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Metal Face Mask, Brazil, 1820s
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Africans Thrown Overboard from a slave ship,
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Format: Book

Author: Van Middeldyk, R.A. (Rudolph Adams), 1832-

Title: The history of Puerto Rico: from the Spanish discovery to the American occupation /

by R. A. Van Middeldyk; edited by Martin G. Brumbaugh.

Imprint: New York: D. Appleton, 1903.

Description: xvii, 318 p. [12] leaves of plates: ill.; 20 cm

Series Title: Expansion of the republic series.

Includes bibliograpical references and index

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 10723

Subject: African Americans -- Puerto Rico.

Subject: Slavery -- Puerto Rico -- History

Subject: Puerto Rico -- History

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Co-Creator: Brumbaugh, Martin Grove, 1862-1930, ed.

Local Entry: Imprint: N.Y. New York. 1903

Local Entry: Printer:D. Appleton and Company, publisher.

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des pirates, corsaires et négriers, exploits des marins illustres, voyages Author: Van Tenac, Charles dans les mers glaciales, guerres et batailles navales, jusqu'a nos jours monde, les découvertes, colonisations et les naufrages célèbres, l'histoire Title: Histoire générale de la marine : comprenant les voyages autour du

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illustres, voyages dans les mers glaciales, guerres et batailles navales, jusqu'a nos corsaires et négriers, exploits des marins - publice sous la dieection

Author(s): Van Tenac, Charles.

Publication: Paris: Parent Desbarres, editeur, (29981-9481)

Edition: Nouvelle éd. splendidement illustrée.

Year: 1840s

Description: 4 v. : ill., ports.; 27 cm.

Language: French

SUBJECT(S)

Geographic: France -- History, Naval

Note(s): First edition appeared in parts, 1847-48.

Class Descriptors: LC: DC50

Responsibility: publiée sous la direction de M. Van Tenac

Document Type: Book

Entry: 19980107

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section on 51 Mare trade, pp. 224-239

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Title: Subject: Note: Collation: Publisher: Edition: Author: Van Tenac, Charles. exploits des marins illustres, voyages dans colonisations et les naufrages céères, voyages autour du monde, les déouvertes, Histoire gééale de la marine : comprenant les direction de M. Van Tenac. navales, jusqu'a nos jours / publié sous la les mers glaciales, guerres et batailles l'histoire des pirates, corsaires et nériers, 4 v. : ill., ports.; 27 cm. Paris: Parent Desbarres, editeur, [184?] Nouvelle é. splendidement illustré France -- History, Naval. First edition appeared in parts, 1847-48 Help Browse le a Combined Search **Location Information** 。 DC50.V28 Markon

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Author(s): Van Tenac, Charles.

Publication: Paris, E. et V. Penaud frères

**Year:** 1853

Description: 4 v. illus. 26 cm.

Language: French

Standard No: LCCN: 01-22168

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VOli Same between press 266 + 267 E-mail English | Español | Français | text is in a per solution, 5 Avera (Addotron 1 PP. Upquier Poursuivi Class Descriptors: LC: DC50 Print © 1992-2004 OCLC Terms & Conditions **Document Type:** Book Responsibility: Éd. splendidement illustrée. Publiée sous la direction de Accession No: OCLC: 684116 Return Geographic: **Descriptor:** Naval history. PP. 224- 238 Database: WorldCat Note(s): First edition appeared in parts, 1847-48. **Update:** 20030907 Entry: 19730830 Help France -- History, Naval. m. Van Tenac. Histoire navale. France -- Histoire navale. Current database: World¢at Total Libraries: 18 Supported to Mare been | Comments | Exit 224-8 In men " a own pasineria ware Ownisted of Cinfor We chirdy discussion of porticular (SworldCat Options

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Author(s): Joinville, François-Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Marie d'Orléans, prince de, 1818-1900.; Van Tenac, Charles.

3

Publication: Paris, P. Desbarres

Edition: Nouvelle éd. ... illustrée publiée sous la direction

de M. van Tenac.

**Year:** 1853-

Description: v. in 8vo.

Language: French

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Descriptor: Voyages and travels.

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Naval history.

Document Type: Book

Entry: 19980513

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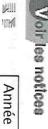
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Année

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## Van Tenac, Charles

prise de Mogador par le prince de Joinville... publiée sous la direction de M. Van corsaires et négriers, exploits des marins illustres, voyages dans les mers autour du monde, les découvertes et colonisations, l'histoire des pirates glaciales, guerres et batailles navales, jusqu'au bombardement de Tanger et la Histoire générale de la marine contenant les naufrages célèbres, les voyages

1847

## Van Tenac, Charles

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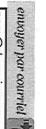
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Jeudi 11 novembre 2004 - No. 15239

Genesis of maroonage and resistance

On the occasion of the 169th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Mauritius, the authors of this paper pay a special tribute to the Mauritian slaves and first freedom fighters to colonial Mauritius.

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The slave trade started in May 1642 when a first batch of slaves was landed in the small Dutch colony. THE 1st FEBRUARY is a public holiday when the struggle for freedom, the achievements and contributions of the Mauritan slaves in the making of our great country is honoured. This celebration also reminds the Mauritan nation of the long and bloody resistance of the Mauritan marcons or first freedom fighters on Mauritan soil against the tyranny of slavery and European colonialism.

### Mauritlan maroons

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By their struggle for freedom and acts of resistance, the Mauritian maroons had a direct impact on the colonization of Mauritius and the straping of colonial society. The constant fear of maroon attacks greatly attered colonial laws, colonial architecture, and the lifestyle of the colonists. During the entire period that marconage existed in colonial Mauritius, or between 1641 and 1839, it was common for marcons or fugitive staves to organise themselves into either small or large bands.

These maroon bands lived in the forests, mountains, ravines, and near to the rivers of the Island from where they attacked colonial troops, the homes, settlements and the estates of the colonists. Maroonage and freedom fighting formed an integral part of colonial stavery in Mauritius ever since the time the first staves were introduced into our country during the early years of Dutch colonization.

### Mauritian slaves

In May 1638, Mauritus was still unoccupied by human beings when Dutch occupation began. It was only during the following year that the first slaves reached the shores of TEylandt Mauritius or Dutch Mauritius. These first Mauritian slaves were three emeritus divers, two from Muscat and one from Bengal. In November 1639, the Dutch commander, Adrian van der Stel, who came to replace Cornelius Gooyer, the first Dutch commander, brought them with him from Batavia or modern-day Java.

In May 1642, following the first staving expedition of Van der Stel, a first batch of staves from Madagascar was landed in the small Dutch colony and inaugurated the stave trade to Mauritius which continued until the early nineteenth century. Thus, the landing of the three staves from Asta in 1638 and from Madagascar in 1642 marked the genesis of colonial stavery in Mauritius which existed from the mid-1600s until the 1830s. Furthermore, Mauritian stavery existed under three different European colonial occupations, the Dutch, French, and British.

### First maroon hunt

According to the Dutch author, Dr. K. Heeringa, of the one hundred and five slaves brought from Madagascar by Adrian van der Stel in 1642, fifty-two of both sexes took to the woods within the first weeks of their arrival and only eighteen were ever captured. The presence of these first fugitive slaves in the dense woods of TEylandt Mauritus marked the beginning of the history of the marcons and of marconage in the island which would last until 1839.

Within the first decade of the Dutch colonial occupation, the maroons already became a serious threat to the very survival of the fledgling colony. The first maroon hunt was organized in 1644, but without much success. The number of maroons living in the island's forests were constantly increasing through the desertions of the newly introduced slaves and convicts known as banditens from Balavia.



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them. During the 1640s, a plan was mooted to physically destroy the marcons by shooting them on sight and had even received the approval of the Durch governor-general in Batavia. However, this draconian approach to the marcon problem was rejected by the Council of Seventeen or Heren XVII, the Directorate of the Durch East India Company.

Between the 1640s and early 1700s, the fear of slave rebellions and attacks by the maroons were ever present in the minds of the Dutch colonial administrators and the free burgers or the Dutch colonists. This led them to keep the number of slaves on the low side for ease of control which eventually became a major factor which contributed to the failure of the Dutch colonial experiment in Mauritius.

### 1695 maroon attack

The worst fears of the Dutch in Mauritius came true in 1695 with the destruction of Fort Frederick Hendryk which was the most important maroon attack against Dutch colonial rule in Mauritius. On the morning of 18th June, 1695, Aaron of Amboria, Antori alias Bamboes, Anna of Bengal, Paul, a recently arrived stave from Baltavia, and Esperance, female stave of the burger, Class van Wieringen, set fire to Fort Frederick Hendryk, after weeks of minute preparation. Everything went up in smoke and the Dutch commander barely saved himself in his shirt. He wrote to the Dutch governor of the Cape Colony in South Africa: These were matters of very dangerous consequences, lending to the utter run of this island.\*

In their confessions, after their capture, the marcons clearly acknowledged that their objectives were to destroy the fort, kill all the Dutch East India Company officials, and after that, burn down the houses of the free burgers in order to become masters of the island. For the Company employees and the free burgers, this was a nightmare scenario come true. The first freedom fighters on Mauritian soil had sounded their clarion call of liberty.

The punishment meted out to them was of the utmost barbarity. The males were affixed to a cross by the executioner and with a pair of red-hold longs, the flesh from their bodies were form from six different places where it was thickest. Shortly after, they were left alive until sunset, when they received what was called the 'stroke of metry'. The females were strangled and scorched with palmetto leaves. All the bodies were exposed under the blue sky and hung on a gibbet as a langble warning to the marcons.

But even such ghastly punishments could not deter the first Mauritian freedom fighters from their objectives. A conspiracy by the maroons and their slave accomplices in February 1705, to set fire to the houses of the free burgers and to assassinate them, greatly contributed in breaking the resolve of the Dutch to persevere in their colonization of our island.

Their continued harassment was a major reason which finally led to the abandonment of the colony by the Dutch East India Company in 1710. This is a unique instance in the annals of colonial slavery where the marcons played a vital role in frustrating the colonial enterprise of a European colonial power. After the departure of the Dutch, the Mauritan marcons became the sole masters of this island until the arrival of the French in the early 1720s.

### First condemnation

On 8th December, 1722, Le Rubis arrived with a cargo which included sixty-five slaves. Within a few days, these newly landed African slaves took to the woods where they most likely joined the marcons left behind by the Dutch. The tementy of the fugitive slaves during the first months of the French administration of Mr. de Nyon made the task of governing the new colony very arduous, despite of the small size of the

The first condemnation of marcons in lie de France took place on 12th November 1723. The Provincial Council gave a judgment condemning three slaves convicted of marconage for the third time to draw lots in order to decide who among them was to be hanged. During the rest of the 1720s, much of the attention to the local French colonial officials was devoted to dealing with the growing problem of marconage.

On 2nd June, 1726, the Provincial Council promulgated a decree concerning marcons and detachments or armed marcon catching units were sent in their pursuit. It was enacted that marcons who were captured alive became the property of the detachments, with the exception of two or three of the most dangerous to be executed to teach a lesson to the others.

For a maroon killed during an encounter, a sum of one hundred tivres was paid on the presentation of his left hand. This decree was motivated by the need for the administration to exterminate the maroons who were the cause of much disorder and were preventing, by their frequent raids and pillaging, the cultivation of the soil for a colony suffering from frequent food shortages. This clearly indicates the gravity of the threat posed by the maroons to this fledgling colony.

#### Organized attacks

In spite of the severity of the punishments meted out to the marcons as well as the numerous captures made by the detachments which were sent after them, the fact remained that organized marcomage kept on increasing. During the 1720s and 1730s, in the course of their attacks on the colonists, the Mauritian marcons were able to acquire fire arms and ammunitions.

In the some of the most inaccessible parts of the island, they established their camps, created well organised as well as armed groups and planned their next attack. They spread out in bands, pillaging, setting fire and spreading death and destruction in their wake. There are two important and spectacular maroon attacks which took place during the early history of the de France, in 1724 and 1732.

On 24th March 1724, an armed maroon band took by force a military post in the district of Savanne and forced the soldiers to beat a hasty retreat Saint Elme le Duc, a French historian, explained that these French colonial toops "were soldiers only in name as they were confused by drunksnness and debauchery". One can sense in these lines penned by a French scholar who refused to admit that the French soldiers were no malch for the maroons who had themselves been valiant warriors in their native lands in Madagascar and West Africa before they were enslaved. The military proviess of slaves from West Africa is a well known fact in the history of slavery in the Caribbean, specially in

In 1732, another armed band of maroons attacked a garrison as well as a French settlement at Poste de Flacq, After a bitter skirmish, they forced the French troops and the colonists to flee. The French troops lost ten men, several colonists were killed and only one maroon perished. Many years later, Governor Labourdonnals wrote, "in 1732, maroons attacked the quarter of Flacq and forced the whites to abandon."

Furthermore, almost a century later, Adrien d Epinay, the leader of the France-Mauritian slaveowners during the 1830s, saw in this incident a threat to civilization. Indeed, the great marcon attacks of 1724 and 1732, clearly showed that the Mauritian marcons were true guerniteros of freedom. In fact, the French were only able to turn back the tide against them during the late 1730s and early 1740s, under the governorship Mahé Labourdonnais.

#### Maroon legacy

For several decades, the Maurisan maroons waged a protracted and valiant campaign against stavery and colonialism in Mauritius, their actions, they helped shape colonial policy and struck fear in the hearts and minds of colonial officials and the staveowners. To certain extent, they were the makers as well as shapers of their own history. . Through Thus, to a

Their constant struggle against their oppressors and their personal or individual battles

<---Part 1: 1450-1750

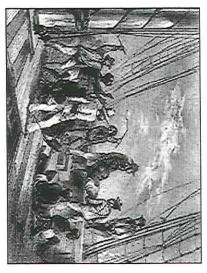
Part 2: 1750-1805

Part 3: 1791-1831

Part 4: 1831-1865

Historical Documents
Living Africans Thrown Overboard

Resource Bank Contents



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http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1h280.html mourses Lehis ton CABTION grand grad No Trus or MUDON Sono? 10/21/04 - Div ? tatashi Manibel parts form in white Poston BUI original blood of white 1000 Oversoard from the ship PHINIT dusplay the indeed in hard Apreaus ٤.3

Heading for Jamaica in 1781, the ship Zong was nearing the end of its voyage. It had been twelve weeks since it had sailed from the west African coast with its cargo of 417 slaves. Water was running out. Then, compounding the problem, there was an outbreak of disease. The ship's captain, reasoning that the slaves were going to die anyway, made a decision. In order to reduce the owner's losses he would throw overboard the slaves thought to be too sick to recover. The voyage was insured, but the insurance would not pay for sick slaves or even those killed by illness. However, it would cover slaves lost through drowning.

The captain gave the order; 54 Africans were chained together, then thrown overboard. Another 78 were drowned over the next two days. By the time the ship had reached the Caribbean, 132 persons had been murdered.

When the ship returned to England the owners made their claim -- they wished to be compensated the full value for each slave lost. The claim might have been honored had if it had not been for former slave Equiano, then living in England, who learned of the tragedy and alerted an abolitionist friend of his. The case went to court. At first the jury ruled in favor of the ship's owners. Since it was permissible to kill animals for the safety of the ship, they decided, it was permissible to kill slaves for the same reason. The insurance company appealed, and the case was retried. This time the court decided that the Africans on board the ship were people. It was a landmark decision.

On another voyage, on another ship, a similar

10/2/04 1840s 1823 DC SO. 28 (did Not Scan) published at different date ( & Se most und) Mariper Martseum L.S. Van tenes engerving usos sharper) D27. 128 (mode a slaw of Print copy because the Pouviui smage appear of p. M. 266 + 267

Le Magasin Pittoresque----ADD TO FILEMAKER

Writing of fugitive slaves in Brazil...apparently based on some first-hand account

they can breathe' a very narrow slit in front of the mouth and a few little holes under the nose so of causing their own deaths, they put on their faces a tin mask; they only provide themselves by eating [la terre molle] earth. In order to deprive them of this way swallow a large quantity of strong liquor, or s'etouffent (suffocate/choke?) they think of nothing else but suicide. They poison themselves by drinking at one affreux [frightful, atrocious?] that, while they have lost all hope of fleeing again, where they carry loads or sweep refuse in the streets. This type of slave is so ordinarily placed in chains and are led in groups through the city's neighborhoods Captured fugitives are forced to do the hardest and roughest work. They are (p. 229; our translation)

themselves' by drinking large quantities of strong liquor at one time or by eating that they can think of nothing but killing themselves. Thus, they 'poison fugitives are forced to do the worst labor and live in such a state of despondency apparently based on first-hand information. The article notes that captured Bellel. The drawing illustrates a brief article on fugitive slaves in Brazil, and is Rio de Janeiro' which also notes that the drawing was made in situ by a Mister Pittoresque (Vol. 14, p. 229; see Figure 7), over the caption 'Esclave Marron a An illustration of this type of mask was also published in 1846, in Le Magasin To prevent these behaviors, the article notes, slave owners place tin masks

few holes for breathing under the nose. over their faces; these masks have only a narrow slit over the mouth and but a

passion/compulsion for eating earth are forced to wear it' ( 'Masque de fer blanc wearing such a tin mask (Figure 5). He wrote that slaves 'who have a que l'on fait porter aux Negres que ont la passion de manger de la terre'). Jean Baptiste Debret lived in Brazil from 1816 to 1831, and illustrated a man

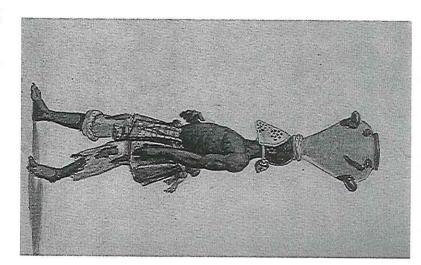


Figure 5

are punched to admit air to the nostrils, and similar ones in front of the eyes. A projecting piece for the nose, the metal is simply bent cylinder-wise. Minute holes he wrote, 'the reputed ordinary punishment and preventative of drunkenness . . . (Figure 6), but gave a different reason for why slaves were forced to wear it. It is for about seven months. He provided another illustration of this type of mask Not many years after Debret's residence, in 1846 Thomas Ewbank visited Brazil [it] is to hinder him or her from conveying the liquor to the mouth. . . . Except a

padlock secures them'. 2 and meets one that passes over the crown of the head. A staple unites and a jointed strap (of metal) on each side goes round below the ears (sometimes two),

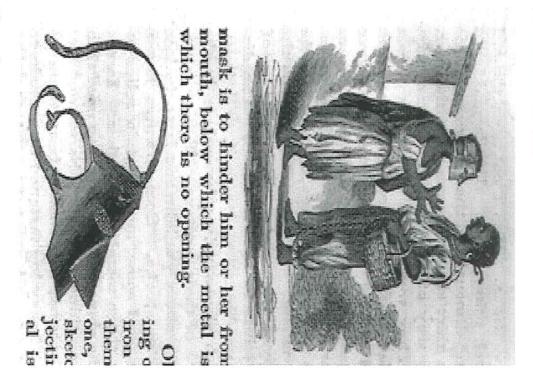


Figure 6

despondency that they can think of nothing but suicide. Thus, they 'poison labour and having given up the hope of fleeing again, they live in such a state of unidentified author. Captured fugitives, he writes, are forced to do the worst drawing, made in situ by a Mister Bellel, illustrates a brief article by an 229; see Figure 7), over the caption 'Esclave Marron a Rio de Janeiro'. The This type of mask was also shown in Le Magasin Pittoresque (1846, Vol. 14, p.

few holes under the nose for breathing. 3 over their faces; these masks have only a narrow slit over the mouth and but a dirt. To prevent these behaviors, the author notes, slave owners place tin masks themselves' by drinking large quantities of strong liquor at one time or by eating

de Moraes, O Brasil dos Viajantes (Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, 1994), p. 93 Debret's water color is in a museum in Rio and is published in Ana Maria

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 437.

ယ http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/ (image reference BRIDG-4\_IMG ). Seven Years in ... Trinidad (London, 1836), plate 20. See India Scenery...From Sketches Taken During a Voyage to, and Residence of Bridgens, it was used as 'a punishment and preventative of . . . dirt eating' West A similar mask was illustrated for Trinidad where, according to Richard

les Voyages Autour du Monde . . . (Paris, 1853; also earlier edition, 1847-48), Vol. 4, between pp. 266 and 267 (earlier edition, between pp. 228-229). (Courtesy of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia) Charles Van Tenac (general editor), Histoire Générale de la Marine Comprenant

### mariners30

was chasing it, causing severe damage. The ocean waters rushing in threatened sometime after abolition of the slave trade, near Bourbon (present-day Reunion) description of an incident that occurred at an unspecified date, but apparently of the slave trade (pp. 224-39), this illustration accompanies a dramatic Pursued, Throwing its Blacks into the Sea). In a strongly abolitionist discussion drawing, but is an artist's fabrication, and the incident's description is not based pursued" (p. 229; our translation). The illustration is not based on an eyewitness account ends, "shows this barbarous act, at the moment the slave ship is being chains; they were then cast overboard (pp. 228-229). The engraving, the to the top deck in pairs under a pretext, and cannon balls were attached to their désespéré") of jettisoning its human cargo. The manacled slaves were brought the slave ship decided to take the desperate measure ("prendre un moyen to sink the ship despite the efforts of the crew. The pumps not working properly, in the Indian ocean. Caption: "Négrier Poursuivi, Jétant ses Negres a la Mer" (Slave Ship being on the author's own observations, although no source is given. The illustration A slave ship was fired upon by an unspecified vessel that

giving a misleading impression that it is based on an eyewitness's drawing. but use it to illustrate the Zong incident (see image reference Trade-3) while also also sometimes appears in secondary works that do not cite the original source,

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## HISTOIRE GENERALE DE LA MARINE

Elle apparaît chez les navigateurs français, pour la prémière fois, dans l'ordonnance de Louis XIII, qui l'autorise et la commando. Elle diminue et augmente successivement à mesure que la France perd, en 1750, son établissement en Sénégambie, qu'elle le reprend en 1779, et le perd de nouveau en 1792.

Cette progression estrayunte, dans laquelle marcha chaque nation de l'Europe, dépenpla peu à peu l'Afrique, et s'étendit de jour en jour sur toutes les côtes. Le passage des négriers laissait des traces de désolation et de solitude. On ne voyait plus que des vieillards, des femmes et quelques ensauts. Les nègres trafiquèrent des nègres, sous le nom de courtiers ou de facteurs. On établit des règlements, des usages, des lois, qui surent observés comme une charte. La première classe de courtiers est celle qui se tient sur la côte; la seconde est composée de ceux qui voyagent dans l'intérieur des terres; la troisième et la plus pauvre, de ceux qui communiquent directement avec les vaisseaux.

