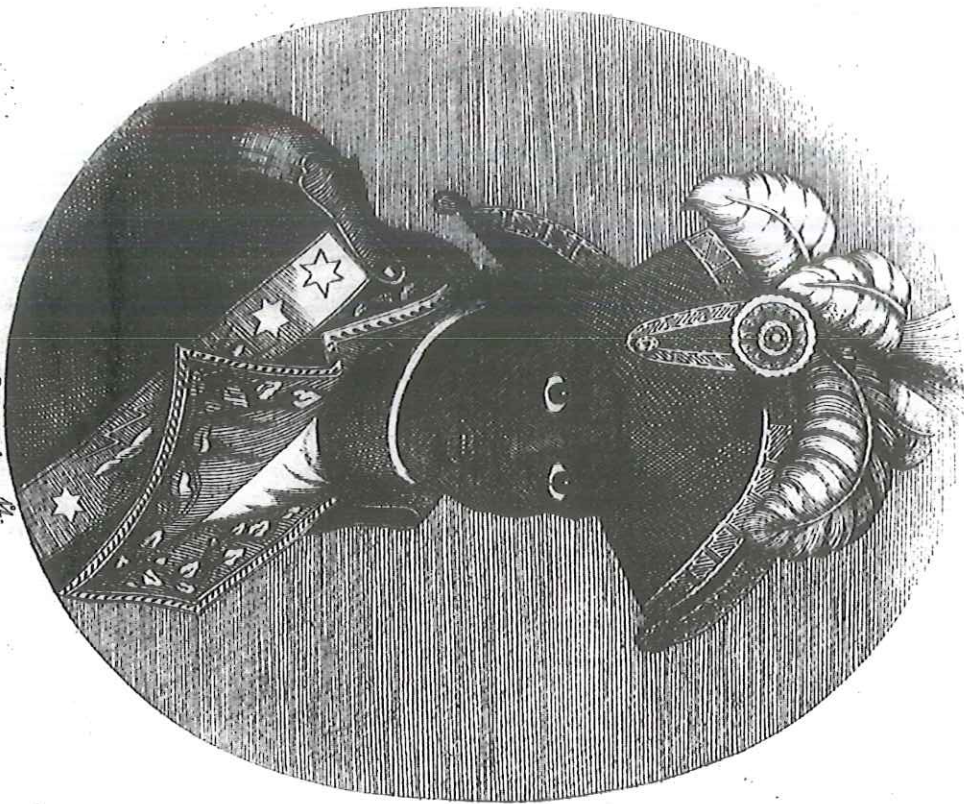
Another war, on another continent, over half a century earlier, generated another printed example of black accomplishment, *Codigo Formado por los Negros de la Isla de Santo Domingo de la Parre Francesa Hoi Estado de Hayti* . . . (Cadiz, 1810), published and in part written by the peripatetic Juan Lopez Cancelada, formerly editor of the Mexico City newspaper *Gazeta de Nueva Espana*.

*Codigo* reprints a translation of the Haitian Constitution and laws of 1807, preceded by Cancelada's essay on the black revolution, generally lauding Haiti's black rebel leaders and denouncing the duplicity and violence of the pro-slave French. Five engraved portraits of the leading revolutionaries enhance this handsome publication, bound complete with its original decorative paste paper wrappers.

With Napoleon's brother on the Spanish throne and his army occupying the country, French control of Spanish destiny seemed secure, until the bloody popular uprising of May 2, 1808. In a costly effort, Napoleon made short work of the Spanish regular forces but, as in Haiti, suffered persistent attacks by small but determined guerilla groups.

In the still-free Southern port city of Cadiz, in 1810, an assorted group of patriots and reformers gathered to plan resistance against the French and consider the political future of liberated Spain. They revived the moribund Cortez, revitalizing it as a governing parliamentary body, and began the discussions and debates that led





*Représenté par M.*  
**LOUVERTURE**  
*Capitain de Guardias de Piason, y despues General  
 en Jefe de la Isla de Sto Domingo. fue arrestado y llevado  
 a Francia*

Toussaint Louverture. One of five engraved portraits of Haitian leaders in *Código Formado por los Negros de la Isla de Santo Domingo* (Cadiz, 1810).

to the Spanish constitution of 1812. To that discussion Juan Lopez Cancelada, like many early French revolutionaries a liberal monarchist, contributed his essay and translation of the Haitian documents. The black revolution and its leaders were presented as models for a successful popular resistance movement against a superior, modern army. Haiti's Constitution and early laws, establishing a strong central authority, were offered as models for building a new nation. For a time, the usually excoriated slave revolutionaries of St. Domingue offered guidance to revolutionary Spaniards contemplating their future. *Código* is an artifact of that early Spanish liberation movement.

An artifact of a different sort is our broadside, *Grand Bobalition of Slavery! By de Africum Shocietee* (Boston, [1820]), in which the efforts of Boston's free blacks to build and maintain their community are derided and denounced by whites who increasingly feared job competition and the presence of blacks in their midst.

"Abolition of Slave Trade," reads a headline in Boston's *Columbian Centinel* for July 6, 1808. "The Africans and their descendants of Africa propose to celebrate on the 14th day of July the auspicious ana of the abolition of the traffic in human flesh." This was the beginning of an annual celebration of the end of the slave trade by the Boston black community, a celebration marked by prayer meetings, parades, banquets, public gatherings, and oratory. For Boston blacks July 14 was the celebratory substitute for the Fourth of July.

At some later date, this annual festival became the object of what may be the earliest consistent vein of black caricature, in a series of annual broadsides, of which our 1820 version is an early example. In the crudest dialect caricature, this broadside makes fun of the black celebration by presenting speeches, toasts, poems, and songs with malapropic pretentiousness characteristic of the dialect caricature of blacks throughout the 19th century. Readers of last year's *Annual Report* may recall that we were impressed by the enormous volume of anti-black caricature, in myriad forms. We suspect that, in these broadsides, we are looking at its beginnings.

For several years we have corresponded with colleagues at the Library of Congress, the Boston Public Library, and the American Antiquarian Society, and with other scholars, and have learned of



*no neg*

*Scans (1)  
note the title*

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Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia  
<All Headings> "slavery" -- Title 1109 of 6043

Options: Use Labeled Format

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First   Last

*LCP-18*

**Format:** Book

**Author:** Codman, John, 1814-1900.

**Title:** Ten months in Brazil : with incidents of voyages and travels, descriptions of scenery and character, notices of commerce and productions, etc. / By John Codman.

**Imprint:** Boston : Lee and Shepard, 1867.

**Description:** 208, [8] p. (last p. blank), [6] leaves of plates : ill. ; 20 cm.

**Notes:** With frontispiece.

**Notes:** Publisher's catalog final 7 pages.

**Citations:** Smith, H.F. Amer. travellers abroad, C81

**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2490

**Local Notes:** LCP copy imperfect: lacking title page.

**Subject:** Blacks --Brazil.

**Subject:** Slavery --Brazil.

**Subject:** Voyages and travels.

**Subject:** Brazil --Description and travel.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:MASS. Boston. 1867.

**System No.:** PALR92-B1644

*illustrations to be scanned  
p. 20 "Coasting at St. Thomas"  
See description, pp. 17-18  
only one illustration of rise*

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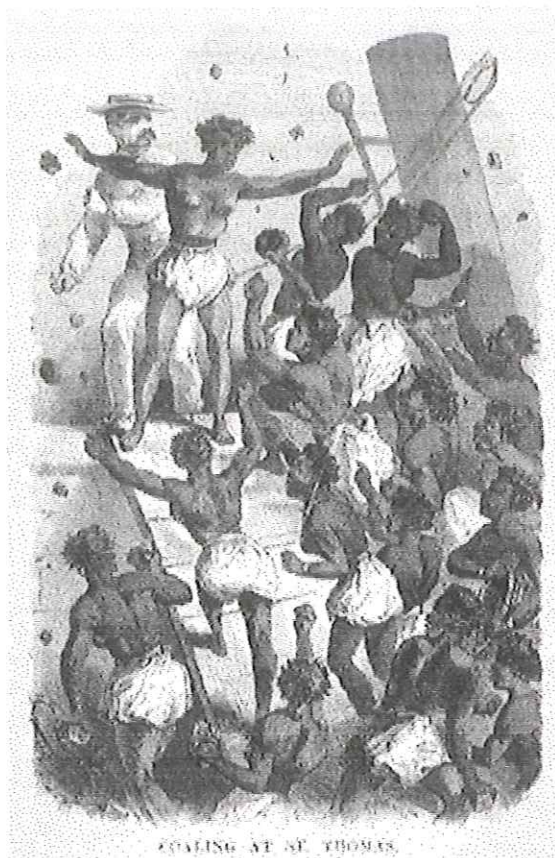
First   Last

Auto-Graphics, Inc. Pomona, California. © 1995 - 2002 All rights reserved.



file

## The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

*Loading Coal on a Steamer, St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, 1864*

LOADING AT ST. THOMAS.

Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

**Source**

John Codman, *Ten months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), facing p. 20.

**Comments**

On a voyage from New York to Brazil in late 1864, the author's ship stopped at St. Thomas. Steamers there took on coal, and although slavery had been abolished in the Danish West Indies in 1848, the scene he describes could have taken place in the later years of the slave period. "The work upon coal at St. Thomas is done exclusively by women . . . When we were ready for our coal . . . these women threw into the hold on the first day over three hundred tons. Each of them brought upon her head a basket of the average weight of eighty pounds. They came in a single file, in one continual stream . . . As they dumped the contents of their baskets, they passed around the hatchways, and returned to the dock by the other plan of the stage, avoiding those who were coming on board" (pp. 17-18).

**Acknowledgement**

The Library Company of Philadelphia

Mime-Version: 1.0  
X-Sender: hopkinsd@imap4.exchange.umkc.edu  
Date: Thu, 5 Dec 2002 20:36:31 -0600  
To: H-Net Network on Caribbean Studies <H-CARIBBEAN@h-net.msu.edu>  
From: Daniel Hopkins <hopkinsd@umkc.edu>  
Subject: Re: steamboats ?  
Cc: jh3v@virginia.edu  
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 06 Dec 2002 02:31:56.0954 (UTC) FILETIME=[A58E87A0:01C29CCF]

According to Erik Goebel, "Shipping through the port of St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, 1816-1917", in International Journal of Maritime History, VI, No. 2, December, 1994, pp. 155-173, on p. 158, "The first steamer-- an American-owned craft--called at St. Thomas in 1823. But it was the decision in 1839 by the new Royal Mail Steam Packet Company to dispatch its steamers directly to St. Thomas from Southampton, a seventeen-day journey, which really marked the coming of the age of steam. Royal Mail's decision put the Danish island at the centre of its vast web of lines. At Charlotte Amalie four smaller ships awaited to depart for a variety of destinations in the Caribbean and Central America."

On p. 164, Goebel says, "Except for Royal Mail's liners, few cargo steamers called at St. Thomas before 1860. As late as 1856, such vessels comprised only 0.6% of all entrances and clearances. But shipping was poised on the brink of major shift: by 1864 cargo steamers accounted for two percent of harbor movements and ten percent of total tonnage using the port."

*Slave abolition 1848*

Mr. Goebel, an archivist at the Danish National Archives, is still working on the history of the harbor of St. Thomas: he can be reached at eg@ra.sa.dk.

Dan Hopkins  
University of Missouri--Kansas City  
12/5/2002

*In 1839, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company  
Steamers started regularly  
going stopping at St. Thomas by  
1839-40*

~~Steamers~~

~~About~~

*In 1839, the Royal Mail  
Steam Packet Company decided to  
start direct steamers to St. Thomas  
(on E.P.I.)*



Delivered-To: h-caribbean@h-net.msu.edu  
MIME-Version: 1.0  
Approved-By: Rosanne Adderley <adderley@MAIL.H-NET.MSU.EDU>  
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From: Rosanne Adderley <adderley@mail.h-net.msu.edu>  
Subject: steamboats  
To: H-CARIBBEAN@h-net.msu.edu

Date: Thu, 05 Dec 2002 06:20:38 -0500  
From: Vibert Cambridge <cambridg@ohio.edu>

Hello Jerome:

I do have a reference that could be useful. It is from the  
Berbice Gazette, January 19, 1846.

That newspaper reprinted an article titled "Steam Slavers" from  
the Philadelphia U.S. Gazette. What follows is the short article that was  
originally datelined July 29, 1845 from Pernambuco:

"The steamer Cacique is lying here, fitted out for the coast of  
Africa, for slaves. She has had the propellers taken off, and both pairs  
are now lying on the wharf. She is to be driven by paddle-wheels on her  
sides, with buckets to unship, and her engines have been upon deck. These  
arrangements and changes have been contracted for by C. Starr and Co., and  
she will sail in a few days. The owner, captain, mate and hands are  
Portuguese, and the engineers and firemen are Americans. I believe this is  
the first experiment of slaving by steam, but there is no doubt that the  
example will be followed. She flies Brazilian colours, and is lying in  
company with two Brazilian men of war brigs, taking aboard her casks, &c.,  
and it is publicly known that she is going to the coast of Africa for a  
cargo of slaves."

I hope this is of some use.

Peace

Vibert C. Cambridge, Ph.D., Interim Chair  
Department of African American Studies  
Ohio University  
Athens, OH 45701  
740-593-9178 (office)

Delivered-To: h-caribbean@h-net.msu.edu  
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Approved-By: Rosanne Adderley <adderley@MAIL.H-NET.MSU.EDU>  
Date: Thu, 5 Dec 2002 17:41:50 -0500  
Reply-To: H-Net Network on Caribbean Studies <H-CARIBBEAN@h-net.msu.edu>  
Sender: H-Net Network on Caribbean Studies <H-CARIBBEAN@h-net.msu.edu>  
From: Rosanne Adderley <adderley@mail.h-net.msu.edu>  
Subject: steamboats  
To: H-CARIBBEAN@h-net.msu.edu

Date: Thu, 5 Dec 2002 11:11:52 +0100  
From: delaat@kitlv.nl —

I know that it was after 1850 that steamships came into the Caribbean ports.  
Maybe you can find more information in the following book:

Atlantic Port Cities; Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World,  
1650-1850  
Edited by Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss (1991)

Liza de Laat

Caribbean Studies, KITLV  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

On 4 Dec02 at 14:40, Rosanne Adderley wrote:

> Date: Tue, 3 Dec 2002 21:46:31 -0500  
> From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>  
>  
>  
> Does anyone know when steam ships first started coming into Caribbean  
> ports, especially the Danish islands, from North America; I know it was  
> sometime prior to 1864.  
>  
> Jerome Handler  
>  
> Jerome S. Handler  
> Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
> 145 Ednam Drive  
> Charlottesville, VA 22903-4629  
> phone: 434/924-3296  
> fax: 434/296-4714



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Call number: E 301 .C66 1883

Author: Coffin, Charles Carleton, 1823-1896.

Title: Building the nation:

Publication info: New York, Harper & brothers, 1883 [c1882]

Description: 485 p. incl. front., illus., plates, maps, facsim. 23 x 18 cm.

Subject: United States--History--1783-1865.

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E 301 .C66 1883

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2/12/02 - have 3 more, pp 391 (street scene) File: NW0299  
 76 (gin cotton) 300  
 76 (rice field) 301

2/12/02 - ~~add~~ to be scanned -  
 p. 420 ("plantation scene" - a Negro hut)

File: COFFIN - on file

*Handwritten scribble*

*file-printing services*

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Publication info: **New York, Harper & brothers, 1883 [c1882]**

Description: **485 p. incl. front., illus., plates, maps, facsim. 23 x 18 cm.**

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*p. 391*

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*Coffin 3*

*Not in volume*



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Subjects/Content
Full Record

MARC Tags

*Old times in the colonies, by Charles Carleton Coffin.*

*A colonial history of the U.S. written for children, probably illustrated*

LC Control Number: 02011829

Type of Material: Text (Book, Microform, Electronic, etc.)

Brief Description: **Coffin, Charles Carleton, 1823-1896**

Old times in the colonies, by Charles Carleton Coffin.  
 New York, Harper & brothers, 1881.  
 460 p. illus., plates, map. 23 cm.

*Livingstone Coffin illustration*

CALL NUMBER: E188 .C67  
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*"to be sold as slaves" p. 48 (p. 49)*

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*Old times in the colonies, by Charles Carleton Coffin ...*

LC Control Number: 08022253

Type of Material: Text (Book, Microform, Electronic, etc.)

Brief Description: Coffin, Charles Carleton, 1823-1896.

Old times in the colonies, by Charles Carleton Coffin ...

New York, London, Harper & Brothers [c1908]

460 p. incl. front., illus., plates, maps. 24 cm.

*P. 48 - (lacking p. 49)  
to be sold as spare*

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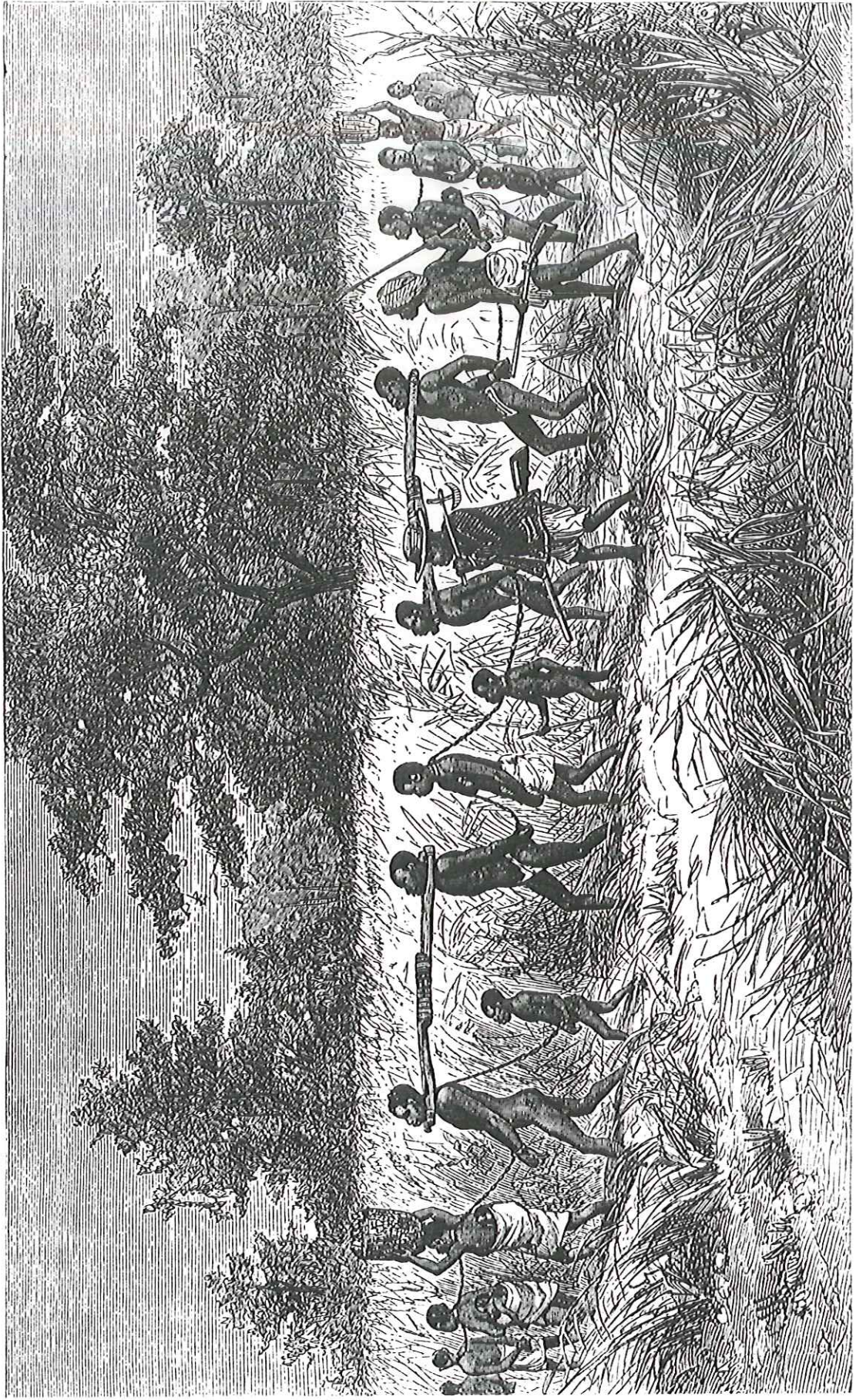
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(over)  
(lost  
over)  
Justice

Coffin, image 7 of Slave Trade illustrated  
Charles C. Coffin, Old Times in the Colonies  
Hager & Briss, N.Y. 1880, p. 618

Worcester



"TO BE SOLD AS SLAVES."

Worcester  
1880  
3881



Charles C. Coppin,  
Old Times in the Colonies  
N.Y., Houghton and Boston,  
1881

See V. 115 for microfilm

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Humberg

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SUBJECT COPY NEG. - from Graphic Arts  
Slide - "Taking the Slaves to Market" -

Old Times in the Colonies -

A.V. Misc. Prod. No. 13-1810

Chas. C. Coppin - N.Y.: Harper

+ Bros. - 1880 P. 48



Monday Caption on website -

see Slam Trade, cattle, week 7

Title - ~~OK~~ OK

Description ~~DE~~ Man looked by Postal (see), children or women  
attended by chains (see)

Comments:

~~Per the Captions volume or it may be derived from another, perhaps earlier, album in description, source~~

Source: CAPS - 1870 - gun and return

also published in

~~US 1870s?~~

Hugh T. Hovans, 1997, p. 48

Andrew H. Hovans, 1994 p. 23

Slide 33

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WORD(S)  Entire Collection

*Tried: (coggeshall thirty six voyages) no records found... Your search query has been changed... Tried: (coggeshall and thirty and six and voyages)  
 1 result found. Sorted by Title*

Author Coggeshall, George, 1784-1861  
 Title **Thirty-six voyages to various parts of the world, made between the years 1799 and 1841 [microform] / By George Coggeshall ; selected from his ms. journal of eighty voyages**  
 Edition 3d ed. Rev., cor. and enl., with additional notes and explanations  
 Published New York : The author, G.P. Putnam, agent, 1858  
 Descript'n 583 p. : front. (port.) plates

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Series Library of American civilization ; LAC 10019  
 Note Microfiche. Chicago : Library Resources,inc., 1970. 1 microfiche ; 8 x 13 cm. (Library of American civilization ; LAC 10019) s1970 ilun b  
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COKE

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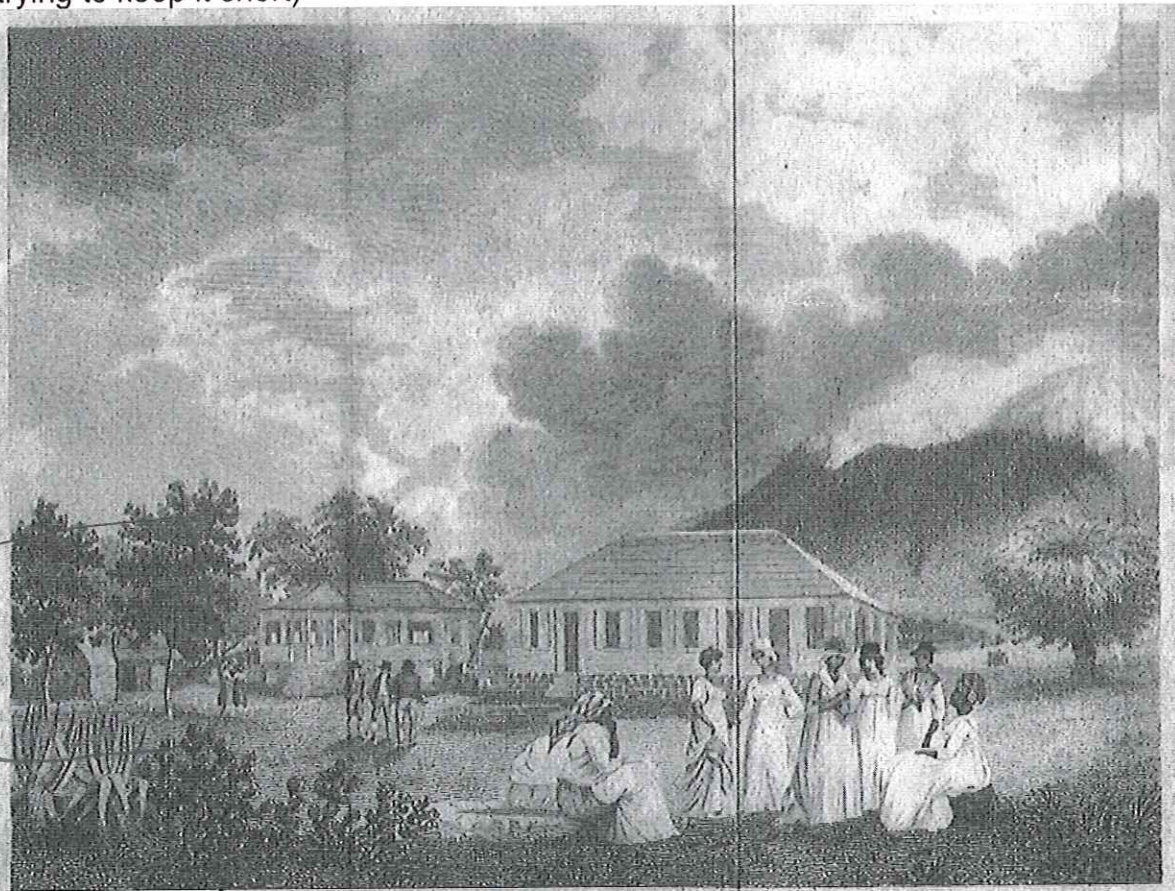
From: Leslie Tobias Olsen <Leslie\_Tobias-Olsen@brown.edu>  
Subject: Re: how are  
Date: December 8, 2006 3:18:35 PM EST  
To: "Jerome Handler" <jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu>  
1 Attachment, 187 KB Save Slideshow

File: COKE

OK, are you interested in this sort of image--it is from Thomas Coke, History of the West Indies, 1810 or so? You have it at Alderman.

I hear that not too many people have applied for the Latin American curator job. Oh, what shall we do?

Leslie  
(trying to keep it short)



View of the METHODIST CHAPEL in CHARLESTOWN in the Island of NEVIS.

12/14/06- This image does not appear to be in any of the 3 volumes in the Coles report, BUT Nevis is treated in vol. 3 (see index)

Nevis treated in vol. 3, pp 3 pl.

~~over~~

JCB  
10/16/01

See other sheet

File  
Coke-part 1

FILE: COKE

Coke, Thomas

A History of the West Indies. 3 vols.  
London, 1808 [1810, 1811]

BL

Vol. 1 (1808) Engraved map of W.I. a printspiece  
(same in JCB copy) - JCB copy also has View of Roanoke River (same  
also in Coll request 1971)

Vol. 2 (1810) ~~(\*)~~ Foldout printspiece engraving: "A view of the  
Methodist Chapel in Charlestown in the island of Nevis"  
(This is not in the JCB copy)

Chato + + +

Vol. 3 (1811) Has 2 foldout engraved drawings, a printspiece  
~~(\*)~~ 1) of Port St-George, Grenada (in JCB copy this is in  
vol. 2)  
The other shows small figures of slaves in foreground  
2) Town & harbor of Boaze-town

Above are only illustrations in the volumes in the BL

~~(\*)~~ Possibly get copies of Vol. 2 prints

Check ~~EE~~ & JCB catalogs

JCB  
D 808  
C 682

Note: vols 1-3 which figure notes above are BL copy;  
in the JCB copy, vol. 2 contains ~~the~~ foldout of Port St. George, Grenada.



