

LIV IMAGE TITLE

IMAGE REF

Broomstick Wedding Virginia (?), 1840s

Livemore257

Slave Coffle, Central Africa, 1861

C019

Abandoned Slaves, Central Africa, 1866

Knox02

Weaver at His Loom, Senegal, 1780s

VILE-180

Branding an Enslaved Woman, 19th cent.

H006

Moslem Slave Raid on a Village, Central Africa, early 1880s

Graphic340

Slave Coffle, 19th cent.

C017

Woman with a Grinding Stone, Central Africa, 1858-64

Livinastone-543

P.10

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Call number: CT275.L5 A3 1897

Author: Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice, 1820-1905.

Title: The story of my life:

Publication info: Hartford, A.D. Worthington &co., 1897

Description: xxxiv, 730 p. incl. fronts., illus., plates. 23 cm.

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Handwritten signature and scribbles

Search

Livermore M85 - P. 10

V215 - The Butler wedding of Matt

V257 - Bromine wedding

V337 - A plantation "corn-sweetening"

Livermore, Mary

CT 275 L5 A3 1897

The Story of My Life;

A narrative of her early life & struggles
for education, 3 years' experiences on a
southern plantation among white masters
and black slaves, her courtship,
marriage, domestic life, etc.

"The Bromshick Wedding" - p 257

p 166, 167, 169, 221
pictures of 64 ♀

p. 185 Plantation
Slave songs

p 192 schoolroom

with pen sketches

Title: Pen pictures: or, Sketches from domestic life.
Publication info: Chicago, S. C. Griggs, 1862.

Description: 216 p. 16.5 cm.

Note: Wright II, 1564.

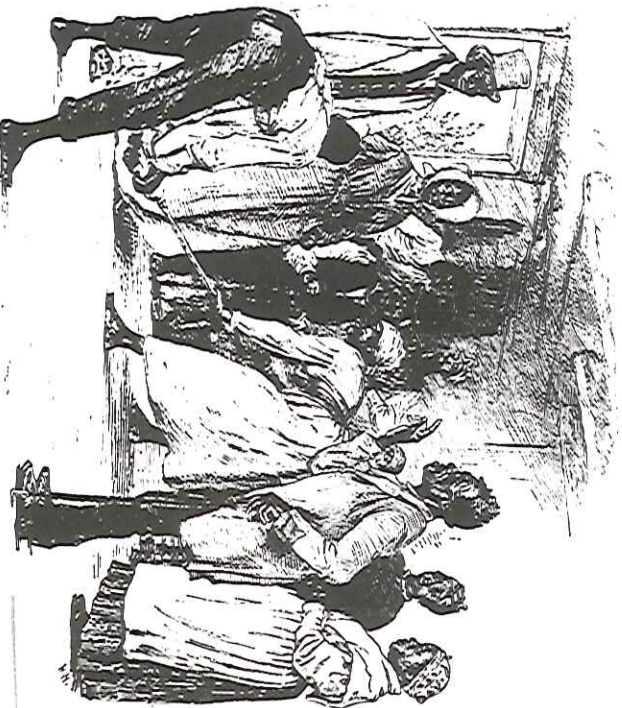
Note: Inscribed, "Lizzie M. Livermore from her Mother."
Note: Gift of C. W. Barrett.

SPEC-COLL CALL NUMBER	COPY	MATERIAL	LOCATION
1) PS646 .F53 .L584P4 1862	1	RAREBOOK	SC-BARR-ST

filled in, filling the cabin to the utmost of its small capacity, followed by the black musicians with their banjos and fiddles, and the singing began:

“ Now all dis week will be as gay
As am de Christmas time;
We'll dance all night, an' all de day,
An' make de banjo chime;
Wi' nutt 't eat, an' nutt 't drink,
An' not a bit 't pay!”

Chorus— So shet yonah mouf as close as def,
An' all yon nigga's hot yonah bief,
An' hear de banjo chime!”



THE BROOMSTICK WEDDING.

“ Look squar' at de broomstick! All ready now! one-two-three-ju

Another song with a rousing chorus followed
air trembled with melody. Half the black peop'
plantation had gathered outside to do honor to

16

L. Vermon, Story 1892

~~Vermon~~ 5/1/92

Not in L. Vermon 44
1892

See various usages in Paris
gather in USA in STACS &
Sp. Collection
see have it
Mth 3/02

Livermore (1867)

Check Livermore for description of broomstick wedding; see illustration, page 257

Page 256:

The bride (Susan) and groom (Pompey) wore cast-off clothing once belonging to the master and mistress. The preacher was "Uncle Aaron," one of the best servants.

The bride and groom stood in the center of the room, holding hands. Two other slaves held the broom below the couple's knees. The couple "jumped" into the married state.

Mary Ashton Livermore, The Story of My Life

Group singing, the U.S. South, 19th Century

Question: Context? Who are these people? What are they doing? What was the year?

This picture appeared in chapter 10: Life in "Ole Virginia" Fifty Years Ago—Plantation Scenes and Negro Songs—Life among Black Slaves

She was discussing going on a picnic with the white children she would teach/supervise. She and her charges were returning from their outing at the end of the day, and various field slaves followed the carriage as it went up the drive. They began singing. It was the end of their day of work.

Mary Ashton Livermore, the Story of My Life (1897)

Corn Shucking, U.S. South, 19th Century

Question: Location, Date? A quote on Corn shucking?

Caption: A Plantation "Corn-shucking"—Social Meeting of Slaves, page 337, chapter 19.

"Costumed in every variety of nondescript garments, with faces of every shade of black, as diverse in aspect as were their garments in fashion, they seated themselves in groups of unhusked corn."

The picture is undated, but from the preface, Livermore indicated that she lived in Virginia for 3 years, "55 years ago."

Josiah

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trial of captain livesley

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Author

Livesley, Captain, defendant

Title

The trial of Captain Livesley, for cruelty & ill-treatment, to Potter Jackson, an African Negro : on board the Lord Stanley, a ship in the African trade. Before Lord Ellenborough in the Court of King's Bench Guildhall, on Thursday, July 10, 1806

Published

London : Howard & Evans, [1806]

Descript'n

8 p. ; 19 cm. (4to)

[Permalink to this Josiah record](#)

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There is another edition in 1806
Retrospective conversion: original entry

Other info

Imprint 1806
England London

Riin/oclc

RIBR03-B33387

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6/5/06

Wages record 85-137-1

Wood cut (photo) showing sailors playing with
 cat & mice tails a globe tied to the anchor of a
 ship - title tells what the little
 paragraph is about - the wages is not very good -
 it is a made-up scene - ~~not~~
 don't scan - for ends to

Fig
~~3 items required~~ 2/16/02
2.11.02 10:45 AM
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Call number: DT731.L752.1865

Author: Livingstone, David, 1813-1873.

Title: Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries; and of the discovery of the lakes Shirwa and Nyassa. 1858-1864. By David and Charles Livingstone.

Publication info: London, J. Murray, 1865.

Description: xiv, 608 p. illus., plates, fold. map. 22 cm.

Local note: Gift of Emily Clark Balch.

Subject: Africa, Central--Description and travel.

Related name: Livingstone, Charles, 1821-1873.

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Under 600 search results on Pittman, put Spec. Collection ✓
Done for illustrations

PERP 63 - 150mm of water pots - (see notes below)

447

445

425

356

499

543

544

Have this on website - 'GAINS of CAPTIVS... Tette...

Alenda being - (wgt - see quote on p. 499)

Ground painting

Map set back

File: LIVINGSTONE - 4

✓ P. 499 - 499
The only instrument I was away here is the short-handled hoe; and about TETTE the labour of tilling the soil, as represented in the woodcut, is performed entirely by peonile slabs

M. NINBA, SAOSSI, PAN'S PIPE

P. 63

✓ P. 63
A band of native musicians came to our camp one evening... and treated us with... music on the M. Ninba, an instrument formed of bars of ^{hard} wood of varying breadth and thickness, laid on different-sized hollow calabashes, and tuned to give notes...

✓ p. 543 - 44

The mill consists of a block [of stone]... with a piece of quartz or other hard rock about the size of a nail brick, the side of which was a convex surface, and pits into a concave hollow in the larger and stationary stone. The workman kneading, grasps the upper millstone with both hands, and works it back and forth in the hollow of the lower millstone...

- 543

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Call number: **DT731 .L752 1866**

Author: Livingstone, David, 1813-1873.

Title: Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries; and of the discovery of the lakes Shirwa and Nyassa. 1858-1864. By David and Charles Livingstone. With map and illustrations.

Publication info: New York, Harper, 1866.

Description: xxii, 638 p. incl. illus., plates. double front., fold. map. 24 cm.

Subject: Africa, Central--Description and travel.

Related name: Livingstone, Charles, 1821-1873.

Call numbers for IVY Material Location

DT731 .L752 1866 IVY-BOOK Ivy Stacks (Request Item)

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• • • • •
V I R G O

DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE

Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa. 1858-1864.

London: JOHN MURRAY, 1865
(Another edition: N.Y. Hoeper & Brothers, 1866)

Travels in Central Africa, —

Volume has a number of illustrations including the wood & reproduced "Gang of captive met at MBANE'S on their way to TETTE" (Facing p. 356) —

[N.B. - IN 1866 N.Y. edition, this illustration is on p. 376]

also, see pp 63, 112, 113, 499, 544

see p. 125 for illustration of "force" or "SLAVE-STICK" —

See also notes in Harper's New Monthly Mag., vol. 32, pp 709-723

p. 355-357 MBANE was a village chief, friendly to Livingstones, noting at his village, they were told that a SLAVE party on its way to TETTE would presently pass through his village. "Not long afterwards, "the slave party, a long line of manacled men, women, and children, came wending their way round the hill and into the valley.... The black drivers, armed with muskets, and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched JAUNTILY in the front, middle, and rear of the line... [women and children] [but each about waist] had his necks in the fork of a

STOUT STICK, six or seven feet long and kept in by an IRON ROD which was riveted at both ends across the throat.

✓ TETTE - A ~~place~~ village ~~at~~ ~~settlement~~,
SOUTH of Lake NYASA & to the SOUTHWEST of
Lake Shikara -

✓ ~~is~~ ~~located~~ ~~between~~ 15
between latitude 15 + 16 & long 34 + 35 -

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ Present day MALAWI

✓ NOTE: Scene of SLAVE capture was with Ngorongoro
✓ in July 1861

177
15/16

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~

✓ ~~is~~ ~~given~~ ~~name~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~

Vol. 29 (Jan - Nov) 1864

p. 5 - Illustration "Preserving the peace" is one of several illustrations accompanying an article, "A Chapter on the Coasté trade," dealing with ~~Chivvée~~ trade in Chivvée labours - referring to the w/ ~~the~~ African slavery on Transatlantic slave trade

Vol. 32 (Dec 1865 - May 1866), ~~p. 719~~

p. 719 "A GANG OF CAPTIVES MET AT MBAME'S ON THEIR WAY TO TETTE" (N.B. NOT TEFER)

Accompanying an article, "Livingstone's LAST African Expedition" (pp. 709-723) is summary account based on Livingstone's "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the LAKES SHIRWA and NYASSA: 1858-1864, by David and Charles Livingstone N.d. (Harper & Brothers) 1866]

(place a note)

Tette ~~at~~ in Central Africa

Livingstone first visited "Shivé country" in 1859, and almost 2 years later "he made another journey through the same region. Some of the piece neighboring Tribes, incited by the PONSWE slave traders, had made a piece ~~at~~ on set upon the region, and the Travellers

Saw gang of the gang of the poor inhabitants
decide off toward TETTE and the ports on
the coast. The men were fastened together,
two by two, by means of the "Gorree," or
slave stick. [The lock of a stout stick six
or seven feet long is put upon the neck; through
the ends of the lock an iron rod is placed,
riveted at both ends across the throat], and
two of these sticks, with a man fastened
in each, are lashed together. The women,
~~some~~ some of them carrying their infants,
are chained to the men; while the children
sit enough to go alone walk by the sides
of their parents, some chained and
others loose.

[Bracketed = Direct quote from Livingstone & Livingston]

What is Tette (Myasaland?) present market

See yellow notes for ~~Tette~~ TATTs

Descher & Engerman (1998)

MORTALITY IN TRANSPORT 291

rious diseases spread quickly through a group that had never developed an immunity. Other diseases were caused or intensified by the treatment slaves received. While the epidemiological and treatment factors are not mutually exclusive, scholars disagree on their relative importance.

Differing disease environments were also important in causing mortality in situations other than the Middle Passage. Although almost any new disease environment increased mortality for Europeans, their death rates were especially high in Africa and the Caribbean. In addition, slaves went through a "seasoning" (acclimation) process after arrival in the New World. Within Africa at the time of the slave trade, distinct epidemiological regions existed owing to differences in climate and the limited interaction of individuals

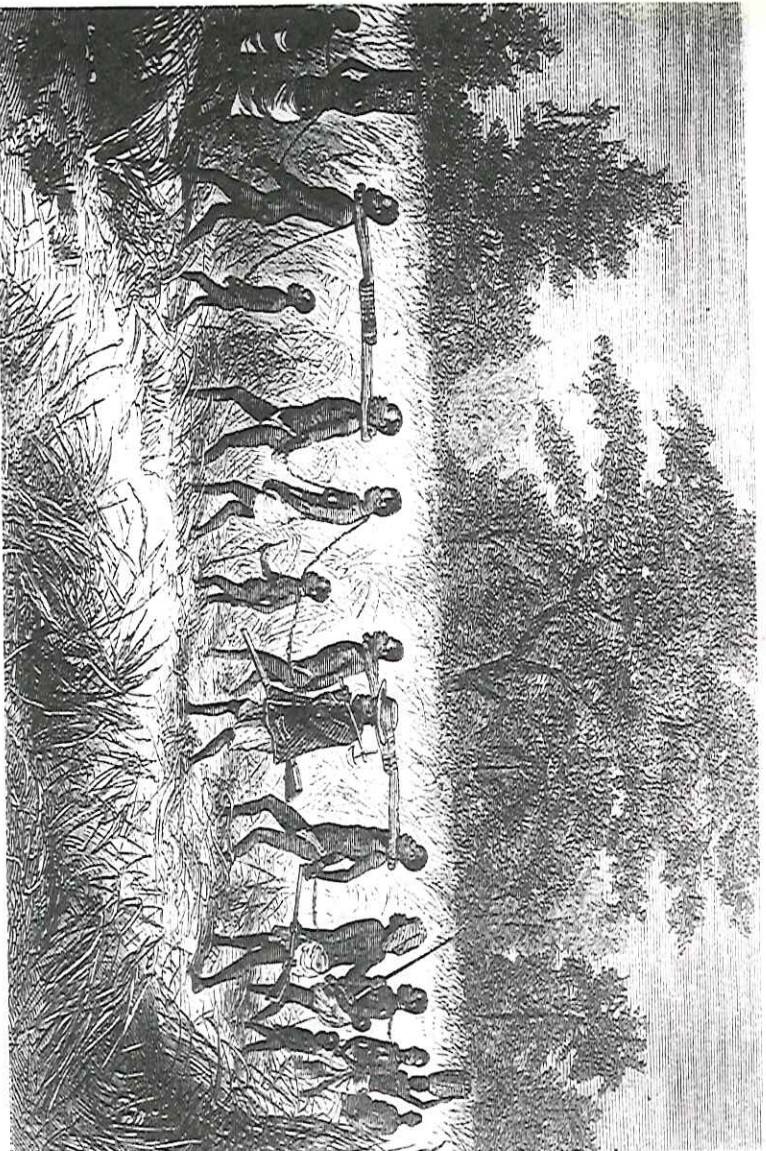
from different parts of the continent. Slaves captured in the interior of Africa and moved to the coast were exposed to diseases they had never before encountered. Lacking immunity, many slaves caught these diseases; given the incubation period, the actual outbreak of the disease and the resulting deaths often did not occur until on board the ship. Eltis (1989) suggests that the specific disease environment through which slaves were moved was affected by location and weather, factors that caused shipboard mortality to vary by port and month of embarkation. Movement at the worst times significantly increased the number of slave deaths.

The treatment received after capture or purchase also contributed to the deaths of slaves. Travel to the coast was usually a forced march in

NOTE - TETTE, NOT TETE

Hopkins New Year's Magazine, Vol. 32 (Mar 1869) p. 414

Volume 32, Mar 1869. *Travels of Captives Met at Albano's on Their Way to Tette; engaging description of the interior of the continent.*



Original source:
David & Charles Livingstone,
Narrative of an Expedition...
London, 1865, Pacing p. 356

(July 1861)
Scene of coffee desecrated
pp 355-57

~~Specimens collected
1869
1871
1857-1871~~

~~Rescite
1899 = Vol. 10
1811
Chap. 10
W. J. F. Johnson
Capt. J. P. ...
Tette - NO
C. ... - NO
N. ... - NO
S. ... - NO
N. ... - NO~~

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From: James Smalls <104666.1456@compuserve.com>
To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>
Time: Fri, 30 Mar 2001 13:12:49 -0500
Subject: Reference corrections
Jerome,

I checked the references to the two images you referred to and, sure enough, they are incorrect in the Drescher and Engerman. Both images are from the Harper's New Monthly Magazine and not from Harper's Weekly. I think this was my fault. Thanks for pointing out the errors. The correct complete information is as follows:

"Gang of Captives" is in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. 32, May 1866, page 719.

"Preserving the Peace" is in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. 29, June 1864, page 5.

*James not
deal with
same trash*

Thanks for your diligence and patience.

James Smalls

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APZ. H 3 - USMS vols 1-73 (1850-1886) etc

Dasch & Cagnano 1998

70 ART AND ILLUSTRATION

thoughts of slave retaliation and to spark abolitionist fervor was of concern to many pro-slavers. Revolts on slave ships were depicted frequently in art. Although images such as these were intended to document and provoke abolitionist outrage at slave-trading, they were often too picturesque to have any real influence in ending the practice. In addition, the text with which such imagery was associated rarely condemned the institution outright.

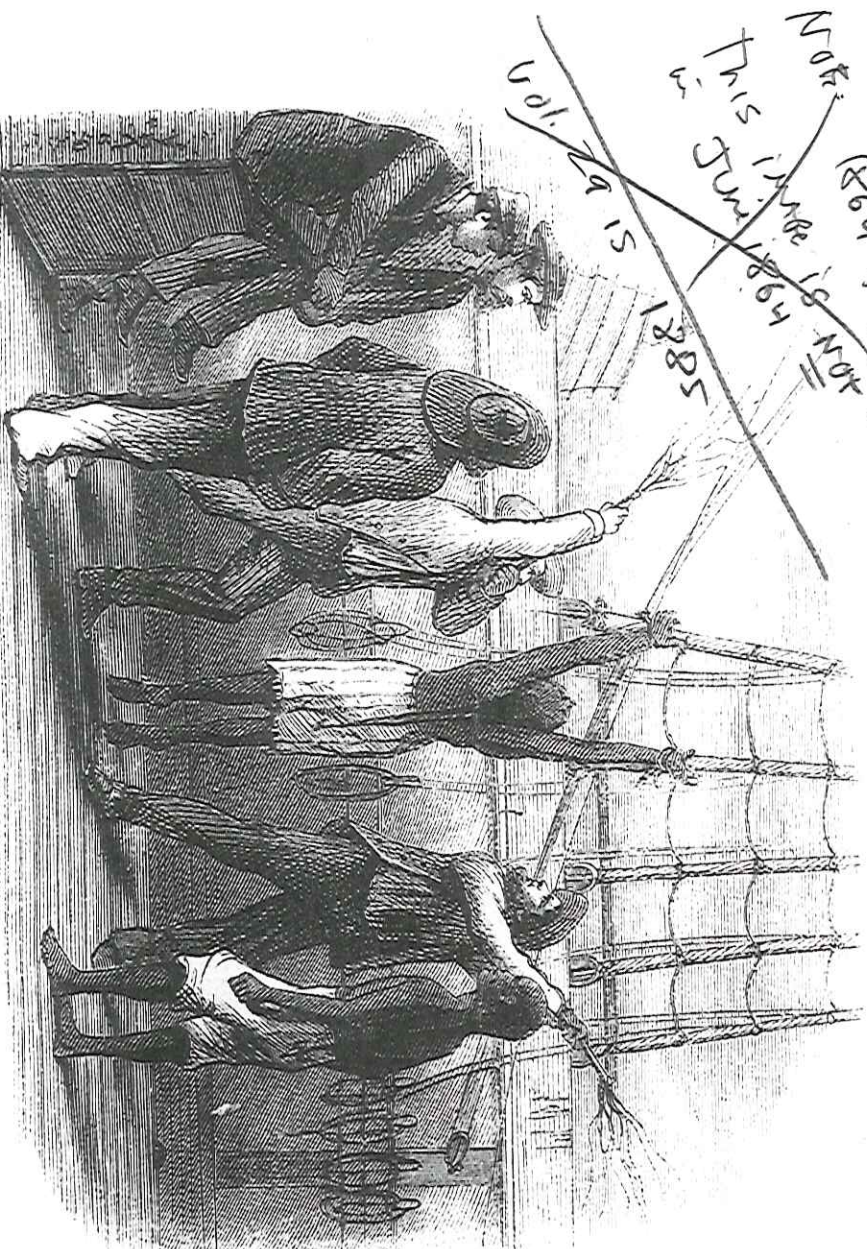
More to the taste of those who supported slavery were depictions of slave auctions and scenes of fugitives (figures 10-13). Ironically, these also formed two major programmatic abolitionist themes in the American visual representation of slavery and the slave trade. Their focused attention on traumatic events such as the heartless separa-

tion of families could be read as serious appeals to the abolitionist cause. Unlike the situation in Europe, there was less demand from American abolitionists for depictions of the horrors of slavery. Nonetheless, a healthy amount of imagery focusing on the physical brutality inflicted on slaves was

Figure 6. (below) *Preserving the Peace*, illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, volume 29, June 1864.

Figure 7. (opposite, top) *Nègres à fond de calle* (Negroes in the Ship's Hold), print by Johann Moritz Rugendas, 1827, for his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* (1827-1835); National Library of Jamaica.

Figure 8. (opposite, bottom) *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming On)*; painting, J. M. W. Turner, 1840; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



NOTE
This is in
Vol. 29, p. 5
1864 is Vol. 8 -
June 1864
1865

1/8/01 - I suggest this has no msg to do with Transatlantic Slave Trade - look at main of person being shipped & conditions to be shipped
3/01/30
NBM

Doscher
Doscher & Casperman (1992)

MIDDLE PASSAGE 277

sex. Europeans traders adopted smallpox vaccination at about the same time; all carried large quantities of African food provisions to feed the slaves, and all used the same methods for daily hygiene, exercise and the care of the sick. This standardization explains the common experience of mortality decline.

Death on the crossing was due to a variety of causes. The biggest killers were gastrointestinal disorders, which were often related to the quality of food and water available on the trip, and fevers. Bouts of dysentery were common, and the "bloody flux" could break out in epidemic proportions. The increasing exposure of the slaves to dysentery in-

creased both the rates of contamination of supplies and the incidence of death. Dysentery accounted for the majority of deaths and was the most common disease experienced on voyages. The astronomical rates of mortality reached on occasional voyages, however, were due to outbreaks of smallpox, measles, or other highly communicable diseases that were not related to time at sea or the conditions of food and water supply, hygiene, and sanitation practices. The randomness of epidemic diseases prevented even experienced and efficient captains from eliminating high mortality rates.

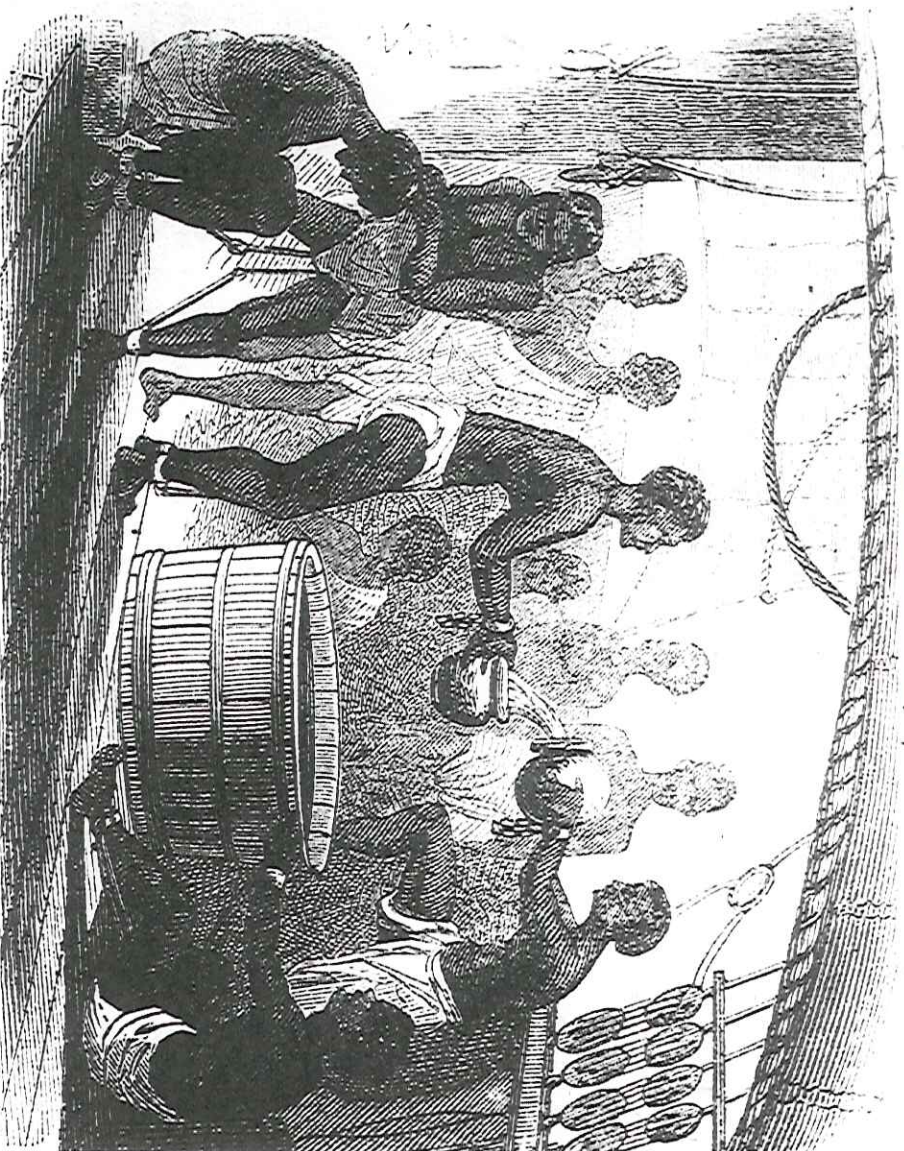
Although time at sea was not usually correlated with mortality, there were some routes in which

At the Water Tub; engraving from *Hager's Sea Monthly Magazine*.

Volume 15, August 1857

P. 325

PSL. H37



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Article - "A GAUNT IN SAVVA" pp. 324-336 -
Disease Trip from Tulla to Java - on board with
Convicts, eg. Bengalis, SIKHS - from a variety of ethnic
groups - This illustrates the crude ignorance on the ship -
How nobody to do with tropical disease since trade a

Small@gl.umuc.edu

To: smalls@umbc.edu
From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>
Subject: Re: drescher and engerman 1998
Cc: syd+@pitt.ed

X-Attachments:

Dear James Small. I received your name and e-mail address from seymour drescher who tells me that you did the captions in the Drescher and Engerman "Historical Guide to World Slavery". You are credited in the volume with several images that particularly interest me. I have been involved in constructing and revising a website "Pictorial Images of the Transatlantic Slave Trade" <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade> and wonder if you could help me with the following:

- 1) The image on p. 70, figure 6: "preserving the peace" is NOT in the Harpers Weekly for June 1864, and the volume for that year is 8, not 29 (29 is 1865) as given in the Drescher/Engerman volume. Can you help out with the correct reference?
- 2) p. 291, (gang of captives....). I can't locate this image in the Harpers Weekly that is cited in the Drescher/Engerman volume (vol. 32, may 1866); is the citation correct?

I appreciate your help in trying to resolve these issues. Sincerely, Jerome Handler

copy of ~~image~~ picture written 3/28/01
left person Hess
secondary Hess

Chapman's John Sturgeon - P.M. A.K.

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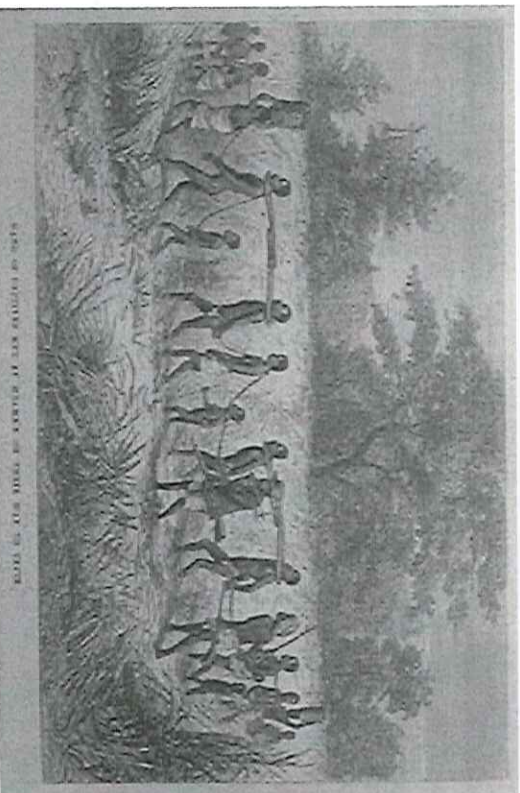
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The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Slave Coffle, Central Africa, 1861

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

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See
Notes

Image Reference

C019

Source

David and Charles Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864 (London, 1865, facing p. 356; reprinted New York, 1866, facing p. 376).

Comments

Men linked by forked logs, children a women attached by chains or ropes, with their African guards armed with guns. Caption reads: "Gang of Captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette." The scene was witnessed July, 1861. Mbame was a village chieftain friendly to Livingstone. Tette/Tete, a village (now a town) on the Zambesi River, located in present-day Western Mozambique Tette/Tete, a village (now a town) on the Zambesi River, located in present-day Western Mozambique was the last Portuguese outpost on the Zambesi. While in Tette, a slave party passed through the village: It was composed of "a long line of manacle men, women, and children . . . the black drivers, armed with muskets, a bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle, and rear of the line . . . [the women and children were fastened to ropes but each adult male] had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long and kept in by an iron rod which was riveted at both ends across the throat" (pp. 355-357). This image was published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine (vol. 32 [Dec. 1865 May 1866], p. 719) not long after the

appearance of the New York edition accompany an article, "Livingstone's Last African Expedition" (pp. 709-72). The article gives a summary account of the Livingstones' "Narrative of an Expedition." The captives shown in the illustration were destined for the East African trade. However, the image has been employed to illustrate the transatlantic slave trade, and has been reproduced in modern books, nevertheless, our knowledge, with a citation to the original source. In S. Drescher and S. Engerman, *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), p.291, the Harper's reference is erroneous. Compare this image with image reference C017. The English artist, Thomas Baines, accompanied the Livingstones and made a number of drawings while he was with them from June 1858 to November 1859. However, since Livingstone writes that the slave coffee scene was witnessed in 1861, the drawing that formed the basis for the engraving (executed by J.W. Whympere) may not have been done by Baines, but may have been based on a photograph taken by Charles Livingstone or another member of the expedition. In the preface to the "Narrative of an Expedition," David Livingstone writes that the illustrations in the book come from "drawings taken by the artist which were attached to the expedition. These sketches, with photographs by Charles Livingstone and Dr. Kirk, have materially assisted in the illustrations" (p. vii). For materials on Thomas Baines, his participation in the Zambezi expedition, and samples of his work see J.P.R. Wallis, *Thomas Baines: His Life and Explorations in South Africa, Rhodesia, and Australia 1820-1875* (Capetown, 1976).