La traite s'est longtemps faite avec des marchandises de l'Inde, telles que des petites coquilles qui servent de monnaie sur la côte, des étosses blanches et bleues de l'Orient, des barres de ser, des chaudières, des cotons, des enux-de-vie, etc. Mais, plus tard, les rois nègres ont exigé des armes et des munitions. Alors les négriers ont donné, en échange des eschwes, des armes qui ne pouvaient longtemps servir et qui se brisaient ou crevaient entre les mains des nègres.

La troite commence à peu près à la grande rivière du Sénégal, et s'étend jusqu'à la partie la plus reculée d'Angola.

Les Européens font la traite sur les rivières du Sénégal et de Gambio, en remontant avec leurs vaissenux jusqu'à un lieu favorable à jeter l'ancre. Ils arment alors leurs canots et les envoient vers les villages; lorsqu'ils sont parvenus à portée, ils tirent des coups de fusil ou battent du tambour. C'est un sigual pour avertir les nègres qu'un vaisseau est en râde et a besoin d'esclaves. Les nègres allumént de grands feux sur la côte, pour donner avis aux Européens qu'ils ont des esclaves à leur livrer, mais ils ne les livrent que par trois ou quatre à la fois.

Les moyens d'échange varient suivant les distirents endroits. A la côte, vers le vent, et à Bonny, l'objet ordinaire d'échange est appelé, par les Africains et les Européens, une barre; ir la côte d'Or et à

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après lui le cadavre de son compagnon, lorsqu'un coup de seu l'étend raide mort.

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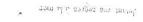
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sentinelle, parviennent à briser quelques fers, et livrent un combat opiniâtre aux matelots, qui sont obligés de se retirer dans les hunes. ont pris à fond de cale, se dirigent vers la chambre du capitaine. bien que enchaînés, marchent avec eux; ils arrachent le sabre de la réduire, mais vainement, car les nègres ont les bras libres. Ces qui condult à sa chambre, ils tombent morts ou blessés. de fusils, et à chaque pas que font les rebelles dans l'escalier étroit Mais celui-ci, ayant été averti par deux matelots, s'arme ainsi esclaves poursuivent les matelots suivis de leurs compagnons, et s'avancent bravement vers les matelots. Ceux-ct cherchent à ou de mourir. Deux d'entre eux parviennent à rompre leurs chaînes Les nègres n'ayant pour toutes armes que des morceaux de bois qu'ils Sur un autre navire négrier les esclaves avaient juré de se faire libres

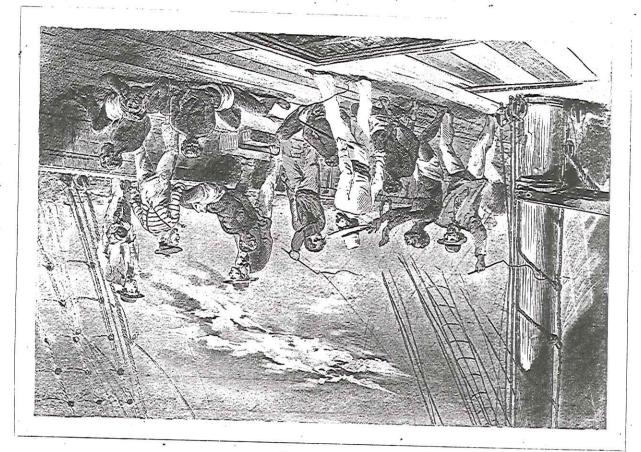
🚴 et bientôt les nègres surent réduits. On se hâta de les passer en revue, inutile. Les nègres obéirent avec joie. Ceux qui n'avaient pas de parents n'eussent rapporté d'argent : on s'en déchargea comme d'un fardeau que le temps de les embrasser, et disparurent dans les flots. sauterent sur-le-champ à la mer; ceux qui en avaient encore ne prirent la mer. Ils auraient été estropiés, ou auraient coûté plus de soins qu'ils était couvert de blessures; à tous ceux là il fut ordonné de se jeter à pour voir la perte que le négrier éprouvait. Le plus grand nombre Les matelots profitèrent de ce moment pour descendre des hunes,

coup de canon parti de terre venait de sommer les navires, mouillés promptement, avec une ardeur que le danger rendait plus active. En frait avec fureur. C'en était fait de tout l'équipage si l'on n'eût travaillé huit bras vigoureux, qui se relevaient sans interruption, on sentit que l'eau gagnait. Après des recherches inouïes on parvint à découvrir en rade, de filer leurs câbles par le bout pour ne pas être afalés sur la côte. Une voix d'eau s'était déclarée, et, malgré les efforts de de Bourbon. La mer monstrueuse brisait à deux milles au large, et le un instant l'équipage tout entier se porta du côté où le péril paraissait bordage déchevillé laissait une large ouverture à la lame, qui s'y engouf l'endroit du bâtiment par où l'eau entrait avec tant de violence; un A la pompe! à la pompe! Ce cri s'élève d'un brick négrier, en rade

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nière à neutraliser l'effet de la pompe. C'est alors qu'il fallut se décider a prendre un moyen désespéré : le jet à la mer, Mais une pareille tentative n'était pas sans danger, et ne pouvait être menée à sin qu'à force de précautions et de mystère. Instruits de cette résolution et ne pouvant schapper au sort qui les attendait, les noirs auraient pu vendre chèree plus imminent. Et, grace au zele de chacun, on conçut quelque espérance de salut. Le travait une fois terminé, on se mit à la pompe. Mais ici les obstacles devinrent insurmontables : le pont du navire, presqu'à fieur d'eau, était couvert à chaque instant par les hautes lames, de mament leur vie et remporter une victoire certaine.

tait dans la mer. La gravure représente cet acte de barbarie, au moment dun projet qui devenat de plus en plus une nécessité. Repoussé d'a-hord par quelques-uns, ce projet ne tarda pas à être adopté d'une commune voix, et l'on se mit à l'œuvre. Les noirs, montés deux à deux ves sur le pont que, les bras liés et un boulet aux pieds, on les précipi-On fit done assembler l'équipage en tonte hate pour lui faire part sous prétexte de les rendre utiles aux manœuvres, étaient à peine arniou le navire est poursuivi,

Le capitaine négrier, arrivé sun la côte, des courtiers du pays viennent aussitôt à bord. Les esclaves ont été aménés près du rivage. Le capitaine descend à terre. Les esclaves à vendre arrivent sur une longue file, le corps courbé par la fatigue et la frayeur, chacun ayant le cou pris par une fourche longue de plus de six pieds, dont les deux pointes des poucettes que l'on serre à volonté et de manière à faire jaillir le cher huit esclaves. Puis c'est un carcan ou collier à charnière qui se serme au moyen d'une vis; il y a deux ceillets qui sont destinés à recevoir 168 anneaux d'une chaine que l'on arrête au moyen d'un cadenas passé dans deux chainons, et qui sert à amarrer les esclaves, soit à bord, horrible à voir. La cruaute des négriers est ingénieuse à ne pas perdre la plus petite place. La même livraison contient les fers que l'on met aux esclaves. C'est d'abord un appareil nommé barre de justice, garni de menottes pour garrotter les pieds des esclaves. Chaque barre a environ six pieds de long; elle est garnie de huit menottes qui servent à attasoit avant leur débarquement. Enfin des menottes pour les poignets, et on entasso ces malheureux à fond de cale;; on les presse d'une manière sont reunios vers la nuque par une barre de hois. Le marché conclu,

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senhor. / Colligido de memorias estrangeiras por Fr. José Mariano de auspicios e de ordem de Sua Alteza Real o Principe do Brazil nosso proprias, segundo o melhor, que se tem escrito a este assumpto: debaixo dos

Conceição Velloso, ... Tom. I. Part. I. [-Tomo V. Parte I.]

Lisboa: Na Regia officina typografica., Anno M. DCC. XCVIII. - Anno 1806. [1798-1806]

5 v. in 10 parts: ill., port.; 19 cm. (8vo + 4to)

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sources. In addition to Velloso himself, Antonio Carlos Ribeiro d'Andreade is reports or articles, mostly extracted and translated from English or French Volume 1 is on sugar cane cultivation; v.2 on dyes; v. 3 on nutritious beverages; v. 4 on spices; v. 5 on textile raw materials. Each volume consists of a series of credited as a translator of v. 3, part 2

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Brazil, cultivador... Title varies: all parts from v. 1, part 2 onwards begin title with: O fazendeiro do

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according to parts, but numbering inconsistent and partly erroneous. Included in Plates (87, of these 64 folded) unnumbered or more frequently numbered this count are a portrait in v. 1, part 2 and a folding table in v. 5, part 1

Errata (v. 2, part 2: p. [1] at end; v. 3, part 3: p. [2] at end; v. 4, part 1: p. [1] at end; v. 5, part 1: p. [6] at end)

Moraes, R.B. de Bib. Brasiliana (new and enl. ed.), 894-895 References

Rodrigues, J. C. Bib. Brasiliense, 2485n

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in v. 2, part 3 are handcolored. In v. 5, part 1, pages 293-298 and p. [1-2], 3rd

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Edition

Mariano da Conceição Velloso. ... Tomo II. Tinturaria. Parte I Lisboa.: Na Impressam Regia., Anno 1806

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Originally published Lisbon, 1799, as part of the 5 volume (in 10 parte) work: O Volume 2, part 1 is the only part of which a second edition was issued fazendeiro do Brazil. Lisbon, 1798-1806

Volume 2 is on dyes; the present part consists of a series of reports or articles, mostly extracted and translated from French sources

Vignette on title page

Signatures: [\*]8 2\*8 3\*4 A-2B8 2C4 ([\*]1, [\*]2 verso, Y3 verso, Y4 verso blank) Plates numbered: Est. 1. [-9.], frontispiece unnumb.; folded plates numbered: Est.

9. [i.e. 1.], Est. 2. [-4.] (in explanation of plates, p. 331-341, numbers are given as: Estampa I. [-IV.])

Mind 72-196 Half title p. [343]: Appendice sobre o urucu [,] sua cultura [,] methodo de fazer a

Moraes, R.B. de Bib. Brasiliana (rev. and enl. ed.), 895

References

Note

John Carter Brown Library copy purchased from the Louisa D. Sharpe Metcalf Fund

Agriculture -- Brazil LC subject

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Viajeros en el Perú republicano / [comp. by Alberto Tauro]

Published Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1967]

Descript'n 153 p. : <u>ill.</u>; 21cm

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por G. V. Carleton

LC subject Peru -- Description and travel

Peru -- History -- Peru Bolivian Confederation

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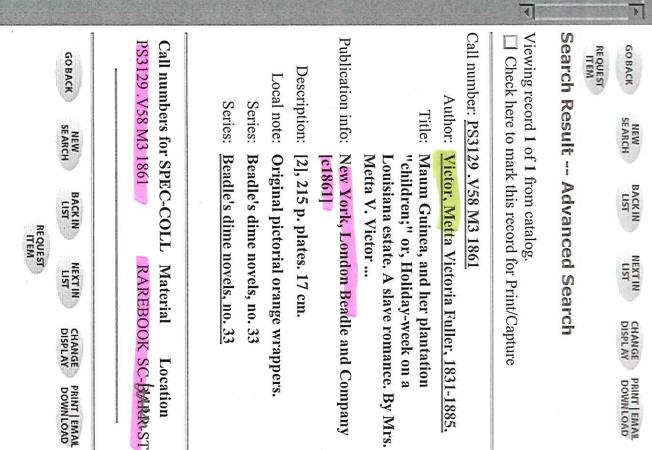
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Author: Vigne, Godfrey Thomas, 1801-1863.

Title: Travels in Mexico, South America, etc. etc. London, W.

H. Allen, 1863.

Publication info: [New York, AMS Press, 1973] ISBN: 0404067662

Description:

Subject: South America -- Description and travel.

Subject: Mexico--Description and travel.

Subject: United States--Description and travel.

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Author: Format:

Title: Six months in America. / By Godfrey T. Vigne, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, barrister Vigne, Godfrey Thomas, 1801-1863

at law. Vol. I[-II].

Imprint: London: : Whittaker, Treacher, & Co. Ave Maria Lane., 1832

Description: 2 v.: ill.; 19 cm.

Other Title: Vigne's Six months in America

"London: Manning and Co., printers, 4, London House Yard, St. Paul's."--v. 1

t.p. verso and v. 2 colophon.

Notes: "Manning and Smithson, printers, London-house Yard, St. Paul's."--v. 1

colophon.

Notes: Vol. 1: [3], 6-283, [1] p., [2] leaves of plates; v. 2: 276 p., [2] leaves of plates.

Notes: Plates drawn by G.T. Vigne and engraved by T.S. Engleheart

Citations: Sabin 99606

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 10776

**Local Notes:** Library Company copy lacks v. 2 t.p.

Subject: Slavery -- United States.

Subject: United States -- Description and travel

Subject: Canada -- Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Travel literature -- Canada -- 19th century

Travel literature -- United States -- 19th century

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Genre/Phys. Char.:

**Local Entry:** Illustrator:Engleheart, Timothy Stansfield, 1803-1879, engraver

Local Entry: Illustrator: Vigne, Godfrey Thomas, 1801-1863, ill.

Local Entry: Imprint:ENG. London. 1832

**Local Entry:** Printer:Samuel Manning and Co., printer

**Local Entry:** Printer: Manning and Smithson, printer

Local Entry: Printer: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., publisher

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Voyages au Pérou, faits dans les années 1791 à 1794, par les pp. Paris, : J.G. Dentu, imprimeur-libraire, Rue du Pont de Lodi, No 3, près documens les plus nouveaux, par P. Lapie, ingénieur-géographe. coloriées et d'une belle carte du Pérou, dressée d'après Lacruz et les espagnol; traduits par P.F. Henry; ornés d'un atlas de 12 planches arts, des mœurs et coutumes de ses habitans de toutes les classes; / l'état actuel de ce pays, sous les rapports de la géographie, de la publiés à Londres en 1805, par John Skinner, d'après l'original topographie, de la minéralogie, du commerce, de la littérature et des Manuel Sobreviela, et Narcisso y Barcelo; : précédés d'un tableau de

Published

Descript'n

2 v.; 21 cm. (8vo) + 1 atlas)([4] p., [12] leaves of plates, [1] folded map; 32 cm. (4to)) le Pont-Neuf., 1809.

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Contents

provinces de Pérou Sobreviela et Narcisse Girbal-y-Barcelo. -- Description de différentes Tableau de l'état actuel du Pérou. -- Voyages des pères Manuel

edition appeared at Hamburg, 1806 published under the title "The present state of Peru", in 1805. A German obtained the first 4 vols., translated selections from them, which he was published at Lima, 1791-1795 in 12 vols. Joseph Skinner, having First published in Spanish in the periodical "Mercurio peruano", which

seinem Gegenwärtigen zustande", under the editorship of F.J. Bertuch. 5-10 of "Mercurio peruano" Vol. 1 was a translation of Skinner, v.2 a translation of selections from v. In 1807-1808 there was published at Weimar a work entitled "Peru nach

2 from Bertuch's second volume The present work is a translation, v. 1 from Skinner's English work and v.

Atlas contains hand colored illustrations

Pagination: v. 1: [4], xii, 385, [1] p.; v. 2: [4], 427, [1] p

Signatures: v. 1: pi8 1-248 252 (-252); v. 2: pi<sup>2</sup> 1-268 276

Publisher's advertisements: v. 1, p. [2] (1st count); v. 2, p. [1] (3rd count)

Note References Sabin 81617

Palau y Dulcet (2nd ed.), 315567

bound in contemporary marbled boards John Carter Brown Library copy of the atlas is shelved in 1-Size, and is

bibl. record Provenance of the John Carter Brown Library copy: Maury A. Bromsen:

John Carter Brown Library copy acquired with the assistance of the Divestiture Fund

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Girbal Barcelo, Narciso

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LC subject

Peru -- Description and travel

Other info Imprint 1809

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Henry, P.

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Format:

Author: Waddell, Hope Masterton.

Title: Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa: a review of missionary

work and adventure, 1829-1858 / Hope Masterton Waddell.

Imprint: London: New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1863.

Description: xiv, 681 p., [6] leaves of plates: ill.; 20 cm.

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 10859

Subject: Missions -- West Indies.

Subject: Missions -- Africa, Central.

Subject: Jamaica -- Description and travel.

Subject: Africa, Central -- Description and travel.

Subject: West Indies -- Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Travel literature -- West Indies -- 19th century.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Local Entry: Imprint: ENG. London. 1863

Local Entry: Printer: T. Nelson and Sons, publisher.

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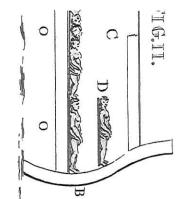
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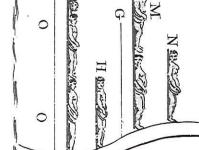
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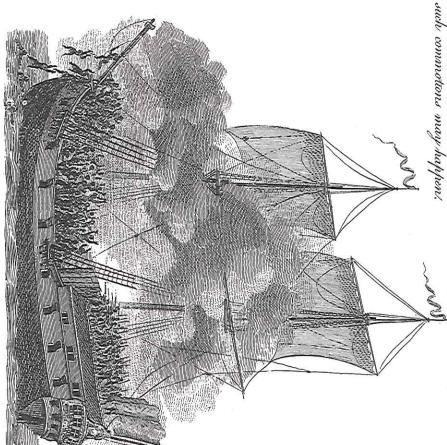
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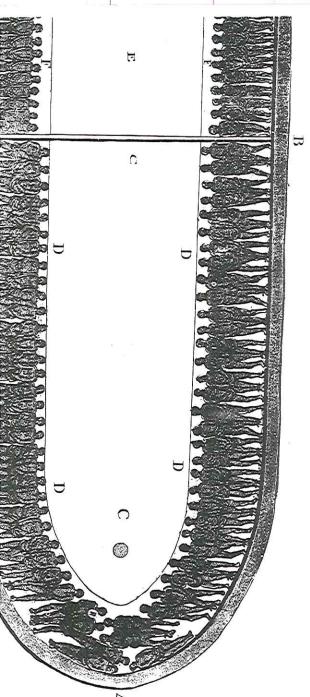
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OCLC Accession No.: ocm1244

LC call number: DT31 .W2 1968 325.6

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Author: Wadstrèom, Carl Bernhard, 1746-1799

Title: An essay on colonization, particularly applied to the

western coast of Africa, with same free thoughts on

cultivation and commerce.

Publication info:

Physical description: New York, A. M. Kelley, 1968. iv, 196, 2, 363 p. illus., maps. 28 cm. Reprints of economic classics

Series:

General note:

General note: Reprint of the 1794 ed.
Illustrative matter in pocket.
Bibliography: p. [1]-2 (3d group)

Bibliography note:

Subject: Colonization.

Subject: Slave trade Africa.

Subject: Africa Colonization.

Subject: Africa, West Description and travel Early works to 1800.

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Author: Wadström, Carl Bernhard, 1746-1799.

Title: An essay on colonization, particularly applied to the

western coast of Africa western coast of Africa ... also brief descriptions of the colonies ... in Africa, including those of Sierra

Leona and Bulama. By C.B. Wadstrom. In two parts. Publication info: London, Printed for the author by Darton and Harvey,

Description: 1794. iv, 196, 363 p. front., 6 fold. pl. (incl. maps,

Subject: plans) 28 cm. Colonization.

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Subject: Slave trade--Africa. Africa--Colonization.

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# COLONIZATIO

PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,

WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON

# CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;

ALS

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

OF THE COLONIES ATREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,

INCLUDING THOSE OF

## SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

C. BYW ADSTRON

IN TWO PARTS

Illustrated with a Nantical Map (from Lat. 5° 30' to Lat. 14° N.) and other Plates.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

And fold by G. NICOL, No. 58, Pall-Mall; W. FADEN, Corner of St. Martin's Lane, Strand; J. STOCKDALE, No. 191, Piccadilly; J. EDWARDS, No. 78, Pall-Mall; E. & J. EGERTON, No. 32, Charing-Cross; J. Debrett, No. 179, Piccadilly; J. Johnson, No. 72 St. Paul's Church-yard; and C. DILLY, No. 22, Poultry.

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Wafer, Lionel, 1660?-1705?

and elsewhere. / By Lionel Wafer. their features, complexion, &c. their manners, customs, employments, marriages, feasts, hunting, computation, language, [et]c.: With remarkable occurrences in the South-Sea author's abode there, the form and make of the country, the coasts, hills, rivers, &c. woods, soil, weather, &c. trees, fruit, beasts, birds, fish, &c.: The Indian inhabitants, A new voyage and description of the Isthmus of America. : Giving an account of the

Edition

The third edition. / To which are added, the natural history of those parts, by a fellow of the Royal Society: and Davis's expedition to the gold mines, in 1702. Illustrated with several

copper-plates.

London, : Printed for James and John Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard.,

MDCCXXIX. [1729]

p. [261]-473, 462-463, [9] p., [4] folded leaves of plates : ill., 1 folded map ; 21 cm. (8vo)

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Contains a brief vocabulary of the Cuna language: p. 373-377

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Indians of Central America -- Panama

Natural history -- Panama -- Pre-Linnean works

Indian linguistics -- Cuna language

Imprint 1729 Panama -- Description and travel

England London

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Spanish America in 1702

Dampier, William, 1652-1715. Collection of voyages. 1729, v. 3, no. 2

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**AOFOME II** 

THE "THIERBUCH" AND "AUTOBIOGRAPHY"

OF ZACHARIAS WAGENER

Dante markus Triteirea

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Rio de Janeiro 1997

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Editors: Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares
Organizer: Dante Martins Teixeira
Translation of original manuscripts: Álvaro Alfredo Bragança Júnior
(Department of Anglo-Germanic Letters, School of Letters — UFRJ)
English translation: Professor David H. Treece (Head of the Brazilian Chair-King's College London) and Richard Trewinnard
Marketing: Cristina Ferrão
Layout: José Paulo Monteiro Soares, Izabel Ferreira
Photographs for volume II: Kupferstich-Kabinett
Text review: Richard Trewinnard
Text review: Richard Trewinnard
Cover: Characteristic seventeenth century binding, original from the collection of José Mindlin.





#### Summary

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The Natural History of Dutch Brazil  Notes	6 10
The "Thierbuch" and "Autobiography" of Zachar Wagener	rias 11 19
The "Thierbuch"	24 208
The "Autobiography"	220 230
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#### The "Thierbuch" and "Autobiography" of Zacharias Wagener

Dante Martins Teixeira Departamento de Vertebrados Museu Nacional - UFRJ

#### Introduction

rofoundly affected by the strengthening of a mercantile bourgeoisie, seventeenth-century Europe witnessed a radical shift in longstanding habits, as the inflexible order imposed by the dominant elite in the defense of its privileges tried to stem the tide of change in a world undergoing a swift transformation following the collapse of feudal society. Against this background of upheaval, the growing European expansion opened up new prospects for vast layers of the population that sought an escape from a crushing reality and fuelled the possibility of unprecedented social advancement, inspired by dreams of fabulous treasures to be conquered overseas. It therefore comes as no surprise that pirating raids, the frenetic activity of the trading companies and other initiatives of the kind should have attracted countless recruits of the most diverse origins, all of them bedazzled by the promise of riches that in reality were intended to reassert the dominance of a mercantile capital which was becoming politically and economically more powerful by the day.