~~Thomas Coke~~ ~~1810~~ ~~1811~~ ~~1812~~ ~~1813~~ ~~1814~~ ~~1815~~ ~~1816~~ ~~1817~~ ~~1818~~ ~~1819~~ ~~1820~~ ~~1821~~ ~~1822~~ ~~1823~~ ~~1824~~ ~~1825~~ ~~1826~~ ~~1827~~ ~~1828~~ ~~1829~~ ~~1830~~ ~~1831~~ ~~1832~~ ~~1833~~ ~~1834~~ ~~1835~~ ~~1836~~ ~~1837~~ ~~1838~~ ~~1839~~ ~~1840~~ ~~1841~~ ~~1842~~ ~~1843~~ ~~1844~~ ~~1845~~ ~~1846~~ ~~1847~~ ~~1848~~ ~~1849~~ ~~1850~~ ~~1851~~ ~~1852~~ ~~1853~~ ~~1854~~ ~~1855~~ ~~1856~~ ~~1857~~ ~~1858~~ ~~1859~~ ~~1860~~ ~~1861~~ ~~1862~~ ~~1863~~ ~~1864~~ ~~1865~~ ~~1866~~ ~~1867~~ ~~1868~~ ~~1869~~ ~~1870~~ ~~1871~~ ~~1872~~ ~~1873~~ ~~1874~~ ~~1875~~ ~~1876~~ ~~1877~~ ~~1878~~ ~~1879~~ ~~1880~~ ~~1881~~ ~~1882~~ ~~1883~~ ~~1884~~ ~~1885~~ ~~1886~~ ~~1887~~ ~~1888~~ ~~1889~~ ~~1890~~ ~~1891~~ ~~1892~~ ~~1893~~ ~~1894~~ ~~1895~~ ~~1896~~ ~~1897~~ ~~1898~~ ~~1899~~ ~~1900~~ ~~1901~~ ~~1902~~ ~~1903~~ ~~1904~~ ~~1905~~ ~~1906~~ ~~1907~~ ~~1908~~ ~~1909~~ ~~1910~~ ~~1911~~ ~~1912~~ ~~1913~~ ~~1914~~ ~~1915~~ ~~1916~~ ~~1917~~ ~~1918~~ ~~1919~~ ~~1920~~ ~~1921~~ ~~1922~~ ~~1923~~ ~~1924~~ ~~1925~~ ~~1926~~ ~~1927~~ ~~1928~~ ~~1929~~ ~~1930~~ ~~1931~~ ~~1932~~ ~~1933~~ ~~1934~~ ~~1935~~ ~~1936~~ ~~1937~~ ~~1938~~ ~~1939~~ ~~1940~~ ~~1941~~ ~~1942~~ ~~1943~~ ~~1944~~ ~~1945~~ ~~1946~~ ~~1947~~ ~~1948~~ ~~1949~~ ~~1950~~ ~~1951~~ ~~1952~~ ~~1953~~ ~~1954~~ ~~1955~~ ~~1956~~ ~~1957~~ ~~1958~~ ~~1959~~ ~~1960~~ ~~1961~~ ~~1962~~ ~~1963~~ ~~1964~~ ~~1965~~ ~~1966~~ ~~1967~~ ~~1968~~ ~~1969~~ ~~1970~~ ~~1971~~ ~~1972~~ ~~1973~~ ~~1974~~ ~~1975~~ ~~1976~~ ~~1977~~ ~~1978~~ ~~1979~~ ~~1980~~ ~~1981~~ ~~1982~~ ~~1983~~ ~~1984~~ ~~1985~~ ~~1986~~ ~~1987~~ ~~1988~~ ~~1989~~ ~~1990~~ ~~1991~~ ~~1992~~ ~~1993~~ ~~1994~~ ~~1995~~ ~~1996~~ ~~1997~~ ~~1998~~ ~~1999~~ ~~2000~~ ~~2001~~ ~~2002~~ ~~2003~~ ~~2004~~ ~~2005~~ ~~2006~~ ~~2007~~ ~~2008~~ ~~2009~~ ~~2010~~ ~~2011~~ ~~2012~~ ~~2013~~ ~~2014~~ ~~2015~~ ~~2016~~ ~~2017~~ ~~2018~~ ~~2019~~ ~~2020~~ ~~2021~~ ~~2022~~ ~~2023~~ ~~2024~~ ~~2025~~

Thomas Coke, Host. of the West India, 1808 [1810, 1811]

JCB col 16/or

There are differences in number of illustrations found in BL & JCB copies

✓ Vol. 1 - BL only has map of the W.I. in frontispiece while JCB copy has same map; also fold out engraving, "View of Roaring River ... St. Anne (Jamaica) and "The Methodist Chapel ... in Kingston Jamaica" (latter 2 are NOT in BL copy)

✓ Vol. 2 - BL copy has fold out frontispiece engraving, "View of Methodist Chapel in Charleston" - NOT in JCB copy -

Vol. 3 -

A View of the Methodist Chapel in Charleston in the Island of Nevis - <sup>copy title page</sup> frontispiece in Vol. 3 of JCB copy, but frontispiece in Vol. 2 of BL copy - also JCB copy has large fold out, "View of ... Basseterre ... St. Christopher."

Methodist chapel

vol.	JCB copy	BL copy
	3 (1811)	2 (1810)
	<del>2 (1810)</del>	

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This image does not appear in any of the volumes of the Case reports

reprinted Case, London, 1971

news tract vol. 3, pp. ~~2-3~~ 3-35

Coke visited Newis several times in late 1780s + early 1790s - during which period the Methodist congregation was established on the island, most of whom were slaves -

original structure of the <sup>shown here has</sup> chapel ~~was~~ <sup>built</sup> ~~around 1790~~ <sup>around 1797</sup>

by 1802, the congregation numbered ~~900~~ <sup>nine hundred</sup> "coloured people and blacks" (p. 27, vol. 2 900)

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# A SLAVER'S LOGBOOK

or 20 Years' Residence  
in Africa



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*The Original Manuscript by*  
**CAPTAIN THEOPHILUS CONNEAU**

1976

PRENTICE-HALL, INC., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Conneau



## Introduction by Mabel M. Smythe

For more than a hundred years, historians have relied upon the Brantz Mayer-edited version of Captain Theophilus Conneau's account of his adventures in the African slave trade as a source of authentic information about that infamous traffic in human beings.

"Canot," the spelling of the author's name in the earlier versions, is a homonym meaning *dinghy* in French, a clever pseudonym to disguise the Captain's association with an illegal calling and so avoid embarrassment to his family. According to Malcolm Cowley's introduction to the 1928 edition, which leaves out or shortens some of Mayer's passages, "Canot" was "lounging about the wharves of Baltimore cadging . . . drinks" when he renewed his acquaintance with Dr. James Hall, philanthropist, founder and first governor of the colony of resettled slaves at Cape Palmas in Liberia. Dr. Hall, whom Conneau had met on the Guinea Coast a decade earlier, suggested that the Captain write his memoirs, introduced him to Brantz Mayer, a "prominent" journalist, and—Cowley speculates—probably provided funds for the cause.

Cowley was undoubtedly misinformed about Captain Conneau's condition. He could hardly have been a drunkard on the waterfront in 1853 and only a year later the possessor of a work based on the present manuscript ready for publication (after extensive further editing by Mayer), having successfully arranged for publication in England and France as well as in the United States. His presentation to Napoleon III by his brother, chief physician to the Emperor, and his subsequent conversation with the Empress Eugénie—who, like her husband, expressed interest in the book—suggest a totally different human being from the "physical wreck" put forward by Cowley.

If Phyllis and Howard S. Mott, customers of the respected old bookselling shop of W. H. Lowdermilk, had not been favored by the owner, Parke Jones, the manuscript of *A Slaver's Log Book, or 20 Years' Residence in Africa* might well have been lost when the building was razed to make way for construction of the Washington, D. C., subway. Fortunately, Mr. Jones permitted the Motts to poke around in the small back room where he kept his old books and manuscripts. It was there, according to Mrs. Mott, that they found the original Conneau manuscript in a dust-laden "pink cardboard box, tied with an orange woven tape," looking as if it had not been disturbed for years.

Some years before, Jones had purchased the papers of the Brantz Mayer estate. Mayer, in editing the 1854 edition of the "Canot" iii

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*A Slaver's Log Book, or 20 Years' Residence in Africa*

By Captain Theophilus Conneau

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memoirs, had "improved" on the original by omitting some incidents and details, as well as by rewriting in his own somewhat florid style Conneau's simpler and more direct account. (Mayer had also written to a number of Maryland Colonization Society officials and to ex-governors of Liberia, all of whom attested that Conneau's recollections were authentic as far as they knew.)

A great many popular accounts of slavery say little of the slave trade, partly because the legal prohibition against it after January 1, 1808, had driven its operations into secrecy and forced American traders to seek other flags for their ships. The British laws against the slave trade in 1807 and 1811, like their American counterpart, could hardly be enforced effectively without patrolling the seas, preferably with international cooperation. The British naval strength enabled the British to engage in search and seizure on the high seas; and in the absence of a clearcut agreement which might have been proclaimed in the Declaration of Vienna in 1814, bilateral treaties were concluded between Portugal, Spain, Brazil, and others on the one hand, and Britain on the other. An 1845 treaty between Britain and France established some cooperation; the United States, however, refused to allow British search and seizure until 1862.

With this legal background the reader can better understand Captain Conneau's possession and use of Danish, Portuguese, and Spanish flags. On several occasions he was threatened by or even forced to submit to search and seizure by French and British ships. His entire career in slave trading was illegal, according to American and British law, since he was born after January 1, 1808, and made his first voyage in 1819 in an American ship. By the 1820s, when he became involved in the slave trade, the British and Spanish governments had agreed that each would have the right to search and seize (in specified waters) ships engaged in the slave trade. The Spanish flag vessels used by Conneau were clearly vulnerable.

Why did the slave trade persist in the face of the laws and international treaties against it? Why would a man of Captain Conneau's abilities and apparent sensibilities engage in such a calling? Why would he be received, as he reports, with cordiality and kindness by officials with reason to suspect or even know the source of his income and its illegality?

In the welter of philosophical arguments for and against the slave trade, the one cogent and inescapable argument in favor of it is easily hidden: in spite of its risks, illegality, and blighted social status, slave trading was enormously profitable. Despite the popular assertion that free labor was cheaper, the price of slaves continued to go up and to compensate for the risks of the trade.

The economics of the slave trade implied the profitability of slavery in at least some of its uses, notwithstanding the elaborate assertions of planters and others that slave labor was financially more burdensome than its free counterpart. Given the cultural context of a slave society in which social status was related to the size of slaveholdings and a child slave might be a suitable present for a lady, decisions regarding the purchase and use of slaves were frequently made on a social or psychological, rather than an economic, basis. On the other hand, defenses of slavery were particularly forceful when abolition threatened the sometimes dazzling profits in sugar and cotton.

Although Conneau's arithmetic leaves something to be desired, he demonstrates satisfactorily that profits were enormous. On the *Fortuna*, fitted out in 1827 and used for a voyage in which he had an interest, his calculations of a four months' round trip can be summarized as follows:

Income:	
Sale of cargo (217 slaves)	\$77,469
Proceeds from vessel sold at auction	3,950
Total Income	81,419
Less expenses:	
Vessel, fittings, cargo, wages	39,700
Net profit:	\$41,719

A profit in excess of one hundred percent in four months obviously sufficed to stifle a great many scruples. The profits were so high that a missionary from England "abandoned his profession for the more lucrative slave traffic" (p. 60), deserting his daughter and her mother, a mulatto woman, in Sierra Leone. On the other hand, the risks were great. Conneau describes an experience with another slave ship, the *Areostatico*, with a "choice cargo" of eighty adult slaves; the ship was never heard of again after she sailed.

Slave traders are easily imagined as evil, sadistic men, inured to human suffering and unmoved by the appeal of the vulnerable and helpless. The memoirs of an actual slave trader are a very different matter. Confronted with an ordinary human being who believes himself "civilized" and humane, who is horrified at being thought willing to let his slaves starve to death, but who is nevertheless able to deprive other human beings of their liberty, what is the reader to think?



For one thing, it is clear that Conneau—humanly enough—strives to present himself in a favorable light. For another, he does not even seem aware of his tendency to sensationalize reports of tribal wars and ceremonies—tribal wars are considered cruel and barbarous—while reacting defensively or insensitively to equally objectionable actions by whites. For example, the murder of a black boy who stands in the way of an extra profit on a damaged ship arouses little more than a casual comment from him.

The overriding lesson of *A Slave's Log Book* is that there is in a human being an enormous capacity for rationalization. Captain Conneau is no exception; and the motivation for rationalization was profit, so huge a profit that the avarice of traders could gloss over repellent conduct inconsistent with their protestations of Christianity: the flaunting of law, the dangers to their own lives and liberty, the viciousness with business associates, and the brutality to other human beings.

The rationalizations come easily—the assumption of white racial and cultural superiority, the titillating interpretations of tribal customs which indicate little or no curiosity regarding the values those customs expressed, the presumption that African behavior can appropriately be judged by the values of western civilization. Yet when the Captain judges the treatment of slaves, it is not by the standards that western civilization would apply to its own members, but by the conception of what slaves might expect or deserve—in the judgment of whites, of course. The notion of democracy does not interfere with his thinking; the application of such a concept to black “primitives” is out of the question. Nor is the sanctity of the family a problem: people who are not “civilized” are not expected to defend their wives and children from slavery—in fact they are punished cruelly for betraying any impulse in that direction.

Conneau is honest enough, however, to set forth the facts as he sees them. When he visits the Bager people in Africa and finds that they respect private property far better than the Europeans he knows, he indulges in a bit of irony and wonders, “Why . . . civilize this people and teach them Christian selfishness!” (p. 101). He obviously can hardly credit the fact that the possessions of a dead visitor to Africa have been kept for twelve years in readiness for the owner's friends to call for them (p. 102).

He is less forthright in yielding information regarding his personal feelings. Apparently a private person, he does not even allude to his marriage in the log proper, although the letters following the narrative mention a wife, Eliza.

Yet Conneau himself reports recoiling from the cruelty of slavery at his first experience with it in the East Indies, at the age of seventeen: “The sight of such barbarity made me blindly sick with

passion,” he recalls (p. 9). Yet such is the temptation of high profits that he goes into the slave trade, prospers, and quickly becomes rich—and defensive about “my abominable traffic,” arguing that it is to a slaver's advantage to keep his human cargo clean and properly fed in order to maximize profits (pp. 266—268). At the same time, he concedes that a plentiful supply of food for slaves is not usual, and alludes to such “forcible cruelties” as stowing slaves in a space too shallow to allow them to sit up and so close together that the head of one must be in the lap of another—this on one of his own ships, which he sees as considerably superior to the general run of slave vessels.

[He understands that it is cruel to beat (with a cat-o'-nine-tails) a slave who refuses food in an attempt at suicide, but adds this custom to the list of “unpleasant necessities,” along with the “disgusting duty” of branding slaves when several shippers consign them on the same ship.] As a presumed Roman Catholic in his early years, Conneau might be expected to react in some horror to the enormity of desperation that could drive a captive to prefer the mortal sin of suicide over life as a slave. That he instead calculates with little emotion the alternative courses of action to prevent slaves from starving themselves or leaping overboard suggests economic rather than religious concern on his part and calls into question his protestations that he is “humanitarian” and “civilized.”

Like other ethnocentrics, Conneau sees his own standards as absolute and applies them selectively. He refers to the “perfect state of nakedness” in an African ritual as “obscene” (p. 281), ignoring the inconsistency in his position when he and other slavers insist that slaves be shipped naked for reasons of sanitation, despite the protests of the women, who want to cover themselves with at least the small customary garment (p. 82).

People have asked why Africans themselves engaged in the slave trade. Given the function of slavery in African societies, the origin of their participation is not too difficult to understand.

First and foremost, slavery was not confused with the notions of superiority and inferiority invoked as justification for black slavery in America. On the contrary, it was not at all uncommon for African owners to adopt slave children or to marry slave women, who then became full members of the family. Slaves of talent accumulated property and in some instances reached the status of kings; Jaja of Opobo<sup>1</sup> (in Nigeria) is a case in point. Lacking contact with American slavery, African traders could be expected to assume that

<sup>1</sup>E. J. Alagoa, *Jaja of Opobo: The slave who became a king* [sic] (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970).



the lives of slaves overseas would be much as they were in Africa; they had no way of knowing that whites in America associated dark skins with sub-human qualities and status, or that they would treat slaves as chattels generation after generation. When Nigeria's Madame Tinabu, herself a slave trader, discovered the difference between domestic and non-African slavery, she became an abolitionist, actively rejecting what she saw as the corruption of African slavery by the unjust and inhumane habits of its foreign practitioners and by the motivation to make war for profit on the sale of captives.<sup>1</sup>

Slavery in Africa was punishment; as Conneau recognizes, it was meted out to violators of serious tabus, to criminals, and especially to enemies captured in war. Muslims in particular used slavery in lieu of a death sentence. Bondage instead of death was the punishment for truly heinous offenses, as well as a solution to the problem of getting rid of one's captured enemies, who might attack again if set free.

Conneau's attitudes toward color are suggested by a remark early in the narrative (p. 2) that he "could not endure" the black cook, "never having seen a Negro before but at a distance." His view of African culture is generally seen through a European filter; he constantly contrasts indigenous values and folkways with those of the West. He does not hesitate to make such sweeping generalizations as ". . . in all savage nations, the woman . . . has to support . . . her husband" (p. 323) or "all native Africans have an antipathy to hard labor" (p. 311).

Conneau, like many of his contemporary whites, is less horrified by the inhumanity of whites than by equivalent conduct from blacks themselves. He is also more concerned for property than for black persons, as is usual in the slave trade; he is more horrified by a counterfeiter's plan to steal the jewels of a monastery than by the death impulses of slaves. Again, he wishes to leave the slave trade, but has "still too great an amount of property under my charge . . . which could not be given up till invested in slaves" (p. 293). The pull of such gain is irresistible!

There is danger as well as information in the Conneau narrative: in describing for the reader the risks, travails, and experiences of a life so fraught with peril and rich rewards, the Captain's account—told by a natural story-teller who is not without humor and well-placed guile, and who takes care to portray himself with sufficient popular *machismo* and intelligence to excite admiration, yet not

<sup>1</sup>Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, *Eminent Nigerians of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

to appear excessive—may invest slave trading with the lure of romantic derring-do, color, and excitement. Yet, his sensitivity is not so high as to alert him to the contradictions and inconsistencies in his account; he blithely transmits what was, in the first half of the nineteenth century, conventional wisdom about "primitive" peoples, propagating unexamined stereotypes as truth and anthropological misinterpretations as authentic history. (Note, for example, his concept of cannibalism as a matter of everyday nourishment.) The reader, meanwhile, may be drawn to accept the most bizarre tales of primitive behavior as truth.

For example, Conneau relates an incident in which a wife and sister watch as their husband and brother is put to death for trying to escape. His implication is that they are unmoved by grief. In 1951, an American soldier in Japan made a similar remark about a mother who held her composure at the accidental death of her child; after a longer residence in that country he learned of the pride Japanese mourners take in reserving for private moments those displays of grief which in other cultures may be regarded as appropriate in public.

We have to examine the culture before we can interpret human behavior, and Captain Conneau falls neatly into a category with those television shows of crime and violence which, in portraying the "good guys" as followers of the viewer's values and the "bad guys" as transgressors of those cherished beliefs, ignore the fact that both have good and bad impulses and equal capacity to suffer pain, and thus leave us willing to accept and even applaud atrocious treatment of the "bad" and unfair privilege for the "good."

This is the ultimate danger of the Conneau treatise: it presents slavery as an understandable error, acceptable because the people enslaved were "barbarous" anyhow. It may make us view the human suffering of the slave trade as so variable that the abuses of "better" slaves (like Captain Conneau, of course) are really not worse than a good many other evils we see around us. As the Captain retorts to British officers examining his barracoon and "factory" (p. 268), he would be considerably more critical of the slave trade if the British were not doing worse things in India. This insidious poison—looking for worse offenses for comparison, so that one's own sins appear less significant—is all too human a technique for sidestepping responsibility, and Captain Conneau is thoroughly human.

It is understandable, but deplorable, that even in the last quarter of the twentieth century, American audiences may yet accept the Conneau that is presented to us as a popular swashbuckling hero without challenging the premise that if our hero is personable, then



the slave trade is somehow more acceptable. If he were less appealing, we would presumably be entitled to challenge his claim to humanitarian instincts and more likely to point out that they are certainly weaker than his cupidity.

Let us hope that historical scholars will be more analytical and will make full use of the detailed account of shipboard life and arrangements, of relations between slave traders on ships and those on shore, of the kinds of risks they ran and the human suffering they encountered or promoted, of the brutality extended on occasion to the crew as well as the cargo, and of the at least occasional pangs of guilt and shame that attended the complicity of an avowedly human person in a system of illegal and inhumane trade which he could not hope to control and therefore had to accept unless he also rejected the tempting rewards. In making his "honest" case, our author has, unwittingly or not, been effectively self-serving. We see what happened through his eyes, colored by his prejudices and predilections. And our own avarice and inhumanity may respond with empathy to his.

So to read Captain Conneau's account requires a tough, sophisticated, and disciplined mind, wary of the ready excuse and easily-swallowed racist beliefs in the story. But it is the immediacy of the narrative, the detail, the management of daily life; the risks, problems and physical inconveniences; the shortcomings of alternatives to the slave trade for a person of Conneau's background and experience, and ultimately his capacity to make us feel that we are witnesses to a historical period of immense interest that catches and holds us and makes us, for a time, his contemporaries.

For the historian, particularly the student of slavery, there will be particular interest in his discussion of the 1836 *Martinez de la Rosa* treaty and its effects on the slave trade, as well as of the descriptions of routines in managing slaves on board trading ships and on plantations. Conneau's not altogether disinterested view of the treatment of slaves, while expanding on the slave's more pleasant impressions at the expense of the more distressing experiences and feelings, nevertheless provides the kind of daily detail which is not easily found in one place. When slaves arrive on the plantation, the use of a bit of pageantry to foster the erroneous impression that slavery is a happy state of affairs, the technique of offering or receiving bribes, the procedure in feeding slaves on board ship, the method of landing slaves in Cuba, the segregation of menstruating women, the accustoming menu in the barracoons—all flesh out the information about the life of the slave between captivity and arrival in the New World.

Conneau's emphasis is on the general orderliness and on the logic of humane treatment, to be sure, but there shines the glow of truth in the picture of slaves lining up to pass by the rice pot at mealtime, scooping up a handful under the eye of a supervisor intolerant of hesitation or an attempt to get more than one handful. In the description of cramped space and inadequate ventilation on the slave ship one sees the growing frustration and desperation and horror which prompt men and women constantly treated as animals to become animals, scratching and pushing each other for a pitiful inch of space or a bit more distance from someone else's lower parts. The inhumanity of being perceived as cargo or chattel, to be stowed away in a ship like so many odd-shaped parcels with no room for personal choice or difference in habits or taste, hits the modern reader with a clarity unimagined (although perhaps not unimaginable) by Conneau in 1853.

Of the first-person accounts of slave trading which have survived, Conneau's is remarkable for its fullness of detail and sense of completeness in covering the entire process of capture, slave factory, Middle Passage, and sale. Richard Drake<sup>1</sup> and Thomas Branagan<sup>2</sup> document more of the cruelties suffered by slaves, as well as the freedom of the slave owner to abuse his/her chattels; they and others confirm some of the procedures (e.g., packing) described by Conneau. But their accounts are briefer and—particularly in Branagan's case—more entangled with polemic. Ultimately it is Conneau's account which offers the most abundant details about the slave trade, the source of tragedy for some fifteen million African captives—not to speak of additional millions of families disrupted or with members killed in the process—over a span of some four hundred years.

<sup>1</sup>Captain Richard Drake, *Revelations of a slave smuggler: being the autobiography of Capt. Richard Drake, an African trader for fifty years—from 1807 to 1857; during which period he was concerned in the transportation of half a million blacks from African coasts to America*, with a preface by his executor, Rev. Henry Byrd West, of the Protestant Home Mission. (New York: Robert M. DeWitt, Publisher, 1860.)

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Branagan, *The Penitential Tyrant; or, Slave Trader Reformed: a Pathetic Poem in Four Cantos*. (New York: Samuel Wood, 1807.)



## The Author's Preface

This memoir having been written at the request of several friends who have known me during my residence in Africa—to them I dedicate it. And if, in the perusal, the reader should not find the interest which the title indicates, I beg him to lay the blame to those same friends who have overrated my life of vicissitudes.

By affixing my true name to these memoirs, I hope my friends will see the intention I have to restrict myself to the purest veracity, and as my motive for publishing them is solely for the object of profit, I shall not trouble the public with but two apologies.

First, as I am writing in a foreign language, I have to apologize for the odd and ungrammatical style in which I describe my narratives; and as I intend to portray Africa as it is, the reader must pardon those expressions which a delicate ear is seldom accustomed to. The public also must not expect an historical, botanical, or scientific description of Africa, but the simple facts; of the events of a mariner who has no pretension to the necessary faculty or education of a public writer, or wishes to arrogate to himself the prerogative to annoy his reader with technical phrases, Latin and French words, or the too-often repeated and tiresome practical quotations. My object is simply a description of a traffic now considered immoral and out of fashion.

Second, as these are no confessions or protestations of repentance, the reader should not look for an extra dash of philanthropic sentences today so much à la mode. I describe events such as the world's vicissitudes brought me in contact with, and publish them with the flattering expectations that it will bring harvest to my empty treasury.

## \* CHAPTER 1<sup>st</sup>

### \* My Parents · To Boston on the Galathea · Lord Byron

In order to account for the numerous adventures which I am about to describe, it is indispensable to inform the reader of the place of my native birth, likewise several episodes of my early life, which with my name I give with reluctance. But they are strictly necessary to establish the positive fact of my distance and the truthfulness of my narrative. Had I been born sixty years before my time and published these memoirs then, no one would have read an account of every day's occurrences. Philanthropy was not à la mode, and the slave traffic was not piracy, but a privileged monopoly powerfully practiced by the Christian potentates of Europe and the fathers of our present generation.

My name is Theodore Canot, born in 1808 in Italy (City of Florence, Tuscany), from French parents. My father came to Italy with the Republican conquering Army under General Bonaparte and married my mother in Nice (Piedmont), who followed him in many campaigns, till the Emperor Napoleon abdicated and was sent to the Island of Elba. On the Emperor's return, my father followed him like a true Frenchman to Waterloo in his old capacity as Captain Paymaster, where he died, leaving a wife and six children. My mother, although not rich (as soldier's wives seldom are), managed to keep me at school until near 12 years of age, where I was taught Latin, geography, arithmetic, and history. Being now near 12 years old, it was necessary to choose a profession, and in my studies having perused many books on travels, I preferred the seafaring life. No objection was made, as two of my uncles on my father's side had been naval officers under King Murat of Naples.

In 1819 I made my first voyage at sea in the American ship *Galathea* of Boston, belonging to Mr. William Gray, commonly called Billy Gray.

I would not pretend to describe all the hardships I endured in my first voyage, a stranger ignorant of the language, without assistance or pity in my seasickness. I was made more than miserable. No one sympathized with me but the Captain, to whom I was bound as apprentice. But as I could not speak English, I could not complain of all my grievances. Indeed, for the first three months I was made the

\*Only later in the manuscript did Conneau begin dividing his text into chapters. Chapter divisions and titles preceded by an asterisk have been added by the transcriber. In the margin, dates preceded by an asterisk were not supplied by Conneau himself, and are based on internal evidence.



butt of every joke, and as I lived in the cabin, every plate or glass that broke was laid to me by the cabin boy. Even the men and officers annoyed me at every occasion when the Captain was below, and with the exception of the Black Cook (whom by-the-bye I could not endure, never having seen a Negro before but at a distance), I was without a friend.