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Mr. Baines
refers to it

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Kirk, Sir John (1832-1922), naturalist and
political agent

by Michael D. McMullen

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Kirk, Sir John (1832-1922), naturalist and political agent, was born on 19 December 1832 at Barry, Forfarshire, the second of the four children of the Revd John Kirk, minister of Barry, and his wife, Christian Carnegie, who was descended from a cadet branch of the Carnegie family of Southesk. He was educated at Arbroath high school until 1845, then at Madras College, St Andrews, whence he matriculated at Edinburgh University in 1847. After two years in the faculty of arts, he moved to medicine, graduating MD in 1854 with a thesis on the structure of the kidney. While still an undergraduate Kirk was elected fellow of the Edinburgh Botanical Society.

Kirk worked for a year as a doctor in the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary before volunteering for the Crimean War. In 1855 he was posted to the Yerekenyev Hospital on the Dardanelles, where he spent his spare time studying the botany of Asia Minor and the Turkish language. He would often go out hunting and Beddoe, his colleague, wrote, 'Kirk was the only genuine sportsman or hunter among us, and he generally secured a big bustard or a wild swan or two, and some smaller game' (Coupland, 60). He returned to England in 1857 with the intention of teaching natural history at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, but soon gave up this idea when he was appointed to accompany David Livingstone on his second Zambezi expedition, as doctor and naturalist.

From 1858 to 1863 Kirk was Livingstone's chief assistant and proved a valuable member of the expedition. He was an enthusiastic amateur photographer and although Charles Livingstone was the official photographer, almost all the surviving photographs were made by Kirk. The party explored the Shire valley and highlands, and made the earliest investigation of Lake Nyasa and its surroundings (although this claim has been disputed by the Portuguese). They then ascended the Zambezi as far as Sasheke, and made a thorough examination of the Victoria Falls. As the expedition was making its return journey, in November 1860, Kirk was nearly drowned in the Kebra-basa rapids. Three years later he suffered a severe attack of dysentery and was made to return to Britain. There he met and became engaged to Helen (*d.* 1914), daughter of Charles Cooke of Ledbury, Herefordshire.

11.11.2004:

This was printed from the online edition of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. But the same entry can be found in the hard copy in Volume 31, pp. 771-772.

~Ann's Steiner

Kirk's botanical collections were considerable and laid the foundations of the *Flora of Tropical Africa* (1868–1917), which was published under the auspices of the government. He was offered a high post at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, but, desiring to return to Africa, he accepted instead the post of medical officer to the Zanzibar Agency, which he took up in January 1866. That same year he was appointed vice-consul and in the following year, in Zanzibar, he married Helen Cooke. They had one son and five daughters.

Kirk so helped many European nations to develop their trade with Zanzibar that he acted as consul for the Hamburg Republic, and consul-general for Portugal and Italy, subsequently receiving decorations from the latter two countries. In 1873 he persuaded the sultan of Zanzibar to sign an anti-slavery treaty, closing the island's slave markets, and providing protection for all liberated slaves. The adverse effects on the coastal towns Kirk offset by establishing the east African rubber trade in 1878, the fruit of his discovery of the rubber-yielding vine (*Landolphia*). In time, Kirk became virtual ruler of Zanzibar.

The German East Africa Company was founded in 1885. By 1887 it had twelve stations in east Africa and was seeking to acquire from native chiefs land over which the sultan of Zanzibar claimed nominal authority. In 1886 Kirk began the negotiations that led to the sultan's making great concessions from his mainland territories to the East African Association (later the Imperial British East Africa Company) in the following year.

Following his retirement from the consular service in July 1886, Kirk continued to serve the state in several capacities in African affairs. He was British plenipotentiary to the African slave-trade conference at Brussels (1889–90). In 1895, he was sent to Nigeria to inquire into a dispute, which had resulted in considerable fighting and loss of life, between the Brass natives and the Royal Niger Company. From 1895 he was chairman of the government committee for the construction of the Uganda Railway, and in the following year he was appointed to the Royal Society's tsetse fly committee.

In 1882, Kirk was awarded the Royal Geographical Society's patron's medal, later serving as the society's vice-president (1891–4) and foreign secretary (1894–1911). In 1882 Kirk also became vice-president of the Linnean Society. In 1887 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and in 1894 became its vice-president. He was appointed CMG in 1879 and was created KCMG in 1881, GCMG in 1886, and KCB in 1890. He was honoured with the degrees of LL.D from Edinburgh in 1890, ScD

from Cambridge in 1897, and DCL from Oxford in 1898. His name was attached to several of the animals and plants that he identified, notably Kirk's red colobus monkey, Kirk's dik-dik, and Kirkia, a species of Acacia.

From 1887 Kirk lived in Sevenoaks with his wife and children, though he still made a number of foreign visits. These ended in 1907, owing to the impairment of his sight. He died on 15 January 1922, at Wavertree, his home in Sevenoaks.

MICHAEL D. MCMULLEN

Sources W. G. Blaikie, *Personal life of David Livingstone* (1880) · R. Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambesi* (1928) · H. H. Johnston, 'Sir John Kirk', *GJ*, 59 (1922), 225–8 · R. W. Beachy, *A history of east Africa, 1592–1902* (1996) · A. Sheriff, *Slaves, spices, and ivory in Zanzibar* (1987) · R. Foscett, ed., *The Zambesi journal and letters of Dr. John Kirk, 1858–63*, 2 vols. (1965) · R. Foscett, ed., *The Zambesi doctors: David Livingstone's letters to John Kirk, 1858, 1872* (1964) · D. Liebowitz, *The physician and the slave trade: John Kirk, the Livingstone expeditions and the crusade against slavery in east Africa* (1999) · *CGPLA Eng. & Wales* (1922)
Archives NL Scot., corresp. and papers · NRA, priv. coll., corresp. and papers | BL OIOC, corresp. with Sir Alfred Lyall, MSS Eur. F 132 · Bodl. RH, corresp. with F. D. Lugard · NL Scot., letters to J. A. Grant · NL Scot., corresp. with David Livingstone, incl. maps and sketches · RGS, corresp. with Royal Geographical Society · SOAS, letters to Sir William Mackinnon
Likenesses A. H. Kirk, watercolour drawing, 1915, NPG; repro. in Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambesi* · Maull & Fox, photograph, RS
Wealth at death £44,234 7s. 4d.: probate, 20 April 1922, *CGPLA Eng. & Wales*

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Michael D. McMullen, 'Kirk, Sir John (1832–1922)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 11 Nov 2004:
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34336>]

Call number: DA28 .O95 2004

Title: **Oxford dictionary of national biography : in association with the British Academy : from the earliest times to the year 2000 / edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison.**

Click link: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/subscribed/>

Publication info: **Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, c2004.**

ISBN: **019861411X (set of 60 volumes)**

Description: **60 v. : ill. ; 26 cm. + Index of contributors (473 p. ; 26 cm.)**

Other format: **Also available online as an electronic resource.**

Note: **Rev. ed. of: Dictionary of national biography. 1885-1901.**

Note: **"This Index of Contributors lists the authors of entries published in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in September 2004, and shows which articles each wrote or revised" -- Pref. of Index.**

Note: **Includes bibliographical references.**

Partial contents: **v. 1. Aaron-Amory.**

Subject: **Great Britain--Biography--Dictionaries.**

Related name: **Matthew, H. C. G. (Henry Colin Gray)**

Related name: **Harrison, Brian Howard.**

Related name: **British Academy.**

Other title: **Dictionary of national biography.**

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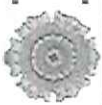
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 New York, Harper & brothers, 1875.
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See page 604 - carriers
include what Livingston says - also page 6
Illustration

CHAPTER III

Horrors of the Slave-trader's Track.—System of Cultivation.—Pottery.—Special Ex-
orsing.—Death of the last Male.—Rescue of Chirikof's Wife.—Brutalities of
the Slave-drivers.—Maurika's.—Desperate March to Miraka's.—Meets Arab Car-
rans.—Dismay of Slavers.—Dismissal of Sepoys.—Mataka.—The Waiyan Me-
ropols.—Great Hospitality and good Feeling.—Mataka restores stolen Cattle.—
Life with the Chief.—Beauty of Country and Healthiness of Climate.—The Wai-
yan People and their Peculiarities.—Regrets at the Abandonment of Bishop Mac-
kenzie's Plans.

June 19th, 1866.—We passed a woman tied by the neck to a

tree, and dead. The people of the country explained that she
had been unable to keep up with the other slaves in a gang, and
her master had determined that she should not become the prop-
erty of any one else if she recovered after resting for a time. I
may mention here that we saw others tied up in a similar man-
ner, and one lying in the path shot or strangled,* for she was in a
pool of blood. The explanation we got invariably was that the
Arab who owned these victims was enraged at losing his money
by the slaves becoming unable to march, and vented his spleen
by murdering them; but I have nothing more than common re-
port in support of attributing this enormity to the Arabs.

June 20th.—Having returned to Metaba, we were told by Ki-
nazombé, the chief, that no one had grain to sell but himself.
He had plenty of powder and common cloth from the Arabs, and
our only chance with him was parting with our finer cloths and
other things that took his fancy. He magnified the scarcity in
front in order to induce us to buy all we could from him, but
he gave me an ample meal of porridge and guinea-fowl before
starting.

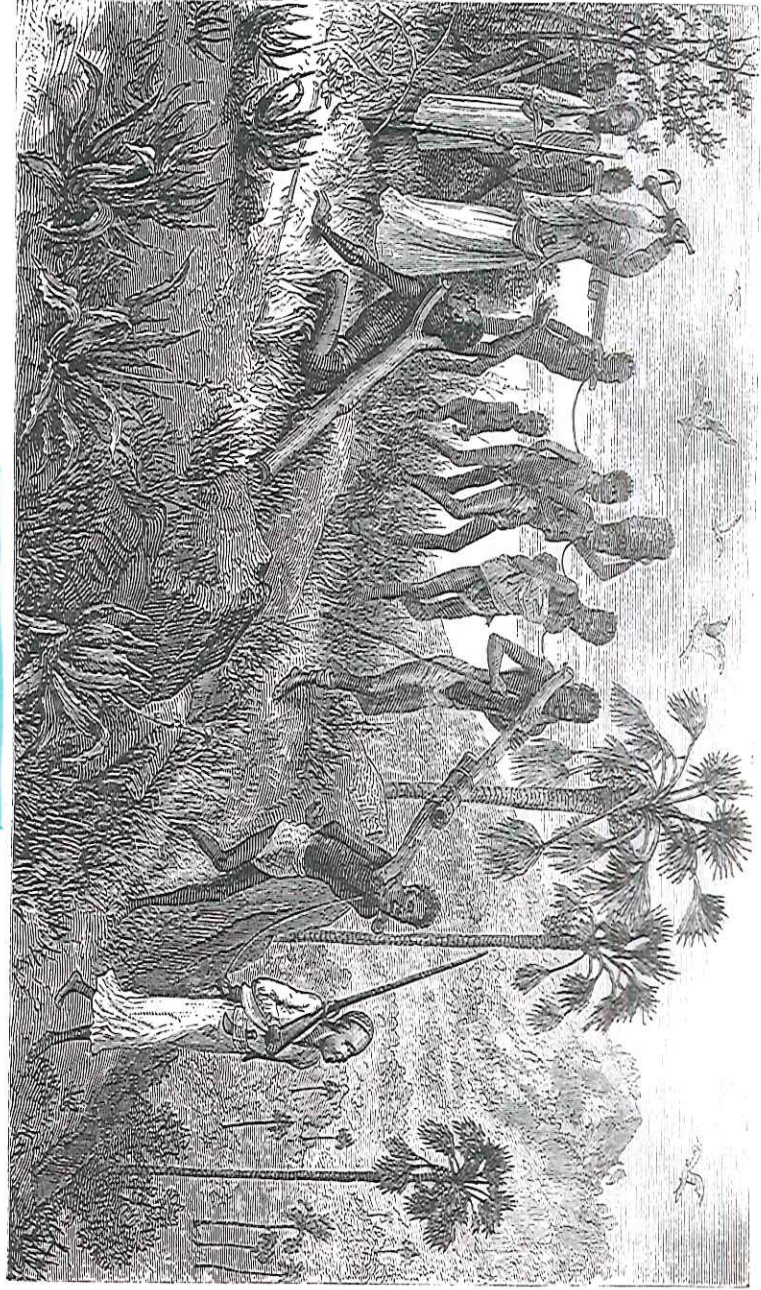
June 21st.—We had difficulties about carriers; but on reach-
ing an island in the Rovuma called Chimiki, we found the peo-
ple were Makoa, and more civil and willing to work than the
Waiyan: we sent men back to bring up the havidar to a very
civil head man called Chirikalom.

June 22d.—A poor little boy with *prolapsus ani* was carried

* There is a double purpose in these murders: the terror inspired in the minds of
the survivors spurs them on to endure the hardships of the march: the Portuguese
drovers are quite alive to the merits of this stimulus.—Ed.

Ny. 1875

SLAVERS REVENGING THEIR LOSSES



Some Illustration London, 1874, Vol. 1, facing p. 62

June 27th.—To-day we came upon a man dead from starvation, as he was very thin. One of our men wandered and found a number of slaves with slave-sticks on, abandoned by their master from want of food; they were too weak to be able to speak or say where they had come from; some were quite young. We crossed the Tulosi, a stream coming from south, about twenty yards wide.

At Chenjewala's the people are usually much startled when I explain that the numbers of slaves we see dead on the road have been killed partly by those who sold them; for I tell them that if they sell their fellows, they are like the man who holds the victim while the Arab performs the murder.

Chenjewala blamed Macheмба, a chief above him on the Ronyuma, for encouraging the slave-trade; I told him I had traveled so much among them that I knew all the excuses they could make: each head man blamed some one else.

"It would be better if you kept your people, and cultivated more largely," said I. "Oh, Macheмба sends his men and robs our gardens after we have cultivated," was the reply. One man said that the Arabs who come and tempt them with fine clothes are the cause of their selling: this was childish, so I told them they would very soon have none to sell; their country was becoming jungle, and all their people who did not die in the road would be making gardens for Arabs at Kilwa and elsewhere.

June 28th.—When we got about an hour from Chenjewala's we came to a party in the act of marauding; the owners of the gardens made off for the other side of the river, and waved to us to go against the people of Macheмба, but we stood on a knoll with all our goods on the ground, and waited to see how matters would turn out. Two of the marauders came to us, and said they had captured five people. I suppose they took us for Arabs, as they addressed Mnsa. They then took some green maize, and so did some of my people, believing that as all was going, they who were really starving might as well have a share.

I went on a little way with the two marauders, and by the foot-prints thought the whole party might amount to four or five, with guns: the gardens and huts were all deserted. A poor woman was sitting, cooking green maize, and one of the men ordered her to follow him. I said to him, "Let her alone; she is dying." "Yes," said he, "of hunger;" and went on without her. We passed village after village, and gardens all deserted! We were now between two contending parties. We slept at one garden; and as we were told by Chenjewala's people to take what



Some water under, 1874, vol. 1, p. 56

See website - Prot 02 -
Narrow accordingly -

Silva Sabandana



Livingston 1875
N.Y. 1875

Apr 8-64

THE LAST JOURNALS
 OF
 DAVID LIVINGSTONE,
 IN CENTRAL AFRICA,
 FROM 1863 TO HIS DEATH.

CONTINUED BY A NARRATIVE OF
 HIS LAST MOMENTS AND SUFFERINGS,
 OBTAINED FROM

HIS FAITHFUL SERVANTS CHUMA AND SUSA,

BY HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S.,

LECTOR OF TWYFELT, NORTHAMPTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—Vol. I.

WITH PORTRAIT, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

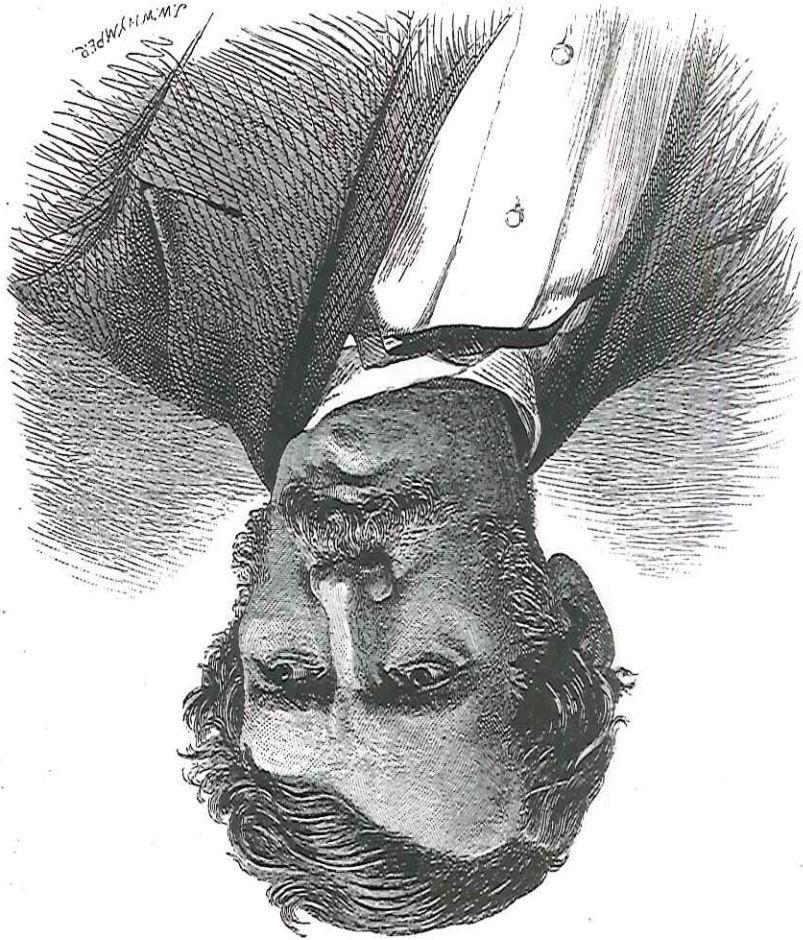


LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1874.

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From a photograph taken by Thomas Annan.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE,
 OF HAMILTON AND CLASCOM,
 FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THOMAS ANNAN.

VOL. I.

separate Village built by the Men whereto to prepare the Body for Transport.—
The Preparation of the Corpse.—Honor shown by the Natives to Dr. Livingston.—
—Additional Remarks on the Cause of Death.—Interment of the Heart at Chit-
tambo's, in Hah of the Wabisa.—An Inscription and memorial Signposts left to
denote Spot.....Page 506

CHAPTER XXVI.

They begin the homeward March from Hah.—Illness of all the Men.—Deaths.—
Mhamunzuju.—The Lanpaha.—The Donkey killed by a Lion.—A Disaster at
Nkoesi's.—Native Straggle.—Approach Chawende's Town.—Inhospitable Recep-
tion.—An Encounter.—They take the Town.—Leave Chawende's.—Reach Chi-
wanda's.—Strike the old Road.—Wire-drawing.—Arrive at Kumba-kumba's.—John
Wainwright disappears.—Unsuccessful Search.—Reach Tanganyika.—Leave the
Lake.—Cross the Lambehanda Range.—Immense Herds of Game.—News of
East Coast Search Expedition.—Continuation of News.—They reach Banda.—
Aunt-cousins sent forward to Unguyemé.—Chama meets Lieutenant Cameron.—
Start for the Coast.—Sad Death of Dr. Dillon.—Clever Presentations.—The Body
is eventually concealed.—Girl killed by a Snake.—Arrival on the Coast.—Conclud-
ing Remarks.....Page 521

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The ILLUSTRATIONS, though no artist had acquired a practice of making rude sketches of scenes
and objects, which have furnished material for the engravures in the Illustrations for this
book.)

	Full-page Illustrations.	Page
1. PORTRAIT OF DR. LIVINGSTONE.....	<i>Frontispiece.</i>	
2. SLAVES REVENGING THEIR LOSSES.....	<i>faces</i>	59
3. SLAVES ABANDONED.....	"	61
4. CHITAPANGWA RECEIVING DR. LIVINGSTONE.....	"	155
5. THE VILLAGE ON LAKE LEMBA (TANGANYIKA).....	"	170
6. THE ARRIVAL OF HAWKER'S BRIDE.....	"	183
7. DISCOVERY OF LAKE BANGWEKOU.....	"	232
8. GURIA HEAD-DRESSES.....	"	300
9. GURIA AND SEST.....	"	318
10. MANYUEHA HENTHIS KILLING SOKOS.....	"	323
11. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG SOKO.....	"	324
12. A DANGEROUS PRIZE.....	"	354
13. FASCIMATE OF A PORTION OF DR. LIVINGSTONE'S JOURNAL.....	"	385
14. THE MASSAGE OF THE MANYUEHA WOMEN AT NYASGWE.....	"	383
15. THE MANYUEHA AMBUSH.....	"	383
16. THE MAN STRUCK BY TO SEST'S MOUTH.....	"	484
17. THE LAST MINE OF DR. LIVINGSTONE'S THAVELS.....	"	503
18. THE FISH-TRAP ON HIPPOPOTAMUS TRAP.....	"	504
19. THE LAST ENTRY IN DR. LIVINGSTONE'S JOURNALS.....	"	506
20. EVENING. LIMA, APRIL 29TH, 1873.....	"	509
21. TEMPORARY VILLAGE IN WHICH DR. LIVINGSTONE'S BODY WAS PREPARED.....	"	518

Smaller Illustrations.

1. DR. LIVINGSTONE'S HOUSE, ZANZIBAR.....	19
2. HOW ESCAPED FOR TRANSPORT OF DR. LIVINGSTONE'S CAMERAS.....	25
3. A THORN-CUSHION.....	31
4. LONSHAWWE AND AXE.....	32

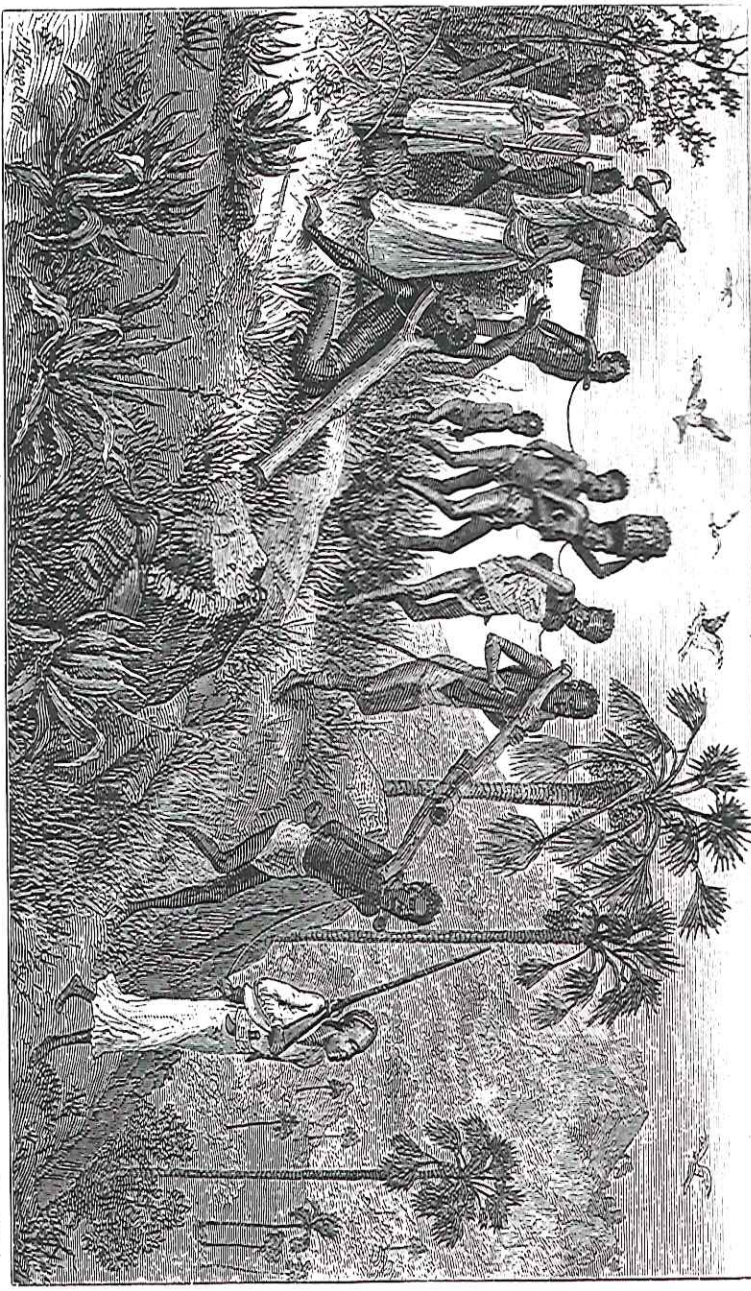
Editor's Note

1874
W. H. Wood

CHAPTER III.

Horrors of the slave-trader's track. System of cultivation. Pottery-wife. Dainties of the slave-drivers. Mtanikas. Desperate march to Mtaka's. Meets Arab caravans. Dismay of slavers. Dismissal of sepoy's. Mataka. The Waiyan metropolis. Great hospitality and good feeling. Mataka restores stolen cattle. Life with the chief. Beauty of country and healthiness of climate. The Waiyan people and their peculiarities. Regrets at the abandonment of Bishop Mackenzie's plans.

19th June, 1866.—We passed a woman tied by the neck to a tree and dead, the people of the country explained that she had been unable to keep up with the other slaves in a gang, and her master had determined that she should not become the property of anyone else if she recovered after resting for a time. I may mention here that we saw others tied up in a similar manner, and one lying in the path shot or stabbed,* for she was in a pool of blood. The explanation we got invariably was that the Arab who owned these victims was enraged at losing his money by the slaves becoming unable to march, and vented his spleen by murdering them; but I have nothing more than a common report in support of attributing this enormity to the Arabs.
20th June.—Having returned to Metaba, we were told by Kinazombe, the chief, that no one had grain to sell but
* There is a double purpose in these murders; the terror inspired in the minds of the survivors spurs them on to endure the hardships of the march: the Portuguese drovers are quite alive to the merits of this stimulus.—Ed.



SLAYERS REVENGING THEIR LOSSES.

Ward 8th

that I, feeling ashamed to see one of his relatives in a slave-stick, had released her, and would take her on to her husband.

She is evidently a lady among them, having many fine

beads and some string on elephant's hair: she has a good

deal of spirit too, for on being liberated she went into the

old man's house and took her basket and calabash. A

virago of a wife shut the door and tried to prevent her,

as well as to cut off the beads from her person, but she

resisted like a good one, and my men thrust the door open

and let her out, but minus her slave. The other wife—

for old officious had two—joined her sister in a furious tirade

of abuse, the elder holding her sides in regular fishwife

fashion till I burst into a laugh, in which the younger wife

joined. I explained to the different headmen in front of this

village what I had done, and sent messages to Chirikaloma

explanatory of my friendly deed to his relative, so that no

misconstruction should be put on my act.

We passed a slave woman shot or stabbed through the

body and lying on the path: a group of men stood about a

hundred yards off on one side, and another of women on the

other side, looking on; they said an Arab who passed early

that morning had done it in anger at losing the price he

longer.

27th June.—To-day we came upon a man dead from star-

vation, as he was very thin. One of our men wandered and

found a number of slaves with slave-sticks on, abandoned

by their master from want of food; they were too weak to

be able to speak or say where they had come from; some

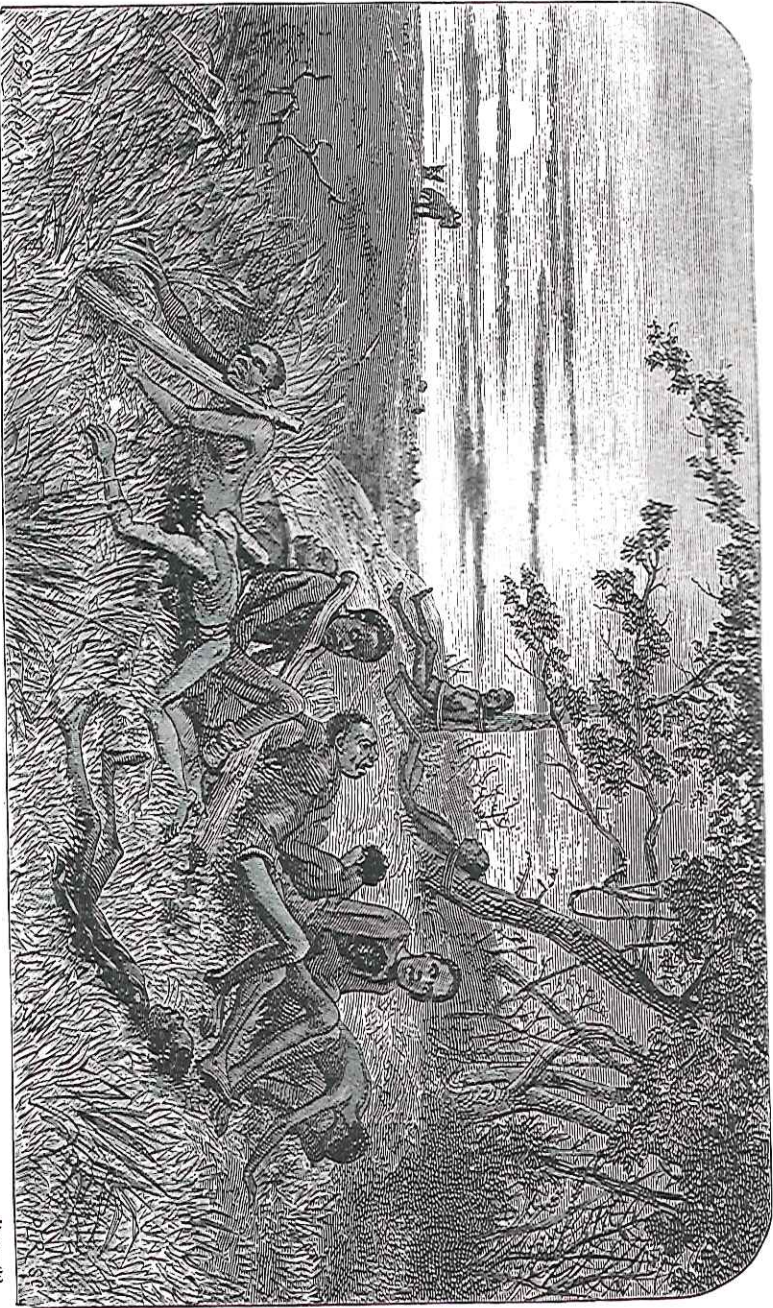
were quite young. We crossed the Tulosi, a stream coming

from south, about twenty yards wide.