Born on 9th May, 1614, to a modest family headed by a minor clergyman<sup>1</sup>, Zacharias Wagener left his native town, Dresden, when he was only twenty years old in order to seek his fortune in distant lands, engaging in 1634 as one of the mercenaries sent by the West Indies Company to north-eastern Brazil, which had been invaded four years earlier during the Flemish expansion in the Atlantic. This

was to mark the beginning of three and a half decades of services rendered to the Netherlands<sup>2</sup> and the start of a remarkable ascent through the hierarchy of the Dutch trading companies, which was to culminate with his achieving the rank of Vice-Admiral and the post of Commander of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. For sure, a large part of this dizzying trajectory did not take its course in the New World, this perhaps being one of the reasons why the "Autobiography" of the adventurer from Dresden dedicates only a few lines to his seven years' residence in Brazil3. Indeed, during this period Wagener's skills were only just sufficient to promote him to the positions of chief-notary and later butler to Count Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, rather unimpressive progress which seems to have played little influence in helping him acquire a new contract, this time signed with the East Indies Company in 16424 Although this "Autobiography" provides some important pieces of information, it goes no further than to analyse Wagener's career with tedious precision, constituting a rather representative example of the interests and ethics which dominated the Protestant petty bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century (see Braudel, 1967; Israel, 1995; Renaudet, 1960; Weber, 1989; Zumthor, 1959).

Although it displays similar such flashes concealed beneath the cloak of intolerance, the "Thierbuch" or "Zoobiblion" emerges as a rather distinctive document of a markedly descriptive character,

ider two mansions to be crted. The first, called often used), would be urg"), next to the river tory, in addition to a zoo open to the local elite. This, as "every inhabitant in animal would bring a sto territorial expansion dicy was most successful

of the collection in this portrayed and/or shown her one of Nassau's court a and Chile from Recife 7, 1646; Carvalho, 1906; Vhitchead & Boeseman, species portrayed could of exotic animals in the positive results. This is a southern cassowary sterie" in Vienna in 1597

New World sometimes
 aders lost two of their
 approach in safety under

in which the adventurer from Dresden attempts to provide a general vision of the fauna, flora and inhabitants of the "remote and very famous land of Brazil", which was then still almost legendary for the great majority of Europeans. In a certain sense, these pages do not escape the tendencies of the peculiar "encyclopaedism" which prevailed at the time (apud Radl, 1988), though they do maintain a reasonable distance from the contributions of the authentic men of doctrine of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the irresistible attraction that Europe felt for the exotic and the unknown seems to constitute the main thread running through the report left by Wagener, who seems to have remained averse to other, broader academic or political interests, devoting himself to making known the wonders of the New World in a far more popular sphere, though one that was not exactly uncultured or devoid of knowledge, in its majority consisting of individuals unaccustomed to the Latin of the scholars and to the involved philosophical questions posed by the surprising discoveries accomplished on the other side of the ocean (see Gerbi, 1978, 1993; Papavero et al., 1997). The lay character of the "Thierbuch" offers a valuable counterpoint to the opinions of nobles and learned men who scrutinised nature according to their own codes, as well as revealing unique and sometimes unsuspected features of the animals, plants, and inhabitants of these distant lands of Brasil.

Although the product of an individual located at the edges of the court elite, the "Thierbuch" presents numerous points of contact with the work of the naturalists and painters who worked in north-eastern Brazil during the so called "Mauritian period" (1637 - 1644), a similarity that is obvious even to the hastiest of readers who might dedicate himself to comparing Wagener's report with the iconography of Albert Eckhout (see Leite, 1967; Teixeira, 1992, 1993, 1995; Thomsen, 1938; Valladares & Mello-Filho, 1981) or the texts of Jorge Marcgrave (1648) and Guilherme Piso (1648, 1658). This is, without doubt, a singular convergence which can easily be

explained either as a simple matter of plagiarism or in terms of the shallowness of seventeenth-century "encyclopaedism", which was far more concerned with providing a general and expeditious vision of reality than with weaving some long analysis about the nature of the New World. This and other characteristics could have contributed to diminishing the gap usually observed between the writing of the educated man and the simple descriptive report free of theoretical pretensions, forming an alternative that is far closer to those who, like Wagener, were chiefly concerned with exhibiting the exotic and the unknown to a public capable of appreciating the efforts of a layman. It therefore comes as no surprise that several of the features of South American wildlife that aroused little interest in the adventurer from Dresden should likewise not have overly enthused scientists such as Marcgrave and Piso, a detail that seems to reflect the unequivocal and unbridled utilitarianism that has always permeated the relationship between the Christian West and the socalled "natural world" (see Crosby, 1986; Perlim, 1992; Thomas, 1983; Turner, 1983). Nevertheless, in Wagener's case there is an accentuated tendency to privilege the larger and remarkable animals, as well as the plants used in medicine or for food, with discussions about the "utility" of each species being present at every step (Papavero, 1984).



Figure 1 - "Kupferstich-Kabinett" stamp in the "Thierbuch" and in the "Autobiography" of Zacharias Wagener (as per Dittrich et al., 1992).

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#### arism or in terms of the lopaedism", which was land expeditious vision lysis about the nature of cteristics could have v observed between the descriptive report free of tive that is far closer to rned with exhibiting the ble of appreciating the o surprise that several of aroused little interest in sewise not have overly Piso, a detail that seems itarianism that has always bristian West and the sorlim, 1992; Thomas, 1983; ise there is an accentuated kable animals, as well as ith discussions about the ery step (Papavero, 1984).

#### tt" stamp in the "Thierbuch" st Zacharias Wagener (as per

#### The "Thierbuch"

atalogued in the "Kupferstich-Kabinett" of Dresden under number Ca 226a5, the "Thierbuch" of Zacharias Wagener consists of an oblong volume, in quarto, 353 mm wide and just 210 mm tall, bound in red Morrocan leather with gold appliqués and a flyleaf of marbleised paper in brown and black. In all, this book contains 130 gilt-edged unnumbered pages on a white, somewhat thick paper now yellowed with age, many of them marked on the reverse with one of the stamps of the institution in which they have been held6 (Fig. 1). Judging by the position of certain paintings and their respective texts as well as by the ink markings that certain water colours have printed on the neighbouring pages, Wagener worked on a volume already bound in the present sequence, although the evident mutilations found on the majority of the pages suggest that this original volume had its edges trimmed when it acquired its present, luxurious shape, sufficient reason to explain the cuts in several figures and other losses in terms of text and numbering used8.

The first page displays the old catalogue number of the "Thierbuch" written in pencil, the following one is not accompanied by any notes and the third appears as a title page from which a more or less central quadrilateral has been removed, which did not keep within the top margin of the page. To cover this gap a square of about 218 x 90mm, cut from this same white paper has been glued, where we find a long title written in black ink". In the bottom lefthand corner of this same title page, outside the area affected by the cutting, there is a small annotation written

in black ink in almost illegible Latin, considered by Schaeffer (*in* Wagener, 1964) to be a possible reference to some former owner. Then another unnumbered page follows, containing a prologue addressed to the readers, where the cautious Zacharias Wagener clarifies that it has not been his intention to thoroughly investigate the peculiarities of the Brazilian land, thus inviting his future critics to undertake the same voyage and achieve something better.

The following 126 pages contain a total of 110 plates that are associated with two nearly coinciding systems of numbering, consisting of figures drawn in black ink and crowned with a characteristic curved stroke, corresponding in no particular way to the pages of the volume, since they are absent from the majority of the blank pages or from those that only contain annotations<sup>12</sup>. The first series is situated in the far top right corner and almost always appears mutilated, while the second, rather more visible one tends to occupy a central position near the top margin of each page. It is conceivable that this latter series was added to this manuscript as a replacement for the earlier one, which can be understood as an initial, poorer attempt riddled with errors and partly destroyed during a disastrous binding process. Judging by the differences in calligraphy, each one of these series seems to be the work of different people, the first being attributed to Zacharias Wagener and the second to some unknown author, who in several cases had to locate the new numbering in the small space available, even having to insert it below or within certain paintings at times13.

With the exception of one example the illustrations of the "Thierbuch" occupy just the front page of their respective leaves14, where they tend to be more or less shifted to the top righthand quadrant. In all, each plate can contain a maximum of seven images on the same topic or as many as eleven independent figures on different themes. These paintings come in very variable sizes, since some of them are big enough to cover the whole surface of the page while others do not exceed 20 mm in length, as is the case with some watercolours which make up one of the plates devoted to the insects. Whilst they have suffered some wear and tear after more than 300 years of existence, these originals are in a reasonable state of preservation, although those devoted to human figures show patent signs of an intense over-handling. The sequence adopted15 shows that the author first depicted the fishes, crustaceans and other aquatic organisms (plates 1 to 27)16, then the birds (plates 28 to 44)17, the plants (plates 45 to 63)18 and the "terrestrial beasts" (plates 64 to 92) a very wide-ranging category that embraces not only mammals but also reptiles, amphibians, insects and arachnids10. Next we find the famous human figures of the "Thierbuch" (plates 93 to 100)20 and finally the landscapes, maps, plans of mills and period paintings devoted to typical features such as the slave market, a lady being carried in a hammock or the dancing of negroes and of the "tapuyans" (plates 101 to 110)21. It is striking that the penultimate page of the "Thierbuch" shows a coloured copy of the watercolour of the "mulatto" (plate 99) of unknown authorship, which seems to have been added to the original document between 1952 and 1961, according to an adjacent note in pencil. This must have been just a mere unfortunate reproduction, since in the bottom left-hand corner of the last page there is a small note in black ink stating that the present collection was limited to "110 [images]"22. Unfortunately it has not been possible to specify the author and date of this addendum, which does not seem to be very recent.

With the exception of the title page and the preface, all the texts of the "Thierbuch" are directly associated with the 110 plates of the volume, having been written in black ink in a spidery hand imputed exclusively to Zacharias Wagener by the entirety of authors consulted (see Schaefer in Wagener 1964; Spohr, 1967; Whitehead & Boeseman, 1989, among others). Although there are examples of anonymous paintings accompanied or not by commentaries, in general each illustration or assemblage of illustrations about a single topic corresponds to one or more chapter names as well as to a series of observations that reach a maximum of 45 lines in length and seem to have been added after the figure was concluded23. Even though he occasionally used German, French and a more or less corrupted Latin, Wagener chiefly resorted to terms in Tupi or Portuguese to designate animals, plants, human types and some landscapes in the New World, a choice that has involved countless distortions given his lack of familiarity with both languages24. Most often the illustrations are placed below these names and above the commentaries although the little available space means that in several cases there is a shift to the right, to the left or upwards. In the case of the plates of a certain size or consisting of a greater number of independent images the reverse of the previous page has ended up being chosen as the place for these names and commentaries (plates 86 and from 102 to 109) or only the commentaries, the name remaining next to the watercolour (plates 93 to 101).

Although conforming to the latter arrangement, the paintings devoted to the inhabitants of north-eastern Brazil (plates 93 to 99) show some unique peculiarities in the entire collection of the "Thierbuch". It is immediately striking that these illustrations occupy pages far thicker than normal and that they are in the main reinforced with thin strips of paper glued along the inner margin, whose presence conceals the fact that at least some of these pages might have been cut. It is thus possible to suppose that such an intervention

represents an effort to volume, an objective; that would serve as a process, however, couthat the commentarioman" (plate 93) and inverted positions, a speculations. In add up a space to cite the his intent, while anothexistent illustration. that the author intend a task that was never

Besides the obv very nature of the figur a strong clue that the 1641, during Wagen that someone could leaving any trace of certain passages in the since while the major his manuscript in Remade during his "re-Wagener's return to 1 World29. Although so light on the "Thierbu was only added to Il even at a later date. It by any chance the ci reflect the inevitable in his memory in the other hand, thi

nd the preface, all the 1 with the 110 plates of ink in a spidery hand the entirety of authors hr. 1967; Whitehead & there are examples of by commentaries, in strations about a single ies as well as to a series mes in length and seem luded21. Even though more or less corrupted Tupi or Portuguese to some landscapes in the itless distortions given ges21. Most often the ames and above the ice means that in several upwards. In the case of it a greater number of ous page has ended up al commentaries (plates ies, the name remaining

ingement, the paintings Brazil (plates 93 to 99) attre collection of the bese illustrations occupy to in the main reinforced inner margin, whose to of these pages might hat such an intervention

represents an effort to preserve the most handled figures of the whole volume, an objective apparently achieved by adding a thicker page that would serve as a base for holding the thinner originals<sup>25</sup>. This process, however, could perhaps have been responsible for the fact that the commentaries devoted to the paintings of the "Brazilian man" (plate 93) and the "Brazilian woman" (plate 94) appear in inverted positions, a break of sequence that allows for countless speculations<sup>26</sup>. In addition, on three occasions Wagener has opened up a space to cite the name of an animal without ever carrying out his intent, while another passage of the "Thierbuch" refers to a non-existent illustration<sup>27</sup>. In the first case, at least, the impression remains that the author intended to finish this part of the document later on, a task that was never concluded for reasons which remain unknown.

Besides the obvious references contained in the "preface", the very nature of the figures and their respective commentaries constitute a strong clue that the "Thierbuch" was prepared between 1634 and 1641, during Wagener's stay in Brazil28, because it seems unlikely that someone could retain so much detailed information without leaving any trace of their copious studies and notes. In this sense, certain passages in the text appear surprising and even contradictory, since while the majority allow us to visualise the author bent over his manuscript in Recife, another explicitly mentions observations made during his "return trip", here understood as an allusion to Wagener's return to Europe after seven years' residence in the New World.". Although somewhat precariously, this passage sheds new light on the "Thierbuch", suggesting that at least a part of the text was only added to the original during the long return journey or even at a later date. It is therefore hard to resist speculating whether by any chance the curious gaps in Wagener's manuscript do not reflect the inevitable lapses of anyone who places too much trust in his memory in order to conclude an unfinished work. On the other hand, this analysis takes on an even more complex

profile if we take into account the fact that a considerable part of the illustrations of the "Thierbuch" reproduce the watercolours of the "Libri Principis" or the same images from the paintings by Albert Eckhout, works that would have reached the Old World only in 1644 when Maurits van Nassau returned to Holland, therefore two years after Wagener had left for his long stay in the East and in South Africa, where he would take up the post of Second Commander of the Cape Colony.

This remarkable discrepancy seems to indicate that the images in the "Thierbuch" were painted in Brazil while at least a fraction of the commentaries was added to the volume at a later date. If this really did happen, then such a task must have been accomplished at the latest during Wagener's short return to his native town ii, because there are references to the "Thierbuch" having arrived in Dresden delivered personally by the author in October 164132. Nevertheless, the subsequent trajectory of this volume remains obscure as there is no concrete news of its whereabouts until 1738, when it reappears in the first inventory of the "Kupferstich-Kabinett"33. During this interlude of almost one century the manuscript could have passed through several owners or even have been acquired by the centenary "Kurtürstliche Kunstkammer" that belonged to the Prince-Electors of Dresden, whose collection was later to serve as the basis for the creation of the "Kupferstich-Kabinett" in 1720 (apud Dittrich, 1987; Dittrich et al., 1992).

#### The "Autobiography"

lso held in the "Kupferstich-Kabinett" of Dresden under number Ca 226b<sup>11</sup>, Wagener's autobiography does not exceed 163 mm in width and 198 mm in height, constituting a small volume in quarto bound as the "Thierbuch". In all, this manuscript contains 26 pages on white, thick paper with gilt edging, now yellowed with age, some of which are marked on the reverse with the same stamp mentioned previously. The first page has the old catalogue number of the tome in pencil, the following one has no note and the third appears as a title page on which the contents of the document are presented in a more elaborate calligraphy in black ink. Also written in black ink, a brief description of Wagener's activities occupies the front and back of the following 16 pages, which are followed by seven other blank pages which close the volume. The reverse of the title page and the text pages are numbered in pencil from 1 to 17 in the upper lefthand corner, which constitutes a recent initiative bearing no relation to the original, whose pages devote little attention to Brazil, dealing mostly with the places where Wagener's career actually flourished under the auspices of the East Indies Company<sup>35</sup>.

The enlightening title page establishes with little room for doubt that this "Autobiography" is nothing more than a perhaps somewhat summarized version of the diary found with Wagener at the time of his death. According to the suggestive comments of Spohr (1967), the contents of the Dresden manuscript was probably basically the same as the chapter devoted to the "voyages of Mr.

Zacharias Wagener" found in the "Collection of Voyages" of Churchill & Churchill (1704), who obtained this report thanks to Wagener's brother-in-law, according to a note added to the third edition of his work that was published between 1744 and 1746. As the text under consideration is identical in both editions of the "Collection" it seems probable that this summarized version - or Wagener's own diary - came into the hands of his relatives after his death in October 1668, remaining with the family at least until 1704 when it was sent to the English authors. The same document or perhaps a mere copy could have been finally deposited in the collection of the "Kupferstich-Kabinett", where it joined the volume of the "Thierbuch".

he numero "Thierbuch of Brazil m reader, rei adventurer models recorded by the Nassau (Teixeira, 1992) to 63) and no less that Wagener (plates 1 to 4 sources from the "Maucould be considered me first tome of the so-call the arguments that we that the illustrations of standard execution th. Principis". This detail might have been one these volumes, who speculation, although artist must have con icenography (Teixeira

Contrary to the Wagener, 1964) Wagen observers of Brazili inexplicable errors what naturalists of Nassau

#### The Book of Animals

In which there are several different types of fish, foul, four-footed beasts, vermin, fruits of the earth and trees as can be seen and found in the lands of the West Indies Company in Brazil and that are all exotic and unknown in the land of Germany. They have been drawn in their exact form and natural colours, with their proper names and followed by a brief description.

They were all obviously drawn by me to please and satisfy inquisitive minds

in

#### Brazil

Under the honourable government of the most honoured Master and Lord Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau etc., Captain Governor and Chief Admiral

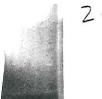
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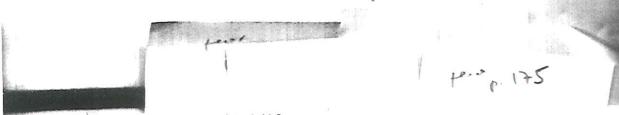
ZACHARIAS WAGENER

of Dresden

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[Plate 97]

Conglete

#### "Omem Negro" 310

These blacks are brought to Brazil from Africa, from the neighbouring and adjacent territories to Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, the Congo river and others, taken from their home regions. They have great wars between themselves, using swords, shields and long assagai. According to an ancient right of the peoples, those that defeat the others in battle take them and consider them as their slaves and servants. Thus, some blacks come to have thirty, forty, fifty or more captives, which they use repeatedly in the warlike expeditions or for other work. Most however are sold to the Portuguese, who live there and are then again [sold] by these to our people who immediately bring hundreds of them to Brazil to trade them for a high price with the wealthy sugar factory owners. [The blacks] are treated very miserably by these, receiving little food and being forced to work without rest in the mills and cane-fields, hardly having time to breathe and they are not allowed to carry any sort of weapon except wooden clubs called "canodzen" 311, that they wear at their waists on Sundays when they dance.

Because of this and other reasons, it is necessary to whip and humiliate these blacks if you want them to work and gain their goodwill as they are very stubborn and obstinate by nature. I saw many, due to the errors they had made, be hung up by their wrists and [have] their naked bodies terribly beaten with switches. However, they did not ask for mercy nor promise to behave better, but instead gritted their teeth and allowed with pleasure their black backs to be cut at will. Their way of living is comparable to that of the Tapuyans, not caring about the future and only worrying about filling their bellies here on earth. Yet they hope for another better life, so they bury their relatives and communicating with them through a ridiculous and strange yelling. They sit around the grave and ask the dead, singing in chorus: "hey, hey, hey, why did you die? hey, hey, hey, did you need bread, flour, tobacco or a pipe?" Then, after these multiple and futile questions, they throw pieces of tobacco and all sorts of roots into the grave so that the deceased can continue to enjoy himself in the other life. And they return from the burial singing and dancing. The [blacks] born here in Brazil are called Creoles<sup>312</sup>, are instructed in the Catholic faith by the Portuguese and in the Calvinist faith by the Dutch.

[Plate 97]

Black women are no manner in the mills and owners send them into the however the black is car master for the goods. She to be involved in that da

Our people, like the children, with a hot iron because when they run a <sup>315</sup>, as soon as they lay h fixed reward, to their or

ola, Cape Verde, the Congo shields and long assagai. s their slaves and servants. editions or for other work. mediately bring hundreds I very miserably by these, ) breathe and they are not Sundays when they dance. m to work and gain their ung up by their wrists and behave better, but instead ole to that of the Tapuyans, ier better life, so they bury e grave and ask the dead, Then, after these multiple 1 continue to enjoy himself d Creoles312, are instructed

#### "Molher Negra" 313

Black women are no less slender and well-proportioned than the men. Yet they are not spared, having to work in an exhausting manner in the mills and cane-fields just as the men and children do. Some of them know Spanish and Dutch money well, so their owners send them into the streets to sell chickens, birds, dried fish and all form of magnificent fruit, all well counted one by one; when however the black is careless and takes false money or only a small amount, when she gets home she then gives poor account to her master for the goods. She is immediately bound and soundly whipped; so they prefer to be employed in other more tiring service than to be involved in that dangerous trade.

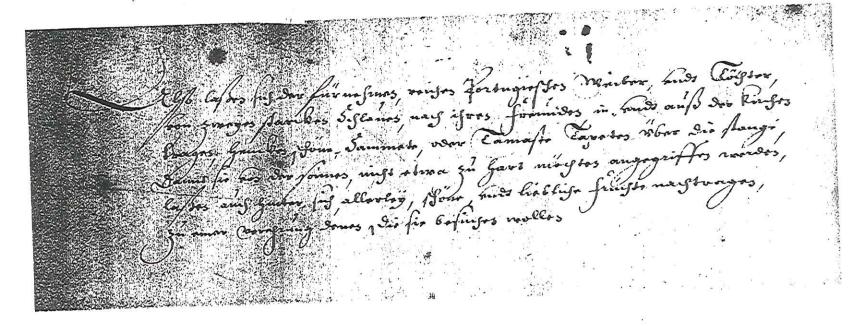
Our people, like the Portuguese, recently decided it would be a good idea to put certain signs or marks on men, women and children, with a hot iron on the chest or on the neck [in] first [place] for many of them wear a black ornament<sup>314</sup> and in second place because when they run away from their masters, which frequently happens, the men charged with finding them, called field captains <sup>315</sup>, as soon as they lay hands on them recognise them and tie their hands behind their backs, go to hand them over in return for a fixed reward, to their original owners, who receive them and welcome them back with many a sound beating.