Besides three officers, the *Galathea* carried a Clerk whom the Captain obliged to teach me English, and by the time we arrived at Sumatra, I could plead my own cause. Not finding a cargo of pepper at this island, we proceeded to Bengal. On our arrival at Calcutta, the Captain—being his own agent—took apartments on shore, and the Clerk and myself followed him there.

It was the custom then for Masters of ships to hire a furnished house. Ours was a Spanish one, and with twenty servants to attend upon us, we lived like Nabobs, and sore incensed was I at the end of our three months when we returned on board, our ship being loaded.

At this place I found an Armenian who had been a long time in Leghorn as merchant. I accosted him in the China Bazaar. I took him at first (by his dress) for a Turk and addressed him in the *Lingua Franca*, a mixture of bad Italian and Spanish languages. But to my astonishment, he answered me in excellent Tuscan. Perhaps my Florentine accent had singled me out as an Etruscan to his quick perception. This man had left Italy long before the conquests of Napoleon, and although well acquainted with the history of the Emperor, was wholly astonished at the description I gave of the great General. My store of information induced him to offer me a situation in his house which I could not accept. However, this good Armenian loaded me with presents at parting.

On our passage home, I was placed in the steerage, being considered sufficiently strong to do duties before the mast, and was inscribed in the ship's articles as a light-hand at six dollars per month. In this capacity, I was under the immediate orders of our Chief Mate, being in his watch. This man had been reprimanded on several occasions by our Captain for his misconduct, and had become very unfriendly with him; and his spite was often discharged on me. I was ordered to every disagreeable job, and one day he even attempted my life.

It was four o'clock after meridian, the ship going about five knots. The Mate ordered me to loose the flying jib, which I immediately obeyed, but had not quite finished loosing the sail. This officer ordered the men to hoist away. One of the men on the ship remarked, "The boy is not off the loose jib." Intent on his vengeance,

he replied, "Mind your business, you son of a b--ch," and cried out, "Hoist away!"

Off the boom I went, carried away by the clew of the sail, and after turning several somersaults in the air, I was thrown some fifty yards from the ship. In the hurlyburly of this mishap, some cried, "Man overboard!", others ran to the braces, some to the quarter-boat. The Cook, hearing his protégé in danger, leaped overboard after me, while the man who had advised the Mate of my danger and had received such an abusive answer, seeing me in the water and safe—as he expressed himself afterwards—clenched the Mate with the intent to throw him also over the boards. In this tumult the Captain came on deck and immediately layed the ship to. The boat was not sent, as I was alongside a few moments after I touched the water and never losing my presence of mind, the fall did not hurt me as I took care to fall on my head.

The poor ducky had a big swim, however, in his anxiety to save me. He had jumped from the windward side and swam in a contrary direction to my fall. In the confusion, no one had taken notice of his generous act, till we heard his voice asking for a rope. The Chief Mate was rescued from the sailor's strong grasp by the Second, but not till both had received a sound drubbing by the men in general.

Order being restored, the men one and all protested against the First Mate and refused to obey him any more. The Captain consented by placing the Second in the place of the First.

This accident made me a favorite with the men. Our Cook was from that moment intimately permitted to share the Saturday nights with the white lords of the forecastle, and our Captain presented him with fifteen silver dollars and a certificate of his good actions. From this moment my situation became pleasant, I took a liking to the sailor's life and made rapid progress in navigation, which Captain Solomon Town very judiciously did not neglect to instruct me in.

A few days after, we made St. Helena but were not permitted to anchor. Napoleon was still alive and prisoner. No vessel was allowed to go within five miles of the island. A British frigate supplied us two puncheons of water. At the Island of Acension, we took a few more puncheons of water, some pumpkins, and a quantity of turtles. Here our sailors exchanged tobacco and cigars for English flax, clothes, and shells.

We arrived in Boston in July 1820 at night, and made fast to the wharf. Our Captain, who belonged to Salem, immediately left the ship. After making the ship fast, our crew also left. The new-made Chief Mate had a wife in Boston, and under that plea left me and the



\*I Obtain a Cargo for the Fortuna, Consigned to Me  
The Essential Profit of Her Voyage

15 March,  
1827

On the 15th of March 1827 a Spanish vessel arrived, and to the astonishment of all the magnates of the river, the Captain addressed himself to me.

The vessel belonged principally to my old friend the grocer, and as the *Areostatico* had arrived in 28 days from the Pongos in safety, the owners had sent out a larger vessel and consigned her to me. My old friend the Boatswain was in command; her name was the *Fortuna*.

With a letter of instruction, the owners had sent me out my wages for the voyage round and a present of thirty ounces in consideration for my conduct in defense of their property. The Captain of the *Fortuna* informed me that the English boy had been paid off and, at my request, the grocer had procured him a berth in a Liverpool vessel.

My letter of instruction authorized me to load the *Fortuna* with an assorted cargo of slaves, for which they had shipped 200 thousand Havana cigars and 500 ounces or doubloons in Mexican coin. They did not limit the price I should give for a slave, but it was thought sufficient to purchase two hundred. My commission was limited at 10 per cent and an assurance of the command of a vessel whenever I should get tired of Africa.

Let me deviate for one moment. As the reader may naturally wish to inquire of what utility cigars would have been to Africans, in due time I will answer this question.

As agent of the *Fortuna*, I called all the traders on board. I made known to them the instruction of the owners to me and offered to divide the cargo amongst them, on condition that at a given day they should all make payment according to the proposal I would make. After much discussion the division was made, but only with the gold. No one would take any portion of the cigars. Mr. Ormond took a quarter, Mr. Faber another quarter, two native Chiefs took the rest. It was agreed that in 30 days from that date the vessel should sail; therefore the payment should be made on board the day before, and that no pregnant woman should be considered as fair tender. No boys or girls under 4 feet 4 inches should be accepted as prime. Also I reserved to myself the privilege of rejecting any slaves which I might consider in fault.

As this was my first assay in the management of a slave cargo, I only studied the interests of the owners and, knowing the importance of dispatch, I divided the cargo amongst the different factors to hasten the shipment. I had not even regard for the price; dispatch was my object. [I allowed the traders the exorbitant price of 50 dollars to the slave.]

My friend Joseph, who had till then only traded in produce, could not now stand the temptation any longer. He came on board with the rest and took a proportional part of the doubloons. The 500 ounces, valued at 17 dollars each, brought only 170 slaves; the cigars were invoiced at \$12 per mill, but no one took them. I had recourse to my friend Joseph, who proposed to send them to his friend the Jew in Sierra Leone and exchange them for Manchester goods. Accordingly, that evening I hired a canoe and sent my cigars to the Colony. On the 10th day the Israelite merchant arrived in the river with a cutter full loaded with superior English manufactures. The charms of 500 doubloons in the hands of natives had already allured him from his home. For my cigars he paid me at the rate of sixteen dollars, which profit enabled me to pay the expenses of the vessel while in the river, and purchase the rest of the cargo.

These cigars were shipped at the request of the Captain of the *Areostatico*, who finding the grocer was about sending me a vessel before his own could be refitted, had maliciously induced them to believe that cigars would fetch a great price in the river, in order to put me into difficulties. However, a few days after the sailing of the *Fortuna*, having boasted too loud of his duplicity, he was discharged and another Master appointed to the *Areostatico*.

I have said that the report of a slaver with doubloons as cargo had spread all over the English settlement. Jew merchants, as well as their Christian brothers, flocked to the river in droves. In a few days English goods fell fifty per cent, such was the demand for slavers' gold.

This concurrence<sup>1</sup> made me well known amongst the merchants of Sierra Leone, and the arrival of the *Fortuna* sealed to my consignment stamped me as a great Spanish slaver. I had not as yet been five months in Africa.

On the given day, the *Fortuna* left the river with 220 slaves. Three months after, I received information that she had landed in the Bay of Matanzas 217 slaves, which were sold at 21 ounces each by the lump. (Let me here remark it was a choice cargo.) This high price realized her owners in less than four months forty-one thousand dollars.

<sup>1</sup>transaction

Copy  
19-20-20



\* *The £30,000 Treaty and Its Effect on the Slave Trade*

March,  
1827

The *Fortuna* was fitted out for only 220 slaves, and that quantity was then considered quite a full cargo for a vessel of ninety tons burthen. But since the Treaty of Martinez de la Rosa in 1836 with the British Government, all vessels under Spanish flag have been made liable to be seized on the Coast of Africa, if only thought apparent or suspicious of being engaged in the slave trade. The danger becoming greater by this treaty, it obliged slavers since that time to have recourse to greater economy in the stowage of slaves or in the fittings out. A vessel of the size of the *Fortuna* could now stow 400 slaves, and the fitting out would amount but to one half of what it cost then. Slaves have also become much cheaper in Africa, and as the vessel that lands them in Cuba cannot but with great difficulty return to the ports of clearance, they are generally destroyed. Therefore this accounts for the economy in the fitting out.

This mortal treaty the Spanish slavers called "The 30,000 Pound Treaty" as it was reported that the Spanish Minister Martinez de la Rosa had received such a premium from the Court of Saint James. I will here state the effect such a treaty had on the reduction of slave trade.

*Primo*: as this arbitrary law was put in force by the English cruisers (I suppose with the consent of Mr. Martinez de la Rosa) a good four months before it was promulgated in the Spanish possessions, it gave an opportunity to the British cruisers to seize in that time over eighty Spanish vessels, one third of them never intended for the slave trade.

Second: as this treaty condemned slave vessels to be broken up after seizure and not sold by the Captains as formerly, fast-sailing vessels came more into demand. Faster clippers were built which gave them a better chance to escape.

Third: Spanish slave merchants had recourse to other nations for the protection of their property: Portuguese and Brazilian vessels carried on the Spanish slave trade for a long while, and French, English and Americans took the Spanish cargoes out to Africa for the purchase of the slaves.

Fourth: As this law entailed greater expenses to Spanish slavers, every method of economy was resorted to, but principally the crowding of slaves on board in lesser space was the most prominent feature of its effect.

Fifth: As slavers could not be fitted out from the Island of Cuba,

other nations sent their vessels, ready equipped, to Africa, and there under the jibbooms<sup>1</sup> transferred their vessels to African traders, the Captain and part of the crew taking passage home with their registers in any other lawful trader.

Sixth: As this law of destruction deprived the cruisers of their share of prize money, the Government in consideration granted them so much a ton for every vessel captured, and from that time hence, the English foot rule was diminished to 10 inches and sometimes less. This method in the gauging of prizes, therefore, certainly gave greater shares to the captors. Not a few slavers were sunk at unseaworthy by the cruisers when their measurement would not amount to much if sent to the Maritime Commission Court for adjudication, and the Carpenter's salt water report was the only measurement sent to this Admiralty.

⌊ Last, this philanthropic law (if it was such) did not diminish the slave trade one iota, but on the contrary, it drove slavers to use harsher treatment with their slaves, as it became impossible to take the same care of them while on board. When lesser numbers were shipped, the ration of water was diminished and food the same. Slaves were not only allowed less room and free air, but irons were put on when not needed before, sentries were doubled, and gratings constantly kept barred. These restrictions caused frequent disease, and mortality was augmented six and ten percent. ⌋

My object is not to criticize others or disculpate myself, but to describe such episodes as I was witness to. If in my former chapter I have mentioned in too correct terms the contrary effects of a law which I believe was dictated by pure philanthropic motives, I have done so to prove the abuses it created and the forcible cruelties it produced. By abuses and forcible cruelties I mean those inevitable necessities which attend all forced trade, and which owners and masters are involuntarily reduced to use those means unpleasant to their feelings. I will hereafter describe such of these necessities as came under my notice.

As I am on the chapter of cruelties, let me describe the shipment of cargo of slaves on the Coast and the middle passage.

⌊ In the first place, the factor takes great care in selecting the slaves for shipment. Those whose appearance denotes the least contagious sickness are never shipped. Women in a far state of pregnancy are also reserved; children at the breast are rarely put on board. A few days before the embarkation takes place the head of every male and female are shaven. They are then marked; this is done with a hot pipe sufficiently heated to blister the skin. Some use their initials

<sup>1</sup>bow-sprits



made of silver wire. The object of this disagreeable operation is done only when several persons ship slaves in one vessel, otherwise when only one proprietor is sole owner it is dispensed with.

This disgusting duty is one of those forcible cruelties which cannot be avoided. When several proprietors ship in one vessel it is indispensable to mark them, in order that on the arrival the consignees may know them. Also, when death takes place in the passage, by the mark it is ascertained whose loss it is, as every Negro thrown over the board during the voyage is registered in the log book.

But in extenuation for this somewhat brutal act, let me assure the reader that it is ever done as lightly as possible, and just enough for the mark to remain only six months; when and if well done, it leaves the skin as smooth as ever. This scorching sign is generally made on the fleshy part of the arm to adults, to children on the posterior.

The appointed day for shipping having arrived, they are plentifully fed and shipped in canoes to be transported on board. Once alongside, their clothes are taken off and they are shipped on board in perfect nakedness; this is done without distinction of sex. This precaution is necessary to keep them free from vermin. This also is an unpleasant necessity, and forcibly attended to, as the females part with reluctance with the only trifling rag that covers their Black modesty. As they are kept in total nudity the whole voyage, cleanliness is preserved with little trouble.

In this state they are immediately secured below; the women in the cabin and the men in the main hold. The children and boys are kept on the deck and distributed about the boat, but they are kept below till the vessel is clear of the land. At mealtime they are distributed ten to a mess.

Thirty years ago when the Spanish slave trade was lawful, Captains of slavers were somewhat more religious than they are at present. They made their slaves say grace before meals and thanks after, but in our days they have no time. Masters of such a vessel, with the fear of John Bull only before them, content themselves with a short sentence such as "Viva la Habana" and a clapping of hands.

This hurrah over, a bucket full of salt water is given to each mess and *bon-gré, mal-gré*,<sup>1</sup> they are made to wash their hands. Then a kid is placed before them full of either rice, *fariña*, yams or beans, according to what country they belong, as Negroes from the south do not eat the same food as those from the north. At a signal given they all dip their hands and in rotation take out a handful, a sailor watching their movements and the punctuality of the regular turn.

It is the sailor's duty to report when any one of the slaves refuses

loading  
ship  
stripping  
- the  
hold

food

to eat, and if by the reconnoitering of the officer it is found that stubbornness is the cause of a voluntary abstinence (Negroes often starve themselves to death), the cat is applied till a cure is effected. (Here then is another instance of those unpleasant necessities resorted to, but it is only given as medicinal antidote.) If the loss of appetite is caused by indisposition, he is singled out for further inspection and a glass head or button is tied round his neck as a sick list ticket.

The feeding over, another bucket of water is given for a second washing, and everyone is then allowed to retire in single file manner to their favorite plank about decks or below. This duty of feeding takes place twice a day, at 10 in the morning and at 4 in the afternoon. Water is also given three times a day, a half pint each time. Pipes and tobacco are also distributed with some economy, as they cannot all be allowed a pipe. Half a dozen boys light a pipe each, and they go round the decks giving so many whiffs each person. Thrice a week their mouth is washed with vinegar, and nearly every morning a dram of spirits is given them, both used as preservative against scurvy. Every afternoon, wind and weather permitting, they are allowed to sing. Women, men, and boys join in chorus in African melodies accompanied by the tam-tam on a tub.

Men and women are ever kept separate, but permission is granted to converse together during the daytime. Corporal chastisement is only inflicted by order of the officers, and then the culprit is made to understand why he is chastised. Once a week the barber goes the round with his attendants and scrapes without the assistance of soap their wiry chins, free of expense. The fingernails are also cropped every shaving day; in this operation all the penknives and scissors are called in requisition. This operation is well attended to, as in their nightly disputes when contesting for an inch more of room they generally vent their passion in scratching one another, the narrowness of their quarters seldom permitting a pugilist settlement.

The sick are separated as soon as discovered. The whole of the forecastle is appropriated exclusively for the sick slave. (Sailors on board of slavers have up quarters. Sick or well, the deck is their only habitation.) The Chief Officer generally officiates as Doctor. He inspects each Negro every morning before breakfast and with his medical staff performs all cures, and in serious cases reports to the Captain.

The Boatswain's duty is to keep the ship clean, and this is attended with the greatest scrupulosity. Every morning at daylight all the filth of the night is removed and the tubs scrubbed with chloride of lime. The upper deck is washed and swabbed, the slave



deck scraped and holystoned. By nine o'clock the Captain inspects every part of the ship, and no vessel, except a man-of-war, can compare with a slaver in cleanliness and order.

In a well-conducted vessel, Captain, officers, and crew are constantly employed in preserving and safely conducting the vessel and cargo. Much has been said in regard to the stowing of Negroes on board of slavers, and the words "packing and piling" invariably used to denote the mode they are carried during the voyage. Permit me to describe this operation also, one of those forcible cruelties necessarily resorted to and inevitable on board a slaver.

Two of the officers have the charge of stowing them. At sundown the Second Mate and Boatswain descend, cat in hand, and stow the Negroes for the night. Those on the starboard side face forward and in one another's lap, vulgarly called spoon fashion. On the port side they are stowed with face aft; this position is considered preferable for the free pulsation of the heart. The tallest are selected for the greatest breadth of the vessel, while the short size and youngsters are stowed in the fore part of the ship. Great precaution is also taken to place those such as may have sores or boils on the side most convenient for their distemper. Tubs are also distributed on the sleeping deck and so placed that both sides can have access. (The sick are never placed below.)

This lower deck once full, the rest are stowed on the deck, which is prepared with loose boards to keep the water from under them; they are then covered in fair weather with spare sails and with tarpaulins in rainy nights. In this manner they are made to remain all night, if possible. This discipline of stowing them is of the greatest importance on board slavers; otherwise every Negro would accommodate himself with all the comfortability of a cabin passenger.

As it is necessary to keep order and silence during the night, out of every ten slaves one is chosen as Constable. To him is delegated his watch, and in order to enforce his commands he is supplied with a cat. As a remuneration for his services, which are well done when the cat is called into requisition, he is supplied with an old shirt and sometimes with a pair of terry trousers.

Billets of wood are sometimes distributed to them, but as slaves shipped are often of different nations this luxury is not granted till well assured of the good disposition of the Negroes, as in many occasions slaves have been tempted to mutiny only by the opportunity at hand of arming themselves with those native pillows—indeed a very destructive missile in case of revolt.

As it may appear barbarous that slaves should be made to lie down naked on a hard board, let me inform the reader that native

Africans know not the use of mattresses, and it is only the free and rich that indulge now and then in a loll on a mat or a rawhide. Even the Chiefs of Mandingo, the most industrious and civilized nation of Africa—their beds, divans, and sofas are but mud couches with an untanned skin as cushion and a billet of wood for bolster. Therefore slaves cannot find great inconvenience in laying down on hard boards. I consider their position on the above subject much better than that of a soldier who half of his sleeping life is made to lay on boards as hard as a ship's deck, and with the additional inconvenience of his clothes and shoes.

The ventilation also is an object minutely attended to. Every slaver's hatches and bulkheads are grated, and additional small hatches are cut about the decks for the greater circulation of air; wind sails and every communication with the hold are constantly kept up, unless in a chase, when every comfort is sacrificed for the safety of the vessel. When in light winds or calms and the wind sails are useless, the gratings are taken off and a portion of the slaves are allowed to lay on the deck, under guard of the whole crew which are ever armed on such occasion.

For the security and safekeeping of the slaves on board or on shore in the African barracoons, chains, leg irons, handcuffs, and strong houses are used. I would remark that this also is one of the forcible necessities resorted to for the preservation of order, and as recourse against the dangerous consequences of this traffic. Irons and handcuffs are used on board with as much frugality as possible. Slaves are generally brought on board chained ten in a gang. This is the mode they are secured in the barracoons on shore, but as these chains are very inconvenient on board, they are taken off immediately, and leg irons put on which secures them two by two, the right of the one fastened to the left of the other. They consist of a bolt a foot long with two shackles, and are only put on to full grown men. Women and boys are let loose on their arrival on board. The refractory ones are doubly secured with handcuffs (an iron shackle which secures both hands) and taken off as soon as possible. It is often the case that these fastenings are taken off long before the arrival, when the behavior of the slaves warrants it, and many Brazilian slavers never use irons. Slaves from Anjuda, Benin, and Angola are of milder disposition and not as given to revolt as those from the east of the Cape of Good Hope or north of the Gold Coast.

I have used the word "frugality" in regard to the irons used in this traffic not as a mere phrase, but with all the meaning it conveys, as I mean to signify that they are only put on but when powerfully compelled to. As a proof, I will add that the longer a slave is kept in

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chains  
irons



March,  
1827

irons, the more he deteriorates, and as the sole object of a slaver is to land his cargo in perfect healthy order—not only because his pecuniary interest is at stake, but because his character would be impaired—it becomes him to be sparing when using the means of security.

My object (as I said before) is not to disculpate the inhuman traffic, but to correct the exaggerated reports made on the heavy and ponderous chains said to be used on board of these vessels which not only subject slaves to a continual reclining position, but at will they are made—according to these false accounts—to be drawn up, by a jerk of this supposed chain, feet uppermost, to the ceiling of the upper deck. I know not where these unfounded accounts originated from, unless they were used before my time on board of vessels whose nationality permitted these barbarities, and who now condemn the same trade as felony.

## \*CHAPTER 16<sup>th</sup>

### \**The Landing and Sale of a Slave Cargo*

As I have fully described the mode of shipping, feeding, sleeping, and securing of the slaves on ship board, I shall next narrate the manner they are landed in the Island of Cuba. But before I do so, let me crave the indulgence of the reader if I again correct many remarks made by public newspapers and pamphlets on the filthy condition that slaves are forced to be subjected to during the middle passage. I have said before that slaves are shipped and kept naked for the sole object of cleanliness; I have also described the policy of the slaver in regard to washing and scraping of the slave deck. Let me further inform the reader that whenever the weather permits, they are also made to bathe, and it's invariably done once a week. The women during their periods are kept in the cabin, where no person violates their secrecy, as during the night the keys of the cabin grating are kept by the Captain, who as Chief never gives bad example.

This duty being one of the most important on board of a slaver, it is never neglected. A Master on such a vessel is made accountable by the owners for every death, and when it can be proved that through his negligence or disregard the health and the comfort of the slaves have been impaired, or if he has used unnecessary cruelties toward them, such a Captain is not only immediately unshipped, but his commission or head money stopped and his reputation blasted.

If Masters of emigrant ships could be made answerable for the life of every passenger, the hospitals of New York would number less deaths of ship fever caused by filthiness, putrid provisions, and want of pure airs; a palpable neglect in many such transports where the absence of every policy is indolently neglected. It is with satisfaction that I can assure the reader that in not one instance have I seen or heard of ship fever on board of a slaver.

The landing of slaves is generally made now on some given point of the coast where the absence of habitation is apparent, but some hidden hut denotes the spot of the persons appointed to await the arrival. As soon as the anchor is let go, one or more boats are sent off and the landing is effected while some of the crew dismantle the vessel in order to avoid notice from inland or in the offing. Once the cargo is landed, it is hastened in the Interior as soon as possible, escorted by the Captain and part of the crew all well armed, and made to walk at a rapid rate. In this manner they are conducted to the nearest plantation whose consent is purchased before, and there

March,  
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deposited, which secures them from the grasping power of the petty magistrate of the district (called *capitan de partidos*) who in imitation of his superior the Governor would exact a remuneration for his consent.

In the meantime, a dispatch is sent to the owners in Havana, Matanzas, or Santiago de Cuba, who arrive post haste at the plantation with coarse dresses for the new-arrived Africans and the necessary gold to pay off the crew.

Messengers are sent off to the different slave brokers, who inform the needy purchaser that a quantity of Bossal slaves are to be disposed, mentioning the nation but not the owner, Captain, or the vessel that landed them. As gold is expected, nothing is said of the terms.

The vessel, if small, is either dismantled or so disfigured as to warrant a safe return in a port of clearance with a cargo of sugar or molasses and under the coasting flag. But if the vessel is a brig or rigged ship, she is either burnt or sunk. Sometimes she is sent to St. Thomas, Curaçao, or Spanish San Domingo as a distressed vessel, to appear again perhaps transmuted under another rig, paint, and name.

On the arrival of the slaves in a plantation, they are well fed with fresh provisions and abundance of fruit, which greatly astonishes the African who in his joy forgets his country, friends, and relations. But his wonder rests not there. The new clothes, the red cap, and the blanket (a civilized superfluity not yet accustomed to) dumbs him with surprise, and in his amazement he puts his clothes on the wrong side out, or the hind part before. The arrival of a carriage or cart creates no little confusion on this benighted Ethiopian, who has no idea that animals can be made to work, and in his African ignorance admires the white man's ingenuity.

But the grand demonstration of the surprise of surprises is at hand: a Black postillion in his red jacket and silver spurs alights from a prancing horse and in the language of their mothers bids them welcome and in the name of Allah blesses their safe arrival. A furor takes place. Every African wishes to embrace and snap fingers with the equestrian civilized African brother, who by his Master's order preaches them a well-learnt sermon on the happiness of being a white man's slave, cracking his whip on the well-polished boot to enforce his untruthful arguments.

Should this be a cargo owned by a company, every one takes his share away with him to his house or plantation, but if owned by speculators who need them not, they are sold on the plantation to the planter who, gold in hand, chooses what best suits him. The opera-

will of disposing of them is gone through with as great a haste as possible, before the Great Britain Argus<sup>1</sup> makes his report to the Governor General, who not in respect of treaties but in fear of the Proud Albion Consul, promises to put the laws into force and with the dignity of a grandee of Spain orders the comandante of dragons or lanceros to proceed at a gallop to the plantation designated by the representative of England, who awaits in person to see the order given.

While the sale takes place, one of the owners or his agent pays a morning visit to the Palacio, knocks at the Captain General's Private Secretary who is ever on attendance on such an occasion, and in comfortable vis-à-vis relates the happy landing of the contraband (such is the cognomen<sup>2</sup> given to the traffic), depositing in the meantime on the table the necessary rouleaux which contain the 51 dollars head money. As the man in the office draws the gold into the drawer with a patronizing manner, he offers a cigarillo to the cringing offerer who, hat in hands, awaits the order to depart. But not so, the gold is only for private purse of the Governor; the private factotum must have a share of the pie. But it must be done indirectly, and availing himself of the passing cloud of smoke he in an insinuating manner demands the price of a small slave which he has an immediate demand for. The hint is taken by the owner. In contraband transaction, it is not only necessary to hold a candle to the Devil but to hisimps also. Next morning a small slave is sent, or its equivalent in Spanish ounces, as it is well known that government officials prefer the gold to mortal flesh.

Having described the landing of slaves in Cuba, I will return to my younger days of African memory.

<sup>1</sup>mythological giant with a hundred eyes  
<sup>2</sup>nickname

# World of Sorrow

*The African Slave Trade to Brazil*

Robert Edgar Conrad

Louisiana State University Press  
Baton Rouge and London

1986

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Tried: (pedro and memorias and isla and puerto and rico)

1 result found. Sorted by Title

Author **Córdoba, Pedro Tomás de**

Title **Memorias geográficas, históricas, económicas y estadísticas de la Isla de Puerto Rico [por] Pedro Tomás de Córdoba**

Edition [2. ed. facsimilar]

Published San Juan de **Puerto Rico**, Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1968

Descript'n 6 v. facsims., maps, ports. 23 cm

Permalink to this Josiah record

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Note Reprint of the edition published in San Juan, P.R., 1831-33

LC subject Puerto Rico -- History -- To 1898

LCCN 75452002

Rlin/oclc RIBGR01004778-B

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Search Result -- Quick Search

Viewing record 3 of 5 from catalog.

