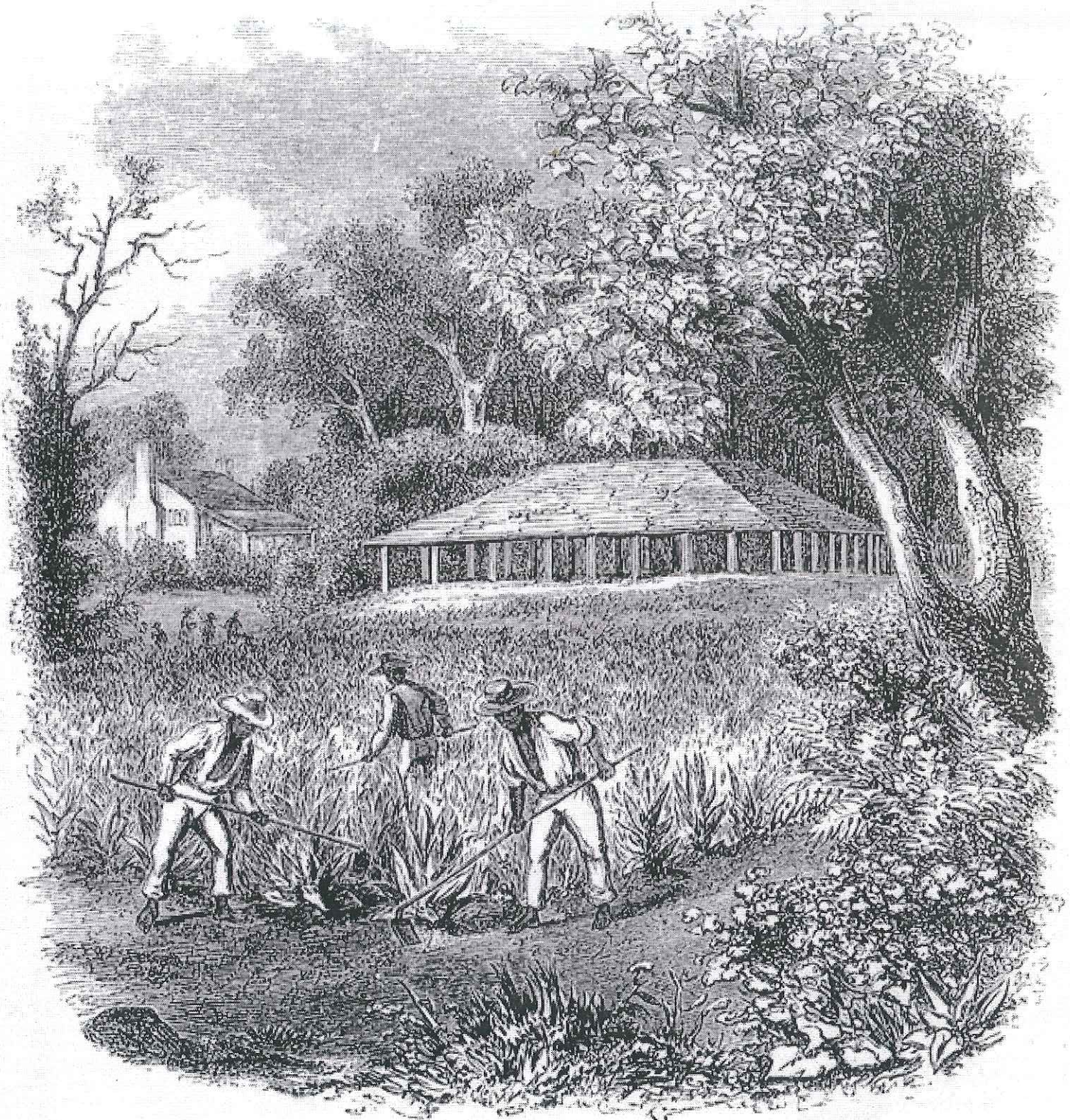


Do not scan



TOBACCO PLANTATION.

#249

Title: Tobacco Plantation

Source: Illustration in Harper's New Monthly
Magazine, vol. 11, no. 61 (June 1855), p. 8

UVA

Special Collections SC-BARR-ST

Call # PS1.H37

*Special Collections SC-STKS

Call # AP2.H3

*This one!!



RAINSFORD,

Blood Hounds attacking a Black Family in the Woods.

#92

Title:

Blood hounds attacking a Stack family in the woods

Source:

Plate in Marcus Rainford's Historical Account of the Black

Empire of Hayti (London: Albion press printed: published by

James Cundee, Ivy-Lane, Paternoster, and sold by C. Chapple,

= Pall Mall, 1805), p. 338.

=

Barlow, J engraver 1805

Not in UVA

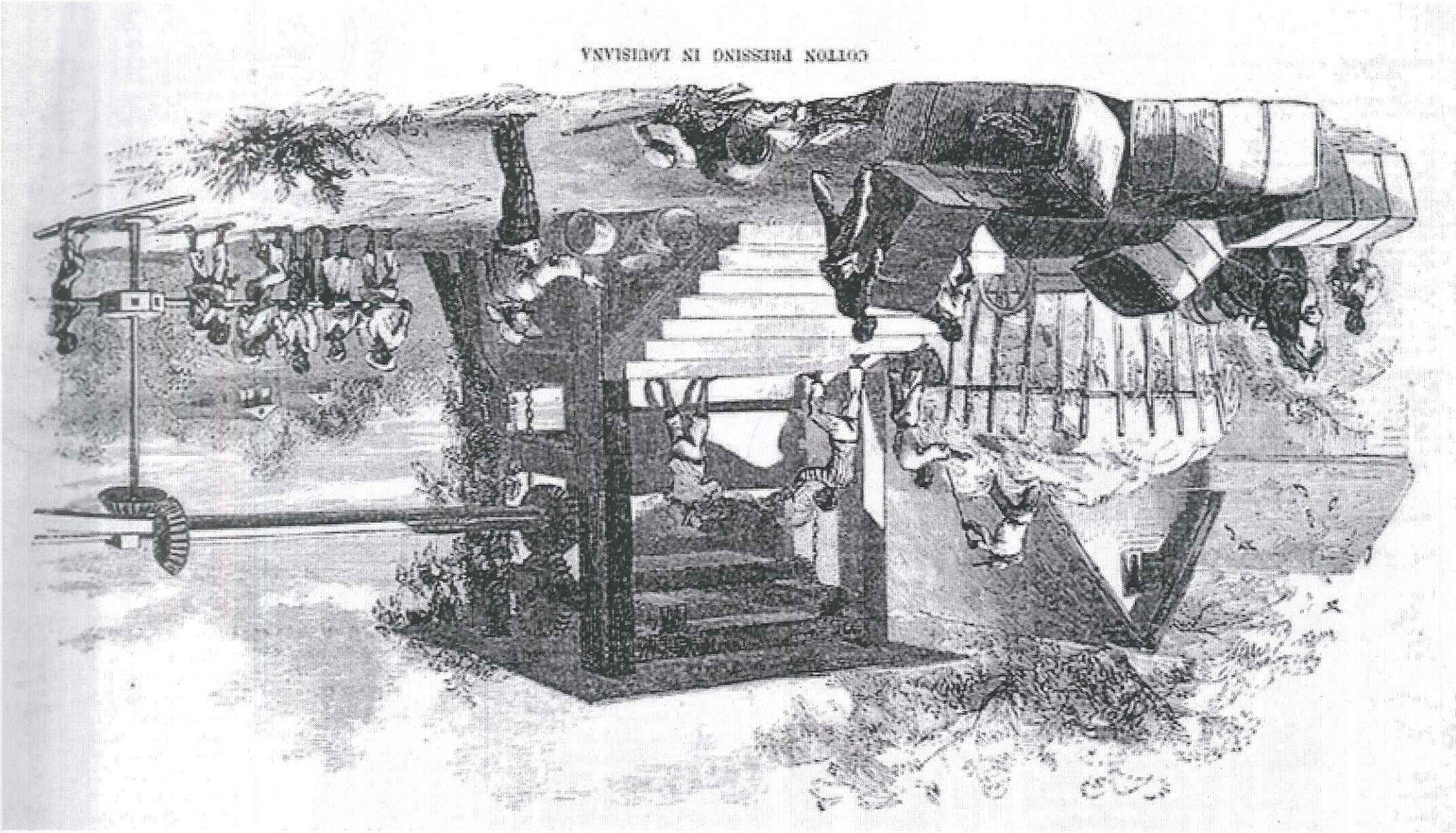
However, 1 entry for Rainford, Marcus

1805. Toussaint L'Ouverture



NOT LCP

COTTON PRESSING IN LOUISIANA



#251

Title: Cotton pressing in Louisiana

Source: Illustration in Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room
Companion, Vol. X, no 15 (April 12, 1856), p. 236

Pierce, William J. - engraver

UVA

Inv Stacks

Call # AP2. B227. v.3 1853

v.2 1852

v.1 1851

Library only has volumes 1-3, 6, 8

NOT X

#251

Title: Cotton pressing in Louisiana

Source: Illustration in Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room
Companion, Vol. X, no 15 (April 12, 1856), p. 236

Pierce, William J. - engraver

UVA

Ivy Stacks

Call # AP2. B227. v.3 1853

v.2 1852

v.1 1851

Library only has volumes 1-3, 6, 8

NOT X

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Search Result -- Quick Search

Viewing record 2 of 2 from catalog.

 Check here to mark this record for Print/Capture

 Call number: **AP2 .L42**

 Title: **Leslie's.**

 Publication info: **New York, F. Leslie [etc.] 1855-1922.**

Dates/vols published: v. 1-134; Dec. 15, 1855-June 17, 1922.

Description: 134 v. in 127. illus. 29-41 cm.

 Local note: **SPECIAL COLLECTIONS: Some issues incompl 19, 1862 issue, from the library of Atcheson Her**

 Other title: **Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper Dec. 1855-**

 Other title: **Frank Leslie's illustrated weekly Dec. 1891-June**

 Other title: **Leslie's illustrated weekly July 1894-Jan. 1895**

 Other title: **Leslie's weekly Feb. 1895-Oct. 1901**

 Other title: **Leslie's illustrated weekly Jan. 1907-Mar. 1912**

 Other title: **Leslie's, the people's weekly Mar.-Nov. 1912**

 Other title: **Leslie's Dec. 1912-Feb. 1914**

 Other title: **Leslie's illustrated weekly newspaper Feb. 1914**

 Other title: **Leslie's Oct. 9, 1920-Oct. 22, 1921**

 Other title: **Leslie's weekly Oct. 29, 1921-Apr. 1, 1922**

SPEC-COLL--

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Library Information

UVA Library

Location: SC-STKS-F -- AP2 .L42 Copy 1

Library has: v.1=no.1-26 (1855:Dec.15-1856:Jun.7)

Library has: v.2=no.27-51 (1856:Jun.14-Nov.29)

Library has: v.3=no.63,66,76 (1857:Feb.21,Mar.14,May 2

Library has: v.5-8=no.106-208 (1857:Dec.12-1859:Nov.2)

Library has: v.9=no.209,213-234 (1859:Dec.3,Dec.31-1860:

Library has: v.10=no.235-260 (1860:Jun.2-Nov.17),

Library has: v.11=no.263-273,276-282,286 (1860:Dec.8-

1861:Feb.16,Mar.9-Apr.20,May 11)

Library has: v.12-15=no.287-390 (1861:May 18-1863:Mar

Library has: v.16=no.391-409,411-416 (1863:Mar.28-Aug

Sept. 19)

Library has: v.17=no.417-442 (1863:Sep.26-1864:Mar.19

Library has: v.18=no.443-452,454-456,458-465 (1864:Ma

28,Jun.11-25,Jul.9-Aug.27)

NOTE: This is available on-line, UVA, plus cont. newspapers 1855-1891

Project 5/10/08
 No image

~~4/17/44~~~~8-3~~

This is available
 1952 1941
 10% cent news paper
 see Japs -
 Front falls, distributed
 news paper -
 check for number -
 News about which
 covered issue and picture
 spread collection

4/17/44

CC -
 used

4/17/44

RA - take

see Japs -
 check for number -
 News about which
 covered issue and picture
 spread collection

HILDRETH, Richard

The White Slave: A Story of Life in Virginia

^{1st English edition}

London: 1852 - 2nd edition, 1st pub. 1836

A novel with a number of engravings - done
for this novel - not saved or reprinted in drawings.
Title page - see attached

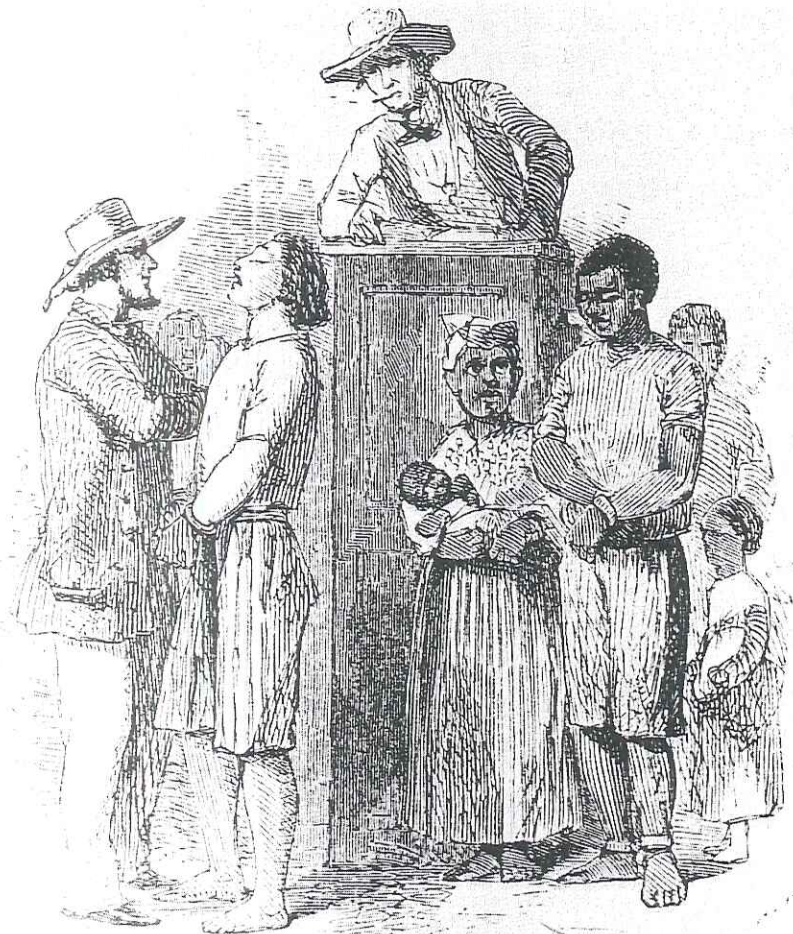


Figure 20. Enslaved people groomed for sale. Frontispiece, *The White Slave: A Story of Life in Virginia*, R. Hildreth, ed., 1852.

you went to buy one, you would want that slave to look like he been taken good care of and in the best of shape or you would not want him or her (S2. 5. 4:1558–1559 [WV/TX]).

For both male and female enslaved people, the times of their sale precipitated humiliating experiences. The very fact that such a procedure was possible was debasing enough, but there were often additions to the

depraved practice. Just as Africans were sometimes stripped nude in the Middle Passage, so too were enslaved people in the antebellum South sometimes shorn of clothing for the auction block.

Charles Anderson (ca. 78 years): *I seen a woman sold. They had on . . . dress, no sleeves, so they could see her muscles, I reckon* (8. 1 [AR]).

Sarah Benjamin (82 years): *Once when I's little, marse stripped me s and puts me on de block, but he wouldn't sell me, 'cause he was bid on and he say no, 'cause I was good and fat* (4. 1:70 [LA/TX]).

That Blacks carried tales that turned the tables becomes evident in the following narrative:

Anna Williamson (between 75 and 80 years): *Mama muster been a sorter woman when she young. A ridin' boss went to whoopin' her; she tore every rag clothes he had on offen him. I heard em say he strip stark naked* (11. 7:193 [TN/AR]).

The next episodes concern this procedure as it affected enslaved people. James Redpath noted the dress of a male during a slave auction in Richmond, in 1854. Redpath's description is one of many which noted that, as well as having the power to cover the enslaved person's body, he had the power to uncover it.

The slave was dressed in his pantaloons, shirt and vest. His vest was unbuttoned and his breast and neck exposed. His shoes and stockings were next removed and his legs beneath the knees examined. His other garment was then removed and his naked body, from the upper part of the abdomen to the thighs, was shamelessly exhibited to the view of the spectators.

"Turn around!" said the body-seller. The negro obeyed, and his body from the shoulders to the calves of his legs was laid bare to the view (1854:9–10).

The following scene provides a description of a man's dress for sale and the demeaning aftermath:

Stopping opposite Tom, who had been attired for sale in his best suit, with well-starched linen and shining boots, he briefly expressed his surprise as follows:

"Stand up."

Tom stood up.

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Return

Current database: **WorldCat Total Libraries: 1**

Title: Souvenir views of Barbados, British West Indies : a series of Sepia views
Accession Number: 57346315

Libraries with Item: "Souvenir views of Barbado..." ([Record for Item](#) | [Get This Item](#))

[Location Library](#)Barbados **UNIV OF THE W INDIES**[Code](#)

BWI

Record for Item: "Souvenir views of Barbado..." (Libraries with Item)**GET THIS ITEM****Availability:** Check the catalogs in your library.

- Libraries worldwide that own item: 1
- Search the catalog at University of Virginia Libraries

External Resources: • Find this @ UVa Libraries

- Cite This Item

Title: **Souvenir views of Barbados, British West Indies : a series of Sepia views.**

Publication: Ottawa : Photogelatine Engraving Co.,

Year: 1900

Description: 16 leaves : ill. ; 16 cm.

Language: English

SUBJECT(S)

Geographic: Barbados -- Social life and customs -- 20th century -- Pictorial works.

Barbados -- Description and travel.

Note(s): Cover title.

Class Descriptors: **LC:** F2041

Document Type: Book

Entry: 20041229

Update: 20050317

Accession No: **OCLC:** 57346315

Database: WorldCat

World cat only
1.1.15 UVA Carlisle

MAIN LIBRARY - BWI
Pamphlets F2041. S68
over

Return

7/16/2012

- Core Hill Library

Architect physical scenes, buildings etc, Band Station
one shows ~~road~~ railway line in Bathwick / area with 1911 (b.u.c.t.)
old hotels, view Susan Jackson, Public Works

No pottery -

G.W. house, the one on Bay Street, earlier believed to
be his father -

No pottery - all photos are brownish

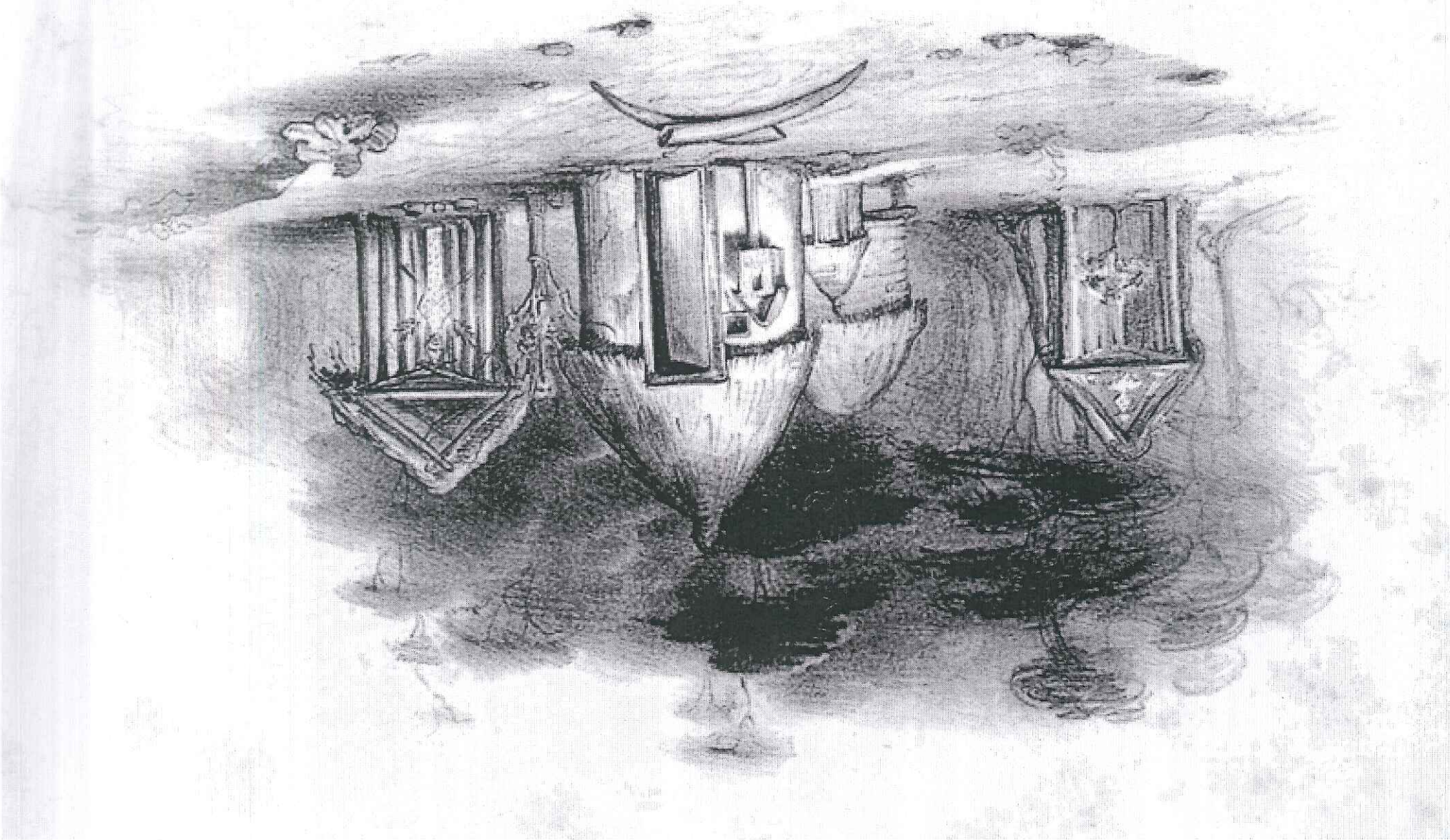
Table par Jean-Baptiste Lully, 1685

(entourer des ébénistes et des artistes à l'usage des habitans)