At Chenjwala's the people are usually much startled

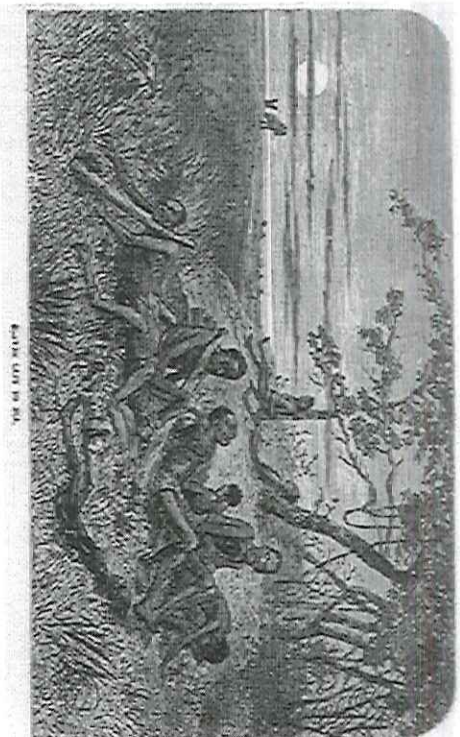
when I explain that the numbers of slaves we see dead on

the road have been killed partly by those who sold them,



The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Abandoned Captured African, 1870s *Central Africa, 1860s*



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Thomas W. Knox, *The Boy Travellers on the Congo* (New York, 1888), p. 421

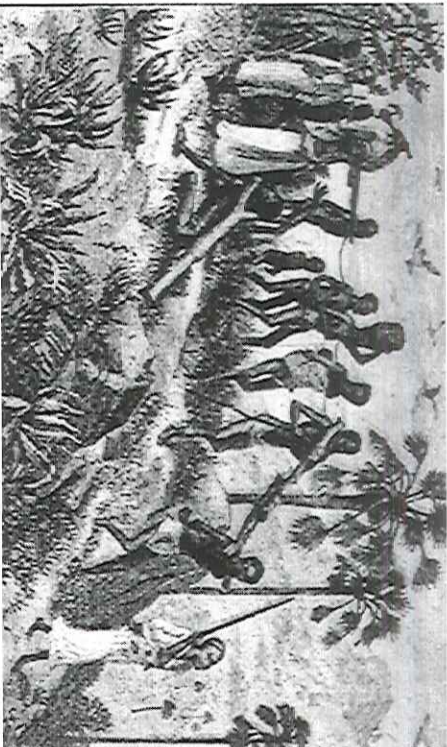
Comments

Knox's book is a condensation of Henry Stanley's famous "Through the Dark Continent" (New York, 1878), but the publishers took their images "from several volumes of African travel exploration" (p.2) without acknowledging their sources. We have not yet identified the primary source of this illustration although it may have first appeared in one of Charles Livingstone's accounts of his expeditions in Central and East Africa. In any event, Knox relates, basing his information on some account of Livingstone, that Arab slavers "sometimes leave the weak and sickly [slaves] . . . by the roadside, when they were unable to keep up with the caravans Sometimes they left them to die or recover, as best they might, and Dr. Livingstone tells how he saw groups of dying people with slave-yokes about their necks, near the road where he travelled. Sometimes they tied the unfortunate ones to trees and left them to perish; Dr. Livingstone came frequently upon instances of this barbarity of the Arab slave-dealers" (p. 420).

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Slave Coffle, 1870s

Central Africa, 1860s



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6500, London, 1874, vol. 1, p. 57

Image Reference
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Source
David Livingstone, The Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa (New York, 1875), facing p. 58. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-36323)

Comments
"Slavers Revenging their Losses," shows a coffle of men, women, and children, led by Arab slavers; one of the guards is murdering a captive unable to keep up with the rest. These people were taken across Central Africa to the African east coast. This is one of the best known and frequently reproduced images in the literature on slaving in Africa. Also published in Thomas W. Knox, The Boy Travellers on the Congo (New York, 1888), p. 419, with the caption "Slave Caravans on the Road."

Quote Livingston

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Call number: **DT1110 .L58 A3 2002**

Author: **Livingstone, David, 1813-1873.**

Title: **The life and African explorations of Dr. David Livingstone : comprising all his extensive travels and discoveries as detailed in his diary, reports, and letters, including his famous last journals : with maps and numerous illustrations.**

Edition: **1st Cooper Square Press ed.**

Publication info: **New York : Cooper Square Press : distributed by National Book Network, 2002.**

ISBN: **0815412088 (paper : alk. paper)**

Description: **643 p. : ill., maps ; 22 cm.**

Note: **Originally published: St. Louis : Valley Pub., 1874.**

Subject: **Livingstone, David, 1813-1873.**

Subject: **Explorers--Africa, Southern--Biography.**

Subject: **Explorers--Africa, Central--Biography.**

Subject: **Explorers--Scotland--Biography.**

Subject: **Africa, Southern--Discovery and exploration.**

Subject: **Africa, Central--Discovery and exploration.**

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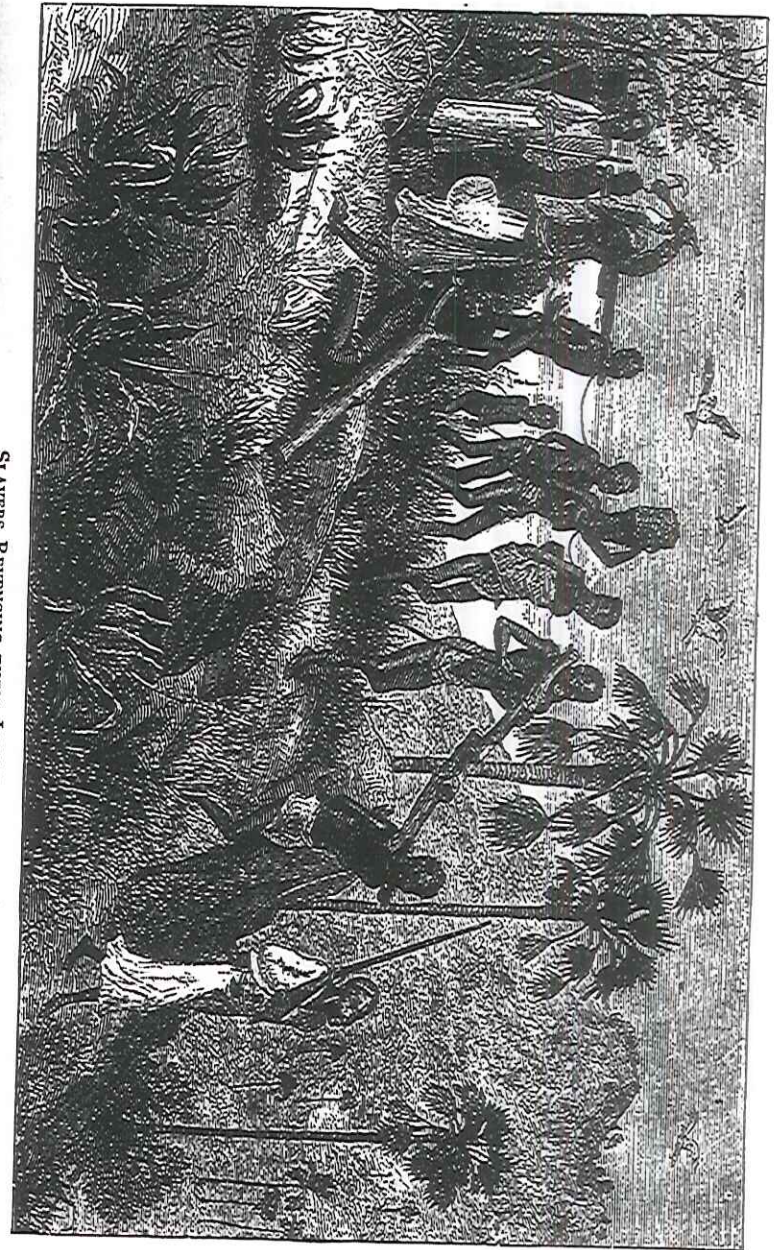
*VP. 87- "SLAVES RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSSES"
123- "SLAVES ABANDONED"*

EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.

and bowels are pale and empty, and the gall-bladder is distended with bile.

"The mule, ass, and goat enjoy the same immunity from the tsetse as man and game. Many large tribes on the Zambesi can keep no domestic animals except the goat, in consequence of the scourge existing in their country. Our children were frequently bitten, yet suffered no harm; and we saw around us numbers of zebras, buffaloes, pigs, pallahs and other antelopes, feeding quietly in the very *habitat* of the tsetse, yet as undisturbed by its bite as oxen are when they first receive the fatal poison."

This insect has been classed by different naturalists as the same as the *zimb* of Bruce, and the *zebub* in Hebrew. The Marquis of Spineto identifies the *zimb* with the dog-fly of the Greeks, with the flies under different names of other countries, and with the *arob* of Scripture, the fly which caused the fourth of the plagues of Egypt. The Portuguese in Africa believe that the tsetse lives only in regions where there are elephants, and that upon the extermination of those animals the great scourge of the fly will cease.



SLAYERS REVENGING THEIR LOSSES.

the travelers, by rolling, clapping, and singing out "kina bomba" like all the rest of them. These people, though having many barbarous and repulsive customs, were friendly and in their savage way quite hospitable. While passing through the country of the Batoka the travelers were visited by a number of Bashukulompo, a tribe who live to the northward. They wear their hair in immense cones, most of which are constructed straight up from the head, but some obliquely. To keep these ornaments in order must require as much attention as a modern belle gives to head-dress, chignon, braid, waterfall, and all. But it may be claimed as a general truth, applying to all races of mankind, that much attention is given to the external portions of the head.

The country through which the expedition was now passing, was one of great beauty. The grass was green, trees were abundant, and instead of the vast plains of the Londa territory there were high ridges and hills, making the country such as is often called rolling. It was not long after leaving Kalai that the Lekene river was crossed, and soon afterwards the Unguesi. These both flow to the west, emptying into the Leeambye above the Falls of Victoria. In the vicinity of the Mozuma or River of Dila there were many ruins of large towns showing that the country had in former times been inhabited by large numbers of people. The depopulation had been caused by war, for the principal ruins were worn mill-stones and the round balls of quartz with which the grinding was effected. Had the people removed in peace, they would have taken these balls with

SLAVES ABANDONED.



File under Livingstone

1 more reference "10004"

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Type: Ivy Stacks

Date Placed: 11/10/2004

Missionary travels and adventures in Africa; or, The life of David Livingstone.

With a brief account of the commencement of the mission at Ujiji, where Stanley found Livingstone. DT731.L8 A3

Route to ILL? No

Delivery Method: Electronic

[Henry Gardner Adams] included in parcel on file per

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Contact Information:

If you would like further assistance with this request, you may email the Interlibrary Library Services office at 4leo@virginia.edu. Please include VIRGO request number, REQ-721414. If you are sending mail from a web browser at a public terminal, be sure to include your return e-mail address in the text of your message. You may also call the Interlibrary Library Services office at (434) 982-2617.

11/12/04

Re Narrative found on Livingstone's Journals on digitization to Zacher Zandari, etc - a lot of illustrations, but none dealing with slavery Trade - possible image to scan Photos p. 255 - "mode of carrying ivory"

Patron: JEROME HANDLER

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User ID: 

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Dept: **VA FOUNDATION for
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Location: IVY F14-4H 318 19

Email: jh3v@virginia.edu

Notes: FAC VFFH

Customer has requested:
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ILLiad TN: 376216


Mailing Label:
JEROME HANDLER
VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES

Loan Title: **Missionary travels and adventures in Africa; or, The life of David Livingstone. With a brief account of the commencement of the mission at Ujiji, where Stanley found Livingstone**
Loan Author: **Adams, H. G. (Henry Gardiner), 1811 or 12-1881**
Imprint: **London, Hodder and Stroughton, 1880.**

UVA - ILS DOCUMENT DELIVERY

11/12/04

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Josiah

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AUTHOR

lloyd, william

Location : John Carter Brown Library

Search

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Author

Lloyd, William, MD

Title

Letters from the West Indies, during a visit in the autumn of MDCCCXXXVI, and the spring of MDCCCXXXVII; ..

Published

London : Darton and Harvey ...; [1839]

Descriptn

viii, 263 p. fold. map, 11 plates. 20 cm

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LOCATION	CALL #	STATUS
JCB	D839 .L793	USE IN LIBRARY

Note

Retrospective conversion: RLIN

LC subject

[West Indies, British -- Description and travel](#)

Other info

Imprint 1839

LCCN

England London

RLin/oclc

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RIBR03-B4154

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6/30/06 - a number of good suggestions of 51d95, handans, etc but no paper - NO scans

Search Result --- Quick Search

Viewing record 24 of 30 from catalog.

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Call number: HT1151.L65

Author: Lombardi, John V.

Title: The decline and abolition of Negro slavery in Venezuela, 1820-1854 [by] John V. Lombardi.

Publication info: Westport, Conn., Greenwood Pub. Corp. [1971]

ISBN: 0837133033

Description: xviii, 217 p. maps. 22 cm.

Note: "A Negro Universities Press publication."

Note: Bibliography: p. 177-208.

Subject: Slavery--Venezuela.

Series: Contributions in Afro-American and African studies, no.

7

Series: Contributions in Afro-American and African studies no.

7

Alderman	Material	Location
HT1151.L65	BOOK	Alderman Library Stacks
HT1151.L65	BOOK	Alderman Library Stacks

696

Braun 5/17/06 No ill., nothing in biblio

Précis de la Société
Paris C. Geography de
L'Asie (Paris 1814)
Vol 4 / p. 180
Carte de la Côte d'Ivoire
Carte de la Côte d'Ivoire
Carte de la Côte d'Ivoire
Carte de la Côte d'Ivoire



The plate presented to the work by some friends to the cause

File
ajvillars

The Library Company of Philadelphia
WOLFPAC Online Catalog

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 Title: "Warhafte und" -- File 1 of 3

Options: se Labeled Forma

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◀ PREVIOUS ▶
 First Last

Format: Book

Author: Lopes, Duarte

Uniform Title: Relatione del reame di Congo. German

Title:

Relatione Congo hoc est : warhafte vnd eigentliche Beschreibung dess Königreichs Congo in Africa vnd deren angrenzenden Länder darinnen der inwohner Glaub Leben Sitten vnd Kleidung wol vnd ausführlich vermeldet vnd angezeigt wirdt. / Erstlich durch Edhart Lopez welcher in dieser Navigation alles persönlich erfahren in portugalesischer Sprach gestellt jetzo aber in vnser teutsche Sprach transferieret vnd vbersetzt durch Augustinum Cassiodorum. : Auch mit schönen vmd kunstreichen Figuren gezieret vnd an Tag geben durch Hans Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry Gebrüder vnd Bürger zu Franckfurt...

Imprint:

Getruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn : durch Matthias Becker in Verlegung Hans Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry, im Jahr M.D.C.IX [1609]

Description:

[8], 74, [6] p, [1], 14 leaves, [3] folded leaves of plates : ill., maps ; 31 cm. (fol.)

Notes: Text contains a relation of the visit of Duarte Lopes, a Portuguese, to the Congo in 1578; written by Filippo Pigafetta from the dictation of Lopes, and first published in Rome in 1591 under title: Relatione del reame di Congo.

Notes: Constitutes part 1 of J.T. de Bry's India orientalis.

Notes: Added t.p. preceding final 14 numbered leaves has title: Erklärung etlicher Capitel deren hievor gesetzten Bücher darinnen die Ankunfft der Portugaleser in die Insel Congo ...

Notes: Engraved border surrounding title signed: Io. Theodori de Bry fecit.

Notes: Capital letters "V" transcribed as "u" in "Regnum" and "Augustinum Cassiodorum."

Notes: Signatures: A-1#; 2A-2C# 2D©.

Notes: Includes index.

Citations: Church, E.D. Discovery, 227

Citations: Alden, J.E. European Americana, 609/72

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 6046

Subject: Voyages and travels.

Subject: Kongo Kingdom --Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Maps --Africa.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Co-Creator: Pigafetta, Filippo. 1533-1604.

Other Title: Regnum Congo hoc est.

Other Title: Warhafte vnd eigentliche Beschreibung dess Königreichs Congo in Africa.

Other Title: Warhafte und eigentliche Beschreibung des Königreichs Congo in Africa.

Other Title: Erklärung etlicher Capitel deren hievor gesetzten Bücher darinnen die Ankunfft der Portugaleser in die Insel Congo.

Local Entry: Printer:Becker, Matthias, printer.

Local Entry: Illustrator:Bry, Johann Theodor de, 1561-1623?, engraver.

Local Entry: Printer:Bry, Johann Israel de, d. 1611, bookseller.

not in NYPL

10/20/02

anderen von Familie +
 Partnerschaft description of
 people of Congo - who often
 wore like Europeans - not
 useful for evidence re: war
 on war







✓ Query - das Meer
 was also open in 1591
 some earlier? or when they
 born for the German edition?

Local Entry: Printer:Byy, Johann Theodor de, 1561-1623?, bookseller.
Local Entry: Imprint:GERMANY. Frankfurt am Main. 1609.
System No.: PALR94-B3063

Holdings

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Top 

   
First   **Last**

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UTHOR

Record 8 of 14

Call #

Author

Title

*KB 1591 Lopes, D. Relazione del reame di Congo et delle circonviene contrade. Tratta dalli scritti & Lopes, Duarte.
Relazione del reame di Congo et delle circonviene contrade. per Filippo Pigafetta. Con disegni vari di ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez Portoghese; per Filippo Pigafetta, & altro ...
geografica, di piante, d'habiti, d'animali, & altro ...
 In Roma, Appresso Bartolomeo Grassi [1591]

Imprint

LOCATION

CALL #

STATUS

Humanities-RareBks	*KB 1591 (Lopes, D. Relazione del reame di Congo et delle circonviene contrade)	
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Location

Description

Note

References
 Local note
 Subject

Add'l name

Humanities-RareBks
 4 p.l., 82 p., 1 l. 8 double pl., 2 fold. maps. 23 cm. (4to).
 Engraved title-page, with architectural border including arms of Antonio Migliore, to whom the work is dedicated.
 Dedication dated and signed: Di Roma à 7. d'Agosto 1591. Filippo Pigafetta.
 First edition.--cf. Lopes, D. A report of the kingdom of Congo ... London, 1881, p. 145-146.
 Brunet, IV, 651
 Lenox Collection.
 Conference of Non-governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the United Nations
 Economic and Social Council.
 Kongo Kingdom -- Description and travel.
 Pigafetta, Filippo, 1533-1604.

CAINYIP: The Online Catalog of The New York Public Libraries
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See OVA along for various modern editions

(OVA)

Lopes, Duarte

Relazione... Roma 1591

This edition has some illustrations, but not as many as in the 1609 German edition

The 1591 edition has several wood cuts of plants of America (26) & 6 of people & 2 maps -

The 6 are essentially similar to those in German edition but some have been somewhat altered.

Pl. 3 - Habito del Noble et del Scrittore (2 figures)

4 - Suona Militare, Habito del Soldado, ^{suono} militare (3 figures)

5 - Habito della Seiva, Habito della donna popolosa, habito della genti donna (3 figures)

6 - Modo di far viaggio et copere la posta

* Shows 2 men (Pacisficus) carrying another in hammock -

Notes - all of the figures are highly Europeanized - don't

look like Africans

Similar, if not identical, to one in 1609 edition - (see OVA du AA # 7)

7 - Altro modo d'andar attorno - 2

When carrying pole up north directed in the middle w/ umbrella - Similar to one in German edition (OVA du AA # 8)

8 - Altro modo d'andar in posta

Poste men carrying another & covered litters - similar to one in German edition (see du AA # 6)

(OVA)

CATNYP: The Online Catalog of The New York Public Library
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Record 6 of 14

also 1969 report from author

Call # Sc 967.5-L (Lopes, D. Report of the Kingdom of Congo...)

Author Lopes, Duarte.

Title Relatione del reame di Congo. English

A report of the Kingdom of Congo : and of the surrounding countries ; drawn out of the writings and discourses of the Portuguese, Duarte Lopez / by Filippo Pigafetta, in Rome, 1591 ; newly translated from the Italian, and edited with explanatory notes, by Margarite Hutchinson ; with facsimiles of the original maps, and a preface by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton.

Imprint London : John Murray, 1881.

LOCATION	CALL #	STATUS
Schomburg-Genrl Res	Sc 967.5-L (Lopes, D. Report of the Kingdom of Congo ...)	

Location Schomburg-Genrl Res

Descript xxi, 174 p. : fold. maps. ; 24 cm.

Note Translation of Relatione del reame di Congo.
"The cartography of Africa from 1492 to 1600, as illustrative of the nomenclature of the Congo". p. 140-145.
"Bibliographical note upon the 16th century editions of Pigafetta". p. 145-148.

Subject Congo (Democratic Republic) -- History -- To 1908.
Congo (Democratic Republic) -- Description and travel.
Pigafetta, Filippo, 1533-1604.
Hutchinson, Margarite.

Add'l name

CATNYP: The Online Catalog of The New York Public Library
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Bottom
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Format:

Book

Author:

Lossing, Benson John, 1813-1891.

Title:

The illustrated New World; : containing an historical sketch of early voyages and discoveries; settlements; colonial, revolutionary, and federal history of the United States; together with a glance at the history of the South American states; the West India islands; the British and Russian possessions; and Greenland. Illustrated by over fifty engravings. / By B.J. Lossing..

Imprint:

New York: : H. Phelps & Company, 124 Nassau Street, 1848..

Description:

58 p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

Notes:

"Stereotyped by C. Davison & Co., 33 Gold Street."--t.p. verso.

Notes:

Wood-engravings by Lossing & Barritt.

Citations:

Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 6066

Subject:

Slavery--America--Juvenile literature.

Subject:

United States--History--Juvenile literature.

Subject:

America--Discovery and exploration--Juvenile literature.

Subject:

New York (N.Y.)--History--Conspiracy of 1741--Juvenile literature.

Genre/Phys. Char.:

Juvenile literature--1848.

Subject:

SP3 Afro-Americana.

Local Entry:

Printer:H. Phelps & Company, publisher.

Local Entry:

Printer:C. Davison & Co., stereotyper.

Local Entry:

Illustrator:Lossing & Barritt, wood-engraver.

Local Entry:

Imprint:N.Y. New York. 1848.

System No.:

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Holdings

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Top
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Call number: **E 468 .L88 1866**

Author: **Lossing, Benson John, 1813-1891.**

Title: **Pictorial history of the Civil War in the United States of America.** / By Benson J. Lossing. ; Illustrated by many hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing and Barritt, from sketches by the author and others.

Publication info: Philadelphia : George W. Childs, Publisher, 1866-1868 (N[ew] Y[ork] : Alvord, Printer)

Description: 3 v. : ill. : 26 cm.

Note: Imprint varies: v. 2-3 have imprint: Hartford : T. Belknap, Publisher, 1868 (N[ew] Y[ork] : Alvord, Printer)

Note: Binder's title: Civil War in America.

Note: Later edition published under title: The pictorial field book of the Civil War ...

Local note: **SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Copy 1:**
Original blind and gilt stamped orange cloth. From the library of Edwin Swift Balch; gift of Emily Clark Balch.

Local note: **SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Copy 2:**
Rebound in marbled boards (25 cm.).
Extra-illustrated, added items include:
ALS from the author to Master Charles L. Merreau (?), dated Feb. 27, 1873; a military telegram, Aug. 28, 1863, from W.H. Lambert; portraits; Confederate money. The added leaves are dated and signed "6/9/50 Mrs. Eliot Cross." Some added items have been subsequently removed. Name has been scratched off bookplate, with motto "Certum Pete Finem." Gift of J.C. Wylie.

Local note: **SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Copy 3:**

Acquired with the Papers of the Minor, Venable, McDowell, Klingman and Colson families (MSS 3750-d). Gift of Walter Klingman, June, 1996. Tr. from Manuscript Collection. Rebound in marbled boards (25 cm.). Bookplate of Jesse Lathrop Moss.

Subject: United States--History--Civil War, 1861-1865.

Subject: United States--Politics and government--1861-1865.

Variant title: Civil War in America

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Location: SC-STKS -- E468 .L88 1866

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Library has: v.1-3

SPEC-COLL--

Location: SC-STKS -- E468 .L88 1866

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Library has: v.1-3

SPEC-COLL--

Location: SC-STKS -- E468 .L88 1866

Copy 3

Library has: v.1-3

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From: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>
Date: Fri Aug 22, 2003 2:10:52 PM US/Eastern
To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>
Cc: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>
Subject: Re: SLAVE COFFLE
Reply-To: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>

JERRY -- as for NYC, for dinner, obviously ... with a meeting with publishers on the side.

As for the image -- why don't you check with the Hirsch & Adler Galleries, Inc. - 21 East 70th St. NYC 10021 (Mr. Stuart Feld, president <gallery@hirschandadler.com>), tel. (212) 772-7237 to see what else they may have learned about it ...

How do I know it's prior? Pure intuition, based on the much less professional rendering, its obscurity, and the directness of the representation of all the objects and apparel depicted. But I'm convinced ... but pursue it, and we can put a bet on who's right.

JOE

--On Thursday, August 21, 2003 4:24 PM -0400 Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu> wrote:

well, then, sherlock, how can you be so sure that the image for which you have seen only a photo antedates the item in the livingstone volume? I p.s. and why would anyone go to nyc in august? (smile) On Thursday, August 21, 2003, at 03:45 PM, Joseph C. Miller wrote:

Joseph C. Miller
<T. Cary Johnson, Jr. Professor>
Department of History -- Randall Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville VA 22904-4180

(434) 924-6395
FAX (434) 924-7891
NOTE NEW AREA CODE

From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>
Date: Sat Oct 4, 2003 9:40:16 AM US/Eastern
To: gallery@hirschandler.com
Cc: Miller Joseph <jcm7a@cns.mail.virginia.edu>
Subject: slave collie

Mr. Field, I sent you this letter about a month ago. Perhaps you never received it, but our interest in the image in question continues and hope you can help out. Sincerely, Jerome Handler

Mr. Stuart Field, I received your name and address from Professor Joseph Miller. Joe and I have similar scholarly interests, and we are on friendly terms. However, we have been disagreeing on the identification and dating of an image of a slave collie that you once sent him. The image is similar, if not identical, to an illustration that I once identified as originally appearing in David and Charles Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries . . . 1858-1864 (London, 1865; reprinted New York, 1866). This image can be seen on our website on the slave trade: <<http://hitchcock.its.virginia.edu/Slavery/>> --image reference C019. Joe insists that the image you sent him (in photographic reproduction) is the original from which the version in the Livingstone book was taken. Since I have not examined the original of the image you sent him, I am not convinced. I wonder if you have any additional information on the item in question and will look forward to hearing from you. Sincerely, Jerome Handler

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

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

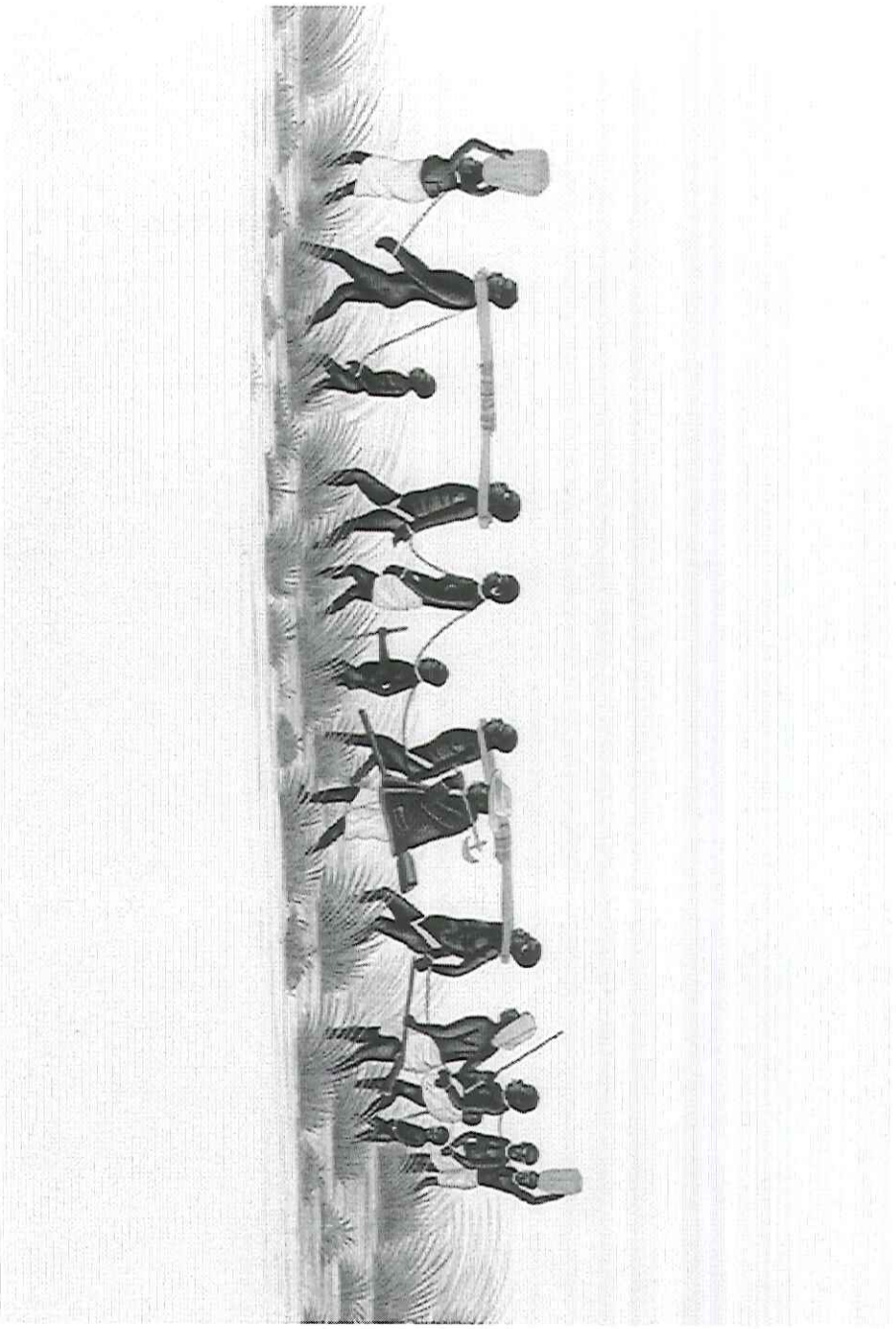
<http://hitchcock.its.virginia.edu/Slavery/>

From: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>
To: jh3v@virginia.edu
Cc: miller <jcm7a@virginia.edu>
Time: Mon, 07 Jul 2003 15:13:17 -0400
Subject: SLAVE COFFLE

JERRY -- here's the image that I keep insisting is the original from which the versions in Livingstones and (misattributed to) "Cameron" must come. Cheers -- JOE

Joseph C. Miller
 <T. Gary Johnson, Jr. Professor>
 Department of History -- Randall Hall
 University of Virginia
 Charlottesville VA 22904-4180
 (434) 924-6395
 FAX (434) 924-7891
 NOTE NEW AREA CODE

 Slave coffle, attachment of type application/octet-stream



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From: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>

To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu>

Cc: "Joseph C. Miller" <jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>

Time: Wed, 16 Jul 2003 16:53:35 -0400

Subject: Re: SLAVE COFFLE

JERRY -- well, I'll be damned. (a) the image won't open, and (b) you're in Santa Fe. What would anyone be doing in New Mexico in July?