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Call number: HT1078 .C6 1967

Author: Corwin, Arthur F.

Title: Spain and the abolition of slavery in Cuba, 1817-1886  
[by] Arthur F. Corwin.

Publication info: Austin, Published for the Institute of Latin  
American Studies by the University of Texas Press [1967]

Description: xviii, 373 p. illus., facsim., map, ports. 24 cm.

Note: Bibliography: p. [315]-329.

Subject: Slavery--Cuba.

Subject: Spain--Colonies--America--Administration.

Series: Latin American monographs, no. 9

Series: University of Texas. Institute of Latin American Studies.  
Latin American monographs, no. 9.

Alderman	Material	Location
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Call number: DT365 .C6 1939

Author: Coupland, Reginald, Sir, 1884-1952.

Title: The exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890; the slave trade and the scramble.

Publication info: London, Faber and Faber [1939]

Description: ix, 507 p. ports., map, geneal. table. 23 cm.

Note: Bibliographical foot-notes.

Subject: Slave trade--Africa, East.

Subject: Arabs--Africa.

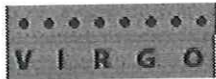
Subject: Africa, East--History.

Related name: Kirk, John, Sir, 1832-1922.

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AUTHOR

Courte de La Blanchardière, René

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Author **Courte de La Blanchardière, René, 1712?-1794**  
 Uniform ti Nouveau voyage fait au Pérou. English. Selections  
 Title **A voyage to Peru; performed by the Conde of St. Malo, in the years 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, and 1749. Written by the chaplain. To which is added, an appendix, containing the present state of the Spanish affairs in America, in respect to mines, trade, and discoveries**  
 Published London : printed for R. Griffiths, 1753  
 Descript'n xv, [1], 173, [3] p. ; 12

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Note A translation of 'Nouveau voyage fait au Pérou' by René Courte de la Blanchardière, with the description of the Spanish mines omitted  
 The Conde of St. Malo is the name of a ship  
 With a final advertisement leaf

References ESTC T184165  
 Other info Imprint 1753  
 England London.  
 Rlin/oclc ESTCT184165

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Image date [1802]  
geographic area Caribbean Islands  
Image title Toussaint Louverture.  
Source creator Cousin d'Avallon, 1769-1840

Mead # JCB-04-83-1

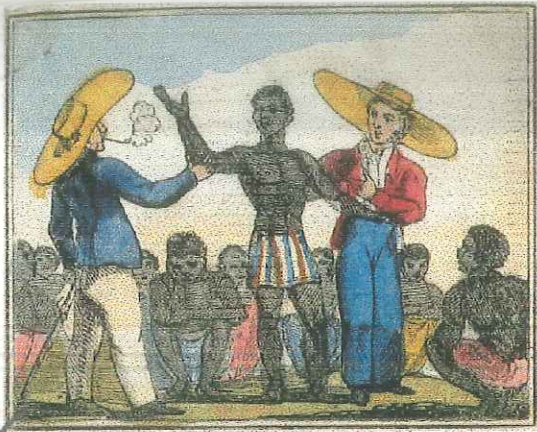


Accession number: 04-83  
Record number: 04-83-1  
JCB call number: E802 C867h  
Image title: ✓ Toussaint Louverture.  
Place image published: [Paris]  
Image publisher: [Pillot, frères]  
Image date: ✓ [1802]  
Image function: frontispicè  
Technique: engraving  
Image dimension height: 11.7 cm.  
Image dimension width: 7 cm.  
Page dimension height: 16.7 cm.  
Page dimension width: 9.2 cm.  
Materials medium: ink  
Materials support: paper  
Languages: French  
Description: Portrait of Toussaint Louverture wearing a bicorn hat.  
Source creator: ✓ Cousin d'Avallon, 1769-1840  
Source Title: ✓ Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture chef des noirs insurgés de Saint-Domingue; ...  
Source place of publication: ✓ A Paris  
Source publisher: ✓ Chez Pillot, frères, libraires, sur le Pont-Neuf, no. 5  
Source date: ✓ an x - 1802  
notes: Louverture (ca. 1743-1803), initially aide-de-camp to Biassou, was later leader of the Haitian Revolution. Originally named François Dominique Toussaint, he led the rebellion of slaves against the Spanish and French rulers of the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Santo Domingo), successfully fought for the abolition of slavery, and briefly established a black-governed French protectorate. There are no known existing portraits of Toussaint Louverture drawn from the life. Charles-Yves Cousin d'Avallon was also the author of songs and such works as Mes Promenades Philosophiques et critiques dans Paris (Paris, 1801), Le parfait agriculteur (1809), and Nouveau dictionnaire de cuisine et d'office. Cf. #s 72-83-1, 01127-1, 67-270-2, 69-666-1.  
Time Period: 1801-1850  
Subject Area: Portraits  
geographic area: Caribbean Islands  
Subject headings: Toussaint Louverture, 1743?-1803  
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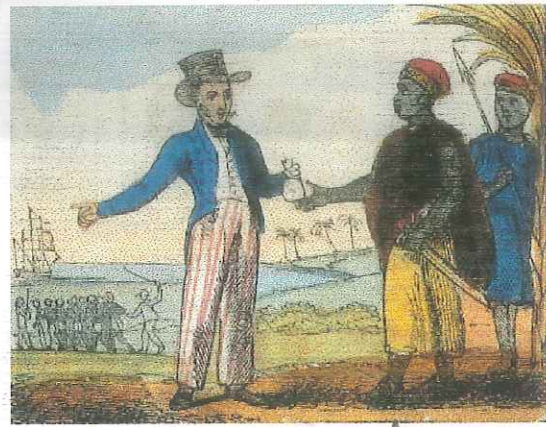
(4)



"The Slave Market"  
T. 1271. (1.)

T. 1271 (1)  
Cowper, William  
1826 (Core Books)

Transp : 1004988  
Code : 2905  
Subject : SLAVERY  
Desc : The Slave-Market.  
The Negro's Complaint:  
a poem. To



"Bargaining for Slaves"

Transp : 1004989  
Code : 2905  
Subject : SLAVERY  
Desc : Negro's Complaint, (Bargaining  
For Slaves. The Negro's  
Complaint: a poem. To

(AAA)  
3-4  
Cowper, William

The Negro's Complaint: A Poem, to which is  
added, Pity for Poor Africans. London 1826

B.L. T. 1271 (1)

A poem of 15 pp., — an abolitionist perspective — with  
colored illustrations on each page, ~~showing~~ — purporting to  
show different phases of slave trade & slavery —  
illustrations bear following captions

'Forcing a Negro from his home'

The arrival in the West Indies

The Torture

The appeal

The Negro's labor

The master's Canoe

The odious

The punishment

The Slave Ship etc.

Bargaining for Slaves

This is an abolitionist treat for children — the  
drawings are "fanciful" (see attached)



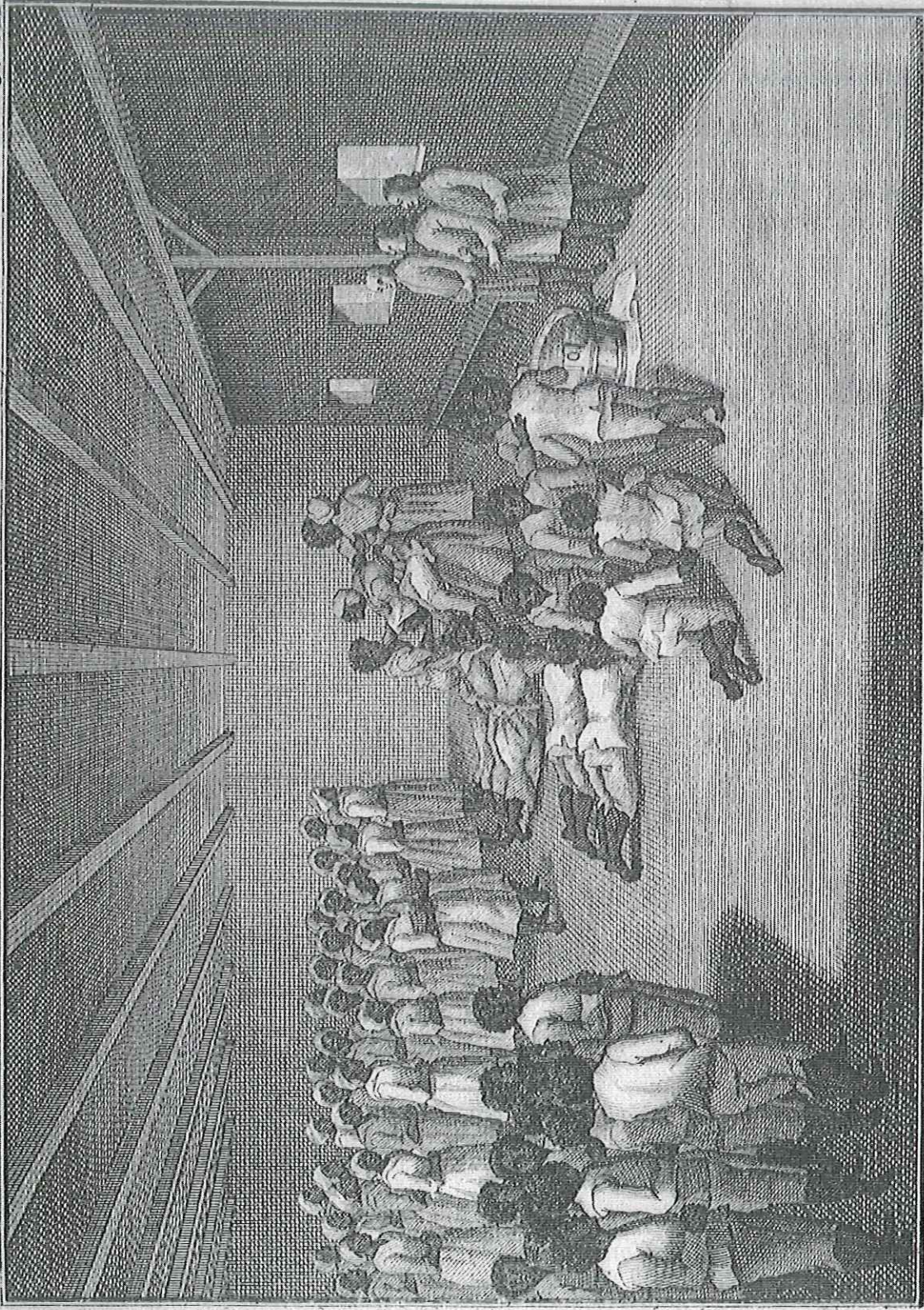
CRANZ  
1757  
plate VIII

File -  
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CRANZ

pl. 11

N. VII



Gefaiffe Neger, die nach der Proclamation, oder dem Anbeten  
 durch die Arbeiter von ihrer Nation aufgerichtet und geküßt worden. ||  
 Neger baptisirt, qui apres la Proclamation sont relevés  
 & baiés par les ouvrier de leur Nation.



CRANZ, David -

See image  
NW0174

~~See LCP~~ reworded scan for LCP  
See Jeffrey letter with 2/21/05  
trash on web board

From: Phil Lapsansky <refdept@librarycompany.org>  
Subject: Re: Fwd: help!!!  
Date: February 18, 2005 11:05:51 AM EST  
To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Will be w LCP March 21  
on March 22  
Miller & baby - 110 forward

At 11:26 PM 2/17/05 -0500, you wrote:

Re: PROS @librarycompany.org

Jerry, I thought we might have supplied this, but I see your image is cropped on the left. I think this image appears in more than one 18th c. source dealing with Moravians (United Brethren, Unitas Fratrum, etc). We have it in what is sort of cited on yours, David Cranz, Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht von der, unter dem namen der Bohmish-Mährischen Bruted bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum (Halle, 1757). Which includes another image with blacks, a baptism scene. Given the number of blacks in these images, I assume they represent one of the Caribbean region settlements, like the companion Moravian mission image you have. You can call up David Cranz in an author search on Wolfpac for biblio particulars. More later on other stuff. I am suddenly jammed up with sudden-death queries of this, that & the other. Phil

Massa Sherlock Phil, Sir. Can you help. I have completely screwed up and my notes are NO GOOD. Image NW0174 on our website (Moravian Congregation, 1757) has the WRONG source cited, and my notes are totally obscure on this one. Do you have an idea of the primary source of the image shown here? thanks.  
senior senile

Jerome S. Handler  
Senior Fellow  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Dr  
Charlottesville, Va 22903-4629  
(434) 924-3296

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record  
<http://hitchcock.virginia.edu/Slavery/>

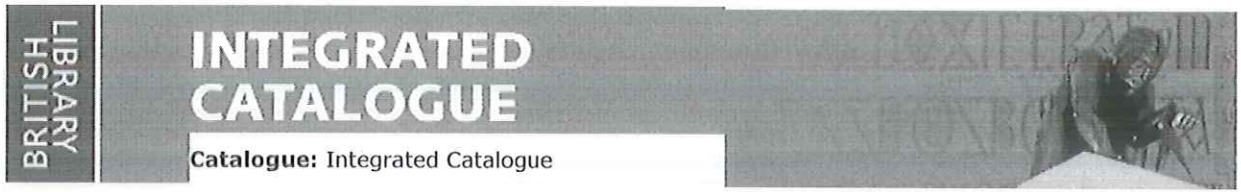
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22	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>The history of Greenland :</u>	1820.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<u>Request</u>
23	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>The history of Greenland :</u>	1820.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<u>Request</u>
24	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>The History of Greenland: containing a description of the country, and its inhabitants: and parti</u>	1767	<u>572.f.16.</u> <u>572.f.17.</u> <u>980.l.24.</u> <u>153.c.13.; 153.c.14.</u> <u>G.15071.; G.15072.</u>	<u>Request</u> <u>Request</u> <u>Request</u> <u>Request</u>
25	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>The History of Greenland: including an account of the Mission carried on by the United Brethren i</u>	1820	<u>572.f.18.</u>	<u>Request</u>
26	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>The History of Hans Egede and his Family. (From Crantz's "History of Greenland," vol. I.).</u>	1842	<u>1354.a.34.(11.)</u>	<u>Request</u>
27	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Moravian Brethren (United Brethren)	<u>Kurze, zuverla ssige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der Bo hmisch-Ma hrischen Bru der bek</u>	1762	<u>C.190.a.10</u>	<u>Request</u>
28	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>The Moravian Missionaries in Greenland. (From Crantz's "History of Greenland.").</u>	1842	<u>1354.a.34.(12.)</u>	<u>Request</u>
29	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>No rdlich von Europa :</u>	1989.	<u>YA.1992.a.18704</u>	<u>Request</u>
30	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>Reise durch Graubu nden im Jahre 1757 :</u>	c1996.	<u>YA.2000.a.9793</u>	<u>Request</u>

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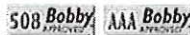
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- Cranz, David, 1723-1777. Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der Böhmischn-Mährischen Brüder bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum : Herkommen, Lehr-Begrif, äussern und innern Kirchen-Verfassung und Gebräuchen / aus richtigen Urkunden und Erzehlungen von einem ihrer christlich unpartheilichen Freunde heraus gegeben und mit sechzehn Vorstellungen in Kupfer erläutert.[Halle : s.n.], 1757. \Am 1757\Cran\72764.O\ **Locations: (1)**
- Cranz, David, 1723-1777. The history of Greenland: containing a description of the country, and its inhabitants: ... By David Crantz. Translated from the High-Dutch, ... In two volumes. ...London : printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen: and sold by J. Dodsley; T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt; and T. Cadell, successor to A. Millar; W. Sandby; S. Bladon; E. and C. Dilly; and at all the Brethren's chapels, 1767. Am 1767 Cra 7.0 **Locations: (1)**
- Cranz, David. History of Greenland : containing description of the country and its inhabitants : and particularly a relation of the mission, carried on for about these thirty years by the Unitea Fratrum, at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, in that country.London : Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, 1767. Office A 103/002/020 **Locations: (1)**
- Cranz, David, 1723-1777. Fortsetzung der Historie von Grönland : Insonderheit der Missions-Geschichte der Evangelischen Brüder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels von 1763 bis 1768 : nebst beträchtlichen Zusätzen und Anmerkungen zur natürlichen Geschichte von David-Cranz.Barby : Bey Heinrich Detlef Ebers ; Und in Leipzig : In Commission bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1770.Am 1770-Cra 69012.O **Locations: (1)**
- Cranz, David, 1723-1777. Alte und neue Brüder-Historie oder Kurz Gefasste Geschichte der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität in den ältern Zeiten und Insonderheit in dem gegenwärtigen Jahrhundert. / Von David Cranz.Barby, : bey Heinrich Detlef Ebers, und in Leipzig in Commission bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich., 1771.\Am 1771\Cra\Log 5040.O\ (Allen)\ **Locations: (1)**
- Cranz, David, 1723-1777. The ancient and modern history of the Brethren: or, A succinct narrative of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum, in the remoter ages, and particularly in the present century: / written in German by David Cranz ... ; now translated into English, with emendations; and published, with some additional notes, by Benjamin La Trobe.London: : printed by W. and A. Strahan; and sold by J. Robson, in Bond-Street; T. Cadell, in the Strand; C. Dilly, in the Poultry; and at the settlements and chapels of the congregations of the Brethren., 1780.\Am 1780\Cra\1181.O.1\ \Am 1780\Cra\Log 2790.O\ **Locations: (2)**
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2	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>Alte und Neue Bru der-Historie oder kurz gefasste Geschichte der Evangelischen Bru der-Unita t</u>	1771	<u>4661.aaaa.6.</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
3	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>Alte und neue Bru der-Historie, oder, Kurz gefasste Geschichte der evangelischen Bru der-Unita</u>	1772.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
4	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren: or, a Succinct narrative of the Protestant Church</u>	1780	<u>491.e.17. G.20191.</u>	<a href="#">Request</a> <a href="#">Request</a>
5	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>Anmærkinger over de tre første Bøger af Hr. David Crantz's Historie om Gro nland. [By H. C.</u>	1771	<u>154.a.12.</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
6	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>Fortsætthing af historien om Groenland :</u>	1770.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
7	<input type="checkbox"/> Cranz, David,	<u>Fortsetzung der Historie von Gro nland, insonderheit der Missions</u> :	1770.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
8	<input type="checkbox"/> CRANZ, David.	<u>Fortsetzung der Historie von Gro nland ... von 1763. bis 1768. nebst betra chtlichen Zusa tzen</u>	1770	<u>980.c.4.(2.) 154.e.5.(2.)</u>	<a href="#">Request</a> <a href="#">Request</a>
9	<input type="checkbox"/> HEGNER, Johann Conrad.	<u>Fortsetzung von D. Cranzens Bru der-Historie [to the year 1801].</u>	1791	<u>4661.aaaa.15.</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>
10	<input type="checkbox"/> Hegner, J. K.	<u>Fortsetzung von David Cranzens Bru der=Historie.</u>	1791.	<u>Mic.F.232</u>	<a href="#">Request</a>

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# TESTING THE CHAINS

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Resistance to Slavery in  
the British West Indies  
By MICHAEL CRATON

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*Cornell University Press*

ITHACA AND LONDON

1982

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ALSO BY MICHAEL CRATON

*A History of the Bahamas  
Jamaican Plantation: The History of Worlby Park,  
1670-1970 (with James Walvin)*

*News of Empire: A Short History of British Slavery*

*Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and  
Plantation Life in Jamaica*



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Bryan

Clemens



Crator p. 320

Crator p. 321



Rebel attack on Reading Wharf near Montego Bay, December 30, 1831. At the height of their success, the slaves virtually invested Jamaica's second town, cutting the roads into the interior and along the northwestern coast.

## The Baptist War: Ja

He was of the middle size, his firm moulded, and his skin as perfect as that of the whites. His head was high and broad, while his features were the characteristics of the Negro race. He delivered a brief extemporaneous sermon on religious topics, many of them being new to the cell, and I was amazed both at the effect which he spoke, and at the effect which was produced. He appeared to have the feelings and command of a general; but when I listened to him and others on the subject, I was surprised at what Gardner had to say, and it wrought up almost to a state of

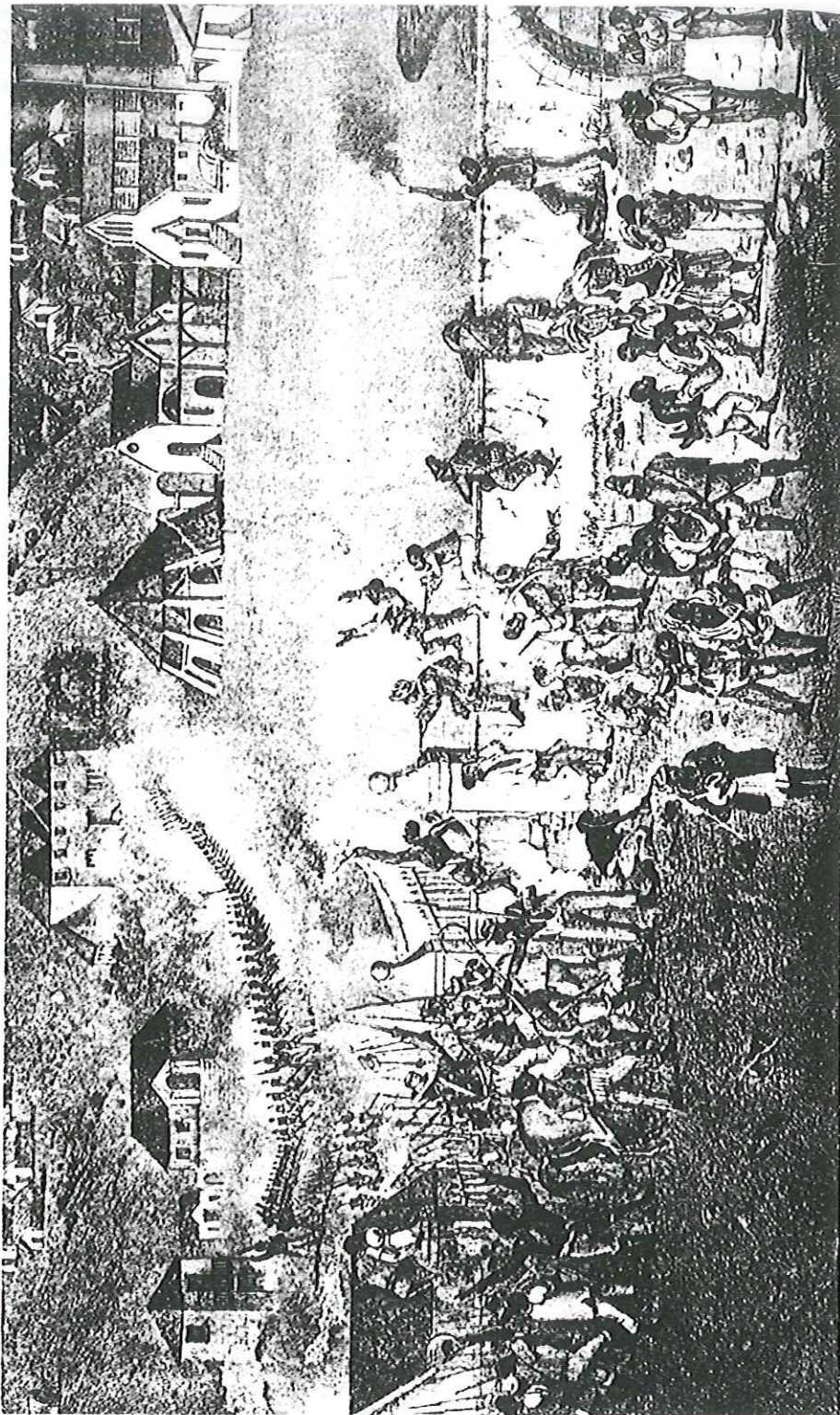
Tried on April 19, Samuel Sharpe was executed. He told Bleby that "he thought, as a white man, he had no more right to hold slaves than a black man had to make the white people his slaves." He was disappointed that "the spirit of rebellion was not more general." His final words were: "I am an epitaph of all those slaves who were executed rather die upon yonder gallows."



Caton, p. 306

West  
1851

Caton  
306 p. 306



Black Regiment versus Colonel Grignon's militia, Montpelier, 1831. "Colonel" Johnson was shot from his horse and his men decimated by musketry, but still the shaky militia continued their headlong retreat to Montego Bay, yielding the western interior to the rebels. Detail from a lithograph by A. Durberly

## The Baptist War:

whom carried firearms, disperse casualties, including Johnson, who died the next day.<sup>24</sup>

The rebels might have been non, although only one of his wounded, decided to pull back. His men had been attacked by 100 expected number of reinforcements. The Hanover militia that had reached Great River and was reluctant to fight at this juncture, the whites in Montpelier. The town was imminent, and the rebels had the anchored ships. The urban militia, guided by George Taylor, still loyal to the rebels, though, favored pushing forward to burn the Bay." Chief of the rebel force named Charles McLennan, independent force descended from the interior. On December 30, joined up with another force led by William Williams of Seven Rivers and John Anchoy on their way to the interior. They stopped almost on the coast and less than a mile from the town. They stopped at a barricade manned by the rebels, Hazelymph who were clearly up to the interior but to go no closer.

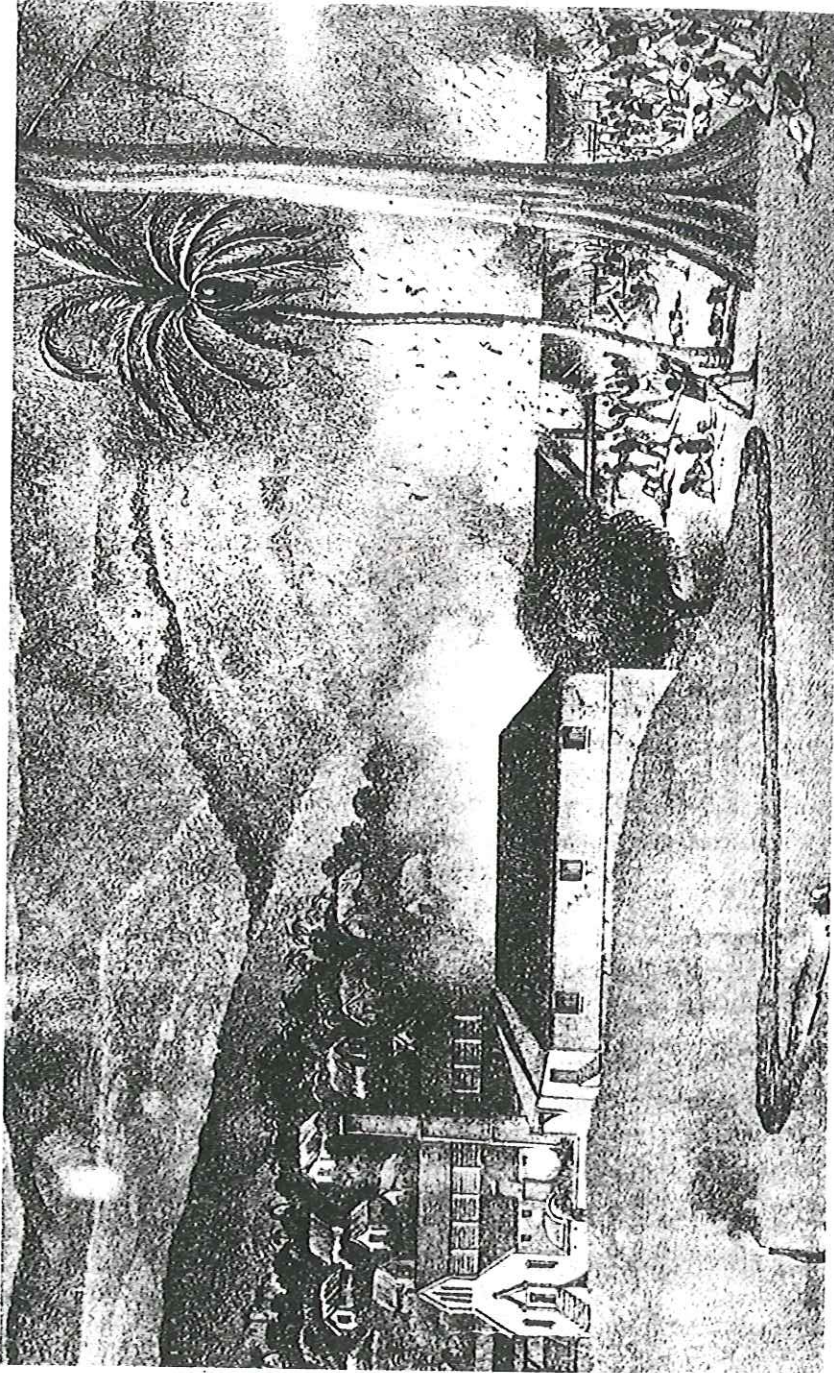
An almost comic confrontation occurred where he was going. Hearing that the rebels were doing anything of the kind was to be expected, the rebels did not expect anything of the kind was to be expected. It was not McLennan to come past him to the benefit." Tharp bragged that he had killed off two white men's heads at Montpelier. "General," so "what right had the rebels to take parties, which were armed with muskets and numbered several hundred, no doubt. The rebels in due course gave way. He returned to Roehampton, complaining that the rebels would not fight for free. If he had not done it . . . he would fight no more.