Wachstum. Vierge

Lully in England

Projet de table par J.B. Lully, 1685, dessin de Lully par J. Lully



#140

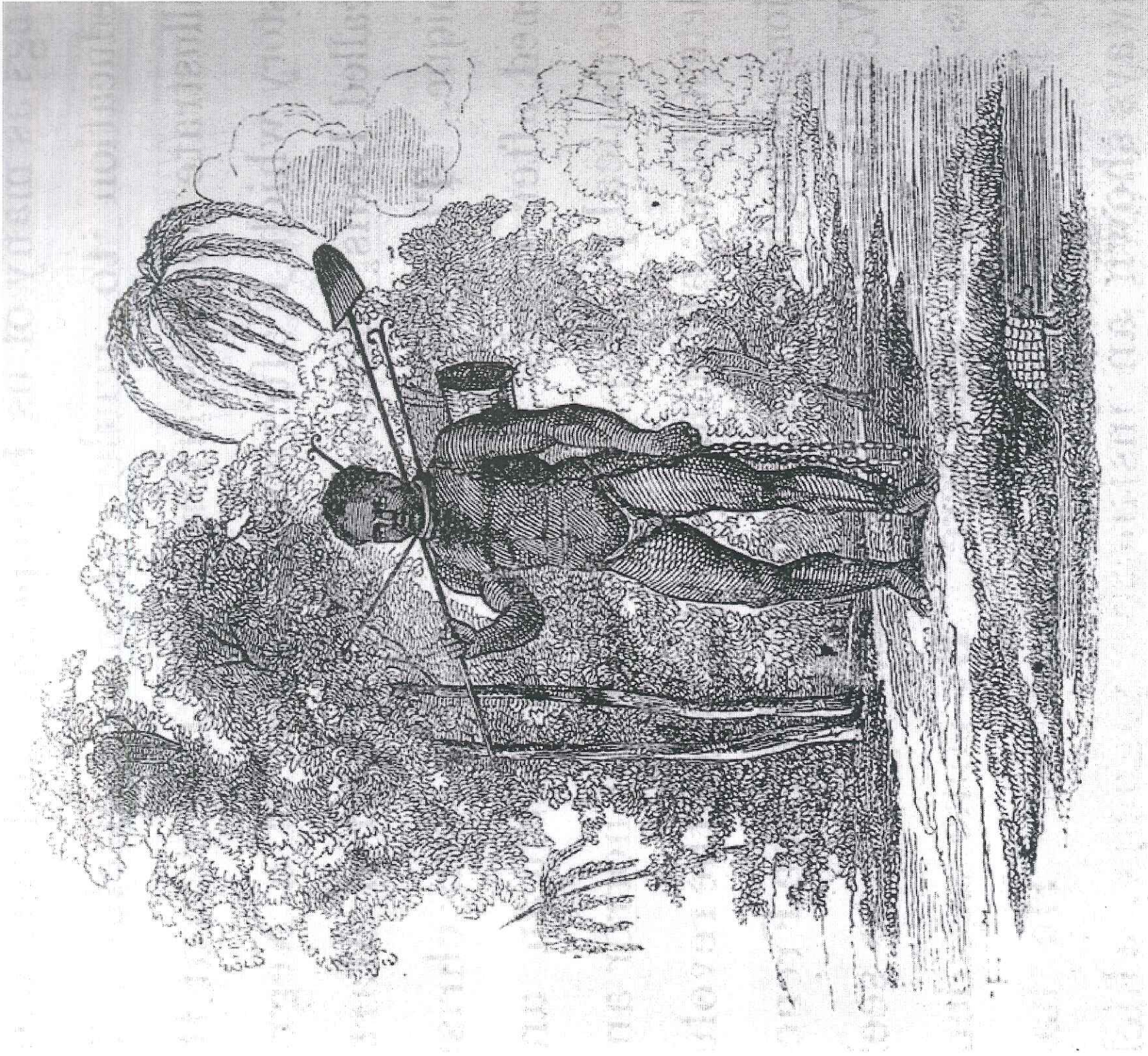
Title: Habitation Nègre

Sarac Plate 20 in Jean-Baptiste Douville's Voyage
au Congo et dans ~~l'~~ l'intérieur de l'Afrique
équinoxiale - fait dans les années 1828, 1829 et
1830 CA Paris: Chez Jules Renouard, libraire, rue de
Tournon, n. 6; Imprimé chez Paul Renouard,
rue Garençière, n. 5, 1832)

Nogues, lithographer

UVA

one book at UVA by JB Douville
but not this one.



Composé de LCP-07

#150

Title: [Sampson]

Source: Illustration in Thomas St. Clair's A Residence in the
West Indies and America (London: Richard Bentley,
New Burlington Street, publisher in ordinary to
His Majesty, 1834), vol 2, p. 214

=
Sampson, a West Indian slave

NOT IN UVA

ERROR: limitcheck
OFFENDING COMMAND: image

Hi Jerry,

I was in at the NMM yesterday prepping for my class. I saw the images E028 and E029 and checked the inscription on E029 (there are no inscriptions on E028). I was allowed to photograph anything I wanted – so the nice lady said – so I did, and attach snaps of the images and the inscriptions, and the letter mentioned in the NMM letter you sent me from 1989. In answer to your question, yes I was very confident that the inscriptions on the work are in Meynell's hand. You will also see that your E028 is back to front. I will send the images in 3 separate emails and hope you get all of them through.

I hope this all makes sense. Let me know if anything is not clear. Bye for now, Sarah

From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jojh3v@virginia.edu]

Sent: 30 January 2014 15:58

To: Sarah Thomas

Subject: NMM

oh, i thought rita was someone you were trying to make contact with a few years ago, anyway, with respect to NMM, look at images E028 and E029, and particularly read the textual description i give on E028, queries: 1) exactly what is hand written on the back of each of these watercolors; 2) does this handwriting appear to be the same as in Meynell's journal or by another hand, e.g., possibly an archivist, if you are available on Skype now, i would like to ask you something else, re the Daily Mail, Jerry

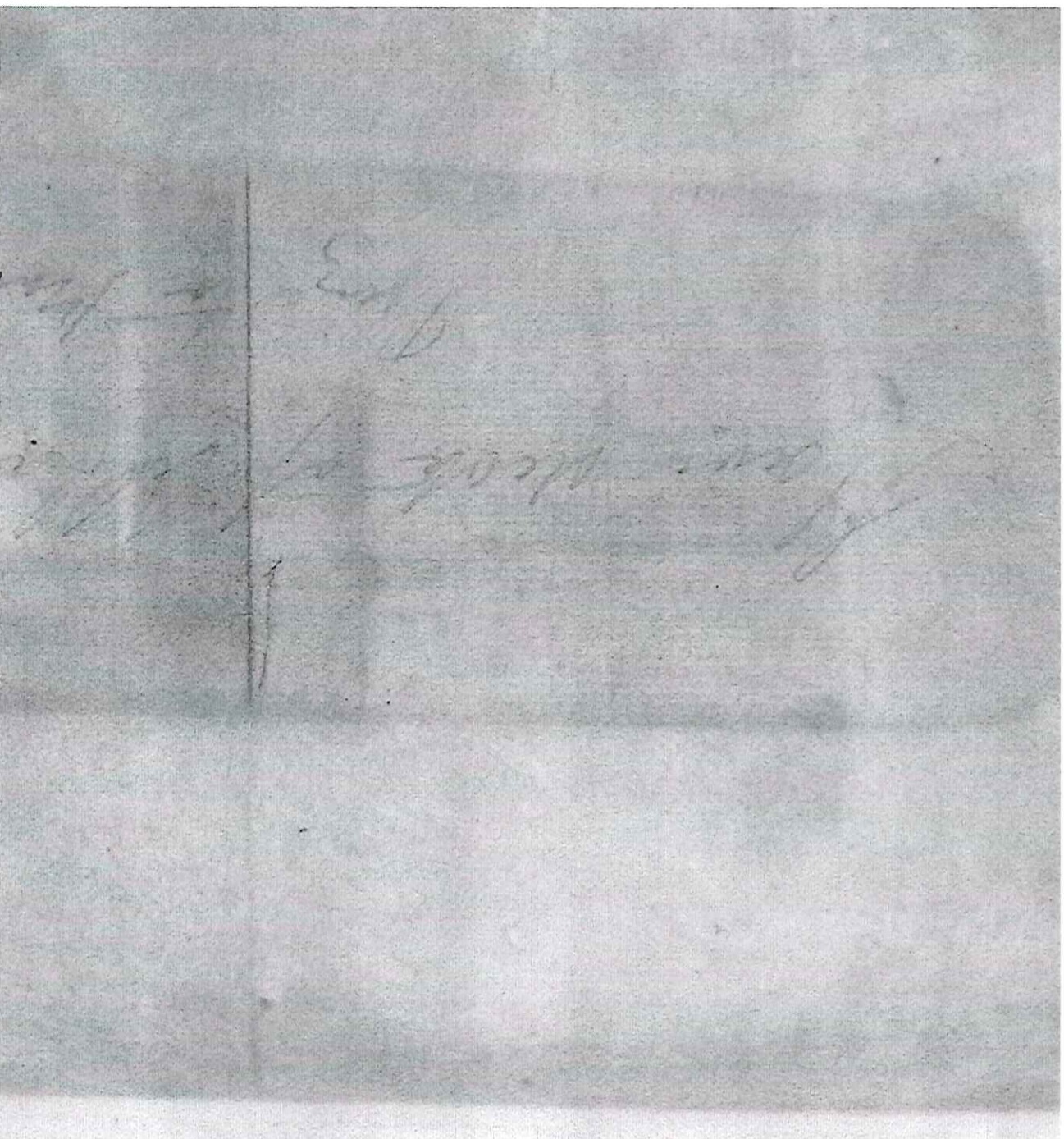
From: "Sarah Thomas" <sarahthomas@virginia.edu>
Subject: 2nd email of 3
Date: February 7, 2014 6:04:54 AM EST
To: "Jerome Handler" <jh3@virginia.edu>
Subject: NMI1

3/25/2014 10:47:11 AM

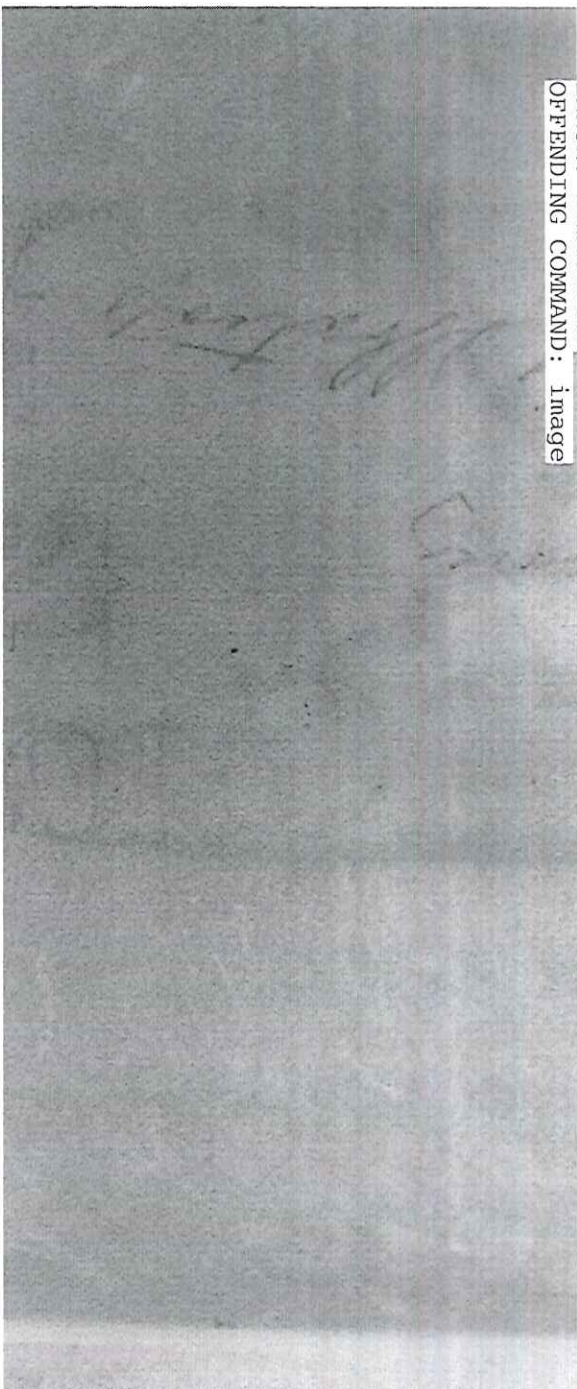
Some more pics

From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3@virginia.edu]
Sent: 30 January 2014 15:58
To: Sarah Thomas
Subject: NMI1

oh, i thought this was someone you were trying to make contact with a few years ago, anyway, with respect to NMI1, look at images E028 and E029, and particularly read the textual description i give on E028, queries: 1) exactly what is hand written on the back of each of these watercolors, 2) does this handwriting appear to be the same as in Meynell's journal or by another hand, e.g., possibly an archivist if you are available on Skype now, i would like to ask you something else, re the Daily Mail, Jerry



ERROR: limitcheck
OFFENDING COMMAND: image



E028

d E029

NOTE Carlson on
Slavery details

Pencil drawing by Lt. Francis Meynell, shows Africans on top deck of the Albatross, a British naval vessel. From Nov. 1844 to May 1845, Meynell was mate on the Albatross, which had captured the Brazilian slaving vessel, Albanez, off the mouth of the Coanza (Cuanza/Quanza) River (present-day Angola) on February 29, 1845. The drawing is apparently of the Albatross deck after the Africans had been removed from the Albanez. In a dispatch, dated March 16, 1845, sent by Reginald Yorke, captain of the Albatross, to the British naval office, Yorke identifies the captured brig as the Albanez, and describes how it was captured; 150 Africans were on board, he reports, "the rest of her cargo, making a total of 737 slaves were moored alongside in rafts made of the stalks of palm leaves, ready to be embarked, which rafts were also loaded with casks of water" (FO 84/610, ff. 217-218, The National Archives [London]). The captured ship was provisioned and sent to Sierra Leone under command of one of the officers of the Albatross. However, a document from the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone notes that 705 slaves were on board the Albanez when captured and that 148 died between the time of capture and adjudication by the court in Sierra Leone; thus of the contingent of 705 who survived the middle passage (others died en route), 557 were ultimately emancipated in Sierra Leone (Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Slave Trade, vol. 32; David Eltis and Jelmer Vos brought these documents to our attention).

Another account of the capture is published in The Illustrated London News, May 10, 1845 (vol. 6, p. 301). The ILN account is similar and also based on a letter from Yorke, but some details differ, e.g., the ILN account specifies that the slaving ship, unnamed, was captured off the Congo river (sic) and that it had already "embarked 300 [sic] Negroes" out of what would have been a "whole cargo of 743 slaves." See also image E029 on this website.

Next Trip to LOC

Benjamin moves to the view and on-line on site

Piazza and stairs at 4 pm

LC-USZC4-3090

Nurses & child

USZ62-110901

View of Negro Village

117 362

Driver, cold warning

102407

Explosive called - Benjamin

6 am

Seen Message in "INBOX"



Email address



--Select Mailbox--



Your message has been sent

zip drive

Barb's 1925 cart

Scottie - Distri can

7-8630

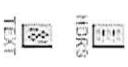
From: "Sara Willett Duke" <sduk@loc.gov>

Subject: Re: Berryman drawings

Date: Tue, 03 Oct 2006 12:00:37 -0400

To: <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Cc: <Prober8@aol.com>, "Barbara Orbach Natanson" <bnat@loc.gov>, "Kristi Finefield" <Kfin@loc.gov>



Jerome -

I will arrange to have the 12 drawings pulled in advance for you on the 13th, even though I will not be available to assist you in research. They will be available on the hold shelves in a temporary storage box with a slip bearing your name. I will also pull the finding aid and put it with the box (if I forget, the reference staff will know where to find it), so that you may refer to it. The reference staff may pull up to an additional 15 items for you on that particular day should you find compelling works of art listed there.

>From our website, here is our policy on downloading (http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/info/001_ref.html#copying): Digitized images appearing in the Prints and Photographs Online Catalog and on the web site can be downloaded at public reading room workstations. Higher resolution images may require use of a zip disk (100 or 250 MB) formatted for use in IBM compatible machines or a USB flash drive formatted for IBM compatible machines, as the size of many images exceeds the space available on diskettes. It is not possible to download to CDs at the public workstations.

I assume you've seen these two web sites:
<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/intro.html> and
<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aaoh.html/>.

If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to ask.

Sara

>>> Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu> 10/3/2006 >>>

Dear Ms. Duke:

I have not heard from Ms. Finefield, but thanks for your detailed response. I have looked at the 78 entries on line and would like to examine twelve of them; I have attached the list with their call numbers. I am aware of the procedures and opening hours at P and P, but looking at these 12 should take little time. I am particularly looking for images that might be placed on our website on Atlantic slavery (a number of LOC images are already on the website). For the moment, can you tell me if any of the Berryman images can be downloaded to a CD on site? I look forward to seeing the images on 13 October and thank you for your assistance. with best wishes,
Jerome
Handler

On Oct 3, 2006, at 7:10 AM, Sara Willlett Duke

PREV  MBOX  UNMK  DEL  UNRD  RPLY  RPL ALL  FORW  DEL  ADDR  ADDR  +RULE  PRINT 

email address SNCE  --Select Mailbox-- COPY  MOVE 

Seen Message in "INBOX"
















email address



--Select Mailbox--



COPY



MOVE

From: "Sara Willett Duke" <sdruk@loc.gov>

Subject: Re: Berryman drawings

Date: Tue, 03 Oct 2006 07:10:23 -0400

To: <jh3v@virginia.edu>




Dear Dr. Handler,

As promised by Kristi Finefield, I am contacting you directly. I would like to honor your request, but unfortunately I will be attending a conference here at the Library on Friday, October 13. If you are wedded to that particular day, then you may find information about 78 of the drawings now in the Prints & Photographs Online Catalog [~\(http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html\)](http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html) - if you search Berryman William and click on creator in the drop down menu it will prevent you from going through our political cartoons by Clifford and Jim Berryman. We have a cataloger who has been working on making records, so perhaps there will be even more catalog records available with Wednesday's upload.

Before I schedule the reference staff to meet with you on Friday afternoon, I need to ask you some questions. Can you limit your request to 15 items? Do the 78 items now (and perhaps more tomorrow) assist you in your research, or do you need access to all of the records in the finding aid? (I can photocopy and send it to you * unfortunately it was produced so long ago that the floppy disk no longer exists.) Do you feel that you need to see the entire collection?

The reason that I ask is that if you feel that you need to see the entire collection, I would suggest that you give yourself the better part of a day. As you are probably aware, our reading room is open from 8:30 - 5:00 Monday through Friday. The reference staff limits its on-the-spot requests to 15 items. I am responsible for pulling more than that, which I will be happy to do, even though I cannot be available to answer questions. (Given your interest in the African diaspora, you may be interested in attending some of Friday's papers: <http://benzilla.com/icaaf/>).

You should understand that Yale University has made a request for some Berryman items and that these will not be available for consultation in person on that particular Friday, as I am not available.