As for images, here's one I'll bet you don't have ...

<http://www.encontrodecastro2003.hpg.ig.com.br/index.html>

Otherwise, I'll attach it again. It's a .JPEG image, and it opens right up for me in Netscape or Internet Explorer.

What else is going on???

JOE

--On Wednesday, July 16, 2003 12:36 PM -0400 Jerome Handler

<jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu> wrote:

> well, pop, we have tried opening that image on any number of
> computers and a number of people have helped at UVA...currently, i
> am at the santa fe institute in santa fe, working on their
> computers....and nobody can open your image...perhaps, you might
> reconsider how it was sent...i will resist commenting on your
> expertise concerning macs (which are the machines used in the DML)
> and image analysis/art history (though the temptation is enormous).
> jerry

Joseph C. Miller

<T. Cary Johnson, Jr. Professor>

Department of History -- Randall Hall

University of Virginia

Charlottesville VA 22904-4180

(434) 924-6395

FAX (434) 924-7891

NOTE NEW AREA CODE



[Slave coffle \(primitive\).jpg, attachment of type image/jpeg](#)

Feb. 18, 1954

Slime water with color

GRILL

Rosemary Gill (British Art) VFA

Paul water color? East India Company artist - free water
British artists in India who did paintings mostly for a
British clientele - the Paul water color is copy of
ENGRAVINGS that appeared in Livingston South -
refers me to

Jimmy Losty, British office at British Library

Fanny Price - definitely British Company photos - need to cite 1915
copied from Livingston South

~~Check VFA library for~~

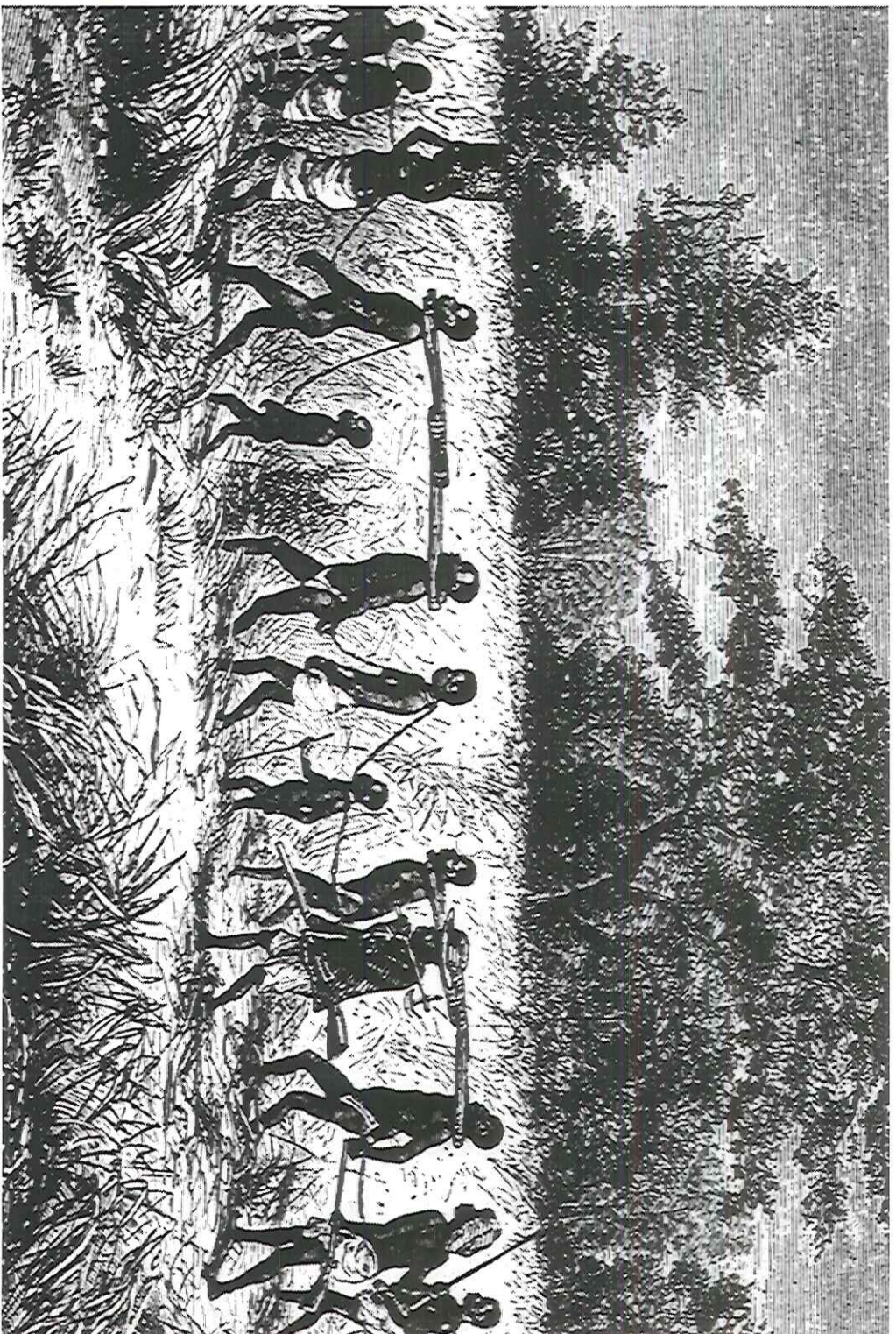
Mildred Archer, Company Paintings, British

Paintings of the British Period, Victoria & Albert

Mrs Seaman, 1992

VFA - FINE ARTS - 0505532

ND 1002, VS2 1992



Indian, 1st 2^d, East India Company

Vol. 1 (Fairly Small Images)

- p. 97 "The Palmetto" - blacks beneath the P. Palmetto tree
p. 421 "Arlington House in 1860" - black workers prominent
p. 511 "View in the main street of Hampton in 1864" - black children playing, men working

Vol. 2

- p. 352 "Louisiana Native Guard" - African-American soldier
p. 368 "Exodus of Slaves"
p. 516 "Our coachman" - Black carriage driver, 8 yrs old

Vol. 3

- p. 46 - "Libby Prison" - I believe black men are featured on the streets in discussion
p. 92 "Banner of the Third United States Colored Troops" - Shows black soldier by Lady Liberty, inscription "Rather die freeman than live to be slaves"



The Library Company of Philadelphia

WOLFPAC

Online Catalog



New Search

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Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia
<All Headings> "slave" -- Title 113 of 116

Options:

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10/17/02

More information
can be used for
web site
LCP-59

Bottom

Visual Material

Lucas, David, 1802-1881, engraver.

Title:

To the friends of negro emancipation, this print is inscribed [graphic] / Painted by Alexr. Rippingille; Engraved by David Lucas; Printed by Loyds & Hennings; Sold also by Hodgson, Boys, & Graves, 6 Pall Mall Ackerman, Strand, & C. Tilt, Fleet St.

Imprint:

London: Pubd. by F. G. Moon, Printseller to the King; 20 Threadneedle Street, August 1, 1834.

Description:

1 print: aquatint engraving; 37 x 26 cm. (14.5 x 10 in.)

Notes:

Text below title: A glorious and happy era on the first of August, bursts upon the Western World; England strikes the manacle from the slave, and bids the bond go free.

Summary:

Print commemorating Great Britain's passage of legislation, given royal assent in 1834, granting emancipation to slaves throughout Great Britain and the British colonies. Depicts near a coast, a joyous freedman, in a sarong, arms held up in celebration. He stands upon a whip surrounded by smiling black men who bury his shackles; a girl who kneels before him; and a seated mother holding her baby up in the air. Beside them an "Emancipation Notice" has been tacked to a palm tree. In the distance, blacks celebrate on the shore as a ship sails away.

Slaves --Emancipation --Great Britain --Colonies.

Subject:

Antislavery movements --Great Britain.

Subject:

Freedmen.

Subject:

Women, Black.

Subject:

Children, Black.

Subject:

Genre/Phys. Char.: Aquatints --1830-1840.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Abolition prints --1830-1840.

Subject: SP1 Women.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Co-Creator: Rippingille, Alexander, artist.

Co-Creator: Lloyd & Hennings, printer.

Co-Creator: Hodgson, Boys, & Graves, distributor.

Local Entry: Illustrator: Rippingille, Alexander, artist.

AFR-387

*GC - Emancipation

file

Josiah

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Record 2 of 2

Record: [Prev](#) [Next](#)

Author

[Luccock, John](#)

Title

Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the southern parts of Brazil; taken during a residence of ten years in that country, from 1808-1818. / By John Luccock

Published

London : Printed for Samuel Leigh, in the Strand., MDCCCXX. [1820] xv, [1], 639, [1] p., [3] leaves of plates (2 folded) : maps, plan ; 29 cm

Permalink to this Josiah record

LOCATION	CALL #	STATUS
JCB	1-SIZE D820.L934n	USE IN LIBRARY

Note

Signatures: pi4 chi4 A-4G4 4H-4P' (L2 missigned K2)

Erratum on p. [1], 1st count

Bookseller's advertisement at end

"A glossary of those Tupi words, which occur in the preceding pages", p. [629]-639

Sabin 42620

Moraes, R.B. de. Bib. Brasileira (1983 ed.), 1:500

Berger, P. Bib. do Rio de Janeiro, 191

John Carter Brown Library copy has the map of the table land of Brazil misbound facing the title page. This copy contains numerous contemporary manuscript notes including 2 pages of them bound in following the title page

Tupi language -- Glossaries, vocabularies, etc

Catalogs, Booksellers' -- Great Britain -- 1820

Brazil -- Description and travel

Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) -- Description and travel

LC subject
 Other subj
 LC subject

6129106 - 2 sold out maps, 1/2 of Rio - no other illustrations
 http://library.brown.edu/search/aluccock/aluccock/v1%2C1%2C2%2CB/frame&t&F=aluccock+john&2%2C%2C2

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: STUART
FROM: TOM
SUBJECT: "SLAVES BEING CAPTURED" UPDATE
DATE: 06/13/01
CC:

Stuart,

As you know I've been doing some extensive looking into the possible origins of your enigmatic watercolor, loosely titled *Slaves Being Captured*. I have discovered that the image first appeared as an engraving (titled "Gang of Captives met at Mbarne's on their way to Tette") in *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864*, by the famous English explorer David Livingstone and his brother Charles. The book, Livingstone's second important work, was first published in London in 1865 and then in New York in 1866 (see attached). The same engraving later appeared in an article, based on the Livingstone narrative, for Harper's *New Monthly Magazine* (May, 1866; see attached).

Based on the engraving's signature at lower right, we know that it was executed by the English engraver and watercolorist Josiah Wood Whympet (1813-1903). Whympet was a reasonably well-known illustrator and member of the New Water-Colour Society (formerly the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours).

The Livingstone expedition was accompanied by an artist, though it was not Whympet. In the preface to his book, Livingstone acknowledges the contributions of an artist to the book's illustrations, but does not refer to him by name. From the Royal Geographical Society I found that that artist was in fact Thomas Baines (1820-1875) about whom there is significant literature (see attached). Baines apparently was appointed the artist-storekeeper for the expedition and traveled with the group from 1858 to 1859. In July, 1859, however, Baines had a falling out with Livingstone and was dismissed; apparently this is why he was not properly acknowledged in the book.

Because we know that some of the engraved illustrations were based on Baines' field drawings, I hoped that the present work might somehow be one of those original drawings. However the literature on Baines containing a large number of images from the African trip suggests otherwise (see attached). I hesitate to point out the attached xerox copies as they lack the nuance of tone and detail evident in the reproductions. Though they appear black and white, Baines' figures seem always to have been painted in subtle shades of brown. Additionally Baines scenes are quite conventionally rendered, with a great deal of detail and local color. In contrast, our drawing is more conventionally minimized and highly stylized. Our artist lacks the first-hand local knowledge that Baines clearly possessed.

One possibility is that, because Livingstone's description of the episode is so complete, Whympet had no problem inventing the image on his own, putting it among the illustrations with no

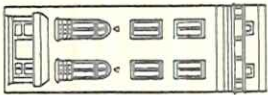
foundation in Baines' work (remember Baines' tenure during the expedition was brief, and I may be able to definitively date the episode as having occurred after his dismissal).

As mentioned, the engraving went on to be published both in the New York edition of the book and in Harper's Magazine, undoubtedly making it a popular well-known image in this country. Given its stereotyped, conventionalized appearance, and lack of specifics, the present drawing was likely copied from the published engraving by an American folk artist in the late 1860s. In looking through a number of encyclopedias on world slavery I found numerous similar images that must have been spawned by the original Whymper engraving (see attached). It seems to have taken on a kind of iconic status in the genre.

I still want to try to determine the episode's timing in the expedition chronology. Also I understand there is a stash of Baines' work that I might be able to contact and inquire about the existence of this composition. This would help establish or rule out any Baines connection to our drawing. I'll let you know if I find anything.

TBP

App to P. Feld
from Stuart P. Feld
10/13/03



Hirsch & Adler Galleries, Inc.

21 East 70th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021
Telephone: (212) 535-8810
FAX: (212) 772-7237
www.HirschAndAdler.com

October 13, 2003

Mr. Jerome S. Handler
Senior Fellow
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities
145 Ednam Dr.
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Stuart P. Feld
President
M.P. Naud
Senior Vice President
Department of American Art
Eric W. Baumgartner, Director
Debra G. Wieder, Assistant Director
Department of European Art
Dr. Gregory Hedberg, Director
Department of American Prints
Joseph G. Goddu, Director
Department of American Decorative Arts
Stuart P. Feld, Director
Elizabeth Feld, Associate Director
Hirsch & Adler Modern
Shelley Farmer, Director

Dear Mr. Handler,

In response to your communication of October 6, I send to you herewith an original photograph of *The Slave Coffle*. Although we no longer own this watercolor, while it was here I did show it to a number of individuals, and almost everyone agreed that it was painted by an Indian Company artist. That was a judgment made independent of the appearance of the image in Livingstone and elsewhere. (I send to you a copy of a memo prepared by Tom Parker of our staff, June 13, 2001, which was certainly influenced to a certain extent by your email to Hirsch & Adler of September 15, 2000).

Although stylistically the work does appear to be Indian Company, what its exact relationship is to these various illustrations I don't know, except they seem considerably more sophisticated, and the present watercolor seems to be an abstraction of the detail shown in them. I wish I could be helpful in making a judgment as to their relative primacy, but, unfortunately, I can't. We no longer own the watercolor, so I am afraid that I cannot offer to show it to you in person.

I hope some of this is of some help.

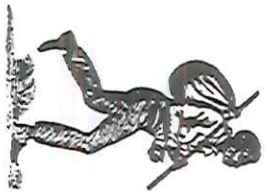
Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stuart P. Feld

SPF/aes

Enc.



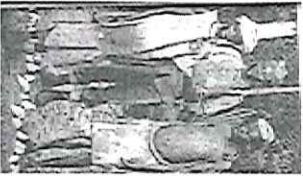



Journey in Chains

Slave Ships carried from 250 to 600 prisoners. They were generally very overcrowded. In many ships they were packed like spoons, with no room even to turn, although in some ships a slave could have a space about five feet three inches high and four feet four inches wide. The slaves were kept between the hold and the deck in appalling conditions.

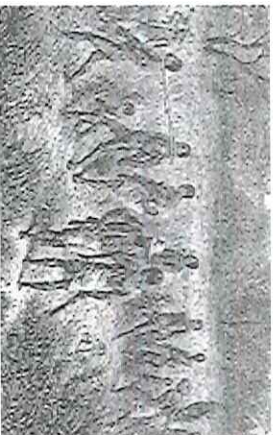


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 <p>Prisoners with ropes around their neck waiting to start their long march to the coast.</p>	 <p>Men linked by forked logs, children and women attached by chains or ropes with their African guards armed with guns.</p>	 <p>Often they had to march in a slave coffle for over 1,000 miles to the coast.</p>	 <p>Sometimes the spent many months in Dungeons/Pits chained up before they were packed on the slave ships</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Britain's Slave Trade



© Mary Evans Picture Library

Gold, silver, Negroes, slaves

The first part of **Britain's Slave Trade** reveals that the business of slavery was not a case of slave raiding by Europeans but of slave trading by complicit Africans. Greed led African kings to sell millions of their own people across the ocean. The British end was run, not by pirates and cowboys, but as an official venture, with England's future king, James II, as its main shareholder.



Dianne Pennant and Edmond Douglas-Pennant

Bristol's 600-year history as a great port is celebrated by its people, but there has been little recognition until recently that its wealth lay in the slave trade. Bristolian Christopher Marsden-Smedley's ancestor Azariah Pinney - the forebear of one of Bristol's great merchant families, which made its fortune from sugar and slavery - was himself was one of the first Caribbean slaves, sent to the island of Nevis as a political exile following the defeat of the duke of Monmouth at Sedgemoor in 1685.

Today, Pinney's descendants and the city of Bristol itself are now facing up to their slave past as a new bridge has been dedicated to Pero, a former slave of the Pinney family, brought to England in the late 18th century. Pero's story is one that could be repeated in many parts of Britain. It shows how many British families and towns owe their very existence to a past in the slave trade.

Unfinished business

By the 18th century, the British slave trade was, by today's standards, a multi-billion pound industry and its players were some of the richest people in the world. The combined trades of sugar and slavery offered a level of wealth never before seen, but few in Britain acknowledged that the empire's affluence was acquired from brutal practices inflicted thousands of miles away.



*The Journals
Transformation*

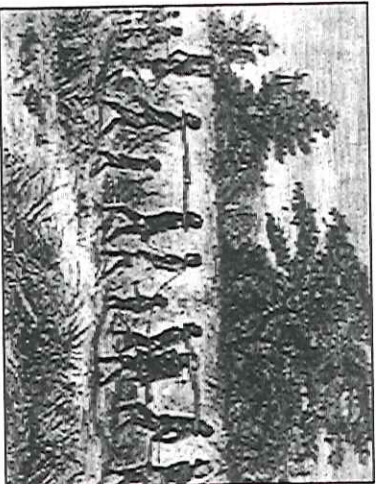
<---Part 1: 1450-1750
Part 2: 1750-1805
Part 3: 1791-1831
Part 4: 1831-1865

[Narrative](#) | [Resource Bank](#) | [Teacher's Guide](#)

Historical Documents

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African Captives Yoked in Pairs 1800



click image for close-up

For Africans destined to be slaves in the New World, a long march lasting several months was not uncommon. This 19th century engraving by an unknown artist shows captives being driven by black slave traders.

European slave traders in Africa did not seize land from natives and colonize the coast, as they did in their New World settlements. Instead, they established a special relationship with local chieftains, who allowed them to maintain trading forts along the coast. Local Africans, rather than the Europeans themselves, acquired and supplied slaves to the white traders.

Image Credit: The Granger Collection, New York



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ID: 7-2004:

Image 4 1/2, 5 not found

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The Effects of Slavery on Africa

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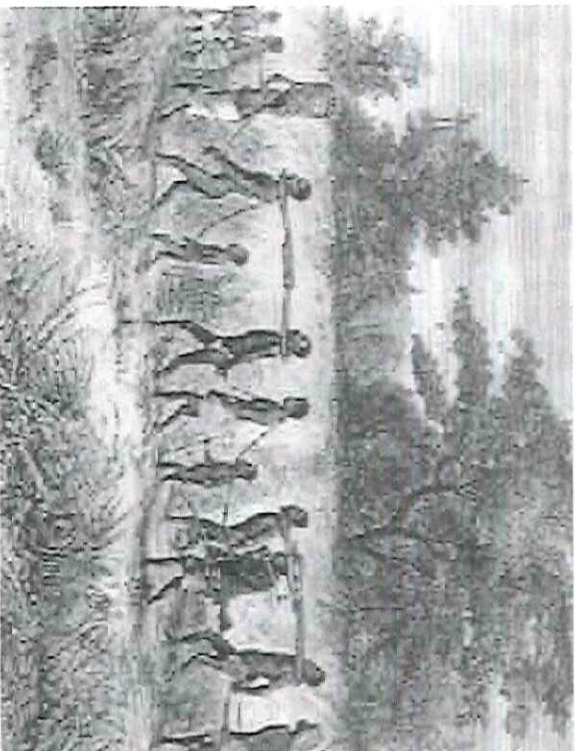
Slavery was not new to Africa. Traditionally, slavery was used as a punishment for serious crimes. However, although slavery was a punishment for criminals, they were, in the main, treated fairly well by their masters.

This was not the case once trading in slaves became 'big business'.

From about 1510, Europeans had begun capturing slaves and taking them to work in the Americas. They were easily able to do this because their weapons were much more powerful than the Africans' traditional spears and shields.

As the demand for slaves grew, the demand for slaves by Europeans grew. They exchanged guns for slaves and African chiefs, eager to possess guns which would give them power over rival chiefs, began inventing new crimes for which the punishment was slavery.

At the same time, coastal Africans were using guns to raid inland villages for the slaves that the Europeans wanted. Those who resisted capture were killed.



Slaves were chained together and marched to the coast. Sometimes this could take many days or weeks. Slaves who did not move fast enough, or showed any sign of resistance to the traders, were whipped.

Those who were too weak or sickly to complete the journey at the required pace were left to die.



Fear of the slave trader led many Africans to move to remote areas where the soil was not so good and they were unable to grow enough crops to feed themselves.

Africa became a continent of violence, war, fear and famine.

Activities

[Effects on Africa Wordsearch](#)

[Effects on Africa Quiz](#)



Bristol Slavery

The City of Bristol and its links with the Transatlantic Slave Trade

acknowledgements |

Home | Pre 17th Century Slavery | Why were slaves needed?

Why were African slaves preferred?

The reasons usually stated for African slaves being preferred by plantation owners is that they could easily be bought from traders on the West African coast and were more immune to European diseases indigenous Americans or imported white slaves. Although there is truth in these arguments they disguise real reasons: Africans made better slave labourers than the Indians of the West Indies and North America because they came from a much more advanced type of society and were often skilled artisans.

The Indians of the West Indies were simple food gatherers and had not reached the stage where they were learning to keep animals and grow crops. When forced to sacrifice their freedom and to work all day under harsh discipline, they simply grew sick and died.

The people of West Africa, however, were much closer to the Europeans. Most of them were farmers who knew a great deal about growing crops in tropical conditions; others were skilled craftsmen such as iron-workers, miners and carpenters. They had come from West African societies that had seen the rise and fall of large empires throughout their history. They had traded with each other for centuries and had even fought wars against each other. They were very far from the uncivilised people that most Europeans thought they were. African societies had very strict laws. Arab visitors who traded with African cities for centuries before Europeans found they could move from place to place with no fear of robbery or violence.



Slavery existed in Africa, but not the chattel slavery introduced by Europeans. Africans usually enslaved their own people, not their own particular ethnic group. Slaves were taken as prisoners of war, in payment for a punishment for a crime. To meet the growing demand from European traders, there was a market for the numbers of wars, raids and kidnapping of individuals.

» John Barbot, a European slave trader, describes the African Slave trade in 1682

» Olaudah Equiano, aged 11 from Nigeria, remembers his kidnapping 1789

One major difference between Africans and Europeans at the time of the slave trade was "attitude to evidence gathered regarding the early history of mankind indicates that people of African origin had a World in search of new homelands. However, by the time of the slave trade they showed very little 'searching curiosity' now exhibited by the Europeans who came to Africa to make their fortunes. Africa was established and reasonably settled. One African chief is quoted as saying;

☞ We let the streams run on, and do not enquire whence they rise or whither they flow. ☞



Bristol Slavery

The City of Bristol and its links with the Transatlantic Slave Trade

acknowledgements |

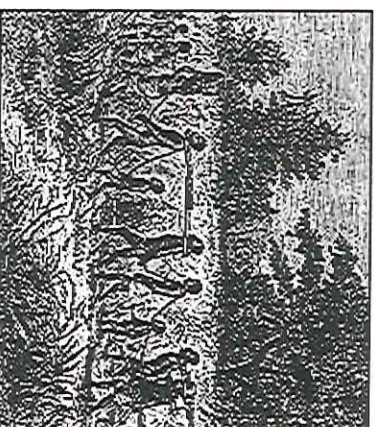
Home | Pre 17th Century Slavery | Why were slaves needed?

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- » John Barbot, a European slave trader, describes the African Slave trade in 1682
- » Olaudah Equiano, aged 11 from Nigeria, remembers his kidnapping 1789

One major difference between Africans and Europeans at the time of the slave trade was "attitude". Evidence gathered regarding the early history of mankind indicates that people of African origin had a World in search of new homelands. However, by the time of the slave trade they showed very little 'searching curiosity' now exhibited by the Europeans who came to Africa to make their fortunes. Africa was established and reasonably settled. One African chief is quoted as saying;

“ We let the streams run on, and do not enquire whence they rise or whither they flow. ”

10.7.2004:

No image found

<http://www.headleypark.bristol.sch.uk/slavery/background/whyafricansslaves.htm>

10/1/2004

<i>Healing the past... transforming the future</i>			
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West Africa - 2006

The Lifeline Expedition



A slave coffle in West Africa c1790.
Click on the image to see it larger

Two members of the Lifeline Expedition visited Ghana December 2000 and there was great interest in the plan for the expedition to come to West Africa. We hope that by 2006, we will have built up sufficient interest in the project to be able to take a number of teams to different West African nations. The basic idea would be to have teams begin in the interior and then to follow former slave trade routes to the coast. Once again, Europeans and Americans would walk in the slave coffle with ropes and chains. The end of each journey would be on the coast wherever there are coastal forts or other sites associated with the slave trade. It would be desirable to plan for the arrival of the teams to coincide with Emancipation days in the nations.

If you can help us with this very important stage of the expedition, please contact Marguerite Diarra from Mali who has been involved with the Lifeline Expedition since joining the Jubilee 2000 Lifeline Walk in England. Her email address is margueritediarra@hotmail.com

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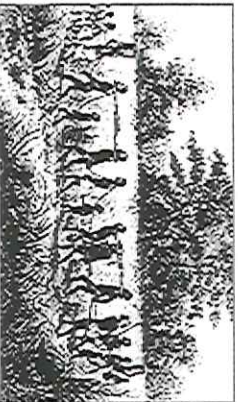
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*10. May 7, 2004 :
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West Africa - 2006

The Lifeline Expedition



A slave coffle in West Africa c1790.
Click on the image to see it larger

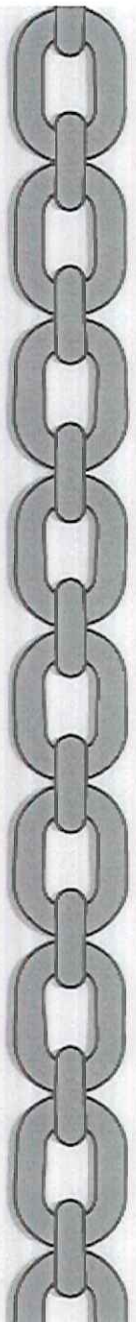
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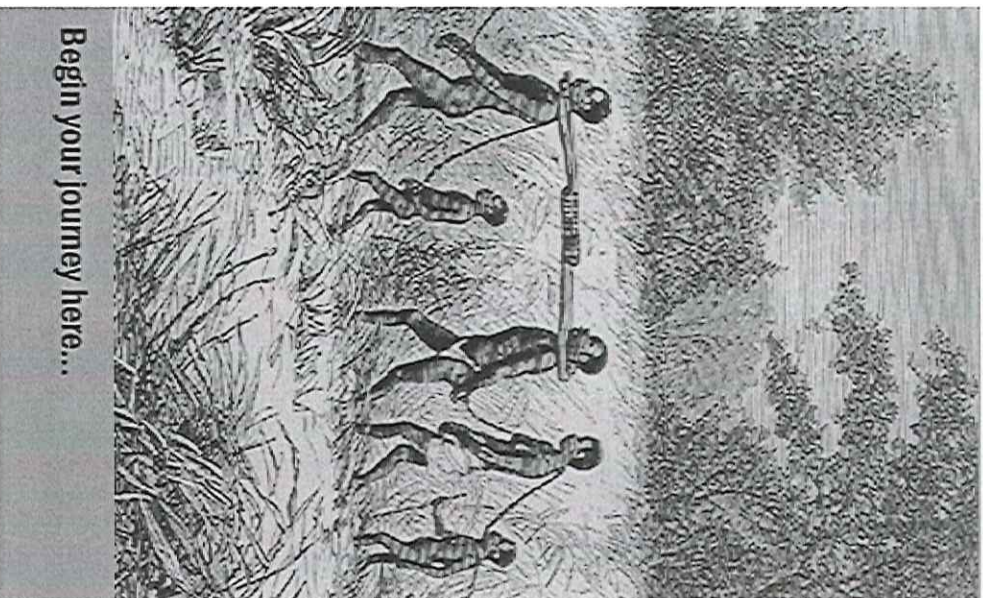
Breaking the Silence
Learning about the Transatlantic Slave Trade



Up from Slavery

This activity will take you on a journey 'Up from Slavery' through the voices of enslaved Africans. You will begin at the stage of capture and go through the infamous Middle Passage across the Atlantic. You will learn what it was like to be auctioned and sold as if you were cattle then to work on the plantations in the Caribbean or Americas under the cruel whip of the slave master. You will have an insight into how enslaved Africans were punished and how people were made to suffer under slavery. You will also learn how Africans against all odds stood up to their enslavement, and how many escaped and found freedom.

This activity takes the form of a quiz that consists of nine questions. In order to answer the questions correctly and to pass from one stage to the next, you must first click on 'About' to find out more information on the enslaved Africans and then click on 'Read' to hear about their experiences in their own words. Click on 'Question' at the bottom of the screen. You will then be given a question with three choices. If you answer incorrectly you will be asked to try again. When you answer correctly, a chain across the top of the page will break open. The aim is to escape from slavery by breaking all the chains and with them, the silence that surrounds one of the ugliest chapters in human history: the Transatlantic Slave Trade...



Begin your journey here...