This, as much as the deaths of Johnson and Williams, was a crucial turning point in the war.

Meanwhile, Samuel Sharpe



Crofton, p. 298



Rebel attack on Montpelier estate, Jamaica, December 29, 1831. Scene of the most serious clash in the "Baptist War," Lord Seaford's estate, like a hundred others, was put to the torch. Compare this view with the Hakewill print in Chapter 1, on which Duperley based his imaginative reconstruction. Detail from a lithograph by A. Duperley, 1833.

## The Baptist War: J

then a loose network of conspirators almost exclusively of elite slaves or extended as far as the middle parishes Elizabeth's, and Trelawny parish block of plantations and pens reaches of the Great River in the more distant potential rebels were almost independent. But by at least chief leaders had emerged who had a slave called Johnson on Retrieval meeting over dinner on Christ Church Guthrie in Montego Bay. From the four men were selected to be co-conspirators Johnson himself, "Colonel" Carlisle "Captain" Robert Gardner, the leader of the Belvedere estate, and "Captain" Thomas Hazelymph estate, may have been of different function. Described as a served as a kind of obeah priest, a saddler and deacon in Burchell's parish, the prime conspirator and given in charge of operations in Montego Bay leader, though, was Burchell's chief not only because of his charisma but also because of his almost unique mobility.

Officially belonging to Crofton, but actually as a freedman, with practical connections between Montego Bay and the surrounding areas, negroes believed all that Samuel Crofton the leaders disillusioned by their being born and brought up on the plantation, and besides was head leader of the negroes considered that what Samuel Crofton said must be true, as it was later described the words and actions of Crofton in the clandestine meeting more than the convicted rebel Edward Crofton missionary Rev. Henry Bleby, the condemned cell Hilton had received a message at Montego Bay asking to meet him on the



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Call number: HT1124 .C73

Author: Crespo R., Alberto.

Title: Esclavos negros en Bolivia / Alberto Crespo R.

Publication info: La Paz : Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, 1977.

Description: 220 p. : ill. ; 19 cm.

Note: Bibliography: p. 211-217.

Subject: Slavery--Bolivia--History.

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p. 64, 113  
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**Format:** Book

**Author:** Criswell, Robert.

**Title:** "Uncle Tom's Cabin" contrasted with Buckingham Hall, the planter's home, : or, A fair view of both sides of the slavery question. / By Robert Criswell, Esq. ...

**Imprint:** New-York: : Printed and published by D. Fanshaw, No. 108 Nassau-street., 1852.

**Description:** 152 p., [4] leaves of plates : ill. ; 20 cm.

**Notes:** Spine title: The planter's home.

**Notes:** Frontispiece and some other plates engraved by Whitney-Annin.

**Citations:** Wright, L.H. Amer. fiction, 1851-1875, 660

**Citations:** Hamilton, S. Amer. book illustrators, 620

**Citations:** Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 2810

**Local Notes:** Publisher's advertisements on paste-downs.

**Local Notes:** Inscribed: Every Bodies book Hoboken N.J 78 Garden St 1861 ; Edward E. Cornwall ; William K. Russell.

**Subject:** Slavery --United States --Fiction.

**Subject:** Slaves --Fiction.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Publishers' advertisements --New York (N.Y.) --1852.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Co-Creator:** Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 1811-1896. Uncle Tom's cabin.

**Local Entry:** Illustrator: Annin, Phineas F., engraver.

**Local Entry:** Provenance: Cornwall, Edward Everett, 1866-

**Local Entry:** Provenance: Russell, William K.

**Local Entry:** Imprint: N.Y. New York. 1852.

**Local Entry:** Illustrator: Whitney & Annin, engravers.

**System No.:** PALR92-B2508

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Call number: E 185 .C92 1914

Author: Cromwell, John W. (John Wesley), b. 1846.

Title: **The Negro in American history; men and women eminent in the evolution of the American of African descent, by John W. Cromwell.**

Publication info: Washington, The American Negro academy, 1914.

Description: **xiii, 284 p. front., plates, ports. 24 cm.**

Note: **Bibliography: p. 257-262.**

Subject: African Americans--History

Subject: African Americans--Biography.

Subject: Slavery--United States.

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TOP

WITH THACKERAY  
IN AMERICA

BY

EYRE **GROWE**, A.R.A.

in U.S. Jan 1 Oct. 1852 to Feb 1853

Richmond

~~Set~~

Charleston

ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK  
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS  
1893

*W. M. Thackeray*



W

season of the year, were refreshed by vistas of green leatige. I sketched the distant outline of Washington's home, Mount Vernon. We tried to spot the "New Castlewood," which was raised on the beautiful banks of the Potomac. The delightful season alluded to in the same passage, called the Indian summer, though belonging to late autumn, seemed to have its counterpart in March, for the heat of the day was considerable as we neared Richmond, after changing from steamboat into cars once more.

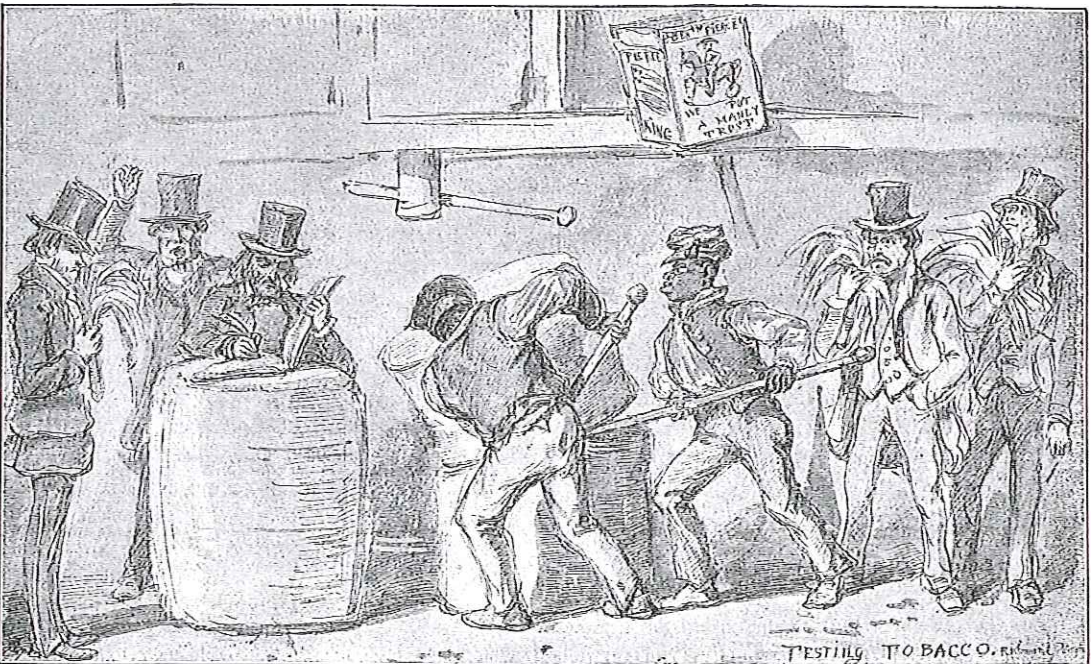
We came into Richmond, as it were, on the day after the fair; some litch in the communication had caused a day's delay. The hall at Richmond was crammed with an expectant audience, who had to be politely informed that the lecture was postponed till the next evening. They took it in good part when informed of the unlucky missing of the train, and dispersed after receiving a telegraphic apology.

As if it were but yesterday, the trite incidents of travel crop up at times in the memory. Thus I remember, at a station between Fredericksburg and Richmond, which was on a steepish gradient, two stalwart negroes arresting the train's movement downwards by periodical thrusts of wooden logs, giving the cars and ourselves quite pleasing jerks in the process, treating these vehicles as a wagoner does his team on going downhill. (There were no brakes

Arrived Richmond

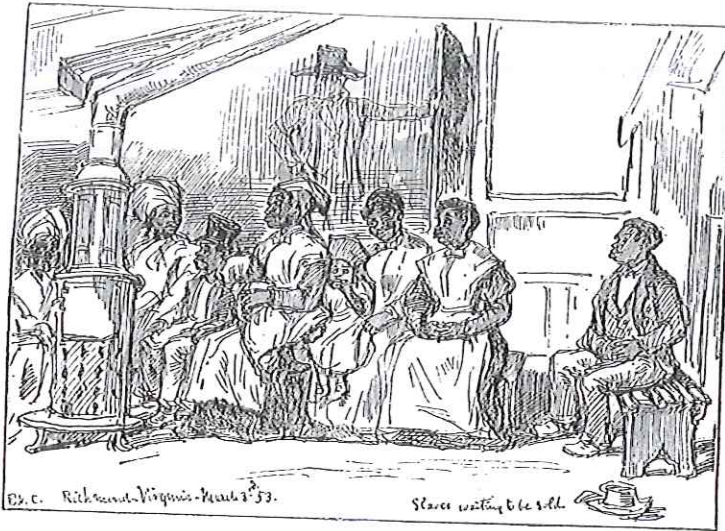
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Spain



TESTING TOBACCO, VIRGINIA

See NW 278



IN THE RICHMOND SLAVE MARKET

into the room I noticed, hanging on the wall, a quaintly framed and dirty lithograph, representing two horsemen galloping upon sorry nags, one of the latter casting its shoe, and his companion having a bandaged greasy fetlock; the marginal inscription on the border was to this effect:—"Beware of what you are about." I have often thought since how foolish it was, on my part, not to have obeyed this premonitory injunction to act prudently in such a place as this was. The ordeal gone through by the several negroes began by making a stalwart hand pace up and down the compartment, as would



be done with a horse, to note his action. This proving satisfactory, some doubt was expressed as to his ocular soundness. This was met by one gentleman unceremoniously fixing one of his thumbs into the socket of the supposed valid eye, holding up a hair by his other hand, and asking the negro to state what was the object held up before him. He was evidently nonplussed, and in pain at the operation, and he went down in the bidding at once. More hands were put up; but by this time feeling a wish for fresh air, I walked out, passing intervening stores and the grouped expectant negroes there.

I got to the last and largest end store, and thinking the sales would occupy a certain time, I thought it might be possible to sketch some of the picturesque figures awaiting their turn. I did so. On rough benches were sitting, huddled close together, neatly dressed in grey, young negro girls with white collars fastened by scarlet bows, and in white aprons. The form of a woman clasping her infant, ever touching, seemed the more so here. There was a muscular field-labourer sitting apart; a rusty old stove filled up another space. Having rapidly sketched these features, I had not time to put my outline away before the whole group of buyers and dealers were in the compartment. I thought the

*Return  
Richmond*

best plan was to go on unconcernedly ; but, perceiving me so engaged, no one would bid. The auctioneer, who had mounted his table, came down and asked me whether, "if I had a business store, and someone came in and interrupted my trading, I should like it." This was unanswerable ; I got up with the intention of leaving quietly, but, feeling this would savour of flight, I turned round to the now evidently angry crowd of dealers, and said, "You may turn me away, but I can recollect all I have seen." I lingered in a neighbouring vacated store, to give myself the attitude of leisurely retreat, and I left this stifling atmosphere of human traffic. "Crowe has been very imprudent," Thackeray wrote to a friend afterwards. And, in truth, I soon reflected it was so. It might have led to unpleasant results to the lecturer himself, bound, as he went South, not to be embroiled in any untoward accident involving interference with the question of slavery, then at fever-heat, owing to Mrs. Stowe's fiery denunciations in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Though I have no real ground for the assumption, it has often occurred to me that the incident was allowed to drop quietly, owing to the timely intervention of friends, who threw oil upon these troubled waters, and buried their wrath in oblivion.

The narrative here given is so simple as to bear the stamp of truth which needs no further corroboration.



Still, by way of amplification of scenes subsequent to my withdrawal—or flight, if the reader prefers, though I was not sensible of it—I herewith give the account, which I found published exactly a week after in the *New York Daily Tribune* of March 10th, written by someone who, unknown to myself, was present on this occasion:—

Extract of part of a letter in the *New York Daily Tribune* of March 10th, 1853, written by a New Yorker on Southern tour. The letter is dated “Richmond, Va., Thursday, March 3rd, 1853:”—

A SLAVE AUCTION IN VIRGINIA

[After describing the previous sales, he comes to the last one.]

“A scene occurred in this room which ‘may yet be heard from.’ Just before the sale commenced, a young well-dressed gentleman entered the room—placing himself in one corner of the room—began to take a sketch, and had proceeded quite far before he was noticed by anyone but myself. At last he attracted the attention of some of the bystanders, until full twenty or more were looking over his shoulder. They all seemed pleased with what he was doing, so long as the sketch was a mere outline, but as he began to finish up the picture, and form his groups of figures, they began to see what he was about, and then someone went up privately to the auctioneer (who had by this time got one or two sold), and informed him what the man was doing. He came down from the stand, went and overlooked what he was doing for a moment, and saw himself written down for the first time in his life. He inquired of the man what he was doing. The answer was, ‘I do not know that I am bound to answer your inquiry.’ Mr.

Auctioneer took his stand again, but was evidently so enraged that he could not go on, for by this time the whole company was aware of what was being done. And some proclaimed with a *loud oath* that the likeness was 'd—d fine,' 'most splendid;' others were for 'footing' him. The artist took the hint, however, without the kick, and left the room. But now we had a specimen of Southern *bravery*. They were all sure that he was an Abolitionist, and they all wanted to 'lend a foot' to kick him, while one small gentleman said he would pay twenty-five dollars to hire a negro to do it. The excitement soon passed over; not, however, without leaving on my mind the truth of the maxim that 'He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day.'"

After these sales we saw the usual exodus of negro slaves, marched under escort of their new owners across the town to the railway station, where they took places, and "went South." They held scanty bundles of clothing, their only possession. These were the scenes which in a very short number of years made one realise the sources of the fiercest of civil wars, and which had their climax when General Grant mustered his forces upon this spot as a centre against the equally gallant General Lee. Placid enough at the time I speak of were the avocations of this place, which is built on a slope, as is its English namesake. Towering above the rest of the houses was the Capitol, inside which was an antiquated stove, which had done service ever so long ago. All genuine works of art stamp a place as quite out of the common.



noble versions are not simply reproduced, instead of modern caracoling equestrian statues filling squares, which give no mortal any pleasure to look at. The clean-shaven face of the "Father of his Country" has



AFTER HOUDON'S WASHINGTON \*

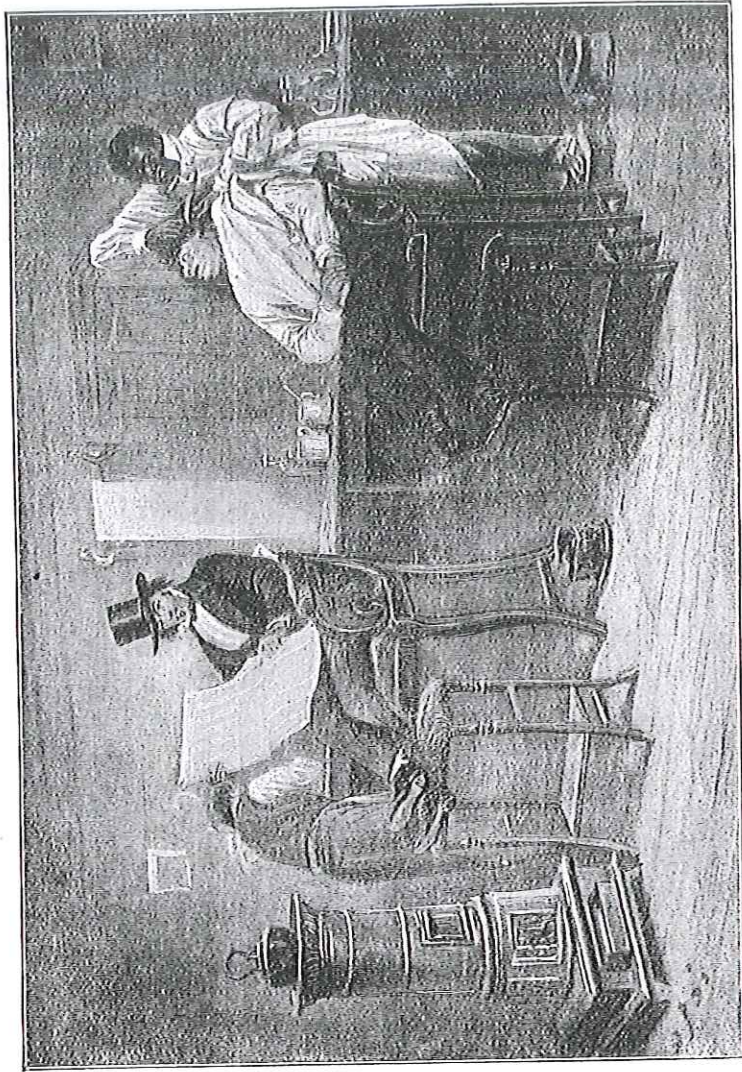
doubtless had the effect of giving encouragement to all good Americans—his children—to do likewise.

Exemplifying this, here is the quaint posture of nearly horizontal rest in which the barber plies the razor upon the cheeks and chins of most of his customers, that curious excrescence—the goatee—

\* Incribed thus: "Fait par Houdon, citoyen Franais, 1788."

See 1LN207

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AN AMERICAN BARBER'S, RICHMOND, VA.

E. CHIPP.



between lip and chin, forming the exception to the usually clean-shaven face.

Petersburg (Virginia) sharing with Richmond in strategic importance during the Civil War, and since that adding its record of valorous defence, was at this time a somewhat somnolent-looking town. I went thither, and made all due arrangements for lecturing. I recollect carrying off in triumph from a drug store a high desk enamelled in white, the MS. leaves of the lecture needing this kind of support, generally dispensed with by extempore speakers. The walls were placarded with announcements of the discourse; the papers were full of advertisements that the lecture would take place.

Thackeray came down by an afternoon train. On inquiry at the ticket offices it was found that very few seats had been taken; the advertisements in the papers had remained unheeded for the most part. As the evening was warm, the hall windows were left open; and as I took a seat on a bench in a square below, I could hear the well-known sentences as they fell from the lecturer's lips, and issued, over well-nigh empty benches, into the calm air of the outside square, where, lounging sadly, I heard them. We philosophised over this queer breach in the hitherto continuous spell of successes, as he afterwards whiffed his cigar, without anyone joining us, in the hotel parlour.

In the early morning I felt myself seeking relief from enforced mutism by button-holing a negro whom I watched digging in a small field. To my query he replied he was working upon an allotment-plot, many of his fellows having the same small ownership of the soil for small market produce given them by liberal landlords. We took the very earliest train to Richmond, glad to get once more amongst friends and to cheerful converse. The sketch of Petersburg presented overleaf (a view which is a little way from the street pavements) gives a notion of the place, at that time quite innocent of forts—unconscious of coming warfare, and that they would bear the brunt of a good deal of it hereafter.

The Easter Monday holiday was here kept, as with us, by popular *dolce far niente* rambles and quiet enjoyment of all factory and other hands, clad in their best.

I sketched one of the factories on the banks of the Appomattox, to which a bare tree was the picturesque foreground. I had time only to indicate the sand collectors and their carts in the front of it.

The night-travelling in the cars in the South, a usual, only admits of snatches of broken rest. You doze perhaps, and you are aroused by the negro fireman, who comes and rakes out the cinders choking

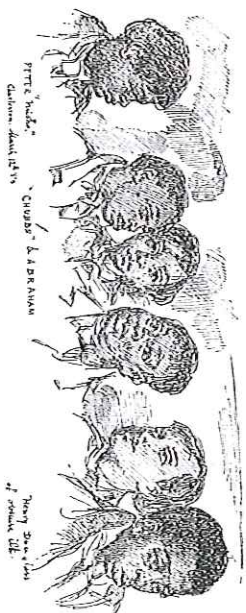
the convenient lounging-benches on all sides by the numerous smokers there assembled.

I asked a young negress to come and have her likeness taken at the hotel, and she did so. She was a peanut seller, was quite modest and retiring, but she confided to us her great grievance against one of the known ordinances of slavery. She wished to go and see a play, but was not allowed the privilege at that time. A friend came in, to whom I showed the sketch, who corroborated her statement. I suppose this disability has since been rescinded, and has ceased to be an order enforced.

Amongst the pleasant remembrances of this time was that of meeting Professor Agassiz, who was then lecturing upon such subjects as Cryptogamous Plants, and Scientific Surveys of Pine and Fir Species. It is terrible to think that the instructive discourse of such a master of science falls on the non-scientific mind with no responsive chord, from sheer incompetence to assimilate the abstruse matters under discussion.

Passing now from gay science to dull fact, the scene of the Charleston slave auction is here given, as a contrast to the Richmond version. Here it was in the open air, and by its picturesque elements lost many of its dismal features. The hands to be disposed

Charleston  
Slave Market



Slave Market  
Charleston

of were fine strapping sons of toil. There were ninety of them, all coming from an estate which was being sold off. They had been employed in the rice-fields of the Combahee river, flowing past the Beaufort and Colleton districts towards the Atlantic. I was much attracted by the group of women especially by a stout matron clasping her infant in her arms, to whose points the dealer pointed with emphasising forefinger. On the right hand was to be seen the emblematic tree of the State, the graceful palmetto, protected by a square bar-grating. Farther away was an earth-imbedded howitzer, acting as prop to the lonnger. Throw in the old Exchange walls as a background, the tall masts of the cotton laden liners in the far distance, and the not inharmonious dresses of the slaves, and you have a picture painful it is true, but also quite curious, as a record of bygone slavery times, actually reproduced as it was and not the result of imaginary composition.



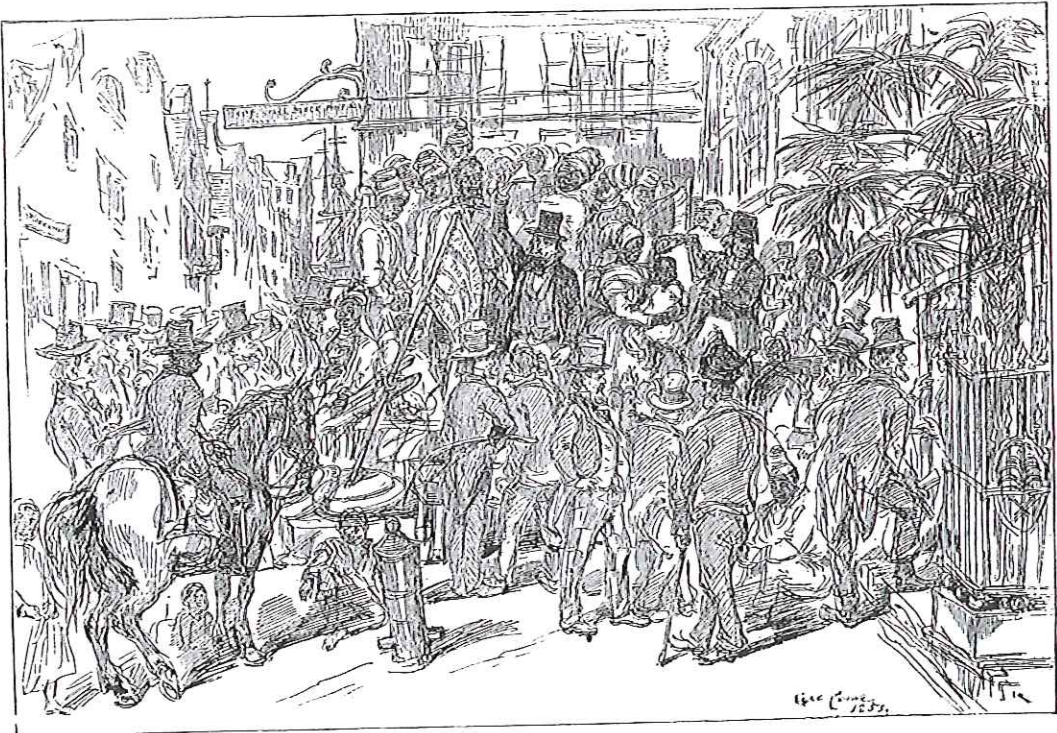
P. 152

Leaving these throngs of labour for those of  
 shion, here is a sketch of one of the principal streets  
 Charleston, the chief feature of it being St.  
 Michael's Church, built in the middle of the last  
 century by a pupil of Wren's. This gives it quite  
 old English air, also consonant with other linger-  
 ing Old World traditions yet found here, such as  
 ten sending children to be educated in Europe, as  
 was done by their forefathers.

But for the change in the lady's attire as to her  
 bonnet, as you see her issuing from the stationer's  
 shop, attended by a negro servant, and ready to step  
 on the semicircular stone into her carriage, the  
 whole scene reminds one of the old prints of our  
 forefathers (where some of these stepping-stones still  
 survive) a hundred years ago.

On the Charleston Quay the negro population  
 finds opportunities for the pencil in their physi-  
 onomy, their dresses, and their callings. Look, for  
 example, at the youth, with brush in hand, dipping  
 into a tar-pot, in order to mark the proper hiero-  
 glyphics upon the side of the compressed cotton bale.  
 Here he sits enthroned—not a bad emblem of the  
 thing "Cotton is king." Other boys, whose faces  
 reveal varying coloured parentage, please by a sort of  
 mental good-lumoured intelligence. You trace these,  
 I also types of stalwart men marked by the same

P. 153 See NW p 277



THE CHARLESTON SLAVE MARKET

file

## Search Result -- Quick Search

Viewing record 1 of 1 from catalog.

Check here to mark this record for Print/Capture

*not in Josiah*

Call number: F 2251 .C84 1891

Author: **Cuervo, Antonio B.**

Title: Colección de documentos inéditos sobre la geografía y la historia de Colombia; recopilados por Antonio B. Cuervo.

(Impresión dirigida y revisada por Francisco Javier Vergara V.)