I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Sara W. Duke
Curator, Popular & Applied Graphic Art
Prints & Photographs Division
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540-4730

(202) 707-3630 - voice
(202) 707-6647 - fax
sduk@loc.gov
<http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/>

>>> Kristi Finefield 10/2/2006 >>>
~~~~~

I will be in DC on Friday, oct. 13 and would like to examine the Jamaican drawings of William Berryman. Can I make an appointment to view these drawings at around 2-2:30 PM on that date. I am the co-creator of a large website on the Atlantic slave trade, sponsored by the University of Virginia Library and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities URL <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery>

Jerome Handler  
jh3v@virginia.edu

PREV NEXT    INBOX UNMK DEL UNRD    REPLY RPLALL FORW    DEL ADDR ADDR +RULE PRINT

email address    BOUNCE    --Select Mailbox--    COPY MOVE



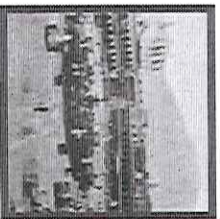
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS AN ILLUSTRATED GUIDE  
**Prints and Photographs**[◀ PREVIOUS](#)[TABLE OF CONTENTS](#)[NEXT ▶](#)

## Portfolio 4: The World at Large

Supporting the Library's role as a repository of world knowledge, the pictorial collections document the peoples, lands, and cultures of the major countries throughout the world. In assembling this record, the Library gives particular attention to the influence and interests of the United States abroad and to individuals and matters of global, regional, or international importance. Regions outside of Western Europe--in particular Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Far East--are especially well represented. These holdings provide valuable insights into the history of these regions, and into the ways in which these regions and their peoples have been perceived by Americans and Western Europeans--or represented to them.

### Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spain

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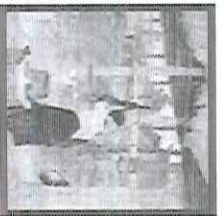


Courret Hermanos, *Fotografos. Lima. The Public Square on 28 July (Independence Day)*. Albumen silver print, probably 1868.  
Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3905 (color transparency); LC-USZ62-87636 (b&w film copy neg.)

Although the history of photography in South America is only beginning to be written, it is clear that in the nineteenth century there were relatively few practitioners of such distinction as the Lima firm of Courret Hermanos. During its four or so decades of operation, the firm maintained a high standard of work and won numerous European competitions. This view of Lima's central square, festooned for an Independence Day celebration, is one of nearly 100 superbly printed albumen prints of Peru and Bolivia included in a two-volume souvenir album entitled *Recuerdos del Peru*. The *Recuerdos* contains several other views of Lima and its gardens, public works, and elegant buildings, views of smaller towns like Arequipa, Callao, and Arica, and portraits of gauchos, muleteers, bullfighters, and other people of the region. (*Transfer, U.S. Department of State*)

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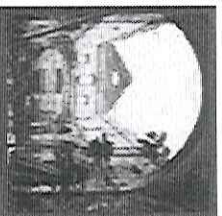




**William Berryman.** *Woman Beating Cassava, Jamaica.* Watercolor over grey ink and pencil on wove paper, circa 1808.  
Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3072 (color transparency); LC-USZ62-102406 (b&w film copy neg.)

English artist **William Berryman** spent eight years on the West Indian island while it was under the colonial rule of Great Britain. During that time he produced over 300 pencil and watercolor studies of the people, flora, landscape, and buildings of the island, in preparation for an intended series of engravings. Berryman died before carrying out this ambitious and costly project, but his drawings were preserved in an album that was recently discovered and acquired by the Library. Of all his Jamaican subjects, the artist seems to have had a particular affection for the resident Africans and mulattoes freed when Great Britain ended slavery in her empire. Many of the descendants of this woman and her compatriots on the island's cotton and sugar plantations are now residents of Louisiana, New York, and other parts of the United States.

---



**Eadweard Muybridge.** *Ruins of the Church of Santo Domingo, Panama.* Albumen silver print, circa 1875.  
Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3907 (color transparency)

In 1875 San Francisco photographer **Eadweard Muybridge** (later to become famous for his photographs of humans and animals in motion) traveled to the Isthmus of Panama. At that time Panama was part of Colombia, and Colombian President Juan Berríos was attempting to rejuvenate the coffee plantations by granting investment incentives to new and established growers. Muybridge braved the tropical climate and rainforest of much of Central America, photographing points of interest on the route of the Panama Railroad and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's line. His efforts were financed by the Pacific Mail line, which hoped that publication of the photographs in North America would attract new investors to the region. This view of a group of Indian children in the shell of a seventeenth-century Spanish church on the isthmus is from an extensive archive of prints, photographs, and ephemera assembled by the Canal Zone Library. (*Transfer, Canal Zone Library*)

---



**Diego Rivera.** *Zapata.* Lithograph, 1932.  
Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3908 (color transparency)

Artists in postrevolutionary Mexico engaged in an effort to enshrine





## Item 65 of 375

*Click on picture for larger image, full item, or more versions.*



LOC - Forbes 159

How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** Slave cabin near the Long Bridge, Chicahominy River, Va., June 13th 1864 / E. Forbes.

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG/US - Forbes, no. 159 (A size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZ62-120433 (b&w film copy neg.)  
No known restrictions on publication.

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** 1864 June 13.

**CREATOR:**

Forbes, Edwin, 1839-1895, artist.

**NOTES:**

"Sketched while on the march from Long Bridge to the James River."

Gift, J.P. Morgan, 1919 (DLC/PP-1919:R1.1.158)

Forms part of: Civil War drawing collection.

**SUBJECTS:**

African Americans--Structures--1860-1870.

Log cabins--1860-1870.

Slave quarters--1860-1870.

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

United States--Virginia

**FORMAT:**

Drawings American 1860-1870.

**PART OF:** Civil War drawing collection

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c20433 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c20433>

**CARD #:** 2004661838

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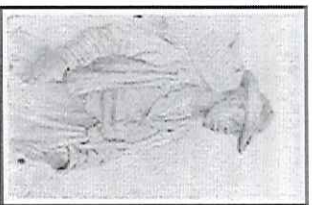
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## Item 119 of 375

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L012-Forbes165

## How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** A mule driver

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG/US - Forbes, no. 165 (A size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZ61-1353 (b&w film copy neg.)  
No known restrictions on publication.

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** 1863 Nov. 23.

**CREATOR:**

Forbes, Edwin, 1839-1895, artist.

**NOTES:**

Gift, J.P. Morgan, 1919 (DLC/PP-1919:R1.1.164)

Forms part of: Civil War drawing collection.

**SUBJECTS:**

African Americans--1860-1870.

United States--Virginia--Kelly's Ford

**FORMAT:**

Drawings American 1860-1870.

**PART OF:** Civil War drawing collection

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3a03108 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a03108>

**CARD #:** 2004661540

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L10



## Item 214 of 375

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LOC# F0RB33L10

How to obtain copies of this item

**TITLE:** A Negro cabin. The old grist mill

**CALL NUMBER:** DRWG/US - Forbes, no. L10 (A size) [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZ62-19202 (b&w film copy neg.)  
No known restrictions on publication.

**SUMMARY:** Five vignettes on one sheet.

**MEDIUM:** 1 drawing.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [ca. 1876]

**CREATOR:**

Forbes, Edwin, 1839-1895, artist.

**NOTES:**

Part of "Life studies of the great army."

Gift, J.P. Morgan, 1919 (DLC/PP-1919:R1.1.304)

Forms part of: Civil War drawing collection.

**SUBJECTS:**

African Americans--Structures--1870-1880.  
Mills--1870-1880.

**FORMAT:**

Drawings American 1870-1880.

**PART OF:** Civil War drawing collection

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3a20457 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a20457>

**CARD #:** 2004661513

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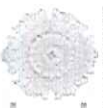
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Main Title: The liberty minstrel.

Published/Created: New York, Leavitt & Alden, [etc.], 1844 [c1845]

Description: iv. [1], p. 8-184, [3 p., index] cm.

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acculturation. In this "gateway to the New World," the process from destruction to creation, begun through a complex blending of legacies, transformed into new configurations.

In new settings after the Middle Passage, African Americans actively sought places and moments that would offer occasions to perform their new culture. Many artistic strategies of concealment were devised to avoid interference, censorship, or punishment and to resist "seasoning" and manipulation. They reaffirmed that, even if control were exerted, the imagination is free. Performance became a site for acts of resistance and liberation. The rehearsal of freedom took place at different levels: as a quest for space and movement, as freedom to summon gatherings, as freedom from bondage in fixed roles and representations, freedom to play with and transgress imposed forms and conventions. It spelled out a new grammar of social behavior. Thus imaginatively enacted, the idea of freedom was made visible; its advent became more urgent.

As the first New World performance, the slave ship dance established an interesting relation and dramatic tension between history and memory, between past and future. It asserted at the same time the will to re-member and to reconstruct, however painfully, a chain of memories and simultaneously forgot in order to invent a future, later acted out on casual and improvised stages. Most important, it created a feeling relationship between gesture and vision, whether, as Herbert Blau writes, "you make the gesture to have the vision or you have the vision so that the gesture can be made."<sup>30</sup> The slave ship performance was a creative and daring act that proclaimed, with the sovereignty of the body, the vibrant intensity of one's imagining power.

## Notes

1. On African dance: Michel Huet, *The Dance, Art and Ritual of Africa* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); John Miller Chernoff, *African Rhythm and African Sensibility* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1979); Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Dena Epstein, *Sinful Times and Spirituals* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Robert Farris Thompson, *African Art in Motion* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974); Katrina Hazzard-Gordon, *lookin': The Rise of Social Dance Formation in African American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* [London: 1789], in Ama Bontemps, ed., *Great Slave Narratives* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 1-192.
2. Thus, Equiano claims that the dances in the kingdom of Benin had "a spirit and variety which [he] had scarcely seen elsewhere," Bontemps, 7.

Quoted in *The Art of Exclusion*, the account was published in England

4. "The dance was meant "to keep the cargo alive long enough to reach the market," Epstein, 14.

5. George Francis Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Westport, Conn.: Rowson & Grayson, 1933), 84-85.

6. An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered Before a Selected Committee of the House of Commons in the years 1790 and 1791 on the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London: James Phillips & George Yard, 1791), 37. Clarkson also wrote a *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the African Slave Trade by the Parliament* (London: John W. Parker, 1839). On the trade, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the Slave Trade to the United States of America* (reprint: New York: Dover, 1971); Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black Cargoes* (New York: Viking, 1962); Edmund B. D'Auvergne, *Human Livestock* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1933); E. Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: 1930-1935).

7. Clarkson, *History*, 304-305.

8. See George Howe, "The Last Slave Ship," *Scribner's Magazine*, July 1890, 114, 123-24.

9. Ecroide Claxton, surgeon, who sailed on the slave ship, *Young Hero*, in 1788. In Clarkson, *History*, 304, 305.

10. Some Africans were enticed on board the slave ships and offered rewards to perform tribal dances. When the dancing was over, they were taken below, and given intoxicating drinks. When they awoke, they were far out at sea. See Edward Thorpe, *Black Dance* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1990), 10.

11. A surgeon on a Brazilian ship Georgia witnessed such a scene around 1827: members of the crew "stripped themselves and danced with black wenches . . . rum and lewdness reigned supreme," in Dow, 241.

12. When slaves were transported from Virginia to the better markets of the cotton territories, they marched, "their feet heavily loaded with irons," to the sound of a fiddler who was supposed to enliven their spirit. Among the songs they sung was the famous "song of the coffee gang": "We came to be stolen and sold to Georgia" (quoted in George W. Clark, *Liberty Minstrel*, 5th ed. [New York: published by author, 1846]).

13. Rare Book Collection, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

14. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords. Appointed to Consider the Best Means Which Great Britain Can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade: Session 1849, London, 1849.