Anti-Slavery Search



<---Part 1: 1450-1750

Part 2: 1750-1805

Part 3: 1791-1831

Part 4: 1831-1865

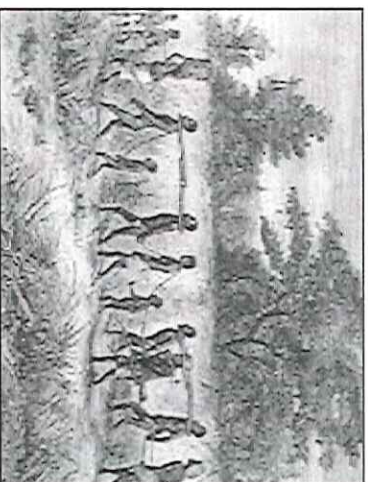
Narrative | Resource Bank | Teacher's Guide

Historical Documents

Resource Bank Contents

African Captives Yoked in Pairs

1800



[click image for close-up](#)

For Africans destined to be slaves in the New World, a long march lasting several months was not uncommon. This 19th century engraving by an unknown artist shows captives being driven by black slave traders.

European slave traders in Africa did not seize land from natives and colonize the coast, as they did in their New World settlements.

Instead, they established a special relationship with local chieftains, who allowed them to maintain trading forts along the coast. Local Africans, rather than the Europeans themselves, acquired and supplied slaves to the white traders.

Image Credit: [The Granger Collection](#), New York



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Related Entries:

- [Nicolas Owen](#)

Pink

From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>
Subject: more



Date: Thu, 7 Oct 2004 16:47:45 -0400

To: Annis Steiner <annis@virginia.edu>

Cc: Handler Jerome <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Annis. sorry, but please place these two items on first priority. Check BOTH items, for image # 2 (the line of slaves); you'll have to call up the one from IVY. For both, please a) verify the page number of the image; b) the caption that is given; c) if it is described in the text; d) if the original source is given or if any source is given. any questions, just write. jerry

1) 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.

10.8.2004:
Image 2 not found

Call numbers for ALDERMAN Material Location
E 301 .C66 1883 BOOK Alderman Library Stacks

2) Author: Coffin, Charles Carleton, 1823-1896

Title: Old times in the colonies [microform], by Charles Carleton Coffin.

Publication info: New York, Harper & brothers, 1881.

Description: 460 p. incl. front., illus., plates, map. 23 x 17 cm.

Reproduction note: Microfilm. New Haven, CT : Yale University Photographic Services, 1985. 1 microfilm reel ; 4 in., 35 mm.

Subject: United States--History--Colonial period, ca. 1600-1775.

Call numbers for IVY Material Location
Microfilm 2166 IVY-MFILM Ivy Stacks (Request Item)

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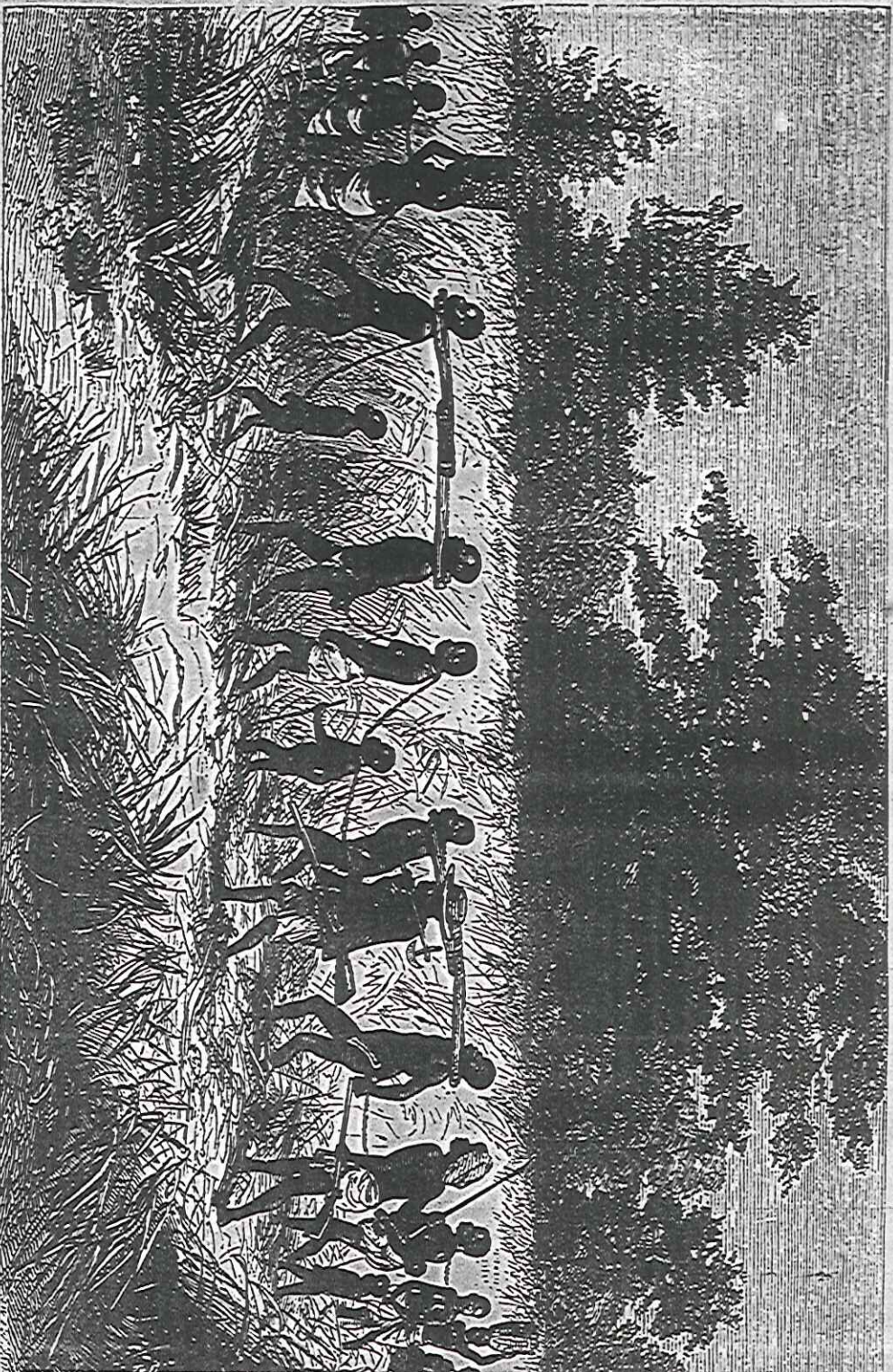
Jerome S. Handler
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities
145 Ednam Dr
Charlottesville, Va 22903
(434) 924-3296

10.21.2004:
Image found on p 48

VFH

Coffin, Charles Carleton

Miscellin



"TO BE SOLD AS SLAVES."

10-21-2004

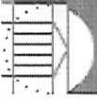
*It was difficult to read the adjacent page, but from what I could make out it seems that there was NO mention of this image.

p. 48

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Battle of the Plains of Abraham.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>	De Monts.....	59
Icebergs between Europe and America.....	18	Cape Cod.....	60
Food for Fishes.....	19	Monhegan.....	61
What John and Sebastian Cabot Saw.....	20	Pemmaquid.....	62
Columbus's Spring.....	22	Captain John Smith.....	62
Foliage of Florida.....	23	Arrival at Jamestown.....	63
Church Built by Cortez.....	24	Holland.....	64
Spanish Discoveries.....	25	Samuel Champlain.....	65
John Verrazano.....	25	Tadousac.....	66
The Gloomy Solitudes.....	26	Quebec to the Saguenay.....	67
Where Cartier passed the Winter.....	28	The Beginning of Trade on the Hudson....	68
De Soto.....	29	“They see a lightning flash, and hear a roar”.....	70
Burial of De Soto.....	30	The Rocky Cliffs.....	73
St. Augustine.....	31	Ledge of the Orkneys.....	74
Palms on the St. John's.....	32	The Bell-ringers Rung out their Joyful Peals.....	75
Sir Humphrey Gilbert.....	33	Street Leading to Parliament-house.....	76
English and French Discoveries.....	34	Tobacco-shop. (From an Old Print.).....	78
Chair made from Wood of the Ship of Sir Francis Drake.....	35	The Dinner.....	79
St. Malo.....	37	Globe Theatre.....	80
Street in Morlaix.....	38	House in which Shakspeare was Born.....	81
Homes of the Fishermen of Brittany.....	39	Holy Trinity Church, Stratford.....	82
Fish-house and Boats.....	40	Stratford Portrait of Shakspeare.....	83
The Beaver and its Home.....	42	Bear-garden.....	84
The Trapper.....	43	Medal of James I.....	86
After a Moose.....	44	Birthplace of Henry IV.....	87
Tobacco.....	45	The Indians at Home.....	88
The Slave-ship.....	46	Nun Taking the Veil.....	93
“To be sold as slaves”.....	48	Mount Desert.....	94
The Tomahawk and Scalping-knife doing Bloody Work.....	50	Penobscot Bay.....	95
Dining-room in a Puritan Manor-house.....	52	Smutty-nose.....	97
Riding out a Gale on the Banks.....	54	Captain John Smith's Monument, Isles of Shoals.....	98
Running for Shelter.....	55	Captain Block building the “Onrust”.....	99
Strait of Canso.....	56	View at the Hague.....	100
Cape Ann.....	57	John of Barneveld.....	101
Portsmouth, New Hampshire.....	58		

No
reference
given



Search Virgo

- [Go Back](#)
- [New Search](#)
- [Back In List](#)
- [Next In List](#)
- [Change Display](#)
- [Print / E-mail Download](#)
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EJournal Lists

Ebooks, etc.

Call number: HT1322 .C35 2002

Title: Captive passage : the transatlantic slave trade

Audio Search

and the making of the Americas.

Manuscript Search

Publication info: Washington ; London : Published by

CallNumber Search

Smithsonian Institution Press, in association with the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia, c2002.

Reserve Readings

ISBN: 1588340376 (alk. paper)

Databases

ISBN: 1588340171 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Journal articles

Description: 208 p. : ill. (some col.) ; 29 cm.

Newspaper articles

Note: "The Mariners' Museum."

EBooks

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Reference Sources

Local note: SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Coles Fund, 2001/2002.

Services

Subject: Slave trade--Africa.

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Subject: Slave trade--America.

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Subject: Slave trade--Europe.

Related name: Mariners' Museum (Newport News, Va.)

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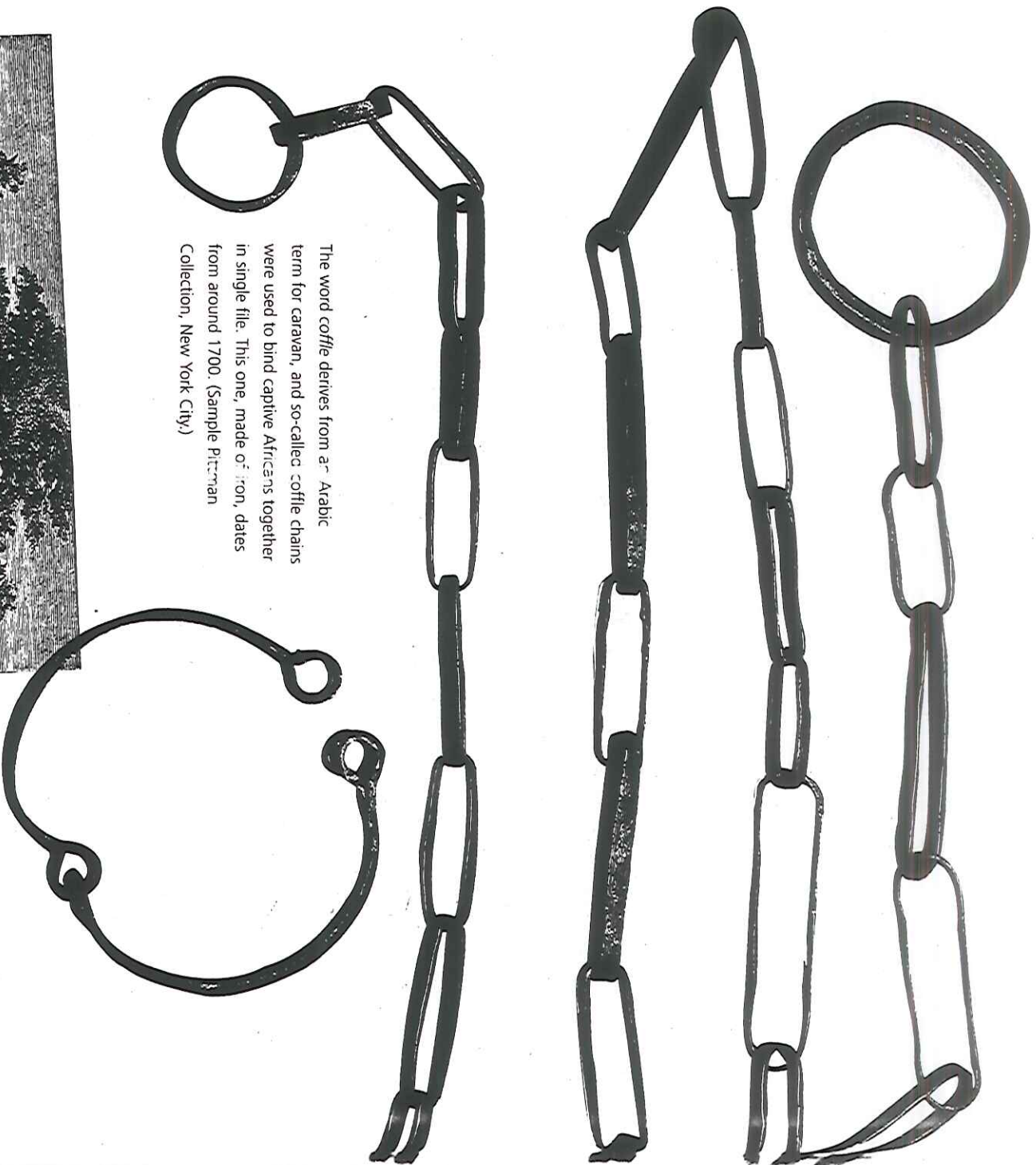
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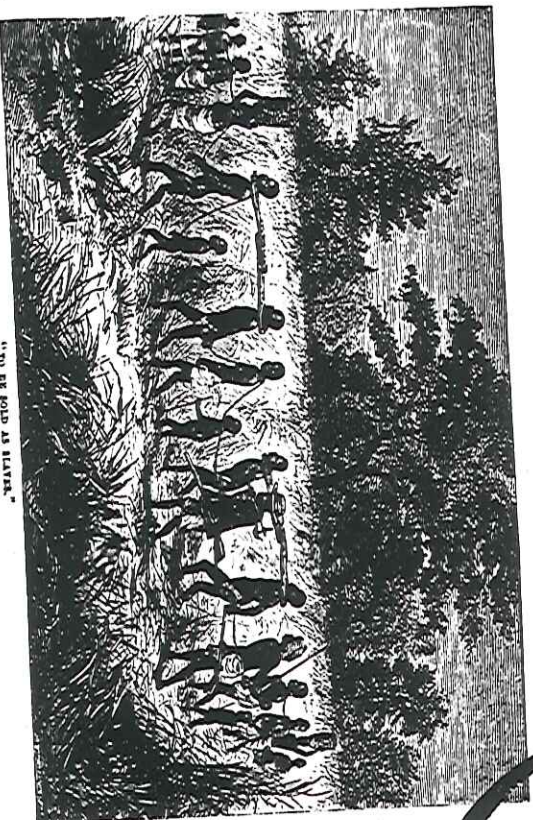
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The word *coffle* derives from an Arabic term for caravan, and so-called coffle chains were used to bind captive Africans together in single file. This one, made of iron, dates from around 1700. (Sample Pittman Collection, New York City.)



"TO BE SOLD AS SLAVES."

This lithograph by British botanist Mungo Park depicts slaves being marched to a port or market in Africa around 1790.



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EJournal Lists

Ebooks, etc.

Call number: HT861 .H59 1998

Search

Audio Search

Title: A historical guide to world slavery / edited by Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman.

Manuscript Search

Publication info: New York : Oxford University press, 1998.

Search

ISBN: 0195120914 (alk. paper)

CallNumber Search

Description: xxiv, 429 p. : ill. ; 26 cm.

Search

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Reserve

Subject: Slavery--History.

Readings

Subject: Slavery--Cross-cultural studies.

Databases

Subject: Antislavery movements--History.

Journal articles

Related name: Drescher, Seymour.

Newspaper

Related name: Engerman, Stanley L.

articles

EBooks

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HT861 .H59 1998

REFERENCE Alderman Library Reference

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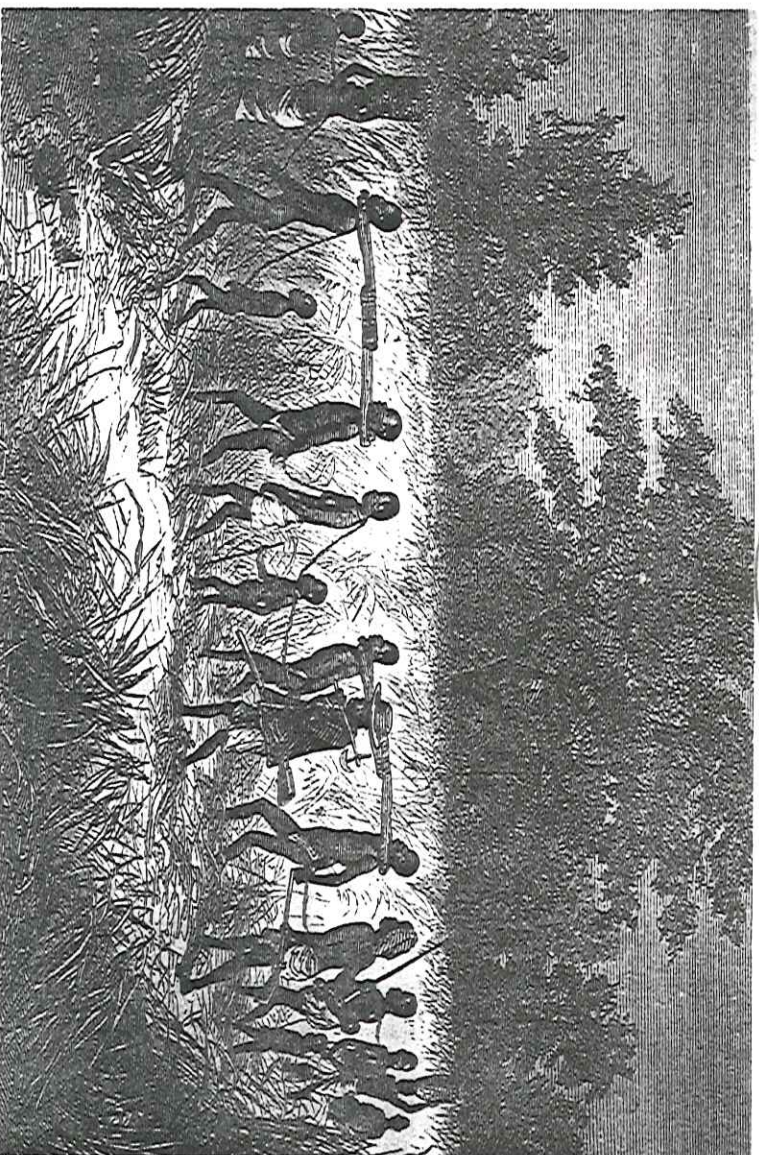
9.23.2004: Image 2 on p. 291. No image 1 & 3 found.

gious diseases spread quickly through a group that had never developed an immunity. Other diseases were caused or intensified by the treatment slaves received. While the epidemiological and treatment factors are not mutually exclusive, scholars disagree on their relative importance.

Differing disease environments were also important in causing mortality in situations other than the Middle Passage. Although almost any new disease environment increased mortality for Europeans, their death rates were especially high in Africa and the Caribbean. In addition, slaves went through a "seasoning" (acclimation) process after arrival in the New World. Within Africa at the time of the slave trade, distinct epidemiological regions existed owing to differences in climate and the limited interaction of individuals

from different parts of the continent. Slaves captured in the interior of Africa and moved to the coast were exposed to diseases they had never before encountered. Lacking immunity, many slaves caught these diseases; given the incubation period, the actual outbreak of the disease and the resulting deaths often did not occur until on board the ship. Ellis (1989) suggests that the specific disease environment through which slaves were moved was affected by location and weather, factors that caused shipboard mortality to vary by port and month of embarkation. Movement at the worst times significantly increased the number of slave deaths.

The treatment received after capture or purchase also contributed to the deaths of slaves. Travel to the coast was usually a forced march in



Gang of Captives Met at Mbanne's on Their Way to Teffe, engraving from Harper's Weekly, volume 32, May 1866.

Harper's Weekly
New York
Nov 1866

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Call number: HT1321 .M36 1990

Author: Manning, Patrick, 1941-

Title: **Slavery and African life : occidental, oriental, and African slave trades / Patrick Manning.**

Publication info: Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1990.

ISBN: 0521343968

ISBN: 0521348676 (pbk.)

Description: xi, 236 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references (p. 212-226) and index.

Local note: **One copy: 1998 printing.**

Subject: Slave trade--Africa, Sub-Saharan--History.

Subject: Slavery--Africa, Sub-Saharan--History.

Series: African studies series ; 67

Clemons	Material	Location
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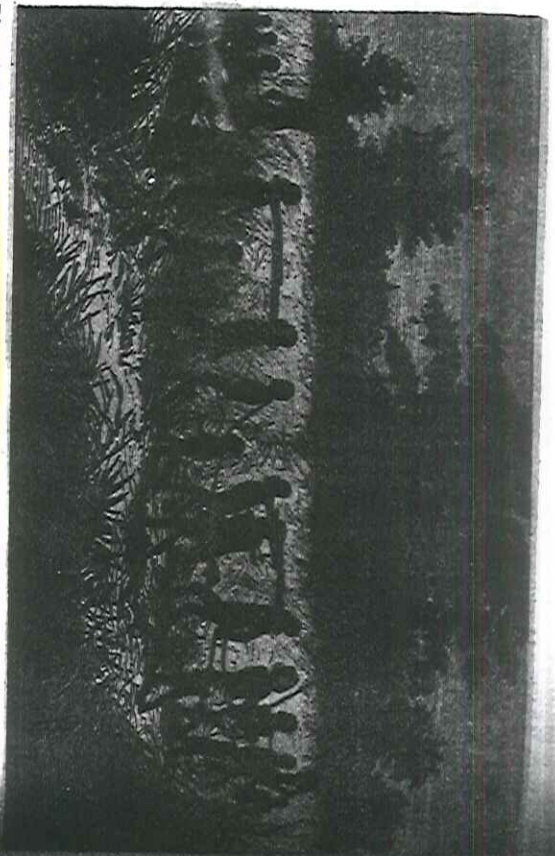


Plate 8.3. "Gang of captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette"

the open slave trade in the 1870s as part of an attempt to gain European recognition. In 1874 the British sent in an army which defeated the Asante kingdom, and thereafter abolished the slave trade in British dominions on the Gold Coast.²¹

Christian missionaries in Africa campaigned against the slave trade, and in some cases speeded the involvement of European states in halting it. With David Livingstone's anti-slave-trade publicity emerged a new and powerful anti-slavery image. Livingstone's condemnation of the Central African slave trade became known to the world with the publication of his first travel narrative in 1858. His second voyage, centering on Mozambique, led him to an even stronger condemnation of the slave trade. His narrative of that voyage, published in 1865, included a lithograph of an African slave caravan, entitled "Gang of captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette." A later such illustration, published in Livingstone's last journals in 1875, presents the new image in even more forceful terms: it shows the execution of a captive unable to keep up with the caravan, under a sky filled with vultures. This illustration of the cruelties and hardships of the slave trade within Africa now gave European abolitionists an image which drew them into the African continent as none had before.²²

The influence of Christian missionaries in condemning the slave trade went far beyond that of Livingstone. German missions in the Gold Coast from the 1850s, Scottish missions in Malawi from the 1870s, and French missions in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire from the 1870s led active critiques of the slave trade, often at considerable risk of retaliation by slave merchants and their allies.²³

As of 1880, however, most areas of Africa. I take on the task of supplying slave merchants and slave labor. Thus British competing in the 1880s the region, allowed purchased slaves for the slave trade.²⁴

From 1880, the accelerating European advance up the Senegal abolition of the slave fighting between the British successors until 18 persons enslaved in the were consolidated, a slaves.²⁵

Meanwhile the travel to fix attention on the near Dar es Salaam Zaire river to the Atlantic with the ambitious K African Association, activity in Africa. At expeditions into the north side of the

The first International powers to free the such congress, held for the recognition of "effective occupation to declare the vast personal rule rather this huge tract of land appointed, as government who until that time slaves and ivory from led one final great the slave trade came finally establishment. On the other side far as Bangui, and areas raided by or three successive French

Note
1874

Plates

Figures

- 8.1 "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" (jasperware medal-
lion, 1787). Courtesy of the Wedgwood Museum,
Bartaston, Stoke-on-Trent *page 152*
- 8.2 Partial plan of the ship *Brookes* (copper engraving by
James Phillips, 1789). Courtesy of Wilberforce House
and Georgian Houses, Kingston-upon-Hull *153*
- 8.3 "Gang of captives met at Mbame's on their way to
Tette," from David and Charles Livingstone, *Narrative
of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*
(London and New York, 1865) *158*

- 1.1 Volume of slave ex
1.2 Slave prices on the
3.1 The model in scher
3.2 Western Coast: be
3.3 Western Coast: im
3.4 Western Coast: fit
3.5 Savanna and Horn
3.6 Savanna and Horn
3.7 Savanna and Horn
4.1 Senegambia: impa
4.2 Upper Guinea Co
4.3 Gold Coast: impac
4.4 Bight of Benin: im
4.5 Bight of Biafra: im
4.6 Loango: impact of
4.7 Angola: impact of
4.8 Western Coast: im
4.9 Western Sudan: in
4.10 Senegambia and W
4.11 Central Sudan: im
4.12 Eastern Sudan: im
4.13 Horn: impact of sla
4.14 Savanna and Horn
4.15 Mozambique: imp
4.16 Mozambique: Occ
4.17 Tanzania: impact
4.18 Eastern Coast: im
4.19 Impact of the Occi
4.20 Impact of the Orie
4.21 Tropical Africa: in
5.1 Bight of Benin: qu.

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Call number: **HT1076 .O75 1975**

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Ebooks, etc.

Author: Ortiz, Fernando, 1881-1969.

Search

Title: Los negros esclavos / Fernando Ortiz.

Audio Search

Publication info: La Habana : Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1975.

Manuscript Search

Description: **525 p., [60] p. of plates : ill. ; 24 cm.**

Search

Note: Bibliography: p. 491-514.

CallNumber Search

Subject: Slavery--Cuba--History.

Search

Subject: Blacks--Cuba--History.

Reserve Readings

Subject: Slave trade.

Readings

Series: Pensamiento cubano

Databases

Journal articles

Call numbers for ALDERMAN Material Location

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- 1 Cubierta de la primera edición de 1916.
- 2 Mewiaso, dios del trueno, Fon, Dahomey. Lienzo; "Mewiaso... abatiendo a los Naté". Musée de l'Homme, París. Fotografía del museo. (En *Dictionnaire des civilisations africaines*, Fernand Hazan editeur, París, 1968, p. 9.)
- 3 Mapa de África.
- 4 Negro apresado con destino a la venta. Siglo XIX. Fotografía, Musée de l'Homme. (En ob. cit., p. 153.)
- 5 Esclavos conducidos a la costa. Grabado de una publicación en francés.
- 6 Caravana de esclavos en África. En una publicación en inglés. Lectura al pie "Captive negroes were marched to ports".
- 7 Caravana de esclavos en África. Frey. (En *Los negros esclavos*, 1916, p. 109.)
- 8 Caravana de mujeres esclavas en África. Grabado de la época. (En Daniel P. Mannix, *Black Caravans, The Viking Press*, Nueva York, 1962)
- 9 Esclavos conducidos a la costa. De una estampa de la época. (En *Los negros esclavos*, 1916, p. 111.)
- 10 Yugo para impedir que escaparan los esclavos. (En *La vida en los pueblos primitivos*, "Los cimarrones de Jamaica"; "Bonzales para evitar que comiesen ganchos, esposas, yugos y pesadas cargas para impedir la huida, eran métodos corrientes de dominio de los esclavos". Salvat, España, 1967, p. 223.)
- 11 Mercado de esclavos en la isla de Martinica. Grabado de la época. (En Daniel P. Mannix, ob. cit.)
- 12 Fuerte en las costas de África. Fuerte Jesús, Mombasa, Kenya. Foto Jacques Maquet. (En *Dictionnaire...*, 1968, p. 127.)
- 13 Esclavos en un cepo. Estampa de la época. (En *Los negros esclavos*, 1916, p. 116.)
- 14 Cargamentos de esclavos de la costa de Barlovento tasados por su habilidad en el cultivo del arroz. Se anuncian en venta en el periódico de Charleston, en 1766. (En Daniel P. Mannix, ob. cit.)
- 15 Grillos y grilletes usados por los tratantes de esclavos. De dibujos de la época. En *Los negros esclavos*, 1916, p. 115.) [Las esposas corresponden a una ilustración de la p. 223, fuente citada en figura 10.]
- 16 Mercader de esclavos. Dibujo de la época. (En *Los negros esclavos*, 1916, p. 128.)

J. Rice

The Atlantic Slave Trade

JOHANNES POSTMA

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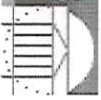
David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler



Slave coffle, marching in chain-gang style to the East African Coast. Reproduced with permission from the Collections of the Library of Congress.



Branding of slaves after being sold to Europeans. Reprinted with permission of Corbis-Bettmann, New York.



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Call number: HT1322.S853 2000

Search

Author: Svalesen, Leif.

Audio Search

Title: The slave ship Fredensborg / Leif Svalesen ; translated by Pat Shaw and Selena Winsnes.

Manuscript Search

Publication info: Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 2000.

CallNumber Search

ISBN: 0253337771

Search

Description: 243 p. : ill. (some col.), maps (some col.) ; 28 cm.

Reserve Readings

Note: Includes bibliographical references (p. 238-241).

Databases

Subject: Fredensborg (Ship)

Journal articles

Subject: Slave trade--History.

Newspaper articles

Subject: Shipwrecks--Norway.