Publication info: Bogotá, Z. Hermanos, 1891-94.

Description: 4 v.

Note: Imprint varies; v. 2 ~~has~~ imprint: Bogotá, J.J. Pérez, 1892, and lacks editor statement.

Note: Seccion 1. (v. 1-2): Geografía y viajes. Seccion 2. (v. 3-4): Geografía, viajes, misiones y limites.

Contents: t. 1. Costa Atlantica.--t. 2. Costa Pacifica, provincias litorales y campañas de los conquistadores.--t. 3. La hoya del Orinoco durante la Colonia.--t. 4. Casanare y el Caquetá durante la Colonia.

Local note: Creole Petroleum Corp. fund.

Subject: Colombia--History--Sources.

Subject: Colombia--Description and travel.

Related name: Vergara y Velasco, Francisco Javier, 1860-1914,

## SPEC-COLL--

Location: SC-STKS --

Library has: v.1-4

Special Collections Material Location

F 2251 .C84 1891 RAREBOOK Special Collections SC-STKS

*Not at Brown  
u LCP**6/12/06 - don't consult - ~~and check~~  
no illustrations*



received 1LL 7/6/06  
Due 2/07

- Start Over
- Export
- Coded Display
- Return to Browse
- Check InRhode
- Add to RefWorks
- Another Search

(Search History)

AUTHOR  Location : John Carter Brown Library  Search

Record 3 of 3

Record: [Prev](#) [Next](#)

Author **Cueto, Emilio, 1944-**  
 Title **Mialhe's colonial Cuba : the prints that shaped the world's view of Cuba / by Emilio Cueto**  
 Published Miami : Historical Association of Southern Florida, c1994  
 Descript'n vii, 132 p. : ill. (some col.) ; 22 x 28 cm

[Permalink to this Josiah record](#)

LOCATION	CALL #	STATUS
JCB	REF NE2325.5.M5 A4 1994	USE IN LIBRARY

Note Catalog of an exhibition held at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida from Oct. 6, 1994-Jan. 30, 1995  
 Includes bibliographical references and index

LC subject Mialhe, Frédéric, 1810-1881 -- Exhibitions  
Cueto, Emilio, 1944- -- Art collections -- Exhibitions

LC subject Cuba -- Art -- Exhibitions  
Lithography -- Private collections -- Washington (D.C.) -- Exhibitions

Other au Mialhe, Frédéric, 1810-1881  
Historical Museum of Southern Florida (Miami, Fla.)

ISBN 0935761071  
 LCCN 95135344  
 Rlin/oclc RIBR03-B5019

Record 3 of 3

Record: [Prev](#) [Next](#)

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- Another Search

(Search History)

~~checked~~ Not in UVA

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6/16/06 - Some good stuff - this has to be studied for the trace down originals of some of these - also look at website -

Album Historias de la isla de Cuba

6/16/06 - requested this item as 1LL from UVA ✓  
7/6/06 - received Georgetown Univ. Libran

© Steen Prijs 122

Some notes on Miahle

who was he, when did we do stuff - see introduced by Cueto 1-7

Who was Miahle

was in Cuba 1838-1854

El Plantel - magazine

check ~~it~~ publications Isla de Cuba Pintoresco

See following items in El plantel

#3 pp 16-17

xerox pp. 25-28

p. 41 - 1912ora

58 - trapiche

74 - see note on plagiarism

95 - 91 Quintrid

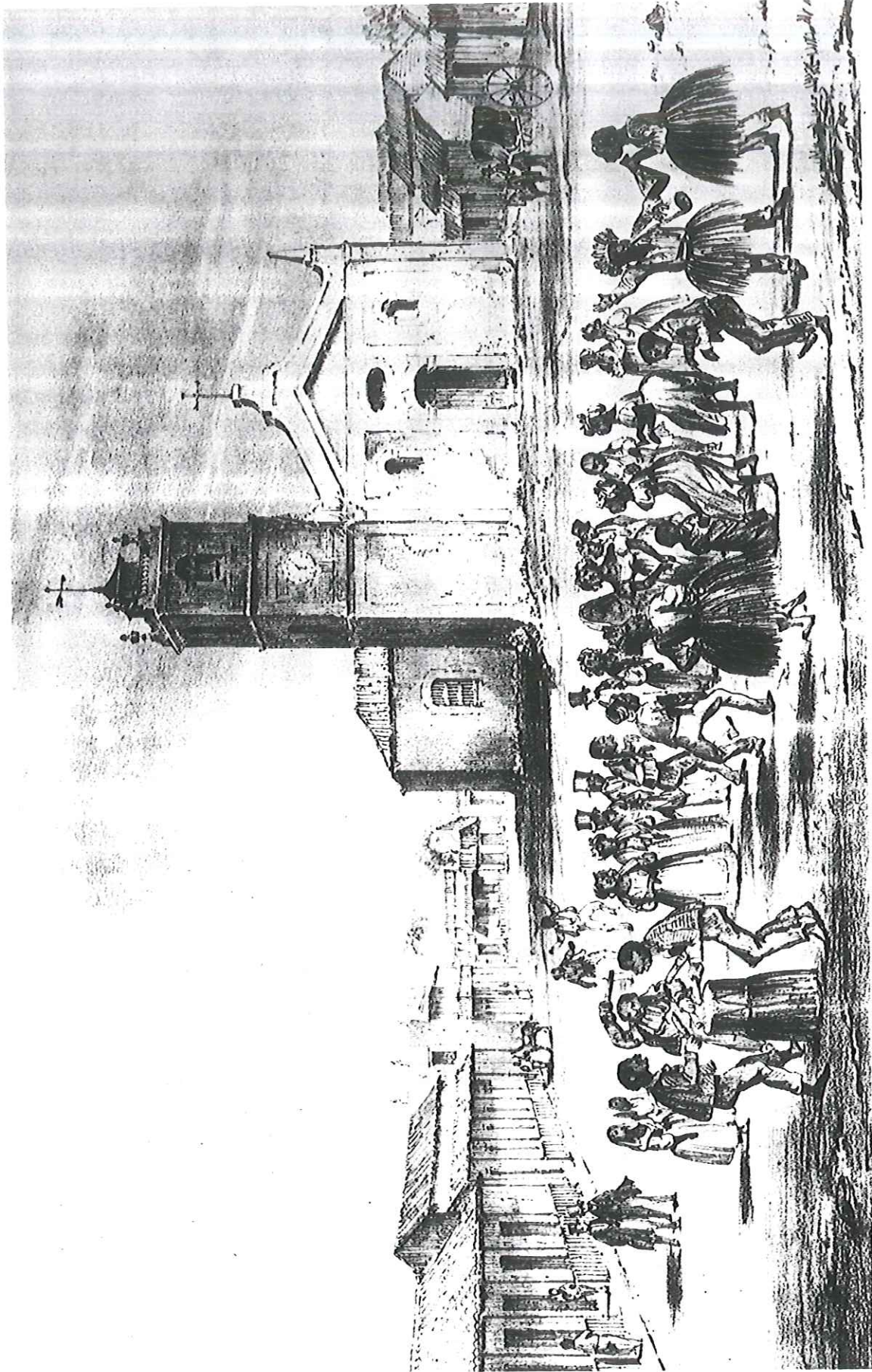
97 - Panadero

105 - Dia de Reyes

115 - pescadores



Not a work of art



IGLESIA Y PLAZA DE GUINES.  
Guines Church and Plaza.

(1840)





New Search    Modify Search    Title List    Locations    Start Over    Sign Off    Help

Full Display -- Library Company of Philadelphia  
<Title> "curious adventures of captain stedman" -- Title 1 of 2



Options:

◀ PREV NEXT ▶

Bottom

First   Last

**Format:** Book

**Title:** Curious adventures of Captain Stedman, during an expedition to Surinam, in 1773 : including the struggles of the Negroes, and the barbarities of the planters, dreadful executions, the manner of selling slaves, mutiny of sailors, soldiers, &c. and various other interesting articles.

**Imprint:** London : Printed for Thomas Tegg, [1809] [T. Plummer Printer]

**Description:** [5]-28 p., 1 fold. plate (aquatint frontis.) ; 19 cm. (12mo)

**Notes:** Extracted from Stedman's Narrative of five years' expedition .... Includes "The loss of His Majesty's ship, Romney" (pp. 26-28). *An abolitionist tract*

**Notes:** Not listed in Lib. Company. Afro-Americana. *LCP*

**Citations:** Sabin 91072

**Subject:** Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797.

**Subject:** Punishment --Surinam.

**Subject:** Indians of South America --Suriname.

**Subject:** Slavery --Surinam.

**Subject:** Suriname --History --To 1814.

**Genre/Phys. Char.:** Anti-slavery literature --Great Britain.

**Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Co-Creator:** Stedman, John Gabriel, 1744-1797. Narrative of five years' expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam.

**Local Entry:** Printer:Tegg, Thomas, bookseller.

**Local Entry:** Printer:Plummer, T., printer.

**Local Entry:** Imprint:ENG. London. 1809.

**System No.:** PALR89-B1238

*10/11/04*  
*This is a old art & w/*  
*eng drawing (as shown in*  
*the photocopy from Captive*  
*Paradise) - very much*  
*embellished by abolitionist*  
*artist - ordered scan*

**Locations**

**Library Company of Philadelphia: Rare Am 1809 Cur 68448.D 1 (My Library)**

◀ PREV NEXT ▶

Top

First   Last



New Search

Modify Search

Title List

Locations

Start Over

Sign Off

Help

Full Display -- Library Company of Philadelphia

&lt;Title&gt; "curious adventures of captain stedman" -- Title 2 of 2

Options: Use Labeled Format 
 
Bottom First   Last

- Format:** Visual Material
- Title:** [Frontispiece for the Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman] [graphic].
- Imprint:** [London: s.n., 1809]
- Description:** 1 print: aquatint; image 17 x 24 cm. (6.75 x 9.5 in)
- Electronic Location:** Digital image <http://www.lcpgraphics.org/afro-american/F157.htm>
- Notes:** Folded frontispiece for the Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman, during an expedition to Surinam in 1773 (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg [1809]).
- Summary:** Image relates to an episode that Captain John Stedman witnessed during his travels in Surinam, and went on to describe in his text, Narrative, of a five year's expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America; from the year 1772 to 1777 (London: Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard, & J. Edwards, Pall Mall, 1796). In the corresponding passage, Stedman described how a beautiful Samboe girl of about eighteen was tied by both arms to a tree limb and flagellated by two overseers in such a manner that "she was from her neck to her ancles [sic] literally dyed over with blood." When Stedman arrived on the scene, the girl had already received 200 lashes, and he begged one of the overseers to let her down. At this point, the overseer explained that, in order to prevent strangers from interfering with his government, he had made an unalterable rule to double any slave's punishment when a stranger tried to intervene on his or her behalf. To Stedman's utter dismay, the girl thus received another 200 lashes. Stedman's own 1796 text included an illustration of this terrible episode: an engraving done by William Blake after one of Stedman's drawings. Like Blake's engraving, the 1809 aquatint shows the two black overseers who carried out the girl's punishment, the planter who presumably ordered it, and the slave girl herself. The aquatint, however, differs substantially in style, composition, and interpretation.
- Local Notes:** Fels Afro-Americana Image Project, Punishment Scenes.
- Subject:** Slavery --Suriname --History --Pictorial works --18th century.
- Subject:** Women slaves --Punishment & torture --Suriname.
- Subject:** Whipping.
- Genre/Phys. Char.:** Aquatints --1800-1810.
- Genre/Phys. Char.:** Book illustrations --1800-1810.
- Genre/Phys. Char.:** Frontispieces --1800-1810.
- Subject:** SP3 Afro-Americana.





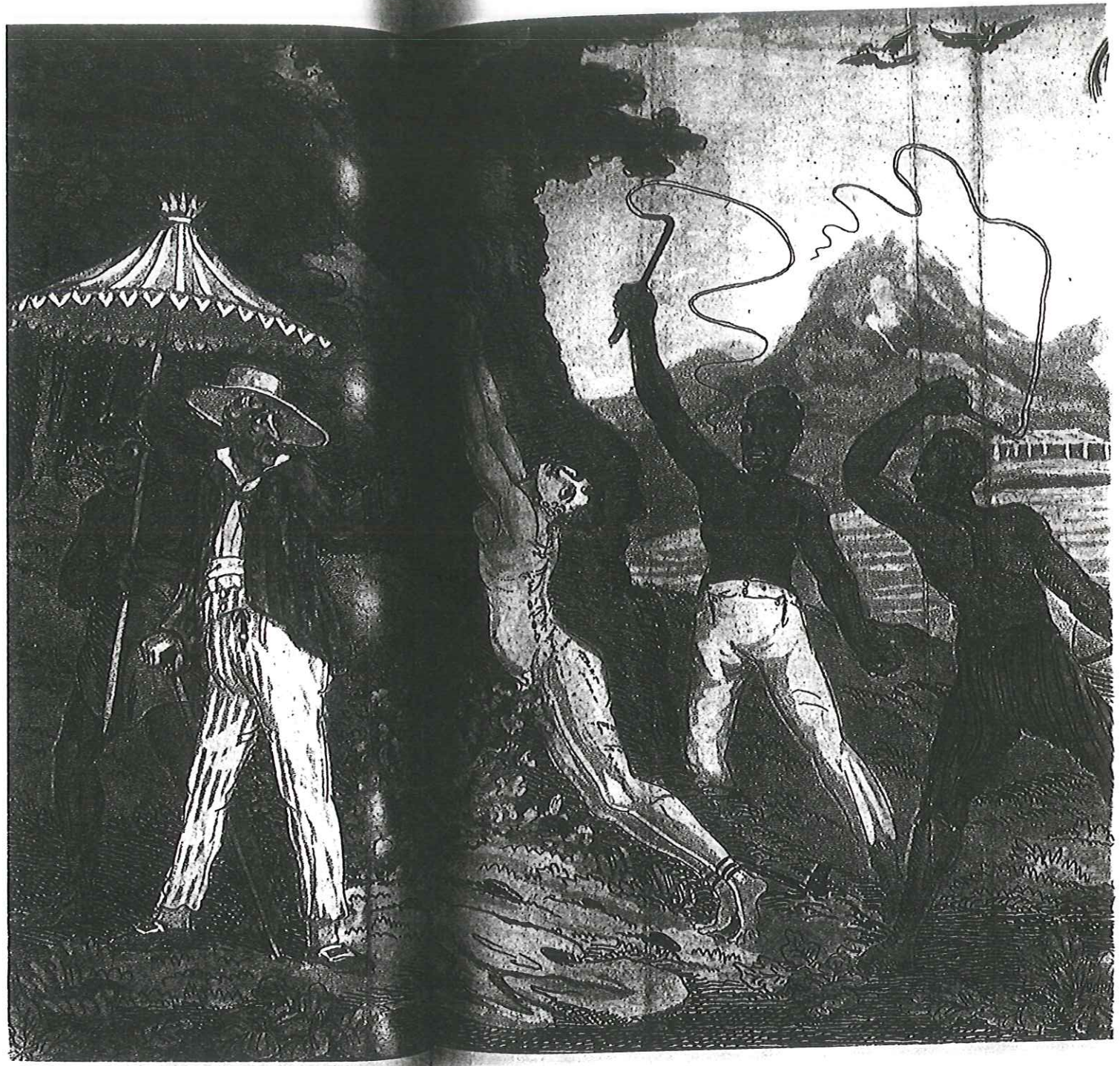
UUA - NO  
LCP - 44

Engraving, "Barbarous Cruelty Inflicted on a Negroe," from *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman During an Expedition to Surinam, 1796*. An English gentleman with the military rank of captain, John Gabriel Stedman spent more than five years in the Dutch colony of Surinam in the 1770s, documenting the tropical colony's plant and animal life as well as colonial agricultural enterprises that depended on slave labor.



Si not on

JS



Engraving, "Barbarous Cruelty Infl  
Captain Stedman During an Expec  
military rank of captain, John Gab  
colony of Surinam in the 1770s, d  
as well as colonial agricultural ent

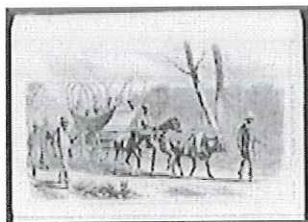


plate 30 - Pete



## Item 8 of 375

*Click on picture for larger image, full item, or more versions.*

How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** The war in Virginia - contrabands coming in to the Union camp [Blacks in wagon and walking]

**CALL NUMBER:** Illus. in AP2.L52 1864 [Case Y] [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZ62-88806 (b&w film copy neg.)  
No known restrictions on publication.

**MEDIUM:** 1 print : wood engraving.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** 1864.

**NOTES:**

Title and other information transcribed from caption card.

Wood engraving after drawing by **Edwin Forbes**.

Illus. in: Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper, vol. 18, no. 464 (1864 Aug. 20), p. 340.

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3b35222 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b35222>

**CARD #:** 99614127

View the [MARC Record](#) for this item.





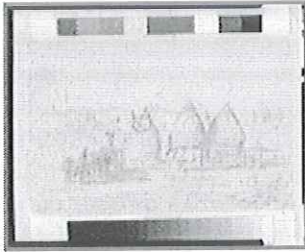
Loc - (file) Loc



note TIF = download

## Item 1 of 34

Click on picture for larger image, full item, or more versions.



~~Alba-Wheat~~  
LOC - Forbes 188

How to obtain copies of this item**TITLE:** Culpepper [i.e., Culpeper], Va.--Stacking wheat / E.F.**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG/US - Forbes, no. 188 (A size) [P&P]**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-2040 (color film copy transparency)

LC-USZCN4-303 (color film copy neg.)

LC-USZ62-1073 (b&amp;w film copy neg.)

No known restrictions on publication.

**SUMMARY:** African Americans **stacking wheat** near Culpeper Courthouse, Va.**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : pencil.**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** 1863 Sept. 26.**CREATOR:**Forbes, Edwin, 1839-1895, artist.**NOTES:**

Reference copy in: Civil War Drawings - Miscellaneous.

Gift, J.P. Morgan, 1919 (DLC/PP-1919:R1.1.187)

Forms part of: Civil War drawing collection.

**SUBJECTS:**African Americans--Employment--1860-1870.Harvesting--1860-1870.Wheat--1860-1870.

Ox teams--1860-1870.

United States--History--Civil War, 1861-1865.

United States--Virginia--Culpeper

**FORMAT:**

Drawings American 1860-1870.

**PART OF:** Civil War drawing collection

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (color film copy transparency) cph 3g02040 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g02040>  
(b&w film copy neg.) cph 3a04940 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a04940>

**CARD #:** 2004661851

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View the [MARC Record](#) for this item.

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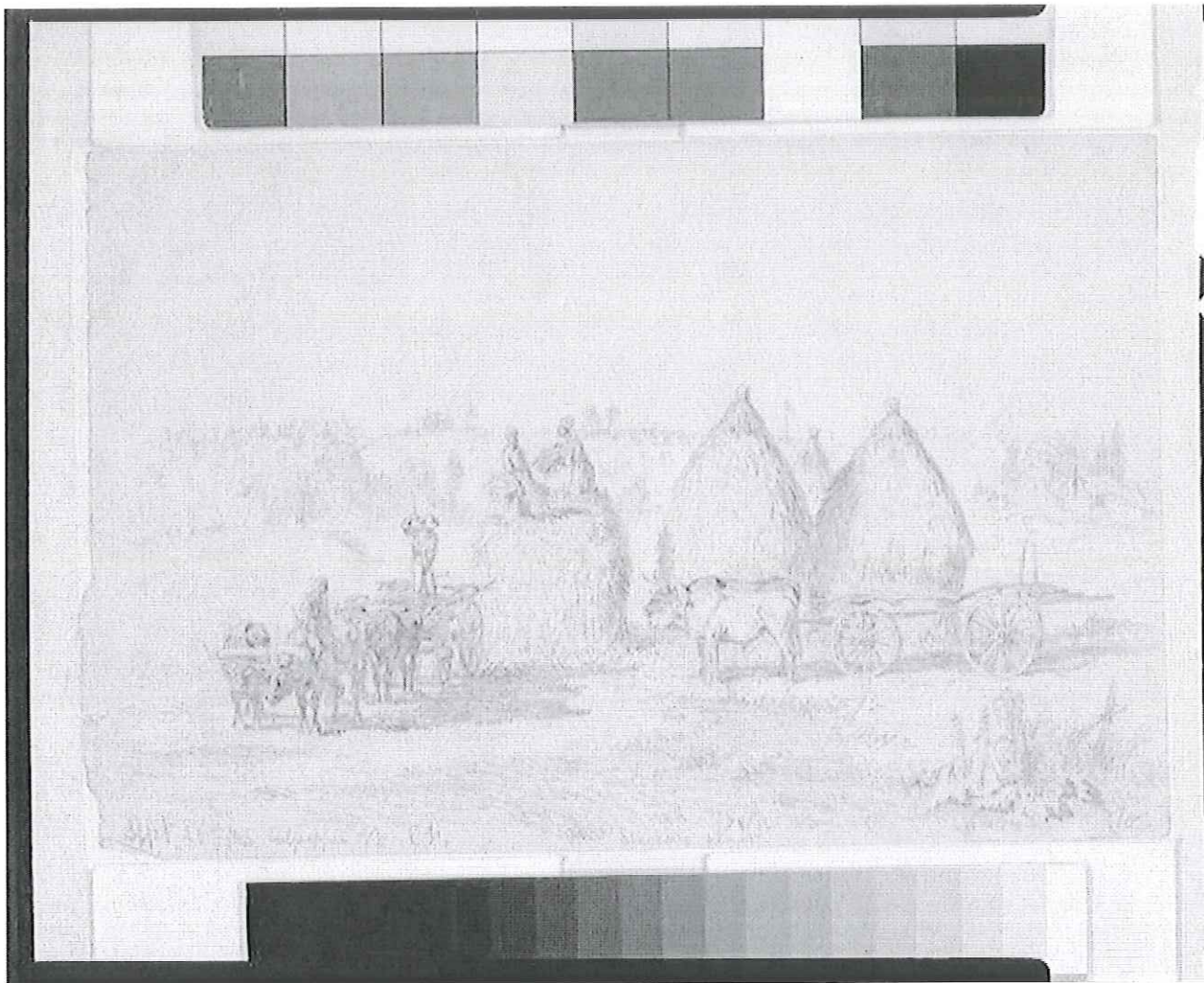
**Digital ID:** cph 3g02040 **Source:** color film copy transparency

**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZC4-2040 (color film copy transparency) , LC-USZCN4-303 (color film copy neg.) , LC-USZ62-1073 (b&w film copy neg.)

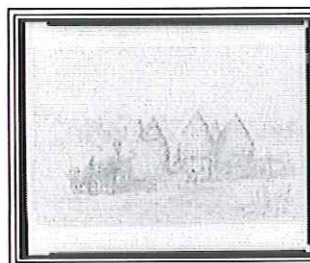
**Repository:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

[Retrieve higher resolution JPEG version \(164 kilobytes\)](#)

[Retrieve uncompressed archival TIFF version \(4 megabytes\)](#)



### Additional versions and related images



**Digital ID:** cph 3a04940

**Source:** b&w film copy neg.

[Medium resolution JPEG version \(60 kilobytes\)](#)

[Retrieve higher resolution JPEG version \(98 kilobytes\)](#)

[Retrieve uncompressed archival TIFF version \(1,279 kilobytes\)](#)



## Item 76 of 79



www  
BERRY 128  
^

How to obtain copies of this item**TITLE:** [Woman beating cassava, Jamaica]**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - **Berryman**, no. 128 (AA size) [P&P]**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-3072 (color film copy transparency)  
LC-USZ62-102406 (b&w film copy neg.)**SUMMARY:** Rear view of black woman in yard, chickens and thatched roof structure nearby.**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : watercolor and gray ink.**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]**CREATOR:**Berryman, William, artist.**NOTES:**

"Jamaica scenery".

Library of Congress prints and photographs: an illustrated guide / Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. : Library of Congress, 1995, p. 49

**SUBJECTS:**Women--Domestic life--Jamaica--1800-1820.Blacks--Subsistence activities--Jamaica--1800-1820.Home food processing--Jamaica--1800-1820.**FORMAT:**





## Item 24 of 79



*AWW*  
*BERRY 38*

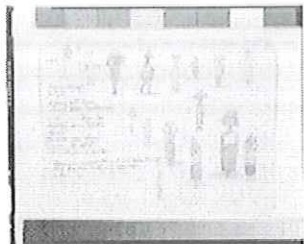
**How to obtain copies of this item****TITLE:** [Two chickens, two pigs, and huts, Jamaica]**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 38 (AA size) [P&P]**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-3073 (color film copy transparency)  
LC-USZ62-117361 (b&w film copy neg.)**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : watercolor and ink.**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]**CREATOR:**Berryman, William, artist.**NOTES:**

Jamaica scenery 30.

**SUBJECTS:**Houses--Jamaica--1800-1820.  
Chickens--Jamaica--1800-1820.**FORMAT:**Watercolors 1800-1820.  
Drawings Color 1800-1820**DIGITAL ID:** (color film copy transparency) cph 3g03073 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g03073>  
(b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c17361 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c17361>



## Item 28 of 79



*Wm  
Berry 130*

How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** [Negro portraits, 16 small drawings with notations]

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - **Berryman**, no. 130 (AA size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-5028 (color film copy transparency)  
LC-USZ62-117358 (b&w film copy neg.)

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : brown and grey ink, pencil, watercolor.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]

**CREATOR:**

Berryman, William, artist.

**NOTES:**

Title transcribed from finding aid.

**SUBJECTS:**

Jamaicans--Clothing & dress--1800-1820.

People--Jamaica--1800-1820.

**FORMAT:**

Watercolors 1800-1820.

Drawings Color 1800-1820.

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (color film copy transparency) cph 3g05028 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g05028>  
(b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c17358 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c17358>





ll



## Item 7 of 79



BERRYMAN  
10

How to obtain copies of this item

TITLE: Bagging cotton

CALL NUMBER: DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 10 (AA size) [P&P]

REPRODUCTION NUMBER: LC-USZ62-110700 (b&amp;w film copy neg.)

SUMMARY: Two Jamaicans on raised structure, with tall bag for cotton.

MEDIUM: 1 drawing.

CREATED/PUBLISHED: [between 1808 and 1816]

## CREATOR:

Berryman, William, artist.

## SUBJECTS:

Jamaicans--Employment--1800-1820.  
Cotton industry--Jamaica--1800-1820.

## FORMAT:

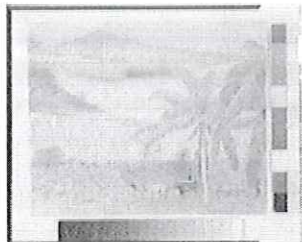
Drawings 1800-1820.DIGITAL ID: (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c10700 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c10700>

CARD #: 94504334

View the MARC Record for this item.



Item 36 of 79



BERRYMAN  
Berryman 5

**How to obtain copies of this item**

**TITLE:** Sugar estate - Negroes cutting cane

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 5 (A size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-4988 (color film copy transparency)

**SUMMARY:** Sugar plantation with palm tree in foreground, Jamaica.

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : watercolor, black ink.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]

**CREATOR:**

Berryman, William, artist.

**NOTES:**

Title transcribed from finding aid.

Jamaica scenery no. 20.

**SUBJECTS:**

Sugar plantations--Jamaica--1800-1820.

Carts & wagons--Jamaica--1800-1820.

Palms--Jamaica--1800-1820.

**FORMAT:**

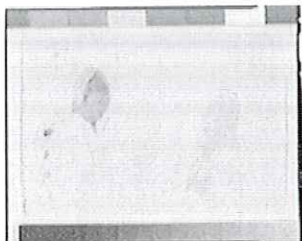
Watercolors 1800-1820.