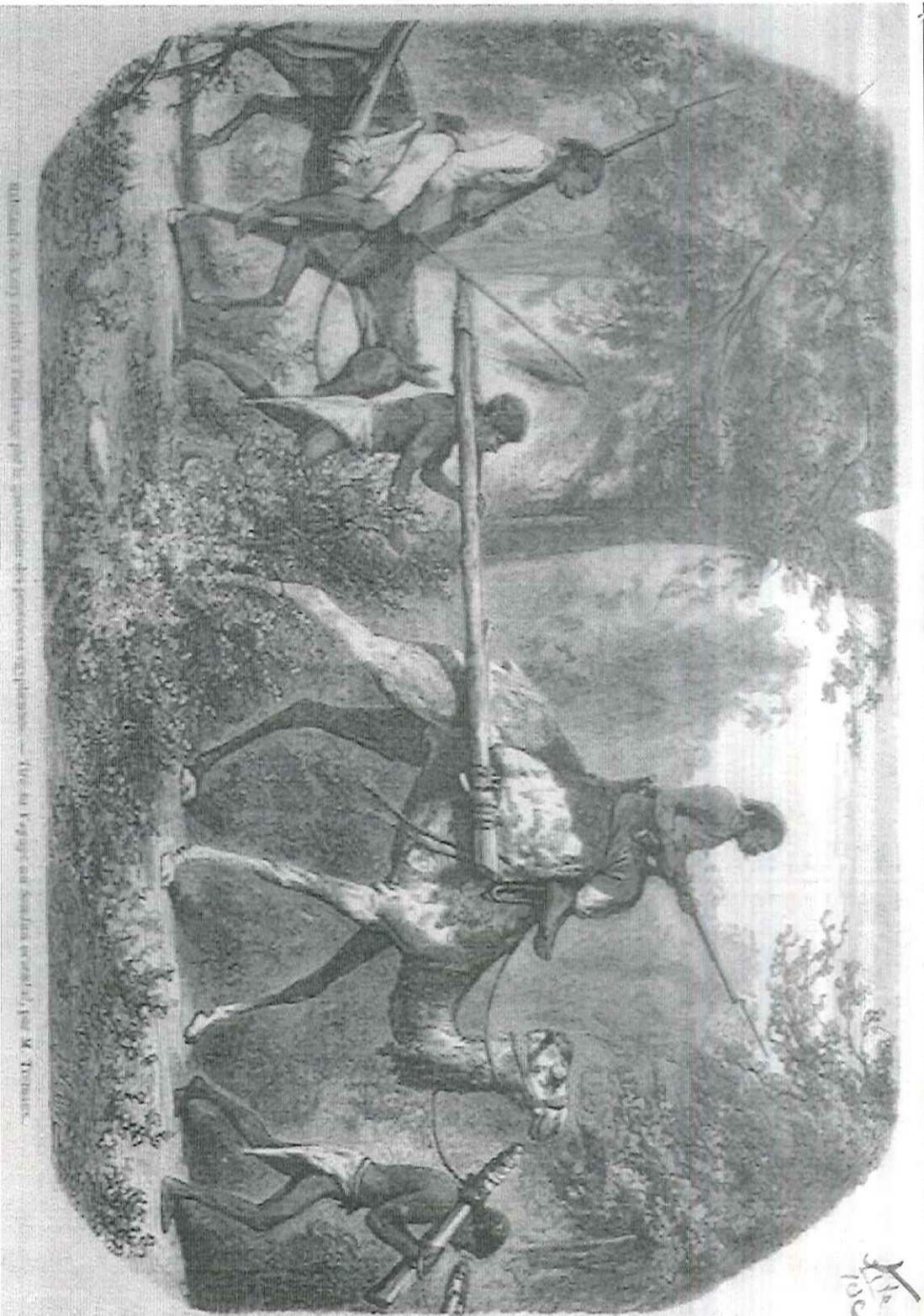
15. In Bontemps, 47.

16. "Report of the Select Committee," 1849, 163. For more detailed analysis of the belief in white cannibalism: W. D. Pierson, *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), chap. 1, 1-34; Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean 1736-1831* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1992), 35.

17. Edwin R. Hoyt, *The Amistad Affair* (New York: New York: Random House, 1983), 327.

18. Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* (New York: Random





Captives,

Illustration 369

Hauts-fonds de Kéry  
par le gouvernement des  
provinces égyptiennes...  
réunis à l'esclavage

Vol. 27 (1856), p. 369

Sp. coll. AP20.13

Assise à Kéry

~~Location~~  
NOTE: see PML caption  
in Atlas

A long day's march from Fournouy (Tlé) at head - see page 369  
in edition by province & districts and parishes

Description...

Département de  
Assise à Kéry

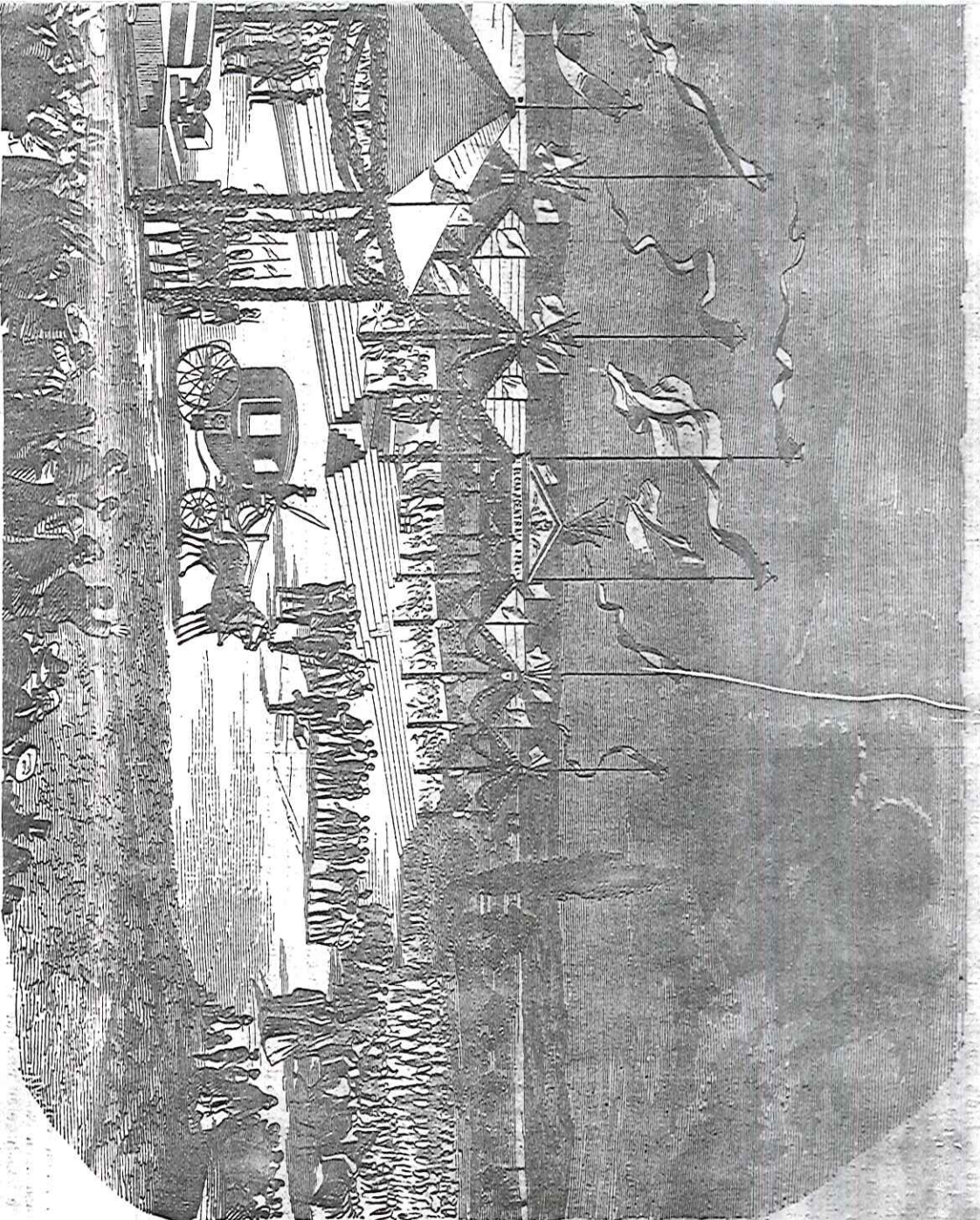
NOTE: see 369  
in Fournouy

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Noun - Assise - R101  
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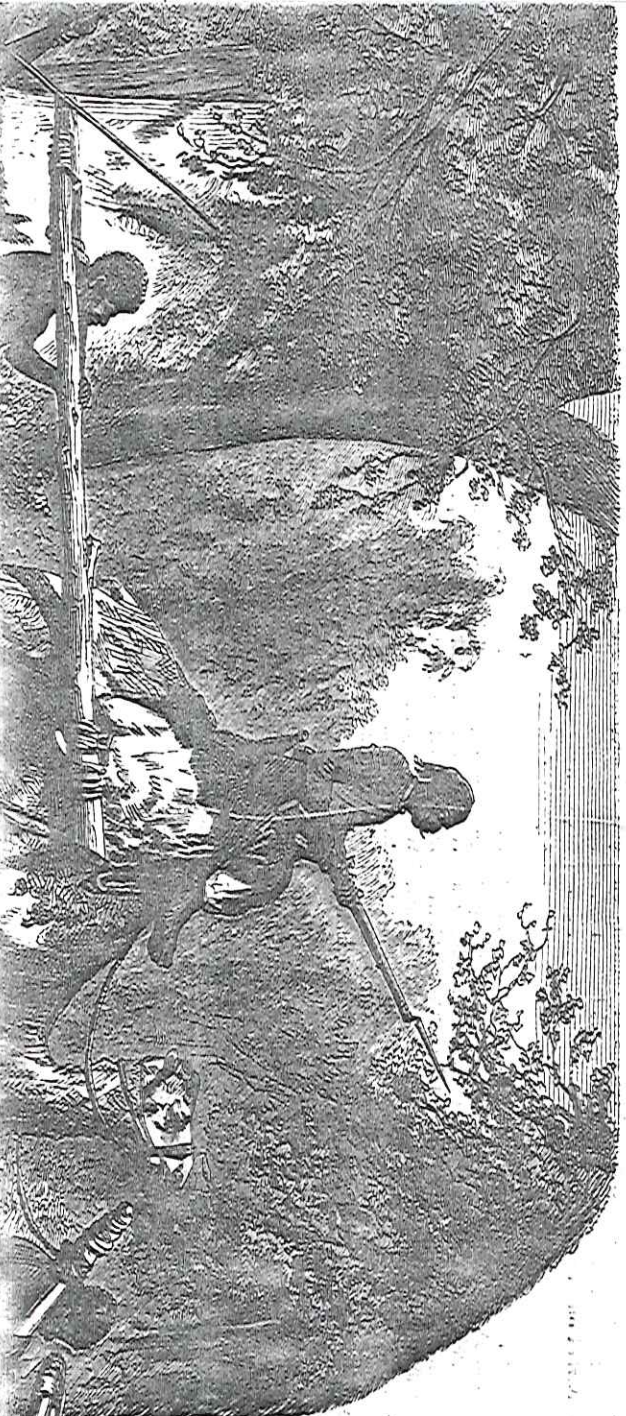


Inauguration du chemin de fer de Saragosse, le 12 mai 1856.

dro, M. Luján, ministre des  
vies et militaires de la pro-  
pagande, etc. La fête a été

Un correspondant nous envoie un dessin représentant la  
cérémonie de l'inauguration des travaux ; on y a croisé le  
moment où le maréchal Espartaco se sert lui-même de la  
truelle et de l'auge.

**Episode d'un voyage au Soudan oriental**  
ET REMARQUES SUR L'ESCLAVAGE.  
Le 12 mars 1848 nous remontrons la vallée du haut Nil





From: Michael Tutte &lt;mlt3a@virginia.edu&gt;

Subject: text images

Date: Wed, 30 Mar 2005 10:47:02 -0500

To: Jerry Handler &lt;jh3v@virginia.edu&gt;

3

part p. 370

370

Vol. 27 (1856)

à travers les forêts sans fin du **Egyppte**. Les sentiers à

peine tracés que nous suivions serpentaient à travers une haute végétation en se détournant de chaque arbre, de chaque buisson. Jamais la main de l'homme n'a coupé une branche ni donné un coup de pie pour faciliter le passage. Dans un pays privé de toute organisation, il est toujours plus facile à chaque voyageur en particulier de trouver l'obstacle que de le détruire. Parmi les végétaux qui viennent encore accroître les difficultés de la route, il est certains buissons dont les branches nombreuses, minces et en zigzag sont garnies d'une multitude d'épines qui rappellent par leur forme le bec crochu d'un rapace. Le passant effleure-!-il quelques-unes de ces ames meurtrières dont est pourvu le végétal, il est rare qu'il n'y laisse pas quelques lambeaux de ses vêtements ou même un peu de sa peau; chaque mouvement ou effort imprudent qu'il fait amène d'autres branches qui le saisissent de toutes parts. Comme nous suivions ces pénibles défilés nous aimés

**venir à nous une caravane composée de cavaliers et de pèlerons, ou plutôt un convoi, car nous aperçûmes briller en l'air des batonnets. Elles étaient portées par des cavaliers vêtus du costume militaire égyptien. Les uns avaient pour monture des chameaux, d'autres des chevaux ou des ânes. Je remarquai avec étonnement que les pèlerons avaient le cou passé dans une espèce de fourche et les poignets fortement attachés à sa bifurcation. Les branches de celle-ci, rapprochées derrière la nuque, étaient tenues écartées par un étresillon, ne laissant que l'intervalle nécessaire à la respiration du pèlerin. De plus, une corde rehaît cette espèce de carcan à la selle des cavaliers. On se sentait ému par l'air d'abaltement qui se poignait sous la sueur ruisselante de leur visage. D'autres avaient seulement le cou saisi de la même manière, laquelle était attachée à la selle des chevaux ou des chameaux. Dans ce système, le point d'attache était lors de la portée des mains du cavalier, on avait pu se dispenser de les attacher aussi; mais l'indolence était soumise à une autre espèce de supplice encore pis que le précédent. Ainsi tenu par le cou, il était obligé de subir toutes les secousses causées par l'irrégularité de la marche des animaux, les coups qui leur étaient administrés ou les accidents du sol. Ceux qui étaient attachés aux hanches des chameaux avaient en outre à endurer cette espèce de langage que produit l'animal dans sa marche; car la terrible fourche est d'une grosseur et d'une force telle, qu'elle puisse résister aux efforts les plus désespérés du cavalier. Comme le cavalier et sa monture ne se préoccupent pas du malheureux qu'ils traitent à leur suite, et que l'espace le plus libre est pris par eux, il en résulte que le cavalier doit de temps à autre marcher à travers les broussailles et toutes les difficultés de la route. Les écorchures dont son corps est semé n'attestent que trop quelles sont ses souffrances.**

Je demandai à l'un de nos drogmans ce qu'avait fait ces hommes pour être conduits d'une manière si cruelle? Ce qu'ils ont fait! Oh! me dit-il, ce n'est pas pour ce qu'ils ont fait qu'ils sont conduits de la sorte, mais pour ce qu'ils pourraient faire dans le but de s'échapper: ces infortunés sont des esclaves nouvellement reduits et conduits en **Egypte**; ils ont encore quatre à cinq cents lieues à faire ainsi avant qu'on puisse se relâcher de cette rigueur. Jusque-là on est obligé de leur laisser ces entraves pour et

## L'ILLUSTRATION, JOURNAL UNIVERSEL.

réduire en esclavage, il les laisse dans l'incertitude de ce qu'il fera à leur égard.

Pendant les excursions que nous fîmes plus tard à la recherche des terrains arrières, nos déclarations les plus pélagées ne suffirent pas pour rassurer les populations; si grande était leur crainte que partout on nous passions, les femmes, les enfants et les vieillards s'enfuyaient emportant tout ce que leur case contenait de plus précieux. Les hommes, munis de toutes leurs armes, se renoussaient sur les points les plus inaccessibles pour nous voir passer; et, à l'approche du soir, ils allumaient, aux sommets des montagnes, des feux destinés, d'après un système de signaux qui leur était connu, à annoncer aux autres montagnes nos mouvements et notre approche. C'était un spectacle curieux de voir dans le silence de la nuit ces feux paraître successivement sur tous les points de l'horizon.

En me promenant un matin dans le camp de **Karame**, sur les bords du **Toumanie**, je fus témoin d'une scène affligeante. Je vis quelques soldats réunis autour d'un malheureux nègre, achevant de consolider ses liens; puis, afin de le faire taire, lui infliger une correction qu'il reçut en poussant des gémissements mêlés de paroles intelligibles à mon oreille. Ce qui m'impressionna le plus, c'est que ces cris et ces gémissements ne correspondaient pas toujours aux effets de la correction, et semblaient vouloir d'une cause plus douloureuse encore, si ce n'était pas de l'écrasement. Je ne m'étonnai plus de cette circonstance quand on m'eut fait connaître sa position. Cet homme provenait de la dernière expédition qui avait eu lieu contre la montagne de **Kery**; il disait, dans ses plaintes, que, redoutant les derniers excès auxquels on pouvait se porter sur les siens, il avait, pour payer le tribut, vendu jusqu'à sa dernière brebis fatiguée. Puis il s'était vu emporter un de ses fils, beau et intelligent garçon, sans prétexte de lui donner un emploi près du chef de l'expédition; il avait plus tard que cet emploi n'était autre que la plus avilissante condition de l'esclavage. La ne se bornèrent pas cependant ses malheurs. Un soir l'armée reçut l'ordre de se tenir prête, sans connaître encore dans quel but. A peine fit-il nuit, elle était déjà en marche et défilait silencieusement du côté de l'ouest. Elle atteignit à marche forcée la montagne de **Kery**, qu'elle occupa en retrévisant son cercle autant que possible, sans donner l'éveil à la population; on attendit le point du jour pour être plus sûr de ne pas laisser échapper les habitants. Au signal donné, l'armée s'élança sur eux, surprisant, saisissant et garrottant de tous côtés leurs victimes, pourrivaient ceux qui fuyaient, tuant ceux qui résistaient. Les habitants se défendirent à outrance, malgré l'infériorité de leurs armes; ils ne font usage, en effet, que de javeline, de casse-tête en ébène et d'une autre arme de jet formée d'un bâton recourbé. On vit des traits d'infatigabilité et d'abandon remarquables, aussi héroïques qu'on devait les attendre d'hommes qui voient hanoter leurs pères ou leurs fils, ou, pis encore, réduire à l'esclavage leurs filles, leurs femmes ou leurs sœurs, et cela dans un pays où le manque de sécurité resserre les liens de famille d'une manière plus puissante que beaucoup de personnes n'ont voulu le faire croire. Néanmoins ces traits d'héroïsme et de dévouement devaient succomber sous la supériorité du nombre et sous celle des armes; l'asservissement fut donc consommé.

C'avait été dans cette affaire, que notre malheureux nègre s'était vu, comme tant d'autres, privé de liberté, garrotté, mis contrainct, avec sa famille, de porter son propre bien



Aussi la végétation en se déformant de chaque côté de chaque bouquet, jamais la main de l'homme n'a coupé une branche ni donné un coup de pic pour faciliter le passage. Dans du pays privé de toute organisation, il est toujours plus facile à chaque voyageur en particulier de tourner l'obstacle que de le détruire. Parmi les végétaux qui viennent enroulé, accolés, les difficultés de la route. Il est certains buissons dont les branches nombreuses, minces et en zigzag, sont garnies d'une multitude de épines qui rap-

pellent par leur forme le bec corchu d'un rapace. Le passant effleure-les. Quelques-unes de ces armes meurtrières dont est pourvu le végétal. Il est rare qu'il n'y laisse plus quelques lambeaux de ses vêtements ou même un peu de sa peau ; chaque mouvement ou effort important qu'il fait ramène d'autres branches qui le saisissent de toutes parts. Comme nous suivons ces pénibles défilés nous nous venir à nous une caravane composée de cavaliers et de piétons, on péroit un comot, car nous apercevons briser en face des batonnets. Elle étaient portées par des cavaliers vêtus du costume militaire égyptien. Les uns avaient pour monture des chameaux, d'autres des chevaux ou des ânes, le remarque avec étonnement que les pibbons avaient le cou passé dans une espèce de manche et les poignets fortement attachés à sa bifurcation. Les branches de cette celte, rapprochées derrière la nuque, étaient tenues serrées par un étréssillon, ne laissant que l'incalculable nécessaire à la respiration du patient. De plus, un corde était cette espèce de carcan à la selle des cavaliers. On se sentait ému par l'air d'abatement qui se peignait sous la suer rissée d'une de leur visage. D'autres avaient seulement le cou saisi de la longue manche, entre les branches d'une grosse fourche à long manche, laquelle était attachée à la selle des chevaux ou des chameaux. Dans ce système, le point d'attaché étant hors de la portée des mains du capif, on avait pu se dispenser de les attacher aussi ; mais l'indolence était soumise à une autre espèce de supplice encore plus que le précédent. Ainsi tenu par le cou il était obligé de subir toutes les secousses/casuses par l'ingénuité de la marche des animaux, les coups qui leur étaient administrés ou les accidents du sol. Ceux qui étaient attachés aux flancs des chameaux avaient en outre à endurer cette espèce de fangage que produit l'animal dans sa marche ; car la terrible fourche es d'une grosseur et d'une force telle, que elle pouve résister aux efforts les plus désespérés du capif. Comme le cavalier et sa monture ne se préoccupent pas du mabeureux qu'ils traitent à leur suite, et que l'es-

pendant les excursions que nous fimes plus tard la recherche des terrains fertiles, nos observations les plus intéressantes furent celles que nous fîmes dans les vallées du grand désert, où nous trouvâmes en plusieurs endroits des cultures et les vieillards s'occupant éperdument tout ce que leur case contenait de plus précieux. Les hommes, mais de toutes leurs ames, se réunissaient sur les points les plus inaccessibles pour nous voir passer, et à l'approche du soir, ils allumaient, aux sommets des montagnes, des feux destinés, d'après un système de signaux qui leur était connu, à annoncer aux autres points des mouvements et notre approche. C'était un spectacle curieux de voir dans le silence de la nuit ces feux scintiller autour d'un point sur tous les points de l'horizon.

C'est ainsi qu'une première inquiétude en enfance bientôt une seconde, et que la nécessité de s'assurer du captif conduit l'assesseur à la crainte.

Pendant que nous venons d'en perdre un dont le monde, malheureusement, n'a pas eu assez d'exécution d'extermination, il mériterait, l'autre de nos Verritons du langage français et de l'écriture de Moïse, l'éditeur de la *Chanson de Roland* et du premier ordre, un terrain plat, orné, spirituel, existait, et l'un de nos savants philologues, Gœbel avait un composé instructif, habile, élégant, un excellent conseil d'un jugement sûr et d'un goût délicat. Il en donna mille preuves dans la *Revue indopendante*, dont il rédigea la partie musicale pendant plusieurs années. Les artistes à jouer à l'Opéra-Comique un petit ouvrage intitulé : *On se sentirait jamais de tout*. Les mauvais conditions que l'administration d'alors faisait aux opéras en sa de leur redonnant le succès plus que difficile, et venant fut vertueux, comme tant d'autres, de cet étrange système. Il avait un poème écrit de Sedaine, il avait imaginé d'écrire sa musique dans le style du dix-huitième siècle. Il y avait très-bien tenu, et même trop bien, car le public, qui n'était pas dans le secret, ne comprit rien à cette fatalité d'art, archéologie, et trouva tout simplement que l'œuvre avait le style tuteur. Il y avait pourtant dans sa partition des motifs charmants, des détails très-jogefueux, des lignes de depression tout à fait remarquables. Tout cela fut à peu près perdu, comme le seraient les agréments d'une jeune femme qui se montrerait dans la rue avec le costume de nos grands maîtres.