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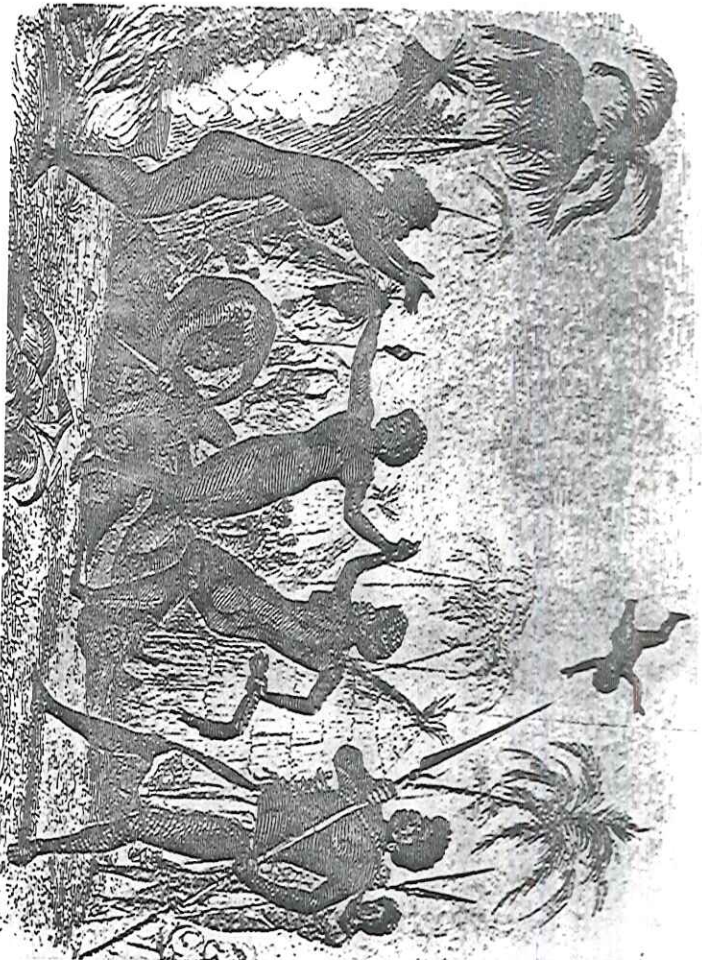
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9.23.2004:

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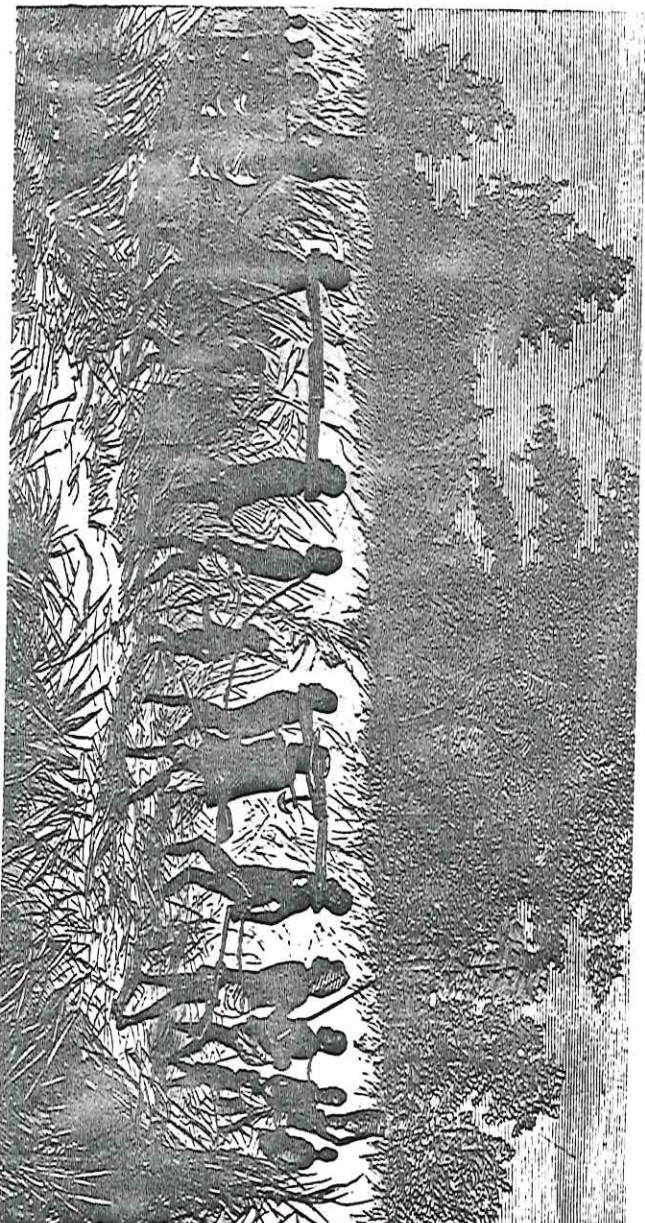
An African village is attacked by brutal slave raiders.



own, and that she may dine in the captain's cabin. But Ferentz adds that facilities for a woman on board are poor. Reimers – who was dismissed in disgrace – needs more room on the ship. He has five private slaves whom he wishes to sell in the West Indies, and makes a deal with Ferentz. They agree on a freight charge of 35 rixdaler per head, which is the Company's minimum price.

By April they have been at the Coast for half a year, and have had to contend with travails, the heat and illness. Even though there are still sick men on board, the health conditions are gradually improving.

A stream of slaves flowed down to the coast from the interior.



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Call number: HT985 .T47 1997

Author: Thomas, Hugh, 1931-

Title: The slave trade : the story of the Atlantic slave trade, 1440-1870 / Hugh Thomas.

Publication info: New York : Simon & Schuster, c1997.

ISBN: 0684810638

Description: 908 p., [32] p. of plates : ill., maps, ports. ; 25 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references (p.[812]-862) and index.

Subject: Slave trade--History.

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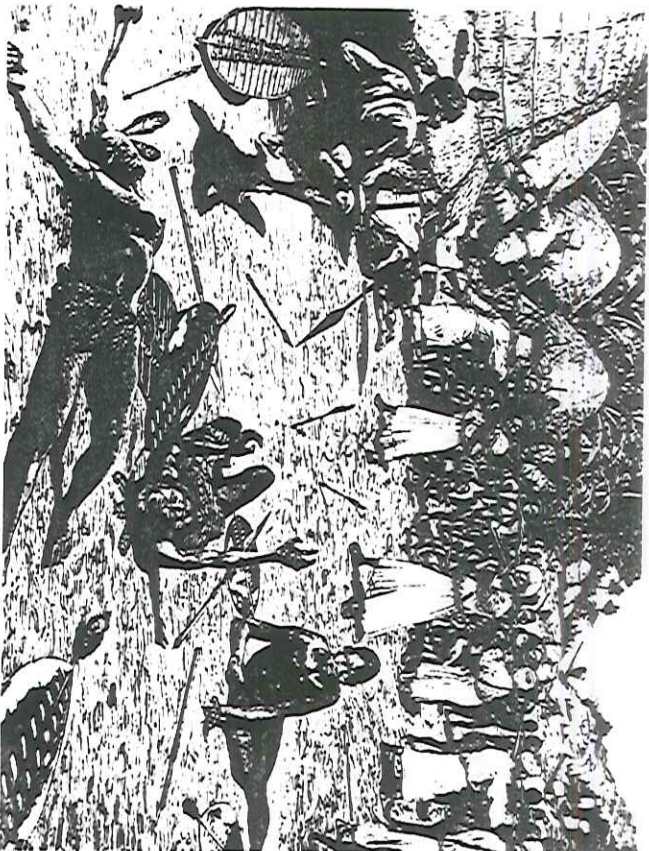
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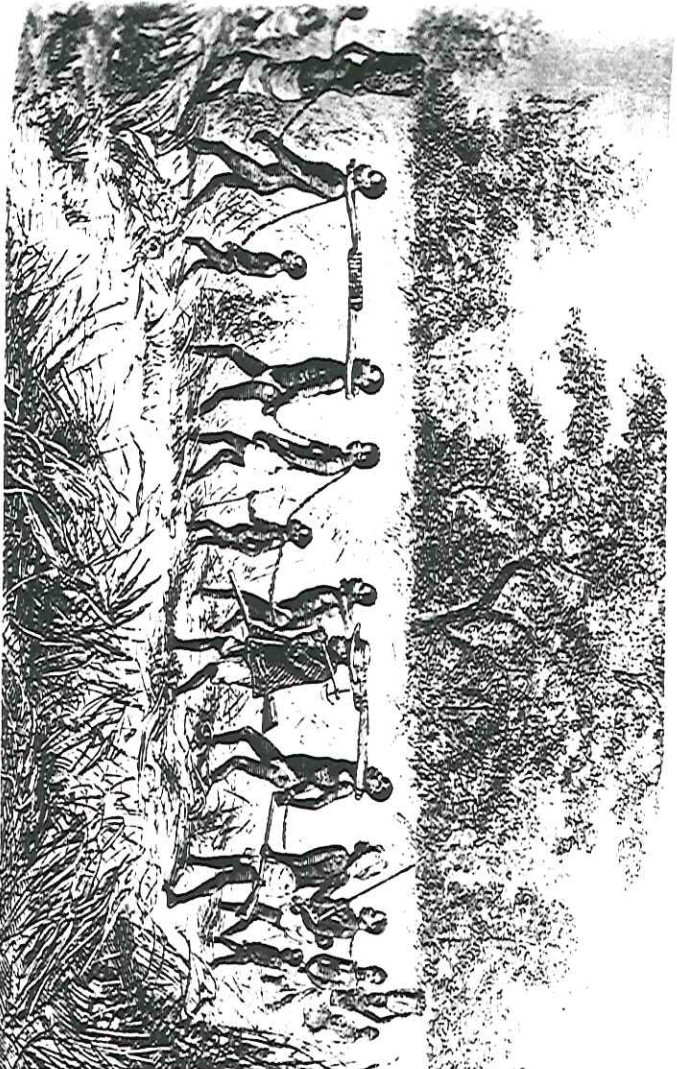
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Photo copy ~~is~~ plate 48 and ~~some~~ illustrations end, following p. 908



47. In Africa, slaves were captured in raids for both the Atlantic and trans-Saharan trade.

48. Slaves were transported to the port or market in long marches lasting for weeks, as graphically described by Mungo Park (c. 1790).



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Duchess of,

201, 339,
 King of

Hardwicke,

354, 356, 695,

71, 376, 378,

30

69
 0, 210

3
 3, 715

646–47, 648,
 5, 758, 759,
 783, 802
 374, 701

Juan, 646,
 de, 123
 , 21–24, 25,

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Author: Thomas, Hugh, 1931-

Title: The slave trade : the story of the Atlantic slave trade, 1440-1870 / Hugh Thomas.

Publication info: New York : Simon & Schuster, c1997.

ISBN: 0684810638

Description: 908 p., [32] p. of plates : ill., maps, ports. ; 25 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references (p. 821-862) and index.

Subject: Slave trade--History.

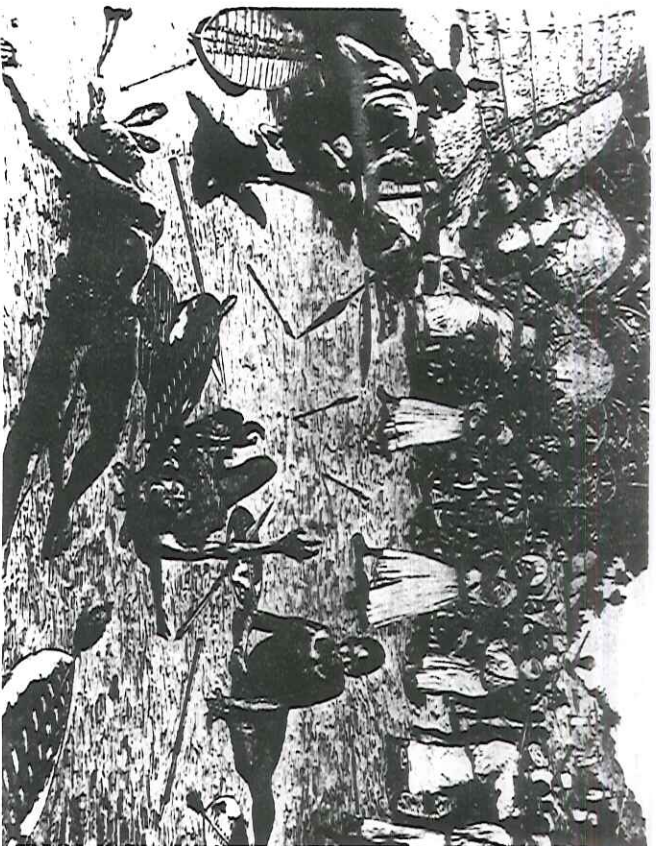
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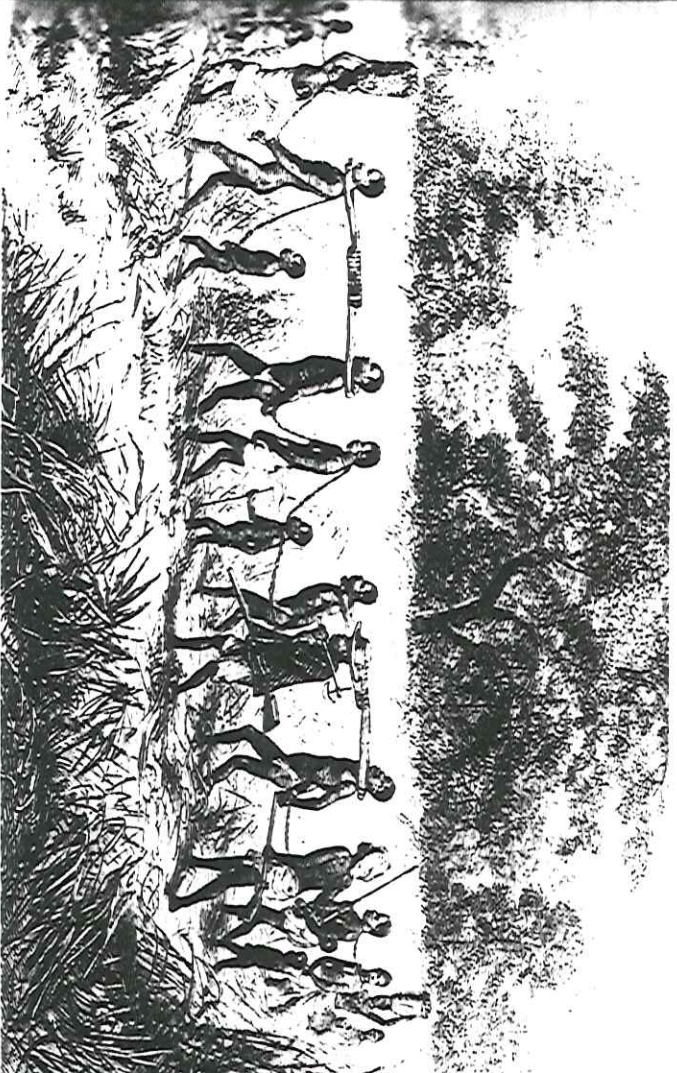
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47. In Africa, slaves were captured in raids for both the Atlantic and trans-Saharan trade.

48. Slaves were transported to the port or market in long marches lasting for weeks, as graphically described by Mungo Park (c. 1790).



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Duchess of,

, 201, 339,
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Hardwicke,

, 354, 356, 695,

71, 376, 378,

330

569

ro, 210

33
3, 715, 646-47, 648,
6, 758, 759,
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ro Juan, 646,

de, 123
21-24, 25,

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Jean Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea*: frontispiece; AKG London/Museu National de Arte Antiga, detail: 1; E. T. Archive, Piccolomini Library, Siena: 2; AKG London/Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: 3; British Museum: 4; British Museum, Fotomas: 5, 48, 49, 74; National Portrait Gallery: 6; Hulton Getty: 7, 8, 31, 47, 54, 73; Mary Evans Picture Library: 8, 12, 25, 34, 59, 64, 67, 68, 69, 72; anonymous portrait, Sir John Cawswell, *The South Sea Bubble*: 9; Bank of England Museum: 10; National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside: 11, 41, 42, 44; Corbis-Bettmann: 13, 70; silhouette in L. V. Briggs's *Genealogical History of the Cabots*: 14; American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Mass.: 15; National Library of Scotland: 16; Private collections: 17, 19, 37; Santa Casa de Misericórdia in Bahia: 18; Cambridge University Library: 20, 65; Edimedia: 21, 36, 52, 58, 62; AKG London: 22, 24; Dahomey, private collection: 23; St. Louis Art Museum: 27; *Mount Hope*, by George Howe, New York Public Library, Special Collections: 28; Lithograph by Gaulon from a painting by Gustave de Galard: 29; Musée de St-Malo: 30; Kings Topography, Maps Department, British Museum, Fotomas: 32; Crace Print Collection, British Museum, Fotomas: 38; Musée du Nouveau Monde, La Rochelle: 39, 53; photo, Éditions Mernos, Nantes: 40; Musée du Nouveau Monde, Nantes: 43; painting by Warren Shepherd, *Rudder*, February 1904, ed. 51, photo New York Public Library, Special Collections: 45; fragment, St. Louis Art Museum, Werner Forman Archive: 46; *A History of the Arnistad Captives*, S. W. Barber (1840), photo, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture: 55, 56; Archivo General de Indias, Seville: 57; Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg: 60; Cambridge University Press: 63; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: 66; AKG London/National Portrait Gallery: 71; University of London Library: 75.

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Call number: E185 .T78 2001

Author: Trotter, Joe William, 1945-

Title: The African American experience / Joe William Trotter, Jr.

Publication info: Boston : Houghton Mifflin, c2001.

ISBN: 0395756545 (complete ed.)

Description: xvi, 638, 71, 42 p. : ill. (some col.), maps ; 24 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Subject: African Americans--History.

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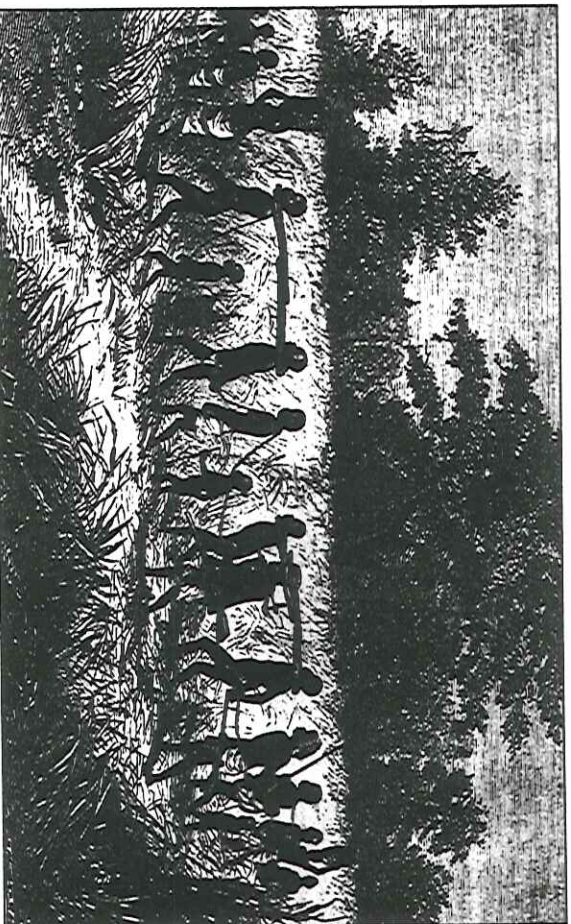
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during the height of the slave trade during the late eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, Benin no longer supplied captives to the international market, although human exports from the larger area called the Bight of Benin continued.

During the sixteenth century, Senegambia emerged as one of the earliest and most important exporters of people from Africa. Located on the shores of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers, this area supplied nearly one-third of all human exports during the period. Senegambia also represented a pointed example of how Europeans diverted the earlier trans-Saharan trade in people to the Atlantic coast. As soon as the Portuguese reached the Senegal region, they tapped northward-bound caravans for bondsmen and -women, exporting some 700 to 1,000 per year. With the opening of markets north of the Gambia River, such exports rose after about 1456 to an estimated 1,200 to 2,500 per year. Closely associated with the breakup of the Jolof empire into a number of smaller states, captives from the Senegambia would decline as the region regained political, military, and social stability during the seventeenth century.

Upper Guinea and Sierra Leone were also important sources of black labor during the sixteenth century. Like Senegambia, these areas supplied about one-third of the total exports. In the southern part of the region, around the present-day Sierra Leone, ancestors of the Bullom, Temne, Limba, and other ethnic groups referred to by Europeans as Sape were inundated by a people called Mane. The conflict between the Mane and the Sape resulted in the sale of many people until the early seventeenth century. Once social relations between the Mane and Sape stabilized,



Enslaved Africans march overland to forts on the West African coast. *The Library Company of Philadelphia*

West Africa

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however, this area contributed to the slave trade of Sierra Leone and Upper Guinea. Subdivided into the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, international trade networks emerged in the region.

The so-called Gold Coast was a region of posts and military posts where Europeans and Germans all built forts. In the sixteenth century, Europeans valued the Dutch and Portuguese presence with the gold and silver trade. The form European interest in the region was among West African people. Together the Gold Coast and Oyo emerged as key regions in the slave trade.

Under the leadership of Oyo, the Dahomey captured territory in the region increased its contact with the world. Firearms from Europe were used to solidate its hold over the region. A major supplier of captives emerged in the region. Its independence was confirmed in 1740-1774 and other regions in the area were also captured.

The Niger Delta region was an area devised an elaborate system of bondpeople. According to the area, supplied more captives to the region. The Eflk increased their trade with the region. The Akwa and other regions in the area were also captured.

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Call number: HT861 .W34 1983

Author: Walvin, James.

Title: Slavery and the slave trade : a short illustrated history / James Walvin.

Publication info: Jackson : University Press of Mississippi, 1983.

ISBN: 0878051813 (pbk.)

ISBN: 0878051805 (hard)

Description: viii, 168 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

Note: Includes index.

Note: Bibliography: p. 163-165.

Subject: Slavery--History.

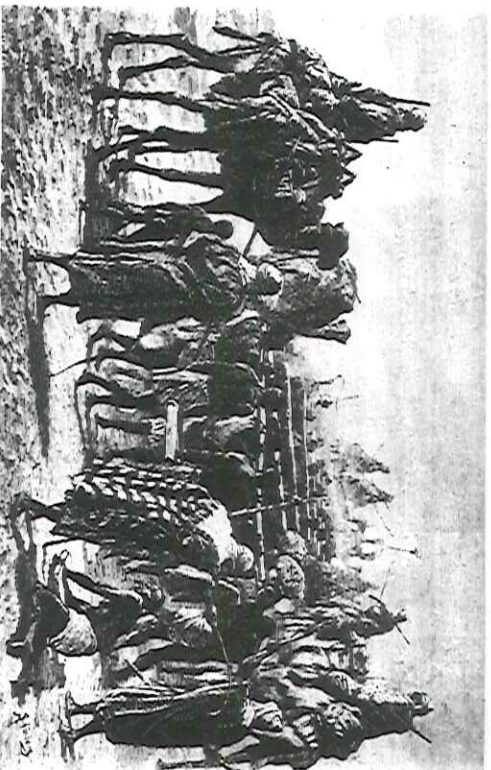
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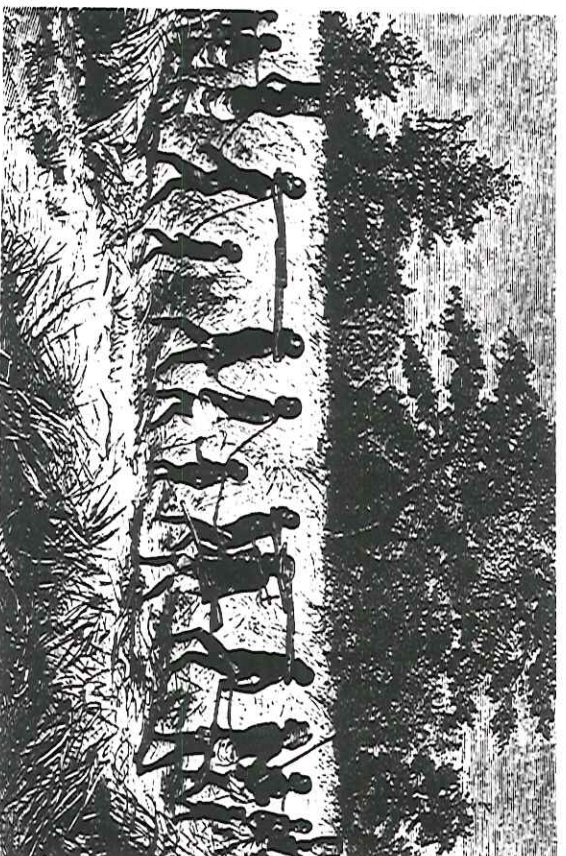
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15. Slavery in the Sudan in the late nineteenth century



16. A slave coffle

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The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Slave Coffle, 19th cent.

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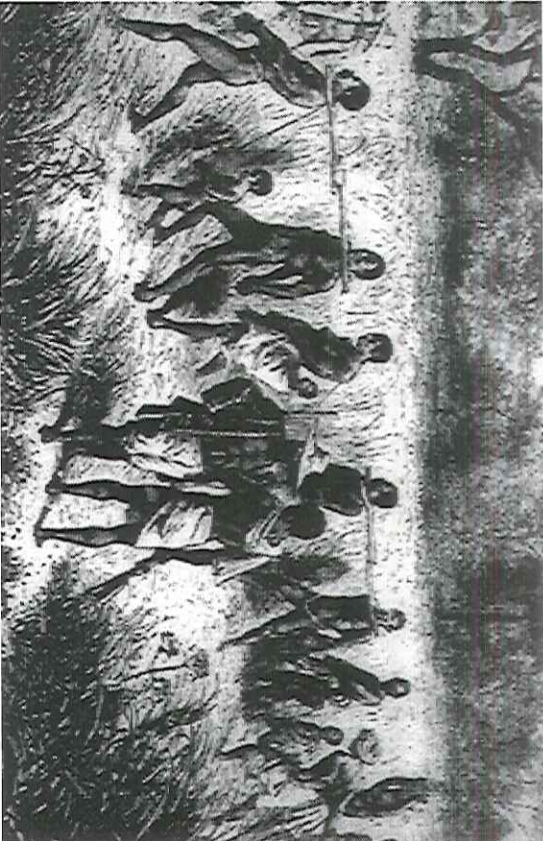


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Source

Published in Anthony Tibbles (ed.), Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity (London: HMSO, 1994), p.106, fig. 23; the original source is not identified.

Comments

Men, women, children linked by wooden yokes and chains; African guards carry guns. This image is also published in James Walvin, An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797 (Cassell, 1998, p. 11) which cites the original source as Verney Lovett Cameron, Travels in Central Africa (1873); however, there is no book by that title under Cameron's authorship. The image is also in Walvin's Black Ivory (London, 1992), but no original source is identified. Compare this image with image reference C019.

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Title: An African's life : the life and times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797 / James Walvin.

Publication info: London ; New York : Cassell, 1998.

ISBN: 0304702145 (hardcover)

Description: xv, 205 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Subject: Equiano, Olaudah, b. 1745.

Subject: Slaves--Biography

Series: The Black Atlantic

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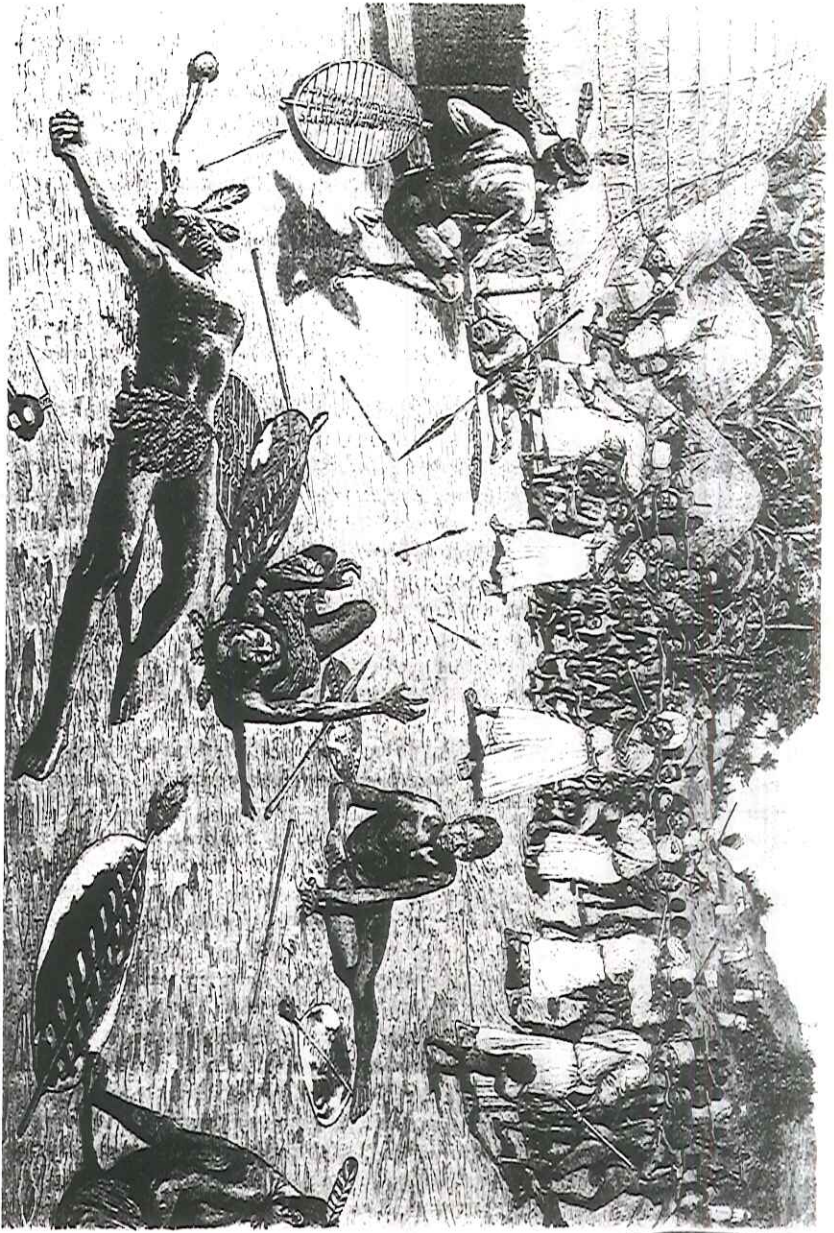
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Town Warry, An African's Life: No Life on
 Hills of Old Sudan Equiano, 1745-1789.
 Jordan - NY: Cornell, 1998

PLATE 1.
 Raiders attacking a village in Central Africa: 'It was my fate to be thus attacked, and to be carried off, when none of the grown people were nigh' (Equiano).
 Source: H. H. Johnston in The Graphic, 29 September 1888. Mary Evans Picture Library.