[Plate 98]

[Plate 98]



tu A



#### [Anonymous]

The wives and children of notable and wealthy Portuguese are transported in this manner, by two strong slaves, to the houses of their friends or to church; they hang the beautiful cloths of velvet or damask over poles so that the sun does not burn them strongly. They also take behind them a variety of beautiful and tasty fruits as a present for those that they wish to visit.



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laves, to the houses of their em strongly. They also take



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[Plate 104]

[Plate 105]

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Previously, in the drand in Angola and sold to When fortunately, a ship blacks, who are immediative appointed day, these counted better; Portugue disease. To any other sundertakes to pay for earn disease. In any other sundertakes to pay for earn and extra here.

#### [anomynonA]

When the slaves have carried out their arduous duties for weeks on end, they are allowed to celebrate one Sunday as they please; in large numbers in certain places and with all manner of leaps, drums and flutes, they dance from morning to night, all in a disorganised way, with men and women, young and old; meanwhile, the others drink a strong spirit made with sugar, which they call "garapa" 324; they spend all day like that in a continuous dance until they do not recognise each other, so deafened and filthy have they become.

[201 stel9]

WAGINEN, 2 a chantos (1614-1668)

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used in the preparation of sugar. 334. In Portuguese in the original. These

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water to fatten domestic animals, a fac-337. Until a short time ago, it was custon

338. A plan of Recife.

butler during a good part of his stay in 339. A reference to Count Maurits van N

> See note 36. 317. Variant of "Mulatte", the Cerman word used for mixtures of blacks and whites.

> 318. "Spingardos" in the original, a corruption of the Portuguese "espingardas" (shol

dixerd in yets sid to tred boog a guirub rollud 319. A reference to Count Maurits van Nassau, whom Wagener served as secretary and

320. In Portuguese in the original; see note 36.

Mammeluken" in German in the original. See note 36. 321. "Spannier undt Portugiesen, die Brasilianer undt Tapuyer, die Mulaten, undt

322. In the original. Variant of "aldeia" (hamlet) in Portuguese.

Dussen, 1947). socio" and was located in the parish of São Lourenço da Mata, Pernambuco (apud (probable corruption of "Massaipe") belonged to a certain "Paulus Vermeulen cum 323. In the original. In his report of 1639, Dussen mentions that the "Engenho Maciape"

water, sugger or honey, and the juice of acidic fruits, such as granadillas, oranges and 1969; Costa, 1976). The name was also used for various types of soft drinks made with frequently consumed by slaves and provoked strong states of intoxication (apud Cascudo, fermenting molasses with grains of corn or sugar cane juice with water. This drink was By the sense of the text, we believe this to be a reference to the drink obtained by 324. "Grape" in the original, a variant of "grapa", corruption of "garapa", in Portuguese.

325. A reference to plate 97, which depicts the black man.

remained open to visits by the local elite.

327. An old monetary unit which varies considerably according to the period. 326. A common expression for syphilis at the time.

328. "Groschen" in German in the original. We have opted for the figurative sense of

329, "RThl" in the original, an abbreviation of "Reichsthaler", an old Cerman silver coin. this word, which also refers to a German monetary unit of low value.

situated on the banks of the river Capibaribe, housed Marcgrave's Lamous astronomical "Schoonzigt" (strictly speaking "Fair View", although the translation "Cood View" is often used), served as his official residence, whilst that of "Vrijburg" ("Freiburg"), island of Antônio Vaz, which had been deserted until then. The first of them, named Shortly after his arrival in Recife, Maurits van Nassau had two mansions built on the attributed by Edgard de Cerqueira Falcão (in Wagener, 1964) to the "Bela Vista" villa. 330. Wagener's crude image makes it somewhat difficult to identify this watercolour,

in the original. In truth, Wagener's design shows a mill. 331. "Eine anweisung wie alzhier die Zucker Mühlen gebauwet werden", in German

observatory, as well as a zoological and botanical garden in its surrounding park, which

milling axles. 332. "Munda" in the original, a corruption of "moenda", the Portuguese name for

> man) in Portuguese. See note 36. 299. In the original. Corruption of "homem brasiliano" or "homem brasileiro" (Brazilian

woman) in Portuguese. See note 36. 300. In the original. Corruption of "mulher brasiliana" or "mulher brasileira" (Braxilian

301. In the original, Corruption of "homem tapuia" (tapuyan man) in Portuguese. See

banishes the devil. 302. "Teuffelsbanner" in German in the original. Literally, that which keeps away or

304. "Jan de Wy" in the original. A reference to the famous leader of the Portiguaras, thick wooden cylinders the natives used in their ears as decorations. "hölzerner Knüppel", literally "wooden pole". This is undoubtedly a reference to the 303. "Hülzerne knöbel" in the German of the time, corresponding to the modern form

the scope and impact of thrown darts. 305. These are probably propellers, devices that used the principle of leverage to improve whose name appeared in several different forms in documents of the time.

306. In the original. Corruption of "mulher tapuia" (tapuyan woman) in Portugese. See

the sinful attentions of those sufficiently blind to be attracted to these women. tapuyan women used leaf skirts for reasons of comfort and aesthetics rather than to avoid 307. A somewhat shortened passage in which Wagener's bitterness suggests that the

noted among the native Brazilians. 309. This appears to be a mistaken interpretation of the "couvade" practice frequently 308. In Portuguese in the original. See note 290.

300. In the original. Corruption of "homem negro" (black man) in Portuguese.

311 In the original.

3.3. In the original. Corruption of "mulher negra" (black woman) in Portuguese. in/the New World. 31% in the original. Variant of "crioulo", the Portuguese word for a white or black born

dark trappings. distinguishing among blacks in general, especially those that wore the same type of suggest that the barbaric custom of branding slaves derives from the difficulty in 314. A somewhat confusing passage of the "Thierbuch" in which Wagener appears to

until midway through the Second Empire. these members of the regular army also carried out this same loathsome duty, at least with the position of "mestre-de-campo" (field master) in the old colonial militias, although living by capturing escaped slaves. However, one should not confuse this occupation "capitācs-do-mato" or "capitācs-do-campo" (field captains), individuals who carned a 315. "Mestres del Campas" in the original. It seems that this is another name for the

316. In Portuguese in the original; see note 36.

RES 310-315

8180WW 217- steleno

"Omem Negro

in the Catholic faith by the Portuguese and in the Calvinist faith by the Dutch. in the other life. And they return from the burial singing and dancing. The [blacks] born here in Brazil are called Creoles 112, ste instructed and futile questions, they throw pieces of tobacco and all sorts of roots into the grave so that the deceased can continue to enjoy himself their relatives and communicating with them through a ridiculous and strange yelling. They sit around the grave and ask the dead, not caring about the future and only worrying about filling their belies here on earth/ Yet they hope for another better life, so they bury gritted their teeth and allowed with pleasure their black backs to be cut at will. Their way of living is comparable to that of the Tapuyans. [have] their naked bodies terribly beaten with switches. However, they did not ask for mercy nor promise to behave better, but instead goodwill as they are very stubborn and obstinate by nature. I saw many, due to the errors they had made, be hung up by their wrists and Because of this and other reasons, it is necessary to whip and humiliate these blacks if you want them to work and gain their allowed to carry any sort of weapon except wooden clubs called "canodzer" in that they wear at their waists on Sundays when they dance. receiving little food and being forced to work without rest in the mills and cane-fields, hardly having time to breathe and they are not of them to Brazil to trade them for a high price with the wealthy sugar factory owners. [The blacks] are treated very miserably by these, Most however are sold to the Portuguese, who live there and are then again [sold] by these to our people who immediately bring hundreds Thus, some blacks come to have thirty, forty, fifty or more captives, which they use repeatedly in the warlike expeditions or for other work. According to an ancient right of the peoples, those that defeat the others in battle take them and consider them as their slaves and servants. river and others, taken from their home regions. They have great wars between themselves, using swords, shields and long assagai. These blacks are brought to Brazil from Africa, from the neighbouring and adjacent territories to Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, the Congo

[Plate 97]

- PZI-

fixed reward, to their or

315, as soon as they lay h

because when they run a

children, with a hot iron

to be involved in that da master for the goods. She

however the black is car owners send them into tl

manner in the mills and

Black women are no

Our people, like the

St1.graf

tuld

FILE NWO319

"Molher Negra

Black women are no less slender and well-proportioned than the men. Yet they are not spared, having to work in an exhausting manner in the mills and cane-fields just as the men and children do. Some of them know Spanish and Dutch money well, so their owners send them into the streets to sell chickens, birds, dried fish and all form of magnificent fruit, all well counted one by one; when however the black is careless and takes false money or only a small amount, when she gets home she then gives poor account to her master for the goods. She is immediately bound and soundly whipped, so they prefer to be employed in other more tiring service than to be involved in that dangerous trade.

Our people, like the Portuguese, recently decided it would be a good idea to put certain signs or marks on men, women and children, with a hot iron on the chest or on the neck [in] first [place] for many of them wear a black ornament<sup>314</sup> and in second place because when they run away from their masters, which frequently happens, the men charged with finding them, called field captains as soon as they lay hands on them recognise them and tie their hands behind their backs, go to hand them over in return for a fixed reward, to their original owners, who receive them and welcome them back with many a sound beating.

d Creoles312, are instructed

continue to enjoy himself

Then, after these multiple

e grave and ask the dead,

ler better life, so they bury

ole to that of the Tapuyans,

behave better, but instead

ung up by their wrists and

m to work and gain their

breathe and they are not Sundays when they dance.

ola, Cape Verde, the Congo shields and long assagai. s their slaves and servants. editions or for other work. Innediately bring hundreds a very miserably by these,

[Plate 98]

1280 ml

blacks, who are immediate the appointed day, these gounted better; Portugues disease 226 or any other se undertakes to pay for each undertakes to pay for each

among their buyers throu

three cents328 more than c

Previously, in the dragand in Angola and sold to When fortunately, a ship!

When the slaves have carried out their arduous duties for weeks on end, they are allowed to celebrate one Sunday as they please; in large numbers in certain places and with all manner of leaps, drums and flutes, they dance from morning to night, all in a disorganised way, with mean and women, young and old; meanwhile, the others drink a strong spirit made with sugar, which they call "garapa" 324; they spend all day like that in a continuous dance until they do not recognise each other, so deafened and filthy have they become.

[anomynonA]

[Plate 105]

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WorldCat (VIRGO) View

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm9962754

Author: Wagner, Hermann, 1840-1929.

Title: Schilderung der Reisen und Entdeckungen des

grossen Wüste, in den Ländern des Sudan (am Dr. Eduard Vogel in Central-Afrika: in der

Sinder, Bautschi u.s.w.) nebst einem Tsad-See, in Mussgo, Tubori, Mandara,

Lebensabriss des Reisenden

Physical description: vi, 321 p., [9] leaves of plates (1 folded): ill

map; 20 cm.

Publication info: Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1860

General note: "Ed. Vogel, der Afrika-Reisende."

General note: Cover title: Dr. Vogel's Reisen, Central Afrika.

General note: Spine title: E. Vogel's Reisen in Central Afrika.

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book

Subject: Africa, Central Discovery and exploration.

Subject: Vogel, Eduard, 1829-1856.

Personal author: Dr. Vogel's Reisen, Central Afrika. E. Vogel's

Reisen in Central Afrika.

Series: Malerische Feierstunden. I Serie, 2. Abt.

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm5628613

Author: Wagner, Hermann.

Title: Schilderung der Reisen und Entdeckungen des Tsad-See, in Mutsgo, Mandara, Sinder, Bautschi u. s. w.), grossen Wüste, in den Ländern des Sudan (am Dr. Eduard Vogel in Central-Afrika, in der

Edition: 2. Aufl.

Physical description: x, 320 p. illus., maps (part col.), ports. 20 cm.

Publication info: Leipzig, O. Spamer, 1860

General note: At head of title: Ed. Vogel, der

Afrika-Reisende.

General note: Cover title: Dr. Vogel's Reisen.

General note: "Enthält alles, was bis jetzt über Dr. E. Vogel's Reisen und Schicksale an Nachrichten

vorhanden ist."

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book

Subject: Africa, Central Discovery and exploration.

Subject: Vogel, Eduard, 1829-1856.

Personal author: Doktor Vogel's Reisen.

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm25944206

Author: Wagner, Hermann, 1840-1929,

Title: Schilderung der Reisen und Entdeckungen des Dr. Eduard Vogel in Central-Afrika, in den

grossen Wüste, in den Ländern des Sudan ... Nebst einem Lebensabriss des Reisenden. Nach

den Originalquellen bearb.

Physical description: vi, 321 p. illus., col. plates, fold. col. map. 20

Publication info: Leipzig, O. Spamer, 1860

General note: With this is bound Livingstone, D.

Erforschungsreisen im Innern Afrikas ...

Leipzig, 1860.

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book

Subject: Africa, Central Discovery and exploration.

Subject: Vogel, Eduard, 1829-1856.

Series: Malerische Feierstunden. 1. Serie. 2. Abth.

Afrika, I

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Materische Jeierstunden.

# Das Ind der Reisen und Intdeckungen

## Bibliothek der Länder- und Völkerkande

Juc. Erwetterung der Kenntniss der Fremde,

Heransgegeben unter Milivirkung niehterer Geographen und Schnin

Bermann Tängner.

wain.

Reisen und Entdeckungen in Central-Afrika. Dr. Chuard Bogel.

Bearbeitet

Hermann Magner.

Mit gahlreichen in den Tert gedrucken Abbifdungen, vielen Tonbifden, Karten u. f. m.

Berlag von Otto Spamer. Leipzig, 1860.



Cd. Bogel, der Zfrihn-Beisende.

Sunasti (1)

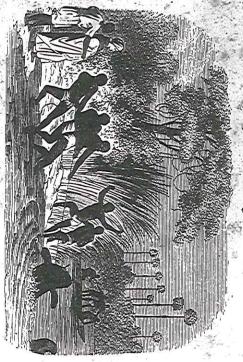
# der Reisen und Entdeckungen des Dr. Eduard Bogel

in Central-Afrika,

(am Tiad-See, in Minfigo, Tubori, Mandara, Sinder, Bantidi n. f. w.) in der großen Wifte, in den Kandern des Sudan

ben Driginalquellen bearbeitet Nebst einem Lebensabris des Reisenden.

Hermann Wagner.



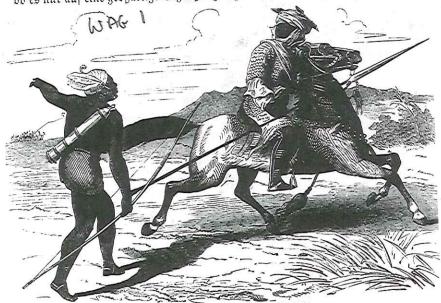
Mit 100 in den Ernt gedenehten Zbbildungen, neht Condruckbildern fowie einer leberfichtstarte ber Reiferonte Dr. Cb. Bogel's.

Berlag von Otto Spamer. Reipzig,

1860.

P. 16-217 - E0S Panzerreiter und Bogenschütz aus Bornu Slave hunt at tubori Lake Sklavenjagd am Tubori-See Cover of God of the Marghi Bottesgericht der Marghi MANDING Black,

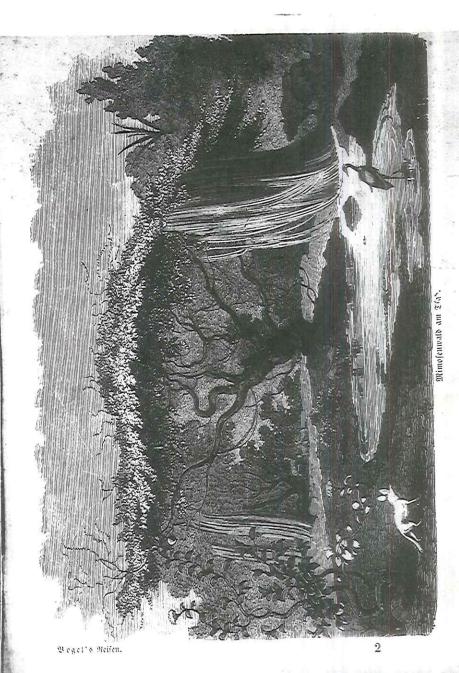
Der Empfang, welcher den Ankömmlingen zu Theil ward, war ein wirklich großartiger. Bu Khalum und seine Araber hatten sich aufs beste herausgeputzt, die Engländer ihre Staatsunisorm angelegt. Man ritt eben aus einem dichten Walde heraus, als man mehrere Tausend bewassente Keiter in musterhafter Parade vor sich aufmarschirt sah. Offiziere sprengten, Besehle gebend, vor der Fronte auf und ab. Sobald die Fremden erschienen, erhoben Alle ein lautes Bewillstommungsgeschrei und die ganze Schlachtordnung setze sich gegen sie in einer Weise in Bewegung, daß sie eine Zeit lang wirklich in Ungewisheit geriethen, ob es nur auf eine großartige Begrüßung oder auf ihre Bernichtung abgeschen sei.



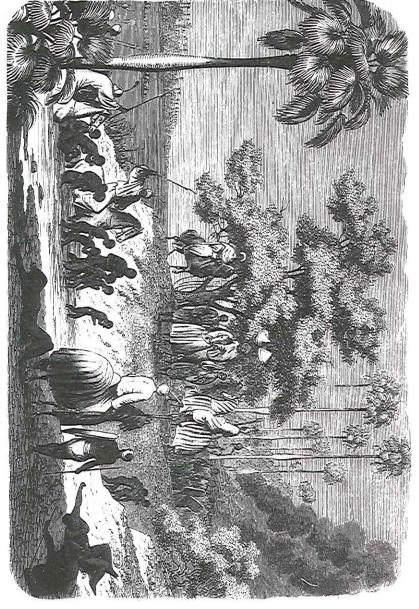
Pangerreiter und Bogenichuts aus Bornu.

Bon den Flügeln sowol als von der Mitte lösten sich kleine Abtheilungen los und sprengten so dicht an die Karawane heran, daß sie fast mit den Thieren derselzben zusammenprallten. Währenddem schritt die ganze Linie vorwärts, schwenkte, die Speere kriegerisch schwingend und laut rusend, links und rechts vor und hatte alsbald die ganze Karawane vollständig umzingelt. Man merkte es deutlich, daß die Neger den Fremden ihre kriegerische Ueberlegenheit zeigen wollten. Das Gedränge ward so start, daß Bu Khalum zornig zu fluchen begann, obsichon er einsah, daß sich gegen eine solche Uebermacht gar nichts anfangen ließ. Sowie der in bunte Seide gekleidete Führer der Neger heranritt, um ihn zu begrüßen, zogen sich seine Leute in größter Ordnung zurück. Besonders zeichnete sich eine starke, außerlesene

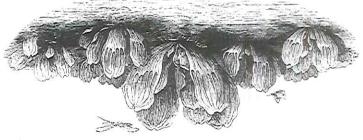
Epider in Arnor and Bournan from Borns



Skluhenjagd am Tabori-Scc.



Die heimattofe Fanna (Pistin Stratioites).



und vorzugsweise dessen öftlicher Arm, der Benuë, die hauptstraße bilden würde. beide Theile Bortheil bringenden Berkehrs zu suchen sein, bei welchem der Riger Reifen nach dem Suban kann nur in der Anbahnung eines geregelten und für führung neuer Einwanderer von Europa aus füllen lassen. Der Hauptzweck der unter den Europäern so groß ist, daß sich bie entstehenden Luden nur durch Buten, scheint in hohem Grade zweiselhaft, da ja schon in Mgerien Die Sterblichkeit Daß im Suban bestalb bleibende Rolonien von Europäern gebeihen fönn:

nahme ber Sterblidfeit erreicht. dies früher Gebrauch war, und man hat in erfreulicher Weise eine bedeutende Alb: das Militär in den Rolonien innerhalb der Eropen öfter wechseln zu laffen, als Erkenntniß dieser Ehatsache bat bereits die europäischen Regierungen veranlaßt, per den seindlichen Einfülfen um so mehr, se länger diese auf ibn wirken. Die in dem betreffenden Lande besinde. Im Gegentheil unterliegt gewöhnlich der Kördaß sich der Fremdling je mehr und mehr an das Klima gewöhne, je länger er sich Es ist keineswegs der Jall, wie man bisher vielfach zu glauben geneigt war,

Mebel auch viel zu leiden gehabt. leicht einen Scheibungsgrund abgeben können. Dr. Barth hatte von demfelben in seiner schaften Weise babei: Dies volliebe bei einer etmaigen Berheirathung traf, die tiefen Narben, welche diese Krankbeit ihm zurudgelassen hatte, und meinte Boget zeigte seinem Freunde Dr. Barth, als er später mit demselben zusammen beften Falle zu Ende ber Regenzeit Gefchwüre an ben Beinen zur Folge hat. Dr. wurm" berüchtigt ift und das entweder eine lange anhaltende Lähmung, oder im

urjade jenes böchft läftigen Mebels zu fein, bas unter dem Ramen "Guineas heimische in Ermanglung frischer Quellen gezwungen find, scheint eine Saupt-Genug von Affer aus den stehenden Regenpfühen, zu welchem Fremde und Ein-

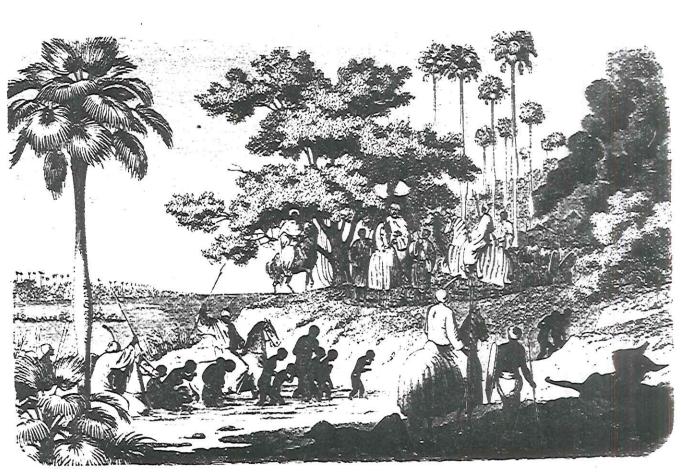
Dr. Bogel's Ausflüge am Sübuser des Tsad=Sees.

Poblished in: Pen Aust & DAGET 1985

WAGNER, HERMAN

take from: A Schildenung der Reisen... Dr.

Edvand Vosel in Central-Afrika, Leipzig 1860

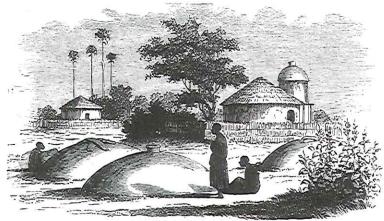


50 - Chasse à l'esclave au sud du Bornou.