**François Génia.**

Mais nous venons d'en perdre un dont le monde, malheureusement, n'a pas eu assez d'exécution d'extermination, il mériterait, l'autre de nos Verritons du langage français et de l'écriture de Moïse, l'éditeur de la *Chanson de Roland* et du premier ordre, un terrain plat, orné, spirituel, existait, et l'un de nos savants philologues, Gœbel avait un composé instructif, habile, élégant, un excellent conseil d'un jugement sûr et d'un goût délicat. Il en donna mille preuves dans la *Revue indopendante*, dont il rédigea la partie musicale pendant plusieurs années. Les artistes à jouer à l'Opéra-Comique un petit ouvrage intitulé : *On se sentirait jamais de tout*. Les mauvais conditions que l'administration d'alors faisait aux opéras en sa de leur redonnant le succès plus que difficile, et venant fut vertueux, comme tant d'autres, de cet étrange système. Il avait un poème écrit de Sedaine, il avait imaginé d'écrire sa musique dans le style du dix-huitième siècle. Il y avait très-bien tenu, et même trop bien, car le public, qui n'était pas dans le secret, ne comprit rien à cette fatalité d'art, archéologie, et trouva tout simplement que l'œuvre avait le style tuteur. Il y avait pourtant dans sa partition des motifs charmants, des détails très-jogefueux, des lignes de depression tout à fait remarquables. Tout cela fut à peu près perdu, comme le seraient les agréments d'une jeune femme qui se montrerait dans la rue avec le costume de nos grands maîtres.

Le dragueon auquel je m'adressais était un de ces Egyptiens qui avaient été envoyés à Paris pour suivre les cours de l'école polytechnique fondée par Méthémel-Ali. Je ne suis pas par quelle circonstance il était tombé à nous servir d'interprète, voire même de domestique, car il nous servait à table (quand nous avions de quoi manger), il nous communiquait l'impression que ces faits produisaient en moi, et qui se traduisait sans doute sur ma figure, car il entra dans d'autres détails en rapprochant son chameau du mien et en bousillant la voie, comme si les personnes qui se trouvaient près de nous eussent pu entendre de notre conversation autre chose que des sons de voix.

Le fait croie que le bruit de fan de souris et de malheurs n'arrivait à Méthémel-Ali qu'à l'air du tout la probe de son état, par lequel il croyait de toutes les questions des décrets, pour ce que dit, n'est encore rien fait pour y porter question. Malheurusement le grand obstacle pour cette question vient je ce que c'est par ce moyen qu'on a jusqu'à présent tenu une parole de l'armée égyptienne. Les hommes les plus robustes de chaque pays sont envoyés dans d'autres d'antres et, par l'appât de quelques avantages, mêlés à un faible nombre d'égyptiens,

On ne peut pas non plus ignorer que les braves hommes, dans du pays privé de toute organisation, il est toujours plus facile à chaque voyageur en particulier de tourner l'obstacle que de le détruire. Parmi les végétaux qui viennent enroulé, accolés, les difficultés de la route. Il est certains buissons dont les branches nombreuses, minces et en zigzag, sont garnies d'une multitude de épines qui rap-

On signale donné, l'armée s'étend sur eux, surprenant, saisissent et entraînent de tous côtés leurs victimes, pour ainsi dire, et défilent silencieusement du côté de Jouda. Elle ne m'étonna plus de cette circonstance quand on m'en fit connaître sa position. Ce homme, provenant de la dernière expédition qui avait eu lieu contre le monarque de Kery ; il était, dans ses plantes, que, cependant, les d'antres excess auxquels on pouvait se porter sur les sens. Il avait, pour payer le tribut, venu jusqu'à sa dernière brebis langué. Puis il s'était vu enlever un de ses fils, beau et intelligent garçon, sans prétexte de lui donner un emploi près du chef de l'expédition ; il avait plus tard que cet emploi n'était autre que la plus avilissante condition de l'esclavage. La ne se honorait pas cependant, sans malheurs. Un soir l'armée reçut l'ordre de se tenir prête, sans connaître encore dans quel but. A peine l'armée était partie, sans connaître le point d'attache, elle était obligée de marcher et de marcher forcée la montagne de Kery, qu'elle donna en retirant son cercle autour que possible, sans donner l'esprit à la population ; on attendit le point du jour pour être plus sûr de ne pas laisser échapper les habitants.

Après tout, cela n'a rien d'étonnant. Quoiqu'on nous dit des œuvres dramatiques de celui qu'on nous le connaissait auparavant, déclarait être le plus grand musicien du monde, de celui qui, selon Rossini, a été adopté entre tous, « autant de science que de génie, autant de science que de science ? Don Juan et Les Acces de Paris, il est vrai que la *Flûte magique*, déguisée sous ce titre ; la *Magnétisme d'iris*, et arrangé par le sieur Lachani, qui n'est autre qu'une foule de jolies choses tirées de son propre fonds, lui excusent jadis à l'Opéra ; mais qui, l'on nous dit aujourd'hui ? Il est également vrai que deux portraits, *la Prise de Jéricho* et *le Laboureur-chinois*, peints à l'Opéra vers la même époque, remportaient un succès de nombre de morceaux de Mozart. Mais ces musiciens de des recurent peu. On doit au bon sens public le succès de ces deux portraits. Il a longtemps profité contre ce qui n'a pu résister à avoir un représentant *la Prise de Jéricho*. Quant aux autres œuvres, nous ne les considérons que comme des productions d'ailleurs, à la main des spéculateurs d'alors avait mis en circulation, à un prix exorbitant, un grand nombre de ces ouvrages, que l'on comper ces habits d'arquin, quant à l'œuvre qui n'a jamais été exécutés en France.

**Chronique musicale.**

A tout seigneur tout honneur ! Le seigneur, c'est Mozart, à qui nous devons avant tout rendre hommage. Wolf gang-André Mozart, l'auteur de *Don Juan*, dont les deux fils, Parisiens viennent d'exécuter une œuvre que Paris ne connaissait pas encore.

On signale donné, l'armée s'étend sur eux, surprenant, saisissent et entraînent de tous côtés leurs victimes, pour ainsi dire, et défilent silencieusement du côté de Jouda. Elle ne m'étonna plus de cette circonstance quand on m'en fit connaître sa position. Ce homme, provenant de la dernière expédition qui avait eu lieu contre le monarque de Kery ; il était, dans ses plantes, que, cependant, les d'antres excess auxquels on pouvait se porter sur les sens. Il avait, pour payer le tribut, venu jusqu'à sa dernière brebis langué. Puis il s'était vu enlever un de ses fils, beau et intelligent garçon, sans prétexte de lui donner un emploi près du chef de l'expédition ; il avait plus tard que cet emploi n'était autre que la plus avilissante condition de l'esclavage. La ne se honorait pas cependant, sans malheurs. Un soir l'armée reçut l'ordre de se tenir prête, sans connaître encore dans quel but. A peine l'armée était partie, sans connaître le point d'attache, elle était obligée de marcher et de marcher forcée la montagne de Kery, qu'elle donna en retirant son cercle autour que possible, sans donner l'esprit à la population ; on attendit le point du jour pour être plus sûr de ne pas laisser échapper les habitants.

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Mozart écrit ce petit ouvrage à l'époque de sa grande gloire, en 1786. Il avait trente ans, et préparait le grand opéra de Figaro. Il détaillait dans *Don Juan* l'ambassadeur et mourut, à peine âgé de dix ans après, en 1791.



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Published/Created: Paris : L. Hachette, 1862-[63]

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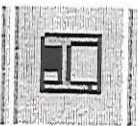


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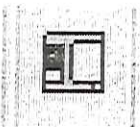
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- c. The system gives the document a default file name of the digital id number. If you want to use a more meaningful name, replace the numbers with a fairly short name (8 characters or less is recommended). The file extension after the period (".tif") will not display in the window, but will be included in the name after you save.
- d. Click the **OK** button. The only clue that the image is saving is that you may hear the drive running and/or see the light for the zip drive.

**Note:** Sometimes when you display tiff images on our monitors, they appear distorted. Images you save onto disk will not have this distortion.

- e. To confirm an image is on your disk: Follow Steps a-b again. The list of items on the disk will display. Check for the name of the one you just saved. **OR** in the Web browser address blank, type the letter of the drive you are using followed by a colon (e.g. **A:** or **D:** or **g:**). A directory of the files on the disk will display. (For zip disks this will only work in the D: (250 MB) drive, but 100 MB disks can be checked in the D: drive for this purpose.)

#### 5. Downloading "higher resolution jpg" images (not available in all PPOC collections):

- a. Click on the link for the "higher resolution jpeg" image
- b. Put the cursor over the image, and a menu of icons will appear. Select the icon of the diskette.
 

downloaded at public reading room workstations. Higher resolution images may require use of a zip disk (100 or 250 MB) formatted for use in IBM compatible machines or a USB flash drive formatted for IBM compatible machines, as the size of many images exceeds the space available on diskettes. It is not possible to download to CDs at the public workstations.

- Scanning equipment is not allowed because of handling concerns and the light they emit. Digital cameras are allowed (see "Simple hand-held camera copying" above).

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See Reference Information for a list of documents relating to service and copying policies, as well as answers to frequently asked questions.

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Last revised: March 2006.

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March 7, 2006



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS AN ILLUSTRATED GUIDE  
**Prints and Photographs**

◀ PREVIOUS

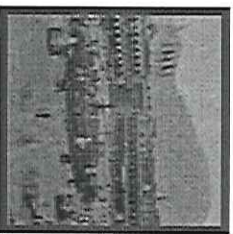
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## Portfolio 4: The World at Large

Supporting the Library's role as a repository of world knowledge, the pictorial collections document the peoples, lands, and cultures of the major countries throughout the world. In assembling this record, the Library gives particular attention to the influence and interests of the United States abroad and to individuals and matters of global, regional, or international importance. Regions outside of Western Europe--in particular Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Far East--are especially well represented. These holdings provide valuable insights into the history of these regions, and into the ways in which these regions and their peoples have been perceived by Americans and Western Europeans--or represented to them.

### Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spain



Courret Hermanos, *Fotografos. Lima. The Public Square on 28 July (Independence Day)*. Albumen silver print, probably 1868.  
 Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3905 (color transparency); LC-USZ62-87636 (b&w film copy neg.)

Although the history of photography in South America is only beginning to be written, it is clear that in the nineteenth century there were relatively few practitioners of such distinction as the Lima firm of Courret Hermanos. During its four or so decades of operation, the firm maintained a high standard of work and won numerous European competitions. This view of Lima's central square, festooned for an Independence Day celebration, is one of nearly 100 superbly printed albumen prints of Peru and Bolivia included in a two-volume souvenir album entitled *Recuerdos del Peru*. The *Recuerdos* contains several other views of Lima and its gardens, public works, and elegant buildings, views of smaller towns like Arequipa, Callao, and Arica, and portraits of gauchos, muleteers, bullfighters, and other people of the region. (*Transfer, U.S. Department of State*)



William Berryman, *Woman Beating Cassava, Jamaica*. Watercolor over grey ink and pencil on wove paper, circa 1808.  
 Reproduction #: LC-USZC4-3072 (color transparency); LC-USZ62-102406 (b&w film copy neg.)

English artist William Berryman spent eight years on the West Indian island while it was under the colonial rule of Great Britain. During that time he produced over 300 pencil and watercolor studies of the people, flora, landscape, and buildings of the island, in preparation for an intended series of engravings. Berryman died before carrying out this ambitious and costly project, but his drawings were preserved in an album that was recently discovered and acquired by the Library. Of all his Jamaican subjects, the artist seems to have had a particular affection for the resident Africans and mulattoes freed when Great Britain ended slavery in her empire. Many of the



From: Prober8@aol.com

Subject: **Re: providence**

Date: July 11, 2006 11:50:00 PM EDT

To: jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu



1 Attachment, 3.7 KB

Save ▾

Slideshow

In a message dated 7/11/06 1:27:29 AM Eastern Daylight Time, jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu writes:

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<< P.S. checked catalog of LOC prints and photograph division; they show 33 (not 233) watercolors done by Berryman between 1808 and 1816; the slides of these drawings are not very clear, hard to make out details on-line. go to the P and P catalog and put in berryman under author/creator...bonne chance >

Jerry,

I checked the LOC web site (prints & photo division) and came up with only 33, same as you. But then, on a different part of the web site I came up with the following text, in connection with this image by Berryman:

"English artist William Berryman spent eight years on the West Indian island while it was under the colonial rule of Great Britain. During that time he produced over 300 pencil and watercolor studies of the people, flora, landscape, and buildings of the island, in preparation for an intended series of engravings. Berryman died before carrying out this ambitious and costly project, but his drawings were preserved in an album that was recently discovered and acquired by the Library. Of all his Jamaican subjects, the artist seems to have had a particular affection for the resident Africans and mulattoes freed when Great Britain ended slavery in her empire. Many of the descendants of this woman and her compatriots on the island's cotton and sugar plantations are now residents of Louisiana, New York, and other parts of the United States."

Sounds like it might be worth your while to visit LC and check these 270-plus drawings and watercolors out. Apparently they were recently acquired and so most probably haven't appeared in publications before. And it sounds like quite a few might be appropriate for your own web project. (Even some of the 33 that do appear on the LC web site look like they might be of interest for your project, although they're too small and the resolution may be too low to be able to tell for sure.)