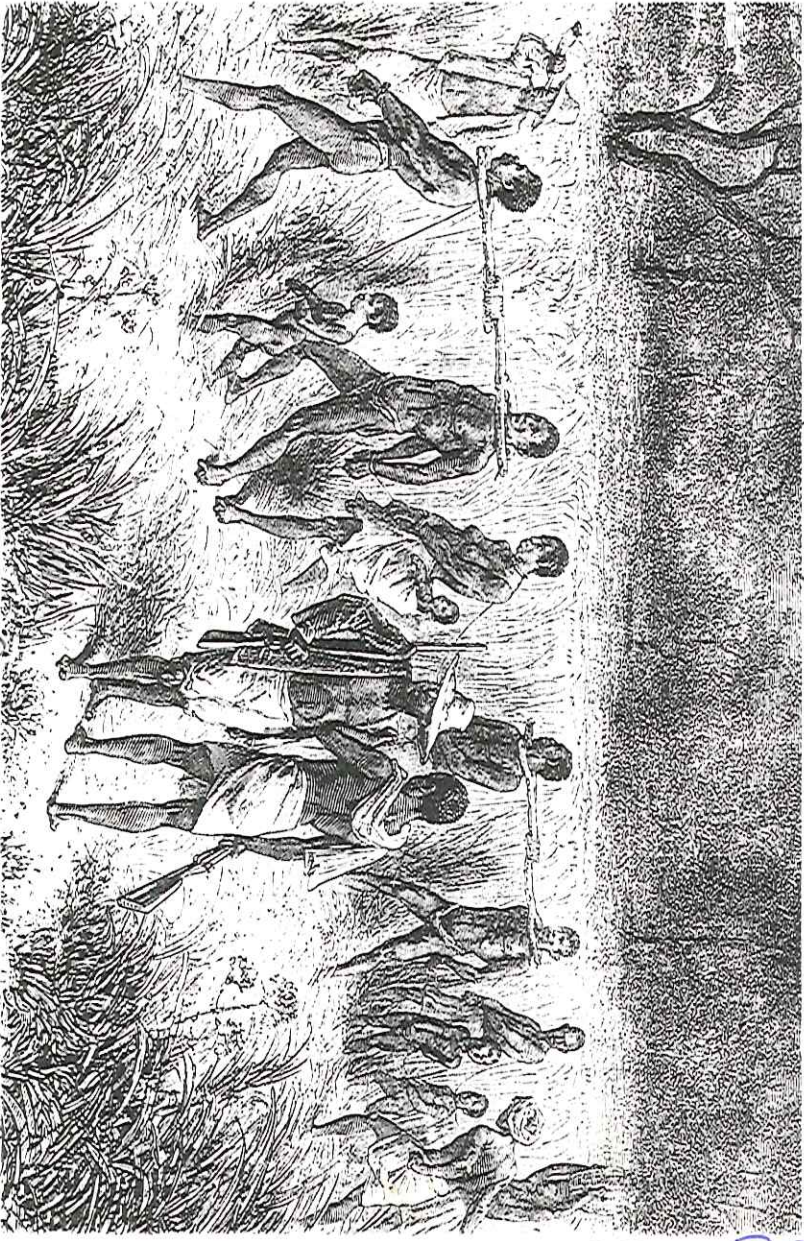


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PLATE 2.
 A convoy of captured Africans being taken into slavery: 'I was now carried to the left of the sun's rising, through many different countries...' (Equiano).
 Source: Verney Louisa Cameron, Travels in Central Africa (1833). Mary Evans Picture Library.



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Author: **Walvin, James.**

Title: **An African's life : the life and times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797 / James Walvin.**

Publication info: **London ; New York : Cassell, 1998.**

ISBN: **0304702145 (hardcover)**

Description: **xv, 205 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.**

Note: **Includes bibliographical references and index.**

Subject: **Equiano, Olaudah, b. 1745.**

Subject: **Slaves--Biography**

Series: **The Black Atlantic**

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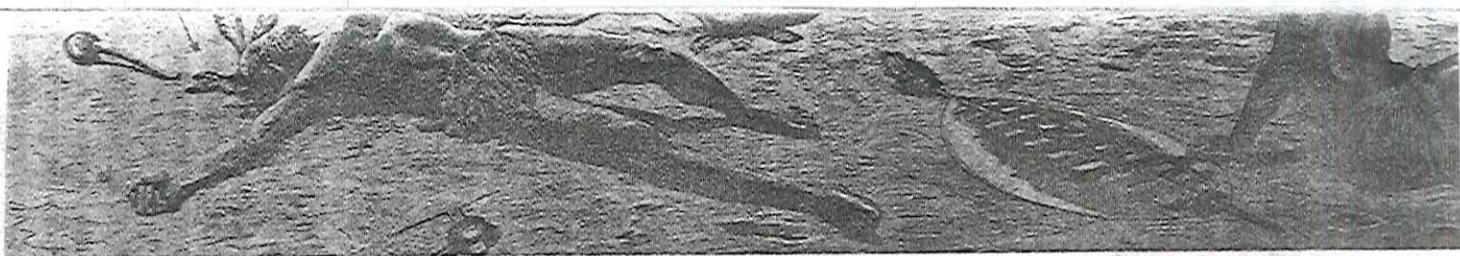
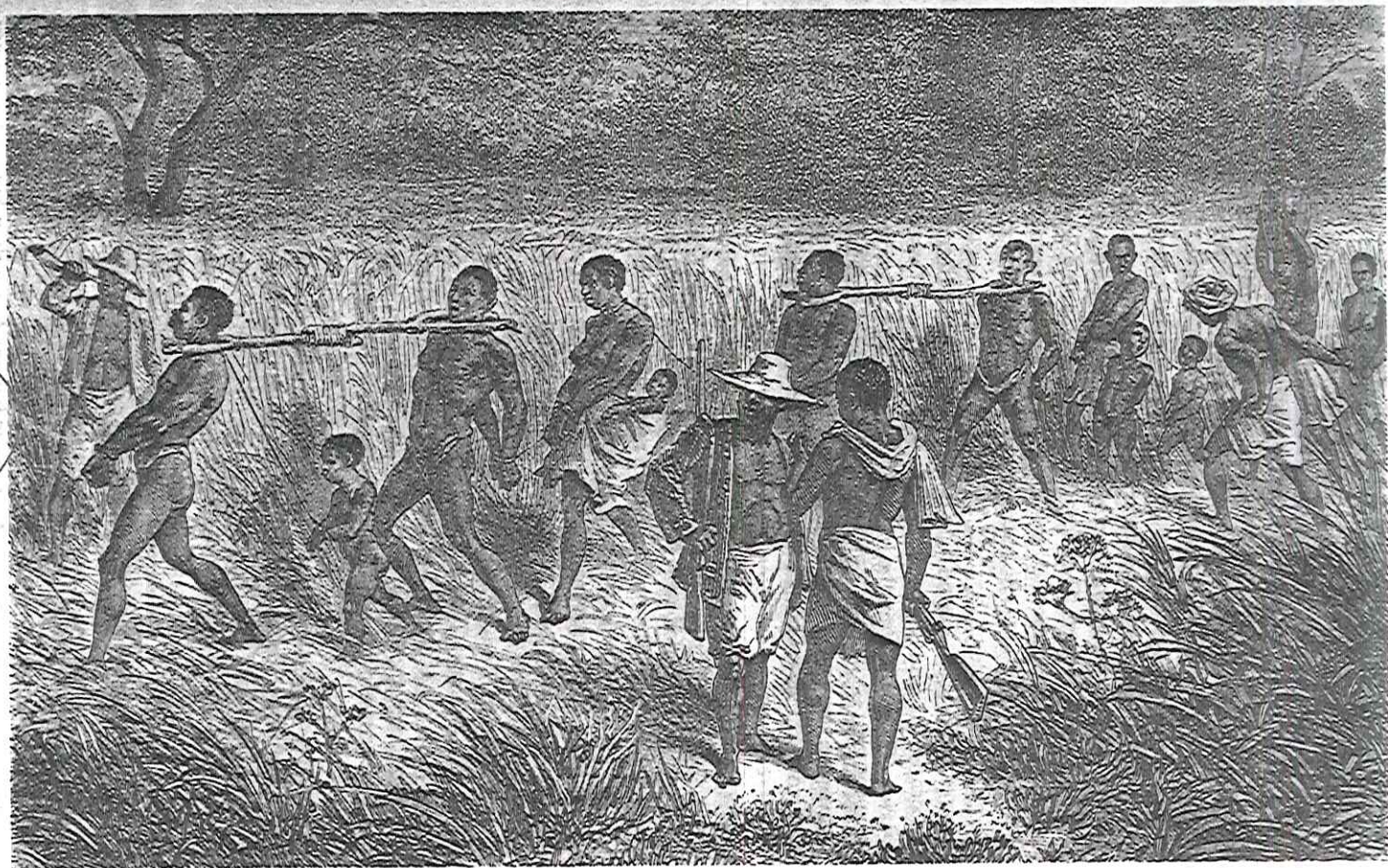
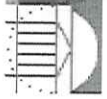


PLATE 2.
A convoy of
captured Africans
being taken into
slavery: 'I was
now carried to
the left of the
sun's rising,
through many
different
countries. . .'
(Equiano)

Source: Verney
Lovett Cameron,
Travels in Central
Africa (1873).
Mary Evans
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Good
example of
how
fuzzy
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Call number: HT 985 .T72 1994
 Title: Transatlantic slavery : against human dignity / edited by Anthony Tibbles.

Publication info: London : HMSO, 1994.

ISBN: 0112905455

ISBN: 0112905390 (pbk.)

Description: 168 p. : ill. (some col.), facsim. ; 29 cm.

Note: Catalog to accompany the opening of the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery at Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool.

Note: On title page : National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside.

Note: Includes bibliographical references (p.166) and index.

Subject: Slavery--Africa--History--Exhibitions.

Subject: Slave trade--Exhibitions.

Subject: Slavery--Exhibitions.

Related name: Tibbles, Anthony.

Related name: Merseyside Maritime Museum.

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NOTE: one of images is p. 5. 23

*9.23.2004: Image 2 on pg. 106
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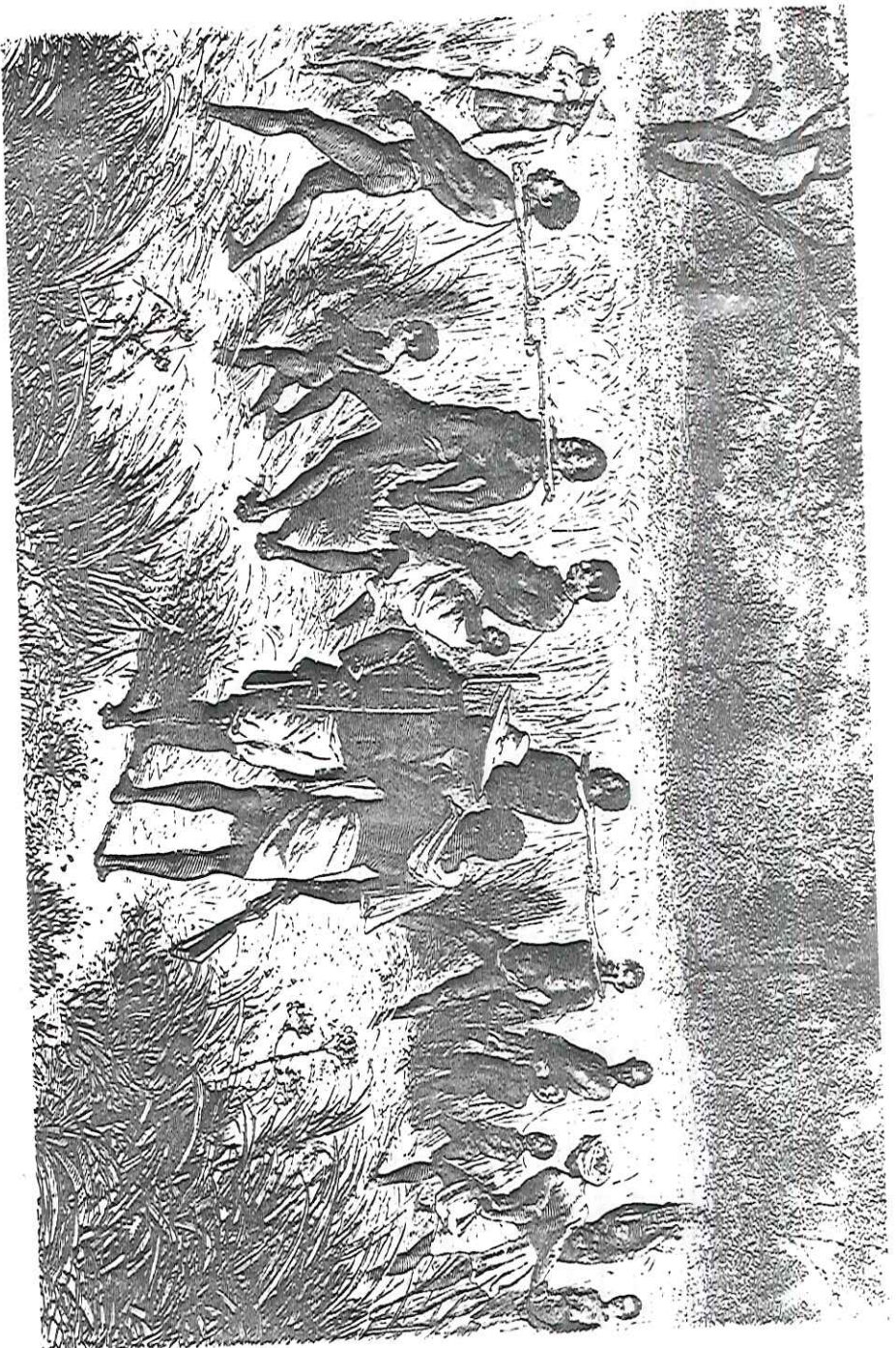


Fig. 23
A coffee
Captives were marched, often in yokes,
from the inland areas of Africa to the coast
for sale to Europeans.

can civilisations, art, culture, architecture, education and technology.

Africans, however, attempt to revisit history through anthropological, archaeological, oral literary, oral historical and diverse other sources to objectify the experience and portray the transatlantic slave trade from the horse's mouth. To the African, the devastation suffered physically, psychologically, emotionally and morally almost defies atonement. Indeed, some of the socio-political problems that are peculiar to blacks in the Diaspora today take root in a scene of an omni-present past and historical injustice. Although domestic slavery in Africa predates the transatlantic slave trade, it is essential to reiterate that there is a wide gap between the motive, nature, practice and implication of the two forms of enslavement. Domestic slavery was not racially constructed, nor did it involve the repugnant scope of degradation, geographical dislocation, cultural disorientation or forced acclimatisation and

attendant devastation and death.

African domestic slavery was characterized mostly by the rich, as well as powerful kings and chiefs, enslaving others. Slaves, therefore, included war captives, the kidnapped, adulterers and other criminals and outcasts. Every form of enslavement carries within it the germ of cruelty and degradation. But domestic slavery in Africa did not embrace the excessive dehumanisation involved in the new form of enslavement. Palace chiefs in many parts of Africa, though slaves, enjoyed certain privileges that were envied by lower class and poor free people. Royal slaves of the Alafin of Oyo and Ooni of Ife were highly regarded because they had privileged access to the king and could even seek favours from him. They sometimes enjoyed relative affluence and a prestigious position, like those of Iharu slaves (slave officials). Odi slaves in Ijebu palaces were known to have a special status as well.

Photographic Credits

The Editor is grateful to David Flower, Senior Photographer for photographing most of the NMGM objects for this catalogue and for copying and preparing all the other photography and to Joanne Howdle, Assistant Curator in the Maritime History department, for handling all the administrative work with such patience and efficiency. Credits refer to catalogue numbers.

Index

relating to essays

pp 17-126

abolition

in Britain 48, 76, 77, 85, 87-95
in United States 47-48, 114
African Steamship Company 81
Amistad (slave ship) 42, 63
Angola 21, 22, 51, 52, 98, 100, 101
Antigua 44, 55
Asante 98, 104, 120

Baartman, Saartjie 84

Baptist War 44

Barbados 22, 24, 44, 51, 55, 59, 70, 92

Bight of Benin 51, 98, 99, 100, 101

Bight of Biafra 99, 101, 102

black benevolent societies 47

black people in Britain 83-86

Brazil 17, 21, 22, 24, 25, 76

Bristol 39, 73, 81

Cape Coast 22

Cardiff 86

Carolina, North and South 25, 44, 55,

castle, slave 42, 62, 108

Cinque, Joseph 42

Clarkson, Thomas 87

cocoa 24

coffee 21, 24, 65

Columbus, Christopher 17, 35, 118

Congo 99, 101, 102, 107

Cornantin 22

Cornantees 34, 51

cotton 24, 25, 65, 76, 77

Craft, Ellen 48

creolisation 52, 57, 64

Cuba 17, 21, 24, 25, 65, 76

Cuguano, Othobah 48, 85, 126

Curacao 22

Dahomey 51, 98, 104, 107, 108, 120, 1

Daughters of Absalom 47

Demerara 44, 92

disease 32, 34, 52, 63

Douglass, Anna Murray 48

Douglass, Frederick 47, 114

Drake, Francis 22, 120

Dutch West Indian Company 30

East India Company 39

Elder Dempster 81

El Mina 17, 105

enslavement methods 29-32, 98-100,

120-121

Equiano, Olaudah 48, 85, 108, 125

European colonial expansion 17-28,

folk-tales 45, 59, 108

free blacks 45-48, 68

in Britain 84, 85

Gambia 22

games 59

Garner, Margaret 43

ginger 24



The Black Presence in Britain

Home
Editor
Sitemap
Get Started
History
News
Your Say
Archive
Links
Guestbook
Download
Blacknet
Links
Contact

A background to Slavery

There were indeed some European raids on African villages to create slaves, especially during the transatlantic slave trade, but very few slaves indeed were captured this way. This is not the responsibility for Slavery. The Planters demand for slaves is what drove the Atlantic slave trade. African Americans told about the enslavement of their ancestors expressed a harsh judgment on those who enslaved other Africans.



Europeans probably would have enslaved Africans then able to. The fact is that Europeans were unable to colonize the Americas and in parts of the Americas because, unlike in the Americas and in parts of Africa. Although they generally navigated their coastlines. Europeans were skillful in protecting their coastlines. Europeans could not protect their coastlines. Europeans could not protect their coastlines. African chiefs and wealthy persons, who were slaves of other Africans, prevented Europeans (with African interior and doing what they wanted. African rulers and allowed Europeans in only as traders, diplomats, a

Because Africans maintained political control over themselves throughout the entire period they themselves conducted the business of enslavement, selling the slaves to Europeans in return for European ships.

Background to Slavery [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#)

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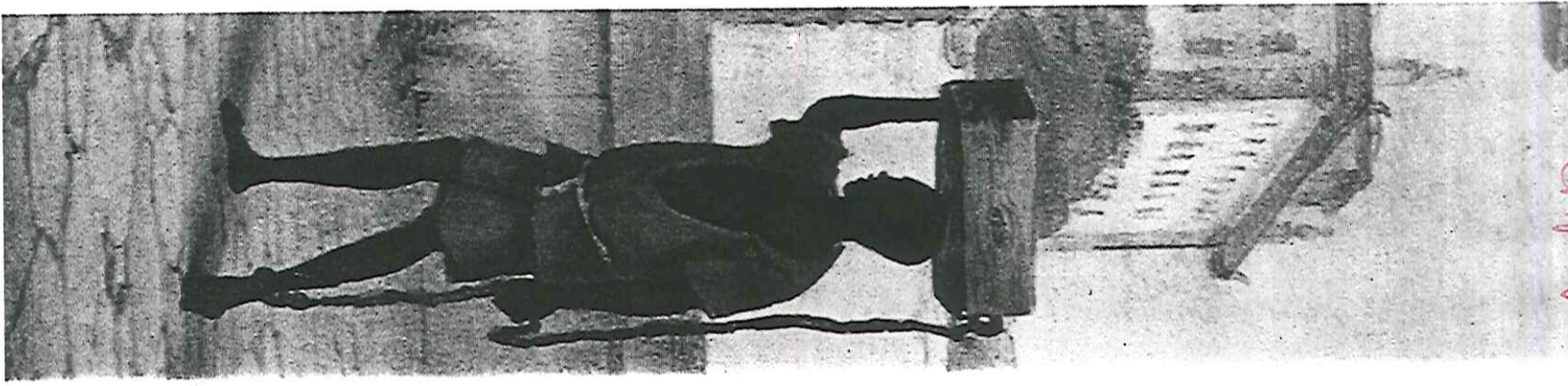
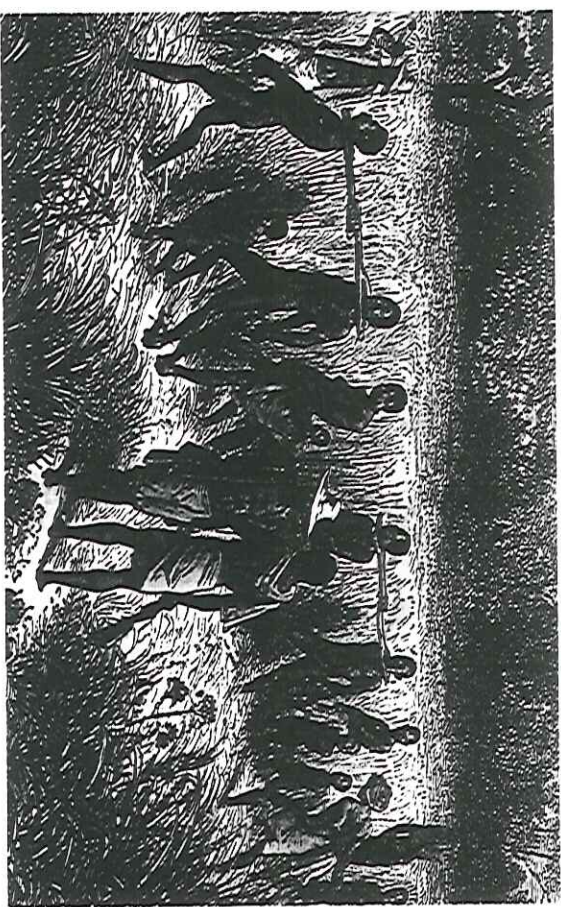
Schwartz - Boat

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but taken from some French collection
yes primary given - source same French collection

with cigarette
in Camero
Negroes
captives

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, A SMALL POSTER APPEARED ON THE WALLS OF RIO'S FAVELAS AND LATER SPREAD LIKE WILD FIRE THROUGH MOST OF BRAZIL'S GREAT CITIES. POORLY PRINTED IN TWO COLORS, THIS LITTLE POSTER WAS NOT GRACED BY A SCREEN STAR, BUT, instead, by the face of a slave, a gagged young woman, her neck held by the infamous iron collar. These are the only words on the poster: ANASTASIA, BLACK SLAVE and MARTYR



A mystery hovers over the origins of the saint. It is known that she had been deported from the island of São Tomé, which was often the point of departure for slaves coming from Angola. But from what nation, what tribe, was she? What was her native tongue? What was the landscape of her childhood?

She was fifteen years old when she was deported to Brazil. Her forehead concealed memories of abduction and mourning. Memories of marching in a single file in the blazing sun, of lamentation, of the fetid human warehouses, of crossing the Atlantic, of loss.

On the docks of Bahia, the newcomer wanted to survive at any price, even at the risk of losing herself, just like those around her: her *balaams*, her travel mates, her "boat" brothers and sisters.



Kelly Kaltenbacher
 Pooja Mehta
 Rebekah Naha

I. What is the Middle Passage?

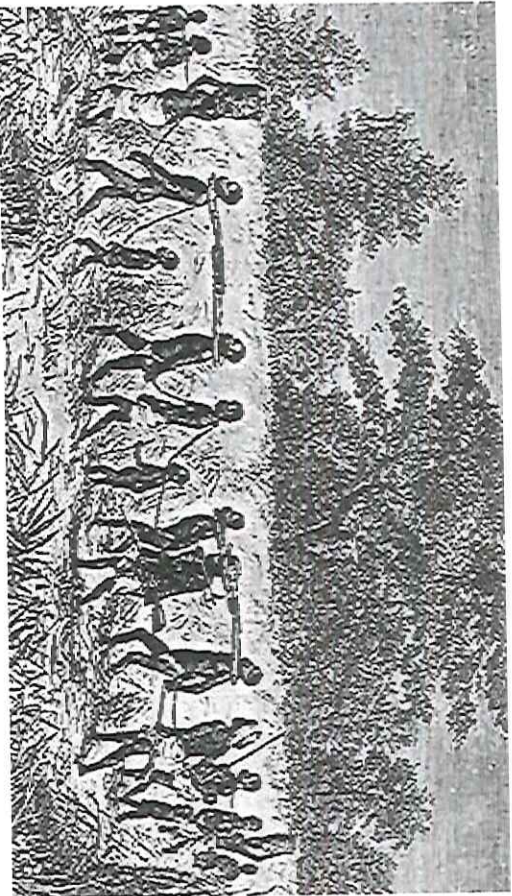
Beginning in the late 1500s, the slave trade took on several triangular routes. The first route consisted of ships from Europe transporting manufactured goods to Africa. Once these ships arrived, the goods were traded for slaves. The next leg of the journey, known as the Middle Passage, carried slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the West Indies where they were sold for a large amount of profit. The traders then used much of their earnings to buy products such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco in the West Indies. These goods were then transported to Europe for the final part of the trip. Another triangular route began in New England and carried rum and other products to Africa. Once in Africa, slaves were exchanged for the cargo. The ships then transported the slaves to the West Indies for selling purposes, another Middle Passage journey. The slave traders used some of their profits to buy sugar and molasses, which they took back to New England and sold to rum producers. Distilleries in Rhode Island and Massachusetts were essential in the molasses trade. Most American traders did not travel to the African Coast due to an overwhelming amount of French and English competition; trading with Europe or the West Indies was much easier. Slavery was only considered an incidental part of the overall commerce between Europe and North America. The Middle Passage voyages across the Atlantic took several months. The Atlantic slave trade operated from the 1500s to the mid-1800s and an unknown amount of Africans were enslaved during this period. Estimates approximate around 10 million blacks, of which only six percent traveled to North America.



Section Objectives

Englishmen began to enter the prosperous African slave trade during the early seventeenth century. In 1663 the English founded the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa. During the Dutch War the trading posts were lost, however the English soon replaced it with the Royal African Company. The company was dissolved several years later due to its monopolizing effect. Eric Williams, a Jamaican Marxist historian, stated that "the right of a free trade in slaves was recognized as a fundamental and natural right of Englishmen" after this occurred. Before the founding of the Royal African Company, slave trade to English North American colonies did not flourish. After the company was founded, the slave trade began to prosper. Aiding to the increase in the amount of slaves traded, the Treaty of Utrecht gave England the monopoly of the Spanish slave trade. Once slavery was established as an English stronghold, the amount of slaves traded over the Middle Passage increased.





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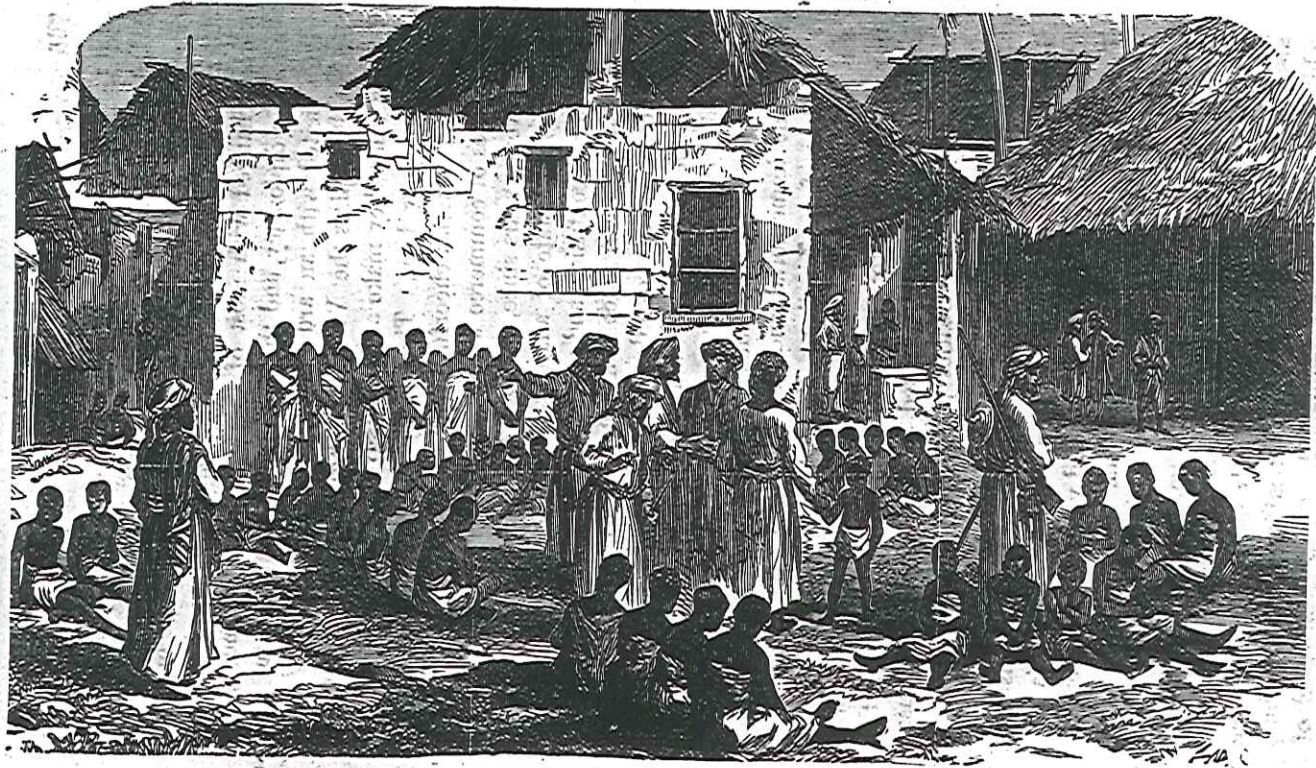
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SLAVE-TRADE.

ly its present territory on but also the island of Zanzibar promised to become one of the Asiatic States. Presents the Great Powers, and their teaching in all the useful arts by much more sincere than of Egypt or the Sultan of Abyssinia's speech on the eve of the war with England, entered into these now obnoxious and enlightened a government. The Sultan died, and his kingdom which has ever since been ruined has ruined the lands which from poverty and ignorance. A certain clause in the treaty of 1817 to be a very serious source of mild type, such as will be all Moslem lands, of course, and which chiefly drew its supply from the old Sultan the traffic in slaves, and as it was but a gradual abolition of the slave-trade. Powers agreed to clauses admitting the transportation of slaves to Zanzibar—a condition being required for the *bona fide* consumption of slaves re-exported to Persia and India and westward all over the East Indies.

Its influence was successfully exerted in good faith, but in the end the smuggling of slaves was freely indulged in. It has been found practicable to stop the abuse of the slave-trade. An English vessel of



SLAVE MARKET AT ZANZIBAR.

tgt. 9

THE ZAMBESI DOCTORS

David Livingstone's Letters to John Kirk

1858:1872



edited, with an introduction by
R. FOSKETT

EDINBURGH
at the University Press

1964



*Dr David Livingstone. This signed photograph was presented by
Livingstone to Mrs Webb of Newstead Abbey.*

Dr David Livingstone

The series of letters written by Dr David Livingstone to Dr (later Sir) John Kirk, and now published in this volume, began in 1858 when the two men were first brought together over the preparations for the British Government Expedition to the Zambesi, which Livingstone had been invited to lead. The correspondence concluded in 1872, one year before the explorer's death at Chitambo's village, Ilala, at a time when he was completely cut off from the civilised world and Kirk was British Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar.