Landscape drawings Color 1800-1820.





Item 10 of 79



*man*  
*Berry 290*

**How to obtain copies of this item**

**TITLE:** [Portraits of two native women, one black and one light-skinned, Jamaica]

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 290 (AA size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-3075 (color film copy transparency)

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : watercolor, pencil.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]

**CREATOR:**

Berryman, William, artist.

**SUBJECTS:**

Women--Jamaica--1800-1820.

**FORMAT:**

Portrait drawings 1800-1820.

Drawings Color 1800-1820.

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (digital file from color film copy transparency) cph 3g03075  
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g03075>

**CARD #:** 94506683

View the [MARC Record](#) for this item.

X = digitize  
X+ done

✓ - printed

✓ - digital images  
NO - NO image

Berryman, William (views of Jamaica) - LOC

Total of 78 drawings

Oct. 4 - 79 drawings

Materials to examine - Call nos.

DRWG-1- Berryman, no.

~~as for~~  
bottom shelf of  
hold open

~~33 (evaporation ponds)~~

X X 10 (bagging cotton) ✓

X X 290 (2 women) ✓

~~35 (negro hut)~~ ?

- X X 29 (negro village) ✓

X X 130 (negro portraits) ✓

~~143 (washerwomen) NO~~

~~X X 5 (sugar estate, cutting cane) ✓~~

~~158 (bagging cotton) NO~~

~~7 (sugar works) NO~~

~~49 (maroon) NO~~

X X 128 (women beating cassava) ✓

X X ✓ 38 (two chickens, two pigs) ✓

~~12 to be viewed~~

X X 13 plantain walk ✓

10/13/06 - LOC -

Views are above drawings, most are very small for sketches, roughly done, which give very little detail, occasionally there is some that are partially or entirely watercolor -

See website at P&P for caption

Save Date

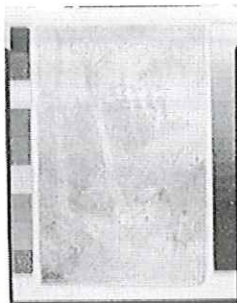
~~p. tentacles~~







## Item 64 of 79

How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** Plantain Walk - Bookkeeper - Watchman and Hut - man with casks of water / greattoe in stirrup

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 13 (AA size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-5029 (color film copy transparency)  
LC-USZ62-117363 (b&w film copy neg.)

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing : watercolor, black ink, pencil.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1808 and 1816]

**CREATOR:**

Berryman, William, artist.

**NOTES:**

Title transcribed from finding aid.

Further description on verso: Jamaica scenery 4 - Plantain walk - watchman's hut, Negro watchman & book-keeper - Negro on a mule.

**SUBJECTS:**

Huts--Jamaica--1800-1820.  
Plantations--Jamaica--1800-1820.

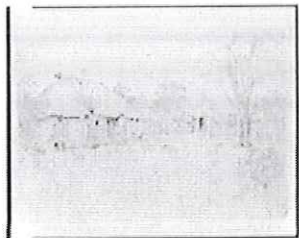
**FORMAT:**

Watercolors 1800-1820.





## Item 26 of 79



*John-T JSE*

How to obtain copies of this item

TITLE: [View of Negro village]

CALL NUMBER: DRWG 1 - Berryman, no. 29 (AA size) [P&P]

REPRODUCTION NUMBER: LC-USZ62-117362 (b&amp;w film copy neg.)

MEDIUM: 1 drawing : black and grey ink, pencil.

CREATED/PUBLISHED: [between 1808 and 1816]

## CREATOR:

Berryman, William, artist.

## NOTES:

Title transcribed from finding aid.

Verso: Near Rodon Hall.

## SUBJECTS:

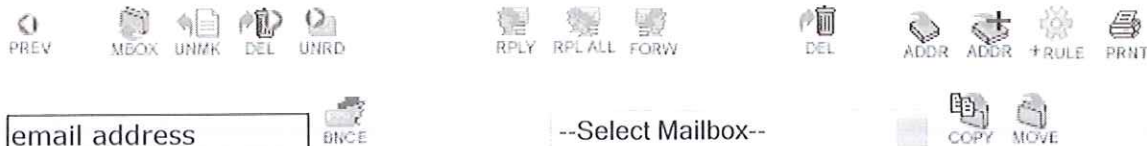
Houses--Jamaica--1800-1820.Thatched roofs--Jamaica--1800-1820.Villages--Jamaica--1800-1820.

## FORMAT:

Ink drawings 1800-1820.DIGITAL ID: (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c17362 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c17362>

CARD #: 96522191

## Seen Message in "INBOX"





--Select Mailbox--



From: "Sara Willett Duke" <sduk@loc.gov>  
 Subject: Re: Berryman drawings  
 Date: Tue, 03 Oct 2006 14:19:43 -0400  
 To: <jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu>



If you see an image in the online record, then a tif exists. It may be a tif of a black & white 8x10 negative or a 4x5 color transparency. The only time there will be a tif of digital scan made directly from the drawing is if you see LC-DIG-ppmsca as a reproduction number.

---

>>> "Jerome Handler" <jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu> 10/3/2006 >>>  
 Sara. Thanks for your conscientious assistance. The materials you will put out will be quite sufficient. I am unclear on one thing, however. Can all 12 of the Berryman images be downloaded as TIFF files on site? best, Jerome Handler P.S. yes, I am acquainted with the websites. If you'll look at the one below you'll see that I was one of the consultants (named as jerry) and have done other stuff with IPO as well; have some good friends there, as a matter of fact <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/>.

On Tue, 03 Oct 2006 12:00:37 -0400

"Sara Willett Duke" <sduk@loc.gov> wrote:  
 > Jerome -  
 >  
 > I will arrange to have the 12 drawings pulled in advance for you on the >13th, even though I will not be available to assist you in research. They >will be available on the hold shelves in a temporary storage box with a >slip bearing your name. I will also pull the finding aid and put it with >the box (if I forget, the reference staff will know where to





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Brunia*



June 06  
Write Yale requesting  
scans of Brunia images  
that would complement  
our website

*OK Jane*

Mulatress and Negro Woman Bathing; Peabody Number 975-5-30/9416d

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*Some contain elements of images shown on this website,  
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French Mulatresses of St. Dominica in their Proper Dress; Peabody Number 975-5-30/9416a

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French Mulatress of St. Dominica and a Negro Woman; Peabody Number 975-5-30/9416b

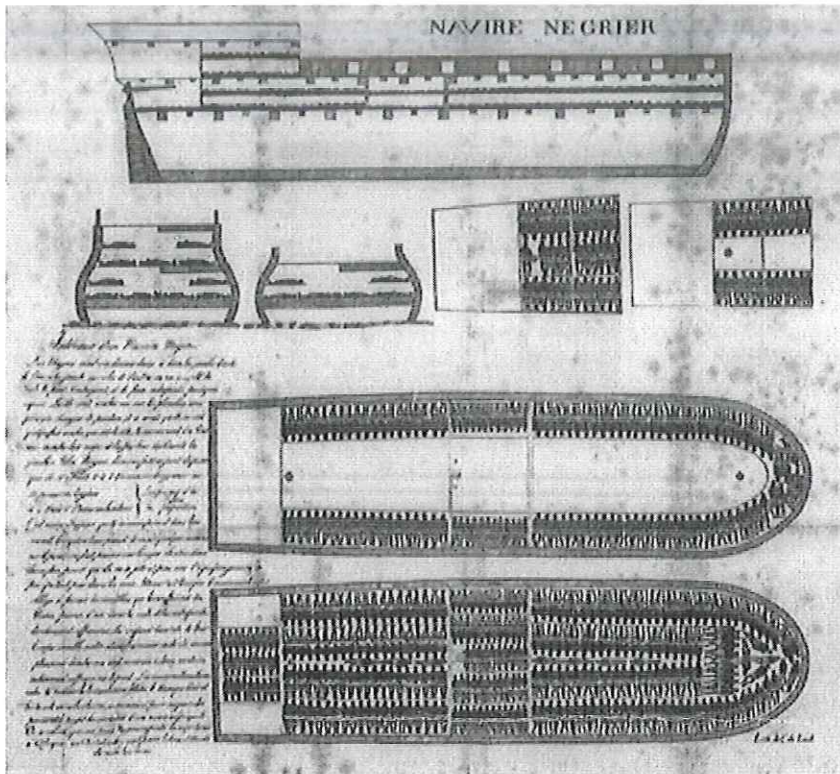
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## The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

### The Decks of a Slave Ship, early 19th cent.



#### Image Reference

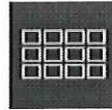
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#### Source

Faits relatifs a la traite des noirs (published by the Société de la morale Chrétienne. Comité pour l'abolition de la traite des noirs; Paris, 1826), fold-out facing title page. (Copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University)

#### Comments

Titled simply "Navire Negrier" (Slave Ship), this image gives several perspectives of a slaving vessel, particularly cross-sectional views of the decks holding the enslaved. The image appears in a booklet published by a French society against the slave trade but was derived from the well-known image of the British slave ship, Brookes (see E014; also Wad-1). However, at the left of this illustration, there is a handwritten description of the extraordinarily cramped conditions on the ship, perhaps written by someone who had observed such conditions first-hand. Examining the illustration closely, one can notice that in the male compartments (lower deck right side; middle deck right side), men are shown manacled by the wrists as well as the ankles. The description reads as follows (we loosely translate): "The Negroes are chained two by two, the right leg of one to the left leg of the other. They fill up the hold, the deck, the between decks, as well as the platforms specially built between the decks. The enslaved lay nude on planks, without being able to change their position, and so cramped that sometimes they have to lie on their side. The motion of the vessel chafes their bodies and the irons tear their legs . . . . when they are permitted to come on the top decks for a few moments, a long chain is passed through their irons so that they don't attack the ship's crew or throw themselves into the sea. But when bad



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*See original French*

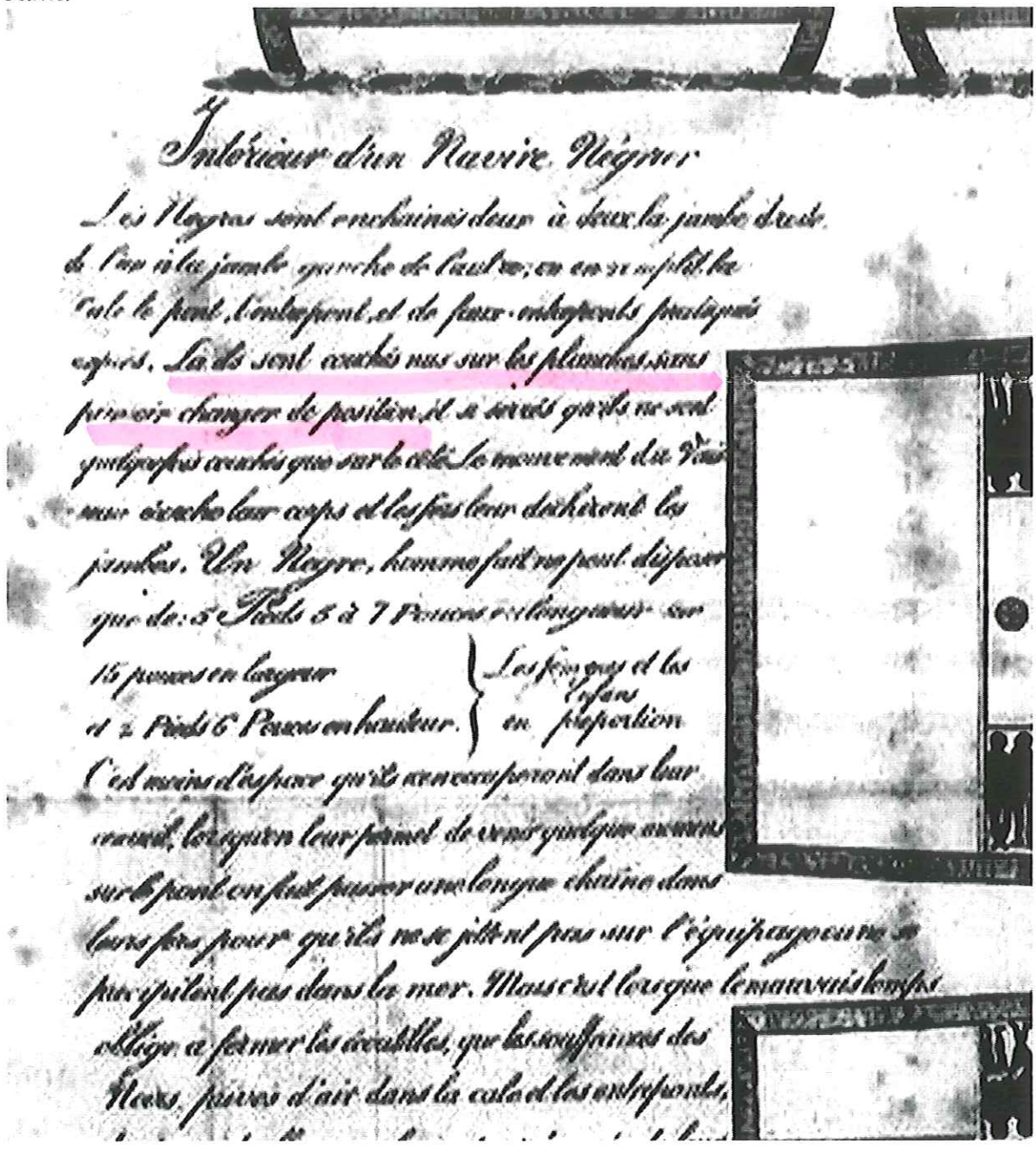


"... ils sont couchés nus sur les planches, sans pouvoir changer de position..."

From: Jama Coartney <jsc3x@unix.mail.virginia.edu>  
Subject: the image of the text--not so good  
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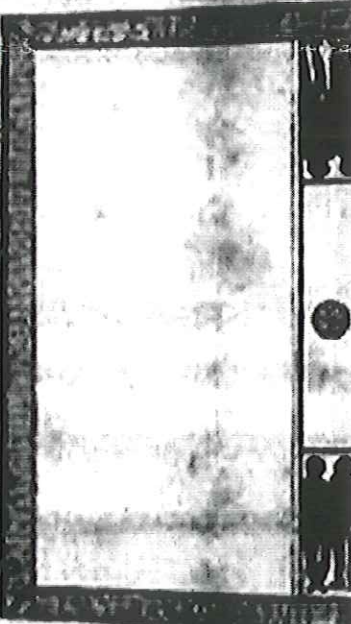
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Jama



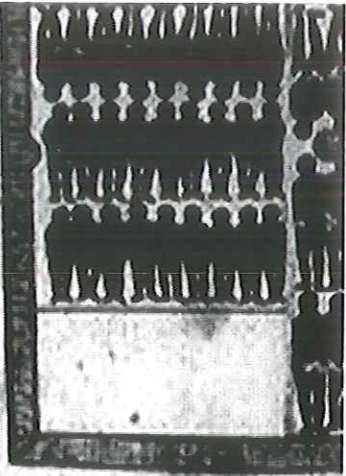
Intérieur d'un Navire Nègre

Les Nègres sont enchaînés deux à deux, la jambe droite de l'un à la jambe gauche de l'autre; en en remplissant le reste le pont, l'entrepont, et de faux entreponts postérieurs, ils sont couchés nus sur les planches, sans pouvoir changer de position, et à certains endroits ne sont qu'à peine couchés que sur le côté. Le mouvement du vaisseau secoue leur corps et les fait leur déchirer les jambes. Un Nègre, homme fait ne peut dépasser que de 5 Pies 6 à 7 Pousces en longueur sur 16 pousces en largeur et 2 Pies 6 Pousces en hauteur. Les pieds et les mains en proportion. C'est moins d'espace qu'ils occuperoient dans leur pays, lorsqu'on leur permet de venir quelquefois sur le pont en fait passer une longue chaîne dans leurs pieds pour qu'ils ne se jettent pas sur l'équipage ou ne se précipitent pas dans la mer. Mais c'est lorsque le mauvais temps oblige à fermer les écoutilles, que les souffrances des Nègres, privés d'air dans les calats et les entreponts,





deviennent affreuses, les vapeurs épaisses de leur  
Corps semble sortir d'une fumée cadente, comme  
plusieurs d'entre eux sont à moitié morts, ou  
entièrement suffoqué sur le pont. Les insurrections les au-  
rès les autres, les esclaves fâchés le Monarque d'air et  
les traitements barbares se réunissent pour augmenter  
presque toujours la mortalité d'une manière effroyable.  
On a calculé que sur 1000 Nègres exportés en nos ports  
à l'usage nos & c'est à dire un quart étaient morts  
dans la traversée



*P. 1e*

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## Liberty & equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835

Helg, Aline, 1953-

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needs of free people of color, Indians, and slaves, which would have helped spread the movement to the Caribbean provinces. Among the thirty-five clauses of the *Comuneros' plan de capitulaciones*, only one mentioned free blacks, demanding a reduction by half of their tribute, the *reguinto*, which in reality had never been collected. Other clauses mentioned Indians but many aimed at restoring community lands in the form of individual properties, which ultimately would make these available for purchase by non-Indians. The *Comuneros* were notably silent on slavery: not a single clause referred to slaves.<sup>98</sup> The *Comunero Revolt's* failure to spread to Caribbean New Granada probably was also due to the region's history of weak solidarity with the Andean interior.<sup>99</sup>

Neither did the Haitian Revolution echo in rebellions of free people of color and slaves against whites in the Caribbean New Granadan countryside—notwithstanding that most haciendas were relatively isolated and often had more slaves than free persons on their land. In fact, the resurgence of slave conflicts, rebellions, and escapes in late-eighteenth-century New Granada noted by Jaime Jaramillo was limited to the Cauca region, with its numerous slave plantations. In the Caribbean, Jaramillo identifies only one unsuccessful occurrence in a hacienda in the jurisdiction of Mompos, where in 1799 slaves rebelled against the takeover of the property by their owner's heirs and refused, arms in hand, to serve any white. Slaves stayed in their workplace but rejected the new authority over them, acting as if the hacienda had become theirs at the death of their master. They resisted until 1802, when some slaves betrayed the others.<sup>100</sup> Closer to the reality, Hernes Tovar argues that in New Granada there were several *runners* of slave rebellions but no major uprisings. Rather, slaves struggled “to enter the world of the legitimacy of slavery to break it from within.”<sup>101</sup> To gain their freedom, they individually used various legal means—self-purchase, manumission for loyal services or sexual favors, the denunciation of their master for mistreatment, and the purchase of their freedom by paying their owner their appraised value—as well as illegal means—above all, flight.<sup>102</sup> After 1791, Caribbean New Granadan slaves' preference for methods of resistance other than rebellion did not mean that they ignored the Haitian Revolution but had a deep understanding of local conditions. Even in the Caribbean islands and the Circum Caribbean, few large-scale slave uprisings occurred after 1791.<sup>103</sup> In New Granada, slaves were simply not nu-

and mines was difficult. For instance, it took four days of canoeing and trekking, including passing through a prominent pueblo of Emberá, to travel between the two most important gold mines south of Ayapel—La Soledad, owned by the marquis of Santa Coa, which employed over one hundred slaves and laborers, and the mine of Uré “with an abundance of Blacks.”<sup>104</sup> In haciendas close to pueblos de indios, such as those along the Magdalena River, owners often entrusted their slaves with the task of harassing Indians or driving out free squatters of color. This pitted the slaves against the other groups, thus preventing any alliance between them. At the same time it probably allowed unruly slaves to take out their aggression on the victims of their masters.<sup>105</sup> And as suggested by David Gegus, the existence of sanctuaries for runaway slaves in frontier areas, something so characteristic of Caribbean New Granada, helped decrease the likelihood of rebellion. Arguably, some slaveowners could have tacitly accepted the individual escape of especially indomitable slaves as a way to protect their holdings from potential ringleaders.<sup>106</sup>

Although they comprised a majority of the population, rural free people of color in Caribbean New Granada were too scattered, too distant from the centers of direct colonial power, and too linked to hacendados and officials through complex relationships of patronage, mutual protection, and labor to form strong autonomous movements. Extensive and variegated sexual mixing with whites and Indians also hampered collective mobilization against the whites in power. Moreover, in areas with few or no whites, distinctions were generally drawn vis-à-vis Indians and slaves.

#### RESISTANCE

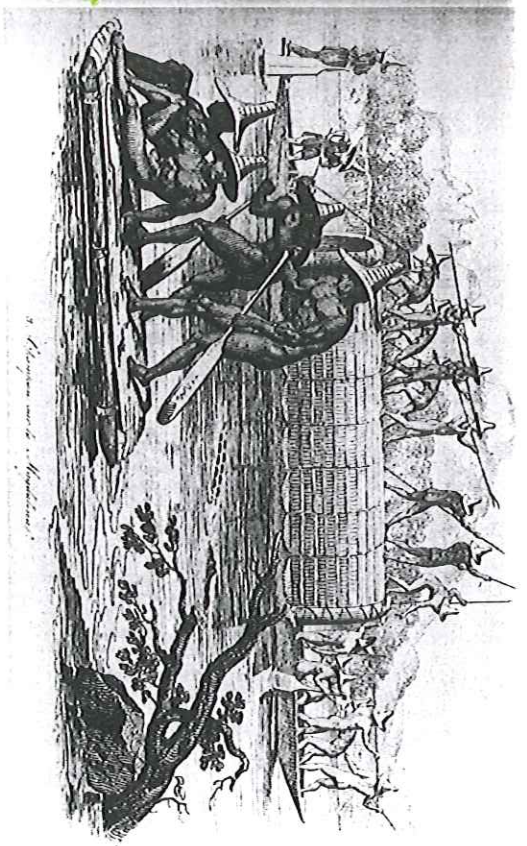
Such conditions and characteristics also guided the actions of the two most powerful groups among the free people of color—the militiamen and the Magdalena bogas. Most of the men who resisted forced enlistment in the militia or who opposed military orders fled rather than rebelled. Desertion was sometimes collective, as in the case of two Riohacha dragon companies with a good record when ordered to serve against the *Comunero Revolt* and in the distant Darién.<sup>107</sup> No doubt, as much as these peasants and laborers accepted the responsibility of defending their area from indigenous attacks, sometimes at a high cost to their own production, the prospect of leaving their families for a faraway campaign against Andean peasants



Spain's involvement in the European war had increased the number of enlisted men to the point where there were insufficient agricultural workers in the countryside, "being well-known that the laborer who takes part in the royal [military] service either deserts his profession forever or returns to it with little fervor, and worse is the fact that as these hands do not perform farm work, they increase the number of consumers in the city where many of their relatives go with them, despite the Government's vigilance."<sup>108</sup> In villages and towns the militia strengthened class subordination and patronage, as often it brought peons, day laborers, and sharecroppers under the military leadership of their hacendados and overseers.

The rowers who monopolized transportation on the main rivers, especially the black, zambo, and mulatto bogas of the Magdalena, resorted to a wide range of strategies to render their hardworking conditions more human, short of uniting to stop the navigation on the only route linking the Caribbean Coast to the Andean interior. Neither did the bogas customarily commit violence against their passengers by robbing, harming, or killing them, despite the fact that they largely outnumbered the passengers and navigated for weeks in areas with little human contact.<sup>109</sup> No doubt, several travelers, such as Spanish brigadier Fidalgo, denigrated the bogas for allegedly being so inclined to "insolence, theft, rapine, intoxication, and other iniquities suggested by the amorality and relaxation of customs so familiar to them that one can say that they distinguish[ed] themselves from the rest of the human species."<sup>110</sup> Other voyagers showed some empathy for these hard workers.<sup>111</sup> In effect, the bogas, clad only in underwear and large straw hats, propelled longboats upstream, with levers propped up against their chests, for up to thirteen hours a day in a hot and humid environment—a task that required endurance, extraordinary muscular strength, precise rhythm, and coordination, as Alexander von Humboldt observed.<sup>112</sup> To secure the work of the bogas, boat owners needed to pay their salaries partly or fully in advance and to provide them with abundant liquor and food for the duration of the trip.

Even with such incentives, bogas sometimes vanished with the advanced pay, showed up late and intoxicated at departure, or did not complete the journey. Once on the way, to the great displeasure of their passengers, "they topped as often as they [could]" to fish or gather eggs, or to drink or have sex with the riverside population.<sup>113</sup> Whereas Frenchman Mollien under-



Bogas on the Magdalena River. (Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Amériques* [Paris: L. Tenré, 1836])

stood the bogas' delays as a means of reducing the fatigue of the journey, Humboldt, traveling in 1801, felt no "compassion" for these men who, "despite being badly paid (their food and a daily wage of one and a half reales) are free men, and at the same time very insolent, unruly, and happy." Most irritating to Humboldt was "the barbarous, lustful, ululating, and furious clamor, at times pitiful, at times joyful, some other times with blasphemous expressions, through which these men try to alleviate the muscular effort."<sup>114</sup> At the complete mercy of the bogas, travelers could either bear their suffering with patience or protest and endure reprisals from the crew; such reprisals could range from longer delays to abandoning passengers and goods on the champanes or the riverbanks. French diplomat Auguste Le Moyné, who lived in New Granada from 1828 to 1839, observed that passengers would be wise to avoid maltreating the bogas and give them tips, cigars, and liquor at the end of each day; with these gifts passengers "will spare themselves many tribulations."<sup>115</sup>

Indeed, until the advent of steamboats in the mid-nineteenth century, bogas had exclusive control of Magdalena transportation. Yet their very independence and means of coping with hardship explain why they did not organize across the profession. Although seldom owners of champanes, they



Next in size after Cartagena was the interior town of Mompox, stretching along the west bank of the Magdalena River. With 7,197 inhabitants according to the 1777-80 census, Mompox was the Caribbean New Granada city with the largest proportion (74.3 percent) of free people of color. Whites comprised no more than 12.9 percent of its inhabitants and slaves, 11.7 percent.<sup>16</sup> Mompox shared several socioracial characteristics with Cartagena, notably an elite of Spanish and white creole hacendados and merchants, and a large, mostly female, population of free people of color. There were fewer royal and church personnel in Mompox, resulting in a lower proportion of whites and slaves among its population. Still, several large cattle hacendados who had built their fiefdoms after the campaigns of forced resettlement, such as the marquises of Torre-Hoyos and of Santa Coa, resided in Mompox. Some of them also owned gold mines south of Nechí. With the development of commerce in the 1770s, more merchants and smugglers settled in Mompox, which had become the major center for legal and illegal trade and communications between the Caribbean Coast, the Andean provinces, and the eastern province of Riohacha. In this obligatory stopover, free men and women of color busily worked as bogas, porters, muleteers, peddlers, street and market vendors, artisans, innkeepers, laundresses, and food retailers, among other occupations.