Hope you're doing well.



## The Civil War Home Page

Dedicated to the participants, both North and South, in the great American Civil War  
1861 - 1865

*See source on last page*

*for loc  
Printer + photo  
take CD*

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
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| <p>Recommend A New Link</p> <p>Do you have a Civil War related web site or a site to recommend?<br/><a href="#">Submit Your Link</a></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <p>Photograph Search</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p>Interactive Pages</p> <p><a href="#">Message Board</a></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <p>Links Database</p> <p>Our Links Database has thousands of Civil War related links. Enter your Search Term or Select from a Predefined Category.</p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="button" value="Enter Search Term"/></p>                                                                                                                                                | <p><del>12. Black Family Entering Union Lines with a Loaded Cart</del><br/>African Americans<br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/012.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/012.jpg</a></del></p> <p><del>130. Portrait of Frederick Douglass</del><br/>African Americans<br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/130.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/130.jpg</a></del> <i>Possibly</i></p> <p>14. Black Laborers on a Wharf - James River, VA<br/>African Americans<br/><i>Possibly</i><br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/014.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/014.jpg</a></del></p> <p>207. Auction &amp; Negro Sales, Whitehall Street - Atlanta GA, 1864<br/>African Americans<br/><i>9/22</i><br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/207.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/207.jpg</a></del></p> <p><del>234. Price, Birch &amp; Company, Slave Dealer - 283 Duke Street, Alexandria, VA, August 1863</del><br/>African Americans<br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/234.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/234.jpg</a></del></p> <p>370. Fugitive African Americans Forging the Rappahannock - Rappahannock River, VA, August 1862<br/>African Americans<br/><i>4/22</i><br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/370.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/370.jpg</a></del></p> <p><del>397. Barges with African Americans on the Canal with Ruined Buildings in Background - Richmond, VA, 1865</del><br/>African Americans<br/><del><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg</a></del></p> | <p>Official Records</p> <p>Battle Reports from the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies written by the Commanding Generals</p> <p>Fredericksburg<br/>- Ambrose Burnside</p> <p>Gettysburg<br/>- Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain<br/>- Robert E. Lee<br/>- James Longstreet</p> <p>Bull Run/Manassas<br/>- Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson<br/>- Irvin McDowell</p> <p>Antietam / Sharpsburg<br/>- Robert E. Lee<br/>- George McClellan</p> <p>Shiloh / Pittsburg Landing<br/>- Ulysses S. Grant</p> |
| <p>Photos Database</p> <p>Our Photos Database has over 1,100 of Civil War related pictures, images and Cartes de Visite (CDV) photographs. Enter your Search Term or Select from a Predefined Category.</p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="button" value="Enter Search Term"/></p> <p>African Americans<br/>Antietam<br/>Artillery Units &amp; Equipment<br/>Atlanta, GA</p> | <p><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/234.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/234.jpg</a></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <p>Dyer's Compendium</p> <p>State and Territory Detailed Union Regimental Histories</p> <p>Regimental Histories</p> <p>State and Territory View of Union Troops Furnished and Deaths reported by Cause of Death</p> <p>Troops Furnished &amp; Deaths</p> <p>State and Territory View of Union</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

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| <p><b>Casualties</b><br/> <b>Cavalry</b><br/> <b>Charleston, SC</b><br/> <b>Communications &amp; Intelligence</b><br/> <b>CSA Government Officials</b><br/> <b>CSA Navy Officers</b><br/> <b>CSA Officers &amp; Soldiers</b><br/> <b>Civilians</b><br/> <b>Engineering Units</b><br/> <b>Foreign Diplomats &amp; Observers</b><br/> <b>Gettysburg, PA</b><br/> <b>Group Photos</b><br/> <b>Industry &amp; Infrastructure</b><br/> <b>Infantry Units</b><br/> <b>Lincoln Assassination</b><br/> <b>Manassas, VA</b><br/> <b>Medical &amp; Hospitals</b><br/> <b>Military Life</b><br/> <b>Navy Units &amp; Ships</b><br/> <b>Other Locations</b><br/> <b>Photographers &amp; Reporters</b><br/> <b>Prisoner Related</b><br/> <b>Quartermaster &amp; Sutler</b><br/> <b>Richmond, VA</b><br/> <b>USA Government Officials</b><br/> <b>USA Navy Officers</b><br/> <b>USA Officers &amp; Soldiers</b><br/> <b>Washington, D.C.</b></p> | <p><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg">war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg</a><br/> <b>397. Barges with African Americans on the Canal, Ruined Buildings Beyond - Richmond, VA, 1865</b><br/> Richmond<br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/397.jpg</a></p> <p><i>Possibly</i></p> <p><del><b>447. First African Church (Broad Street) - Richmond, VA, 1865</b></del><br/> African Americans<br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/447.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/447.jpg</a></p> <p><b>6. The 26th U.S. Colored Volunteer Infantry on Parade - PA, 1865</b><br/> African Americans<br/> <i>Possibly</i><br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/006.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/006.jpg</a></p> <p><b>668. African American Army Cook at Work - City Point, VA</b><br/> African Americans<br/> <i>Possibly</i><br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/668.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/668.jpg</a></p> <p><b>669. Contrabands - Culpeper, VA, November 1863</b><br/> African Americans<br/> <i>Possibly</i><br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/669.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/669.jpg</a></p> <p><b>770. African Americans Collecting Bones from Exposed Graves from Previous Battle - Cold Harbor, VA, April 1865</b><br/> African Americans<br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg</a></p> <p><del><b>770. African Americans Collecting Bones of Soldiers Killed in the Battle - Cold Harbor, VA, April 1865</b></del><br/> Casualties<br/> <a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg</a></p> <p><del><b>770. African Americans Collecting Bones of Soldiers Killed in the Battle - Cold Harbor, VA, April 1865</b></del><br/> Other Locations</p> | <p>Regiments, Battalions and Companies Furnished</p> <p>Organizations Furnished</p> <p>Fox's Regimental Losses</p> <p>Union Corp Organization Histories and Campaigns</p> <p>Corps Organizations</p> <p>Civil War Soldiers &amp; Sailors</p> <p>Civil War Soldiers &amp; Sailors Genealogy and Research</p> <p>Soldiers, Sailors, Regiments - Cemeteries, Battles, Prisoners - Medals of Honor</p> <p>The Last Full Measure</p> <p>The Last Full Measure</p> <p>Abraham Lincoln Content - Speeches, Letters, Photos</p> <p>US Census of 1860</p> <p>Results of 1860 Census including Total Population, Slave Population, Slaveholding Families and more</p> <p>1860 Census by State</p> <p>Site Information</p> <p>- About US</p> <p>- Terms of Service</p> |
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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <p><a href="http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg">http://www.civil-war.net/cw_images/files/images/770.jpg</a></p> <p>-- -- &gt; &gt;  [1/2]</p> <p>Sources:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Images 0-233 are from The National Archives and Records Administration</li><li>2) Images 234-793 are from The Library of Congress - American Memory Collection - Selected Civil War Photographs Home Page</li><li>3) Images beginning with a C are from The Library of Congress Manuscript Division - Cartes de Visite</li></ol> |  |
| <p>The Civil War Home Page contains thousands of pages of Civil War material including Photos, Images, Battles, Documents, Southern Historical Papers, Troops Furnished, Death Stats, Associations, Letters &amp; Diaries, Census of 1860, Maps, Official Records, Message Board, Dyer's Compendium, Fox's Regimental Losses, Regimental Histories, Genealogy, Biographical Information, Reenacting and Unit Information.</p> <p><b><a href="#">The Civil War Home Page</a> - <a href="#">The American Civil War Portal</a> - <a href="#">Civil War Photos</a></b><br/>Copyright © 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004 All Rights Reserved</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |  |



AMERICAN  
MEMORY

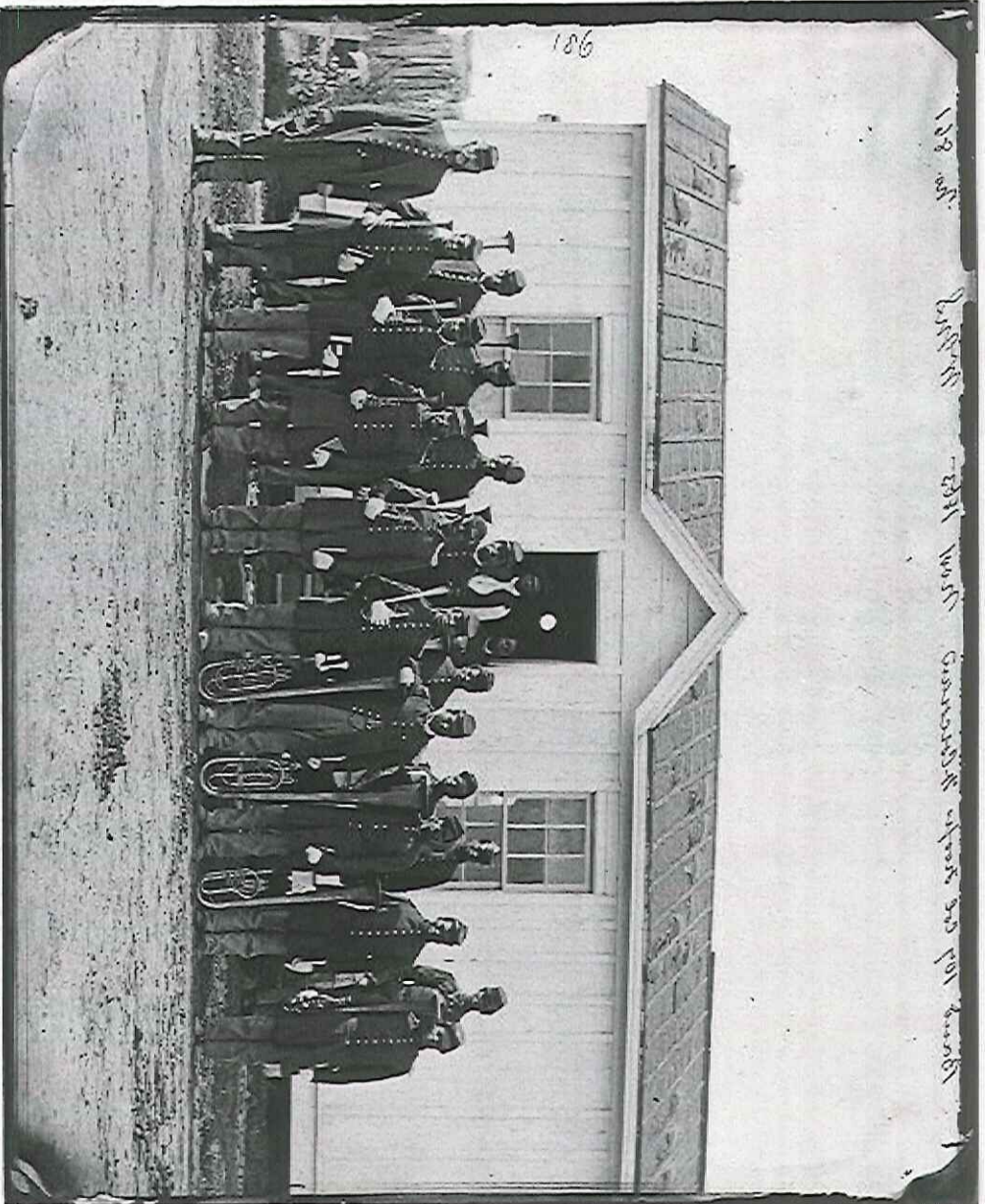
Bibliographic Information

Additional Versions

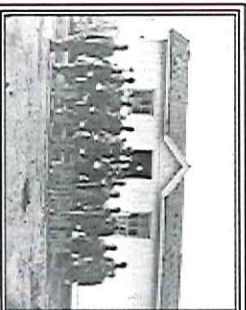
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Retrieve higher resolution JPEG version (147 kilobytes)

Retrieve uncompressed archival TIFF version (20 megabytes)



### Additional versions and related images



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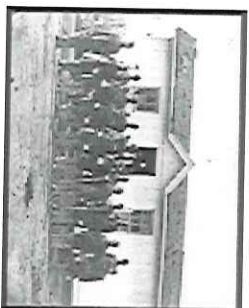
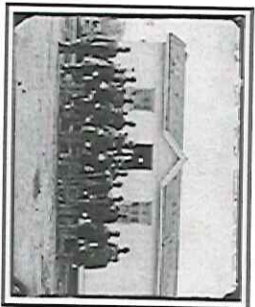




Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865

Photograph 2 of 100

*Click on picture for larger image, full item, or more versions.* [Rights and Reproductions]



[Arlington, Va. Band of 107th U.S. Colored Infantry at Fort Corcoran].

**CREATED/PUBLISHED**

1865 November.

**SUMMARY**

Photograph of Washington, 1862-1865, view of the defenses of Washington. Shows group of twenty African American soldiers with musical instruments.

**NOTES**

Reference: Civil War photographs, 1861-1865 / compiled by Hirst D. Milhollen and Donald H. Mugridge, Washington, D.C. : Library of Congress, 1977. No. 0758

Title from Milhollen and Mugridge.

Forms part of Selected Civil War photographs, 1861-1865 (Library of Congress)

**SUBJECTS**

[United States--History--Civil War, 1861-1865--Military facilities.](#)  
[United States--History--Civil War, 1861-1865--Military personnel.](#)  
[United States--History--Civil War, 1861-1865--African Americans.](#)  
[Forts & fortifications.](#)  
[Infantry.](#)  
[Military bands.](#)  
[Wet collodion negatives.](#)  
[United States--Virginia--Arlington.](#)

**MEDIUM**

1 negative : glass, wet collodion.

**CALL NUMBER**

LC-B817- 7861

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER**

LC-DIG-cwpb-04279 DLC (b&w copy scan)  
LC-B8171-7861 DLC (b&w film neg.)

**SPECIAL TERMS OF USE**

No known restrictions on publication.

**PART OF**

Selected Civil War photographs, 1861-1865 (Library of Congress)

**REPOSITORY**

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

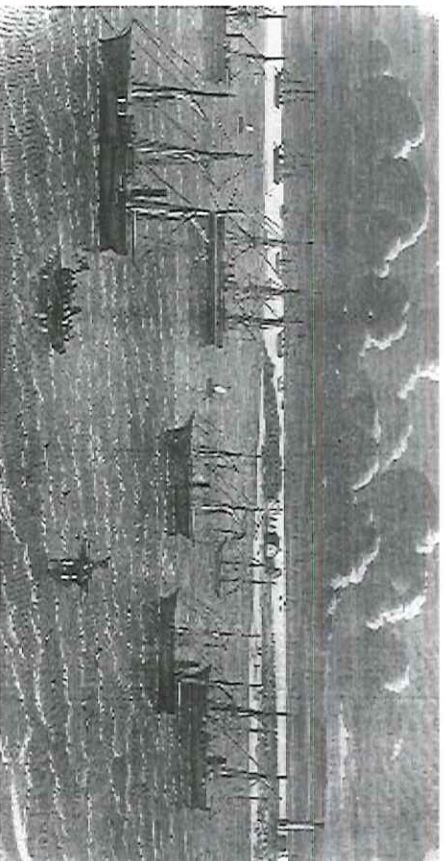
**DIGITAL ID**

(b&w copy scan) cwpb 04279 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cwpb.04279>  
(intermediary roll film) cwp 4a40237





## LINKS TO BLACK SOLDIERS ON THE INTERNET



**View of Ship Island, Mississippi, from *Harper's Weekly*, February 8, 1862.**

*Courtesy of the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries.*

### Links to Black Soldiers

The big news regarding links to black soldiers is the [Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System](#), which is now operational. The first phase of this ambitious project involved putting the names of every soldier who served in the United States Colored Troops (black enlisted man or white officer) on line. Since its inception, the names of hundreds of thousands of Union and Confederate soldiers have been added to the database. You will be amazed at the wealth of information regarding Civil War soldiers in general and African-American soldiers in particular that is now available at your fingertips. This is a "must see" site!

A more recent presence on the internet is the [Fort Des Moines Memorial Park and Education Center](#) in Iowa. It has been established "to create and maintain a memorial park and international tourist attraction honoring the U.S. Army's first officer candidate class open to African-American men in 1917 during the First World War, the establishment of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAAC) in 1942 during World War Two, and to celebrate how through these two historic events, our Armed Forces led greater American society toward racial and gender equality." This site is very attractive and has direct relevance to the Buffalo Soldiers.

A site that offers an almost unlimited potential for mining Civil War minutiae is the [American Civil War Research Database](#). Described as "the largest, most in-depth and fully searchable database of United States Civil War soldiers and events," this collection of records, rosters, chronicles, profiles, and photographs is available for online research to anyone who joins by paying a \$25.00 annual fee. For the serious researcher this database is well worth the price of admission.

There are two general resources on the internet that focus specifically on Louisiana. [Louisiana History](#) covers the state, while the [Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies](#) focuses on parishes north and east of New Orleans. Nevertheless, both sites have links to a wide variety of topics related to the Pelican State's rich history, including the Native Guards.



Persons interested in black soldiers in the Civil War, or any American war for that matter, should also check out [Lest We Forget](#). This web site is dedicated to the memory of the African- Americans who have fought for the United States in all of this country's wars. Another excellent web site related to black troops serving during the Civil War memorializes [Company B of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry](#). Two additional sites that contain information concerning African Americans who experienced combat deal with the siege of [Fort Blakely](#) outside of Mobile and the defense of [Milliken's Bend](#) near Vicksburg. The Milliken's Bend site is especially attractive and contains references to music, poetry, letters, and images depicting black soldiers during the Civil War. Finally, there is a brand new tribute to the [Buffalo Soldiers](#) on the internet. This site maintained by Stanford Davis has a wealth of information and photographs about black soldiers who continued their service to the United States after the Civil War in the American West.