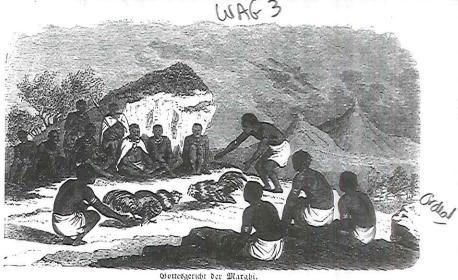
Tjad genommen und dadurch jene bedeutende Ausdehnung desjelben bewertstelligt haben, von der man jo unverkennbare Spuren antrifft. Daß bier nicht von Zeit= räumen weniger Jahre die Rede fein kann, versteht fich von selbst, wie bei den meisten geologischen Erscheinungen. Bielleicht lebte auch bier damals jenes bem Flugpferd ahnliche Thier, von dem man Ueberrefte in ahnlichen Lagen in Sud= afrita gefunden und das von Professor Dwen Diepnodon genannt worden ift. Sehr nabe liegt es dann, auch für die vom jetigen Tsad nördlich gelegenen Länder in Bezug auf ihr Rlima eine veränderte, feuchtere Beschaffenheit zu vermuthen.

So wie fich aber die herbeigeführten Thonmaffen auf der weiten Fläche des Muggolandes ablagerten, in gleicher Weise auch jedenfalls die südlicher gelegenen Ebenen nach diefer Richtung veränderten, erhielten auch die Zufluffe einen verichiedenen Lauf. Mancher jener Sumpfe mag chedem nach dem Tiad : See bin feinen Heberfluß abgegeben haben, ber jest nach bem Gebiet des Benue feine Baffer entsendet. Burden nach letterer Richtung bin fich Unhäufungen bilben, nach ersterer dagegen durch Zusammenseben Sentungen entsteben, so konnte ber alte Stand auch mehr oder weniger herbeigeführt werden, wie einzelne Stellen in der Umgebung des Tfad uns bereits Beispiele im Rleinen darboten.

Die Binnen = Seen Südafrikas haben ehedem auch eine viel bedeutendere Musbehnung gehabt, ihr Waffer aber dadurch verloren, daß fie in fpater entftan-Denen Klüften Abzugstanäle erhielten. Die Berminderung der Regenmenge, über welche die Bölkerschaften jener füdlichen Gebiete klagen, fann leicht damit im Bufammenhange ftehen, obicon auch Schwankungen in der Windrichtung, die in ausgedehntern Urfachen begründet find, das Ihre dazu beitragen mögen.



Graber im Muggo = Lande.

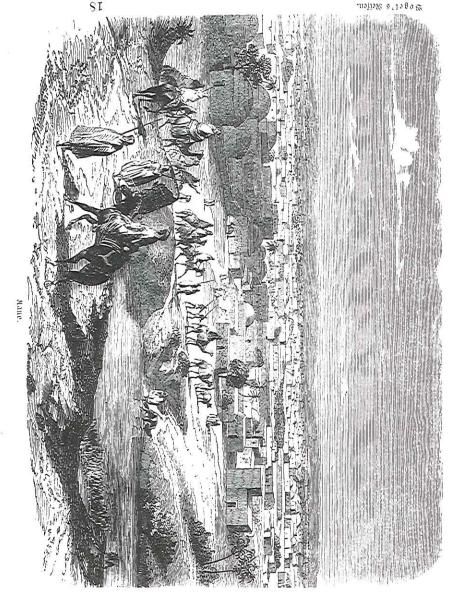


#### Cover of God of the. MARGHIJ Reise nach Mandara und Eldje.

Bogel's Menagerie. — Baifie's Niger:Bennë:Expedition. — Mora und Mandara. — Die Berge Mendij und Kamalle. — Eisen. — Denham in Mora. — Bogel in Mora. — Westabhänge Mandaras. — Die Marghi und ihr Land. Körperban und Tracht der Marghi. — Pflanzenwuchs. — Sitten und Gebräuche. — Die Schua und die Lands ich aft Udje. Abb e Rahman's Entfyrenung. — Mabani. — Die Gamerghu. —

n der Zeit zwischen der Rückschr von dem Feldzuge nach Mußgo und der Abreise nad, Mora ordnete Dr. Bogel die Notigen, welche er unterwegs gemacht hatte, sowie die Sammlungen von Naturgegenständen und vergnügte fich in der Bwischenzeit mit einer kleinen Menagerie, Die er in dem Sofe Des englischen Baufes angelegt. Er ichreibt darüber in einem Briefe vom 17. Juli 1854:

"Bis vor furgem hatte ich einen gahmen Strauf auf dem Sofe herumlaufen, ber fich mit den Suhnern febr gut vertrug. Dagegen verfolgte er jeden Menichen, Der irgend etwas Glänzendes an fich trug, und wenn ein Araber mit feiner goldbefetten Sade zu mir tam, lief er ihm oft bis in meine Stube (oder vielmehr Sutte) nach, um feine Rnöpfe abzufreffen. Das Thier verschlang fauftgroße Erdtlöße und einmal ein Stud Calicot, drei Ellen lang und eine halbe Elle breit. Leider brach co ein Bein, - jur Freude meiner Diener, die ihm geschwind den Sals abichnitten



gezollt ward. selben noch aus der Deidenzeit ber, in welcher ibnen abergläubische Berehrung von eypreffenähnlichem Muchs als Wegweiser emper. Gewöhnlich stammen Diegern ein schlanker Rimi: ober Bentang. Baum (Bombax s. Ceiba guincensis) Bemohnerin Des Meeresftrandes. Neben ben engen Ehoren ber Sauffa-Stabte ragt zeine Eremplare der westafrikanischen Oelpalme (Elais guineensis), sonft eine in übergroßer Menge auf. In einzelnen falshaltigen Stellen finden fich jogar eintonn alle gaire angepflangt vor und bie Deleb tritt ebenfalls nicht palme ist aber nicht so massenhaft vorherrschend wie am Komadugu, die Dattel Dum:, Dattel: und Delebpalme, hier an gleichen Lokalen auftreten; Die Dum: Die Dornen entstanden. Interessant ist es, daß alle brei Balmen des Suban: Die faft enthalt. Leisterer ist ein beliebtes Heilmittel bei Geschwuren, welche durch ruthenförmig aufwärts ftrebenden grünen Zweigen ohne Blatter, der einen Wilch= nen Termitenbügeln wachft; ber Kaballi, ferner ber Magara, ein Buld mit dunnen, jehr ähnlich ist; Der Serteki=Buid, welcher am liebsten auf den zahlreich vorhandes Arred, eine Alkazienart; die Clfu, welche der Gummi-Alkazie (Mimosa milotien) ben Pferden gegeben werden, um fie gegen die Wurmtrantheit zu fduben; ber

Longen dem gepflegten Gewächsten ninnnt landschilch die Gond aus den Deum Den gepflegten Gewächen minnnt landschilch die Gond aus den Deum, Caries Papays, die erste Stelle ein; sie ist wahrschum) und degapten aus nach dem Eudan gedracht worden. Indicher Hirse landschum) nach descreptinges eine Angegen pflegtunan auch leben der Anumwolle in den der Angegen pflegtung der Kollstyflern neden der Anumwolle in den Angegen pflegtung alljährlich bestrucken Flukthälern neben der Anumwolle in ziem Anengen gedaut; Banantich eine angenehme Alenechsen gesten neder den eine angenehme Alenechselung der Kolf. Bohren und ihr Kraut ist als das nahrhafteste Kutter sur der Kameele besliebt. Barenten (Convolvulus Batata) und Jam (Dioseorea) geden mehhreche besliebt. Barenten num ihr Kraut ist den Gärten vor; in den Herden in die mehrselm Euwaren in den Gärten vor; in den Herden ein Reger. Est dehnt gedelt, gaut und dei Geden gearbeitet, nicht nur mit Erschlassen Absanzung von Zucher angelegt, sonden genebnit der ein des erschen ein sein der angeren gere geben des Produkt nur mit Erschlassen des Alangere Zeit in den amerikanischen Angeren genebnit den

Welche Wilden bis der den bei der den bernenreichen Baldbungen der Haufla-Stantin-Etanten enthalsten mögen, ift uns bis zeht noch nicht bekannt geworden, da sich die Paljion der europäischen zihrund nicht bis zu ihnen verftiegen hat. Elephanten sind stellen verpreichen der Arbeit nicht die Kornen ih Nederschuß. Gerane Alfen ziehen in ganzen Lenweise vorhanden und an Hangen ih Nederschußen der Schollen Autseltanden auf den Baumkronen entsang nad sie gabliesen Turteltanden auf, der der geleber nisten und welche zur Zeit der Getreidereise die Bewohnerschaft der ganzen Ortschaft nisten und die Beine bringen, um durch Gelchrei und Lärmen die Kersnen der ganzen Ortschaft in niet nisten auf die dein überigen Wögeln fällt der große, herrlich himmelt den gestärde Sleine der in Sperder, Nisus Eynmogenys?) vor allen in die blau gestärde Sleve sollen mach nicht viel verlantet, den großen Ecklangen hat nicht verlantet, den großen Ecklangen hat noch nicht viel verlantet, den großen Ecklangen hat noch nicht viel verlantet, den großen Ecklangen hat noch nicht verlantet, den großen Ecklangen kan nicht verlantet, den großen ist und den nicht verlantet ein den den nicht verlantet verlantet ist verlantet er den den nicht verlantet verlantet er den den verlantet verlantet er den verlantet er den den verlantet er den v

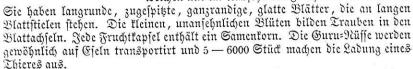
Ein Michanti = Neger.

hier ihre Lagerplätze aufgeschlagen hatten. Unfänglich war diese Stadt nur ein uns bedeutender Ort, an welchem für die nächste Umgebung ein Markt abgehalten ward, allmälig hob sie sich aber zu immer größerem Ansehn. Timbuktus Lage war vom größten Bortheil, es zur ersten Handelsstadt des Westens und zum Sitz der Gelehrs samkeit zu machen, denn die verschiedensten Nationalitäten trasen hier zusammen.

Im Süden waren die Sourhay, am obern Niger das seiner Zeit gewaltige Neich Melle, von Westen her kamen die Bewohner des Neichs Mosche und die Mandingo, sowie die Fellata, von Norden und Osten dagegen machten die Marokkaner, die Tuarikstämme der Wüste und die Araber, sowie die Mischlingsstämme dieser und der genannten Nationen ihren Einsluß geltend.

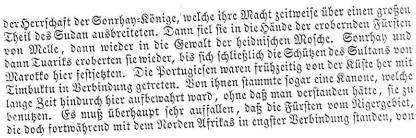
Timbuktu ward vorzüglich der Haupthandelsplat für Gold, das in Form von Ningen oder als Staub auf den Markt kommt, für Salz, das man von Taödenni bezieht und für Guru: oder Kola: Nüffe. Das Salz bedeckt einen höchst ausges dehnten Landstrich in der Landschaft El Dschof und besteht aus fünf Schichten,

sandichaft El Dichof und besteht aus suns duch weren, beren beste ein schwarzes, von weißen Adern marmorartig durchzogenes Ansehn hat. Die größten Salzsstücke, welche hier ausgegraben werden, haben 3½ Fuß in der Länge, 1 Fuß Breite und über 2 Zoll in der Dick; ihr Gewicht wechseltzwischen 50—65 Pfund. Die erwähnten Guru-Kisse ersehen den Bewohnern siener Gegenden den Kassee und kommen aus den westslichern Gebieten, von Sierra Leone, dem Lande der Mandingo, aus dem Lande der Aschanti, von Teute und Kani. Es sind die Früchte mehrerer Baumsorten; die rothen Küsse stammen von Sterculia acuminata, die größern weißen von Sterculia macrocarpa. Beide Bäume gleichen sich in Blatt und Blütensorm und weichen nur im Aussehn der Frucht von einander ab.



Die muhamedanische Gelehrsamkeit des Sudan hatte in Timbuktu ihren Hauptsitz aufgeschlagen. Jeder Zeit wohnten hier gekehrte Männer, die Schüler um sich versammelten, und ein schlagendes Beispiel von der Bildung, welche hier herrscht, erhellt daraus, daß die Geschichte jener Ländergebiete in schriftlichen Urstunden niedergelegt ist, welche bis ins 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. zurückreichen. Bon einem der Hauptgeschichtschreiber ist bekannt, daß er eine Bibliothek von 1600 Handschriften und Bückern besaß.

Dieselben Ursuchen, welche das Gedeihen Timbuktus beförderten, führten aber auch für die Stadt vielfache Zerrüttungen herbei. Sie war von je ein Zanksapfel der streitenden Parteien. Anfänglich von Tuariks gegründet, stand sie unter





dorther ihre Pserde bezogen, ihr Heer mit Panzern und Aupserhelmen versahen, ja in Begleitung ihrer Größen Wallsahrten nach Metka austellten, früher nie den Versuch gemacht haben, Feuergewehre in ihrem Lande einzuführen, wie dies doch in Bornu ziemlich zeitig schon geschehen war. Trohdem daß Heere von 140,000 Mann von den Regerfürsten zusammengebracht wurden, siel es einer Schaar von einigen Hundert außerlesener marokkanischer Schühen nicht schwer, das ganze Gebiet für ihren Fürsten zu unterwersen. Diese Marokko-Schühen schward blieben nachmals in den Hauptstädten des Landes sitzen, verheiratheten sich mit Regerfrauen und bildeten eine Urt Abel, der die ganze Schissahrt auf dem Niger in den Händen hatte. Die Beaussichtigung des Flußverkehrs, der Schisse und des



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### REPORT

## AGRICULTURE AND GEOLOGY

## MISSISSIPPI.

EMBRACING A SKETCH OF THE

SOCIAL AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE STATE.

B. L. C. WAILES, GEOLOGIST OF MISSISSIPPI;

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SCIENCE; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE MATIONAL INSTITUTE, AND OF THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY, EIC. EIC.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO, AND CO., FOR E. BARKSDALE, STATE PRINTER.

1854.

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Of tained from Chapter

Tile; cotton, 1764

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

347.10

Old English map of Mississippi.

- Seals of the British province of West Florida.
   Old French copper coins. Figs. 2 and 3.
- II. Fac-similes of Spanish governors and seals.
- III. The cotton plant. 1st view.
- IV. The cotton plant. 2d view.
- V. Caterpillar, chrysalis, and moth on cotton.
- VI. Rot in cotton bolls.
- VII. Primitive roller gin. Fig. 1.

Roller gin with treadle and balance wheel. Fig. 2.

Whitney's gin of 1807. Fig. 3.

Section of cylinder with flattened wire teeth. Fig. 4.

Section of same with pointed wire teeth. Fig. 5.

VIII: Cotton plantation in the West Indies, in 1764.

- IX. Geological strata.
- X. Illustration of stratification. Figs. 1 and 2.
- XI. Artesián well at Columbus. Fig. 1.

Principles of artesian wells. Fig. 2.

- XII. Sections on Brandon Railroad.
- XIII. Boring artesian wells.
- XIV. Fossil shells from the Eocene marl-beds at Jackson.
- XV. Fossil shells from the Eocene marl-beds at Jackson.
- XVI. Fossil shells from the Eccene marl-beds at Jackson.
- XVII. Fossil shells from the Eocene marl-beds at Jackson.

No. res for his to the stand of the stand of the source of the stand o

Carolina was favorable for its production.
Provincial Congress of that State, in I mended to its people to raise cotton."

Georgia is said, however, to have taken cultivation; yet the first shipment of cotto in 1784, when eight bags were seized by house officers at Liverpool, it not being cred the small quantity of two thousand pour raised in the United States. Seed was in cultivation of the Sea Island variety was n until 1789. The Upland, or the Georgia (b until 1789. The Upland, or the Georgia (b been found growing wild in Hispaniola and Deen found growing wild in Hispaniola and India Islands when discovered by Columbu

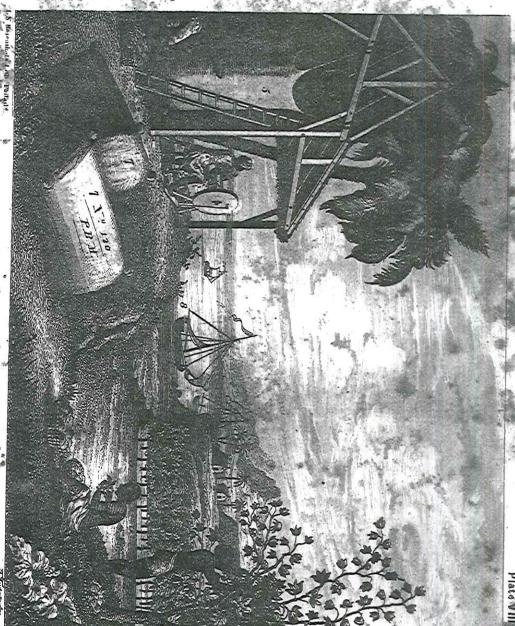
been found growing wild in Hispaniols and India Islands when discovered by Columbu period of the conquest of Mexico by Cortemade "large webs, as delicate and fine Holland." Their other cotton fabrics wer beautiful, and constituted their chief article When and from whence the plant was fir into Mississippi, is not certainly known in

into Mississippi, is not certainly known, m by the early French colonists from St. Dor was a touching point for the companys a place whence they derived much of their would seem, indeed, that its cultivation would seem, indeed, that its cultivation ceded that of Georgia.

Charlevoix, on his visit to Natchez in A cotton plant growing in the garden of Sieur company's clerk.

Bienville states, in one of his dispatch April, 1735, that the cultivation of cotton vantageous.

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rom: "Mintz, Steven H" <SMintz@UH.EDU>

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To: H-SLAVERY@H-NET.MSU.EDU

Reply-To: H-NET List for the History of Slavery <H-SLAVERY@H-NET.MSU.EDU>

H-NET BOOK REVIEW

Published by H-South@h-net.msu.edu (June, 2005)

and New Orleans\_. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. xiv + 188 pp. Figures, notes, index. \$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8166-4327-X. Daniel E. Walker. \_No More, No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana

University. Reviewed for H-South by Justin Nystrom, Department of History, Georgia Southern

## Celebrations of Resistance

of other disciplines in its quest to resolve questions left unanswered by traditional enormously to our understanding of the "world that the slaves made."[1] This has behind a limited paper trail. happened, in part, because the profession has embraced the methodological tools few of the fields that have helped to recreate the lives of a people who otherwise left textual sources. Anthropology, linguistics, art, musicology, and sociology are but a \_Roll, Jordan, Roll\_, historians of North American slavery have contributed In the thirty years that have passed since the appearance of Eugene Genovese's

disciplines, Walker yields a fresh argument about the importance of cultural of published primary and secondary works from a profoundly diverse set of derivative, however, would be grossly unfair. Instead, through his skillful synthesis good graces of a helpful interlibrary loan department. To say that this book is while simultaneously engaging a new corpus of primary data" (p. x). Yet, with a few own estimation, Walker had set out to ask "fresh questions of traditional sources greatest strength of this book lies in the author's multidisciplinary approach. By his expression to those oppressed by the slave power. notable exceptions, research for this book might have been conducted through the recent historians have used to find the authentic voice of the enslaved. Indeed, the Daniel Walker's \_No More, No More\_ is an example of the innovative techniques



slave celebrations of New Orleans's Congo Square to demonstrate how urban slaves used cultural expression as a means of resistance. Celebrated on January 6, Walker compares Havana's annual \_El Día de Reyes\_ festival with the weekly

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Title: Skizzer fran Nord-Amerikanska Kriget, 1861deltagande svensk officer. vistelse i Förenta Staterna af en i detta krig 1865. Bref och anteckningar under en fyraarig

Publication info: Stockholm, O. L. Lamm [1867-71]

Description: 362 p., [2] p. 10 plates., 4 fold. maps. 24 cm.

Note: Dedication (p. 3) signed: A. C.:son Warberg.

Note: Issued in two parts, 1867-71.

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

A 1871 .W373 Call numbers for SPEC-COLL Material RAREBOOK SC-MCGR-ST Location

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AUTHOR Search

Location: John Carter Brown Library

warren, george

Record 1 of 2

Record: Prev Next

Author Warren, George, fl. 1667

Uniform ti Impartial description of Surinam

Title An impartial description of Surinam upon the continent of Guiana in

America.: With a history of several strange beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, insects, and customs of that colony, &c. / Worthy the perusal of all, from

the experience of George Warren gent

Published London, : printed by William Godbid for Nathaniel Brooke at the Angel in Gresham-Colledge, in the second yard from Bishopsgate-street., 1667

Descript'n [4], 28 p.; 19 cm. (4to)

Permalink to this Josiah record

LOCATION	CALL#	STATUS
JCB	D667 .W288i	USE IN LIBRARY

Note Signatures: A<sup>2</sup> B-D4 E<sup>2</sup>

Booksellers' advertisement on p. 28

References JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, 3:164

Wing W970 Sabin 101462

Other subj Catalogs, Booksellers' -- Great Britain

LC subject Suriname -- Description and travel

Other info **England London** 

Rlin/ocle RIBR82-B622

Record 1 of 2

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Title List

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Book

Format:

Title: Author: Waterton, Charles, 1782-1865 Wanderings in South America, the north-west of the United States, and the Antilles, in

the years 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. : With original instructions for the perfect

preservation of birds, &c. for cabinets of natural history. / By Charles Waterton, Esq.

Imprint: London: : Printed for J. Mawman, Ludgate-Street., 1825

Description: vii, [1], 326 p., [1] leaf of plates: ill., port.; 27 cm. (4to)

Other Title: Half-title: Wanderings in South America, &c.

Notes: Signatures: [pi](P) a(P) B-2S# 2T# (-2T4).

Notes: "London: Printed by A. Applegath, Stamford-Street."--colophon.

Citations: Sabin 102094

Citations: Moraes, R.B. de. Bib. Brasiliana, 2:372

Citations Palau y Dulcet (2nd ed.), 374216

Citations: Ragatz, L.J. Caribbean history, p. 235

Citations: Grässe 7:423

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 10986

Subject: Blacks --Guyana.

Subject: Taxidermy.

Subject: Zoology --Guyana.

Subject: Guyana -- Description and travel.

Subject: Pernambuco (Brazil) -- Description and travel.

Subject: America -- Description and travel.

Subject: United States -- Description and travel

Subject: West Indies -- Description and travel

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Local Entry:** Printer: Applegath, Augustus, d. 1871, printer.

Local Entry: Printer: Mawman, Joseph, 1759-1827, publisher.

Local Entry: Imprint:ENG. London. 1825

System No.: PALR98-B113

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Holdings

MCD A young Travelleis Journal of a Tour in Morth NA UNC 12/28/12/11 Clark, vol. 3, # 439 Welby- Gregory, Victoria alexandresor mt. Holy ola and South America During the Year 1860. Landon 1852 488HM SIANC Slides



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AUTHOR | \$ weld isaac **Entire Collection** 4▶ Search

Record 6 of 8 Prev Next

Author Weld, Isaac, 1774-1856

Title Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. / By Isaac Weld, Junior. Illustrated and

embellished with sixteen plates.