In the 1790s and early 1800s, Mompox, more than any other New Granada city, blossomed from increased legal and especially contraband trade. As more people from the nearby countryside, other cities in the viceroyalty, and Spain settled there, the city's population grew rapidly and, according to Alexander von Humboldt, by 1801 numbered 14,000 inhabitants—twice as many as in the 1770s. Humboldt noted Mompox's "nice squares, many churches, 3 convents, among them San Juan de Dios, with assistance to the sick."<sup>17</sup> It had a well-kept dock, a cane liquor factory, a prison, and a town hall, as well as offices for customs, the treasury, the mail service, and the Inquisition. All testified to the city's economic and political importance. Although dependent on the diocese of Cartagena, it sheltered more religious personnel than Santa Marta, Valledupar, and Riohacha combined. The river city also had a hospital and was an important cultural center with several schools, and, after 1808, a university.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast to Mompox and Cartagena, Santa Marta, capital of the province of the same name, remained isolated, small, and poor up to the early

cent whites. According to the same census, the interior city was 90 percent white. Province was Ocaña, in the Andean northeast, with 5,668 inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> Located on a beautiful bay surrounded by mountains, the city of Santa Marta had no adequate fortifications against maritime attack and no reliable communications with the rest of New Granada. Because its port had no wharf, ships' merchandise had to be carried by rowboat to the beach, where porters awaited. Its only two-story buildings were the cabildo house and one private dwelling. Despite being the see of the diocese of Santa Marta, it had no cathedral and no bishop in residence during much of the late colonial period. Although a cathedral was eventually completed in 1796, it was not served by a bishop until 1809. There was no specific residence for the province's governors, who until 1809 lived illegally in the vacant episcopal house. Santa Marta had a few elementary classrooms but no college or seminary, no official jail, and no military barracks.<sup>20</sup> Apart from some Spanish high-ranking officials, merchants, and ecclesiastics, the small minority of white *samarios* (residents of Santa Marta) included few wealthy people. According to Steinar Saether, a total of six families enjoyed noble status, monopolized practically all important positions, and owned the province's largest sugar and cattle haciendas. The category of whites also included Spanish commoners, such as sailors, as well as creoles in nonprestigious professions.<sup>21</sup> With little legal trade entering or leaving its port, Santa Marta lacked an active merchant class, limiting economic opportunities for lower-class men and women.<sup>22</sup> Slightly more numerous than whites, the city's slaves were generally employed in domestic service. Indicative of its scarce resources, most of Santa Marta's revenue came from its slaughterhouse.<sup>23</sup>

The greater freedom of trade granted by Spain in 1778 allowed Santa Marta to enjoy limited growth in the late 1780s, when Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora promoted the cutting of dyewood and its export from the port. However, between 1792 and 1796, when city merchants were briefly authorized to barter products for slaves from neutral colonies, they legally imported only seventy-four bozales.<sup>24</sup> No doubt smugglers brought in additional slaves but in small numbers, as Santa Marta's merchants could not compete for their acquisition in a declining international slave trade in which Cuban planters had the lion's share. Several *samarios* found in contraband a way to make up for the lack of legal trade and agricultural ventures. To avoid a major scandal in the 1790s, Viceroy Mendinueta chose



from possible action by hacendados and the state. In the eventuality that they had wanted to do so, they would have been discouraged by the magnitude and cost of the task, which involved documenting one's ownership and presenting a legal claim to distant authorities. As a consequence, most of the land remained untitled, if not unoccupied, and ready to be acquired by large ranchers and hacendados in the second half of the century.<sup>138</sup>

In fact, it was forced enlistment in the army—the state's primary manifestation outside the cities—that prompted the fiercest resistance among the rural population. Recruits in Gran Colombia could lose everything in the ordeal—their lives, their families, their land, their work, the little they owned—and they were ready to take major risks to avoid it, even to rebel. Whereas under Spain joining the militia of all colors could represent social advancement for rural men of African descent, during the war of independence enlistment had been increasingly forced on the population. Yet male equality and liberty had been mobilizing ideas among those who fought in the patriot armies: military distinction had sometimes erased the stigma of race and class, and some slave soldiers had been able to gain their freedom. After 1821, however, military service ceased to represent prospects of equality and freedom and became a symbol of state oppression. The draft, though promoting some interregional mix in the units, deepened socio-racial inequalities by targeting mostly the poor of African and indigenous descent. However, resistance to enlistment did not become a racial affair fostering racial identity. As shown in the incident in Algarrobo involving pardo Valentín Arcía, recruitment was carried out by black and white authorities alike. Resistance in the form of flight or fight could be embraced by the entire community regardless of race and class, as independent peasants and day laborers dreaded loss, abuse, and death, and hacendados refused to see their workers go. Algarrobo parishioners, led by their priest, “scandalously resisted” providing the number of recruits requested of them during the wave of enlistments ordered by Bolívar for Peru. After an initial setback, Arcía returned there with enough force to “back his authority.” But on 13 June 1822

Marcos López and others set in motion the parish so that its vecinos fled and the levy could not take effect. But [Mayor] Arcía, anxious to fulfill his duties, withdrew . . . so that some would come out of their

circumstances natural right demanded justice; the same day Bolívar out, the mulato Acosta attack[ed] the Mayor and injure[d] him, the latter recover[ed], [ran] after his aggressor, and cause[d] him some injuries.<sup>139</sup>

No doubt similar incidents happened elsewhere in Caribbean New Granada and Venezuela. In effect, only 3,000 of the 12,000 soldiers requested by Bolívar from these two regions ever materialized. Soldiers who made it to Peru continued to protest with their feet. In late 1823 Bolívar reported the loss of 3,000 Gran Colombian soldiers within a few months through death or desertion.<sup>140</sup> As forced conscription persisted after the end of the war, communities continued to resist and individuals to “take to the woods.”<sup>141</sup>

Once in the army, soldiers faced hunger, lack of pay, and mistreatment. Punishment was particularly harsh on the poor. For example, soldiers and officers found guilty of stealing in the barracks could be sentenced to death unless protected by a higher social rank.<sup>142</sup> Yet soldiers seldom rebelled but rather chose individual desertion. For those who accommodated to garrison life, there could be some opportunities of limited promotion. From Cartagena the U.S. consul noted with surprise: “There is a curious practice in the formation of the army of Colombia . . . it is, that the whole body of privates and non commissioned officers are negroes, mulatos and Indians, and that the officers, with very few exceptions, are also of these different colours.”<sup>143</sup> What seemed odd to the consul made sense in the New Granadan post-war context, in which the military profession was rapidly losing status, and therefore attractiveness, for the elite and the educated. With low and often unpaid wages and no land distribution program, a career in the army seldom meant socioeconomic mobility.<sup>144</sup> Yet a few men of lower socio-racial origin were able to gain rank and power over others. Among the higher army officers, for whom class and—above all—race still mattered, whites predominated. Among the rank and file the mere possibility of individual escape, limited promotion, or simply the prospect of making it safely back home precluded collective revolt.

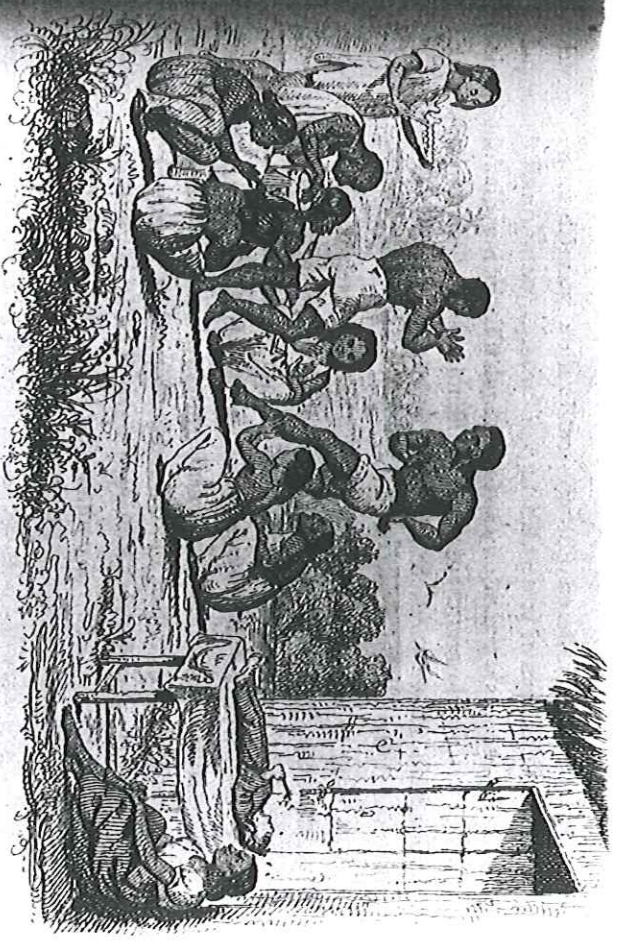
#### COUNTERCULTURE

More fruitfully, members of the lower classes took advantage of state and church weaknesses to shape long-term family patterns, religion, and culture



nández de Sotomayor, censured the "small number of marriages" and the "laxity of the mores." Bishop León kept busy making cemeteries conform to the law, but he gave up on Catholic morality and did not try to eradicate free unions and adultery.<sup>145</sup> People in Caribbean New Granada were also able to impose their views on religious ceremonies. All efforts by church officials in the previous decades to ban drinking, dancing, and gambling had failed. The christening of infants in church, supposedly on the eighth day after birth, was generally followed by a big party at the parents' home with cake, liquor, cigars, and dancing to band music. Funerals were preceded by all-night wakes in which women prayed, wailed, drank, and smoked until morning; when friends and relatives accompanied by a priest would take the body to the church and then to the cemetery. In remote hamlets and villages that had no priest, some families buried their relatives on their land or under a chapel. In addition, people used various means to feel safer. They protected their houses with woven charms made from palms that a priest had sprinkled with consecrated water on Palm Sunday.<sup>146</sup> In Santa Marta, they made syncretic images of Jesus with shells. When John P. Hamilton visited Peñon, its inhabitants struggled to get rid of evil spirits in the village by organizing processions led by an old Indian singer and by making children say prayers three times a day, without the supervision of a priest.<sup>147</sup> According to another traveler, bogas would not leave the riverbank until one of them, "assuming the clerical function, recited a prayer for the prosperity of our voyage"; then the other crew members would name as many saints as possible.<sup>148</sup>

Caribbean New Granada's inhabitants continued to modify religious celebrations based on their own ideas. During Holy Week, penitents, especially women, generally showed much veneration and grief in the processions, whereas men from all classes met every night at the gambling tables erected for the occasion. In Barranquilla, Resurrection Day was celebrated with music, the discharge of firearms, abundant food, and balls.<sup>149</sup> To the displeasure of Bishop León, Mompox parishioners added new prayers for the dead on All Souls Day to extend the processions well into the night.<sup>150</sup> Also in Mompox, the January celebrations of Saint Sebastian were converted into a street party in which participants, especially young women, threw flour on each other's heads. "It was strange and ridiculous to see



Wake of a child. (Aleide Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Amériques* [Paris: L. Temré, 1836])

everywhere black heads covered with white powder, making a dissonant contrast with their obscure physiognomy," noted Swedish traveler Carl August Gosselman in 1825.<sup>151</sup> In Simitú, John Hamilton was struck by the African influence in the music and dances performed during the carnival festivities of the Virgin of Candelaria:

In the evening the village was unusually gay, groups were here of men and women in their holiday clothes, some dancing, others playing at cards for sweetmeats. We here saw the Negro or African dance: the music consists of a small drum, and three girls who clap their hands exactly in time, sometimes fast, sometimes slow, who join in a chorus, whilst another man, an improvisatore, sings verses extempore, and apparently with much readiness. In one patriotic song we caught these words:



Probably the most altered Catholic celebration was Christmas, which turned into ten days of street dancing and masquerading until dawn and when most economic activities were at a standstill. During all of these celebrations, people from different walks of life mixed together, danced, drank, and gambled. However, each individual kept a sense of his or her alleged place, and fights were not rare.<sup>153</sup>

According to foreign travelers, in the 1820s and 1830s Caribbean New Granadans also performed music and danced simply to conclude the day, regardless of their color, class, and gender and whether they lived in cities or in the countryside. These characteristics have led some foreigners to portray both rich and poor as unconcerned fun lovers interested only in idleness, dancing, and gambling in their fertile tropical environment.<sup>154</sup> A close reading of their descriptions, however, shows that all festivities took place in the evening, on Sunday, or on holidays. According to New Yorker Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, the carnival in Barranquilla was limited to three days because "so many are dependent upon each day's labor."<sup>155</sup> Moreover, travelers conceded that the Caribbean's heat, humidity, voracious mosquitoes, capricious rivers, and destructive rainy season made all human endeavors very difficult. They agreed that the work of the bogs was among the most strenuous they had ever seen. Some recognized that clearing and cultivating land in the region required hard labor, and that fishing and hunting were dangerous and necessitated skill, effort, and patience. French traveler Gaspard Mollien struggled to reconcile his observations with his racism: "The vivacity and exuberance of the [people of color]," he wrote, "contrast singularly with the nonchalance and gentleness of the men whom are called white, so that, despite their laziness, the former seem active and laborious."<sup>156</sup> More to the point, a British officer remarked that much was said about the indolence of the "natives" of African descent to explain why Caribbean New Granada had not developed a tropical export agriculture, but "persons who are acquainted with their habits, and will humor them a little, may procure laborers who will steadily perform at a cheap rate."<sup>157</sup> The core of the problem, he stated, lay in the difficulty and high cost of transportation, which hindered any profitable agricultural undertaking.

Against this backdrop, the recollection of an evening in the village of Plato, on the Magdalena River, by British officer Hamilton in 1823 suggests not only fun but also talent. He and his associates witnessed

students play some waltzes with great taste, and having expressed a wish to see some dancing, a circle was soon formed and dancers found. My young Secretary waltzed with two or three pretty mulatto girls, and some of the villagers waltzed away for an hour or two. It was quite pleasing to see how gracefully young girls of eight or nine years old waltzed, placing their arms in a variety of elegant attitudes. The Creoles, Indians, and Negroes, have an exceedingly correct ear for music. I have since often thought with pleasure of this evening.<sup>158</sup>

Despite the fear among Gran Colombian leaders that Caribbean New Granada's population of African descent would launch a race war and emulate the Haitian Revolution, in the early 1820s armed resistance came mostly from indigenous villages and unsubdued nations in the provinces of Santa Marta and Riohacha. The few incidents denounced as pardo conspiracies turned out to be made up by local elite whites intending to eliminate mulattoes who threatened their domination and challenged the socioracial order from newly assigned positions of power. In reality, however, although some people of African descent on the frontier, in the countryside, and in small towns expressed frustration at their continuing subordination to whites, they did not protest collectively. Isolation and slow communications as well as localism continued to inhibit a unifying socioracial identity. Although the 1821 constitution guaranteed liberty and equality for all inhabitants, most slaves remained in bondage until death, and the poor and illiterate enjoyed few new opportunities to improve their condition. Nevertheless, after the war rural people strove to produce, make a living, and have some good times, often taking advantage of hacendados' weakness and the scant presence of the postcolonial state and church. In the long term, they were quite successful in resisting the imposition of Catholic cultural norms. Yet they were unable to make permanent gains in employment and land occupation, thus to lay down forms of organization and land tenure that could have limited the rapid growth of large-scale cattle ranching and tropical agriculture in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Political leaders also raised the specter of a pardo takeover at any attempt toward popular mobilization in Cartagena. There, in 1828, personal enmities, a strict socioracial hierarchy, Bolívar's obsession with pardocracia, and the growing conflict between followers of Bolívar and supporters of Santander worked together to drive mulatto general José Padilla—by far



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## Fighting the slave-hunters in Central Africa: a record of twenty-six years of travel and adventure round the Great Lakes and of the overthrow of Tip-Pu-Tib, Rumaliza and other great slave-traders

Swann, Alfred J. (Alfred James), 1856-1928.

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HEAD-DRESS OF AEMBA GIRL

This head-dress is usually worn by warriors. It is tied by a string to the back part of the head. A piece of ivory is suspended from her neck attached to a string of beads. Her tribal marks may be seen on the forehead and side of the face. She looks stern while facing the camera, but in daily life she is full of fun.

# FIGHTING THE SLAVE-HUNTERS IN CENTRAL AFRICA

A RECORD OF  
TWENTY-SIX YEARS OF TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE  
ROUND THE GREAT LAKES  
and of  
The Overthrow of Tip-Pu-Tip, Rumaliza  
and other great Slave-Traders

BY

ALFRED J. SWANN

*1st Ed. 1910*

SECOND EDITION — 1969

With a new Introduction by

NORMAN R. BENNETT

*1910 2d. from  
Mrs. J. A. Bennett*



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1969

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

ALFRED J. SWANN of the London Missionary Society was a lay missionary who spent most of his time on or in the environs of Lake Tanganyika. He sailed the Society's small ships and sought to spread the Gospel to the peoples who lived on islands in the lake or around its shores. And like so many other late nineteenth-century missionaries, he had secular commitments to which he tended to devote much of his time. He was particularly well-acquainted with the more important Arab merchants based on or near Lake Tanganyika, and his knowledge of them and their problems was full. Swann dealt with them on behalf of the Society, gained their confidence, and later acted to curb their influence during the growth of European hegemony in East Africa. Despite his institutional affiliations, he served the interests of British imperialism loyally, and later became a colonial administrator. The importance of this, Swann's only book, indeed stems more from his secular involvements with the Arabs and the forces of imperialism than from any portrayal of evangelical developments.

Professor Norman R. Bennett of Boston University is an authority on nineteenth century East Africa. He has published numerous articles on Arabs and missionaries in the interior and has here provided a fresh and exhaustive introduction both to this book and to the period about which Swann wrote.

4 December 1967

R.I.R.



INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
SECOND EDITION

URING the years between 1885 and 1894 the regions around Lake Tanganyika became the centre of a peaceful but acrimonious struggle among Europeans of several nationalities, and of actual hostilities between Europeans and Arabs. Alfred J. Swann, mariner and lay missionary for the London Missionary Society, participated in the activity, developing a particular relationship to the Arabs and their leader, Muhammad bin Khalfan (or Rumaliza), that led him to play an equivocal role in the events leading to the final European domination of Lake Tanganyika's shores. Swann's society, the London Missionary Society, had decided in 1876 to take up what they considered the legacy of Livingstone and to establish a station at Ujiji, the scene of the meeting between Livingstone and Stanley, as a centre for missionary endeavour around the lake.<sup>1</sup> The first missionary expedition reached Ujiji in August 1878; among the party was Edward C. Hore, destined to be the dominant member of the mission, and a predominant influence upon Swann, until he left Africa in 1888.<sup>2</sup>

The chosen location for L.M.S. activities, Ujiji, was then the principal centre of Arab<sup>3</sup> settlement on the lake shores, with the indigenous Ha people accepting and profiting from the Arab presence.<sup>4</sup> The resulting powerful Arab influence did not make Ujiji a very suitable choice for Christian endeavour—Hore described the town as a place for “only Arabs, Wangwana, and their slaves & hangers on”—but initial Arab hostility to the

they been all ratified by the British Government, would have given to the British Empire (without robbing anybody else) a continuous all-British route from Cape Colony to Egypt, on the assumption, of course, that the waters of Tanganyika were free to all nations.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

1909  
1882  
2/4

### AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following pages contain my recollections of twenty-six years spent in Africa. They have been written at the repeated request of colleagues of various nationalities, with whom, in the years 1882-1909, I travelled and laboured in Central Africa, co-operating with them in the work of undermining, and finally destroying, the Slave-Trade around the great lakes.

The thrilling stories of explorers and missionaries had appealed to my natural love of travel and adventure, and fired me with an ambition to follow such men as Livingstone, Stanley, Burton, Schweinfurth, and others, and to help in healing what Livingstone called "Africa's open sore." When I went out in 1882 the great partition of Africa had not taken place, and the hideous trade was at its worst. Caravans from the interior brought thousands of slaves to the East Coast, and left thousands dead upon the road.

Lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika, and Victoria Nyanza were in the hands of Arab and native slave-traders, and beyond a patrol—admittedly unsatisfactory—of portions of the East Coast, nothing much was being done to crush the accursed traffic which was eating out the heart of Africa. For twenty-six years I was able to take part in the determined efforts for its suppression which were then made, and to fill a place in the ranks of those African pioneers whose deeds had kindled my ambition. I earnestly hope that my experiences may bring encouragement to some whom a love of justice and liberty is spurring on to fresh exertions on behalf of those tribes in Africa which have not yet been delivered from the curse of slavery.



Ixvi **AUTHOR'S PREFACE**

So many years of labour and anxiety have naturally been diversified by many adventures, both of travel and sport, the narratives of which may not, I hope, be found uninteresting.

At the close of my career in Africa, I should wish to place on record my great admiration for other pioneers, American, German, French, Belgian, and Portuguese, whom I met, and with whom I worked, and who vied with my own countrymen in a healthy, courteous, and vigorous competition to advance civilisation in their respective Spheres of Influence.

All the photographs here reproduced are copyright, and my grateful acknowledgments are due to the owners for their permission to use them. In preparing these pages for the press, I have been most ably assisted by Miss Bennett of Tarring, Worthing, without whose co-operation the task would not have been undertaken, and to whom sincere thanks are rendered.

A. J. S.

WORTHING, SUSSEX,  
January 1910.

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West African - Central America

### CHAPTER III

CRUELITIES OF THE SLAVE-TRADE—MAJOR VON WISSMANN—DIFFICULTIES OF THE ROAD—"PAY OR FIGHT"—LOYAL SERVICE—A NARROW ESCAPE—THE MIGHTY MIRAMBO—NATIVE AND LION.

ON the 29th of November we arrived at M'wapa, where the main portion of the party had encamped. They were thoroughly tired of waiting in that uninteresting district. Although about 200 miles from the coast, the natives bore most of the objectionable characteristics of a slave-depraved race. Situated on the outskirts of the Ugo plain and forests, the neighbourhood had become a convenient halting place for all the slave caravans en route to the coast.

Here we met the notorious Tip-pu-Tip's annual caravan, which had been resting after the long march through Ugo and the hot passes of Chunyo. As they filed past we noticed many chained together by the neck. Others had their necks fastened into the forks of poles about 6 feet long, the ends of which were supported by the men who preceded them. The women, who were as numerous as the men, carried babies on their backs in addition to a tusk of ivory or other burden on their heads. They looked at us with suspicion and fear, having been told, as we subsequently ascertained, that white men always desired to release slaves in order to eat their flesh, like the Upper Congo cannibals.

It is difficult adequately to describe the filthy state of their bodies; in many instances, not only scarred by the cut of a "chikote" (a piece of hide used to enforce obedience), but feet and shoulders were a mass of open sores, made more painful by the swarms of flies which followed the march and lived on the

18-50

### CRUELITIES OF THE SLAVE-TRADE

flowing blood. They presented a moving picture of utter misery, and one could not help wondering how any of them had survived the long tramp from the Upper Congo, at least 1000 miles distant. Our own inconveniences sank into insignificance compared with the suffering of this crowd of half-starved, ill-treated creatures who, weary and friendless, must have longed for death.

The head-men in charge were most polite to us as they passed our camp. Each was armed with a rifle, knife, and spear, and although decently clothed in clean cotton garments, they presented a thoroughly villainous appearance.

Addressing one, I pointed out that many of the slaves were unfit to carry loads. To this he smilingly replied:

"They have no choice! They must go, or die!"

Then ensued the following conversation:—

"Are all these slaves destined for Zanzibar?"

"Most of them, the remainder will stay at the coast."

"Have you lost many on the road?"

"Yes! numbers have died of hunger!"

"Any run away?"

"No, they are too well guarded. Only those who become possessed with the devil try to escape; there is nowhere they could run to if they should go."

"What do you do when they become too ill to travel?"

"Spear them at once!" was the fiendish reply. "For, if we did not, others would pretend they were ill in order to avoid carrying their loads. No! we never leave them alive on the road; they all know our custom."

"I see women carrying not only a child on their backs, but, in addition, a tusk of ivory or other burden on their heads. What do you do in their case when they become too weak to carry both child and ivory? Who carries the ivory?"

"She does! We cannot leave valuable ivory on the road. We spear the child and make her burden lighter. Ivory first, child afterwards!"



## CRUELITIES OF THE SLAVE-TRADE

I could have struck the demon dead at my feet.

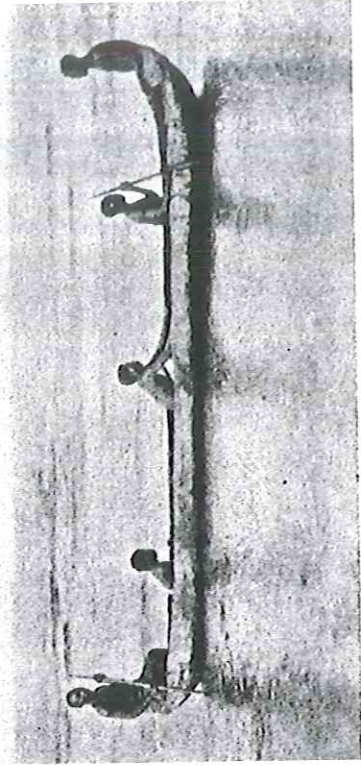
For downright savagery this beat anything I had met with. "Ivory first, child afterwards!" I repeated over and over again. Alas! I was destined many times to witness the truth of that cruel statement.

Thus early in my life I understood what Livingstone meant and felt when, in 1886, he wrote the following: "Besides those actually captured, thousands are killed, or die of their wounds and famine, driven from their homes by the slave-raider. Thousands perish in internecine wars, waged for slaves with their own clansmen or neighbours; slain by the lust for gain which is stimulated by the slave-purchasers. The many skeletons we have seen amongst the rocks and woods, by the pools, and along the paths of the wilderness, all testify to the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed directly or indirectly to this trade of hell." Strong words, but not a whit too strong!

As the last poor creature in that living chain of wretchedness passed me, every humane feeling within me rose up in rebellion as I realised for the first time that, though a member of a philanthropical society, I was unable to respond to the natural impulse of an Englishman and set the whole company free. Nevertheless, our indignant protest was despatched both to Zanzibar and England, and I am glad to say we were then looking at the last slave-caravan ever permitted to leave the mainland. The reader, however, should bear in mind that although those Eastern slave-routes are now closed, there is yet at the present day a considerable area in Africa still remaining wherein are practised similar cruelties which call for speedy suppression by those European Powers who have acquired the regions as a sphere of influence.

It was a pleasant relief next day to meet the genial German explorer, Major von Wissmann, who had crossed the Continent from west to east. With eyes sparkling and full of laughter

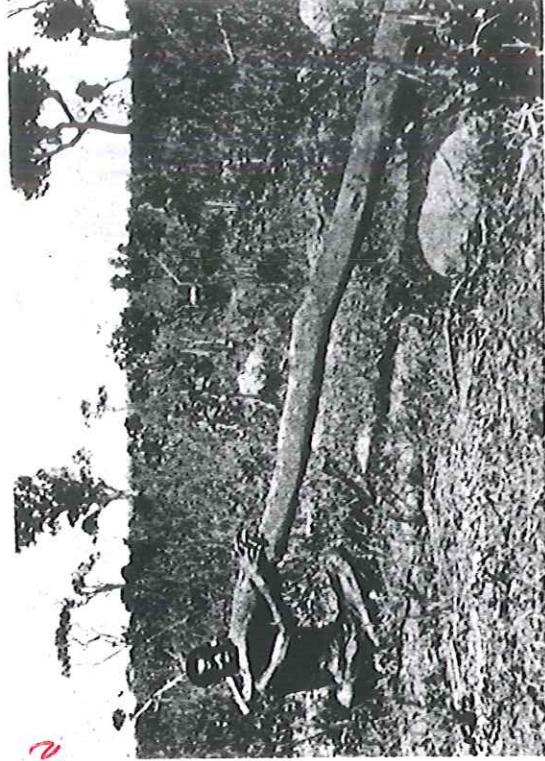
SCOR ↓



A DUG-OUT CANOE

This is used for fishing. The hand on the opposite side of the lake is not visible. The men have scientifically distributed their weight to preserve a proper balance.

Red #  
Swain



A METHOD OF SECURING SLAVES

When traveling a shorter pole is used, one end being held up by the preceding person. The neck is often broken if the slave falls when walking. Lunatics are also imprisoned in this way to prevent their running into the forest. It is also used to torture enemies, who are fixed in this manner over the nests of ferocious ants.