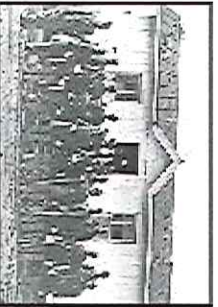
There are several clearing houses that deal exclusively with Civil War material. Perhaps the best is the [U.S. Civil War Center](#) at LSU in Baton Rouge. In addition to providing a calendar of current events, the Center has an extensive directory of Civil War links. The Center is a good place to start for anyone interested in the Civil War on the internet. [The United States Colored Troops Institute for Local History and Family Research](#) focuses on black troops specifically. Teachers interested in locating material about black soldiers for use in the classroom should consult [Social Studies School Services](#), an educational resource center with several links to black soldiers in the Civil War.

Anyone interested in Civil War photographs will want to be aware of three major resources--[The Library of Congress](#), the [National Archives](#), and the [United States Army Military History Institute](#) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The first two have a number of photographs on line, which can be downloaded. In fact, several of the photographs in this web site's photography section below were downloaded from either the Library of Congress or the National Archives. The Military History Institute does not have photographs on line, but its catalog of over 20,000 images can be searched over the internet. In that regard, the Military History Institute is an excellent resource for someone looking for photographs of a particular person or unit.

Are you interested in art work depicting black soldiers? [Allen's Creations](#) features prints of African Americans who served in the United States Army during the Civil, Indian, and Spanish-American Wars. The collection is impressive, and new prints are being added almost every month.

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## Photographs



[Click here](#) to see photographs of black soldiers available on the internet.

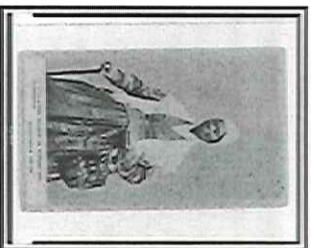
## Suggestions

If you know of other links related to the Native Guards in particular or black soldiers during the Civil War in general, please send your information to the E-mail address below.



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**How To Order Copies of This Item**

**TITLE:** [Sojourner Truth, three-quarter length portrait, standing, wearing spectacles, shawl, and peaked cap, right hand resting on cane]

**CALL NUMBER:** Item in Manuscript Div. [Manuscript RR]

**BIOG FILE - Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883 [item]** Copy photograph [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZ62-119343 (b&w film copy neg.)  
No known restrictions on publication.

**MEDIUM:** 1 photographic print on carte de visite mount : albumen.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [Detroit], [1864]

**NOTES:**

Caption: I sell the shadow to support the substance. **Sojourner Truth.**

Original carte de visite portrait is in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, **Sojourner Truth** Collection (MMC). Manuscript Division copy negative is LC-MSS-35956-173.

Available as copy photo in Prints & Photographs Division, **BIOG FILE.**

Described in: **Sojourner Truth** : A life, a symbol / Nell Irvin Painter. New York : W. W. Norton, 1996, p. 187.

**SUBJECTS:**

Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883.

**FORMAT:**

Portrait photographs 1860-1870.

Cartes de visite 1860-1870.

Albumen prints 1860-1870.

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (b&w film copy neg.) cph 3c19343 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c19343>

**CARD #:** 97513239

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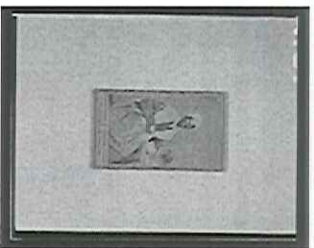
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**Item 3 of 62**

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**TITLE:** I sell the shadow to support the substance

**CALL NUMBER:** Unprocessed item [P&P]

**REPRODUCTION NUMBER:** LC-USZC4-6165 (color film copy transparency)

**SUMMARY:** Sojourner Truth, three-quarter length portrait, seated at table, facing front.

**MEDIUM:** 1 photographic print on carte de visite mount : albumen.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** c1864.

**NOTES:**

Gladstone collection (Library of Congress).

Copyright by **Sojourner Truth**.

Exhibit loan 4108-L.

Unprocessed in PR 13 CN 1995:113.51

**SUBJECTS:**

Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883.

**FORMAT:**

Portrait photographs 1860-1870.

Albumen prints 1860-1870.

[Cartes de visite 1860-1870.](#)

**REPOSITORY:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

**DIGITAL ID:** (color film copy transparency) cph 3g06165 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/pnp/cph.3g06165>

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Call number: E185.96 .A446 2004

Title: African American lives / editors, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham.

Click link: [Table of contents](#)<http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0410/2003023640.html>

Publication info: New York : Oxford University Press, 2004.

ISBN: 019516024X (hardcover : alk. paper)

Description: xxvi, 1025 p. : ill. ; 29 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Subject: [African Americans--Biography.](#)Related name: [Gates, Henry Louis.](#)Related name: [Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks, 1945-](#)

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| E185.96 .A446 2004        | REFERENCE | Alderman Library Reference |

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## TRUTH, SOJOURNER

a jaw-to-jaw argument. After nearly an hour, the president ordered the vitriolic Trotter out of his office.

Trotter moved the struggle for racial equality in the direction of mass mobilization. In 1915 he experimented with picket lines and demonstrations by orchestrating a nonviolent effort to ban D. W. Griffith's epic motion picture *Birth of a Nation*. Trotter's arrest did not prevent him from leading some one thousand marchers to the State House two days later, thereby creating one of the earliest protest marches by Americans of African descent.

In 1919 Trotter announced plans to attend the Versailles Peace Conference in an attempt to have a racial equality clause adopted in the treaty. When the U.S. government denied his request for a passport, the defiant Trotter secured a job as a ship's cook and sailed to France. Although his efforts at Versailles ultimately failed, they garnered worldwide publicity—and Wilson's wrath. Trotter continued to raise his voice through the *Guardian*, doing so only by sacrificing both his own and his wife's personal wealth to finance the newspaper.

After Geraldine Trotter died in the influenza epidemic of 1918, her husband grew ever more isolated. The economic downturn of the Depression proved too overwhelming for Trotter, and he lost his newspaper early in 1934. Trotter died later that year, apparently of suicide, when he plunged from the roof of a three-story building in Boston on his sixty-second birthday.

### FURTHER READING

A small collection of Trotter papers is at Boston University, and some Trotter correspondence is in the papers of W. E. B. Du Bois at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Fox, Stephen R. *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter* (1970).

—RODGER STREITMATTER



## TRUTH, SOJOURNER

(c. 1799–26 Nov. 1883), abolitionist and women's rights advocate, was born in Hurley, Ulster County, New York, the daughter of James and Elizabeth Baumfree, who were slaves. Named Isabella



*Sojourner Truth, fervent abolitionist and campaigner for women's rights, in a studio photograph that she used on her visiting card. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY*

by her parents, she took the name Sojourner Truth in 1843. As a child, Isabella belonged to a series of owners, the most memorable of whom were the John Dumont family of Esopus, Ulster County, to whom she belonged for approximately seventeen years and with whom she remained close until their migration to the West in 1849. About 1815 she married another of Dumont's slaves, Thomas, who was much older than she; they had five children. Isabella left Thomas in Ulster County after their emancipation under New York state law in 1827, but she did not marry again.

In the year before her emancipation, Isabella left her master Dumont of her own accord and went to work for the family of Isaac Van Wageningen in Hurley. When a member of Dumont's wife's family illegally sold Isabella's son into

perpetual slavery in Alabama, she took another remarkable step for a slave: she went to court and sued successfully for her son's return. She also had a conversion experience, was born again, and joined the newly established Methodist church in Kingston, where she met a Miss Great, with whom she migrated to New York City in 1828.

In New York, Isabella worked in private households and attended both the predominantly white John Street Methodist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, where she briefly encountered three of her older siblings who had also migrated to New York City. She adhered to a series of unorthodox religious societies: the Methodist perfectionists led by James Latourette, the urban missionaries to prostitutes of the Magdalene Asylum,

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Call number: E 185.97 .T8 M32 1993

Author: Mabee, Carleton, 1914-

Title: Sojourner Truth--slave, prophet, legend / by Carleton Mabee, with Susan Mabee Newhouse.

Publication info: New York : New York University Press, c1993.

ISBN: 0814754848 : \$35.00

Description: xvi, 293 p., [16] p. of plates : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.

Note: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Subject: Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883.

Subject: African Americans--Biography.

Subject: Abolitionists--United States--Biography

Subject: Social reformers--United States--Biography.

Related name: Newhouse, Susan Mabee.

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17. Sojourner Truth. In her bag she often carried copies of the *Narrative* of her life to sell. Photographer and date unknown. (From State University College, New Paltz, NY.)





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## Search Result -- Quick Search

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Call number: [E185.97 .T8 G55 1998](#)

Author: [Gilbert, Olive.](#)

Title: [Narrative of Sojourner Truth : a bondswoman of olden time, with a history of her labors and correspondence drawn from her Book of life ; also , A memorial chapter / edited with an introduction and notes by Nell Irvin Painter.](#)

Publication info: [New York : Penguin Books, 1998.](#)

ISBN: [0140436782](#)

Description: [xxiii, 261 p. : ill. ; 20 cm.](#)

Note: [Written for Sojourner Truth by Olive Gilbert.](#)

Note: [Includes bibliographical references \(p. xxi\).](#)

Subject: [Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883.](#)

Subject: [African American abolitionists--Biography.](#)

Subject: [Abolitionists--United States--Biography](#)

Subject: [Social reformers--United States--Biography.](#)

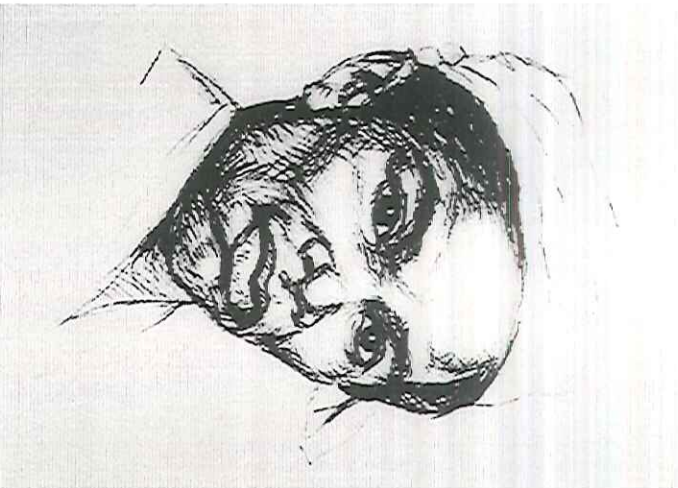
Related name: [Truth, Sojourner, d. 1883.](#)

Related name: [Painter, Nell Irvin.](#)

Series: [Penguin classics](#)

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Picture No 10065113

Date circa 1797 - 1883

Description SOJOURNER TRUTH 19C

Details SOJOURNER TRUTH American reformer and evangelist, formerly a slave, working for the abolition of slavery and women's suffrage

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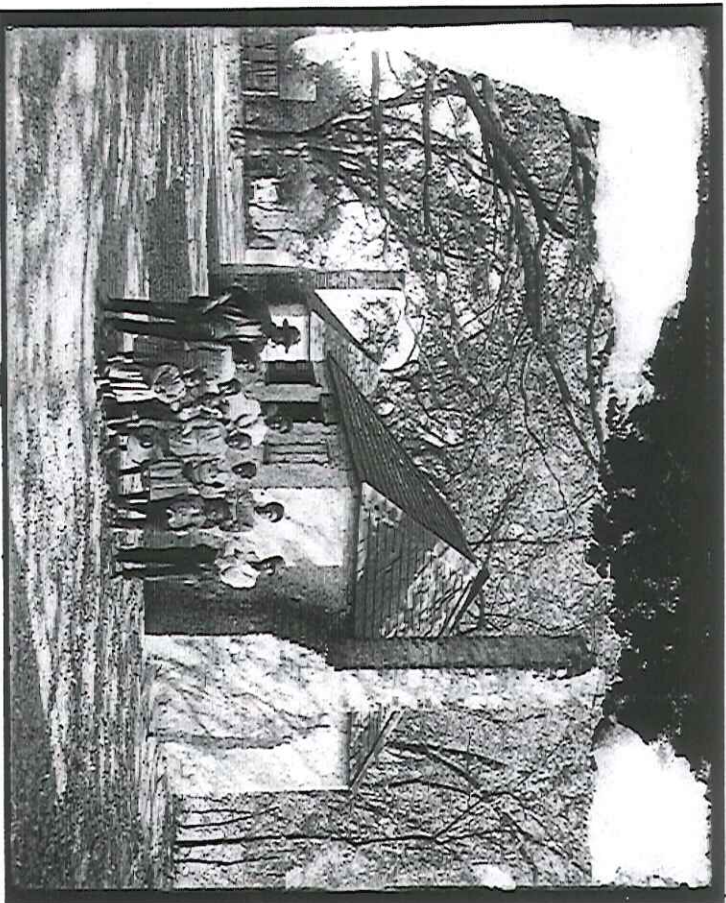
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[The Whole black family at the Hermitage, Savannah, Ga.]

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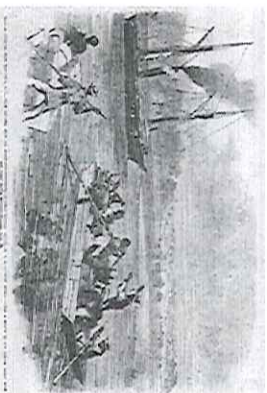


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Negroes escaping from Beaufort, S.C., with plunder from the abandoned residences of these masters, stopped by U.S. Gunbo... (Dec. 21, 1861)

#### Image Details

**Image Title:** Negroes escaping from Beaufort, S.C., with plunder from the abandoned residences of these masters, stopped by U.S. Gunboat Seneca.

**Additional Name(s):** Leslie, Frank, 1821-1880 -- Editor

**Created Date:** Dec. 21, 1861

**Medium:** Engravings

**Specific Material Type:** Prints

**Item/Page/Plate:** cover

**Source:** Frank Leslie's Illustrated newspaper.

**Source Description:** 73 v. : Ill. ; 40 cm

**Location:** Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture / Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division

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Date circa 1870

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Details Slaves working in a  
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Neil Grant, The Savage Trade (1980)  
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*The Savage Trade*



*Harvesting the cane under the eye of white supervisors armed with whip and pistol. A nineteenth-century engraving.*

Europeans learnt caviare became far the biggest rich on sugar, i tions but lived managers ran t private citizens being 'as rich as say 'rich as an which was val changed over t the estate for £'

\* Sugar was no that it was w' intensive'; in o human workers planters had t cheap. The ans to be found in Y went hand in h the growth of government an from Guinea to It led to grov and sugar great economic leap Revolution.

There was m sugar plantatio trader. A man eighteenth cent took a labouring as ship's carpel arrived there he sugar, which he very large profit bought English which he sent f



Dresser + Chapman 1992

much of which might consist of slaves. Slavery was more a way of recruiting women for the work force than a way of organizing production.

Within the slaves' own households in the American South, both men and women contributed labor to fulfill the needs of the family, but the labor tended to be divided by gender according to African traditions. When they had the choice, slaves retained separate skills for men and women, a community of women who worked together, and an opportunity for women to care for their families and homes. Because men did not share the same power over their wives as in European-American society (whether because of African tradition or because of the realities of slavery), the slave family was more egalitarian than its white counterpart. Whites found this remarkable, and it served as the