Published London: : Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly., 1799

Descript'n xxiv, 464 p., [16] leaves of plates: ill., maps (some folded), plans; 28 cm

Permalink to this Josiah record

LOCATION	CALL#	STATUS
JCB	D799 .W443t	USE IN LIBRARY

Note Some copies have "Erratum" pasted on leaf pi4 verso "List of plates."

Signatures: pi4 a-b4 B-3N4

References Brown, J.C. Cat., 1493-1800, III: 4062

Sabin 102451

Note John Carter Brown Library copy bound in contemporary calf, but pasted down errata slip wanting. Lacks one plate "View of Cape Diamond."

LC subject United States -- Description and travel

Canada -- Description and travel

Other info Imprint 1799

LCCN Rlin/oclc 05020874 England London RIBR98-B1572

Record: Prev Next

Record 6 of 8

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Imprint 1803 Other info France Paris 01008750

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Full Display -- Library Co. of Philadelphia

Headings> "wentworth, trelawney" -- Title 1 of 1

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Format:

Wentworth, Trelawney. Author:

The West India sketch book. : In two volumes. Vol. I[-II]. Title:

London: : Printed for Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane., 1834. Imprint:

2 v.: ill. (some col.), maps, music; 20 cm. Description:

Notes:

"London: Gilbert and Rivington, printers, St. John's Square." -- t.p. verso.

Vol. 1: ix, [3], 324 p., [5] leaves of plates; v. 2: vi, [2], 391, [1] p., [7] leaves of Notes:

plates.

Ragatz, L.J. Brit. Caribbean hist., p. 236 Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 11073 Citations:

Library Company copy wanting v. 2 title page. Local Notes:

Slaves -- West Indies, British. Subject: West Indies, British -- Description and travel. Subject: Travel literature -- West Indies, British -- 19th century. Genre/Phys. Char.:

SP3 Afro-Americana. Subject: Imprint: ENG. London. 1834. Local Entry: Printer: Gilbert & Rivington, printer. Local Entry: Printer: Whittaker and Co., publisher. Local Entry:

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The West India sketch book Title

London: Whittaker & Co., 1834 Descript'n Published

2 v.: ill., map, 6 plates; 21 cm

Permalink to this Josiah record

CATION CALL # STATUS	79-152
LOCATION	JCB

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Note

Pagination: v. 1: x, [2], 324 p.; 4 p..; v. 2: vi, [2], 391, [1] p Authorship uncertain; possibly by Trelawney Wentworth

Retrospective conversion: original entry

Antilles, Lesser -- Description and travel

LC subject

Other info

Imprint 1834

England London

Wentworth, Trelawney

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Source: The West India sketch book << Back to Thumbnail Images

Image Caption: The West India sketch book. [Vol. 2 title page]

In: The West India sketch book. (published 1834)

ronde Published Date: 1834

> SKETCH BOOK. WEST INDIA

Library Division: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture / Manuscripts, / Rare Books Division

Description: 2 v. illus. (part col.) maps. 21 cm.

Item/Page/Plate Number: title page

Specific Material Type: Prints

Subject(s): Antilles, Lesser

Additional Name(s): Wentworth, Trelawney -- Author

Collection Guide: Africana & Black History

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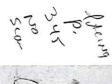
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[Vol. 2 title page]

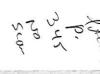
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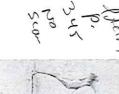


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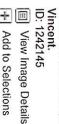


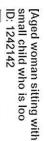
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A John Bott, Antigua. ID: 1242144

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[Village of Cayon surrounded by Palm trees.] ID: 1242141





Slave population of the British West Indian Col ID: 1242146

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Format: Visual Material

Title: West India Luxury!! [graphic] / J.F.

Imprint: London: Published by William Holland, No. 11 Cockspur Street, London, April

Description: 1 print: aquatint, hand-colored; 20.5 x 30.5 cm. (8 x 12 in.)

Citations: George 11132

Summary: Satiric print mocking the decadent state of West Indian plantation society

"Creolean Patience" as she waits for her marketing slave to be told by her "Portable Boot Jack" by their white master; the white mistress showing couch surrounded by his entourage of female slaves; male slaves being used as a lavishly catered to by their black and mulatto slaves. Vignettes include: "A West containing five vignettes, one with text, depicting slothful slaveholders being India Nabob" (i.e., man of wealth) in his wide brimmed hat as he lounges on his

simultaneously comb his hair, wash his feet, fan him, and serve him goblets of master enjoying "One of the Luxuries" of slavery as his female slaves "Quashebah come and take my Head in again" from her open window; and a attending slave to pick up her nearby fallen needle; the mistress telling

**Local Notes:** Described in David Kunzle's The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and

Picture Stories in the European Broad Sheet from c. 1450 to 1825 (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1973), p. 374-5

Subject: Slaveholders -- West Indies -- Satire

Subject: Slaveholders -- West Indies -- Attitudes.

Subject: Plantation life -- West Indies.

Subject: Women slaves -- West Indies.

Subject: Genre/Phys. Char.: Aquatints -- Hand-colored -- 1800-1810. Slaves -- West Indies -- Social conditions

Genre/Phys. Char .: Political cartoons -- 1800-1810

Subject: Slaves -- Satire -- West Indies

Subject: SP1 Women.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Local Entry:** Printer: Holland, William, publisher

Local Entry: Imprint: ENG. London. 1808

Political Cartoons 1808 - Wes

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Demos

Format:

Book

Author: White, William, Captain of the 73rd Regiment of Highlanders

Title: Journal of a voyage performed in the Lion Extra Indiaman, : from Madras to

condemned) in the year 1798. With some account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Da Lagoa Bay, and a vocabulary of the language. / By William Columbo, and Da Lagoa Bay, on the eastern coast of Africa; (where the ship was

White, Esq. Captain of the 73d Highland Regiment of Foot. Embellished with

plates.

Imprint: London: : Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly., 1800.

Churc & Mi

Description: [4], 70, [10] p., [2] leaves of plates : ill.; 28 cm. (4to)

Notes: Notes: "Printed by T. Gillet, Salisbury-Square."--t.p. verso and colophon.

Signatures: [A] B-K [L]. Publisher's advertisements, [10] p. at end, includes a list of subscribers. na emildrephic

Notes: Notes: With a prospectus for Captain Chauchard's. 'A general map of the Empire of

Germany', including a list of subscribers, at the end.

Citations: ESTC T145549

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 11153

**Local Notes:** Library Company copy imperfect: wanting p. 23-26; present in photocopy.

Subject: Mozambique -- Languages.

Subject: Voyages and travels.

Subject: Colombo (Sri Lanka) -- Description and travel

Subject: Maputo Bay (Mozambique) -- Description and travel

Subject: Mozambique -- Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char .: Publishers' advertisements -- England -- London -- 1800

Genre/Phys. Char.: Subscribers' lists.

SP3 Afro-Americana.

**Local Entry:** Printer: Gillet, Thomas, printer

Local Entry: Printer: Stockdale, John, 1749?-1814, publisher.

**Local Entry:** Imprint: ENG. London, 1800

System No.: PALR98-B366

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Wied, Maximilian, Prinz von, 1782-1867.

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Vante

Author: Format:

Uniform Title: Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817. English. 1820 Brazil

Title: Travels in Brazil, 1815, 1816, 1817. / By Prince Maximilian, Nuewied.; translated from the German, and

illustrated with engravings...

Imprint: London: : Printed for Sir Richard Phillips, and Co. Bride Court, Bridge Street., 1820

Description: iv, 112 p., [8] leaves of plates (2 folded): ill.; 23 cm.

Notes: Translation of: Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817

Notes: "Printed by Benjamin Bensley, Nelson Square." -- t.p. verso.

Plates signed: W. Read, sc.

Notes: Issued as part 4 (but bound 5th) in vol. 3 of the publisher's New voyages and travels, also issued

Notes:

Notes: Plates [6] and [7] have identical image with different captions

Notes: Signatures: [A](P) B-D (P)D# E-L#.

Citations: Sabin 62509

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 6569

Subject: Indians of South America -- Brazil.

Subject: Blacks --Brazil.

Subject: Brazil -- Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Travel literature -- Brazil -- 19th century.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Other Title: New voyages and travels.

Local Entry: Printer:Bensley, Benjamin, printer

Illustrator:Read, W., fl. 1824-1855, engraver.

Local Entry: Imprint:ENG. London. 1820.

Local Entry:

Local Entry: Printer:Sir Richard Phillips and Co., publisher

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Author

Title

Willyams, Cooper, 1762-1816

the command of ... Lieutenant General Sir Charles Grey, K.B. and Vice An account of the campaign in the West Indies, in the year 1794, under

Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desiada, &c. ... By the Admiral Sir John Jervis, ... with the reduction of the islands of

Rev. Cooper Willyams, ..

Published London: printed by T. Bensley; for G. Nicol; B. and J. White; and J.

Robson, 1796

[4],iv,[12],149,[5],62p.,plates: maps; 4

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With an appendix and a list of subscribers

Indexed in ESTC, T94639 Note

Note

Microfilm. Woodbridge, CT Research Publications, Inc., 1986. 1 reel;

35mm. (The Eighteenth Century; reel 5513, no. 1)

Rlin/oclc ESTCT94639

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Format:

Author: G. W. W. (George W. Williams)

Book

Title: Sketches of travel in the old and new world / by G. W. W.

Imprint: Charleston, S.C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1871.

Description: 469 p., [3] leaves of plates : ill.; 24 cm.

Notes: "Letters...published originally in the Southern Christian advocate and the press of

the city of Charleston." -- Pref.

Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 11237

**Local Notes:** Gift of Horace J. Smith.

Subject: Blacks -- Cuba.

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Subject: African Americans.

Subject: Cuba -- Description and travel.

Subject: Europe -- Description and travel.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Travel literature -- Cuba -- 19th century.

Genre/Phys. Char.: Travel literature -- Europe -- 19th century.

Subject: SP3 Afro-Americana.

Local Entry: Imprint:S.C. Charleston. 1871.

Local Entry: Printer: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, printer

System No.: PALR98-B857

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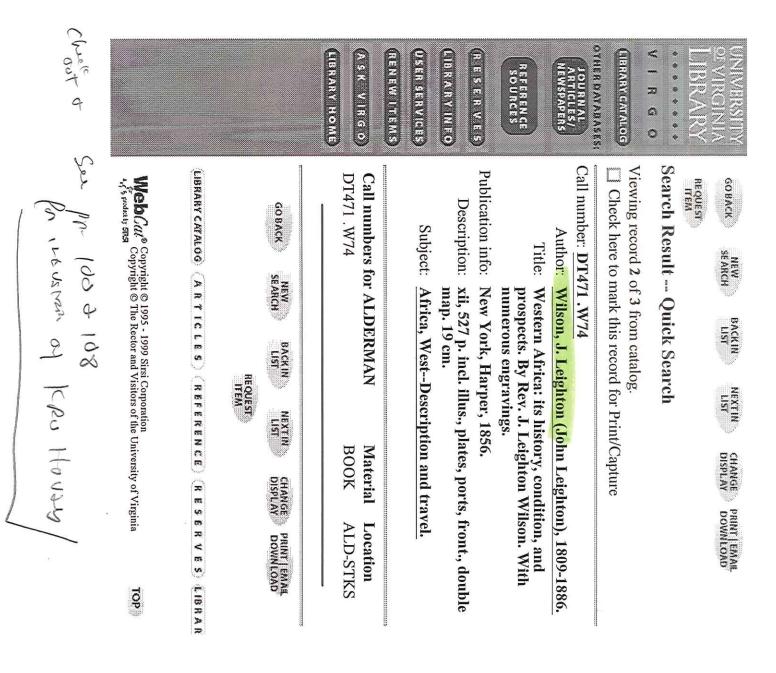
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Limit search

History: America and United States

Brief Record Full record

the war of 1775-1812, 1861-'65 The black phalanx; a history of the Negro soldiers of the United States in

Wilson, Joseph T. (Joseph Thomas), 1836-1891.

Author: Wilson, Joseph T. (Joseph Thomas), 1836-1891.

**Title:** The black phalanx; a history of the Negro soldiers of the United States in the war of 1775-1812, 1861-'65. By Joseph T. Wilson ...

Publication info: Hartford, Conn., American Pub. Co., 1888.

Description: 9 p. l., 21-528 p. incl. front., illus., plates, ports. 23 cm

Note: Bibliography: p. 517.

Contents: pt. I. The wars for independence,--pt. II. The war between the states,--pt. III. Miscellany.

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

Subject: United States--History--Revolution, 1775-1783--Participation, African American.

Subject: United States--History--War of 1812--Participation, African American.

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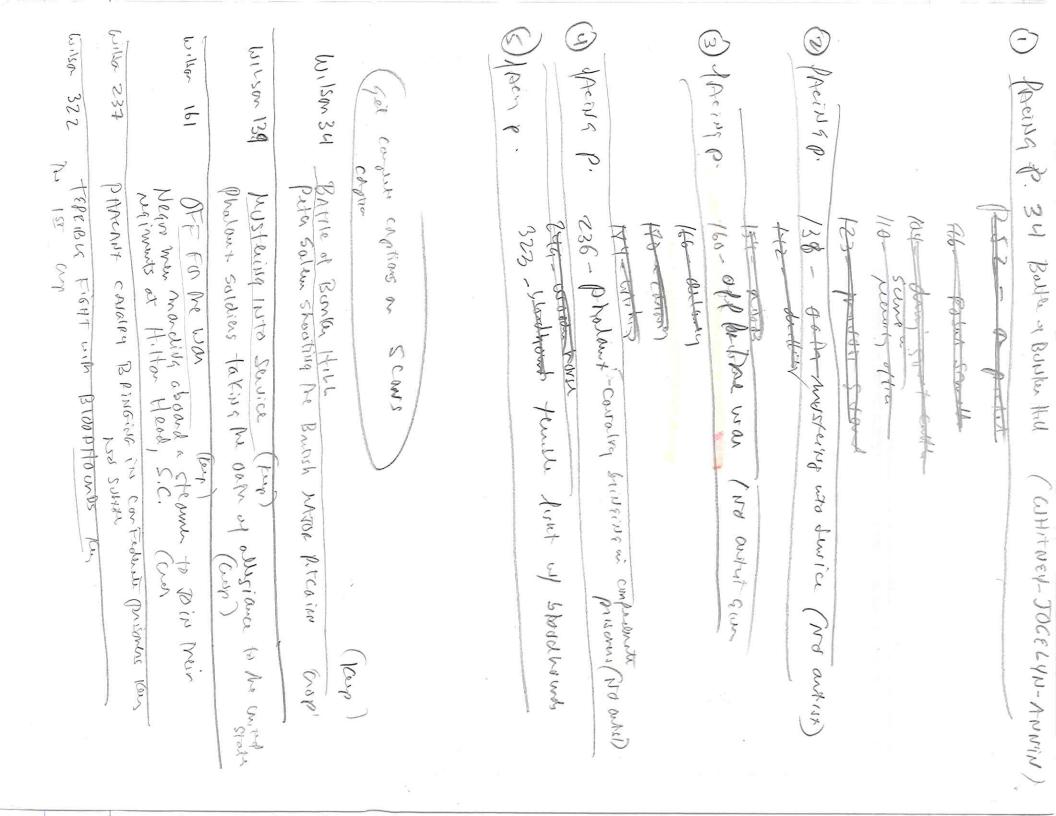
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WILSON 30 facing p. 138 (mustering into service)

WILSON 61

WILSON 238 facing p. 160 (off for the war) facing p. 236 (phalanx cavalry)

W/200 322 facing p. 323 (terrible fight with bloodhounds)
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Author: Wimpffen, Alexandre-Stanislaus, baron de.

20/02/9 +2000

Uniform Title: Voyage à Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1788, 1789 et 1790. English

Title: Alexander Stanislaus, baron de Wimpffen. Translated from the original A voyage to Saint Domingo, in the years 1788, 1789, and 1790. / By Francis

manuscript, which has never been published, by J. Wright.

Cadell) in the Strand; and J. Wright, opposite Old Bond-Street, Piccadilly., M London: : Printed for T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies, (successors to Mr.

Imprint:

DCC CXVII. [i.e. 1797]

Description: [2], xviii, 371, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : map ; 22 cm. (8vo)

Other Title: Half-title: A voyage to Saint Domingo.

Notes: Translation of: Voyage à Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1788, 1789 et

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**Uniform Title:** Voyage à Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1788, 1789 et 1790. English

Title: A voyage to Saint Domingo, in the years 1788, 1789, and 1790. / By Francis Alexander Stanislaus, baron de Wimpffen. Translated from the original manuscript, which has never been published, by J. Wright.

Imprint: London: : Printed for T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies, (successors to Mr. Cadell) in the Strand; and J. Wright, opposite Old Bond-Street, Piccadilly., M DCC CXVII. [i.e. 1797]

Description: [2], xviii, 371, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates: map; 22 cm. (8vo)

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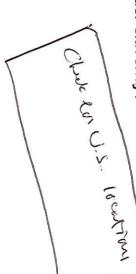
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Author: Wissmann, Hermann von, 1853-1905

Title: Meine zweite Durchquerung

während der Jahre 1886 und 1887. Aquatorial-Afrikas vom Congo zum Zambesi

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Physical description: viii, 261 p. illus., plates, ports., maps (4 fold. in

Publication info: Frankfurt a. O., Verlag der Königlichen

pocket) 23 cm.

Hofbuchdruckerei Trowitzsch & Sohn 1891

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book Subject: Congo (Democratic Republic) Description and

travel.

Subject: Africa, Central Description and travel

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm12984625

Author: Wissmann, Hermann von, 1853-1905

Title: Meine zweite Durchguerung

während der Jahre 1886 und 1887 Aquatorial-Afrikas vom Kongo zum Zambesi

Physical description: viii, 261 p., [32] leaves of plates: ill.; 22 cm.

Publication info: Amsterdam: Time-Life Bücher, 1983 1890

General note: Facsimile reprint of 1st ed., 1890.

General note: Three col., folded maps and 1 col., folded ill. in

pocket.

General note: Includes index.

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book

Subject: Congo (Democratic Republic) Description and

travel.

Subject: Africa, Central Description and travel

Series: Klassische Reiseberichte

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OCLC Accession No.: ocm3101026

Author: Wissmann, Hermann von, 1853-1905

Title: Meine zweite Durchquerung

während der Jahre 1886 und 1887 Aquatorial-Afrikas, vom Kongo zum Zambesi

Edition: Neue Ausg., mit Abbildungen nach Zeichnungen von Hellgrewe und

Hermann von Wissmann von Eugen Klein-Chevalier, sowie einem Gedenkblatt für

Wolf-München.

Physical description: xxxii, 336 p.: ill.; 23 cm.

Publication info: Berlin: Globus 1907

General note: "Gedenkblatt für Hermann von Wissmann, von

Eugen Wolf-München" [dated 1907]; p.

v]-xxv.

General note: Includes index.

General note: PUBLICATION TYPE: Book

Subject: Africa, Central Description and travel.

Subject: Congo (Democratic Republic) Description and

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1 Lieutenant Francis Meynell, View of the Deck of the Slave Ship 4thano: (1846). National Maritime Museum, Picture Library, Greenwich

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2 Bob Marley, Survival (LP Album cover, 1979). Photograph Colin Mills between pp. 26 & 27

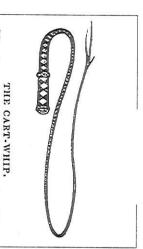
- 3 Henri Fuseli, *The Negro's Revenge* (1806). Elke Walford, Fotowedstatt. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg
- 4 J. M. W. Turner, Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhon Coming On (1840). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- 5 Auguste Biard, Seene on the African Coast (c. 1833). Kingston upon Hull, City Museums and Art Galleries, Wilberforce House between pp. 58 & 59

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- 6 Thomas Moran, The Slave Hunt (1862), The Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa
- 7 Giotto, Flagellation of Christ (1303–6). Scrovegni Chapel, Padua between pp. 90 ぐ 91

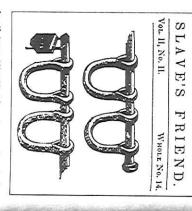
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You have heard of the driver's whip—how cruelly they lash the poor slaves—how many stripes they receive. Each of the drivers has in his hand, or coiled

[5.45] Anon., 'The Whip' (wood-engraving, 1833). From The Slave's Friend



[5,46] Anon., 'Shackles' (wood-engraving, 1833). From *The Slave's Friend* 

of the Brookes, J. M. W. Turner, Nat Turner, Henry Bibb, Henry 'Box' Brown, Moses Roper, John Ruskin, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Blake, Henry Fuseli, William Cowper, the committee that designed the plan rope; or even a simple mallet of heavy hard wood, applied with a swing to torture offers to malicious banality: 'The stupidest mind may invent a vidual sufferings of slaves? Joseph Conrad defines the encouragement that to make art which refutes the banality of torture. Douglass, all so different, all so re-memorable, testifies to the human ability the work which directly addresses slavery made by Xavier Chagas, William humankind by humankind. Yet this book rejects that option and argues that that can be created in any form, for any audience, to describe the torture of encourage the thought that, in the end, there may be nothing really worth it the most exquisite torture? 122 This takes us in a terrible direction, and might human fingers or to the joints of a human body; is enough for the infliction of string and a ramrod; a few muskets in combination with a length of hide rankling phrase or brand the innocent with a cruel aspersion. A piece of or abused, but are they finally appropriate or dignified symbols of the indithe whip, the shackle or the bowie knife [5.45 and 5.46]. Again these objects represented again and again through simple unadorned little woodcuts of children's slavery magazine printed in Boston in the early 1830s, slavery is go beyond race; they only have meaning when we imagine them being used, nifiers for human agony: Within the pages of The Slave's Friend, a miniature body completely. This takes us back full circle to the power of objects as siggesture of objectification in the representation of torture is to leave out the

### Notes

THE

- 1 Edward Peters, Tortu For an economical re (London, Routledge. West, including dom Punishment, Life Im, Press, 1987), pp. 285, sional domestic tortu
- sional domestic tortu

  2 Cesare Beccaria, O

  (Indianapolis, Bobbs

  3 See John W. Blassing
- For the judicial torture forms of torture and p ular imagination see / Publishing, 1993). For 1996); Brian Lane *En* objects of 'traditional' Instruments (London bridle see Geoffrey Al 63-80, branks or scole Burnings: The Punish 1827), pp. 34-45, 106-Baroque to the Modern Relating to Slavery in succinct comparative Walvin, A History of I (London, Penguin, 19 Questioning Slavery London, University Culture in the Eight Carolina Press, Fox-Genovese, With South (New York and 198
- Making, pp. 324-5,
  5 For popular literatura
  Gattrell, The Hangin
  Oxford University Pre
  discussion of the exec
  period.
- 6 For the problematic re ishment see Igor Pr Punishment (Dartmo pp. 55-75.
- 7 For a survey of this m: century see Lionello Pi Rizzoli, 1990). It is sig blacks or slaves.
- 8 See Johan Thorsten : Amsterdam, Elsevier, 9 For the earliest Weste
- y rot the earliest West saints, the passion of Image of the Black in 1 For the later develops The Image of the Black

## Search Result -- Quick Search

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1815 edition not in Jusiah

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Call number: G160 .W94

travels selected from the writers of all nations : embellished with plates, in ten volumes. The world displayed or, a collection of voyages and

Publication info: Dublin: J. Christie, 1815.