The letters fall into four distinct groups but they are bound together by a connecting thread, a common interest in African exploration with a view to suppressing the slave trade which had its centre and market at Zanzibar. The first group of letters relates to the Zambesi Expedition and covers the period of preparation in England, the actual course of the exploration of the Zambesi and the journey which Livingstone made to Lake Nyasa, with the Makololo, before returning to England in 1864. The second group consists of letters written mainly from Newstead Abbey near Nottingham, the home of his friends Mr and Mrs W. F. Webb, with whom he stayed for several months before returning to Africa for what proved to be the last time. The third group of letters was written from India, when Livingstone was en route for Africa and had broken his journey at Bombay in order to dispose of the *Lady Nyassa* which he had left behind in 1864, on his way back to London. At this time Kirk was



INTRODUCTION



same year obtaining his I.R.C.S. (Edinburgh). He then received his first appointment, as Resident Physician at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, where he was a contemporary of Joseph Lister.

As a youth, Kirk had always shown a keen interest in photography, an art which was then in its infancy, and it remained one of his hobbies until he was compelled to give it up at an advanced age owing to failing eyesight. The wax negatives of some of the photographs taken on the Zambesi Expedition in 1859 still survive and prints have been taken from them nearly a hundred years later, some of them being used to illustrate this book.

Kirk, like his father, was an enthusiastic botanist and student of natural history from an early age, and when he came up to the University in 1847, he continued to interest himself in these subjects. As a medical student, he attended Professor J. H. Balfour's lectures and was elected a Fellow of the Edinburgh Botanical Society, shortly before he became a graduate member of the University.

When an attempt was made to meet the shortage of medical men in the Crimea by recruiting a Civil Medical Service in 1855, Kirk was among the volunteers and was posted as Assistant Physician to the British Hospital at Erenkevi on the Dardanelles, where in his spare time he explored the surrounding district with his friends and made excursions to Mount Ida and Mount Olympus. At a later date, he presented his collection of plants from these parts to the University of Edinburgh together with the botanical specimens he brought back from Egypt in 1856, as he returned from the Crimea.

Shortly after arriving in London, Kirk got in touch with the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew where he continued his studies with the encouragement and guidance of its Director, Sir William Hooker. He did not, however, neglect his

still in England and undecided as to his own future. The last group of letters is perhaps the most interesting, for it contains those written between 1867 and 1872 when no one in Britain knew where Livingstone could be found or whether he was dead or alive.

As the story of the great explorer's life has been told so frequently and in so much detail, it is unnecessary to repeat it here, except where it has a direct bearing upon the letters which he wrote to Kirk. In the case of his correspondent, the situation is entirely different for only a few of his papers have been published and no definitive biography has yet been written. His extensive journal of the Zambesi Expedition has never been made public in its entirety, although Sir Reginald Coupland made use of it in his book *Kirk on the Zambesi*.¹ Kirk is therefore little known except to specialists in African Studies and he has been almost completely overshadowed by the leader whom he served so loyally on the Zambesi from 1858 to 1863 as Second in Command, Botanist, and Medical Officer of the Government Expedition. He did, however, play an important part not only in opening up the Dark Continent but also in putting an end to the slave trade on the east coast. It is desirable, in view of these facts, to give an outline of Kirk's career prior to his meeting with Livingstone as well as to say something about the part he played in African affairs during the period covered by the Livingstone-Kirk correspondence.

John Kirk was born in the Manse of Barry in Forfarshire on December 19, 1832, the second son of the Reverend John Kirk and his wife Christian Carnegie, and received his early education at the local High School at Arbroath. At the age of 15 he entered the University of Edinburgh and spent two years in the faculty of Arts before transferring in 1849 to the Medical School, graduating M.D. in 1854 and later in the I. R. Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambesi*, Oxford, 1928.

and kept in touch with one another by correspondence. From June until August, Kirk was left behind on Expedition Island and spent his time in botanical research and securing supplies of fresh meat for the party, while Livingstone went up the Zambezi as far as Sena. He was beginning to grow impatient and told Livingstone that he was anxious to go with him on his next trip up the river. By the end of July Livingstone was back at Expedition Island and when he set off again on August 2 Kirk joined him and helped to navigate the launch, as Commander Beddingfeld had resigned from the Expedition with the intention of returning to England. On this occasion the party went as far as Shupanga, returning to Expedition Island on August 5 and making the journey in less than a day. A few days later, Livingstone, Baines and Kirk again went up to Shupanga, making their headquarters with Colonel Nuñez, the Portuguese Commandant. Kirk remained there for some weeks while other members of the party took stores further up the river. When Livingstone reached the Island of Pica, above Sena, he wrote to Kirk on August 25 telling him of the difficulty they had had in navigating the river and asking for his support in the case of Beddingfeld. From the letter it is obvious that Livingstone was not entirely satisfied with the way in which he had handled the dispute with Beddingfeld.¹ He told Kirk that a report would have to be sent on the whole affair to the Foreign Office and that he would like to have his testimony as to the filthy condition of the *Ma Robert*. He had no wish to give the impression of having acted harshly in the matter and desired Kirk to support him by saying that Beddingfeld's resignation had been necessary in the interest of the Expedition, adding that his testimony would carry weight with the Foreign Office.

¹ A full account of the dispute is given in J. R. P. Wallis, *Life of Thomas Baines*, Cape, 1941.

other interests, and when the Chair of Natural History became vacant at Queen's College at Kingston his former teacher, Professor Balfour, advised him to apply for the post. About the same time, it became known that a qualified botanist would shortly be required for the Expedition which the Government was proposing to send to the Zambezi in 1858 and when consulted about possible candidates for the post, both Balfour and Hooker recommended that it should be offered to Kirk. Before he had had time to apply for the Professorship at Kingston, Kirk was sounded informally about joining the Zambezi party and at once agreed to accept the offer, if it should be made to him. Livingstone, as soon as he received this news, sent him instructions about obtaining medical supplies and assumed that the Foreign Office would confirm the appointment. He gave Kirk authority to spend up to £15, and when he protested that the amount was totally inadequate for the purpose, admitted that a mistake had been made and amended the figure to £50. By February 1858 all necessary preparations had been completed and Kirk was told to come up to Liverpool before the Expedition left Birkenhead on March 10 on board s.s. *Pearl* and arrived at the Cape by the middle of April. A few days before they landed at Simon's Town, Kirk received his instructions as a member of the Expedition. Livingstone had prepared this lengthy document during the course of the voyage and dated it March 18, but he did not hand it over to Kirk until April 15. At the same time he gave him the written instructions from Professor Owen and Dr Joseph Hooker concerning his duties as Botanist and Zoologist. During the exploration of the Zambezi and its tributaries Livingstone and Kirk were together for most of the time, but occasionally they separated to fulfil special assignments

When some months later Livingstone dismissed Richard Thornton and Thomas Baines from the Expedition, he again wrote to Kirk asking for his assistance. In a letter dated October 17, 1859, he instructed him to proceed overland to Tete with Rae, the ship's engineer, and escort the two men down to the coast and see them safely embarked for England on a man-of-war which was expected to call for them at Kongone Harbour. Kirk was also required to search Baines' personal baggage for any property belonging to the British Government and to take possession of the store-keeper's book. It was an unpleasant task for anyone to be asked to perform but Kirk managed to do it with great tact. For his part, he disbelieved the charges of dishonesty which Livingstone had made and always took the view that Baines was innocent.

On October 29, 1859, Livingstone sent a note to Kirk saying he intended to go down to Shupanga from Shamoara and would wait for him there, but shortly after the letter had been sent, he found he was unable to keep the appointment as the *Ma Robert* had begun to sink. Instead he stayed on at Shamoara and wrote on November 6 to say he had decided to go down to the coast, although it would mean keeping the pumps working almost continuously, as the boat was making a good deal of water, but that the whaler would be left behind for Kirk's own use.

No further letters passed between the two men until 1863, a few weeks before Kirk left the Expedition and made his way back to England. By this date, Livingstone had been informed of the Expedition's recall, but he had made up his mind, before returning home, to undertake another journey to Lake Nyasa. On June 2 he was at Murchison Cataracts and sent Kirk a letter, asking him to settle certain accounts on his behalf and giving him news about two members of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Lovell Proctor



Dr. John Kirk

securing any material advantage, he merely asked for free access to the African Highlands by the Zambesi and Shire rivers to be formally ratified by treaty with Portugal. It never occurred to him to ask for a pension or a salary for his services to the country, and when he was given an official Commission over the African chiefs from the Portuguese boundary to Abyssinia, he was told he could expect neither a salary nor a pension. Many years later, when he was lost and alone in the heart of Africa, he recalled this meeting with Mr Haywood at Newstead and bitterly regretted that he had made no material demands of the British Government.

While he was working at his book about the Zambesi and its tributaries, Livingstone was in constant correspondence with Kirk. He had purposely avoided dealing with the botany and natural history of the Zambesi as he hoped Kirk would publish a separate work on these subjects and wrote to him on October 21, 1864, saying he would offer him every assistance, if he would do something about it. He was also concerned to know about Kirk's plans for the future, and in a letter dated November 7, asked what he intended to do and offered to testify to his abilities. A week later, he extended on behalf of the Webbs an invitation to Kirk to visit Newstead, and mentioned that his brother Charles was bringing his American wife to join them for a short time. Receiving no reply, he wrote to Kirk again on November 24, renewing the invitation, urging him to accept and also to agree to speak at a meeting which Mr Webb had arranged in the Mechanics' Institute at Mansfield. Livingstone wanted his former Second in Command to meet some of the influential people who were visiting the Webbs and to obtain for him an appointment in the Colonial or Foreign Office. Other letters followed in swift succession containing requests of many different kinds. Would Kirk

in his appearance although even apart from his predilection for his gold banded cap, there was nothing in the least clerical about his dress.¹ Mrs Webb normally read the daily prayers for the family, but when Livingstone was present, he always performed this duty for her and on Sundays went along with the rest of the household to the private chapel, for Morning and Evening Prayer which were read by the chaplain, the Reverend Curtis Jackson; in these and in many other ways he identified himself with the activities of his hosts. During these months, Agnes Livingstone was prepared for confirmation and received the rite at the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, making her first communion in the chapel at Newstead. Her father communicated on this occasion and took the Sacrament with her regularly each month while he remained with the Webbs.

Much of Livingstone's day was passed compiling his book about the Zambesi and its tributaries,² and he usually devoted the morning to this task which he found somewhat laborious, especially when it came to the production of the fair copy for the use of the publisher. A number of friends helped him, among them W. C. Oswell, the hunter and explorer, who read and corrected the manuscript before it was sent off to John Murray, the publisher. Other friends helped to improve the literary style and Kirk provided information about animals and plants as well as native words. By April 15 the whole work was ready, and ten days later Livingstone and his daughter went up to the Metropolis. In December 1864 Mr Haywood, Q. C., came to spend a few days at Newstead and on behalf of Lord Palmerston asked Livingstone what he desired the Government to do for him and his family. With no thought for himself or of

¹ A. Z. Erzer, *Livingstone and Newstead*, Murray, 1913, page 89.
² D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, etc. Murray, 1865.

Meanwhile, Livingstone came up to Scotland, having completed his engagements in London, and arrived at Hamilton towards the end of May, only to find that his mother had become seriously ill and was so confused in mind that she was unable to recognise him and took him to be one of his own sons. He realised that the end was not far distant, but when she rallied a little, he decided to hurry down to Oxford to fulfil a speaking engagement. Shortly after his arrival he received the sad news of his mother's death and immediately returned to Hamilton in time for the funeral. Kirk had suffered a similar bereavement about this time and Livingstone sent him a short note on June 24 expressing his sympathy, 'the more cordial inasmuch as we have had the same tender ties severed'.¹

Shortly after this, Livingstone returned to Newstead and wrote to Kirk on July 30 about Thomas Baines. Baines had been demanding that Livingstone should admit publicly that he had treated him unjustly by dismissing him from the Zambesi Expedition. Livingstone refused to make any such admission and insisted that he had been perfectly justified in the action he had taken.² Early in August he said goodbye to Newstead and travelled up to London, where he visited the Zoological Gardens with Kirk and the Webbs on August 8. The next day his friends returned to Nottingham and Livingstone wrote in his journal, 'parted from my friends, Mr and Mrs Webb at Kings Cross Station today. He gracefully said he wished I had been coming rather than going away and she shook me very cordially by both hands and said "you will come back to us again, wont you?"'³

The next few days were spent in paying a few final visits prior to his departure from London. On August 11 he took

¹ Letter 51, page 119.

² See Letter 52.

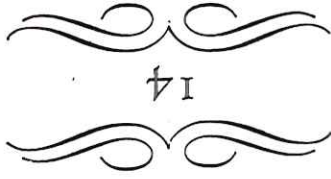
³ Quoted by A. Z. Frazier in *Livingstone and Newstead*, page 163.

see Colonel Rigby at the Colonial Office and would he be willing to lend some of his photographs to his publisher's artist? Would he make an effort to come up to Newstead? And when Kirk agreed to stay with the Webbs immediately after Christmas, Livingstone asked him to cash a cheque and purchase a black doll for one of the children at Newstead.

On February 13, 1865, Kirk heard that a box had been found at the Cape which contained specimens in bottles and had been brought back to England by the Reverend C. A. Alington. It had been supposed that the box belonged to Thornton, but Livingstone thought otherwise and believing it to contain Kirk's lost specimens, directed it to be forwarded with a covering note to Dr Hooker at Kew. During March Livingstone frequently wrote to ask Kirk for information about particular African plants and to enquire what steps he had taken to secure a suitable Government post; he was anxious to see his former colleague placed, if possible, somewhere on the east coast of Africa.

On May 13, 1865, Livingstone took the opportunity of calling on his publisher to discuss the illustrations for his forthcoming book, before he set off once more for Africa. Plans for his next expedition were already being formulated and he told Kirk he would be delighted to have him as a companion, but that the funds available would not run to a salary. Alington had asked to accompany him at his own expense, but Livingstone was not keen on having another untried European on his African travels, because of his previous unfortunate experiences on the Zambesi Expedition with Baines and Thornton. He admitted, however, that Alington was a 'good fellow' with some knowledge of Zulu.

Kirk was still doing research at Kew in a voluntary capacity and had not yet decided what was to be his next step.



Dakana Moro Island,
River Shire
October 17th, 1859

Dr Kirk

Sir,

You are hereby required to pass overland with Mr Rae to Tette in order to bring away two persons, lately members of this Expedition, in order to send them home by the Man of War appointed to meet us at Kongone Harbour in the middle of November next.

As Mr Thornton, one of the persons referred to, has been honest, and failed in his duties as geologist chiefly from ignorance and a want of energy, he is permitted to take the geological specimens with him but on the understanding that they are Government property and must be handed over to the Geological Society when required. He must give you an acknowledgement in writing to that effect. Otherwise, they are to be retained at Tette.

The other individual, Mr Baines, referred to, having been guilty of gross breaches of trust in *secretly* making away with large quantities of public property, and having been in the habit of secreting Expedition property in his private boxes, it will be necessary for you to examine his boxes (after ascertaining whether my order to him to deliver up to

Major Sicaud all paintings, drawings and other public property, has been complied with) the more especially as he had only three *private* boxes in his possession on leaving the *Earl* and these are now increased by the appropriation of 'biscuit boxes' to which he has no right - no permission having ever been asked or granted.

It will be proper for you to ask him in the presence of Mr Rae, what he did with five jars of butter which he took out of a cask and never sent to table or for cooking. What he did with five barrels of Loaf sugar which he was seen opening and drying but were never used in the Expedition. The storekeeper's book as soon as convenient and signed by yourself and Mr Rae. Take possession of this book - of another book of mine in his boxes, *The Plant* - specimens of brass rings and of everything else you have reason to believe does not belong to him. If he declines your offer of conveyance, he is left to his own resources.

I am etc

David Livingstone

the onus of the party suffering privations which might have been prejudicial to life, merely to screen a store-keeper from whose charge the goods had gone in some way which he best knew.

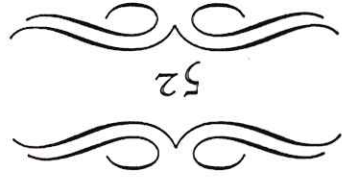
Tito told me himself that Baines had given him Expedition provisions but he added *'com minto mudo a Senhor'*. Why should he fear me if he were doing right? Sir Roderrick shewed me a similar letter to that you have received. It demands that I withdraw as publicly as I made the charge. I published nothing and had he only held his tongue it would now have been forgotten.

Capt. Gardner wants your address. His is 43 Crescent, Clifton. He has given me a long extract from his letter book, shewing that the Portuguese declared that they had no power in Antonio River but he fears my publishing it. When punishment was demanded by the *Wasp* for an outrage on a boat's crew, the Governor General said he had no power but they carefully avoid giving a letter to that effect.

I am etc

David Livingstone

Mr and Mrs Webb's very kind regards.



Newsstead Abbey
Mansfield, Notts.
July 30th, 1865

My Dear Kirk,

Webb's case seems entirely neutral. He walks about and does not seem ill except when the fits come on. I gave 10 drops of chlorodyne last night and have not seen him this morning but there is no cause for alarm – perhaps not for going to London – nor for anyone coming down unless he became worse. Oswell very gladly came with us and immersed in African and the rocky mountains legends he seemed to forget all about his complaints.

Baines demands that I should say that I dismissed him without a hearing and was led by the evidence of my brother alone. As that is not true, I shall not tell a lie. I myself saw that the goods were gone and asked him whither. He offered to pay for them and begged to be allowed to stay with us without salary – this was to myself. The other confession was simply a corroboration. I published nothing and endured all the abuse he himself published, in silence. If he publishes here while I am within hearing, I certainly will not beso forbearing. I did not wish to part with him and gave him a full opportunity of defending or explaining at Kongone. When he sneeringly denied that any loss had occurred, there was nothing for it but that he must go, unless I were to take

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314

Baines, Thomas

- 11:15 ✓ Explorations in South-west Africa ... Journeys ... 1861 and
1862 ... to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls.
(London, 1864)
BL 81009 J, ee, 38 —
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DT 731, B17 1868
✓ original LED 2/22/

3/12/04 - looked at UVA French edition - Same image as
English edition

Baines, Thomas

- The Victoria Falls Zambesi River Sketched on the spot ...
✓ Day and Son, London, 1865
11:15 ✓ BL 1784. c. 7 (6/15 plates)
11:15 ✓ 1784. c. 8 (colored plates)
also UVA - special collections

11:15 ✓ Wallis, John Peter Richard

Thomas Baines of King's Lynn, ... 1820-1875.
Strawson Copie, London 1941
BL 10859. f. 25

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Valsich jusquaux chutes Victoria.
Traduits et abreges par J. Belin-de
Launay
Loan Author: Baines, Thomas, 1820-
1875
Imprint: Paris, Hachette, 1868.

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3/10/04 -
See notes on English
edition (London, 1864).
Print 1868 French edition
has some maps
on Slavery, West
Africa
pictures of
people

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Un marabout ou cigogne à sac.

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THOMAS BAINES

—
VOYAGE
DANS LE SUD-OUEST
DE L'AFRIQUE

OU

RÉCITS D'EXPLORATIONS FAITES EN 1861 ET 1862

Depuis la baie Valfich jusqu'aux chutes Victoria

TRADUITS ET ABRÉGÉS

PAR J. BÉLIN-DE LAUNAY

Et accompagnés d'une Carte et de 22 gravures

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1868

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51,
rtu-
fit
é la
am-
Val-

SP
The River Niger & Niger Delta + Senegal

Baines, Thomas (1864)

Preface written by M.A. Baines, Thomas's former-
nephew from 1858, Thomas gets "opposed" artist to the
Zambesi expedition with Dr. Livingstone, and accompanied
his party to Tete, the principal town in the
Portuguese territory... ~~for~~ Thomas left the
expedition in 1861 - apparently because ill -

book has a lot of neat illustrations, sort of pen and ink
Sketches, e.g. Hottentots, Bushmen - NO maps of any
The voyage described in his book post-dates the
expedition with Livingstone

Wallis (1941)

See map of Tete - seems to be a remarkable phenomenon - and
also on Zambesi river

Spells TETE or TETTE -

Attribution divided between him & Livingstone & latter accusing
Baines of theft of reputation's story, and
dismissed Baines for expedition -

Great
map } Tete on Zambesi river just below Kebrabaa
rapids & above Sena

Bairns (1865) The Victoria Falls

^{Start}
~~Number~~ of female Pith size pose
illustrations, accompanied by Narrative account
of his expedition and description of drawings, 65
all illustrations are of Victoria Falls & surrounding area -
including an sketching - and a couple of people - Men
equipment skin color & glass bottles

UVA

~~Academy~~

Baines, Thomas 1820-1875)

(NY 11972-
Harcourt 1 2281

Thomas Baines (1820-1875)

Illustrations of Livingston 1858 to July 1859

also recognized the illustration in Livingston's book

David
Wicks

[David & Charles Livingston, Narrative of an Expedition to the
Zambesi & its Tributaries, 1858-1864 (London, 1865)
(NY 1866)

~~George W. Wicks~~ ~~1858-1864~~ ~~London~~

Special Collections
NY 11972-29

Wicks, David
NY 11972-29

General Collection
100.D.5

Baines, Thomas * (UVA Special Collections) - B2

~~B2~~ The Victoria Falls ... London, 1865

General Collection
106.E.52

Wells, J.P.R. (not in UVA) B.L.:

Thomas Baines; his part in Phobos ... Salisbury, 1956

Special Collections
NB.95.1711

Carpeaux, Jane (not in UVA) [BL but name is special
collections] SA 1995

The life & work of Thomas Baines. Vlasberg, SA 1995

Special Collections

General Collection
191.D.201

Wells, J.P.R. * (UVA 6246, B34 434) B2

Thomas Baines of King's Lynn ... London, 1941

Reprinted 1976

THOMAS BAINES

His Life
and explorations in South Africa, Rhodesia and Australia

1820-1875

J. P. R. WALLIS

Illustrated by a selection of Thomas Baines' water-colours, drawings and prints

With captions and a new introduction by F. R. Bradlow



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Loan Author: Wallis, J. P. R. (John Peter Richard), 1880-1957
Imprint: Cape Town A. A. Balkema, 1976.

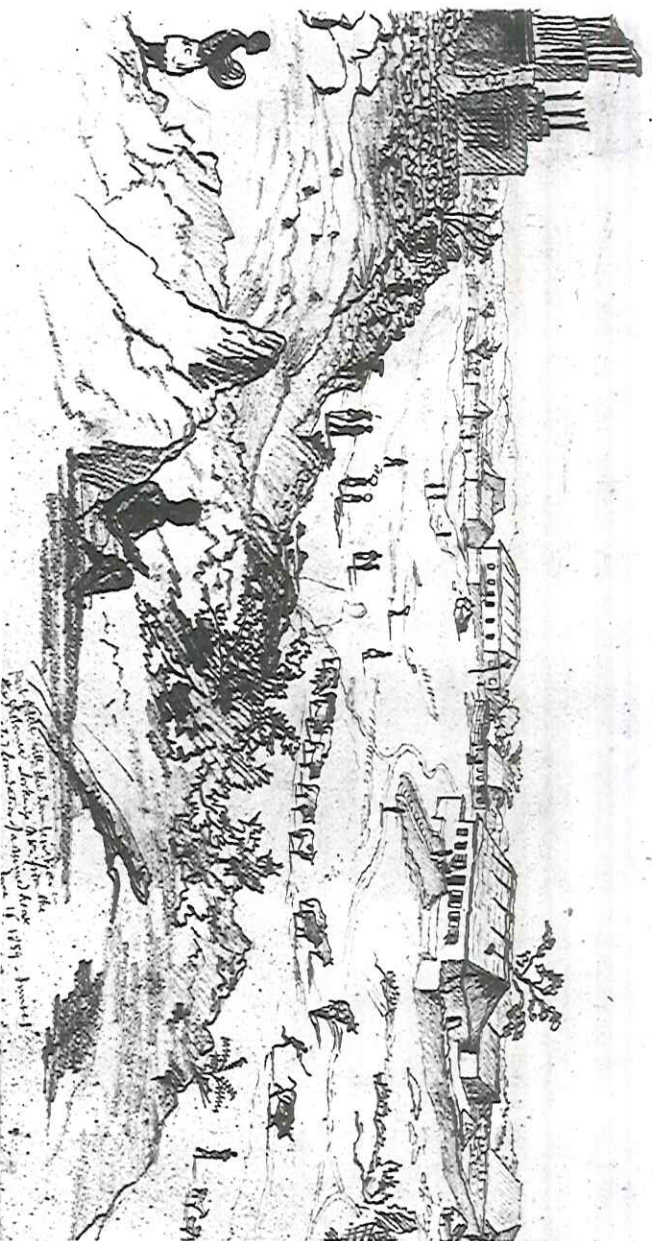
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BAOBAB TREE NEAR TETE

'Natives carrying bundles of small poles for Building Houses'. This picture, in addition to the above inscription, is dated '7 May 1861, Walvis Bay'. It was unusual for Baines to paint a water-colour so long after the event. He was with Livingstone on the Zambezi, where the town of Tete lies, between June 1858 and November 1859, at least two years earlier. Perhaps he painted this sketch at Walvis Bay to illustrate something for Chapman or for Andersson, who was the original owner. Water-colour. 24,0 x 34,0 cm. Private ownership.



'Part of Tete with the Zambezi River in the distance looking N.W. from the elevated foundation of a ruined house, June 15, 1859. Zambezi'. Tete was the last Portuguese outpost on the Zambezi. Pencil. 27 x 38 cm.

5

bers of the expedition came together again on signs of discord and cleavage were unmistakable himself unpleasantly towards his two they, with their nerves overstrung by fever, in meekly. Then Livingstone had sustained a looked upon the rapids and seen in them the hopes in the Zambezi as 'God's pathway'¹. Kirk had noticed how 'the Doctor changed npletely from the first time he saw the rocks². Poor Livingstone! At this time, too, he a painful skin trouble, and we have Kirk's or it that in that malignant air everyone with ickness became very irritable. His vexation nes, 'scarcely off the sick-list, and, I should

say, the hardest worked member of the expedition',³ The occasion was some alleged omission in rationing the Mkololo, but Kirk blames the vagueness of the leader's instructions, and it is not irrelevant here to observe that others have commented on the same lack of decisiveness in him. His own brother Charles, in a subsequent tiff, told him that 'the members of the expedition did not get orders what to do, and were always at a loss how to act'.⁴ Some two years later, a more dispassionate witness, watching him directing a simple operation, declared, 'I never saw such constant vacillations, blunders, delays and want of common thought and foresight'.⁵ Presently, however, Kirk was able to report: 'The Doctor's skin disease is getting better and we may expect things to improve soon.' And not many days afterwards Livingstone's own diary reads: 'We made up a party consisting of Dr. Kirk,

¹ P.R.O., F.O. 63/87r: Clarendon's letter to Sekeletu.

² Coupland, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴ Livingstone's private diary, quoted by R. J. Campbell, p. 259.

⁵ *A Cruise of the Gorgon*, by W. Cope Devereux, p. 219.

Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration, by W. B. Lord and T. Baines. London, 1871. Illustrated.

Geological and Natural History Reports, No. 20. January 1st, 1867. Pp. 258-262, 'On the Flint Flakes in the Drift and the Manufacture of Stone Implements by the Australians'. By T. Baines. Illustrated.

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1868: p. 200, 'Elephant Hunting in South Africa'; p. 787, 'The Gold-fields and Diamond-beds of South Africa'; p. 803, 'The Explorer's Christmas in Australia'. Illustrated.

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III. BOOKS AND PERIODICALS (with Illustrations by Baines)

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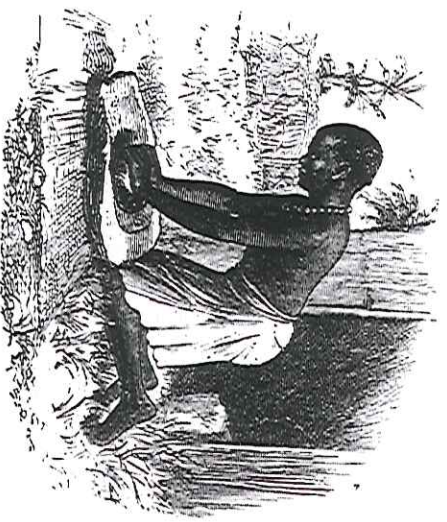
R.112

NARRATIVE
OF AN
EXPEDITION TO THE ZAMBESI
AND ITS TRIBUTARIES;

AND OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAKES SHIRWA
AND NYASSA.

1858—1864.

By DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.



Duckworth

*Report of one
of the 1865
London editions
(John Murray)
The 1865
edition has a different
position of illustrations
(not including
the duck)*

Amusing from his edition, but included in
 the UJA 1865 edition on
 @ the Mt-Robert in the Zambesi about 1860
 25) Gang of Captives taken
 otherwise all are the same

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
1. Bird's-eye View of the Great Cataracts of the Zambesi <i>Frontispiece.</i>	
2. Pandanus or Screw Palm, covered with climbing plants, near the Kongone Canal of the Zambesi	15
3. View of Mazaro. - Fight between Portuguese and Rebels in the distance	22
4. Dance of Landeens, or Zulus, come to lift the Annual Tribute from the Portuguese at Shupanga	24
5. The Grave of Mrs. Livingstone under the Baobab-tree, near to Shupanga House	26
6. Landeens, or Zulus, who lift Tribute of the Portuguese at Senna, exhibiting War Exercises	30
7. Weapons for killing the Hippopotamus	33
8. View of a portion of Kebrabasa Rapids	44
9. Women with Water-pots, listening to the music of the Marimba, Sansa, and Pan's Pipes	52
10. Mamvira Cataract, the first or lowest of Murchison's Cataracts	64
11. African Fiddle of one String	74
12. View of Steamer, Traps, and dead Hippopotamus	76
13. Fish-basket	79
14. Native web, and Weaver smoking the huge tobacco-pipe of the country	88
15. Blacksmith's Forge and Bellows of Goatskin	89
16. Pelele, or Lip-ring of Manganja Woman	91
17. "Goree", or Slave-stick	98
18. Wedding Procession at Tette	112
19. Group of Hippopotami	141
20. Tunnels of Ants	143
21. Musical Instruments	177
22. Bellows and other Tools	235
23. Waisr-belt	236
24. An old Manganja Woman, showing the Pelele or Lip-ring and the tattooing in intersecting lines on face, arms, and body	295

25. Beehive. Baskets employed by Women to catch Fish	328
26. View of Quillimane and of the <i>Pioneer</i>	335
27. Poisoned Arrows	350
28. Females Hoeing	374
29. Chia Hand Net	379
30. Manganja Spears	381
31. Woman grinding	407
32. Native Mill for grinding Corn	408
33. Maravi Bow	418

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