Description: 10 v.:(ill.); 22 cm.

Local note: SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Vol. 3: Gift of Ann McGuire,

Subject: Voyages and travels—Collections.

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Location: SC-STKS -- G160 .W94 1815

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Call number: F1761 .W96 1844

Wurdemann, John George F., 1810-1849.

and customs of its inhabitants. With directions to travellers visiting population, resources, and wealth; its institutions, and the manners and early history; a description of the face of the country, its Notes on Cuba, containing an account of its discovery

the island. By a physician ...

Publication info: Boston, James Munroe and Company, 1844. Description: [2], x, 359, [1] p. 19.3 cm. Note: Sabin 105638.

Note: Southern Apalachian, Mar.-May 1843; new ser., v. 2, p. 153-159; Chapters 1–3 were published in the Magnolia; or

241-248; 317-319; 368-374.

Local note: Errata: (17 lines) on last page.

\_ocal note: Pages 7-8 incorrectly bound after p. 4

\_ocal note: Pub. advts. (2 p.) at front.

Local note: Original brown cloth.

Local note: Gift of Edwards.

Subject: Cuba--Description and travel.

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Call number: F1761 .W96 1844

Author: Wurdemann, John George F., 1810-1849.

Title: Notes on Cuba, containing an account of its discovery and early resources, and wealth; its institutions, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. With directions to travellers visiting the island. By a physician ... history; a description of the face of the country, its population,

Publication info: Boston, James Munroe and Company, 1844.

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Author: Wyvill, Richard Augustus.

Title: A sketch of the military life of Richard Augustus Wyvill, : late major of the 3d Veteran

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Jason

stationed; viz. England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, America, the West Indies. Battalion; with descriptions of various parts of the world, in which he has been

and Egypt.

Imprint London: : Printed for T. Egerton, bookseller to the Ordnance, Military Library,

Whitehall., 1820.

Description: iv, 589, [1] p.; 22 cm.

Notes: "The following abstract of my military life was written as a journal for my private amusement in different parts of the world ..."--Preface, p.  $\phi$ ii].

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Citations: Lib. Company. Afro-Americana, 11431

Subject: Wyvill, Richard Augustus

Subject: Slaves -- West Indies

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Local Entry: Local Entry: Printer: Hayden, George, printer. Printer: Egerton, Thomas, bookseller

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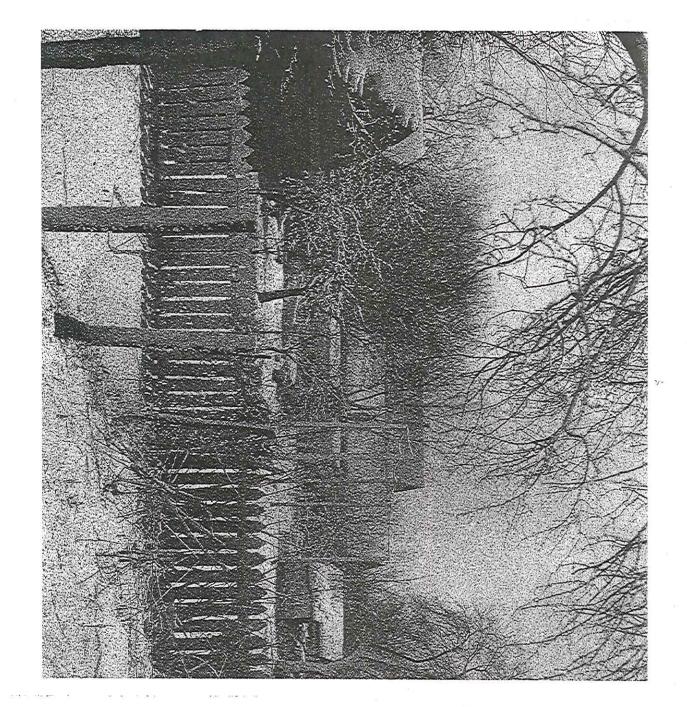
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# Historical Magazine



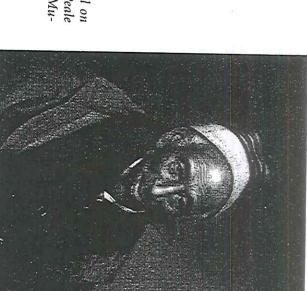
# A Narrative Portrait of Yarrow Mamout Every Picture Tells a Story:

James H. Johnston

and those who aided him. Mamout, a man who went from slave to capitalist, and of those who enslaved him reveal the answer, but Peale's diary offers clues for a narrative picture of Yarrow row Mamout? And which, if either, portrayal is accurate? The paintings cannot cided to paint a seemingly obscure, ex-slave was obviously unusual. Who was Yardid a less masterful portrait, showing an older, poorer man. That two artists deto-do burgher. Three years later, Georgetown painter James Alexander Simpson extraordinary early portrait of an African American that depicts Yarrow as a wellportrait of him should I have the opportunity." Peale spent two days and left with an Situation having Bank stock and lives in his own house. . . . I propose to make a is living in Georgetown said to be 140 years of age. . . . He is comfortable in his n January 1819, artist Charles Willson Peale traveled to Georgetown to paint Yarrow Mamout's portrait. Peale wrote in his diary, "I heard of a Negro who

story is still recounted in oral history, and the place she lived is known as six years after his death. He had a son, Aquilla, who married a woman named about him became local legends, passed along in oral histories for at least thirtysnow Elijah. Two prominent Marylanders, Benjamin Tasker Jr. and Christopher that both Yarrows led extraordinary lives. land, where Polly worked as a midwife. Although Polly Yarrow died in 1885, her Mary "Polly" Turner. They lived in Pleasant Valley, Washington County, Mary-Lowndes's widow and his grandchildren. Yarrow acquired fame as well. Stories had helped finance Peale's art schooling in England and Peale painted portraits of Lowndes had profited from Yarrow's enslavement. Years earlier Tasker's father captivated Charles Willson Peale, who may not have realized that Tasker and trust as security for the loan, and had his own a house in Georgetown. His story had gained his freedom, acquired stock in a bank, lent money, took back a deed of Lowndes, sponsored the slaving voyage. After forty-five years in slavery Yarrow Guinea and literate in Arabic, arrived in America, with his sister, as a slave on the Yarrowsburg. There is also a Yarrow Drive in Rockville, Maryland, suggesting In 1752, Yarrow (an English spelling of his African surname), a Muslim from

on Yarrow Mamout. The author, a practicing attorney in Washington D.C., has published several articles



(Courtesy Atwater-Kent Mucanvas, Charles Willson Peale

### Africa to Maryland

inconsistent with the documentary record.2 to America at the age of thirty-five. If in fact accurate, Yarrow would have been born in 1685 and come to Maryland in 1720. The assertion is implausible and he determined his age from counting twelve moons to the year, and that he came question as he worked on his portrait. Yarrow said that he was 134 years old, that ment that Yarrow was 140 years old in 1819 is of course untrue. The artist raised the and, according to one reliable account came from Guinea. Peale's hearsay state-The only surviving information of Yarrow's life in Africa is that he was Muslim

widow told Peale that she freed Yarrow to keep her husband's promise to grant of Yarrow's owner, the woman whom Peale identified as the "Widow Bell." The Yarrow his freedom if he made the bricks for the family's new house in Georgetown. trait, he met with a "Mr. Bell" at a bank who directed him to the "ancient widow" on Yarrow's slavery and freedom including the fact that after he finished the poreighties, a detail that supports a 1736 date of birth. Peale wrote additional entries "Negroes in the city," Warden wrote about Yarrow and said he was in his early the new capital of the United States, published in Paris in 1816. In the section on thus places his birth circa 1736. The other source is David Baillie Warden's book on owner, Brooke Beall, prepared in 1796, lists the slave Yarrow as sixty years old and years old in 1819, just five years older than Peale. First, the estate inventory of his Two sources suggest that Yarrow was born around 1736 and hence eighty-three

who had purchased him off of a slave ship.3 work in the District of Columbia in 1807. Widow Bell (Margaret Beall) told pears as free man in the 1800 Georgetown census. Beall filed the same paperand two years later, in 1797, his son Upton Beall manumitted Yarrow. He ap-Peale that Yarrow became her husband's property "at the decase" of his father The extrinsic evidence supports this account. Brooke Beall died on July 11, 1795, Her husband had died before work started, and she carried out his instructions

and Lowndes planned to sell, "A Parcel of healthy SLAVES, consisting of Men, area that included Guinea. On May 28, 1752, the Gazette announced that Tasker ship, it is unlikely. He probably arrived two years later, in May 1752, aboard the Severn River in Annapolis. The Beckey, under the command of Captain Richard sixty lots in the newly created town of Bladensburg, Maryland. Merchant and Women, and Children" from the Elijah on the Severn on June 6.4 under Captain James Lowe, and the crew picked up cargo on the Gold Coast, an Elijah. Tasker and Lowndes had also commissioned this voyage. The ship sailed Baker had picked up cargo in Angola. Although Yarrow could have been on this Tasker Jr. and his son-in-law Christopher Lowndes would arrive any day at the 1750, the Maryland Gazette reported that a cargo of slaves consigned to Benjamin ships, however, docked at Annapolis, twenty-four miles to the east. On May 24, seagoing ships could navigate the waterway the entire distance to the town. Slave slave trader Christopher Lowndes held title to another. Bladensburg sits on the east bank of the Anacostia River. In the early decades of the nineteenth century can colonies in 1750. Brooke Beall's father, Samuel Beall Jr., owned one of the would have been born circa 1736 and would have arrived in the North Amerisetting a price. Yarrow, deemed fourteen years old, or perhaps slightly older, Committees determined the ages of the enslaved people for the purpose of

painted Christopher Lowndes's widow, Elizabeth, and their grandchildren.5 inland. Peale, too, had connections to Tasker and Lowndes. Benjamin Tasker's diary, perhaps a subconscious reflection of the different ways he heard the African's misheard him. The artist spelled the name both as "Yarrow" and as "Yallow" in his father helped underwrite his 1767 trip to England to study art. In 1789 the artist became sheriff of Frederick County, Maryland, in 1753, a move that took him father-in-law had purchased Yarrow directly from a slave ship, and Samuel Beall hearing. It is unlikely that Yarrow arrived any later than 1752. Widow Bell said her dialect. Moreover, by the time he met Yarrow, Peale had already begun to lose his he may have confused "Lowe" as "Dow." There is also the possibility that Peale probably did not speak English in 1752 and that he later spoke in a heavy dialect, Yarrow later told Peale that "Capt. Dow" brought him. Given that Yarrow

## In Western Maryland

Records of Yarrow's specific whereabouts from the time of his apparent arrival on

owned several properties, following their lives offers a general contour of Yarrow's He may have stayed close to Samuel and Brooke Beall Jr. Although the Bealls the Elijah in 1752 to his manumission forty-five years later are predictably scant.

planned to build an iron forge, grist mill, sawmill, and dam on the site.7 Antietam Iron Works, the property lay at the mouth of Antietam Creek and the Potomac River in Washington County, Maryland. The Ross Company owners partnership with David Ross, Richard Henderson, and Joseph Capline (the Ross Company) and purchased Frederick Forge from John Semple. Later known as the Frederick, he probably took Yarrow with him. Ten years later he entered into a In 1753, when Samuel Beall accepted the sheriff's position and moved to

settler of Washington County and then sold the latter property to the Ross Comchased both the Keep Tryst and Frederick Forge sites from Israel Friend, an early the Keep Tryst Furnace, located across the Potomac from Antietam Iron Works in the Potomac from George Washington's Mount Vernon plantation. He also owned trolled the iron works in Occoquan, Virginia, located a few miles downriver on Virginia, just north of what is now Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Semple, like Beall, Henderson, and Ross, came from Bladensburg. He con-Semple pur-

hire a manger to run the facility.9 large tracts on both sides of the Potomac River north of the present Harpers Scottish firm of John Glassford and Company. Landowner Joseph Capline held His partner, Richard Henderson, served as the American representative for the rying convicts for sale and notices of runaway servants in the Maryland Gazette. Ferry. Samuel Beall did not reside at the forge in 1763 as the partners had agreed to Dr. David Ross of Bladensburg, physician, advertised the arrival of ships car-

thirty-eight years old at the time and Beall described another male slave as "negro Kelly's Purchase. Although this could have been Yarrow, he would have been about forge and another, "slave boy Jarro," whom he bequeathed to his son Isaac at male slaves at the forge. In his will, Beall made note of one slave who worked at the records for 1783 (after Samuel Beall's death) show thirty-five adult male and feslaves often labored through the arduous business of making iron. Tax assessment Although there is no proof that Yarrow lived and worked at Frederick Forge,

down the Potomac River through portages to Georgetown. What is known of trees for charcoal on the adjacent Elk Ridge and surrounding hills. Antietam iron, including a bank of iron ore, deposits of limestone, and stands of hardwood ship, swimming, brick making, and basket weaving. He also learned how to nego-Yarrow's later life suggests that he had many skills, among them working on a Creek, dammed to supply water power, carried boats heavily loaded with iron The area around Frederick Forge held everything needed for the making of

slaves are listed by name in the inventory, the court valued one male slave at 200 sterling, twice the value of the other two adult males listed. This may have been Yarname but did specify that most of his slaves would belong to his widow. Although no himself may once have lived in the area. Samuel Beall's will did not mention Yarrow by Washington County on Elk Ridge not far from the iron works indicates that Yarrow build a successful business. The fact that Yarrow's son, who is discussed later, settled in Beall and his partners in constructing an iron forge, employing slaves, and trying to benefits of incorporation. Such a man would have proved quite valuable to Samuel tiate loans, how to protect investments by taking back deeds of trust, and the

## In Montgomery County

If not, he certainly visited.11 there for a time, Yarrow himself may have lived on Beall property around Rockville. his son's mother or sister apparently lived. Indeed, given that his young son was miles northeast of the Beall property at Watts Branch where his sister, his son, and Rockville in Montgomery County, fifteen miles northwest of Georgetown and five the Georgetown property. Yarrow also had connections to what is now the city of moved with Brooke is unknown, but in 1796 his name appeared in the inventory of property, however, and may have spent time at both places. Whether Yarrow consin Avenue and the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. He kept the Watts Branch dates to 1783 when he opened a trading business and lived near what is now Wishave lived for a time at the Watts Branch property. Beall's move to Georgetown estate. Thus, if Brooke acquired Yarrow at Samuel Beall's death, the African may buying property in Montgomery County near the mouth of Watts Branch and the Potomac River and land along Watts Branch is listed in the inventory of his from the estate or later from another heir. As early as 1766, Brooke Beall started Nothing in Samuel Beall's probate records confirms Widow Beall's statement to Peale, that his son Brooke inherited Yarrow. Brooke may have purchased him

slaves were living on property known as the Two Brothers tract of Valentine Gardens, Brothers tract mentioned in Wilson's will.12 Kings Farm, a 1996 development in Rockville, Maryland, located within the Two Discontent, and Advantage. Today, there is a block-long street called Yarrow Drive in Beall owned him at that time. According to Wilson's will, Yarrow and other named County man named Joseph Wilson. This could not have been Mamout as Brooke may have been the slave named Yarrow that is listed in the 1790 will of a Montgomery woman living in Frederick was the sole surviving heir of Yarrow's sister. The sister In 1850, a District of Columbia judge ruled that Nancy Hillman, a free black

and manumitted March 16, 1796, at the age of seven or eight for twenty pounds, under the following provision. The "above named Boy shall not be taken out of Yarrow's son, Aquilla Yarrow, lived in Rockville, enslaved to Ann Chambers

want Yarrow to have custody of his son until he had gained his own freedom. Yarrow nor even him provided he don't obtain his freedom." Chambers did not his family till he is able to get his living by any person unless by his Father

such as Jane Chambers, a woman who could have been his mother or sister.13 dance at the estate sale suggests that he may have accompanied someone he knew endow. At her estate sale, April 12, 1808, Aquilla Yarrow bought three old pots for uted to the slaves. She apparently had no heirs or at least none that she cared to that her slaves should be freed, her property sold, and the money equally distribthe slave named Jane who also belonged to Ann Chambers. In her will she stipulated ten cents and Jane Chambers purchased a loom for \$3.05. Young Aquilla's atten-Another of Aquilla's relatives, perhaps his mother or a sister, may have been

#### In Georgetown

chased three yards of oznaburg for Yarrow, probably for clothing.14 by Negro Yarrow," an ocean-going sailing vessel that belonged to fellow decennial census reports enumerated Beall with twenty-six slaves scattered over Georgetowner John Mason. Additionally, Robert Peter and Richard Johns pur-The merchant received payment for "2 days work on board the [ship] Maryland three properties. Beall's business ledgers contain two entries that involve Yarrow. in 1783, became part of the District of Columbia in 1790. That same year, the first Georgetown, part of Montgomery County when Brooke Beall took up residency

stock as an enslaved man. ship to around 1793. If Peale's information is correct, Yarrow acquired the bank the Books but sent me the above date [26 years]." This dates Yarrow's stock ownerthat he "sent to this Bank to ascertain this fact. The Clerks could not then refer to stock in the Columbia Bank of Georgetown. In fact, the artist wrote that Yarrow "was amongst the first who contributed to that Bank about 26 years past" and By the time Charles Willson Peale met him in 1819, Yarrow already owned

again collected population figures in Georgetown and found a second male in the Yarrow ownership of a house and lot on what is now Dent Street. household, presumably son Aquilla. On February 8, 1800, Francis Deakins gave By 1800, however, Yarrow appeared as a free man when census takers once

suggested that the recorder of deeds tried to copy an Arabic signature. Sulayman Smullin Brown, a scholar of Arabic and Islam at University College London, an "X," the customary mark of illiterates, there are foreign-looking symbols. Kevin writing is perfectly legible, with the exception of Yarrow's signature. Rather than peared, but the recorder's ledger with the hand written copy survives. The handhe owned it. The older man signed the deed, and his signature, as copied by the property to Aquilla. Yarrow apparently remained in the house as Peale thought Recorder of Deeds, suggests he was literate in Arabic. The original deed has disap-In 1803, for unknown reasons, Yarrow and Francis Deakins transferred this

ture. Nyang concluded that Yarrow was probably literate in Arabic and of Fulani signature is "distorted Arabic" and the recorder had attempted to copy the signa-Nyang, a professor of African Studies at Howard University, determined that the

savings. Undeterred, he went back to work a third time and acquired an even second merchant in Georgetown who went bankrupt. Once again Yarrow lost his articles for sale." After a few years, Yarrow had again saved \$100 that he entrusted to larger fortune, \$200. This time, wrote Warden: during the day for fixed wages and at night, he made "nets, baskets, and other His advancing age and failing strength worried him, yet he went back to work money to a merchant, but lost the entire sum when the merchant died insolvent. of a few years he had amassed a hundred dollars." He hoped to retire and gave the the Maryland. According to Mason, Yarrow "toiled late and early and in the course row through John Mason who had hired the enslaved man from Beall for work on book based on his time in Georgetown five years earlier. Warden learned of Yar-The next recorded mention of Yarrow Mamout is in David Warden's 1816

he still finds pleasure in his exercise.16 on the Potomac; and though his muscles are now somewhat stiffened by age treat him with attention.... When young, he was the best swimmer ever seen and good-natured. His history is known to several respectable families, who port. Though more than eighty years old, he walks erect, is active, cheerful, in his own name, the interest of which now affords him a comfortable suppurchased shares to this amount in that of Columbia [Bank of Georgetown], By the advice of a friend, who explained to him the nature of a bank, he

you been work nuff for me, go work for you now."17 massa been tink he got all de work out of a Yaro bone. He tell a Yaro, go free Yaro; Warden then repeated the story in what he claimed was Yarrow's dialect, "Olda

prior to manumission. There is also a different, less entrepreneurial version of the artist is indeed correct, then Yarrow's misfortunes occurred prior to 1794 and Peale's determination that Yarrow acquired the bank stock in 1793 or 1794. If the before 1800 when he acquired his house. Yet this interpretation does not align with well). Or, all of this could have happened to Yarrow after he was freed in 1797 and could have been one of Samuel's other sons (Samuel's son Brooke handled money death. Or perhaps "old massa" was Samuel Beall. If so, the second "young massa" Yarrow once he had finished work on the house, a promise interrupted by his died, consistent with Margaret Beall's recollection that Brooke promised to free much is legend and how much is true? Was Yarrow's "olda massa" Brooke Beall? Yarrow said his old master told him to go work for himself, but then his master This tale became legend. Peale heard it and repeated it in his diary. Yet how

legend that does not involve the Bealls, found in Grace Dunlop Ecker's 1933 hishaps based on oral histories now lost to time: tory of Georgetown. This author added details not found in other writings, per-

saved it and each time ill fortune overtook him. The first time he gave it to an small cart, and his ambition in life was to own a hundred dollars. Twice he Normanstone.18 Simpson, and is now owned by Mr. E. M. Talcott, who inherited it from quite a figure in his day, for his portrait was painted by James Alexander and started an account for him in the Bank of Columbia. He must have been gentlemen of the town became so interested that they took up a collection picked a young man to keep it for him. Then he absconded. Some of the Yarrow had nothing to prove that he had had his money. So the next time he old groceryman he knew, to keep for him. The old man died suddenly and but he was a Mohemmadan [sic]. He conducted a trade in hacking with a early days. It is not know whether he was an East Indian or a Guinea negro, as he was called, one of the most mysterious and interesting characters of the was the house which Francis Deakins sold on February 8, 1800 to Old Yarrow On 6th Street [Dent], between Market (33rd) and Frederick (34th) Streets.

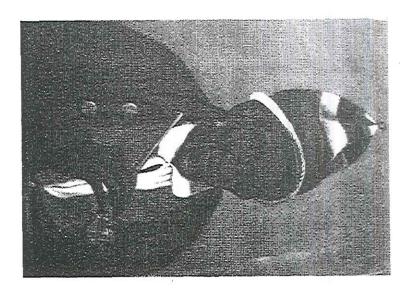
## The Paintings and the Eccentric

fered one explanation for the flattering portrait: his painting appears half this age. Peale biographer Charles Coleman Sellers ofsubject. After meeting him, Peale lowered that figure slightly to 134, yet the man in Peale's diary suggests that Yarrow's reported age of 140 first attracted him to his

toward his subject he recorded not only the features but his own friendly often unrevealing, stiff, and even awkward. But when his heart was warm feeling with both sympathy and charm.19 When he [Peale] was cool toward the sitter, or uninterested, the portrait is

another prominent African American, the Reverend Absalom Jones, in 1810.20 old. Perhaps Peale was also influenced by the fact that his son Raphaelle had painted man who took care of himself physically and spiritually could live to be 200 years him, but also the drapery & background." After the second day, Peale continued: his diary, "I spend [spent] the whole day & not only painted a good likeness of The elder Peale spent two days on Yarrow's portrait. After the first day he wrote in Sellers also pointed out that longevity interested Peale. He believed that a

Yarrow owns a House & lotts and is known by most of the Inhabitants of Georgetown & particularly by the Boys who are often teazing him which he



Yarrow Mamout, 1822. Oil on canvas, James Alexander Simpson (Courtesy Georgetown University Library.)

acquaintance of him often banter him about eating Bacon and drinking said man is no good unless his religion comes from the heart. . . . The a chearfull conduct, he professes to be a mahometan, and is often seen & contributed considerably to longevity. Yarrow has been noted for sobriety & takes in good humor. It appears to me that the good temper of the [m]an has bad. I retouched his Portrait the morning after his first setting to mark what Whiskey—but Yarrow says it is no good to eat Hogheard in the Streets singing Praises to God—and conversing with him he rinkles & lines to characterise better his Portrait.21 –& drink whiskey is very

that the artist had painted Yarrow.22 Charles Coleman Sellers relied on information from Peale's diary to conclude lowing ninety-five years the painting was known as "Billy Lee." In 1947 historian labeled the portrait "Billy Lee," a servant of George Washington and for the folhis museum. In 1852, well after Peale's death, his grandson Edmund mistakenly Peale took the painting back to Philadelphia and may have put it on display in

slightly different color stocking cap. The Simpson portrait may have been comond portrait of Yarrow. Although not as artistic, the work seems more accurate as Peale portrait, without the leather greatcoat draped over his shoulders and a Yarrow looks his age, eighty-six. He may have worn the same clothing as for the In 1822 a local Georgetown artist, James Alexander Simpson, painted a sec-

B

Whole of

ary 19, 1823. An obituary appeared in the Gettysburg Compiler on Feburary 23. ily placed it on loan to the Georgetown Library.23 Yarrow Mamout died on Janufamily estate east of Georgetown) and later belonged to E. M. Talcott whose fammissioned. Ecker wrote that the painting hung at Normanstone (the Barnard

> 18:28 p.19

comfortably in his old age. Yarrow was never known to eat of swine, nor and accumulated some Bank stock and a house and lot, on which he lived money, which he never got [back], but he persevered in industry and economy, moral, in the early part of his life he met with several losses by loaning where he usually resorted to pray, Yarrow has resided in town upwards of 60 his account) 136 years. He was interred in the corner of his garden, the spot drink ardent spirits,"24 years, it is known to all that knew him, that he was industrious, honest, and Died, at Georgetown, on the 19th ultimo, negro Yarrow, aged (according to

obituary appeared in a Pennsylvania newspaper.25 that the artist may have authored the tribute and may therefore explain why the The language of the obituary, similar to what Peale wrote in his diary, suggests

#### Legacy

on the west side of High Street [now Wisconsin Avenue in Georgetown]." a "two story brick dwelling and store house with extensive back buildings, situated suit to collect on an unpaid loan that her uncle had made in 1821 to a merchant for apparently owned at least one additional property, identified in Nancy Hillman's Well after Yarrow's death, the property was sold for unpaid taxes in 1837. Yarrow in 1803, yet the reasons for deeding the property to a sixteen-year-old are unclear As previously stated, Yarrow transferred the title of house and lot to his son Aquilla

will in which she bequeathed her entire estate to Frederick lawyers William and dant \$451 in unpaid principal and interest. She died the following year and left a security for the loan. In 1850 the court awarded the eighty-one year old descenentitled to enforce a deed of trust that John Marbury held on Yarrow's behalf as Worthington Ross, two lawyers in Frederick.<sup>26</sup> Hillman claimed that she, as Yarrow's niece and his only surviving heir, was

mentioned Yarrow and described him as "grotesque": Balch delivered two lectures on the history of Georgetown. In the first lecture he In 1859, twenty-six years after Yarrow's death, the Reverend Thomas Bloomer

ment; of water excursions; of boat races which came off on the Potomac.... the strength of the social affections. They consist of parties of innocent amuse-Reminiscences of various kinds are now crowding upon me which evinces

whose weary limbs found their final repose in one of our graveyards.<sup>22</sup> rable likeness was taken by Simpson, or of Lorenzo Dow, the great itinerant Or we might indulge in recollections of such grotesque characters as old Yarrah, who was a Mohammedan [sic] from Guinea, and of whom an admi-

traveling revival preacher of the time. Peale too saw this less dignified side of ness. Thus the minister recalled Yarrow in the same sentence as Lorenzo Dow, a In context, Balch seemed to be using the word "grotesque" more as a reference to Yarrow's flamboyant street utterances and other eccentricities, than to any ugli-

give me half.<sup>28</sup> and put it into the Basket of some Gentleman, and then say me not tell if you meat to give to yarrow - sometimes he will pretend to steal a piece of meat would steal some thing - The Butchers in the Market can always find a bit of [H]e seems delighted to sport with those in company, pretending that he

# Aquilla and Mary "Polly" Turner Yarrow

ment. An 1832 sheriff's itemization of free persons of color in the county listed debts exceeded this amount. He did not leave a will, and although the court appraised the estate at \$170, Aquilla's Aquilla Yarrow, and county probate records indicate that he died the same year. in 1832, leaving her the only surviving heir. The 1830 census report lists Aquilla Potomac River to the east of Harper's Ferry, information that supports her state-Yarrow as free man living in rural Washington County, Maryland, just across the Hillman's lawsuit indicated that Yarrow's son Aquilla had died in Harpers Ferry

by the 1860 enumeration one Polly Yaner lived in the same location.<sup>29</sup> ington County lists a forty-five-year-old black woman named Mary Yarrow, and appears immediately before Aquilla's. The estate inventory lists fabrics, quilts, Turner purchased some of these items at the estate sale. The 1840 census for Washthe margin, as though these goods belonged to (or were intended for) her. Mary and similar items that a woman might own, and the name "Polly" is scribbled in the 1832 sheriff's listing, which is not in alphabetical order, the name Mary Turner evidence suggests that Aquilla had a wife named Mary "Polly" Turner Yarrow. In There is no mention of heirs in the formal record, but an accumulation of

of Washington County known as Pleasant Valley is a cluster of houses called from Harpers Ferry to Antietam Creek, site of the Antietam Iron Works. The Yarrowsburg. The town sits on the slope of forested Elks Ridge which stretches Today, at the intersection of Yarrowsburg, Reed, and Kaetzel roads in the part

all the babies, black and white. She was old, but I don't know when she died."30 the place was named after her because she was the midwife for the area. Delivered Mullenix, she "lived here a long time ago, she was black. . . . My grandfather said told him the area got its name from a woman named Polly Yarrow. According to liam Mullenix, who lives in Yarrowsburg, gave this oral history. His grandfather community boasts a small Mennonite church but no commercial buildings. Wil-

seen a rock that marked the grave but he cannot find it today.32 woman, named Polly Yarrow, whose exact age is not known, but was over 100 years. in the Hagerstown Herald and Torch Light, November 26, 1885. "An old colored buried in a field down the road from where he lived. He recalled that as boy he had in Pleasant Valley, in this county." Mullenix thought that Polly Yarrow had been died on last Saturday, at a little village, called Yarrowsburg, near Crampton's Gap, that the tiny two-room house had burned to the ground. Polly Yarrow's obituary is said it stood across the road from where he now lives, and he remembered being told An 1877 map of the area shows the location of "Mrs. Yarrow's house." Mullenix

#### Conclusion

als, Yarrow mastered the concept of a corporation, saying "all de massa can't die after his death. After twice losing money entrusted to mortal and flighty individuindeed tell a story. graphed, and Charles Willson Peale painted the inner man. Every picture does years of slavery before gaining his freedom through force of will and hard work cant go away." Yarrow Mamout, considered eccentric by some, survived forty-five of trust to protect a loan, allowing his niece to collect on it twenty-seven years English with poetry in phrases such as "old for true." He learned the value of a deed a community in Pleasant Valley, and on portraits in Philadelphia and Georgetown. cies that bear their names. The name Yarrow still appears on a road in Rockville, on James Alexander Simpson painted Yarrow as he might have looked if photofor adhering to his beliefs. He kept his Arabic language and yet could also speak Yarrow kept his Muslim religion in a Christian early America and earned respect Peale's portrait. He and his sister were brought to America as slaves yet left legawho knoew him, Yarrow Mamout remains as enigmatic as the smile on his face in Regardless of the evidence in two portraits and in the accounts of three men

#### NOTES

slave named Yarrow in the will of Joseph Wilson, all as detailed in this article. dently, she was the first to discover Yarrow Mamout had a son named Aquilla and found the advice and research assistance on Yarrow Mamout. In addition, researching Yarrow indepen-Diane Broadhurst, a researcher in Montgomery County, Maryland, provided invaluable

- Simpson painting is in the Washington, D.C. Public Library, Georgetown Branch. Haven, Ct., 1991), 617. The Peale portrait hangs in the Atwater-Kent museum in Philadelphia. The The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Volume 3 (Yale University Press, New Charles Willson Peale, Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, David C. Ward, and Rose S. Emerich, ed.
- phia: Allen, Lane, and Scott, 1907), 365; Peale, Selected Papers, 651. was just blocks from Yarrow's house, Thomas Willing Balch, Balch Genealogica, (Philadeland, after graduating from Princeton, Balch assisted his father at the church, and the church 1859), 15. Balch surely knew Yarrow. His father was pastor of the Presbyterian church there, in the Methodist Protestant Church, Georgetown, D.C., 20 January 1859 (Washington, D.C., from Guinea, Thomas Bloomer Balch, Reminiscences of Georgetown, D.C: A lecture delivered ever, in a lecture delivered in 1859 the Reverend Thomas Bloomer Balch said that Yarrow came the American revolutionary war, [he] was brought from Africa," David Baillie Warden, A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia (Paris, 1816), 48. How-Peale, Selected Papers 652; The earliest reference to Yarrow's homeland indicates that "before professes to be a mahometan, and is often seen & heard in the Streets singing Praises to God." Ibid. Peale also wrote: "Yarrow has been noted for sobriety & and a chearfull conduct, he
- Protestant Church Georgetown D.C., 9 March 1859 (Washington, D.C., 1859), 7; Cook, Brooke Bloomer Balch, Reminiscences of Georgetown D.C., Second Lecture Delivered in the Methodisi Brooke Beall's wife Margaret Johns Beall. The name Beall is often pronounced "Bell"; Thomas tion, 49; Peale, Selected Papers, 651. Peale spelled both names phonetically. Thomas Brooke Beall was the president of Farmers and Mechanics Bank in Georgetown; Widow Bell was gomery County Historical Society Library, Rockville, Md.; Warden, Chorographical Descrip-3. Peale was born in 1741. Peale, Selected Papers, Volume 1 (1983) XLV, Eleanor Mildred Vaughr Cook, The Brooke Beall Family and the Johns Family (Unpublished, July 1986) xviii, Mont-
- lines." http://www.bladensburg.com (March 6, 2008); George Alfred Townsend, Washington, land State Archives (transcriber and date of transcription unknown) 7-8; Ibid. In 1748, Lowndes Minute Book 1742-1789, Prince George's County Historical Society, transcribed from Mary-In 1753, Benjamin Tasker was appointed interim governor of Maryland. Hester Dorsey Outside and Inside (Cincinnati: James Betts & Co., 1874) 700; Maryland Gazette, May 16, 1750. constructed as well as a ropewalk that manufactured the cordage necessary for shipping materials, dry goods, and slaves. He also owned a shipyard where ocean-going vessels were Bladensburg, which describes Lowndes as "His trading company imported spices, building built a house called Bostwick. The house still stands and is currently owned by the City of there in 1807; Peale, Selected Papers 651; Cook, Brooke Beall Family 107; Town of Bladensburg manumission there in 1797 and District of Columbia Deeds, R17:201 for his manumission Society, 2001), 16. Broadhurst references Montgomery County Deeds, G:285 for Yarrow's in the Beall Family Household" (Unpublished report for the Montgomery County Historical 4. Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 27; Diane D. Broadhurst, "An Examination of Slaves and Slavery Richardson, Side-lights on Maryland History: With Sketches of Early Maryland Families. (Bal-

timore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1903) 17-18; David Eltis and Ugo G. Nwokeji, The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Cambridge University Press 1999); Maryland Gazette (May 28,

- finished the miniatures of her. He went to Georgetown the next day to begin work on "The Secretary of the Navy under John Adams. Elizabeth Lowndes died the same day that Peale the children of Benjamin Stoddert, a friend and business associate of George Washington and Ibid., 457, 829, 839; Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 70; Peale, Selected Papers, I:57, 567-70. These were the microfilms of the original documents at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington D.C.; and wrote of a "spiral Ear Trumpet," Peale, Selected Papers, 652. Spellings were confirmed using By June 1820, a year and a half after meeting Yarrow, Peale investigated "accoustic instruments" using a chemical treatment for deafness that left him with a "disagreeable singing in my head." 5. Warden, Chorographical Description 50-51. Two years earlier, in October 1816, he wrote of
- Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 66. The author uncovered sixty land patents and deeds for the elder Beall
- son, 1976) 19–22; Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 71–72. 7. Michael Thompson, The Iron Industry in Western Maryland (Baltimore, Md.: M.D. Thomp-
- N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992) 93-99 for the familial and business relationships. 8. Thompson, Iron Industry, 19-23; also see Alan L. Karras, Sojourners in the Sun (Ithica
- his daughter and John P. Dern." described as "a compilation of information contained on two hand drawn maps prepared by http://midatlantic.rootsweb.com/MD/washington/plats/map.html (March 6, 2008), which is shown as adjacent to the iron works on the map, Early Settlers of Washington County Maryland, Maryland, Book TS 1: 19. Beall's will states that he lived at Kelly's Purchase. This property is a tract that abutted the iron works, and there is where he died in September 1777. Will of Samuel in Western Maryland 22, 23; Cook, Brooke Beall Family 69, 70. Samuel did buy Kelly's Purchase, Neptune with a cargo of seven-year servants imported by David Ross. Thompson, Iron Industry through August 29, 1750. The July 14, 1762, Maryland Gazette carried notice of the arrival of the Maryland Gazette for the return of an escaped servant, and the offer continued to appear of convicts "consigned to Dr. Ross." Ross offered a reward of five pistols in the May 23, 1750. Frederick County appears in 'Pioneers of Old Monocacy' published in 1987 by Grace L. Tracey, Dr. Arthur G. Tracey of Hampstead, Maryland, who died in 1960, and who's [sic] work on Beall executed October 15, 1774, filed January 10, 1778. Register of Wills, Washington County, For example, the Maryland Gazette, July 26, 1749, carried a notice about the arrival of a ship
- his furnace's output down the Potomac, Thompson, Iron Industry, 28-29; Samuel Beall's will. 10. Thompson, Iron Industry 32-33; The natural advantages of the Antietam Iron Works are prepared of the cost of transporting pig iron to Georgetown in 1769 indicates he was floating manifest even today, but also see Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 76. An analysis John Semple
- son Upton built and is the home of the Montgomery County Historical Society. property in Rockville in this time period. The best known is the Beall-Dawson house that Brooke's Springs Road and Beall Mountain Road, Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 2; various Bealls owned 11. Of course, Peale did not say the Widow Bell's husband "inherited" Yarrow. Peale said that upon in the river at Watt's Branch is known as Beall Island, and two roads there carry the names Beall the "decase" of his father, Mr. Bell acquired Yarrow, Peale, Selected Papers 651. To this day, an island
- dated to 1821. Will of Joseph Wilson, November 5, 1790, Montgomery County Register of Wills istration Cases Files, 1801-78, #2472. As heir, Nancy Hillman could collect an unpaid debt that Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 21, Entry 115, Old Series Admin-William Redin, Chancery Court of the District of Columbia (circa December 1849), National Judge Morsell, State of the Proceeding and Opinion, Eliza M. Mozier v. John Marbury &

Historical Society Library. Howard, Early Montgomery County Land Patents & survey #12 (1997), Montgomery County Gaithersburg & Vicinity, Maryland National Park & Planning Commission (1987); overlay, F. B: 433; Berkley County, West Virginia, Will Book, Volume 2, 1788–1796, 335; Map of Rockville

- estates of Sarah and Ann Chambers, Montgomery County Register of Wills F 287. Ann Chambers, Montgomery County Register of Wills F 184; the slaves named in her will were 13. Montgomery County Land Records, G-147, 17 (1796). Assuming Aquilla was eight years Levi, Walter, Jeremiah, Jane, Marget, Ruth, Elijah, and Elisa. Account of Sale of Property of the born in 1679, as Peale initially heard, then Yarrow would have been fertile into his 108th year. Will of old in 1796, then he was conceived about 1787, when Yarrow was approximately fifty-one. If he were
- Mason Neck, Va.; Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 100. 1793-1803 folder, Papers of John Mason, Gunston Hall Library & Archives, Gunston Hall, 400 more were "free persons of color or Indians not taxed," Cook, Brooke Beall Family, 89; Oznaburg was a fabric used both for sailcloth and for slaves' clothing, Ibid, 26; Maryland The 1800 census for Georgetown counted 8,144 residents, of which 2,072 were slaves and
- as shown in Real Estate Atlas, Baist's Survey of Washington D.C. (date missing), Recorder of Nyang phone interview, January 2006. (1803) 7, NARA, D.C.); email conversation with Kevin Smullen Brown, January 2006; Sulayman Deeds, Washington, D.C; Volume 10 of Liber K, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia ledgers in which the old deeds are typed. Lot #217, Beatty's & Hawkins Addition to Georgetown Administration in Washington D.C. (hereinafter NARA, D.C.) The Recorder of Deeds has newer old page 67 new. The original ledger books are now at the National Archives and Records sion papers were filed later that year. District of Columbia, Recorder of Deeds Liber E page 80 freedom, demonstrates that Yarrow was considered a slave as late as 1797. Indeed, his manumisin Ann Chambers's manumission of Yarrow's son, Aquilla, that Yarrow had to obtain his own freed until after her husband died, and Brooke Brooke Beall died in 1795. Likewise, the recitation was found, but the records were incomplete.; the Widow Bell told Peale that Yarrow wasn't ern successor, the Riggs Bank. No evidence of Yarrow's owning stock or having an account Columbia Bank of Georgetown by examining available records in the possession of its mod-Papers, 652. This author likewise attempted to confirm the fact that Yarrow held stock in the 2 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940) 64-64; Peale, Selected were not taken until early 1794, John Joseph Wilson, "Early Banks in the District of Columbia 1792–1818, A Dissertation," *The Catholic University of America, Studies in Economics*, Volume 15. The bank's charter was granted on December 25, 1793, but subscriptions from stockholders
- Warden, Chorographical Description 49–50.
- 17. 1010, 50-5
- Grace Dunlop Ecker, A Portrait of Old Georgetown, (Richmond: Garrett and Mossie, 1933)
- Magazine of History and Biography, 61 (1947), 99. 19. Charles Coleman Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale and Yarrow Mamout," The Pennsylvania
- 20. Ibid., 99-100; Peale, Selected Papers Vol. 3, 37.
- 21. Peale, Selected Papers, 652.
- 22. Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale and Yarrow Mamout," 99-101.
- the painting looks too expensive for an eighty-three-year-old ex-slave living on interest from drawn from the letters of Francis A. Barnum," the university's first archivist. The greatcoat in 23. The only known writing on Simpson's life is Kenneth C. Haley, "A Nineteenth Century tant professor of fine arts at Georgetown University, noted "Facts about Simpson's life are Portraitist and More: James Alexander Simpson," Georgetown Day (May 1977). Haley, assis-

Taggart, Old Georgetown, 102; Balch, "Reminiscences of," 15, 18. Michelle Krowl, processor, "Yarrah or Yarrow, Oil Portrait painted by Simpson. Loan from Mrs. Hugh (Talcott) Barclay. See and then the Talcotts, Eker, Portrait of Old Georgetown, 178; the library's acquisition record reads: Avenue in Washington D.C. Writing in 1933, Eker indicated the painting was first at Normanstone over Yarrow's shoulders for artistic reasons. The British Embassy is today on Massachusetts by horse-drawn cab. Peale Selected Papers 650—51. Peale may have draped his own leather greatcoat \$200 in bank stock. Peale did the painting in January and usually traveled around Washington author by Peabody Room librarian Jerry McCoy (December 2005). the family and hence might have acquired the portrait by gift or inheritance; copy furnished tions, Finding Aid, MS 541 (April 1997). The Barnard papers suggest E. M. Talcott was related to Robert Barnard Family Papers 1658-1917, Historical Society of Washington D.C., Special Collec-

- 24. Gettysburg Compiler, February 23, 1823.
- Cap," Washington Post Magazine (February 6, 2006). way to determine if Yarrow's body was still there. James H. Johnston, "The Man in the Knit for the District of Columbia examined the site and concluded there was not a non-invasive Two townhouses now occupy the lot that Yarrow owned. Nancy Kasner, archaeologist
- award, essentially Yarrow Mamout's money; Yarrow's original owner, Samuel Beall, had been in John Marbury & William Redin, Chancery Court of the District of Columbia (circa 1849). 26. Tax assessment on heirs of Yarro, Record Group 351, Records of the Government of A distant relationship between Ann Worthington and Worthington Ross of Frederick did exist the slave named Yarrow, presumably Hillman's mother, to Wilson's daughter Ann Worthington. partnership with David Ross of Bladensburg, but a distant relationship between David Ross and Hillman's estate included a \$300 trust fund, which probably held the proceeds from the court County Register of Wills, 1851, Will Docket T. S. 1-152, Accounting Docket G.H. 1-22, NARA, D.C. Record Group 21, Entry 115, Old Series Administration Cases Files, 1801–1878 #2472; Frederick Washington, D.C. entry 184, Assessment Books 1835–1839, 101, NARA, D.C.; Eliza M. Mozier v. William and Worthington Ross of Frederick could not be established. Joseph Wilson's will gave
- 27. Balch, First Lecture, 15.
- 28. Peale, Selected Papers, 652.
- 29. Jerry M. Hynson, Free African Americans of Maryland 1832 (Westminster, Md.: Family mon diminutive of Mary. Personal Property, L: 159; Accounts, 9: 441 and 10: 4, Maryland State Archives; Polly is a com-Probate Court records, 1832, Personal Property Appraisal, I: 310, 554; Debts, A: 61, Sale of Line Publications, 1998), 23. Montgomery County Historical Society library; Washington County
- William Mullenix, Pleasant Valley, Washington County, interview (October 2005).
- 31. An Illustrated Atlas of Washington County Maryland (Philadelphia: Lake, Griffing, and Stevenson, 1877), Sandy Hook.
- 32. [Hagerstown] Herald and Torch Light, November 26, 1885; Mullenix interview