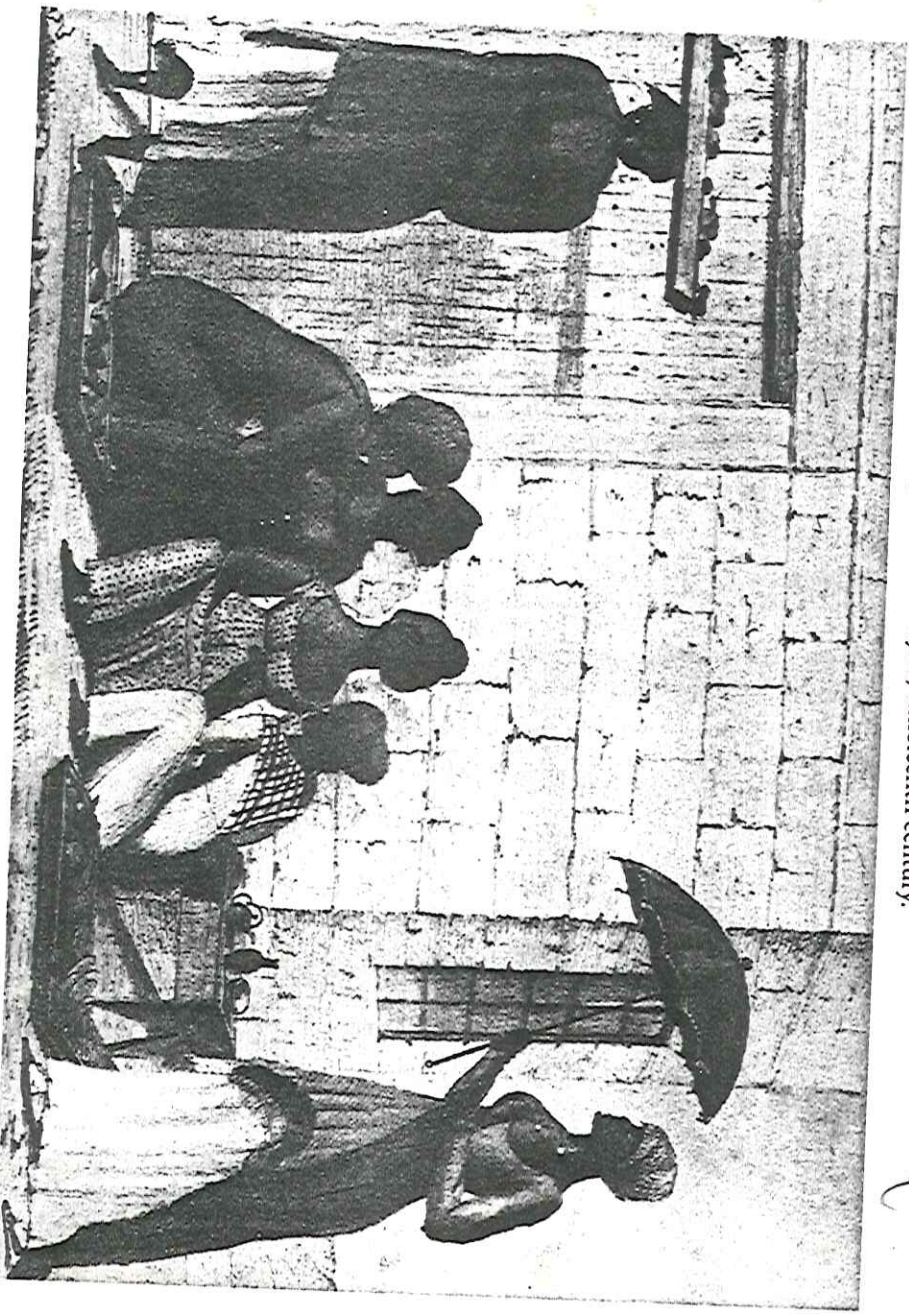
basis of the stereotype that slave women dominated their men and gave rise to a pathological theory of the black family.

Where slave women worked to feed and clothe the labor force rather than to produce for the market, their work often accrued to the benefit of slaveholding women as well as men. In the American South slaveholding women sometimes found the burden of managing a household of slaves, combined with the sexual tensions involved, a hardship, calling themselves "slaves of slaves." In parts of Africa, by contrast, wives benefited substantially from their husbands' purchase of female slaves, and women could own slaves themselves and use them to accrue wealth.

Slavery thus in some ways followed existing gender divisions and stereotypes. In other ways,

Costume des Nègresses de Saint Thomas (Dress of the Negresses of Saint Thomas); lithograph, C. Delaheyrie, nineteenth century.

Dinda





Check Solidgraph in his letter  
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 Frank Mc Glynn

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# THE BLACK WEST

A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American  
Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States

With a New Introduction

by William Loren Katz

1987, 1996

A TOUCHSTONE BOOK  
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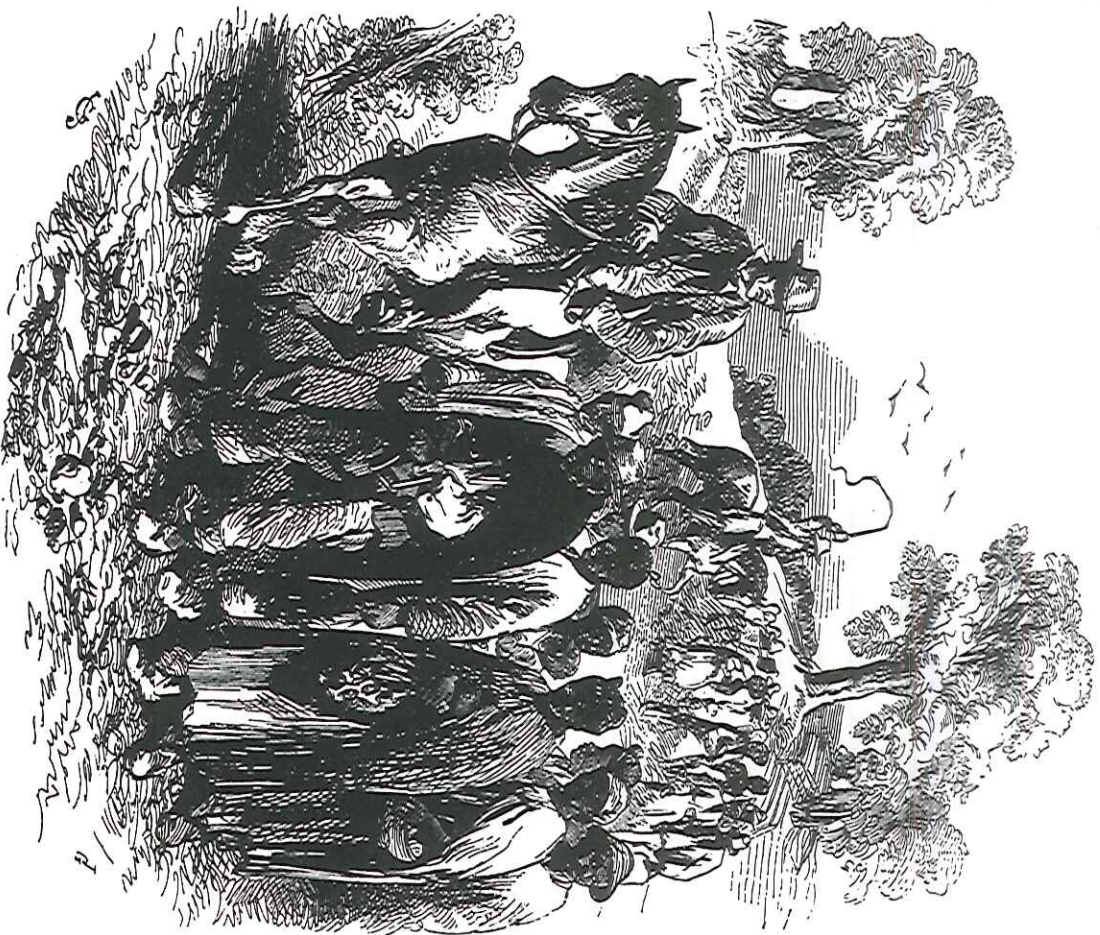
lds, wrote:

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and contest that ever was  
l children entered the arena  
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bitter argument against one  
ivil war might be the result.

nities divided and neighbor-  
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nd collisions a frequent oc-  
very man expected an attack,

can women and men to fight  
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lave sued her master for as-  
warded her fourteen dollars.  
and four men sued for free-  
' was purchased and freed.  
mes, brought suit and finally  
ne Court.  
ney Amory Kinney and sued  
reme Court freed Polly and  
ry Clark applied for release  
the court freed her.

P. 87



Slave coffles were driven westward as masters sought new land on the frontier.

The Illinois proslavery forces were not defeated on the legal issue but rather through a steady increase of antislavery northern settlers. Slave masters knew their property was not safe in a community that was antislavery. Their battle preceded the miniature civil war between proslavery and antislavery forces that engulfed Kansas three decades later.

Source not given  
to be certain



raphs. Professor Kenneth Wiggins is of this volume, and I appreciated P. Stiff, whose "Black Colorado" is of the *Denver Post*, volunteered to be dug out of the Denver news-ome of my conclusions, helping to n of the National Archives and an *Vegro: His History and Literature* is on Henry O. Flipper, first black ly volunteered to read the chapter ade valuable corrections.

o respond to my letters and ques- nations and bibliographical sugges- son, Roland C. McConnell, Eugene Kaiser, Edwin S. Redkey, George P. n, Benjamin Quarles, Howard H. ranklin Folsom, Dorothy Sterling, n H. Leckie, Philip Durham, Ken- yston Hughes was not able to eval-

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debted to my family. My mother, cript, offering her usual sage and l valuable information, conclusions he West, particularly in Michigan- t, lustily offering his criticism and collection to discover some original llection on the Lucy Terry Prince : part in the 1898 Cuban campaigns id typed endlessly during her free tement and encouragement. errors of fact or judgment are mine,

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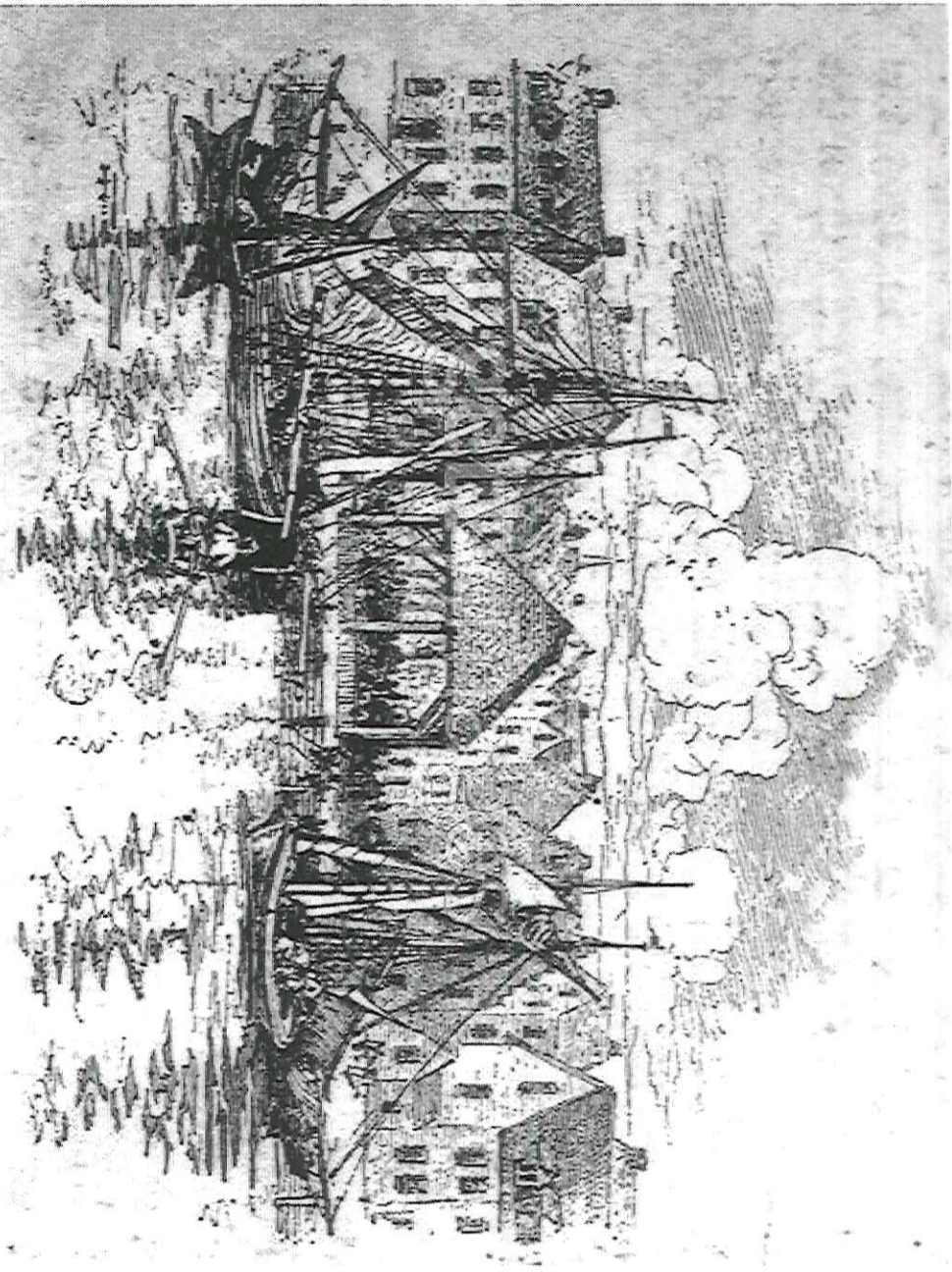
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**Caption:**  
1730, A slave market in New York harbour. (Photo by MPI/Getty Images)

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**Keywords:**

Black & White;Format Landscape;Crowd;Vessel;Boat;Ship;Row Boat;Sailing Ship;American Timeline;The African American Experience;Race Issues;Slavery;Market;Harbour;North America;Usa;Earlydate;18th Century,

crowd, harbour, market

**Orientation:** Horizontal  
**Object Name:** 98f/21/hgmp/12395/te222

**Release** No release.

**Information:**

**Barcode:** JF0574

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All Books by Kant  
David Livingston  
Henry Stanley  
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**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-28351 (b&w film copy neg.)

**Repository:** Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA  
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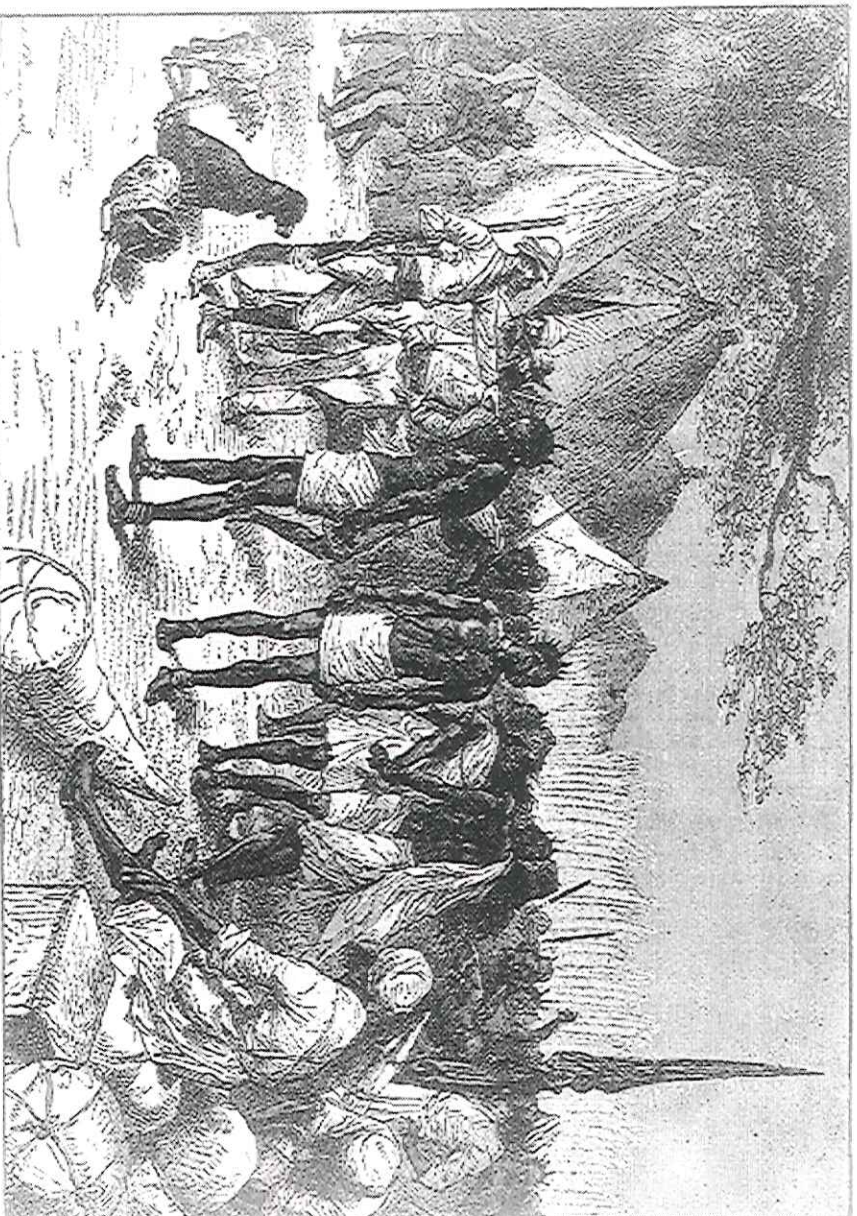


FIG. 110. THE 3 ZULUSH CAPTIVES BEING SENT AWAY LONDON.—WITNESSED BY STANLEY.

[entire is in loc]  
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Stanley?

NOT from H. Missmann (1891)

FILE - HISTORY SYSTEM

PRINTS & PROTON

AFRICA: Economic and Demographic Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade

LOC

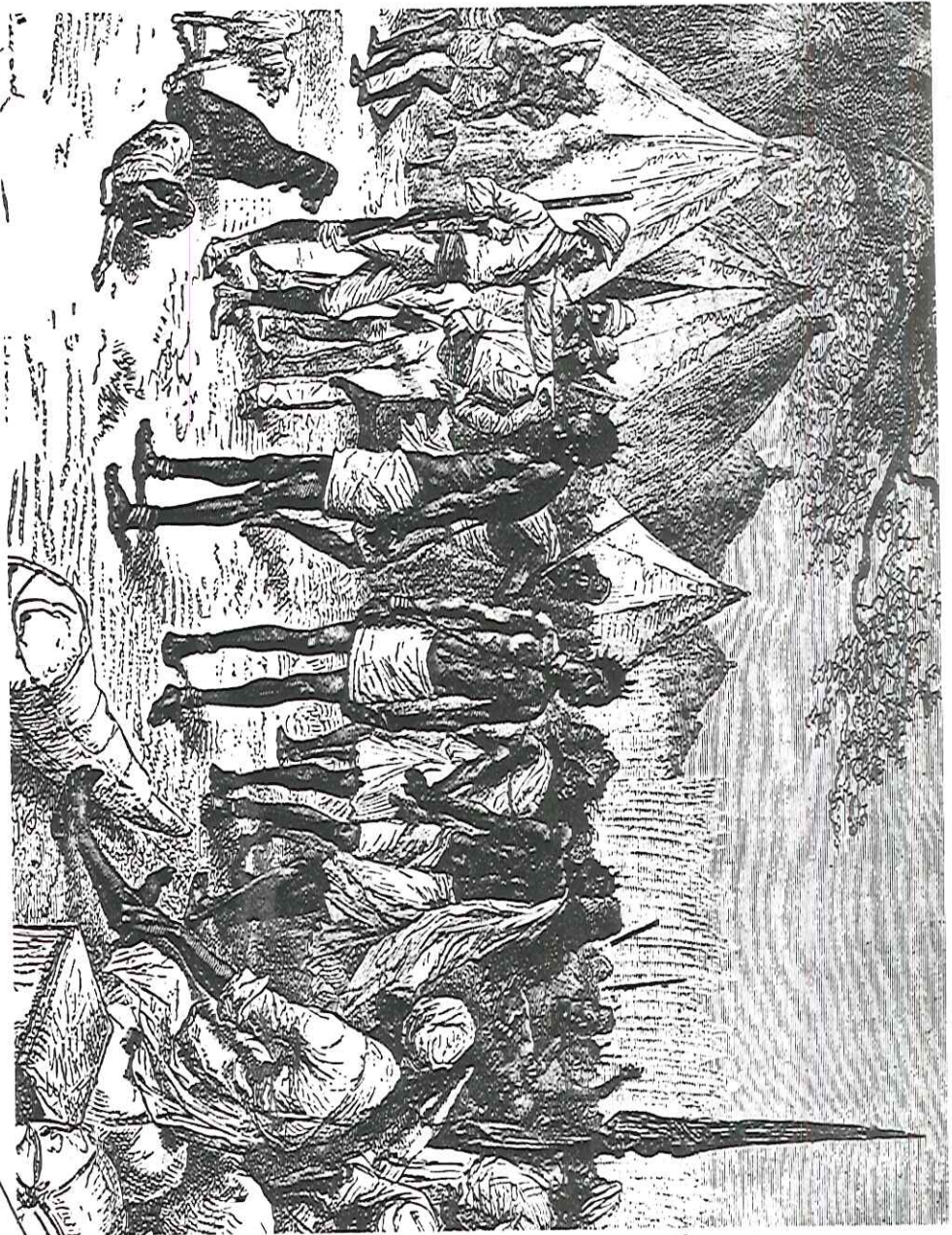
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Captain  
Dennis  
Maitland  
White  
Coast  
Africa  
Africa




Slave traders purchase captured African villagers to be sold into slavery in the Americas in the nineteenth century. [Library of Congress/Corbis]

dealers were often drawn from local political elites who sought to enrich themselves through control of trade routes to the coast and regulation of commercial negotiations with Europeans. Rodney may have been correct in thinking that in Upper Guinea African sellers were the weaker parties in negotiating slave transactions, but this too remains a debatable issue. More recent research suggests that, on balance, the advantage in negotiations tended to lie, if anywhere, with African slave dealers, thereby allowing those in control of them to accumulate sizable fortunes. Often these were embodied in ownership of slave retainers. As a result, political competition for control of the slave trade became in some regions an important source of interstate conflict, demonstrated perhaps most clearly by Dahomey's conquest of the coastal powers of Ardrah and Whydah in the Bight of Benin in the early eighteenth century and, later, in Asante's efforts to extend its influence over the Gold Coast.

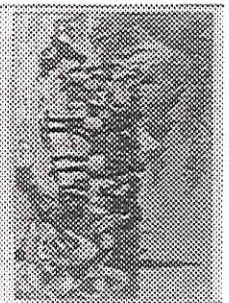
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SocSci  
Gen  
CORBIS Image ID I11024816

The complicity of prosperous African elites in the export slave trade does not, of course, diminish the broader social and human costs to Africa. As noted above, however, any attempt to measure such costs faces acute problems regarding data. For example, while our knowledge of the age and gender composition of slave shipments through time and by African region of embarkation has improved sharply during the last few decades, historians still disagree, largely because of a paucity of background data on the African population, about the demographic implications of these slave exports for African societies. Occasionally, evidence is uncovered that sustained exports of slaves, most of whom were adult males, could severely distort local population structures. One notable example is census material for parts of Angola in 1777, which shows that there were up to twice as many adult females as males. Similar gender imbalances have been found in other regions heavily plundered by



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Item 44 of 149



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*WPA ~~Adm~~ Adm Arrived*

*more Stanley's friend Tom*

*of camp T*

*11/15/02*

How To Order Copies of This Item

**TITLE:** Tipo Tib's fresh captives being sent into bondage - witnessed by Stanley / Bayard(?).

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Find any corresponding online LOT(group) record

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**SUMMARY:** Captives in African village being sent into slavery.

**MEDIUM:** 1 photomechanical print.

**CREATED/PUBLISHED:** [between 1930 and 1980]

**NOTES:**

Reproduction of a wood engraving.

**SUBJECTS:**

- Stanley, Henry M. (Henry Morton), 1841-1904--Journeys--Africa.
- Tipu Tip, d. 1905--Journeys--Africa.
- Captives--Africa--1870-1880.
- Slave trade--Africa--1870-1880.
- Slavery--Africa--1870-1880.

**FORMAT:**

- Book illustrations 1870-1880.
- Wood engravings 1870-1880 Reproductions.
- Photomechanical prints 1930-1980.

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**CARD #:** 98510178

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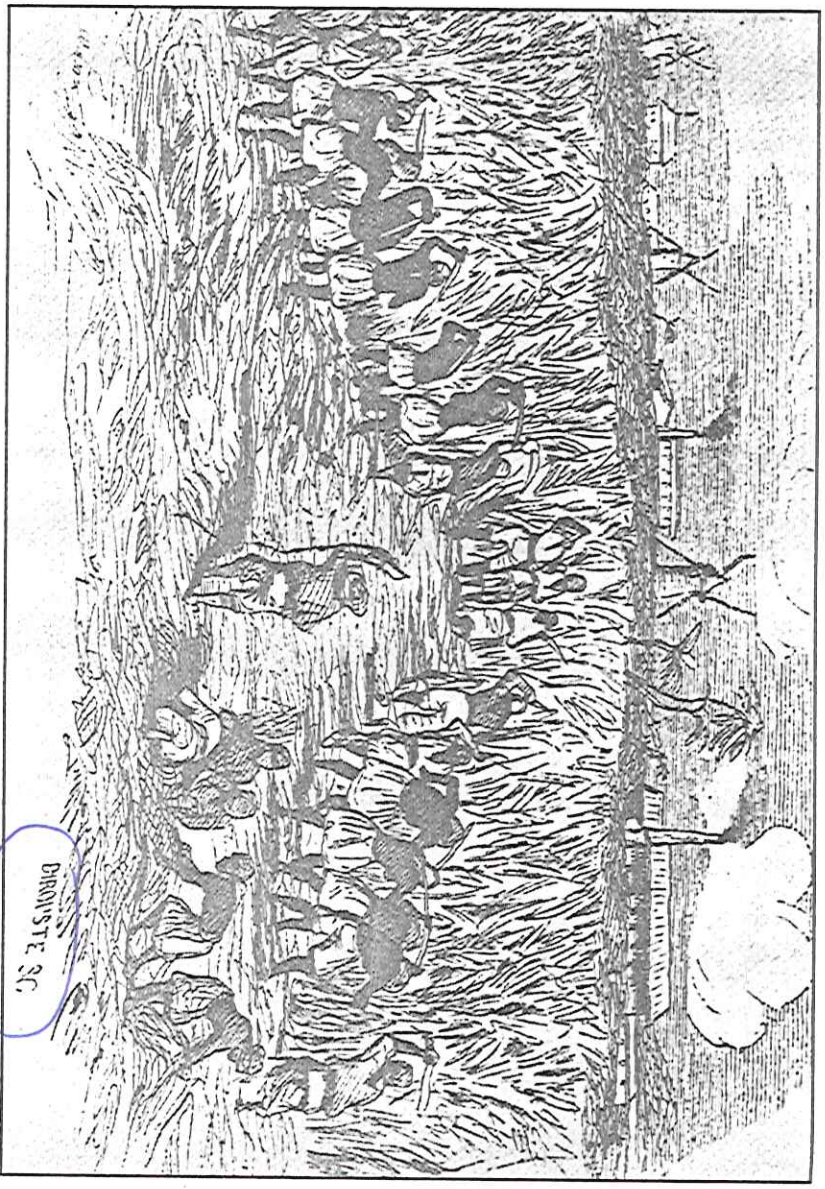
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|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|



*L'esclavage en Guadeloupe et en Martinique du XVIIIème au XIXème siècle*

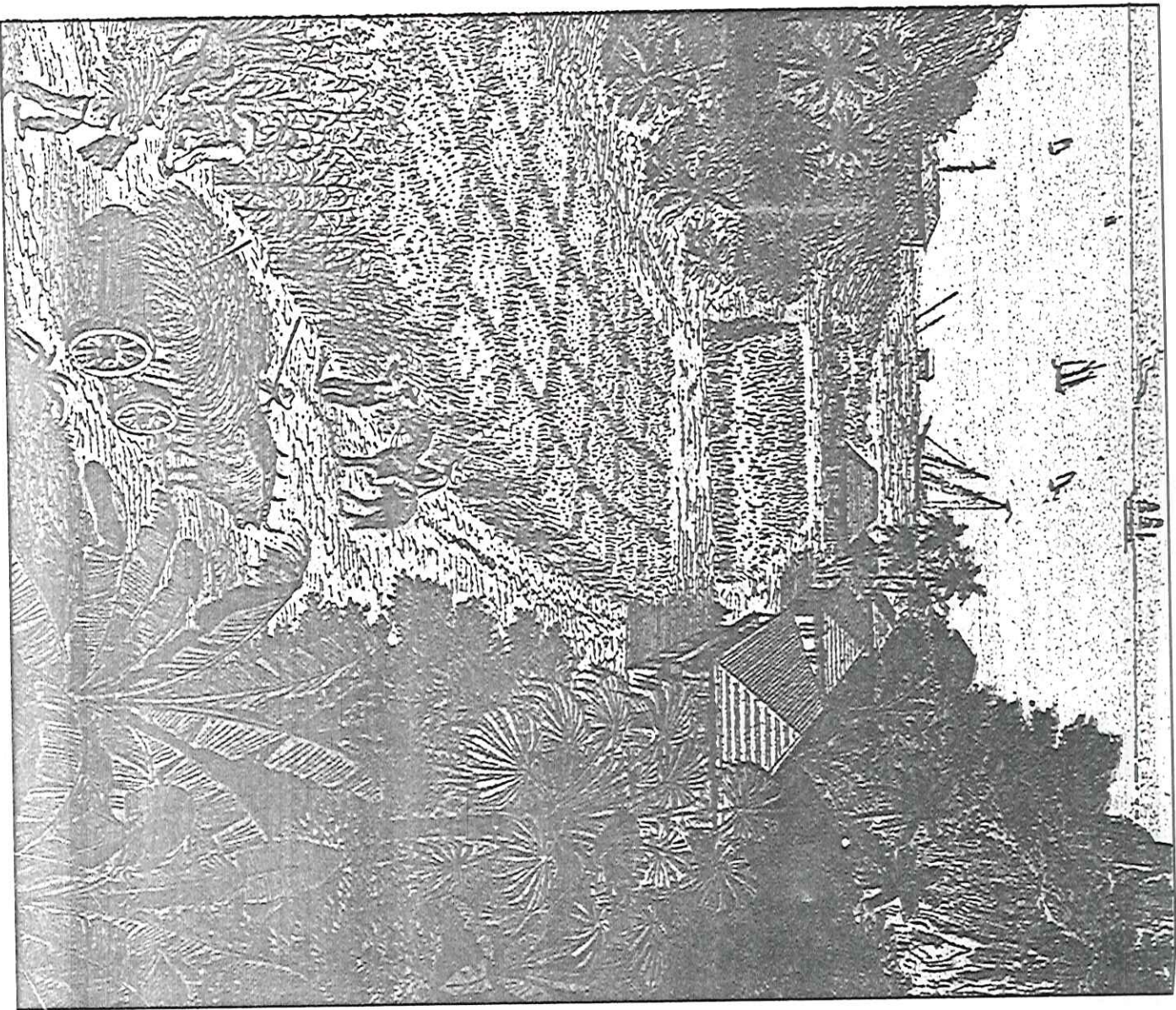


*Récolte de la canne*

DROUINSTE SC.

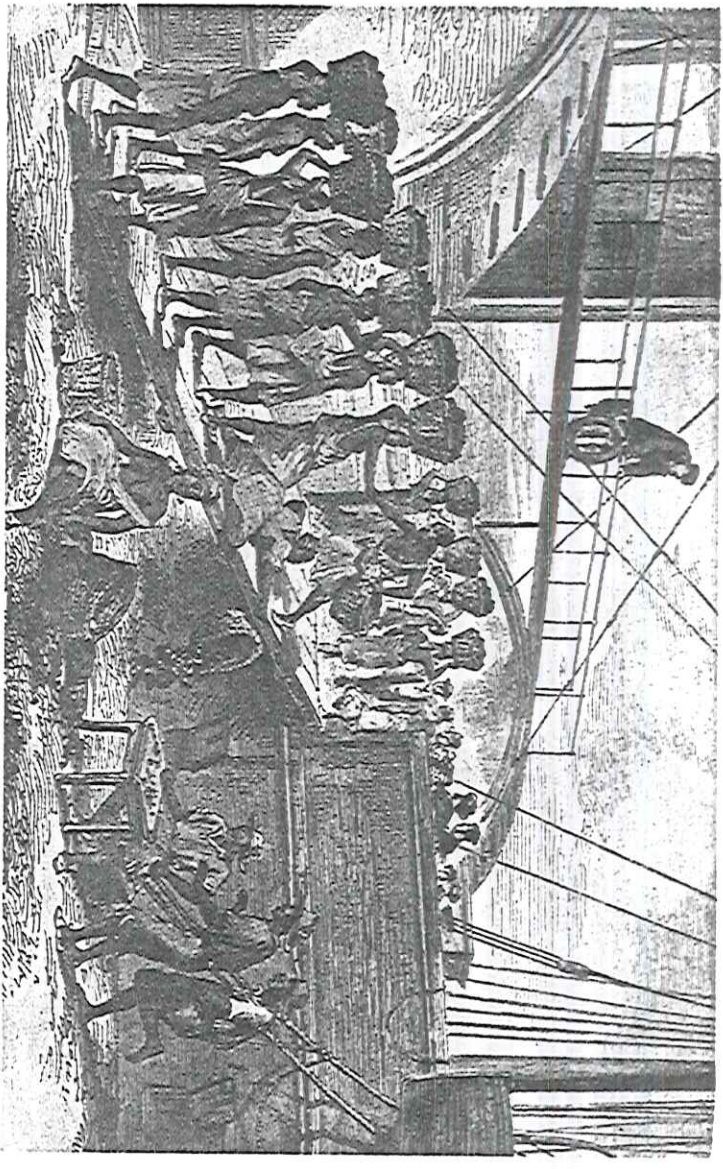


*L'esclave en Guadeloupe et en Martinique du XVIIIème au XIXème siècle*



*Plantation de canne à sucre en Guadeloupe*





*Femmes au travail*



*Travail dans la sucrerie*





*Massacres de noirs à la Guadeloupe en 1802*

*L'esclavage en Guadeloupe et en Martinique du XVIIIème au XIXème siècle*



|                                                                   |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| ● Camp de marrons .....                                           | 6            |
| ● Esclave fouettée .....                                          | 6            |
| ● Chasse au Marron .....                                          | 6            |
| ● La Convention abolit l'esclavage en 1794 .....                  | 7            |
| ● Moi libre aussi .....                                           | 7            |
| ● Massacres de Noirs à la Guadeloupe .....                        | 7            |
| ● Le général Richépance .....                                     | 7            |
| ● Louis Delgrès .....                                             | 7            |
| ● Toussaint Louverture .....                                      | 7            |
| ● Victor Schoelcher .....                                         | 7            |
| ● Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté à Basse-Terre en 1848 ..... | 78           |
| ● L'esclave affranchi par la République .....                     | 88           |
| ● Moi libre .....                                                 | 90           |
| ● Caravane d'esclaves .....                                       | couverture   |
| ● L'abolition du 27 avril 1848 .....                              | couverture 4 |

## CREDITS PHOTOGRAPHIQUES

- Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris):  
pages 10,26,31,32,45,48,52, 53, 64(a),69,72.
- Bureau du patrimoine du Conseil Régional de la Martinique (Fort de France):  
pages 4,16, 23, 25, 39, 50, 51, 64(b).
- Collection Loïs Hayot (Martinique):  
pages 19, 46, 55, 56,74.
- Collection Jocelyn Pézeron (Guadeloupe):  
pages 67,75(b).
- Collections privées:  
pages 13,20,58,60,75(a),76,77,78.
- Hachette (Paris): page 8.
- Menil foundation (New York): page 6.
- Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens (Paris):  
pages 17,18,29,34(a),36,40,41,42,44,48,49.
- Musée des ducs de Bretagne (Salorges):  
pages 28, 35, 74.
- Musée de l'histoire vivante (Montreuil): page 73
- Musée de l'Oise (Beauvais): page 88.
- Musée du château de Versailles:  
page de couverture(4).
- PPCM: page de couverture (1).



*Moi libre*  
(Bibl. Nat.)

*René BELENUS*

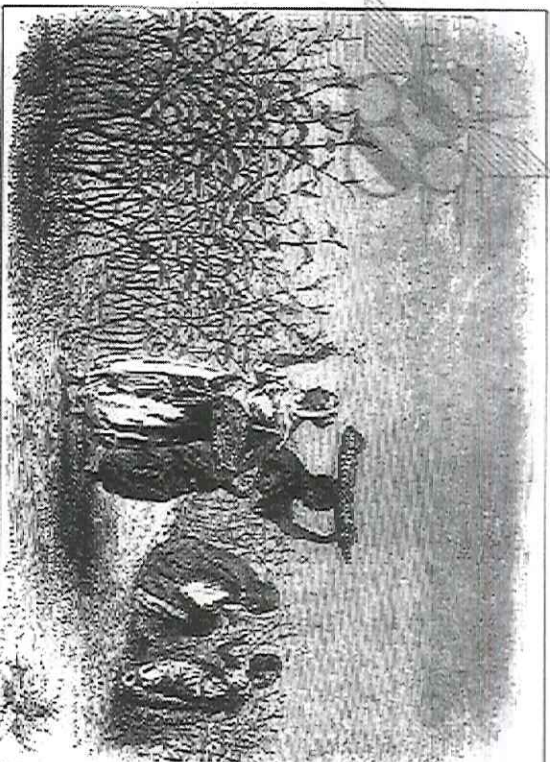
**L'ESCLAVE  
EN GUADELOUPE ET EN MARTINIQUE  
DU XVII<sup>ème</sup> AU XIX<sup>ème</sup> SIECLE**

© Editions JASOR  
46, rue Schoelcher  
97110 POINTE A PITRE  
Mai 1998  
ISBN-2-912594-03-0



## The Bridgeman Art Library Image Search

Image ID RVI 210518  
Title Harvesting coffee in Martinique, Antilles, 1853 (engraving) (b/w photo)  
Artist French School, (19th century)  
Location Private Collection  
Medium engraving  
Century C19th  
Nationality French  
Restrictions **NO FRENCH RIGHTS AVAILABLE**  
Keywords harvest plantation black picking beans plants basket slavery slave black slaves production crop



*Garb. Savonni in Paris*

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Search Request: Title = histoire des antilles et de la guyane

Search Results: Displaying 1 of 1 entries

*Antilles - Antenne - en fait 4 contents*

view:  Brief  Full  Staff

**Title:** Histoire des Antilles et de la Guyane / sous la direction de Pierre Pluchon ; Louis Abénon ... [et al.]

**Publisher:** Toulouse : Privat, c1982.

**Description:** Book

480 p., [40] p. of plates : ill., maps ; 24 cm.

**LC Subject(s):** West Indies. French History  
French Guiana History

**Notes:** Includes bibliographies.

**Series:** Univers de la France et des pays francophones. 48.

Univers de la France et des pays francophones. Série Histoire des provinces.

**Other Series Title:** Univers de la France et des pays francophones ; 48e v. Série Histoire des provinces

**Other Contributors:** Pluchon, Pierre.  
Abénon, Louis.

**ISBN:** 2708916912 :

**Location:** Van Pelt Library

**Call Number:** F2151 .H57 1982

**Status:** Available, check location

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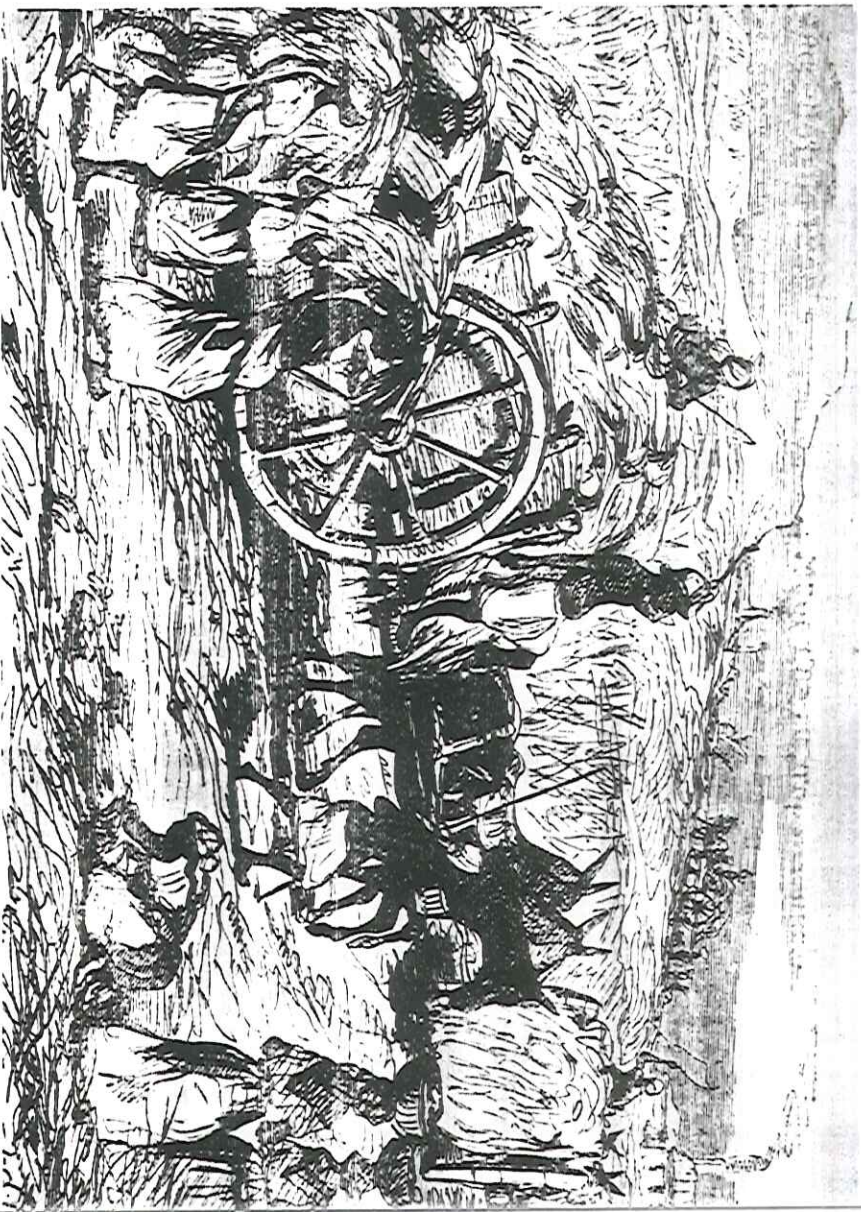
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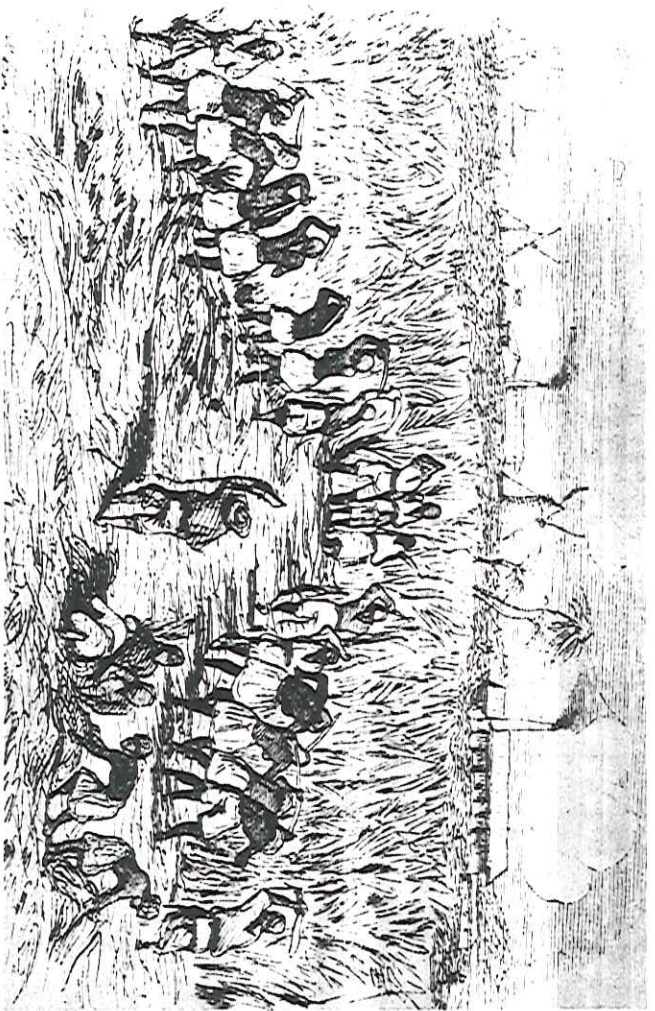
Pl. 8

Sarra ?



Cabrouets chargés de cannes,  
en route pour la sucrerie.

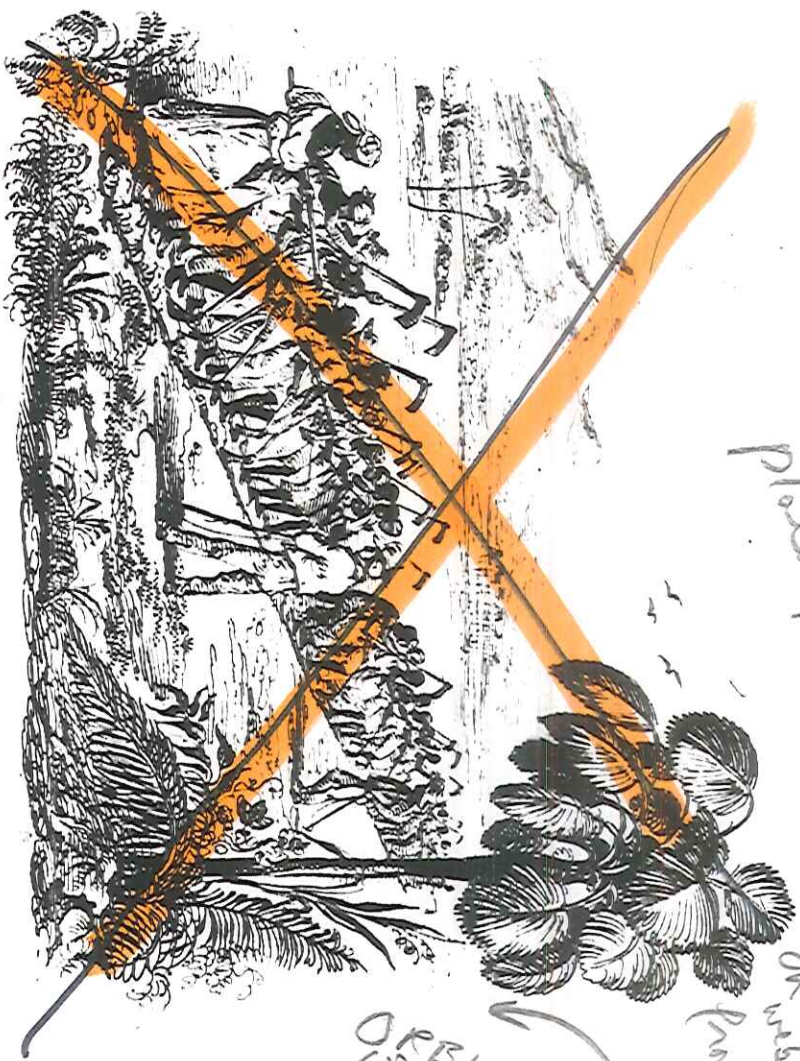




Plote 7b

Sarclage d'une place  
et coupe de la canne.

Original  
Goussier  
Oppland  
Paris  
1836



Plote 7a

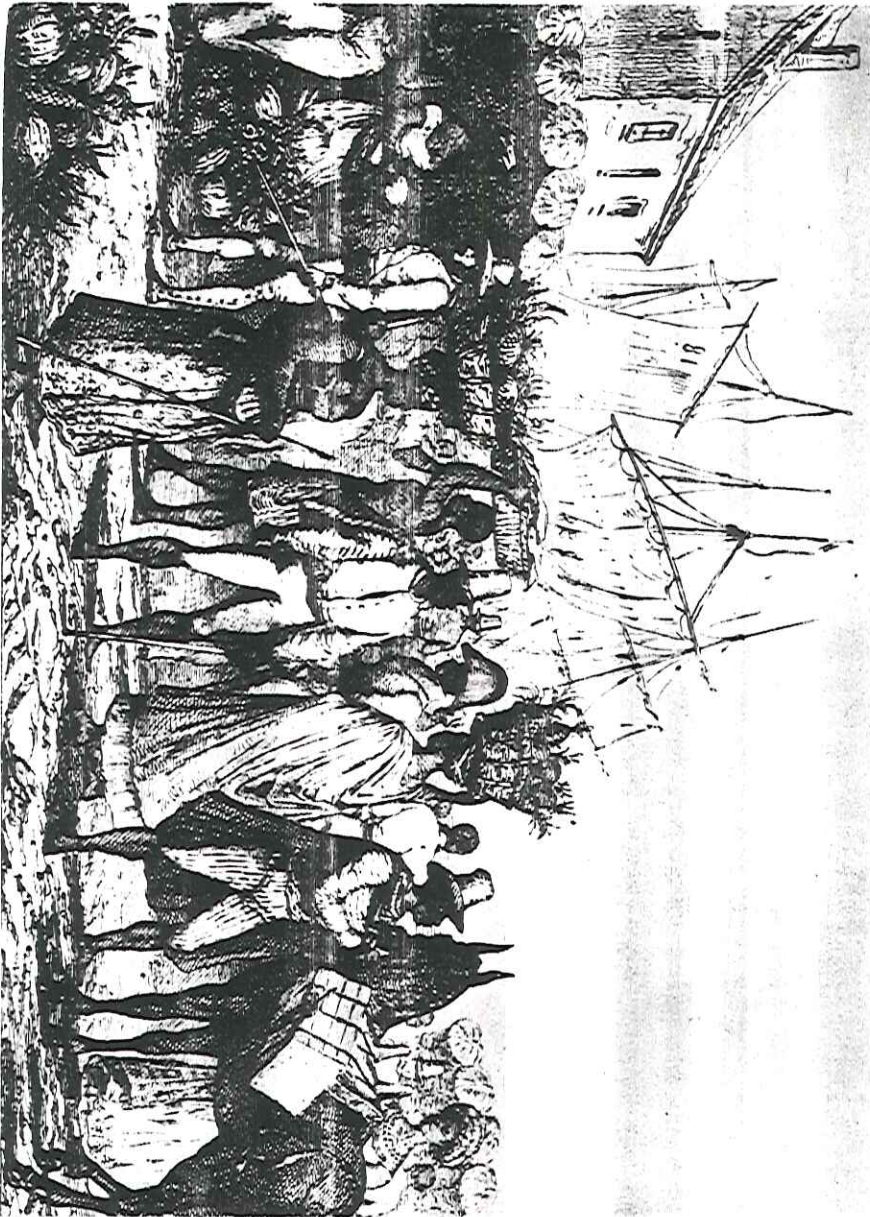
ORBIENY  
1836

Paris  
Orbigny  
1836



Plat. 20

Saura ?



Un marché à Saint-Domingue.



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Title: Au temps des isles à sucre : histoire d'une plantation de Saint-Domingue au XVIIIe siècle / Jacques Cauna ; préface de Jean Fouchard.

Publication info: Paris : A.C.C.T. : Editions Karthala, c1987.

ISBN: 2865371865

Description: 285 p., [16] p. of plates : ill., maps ; 24 cm.

Note: Bibliography: p. [265]-282.

Subject: Sugar trade--Haiti--History.

Subject: Plantations--Haiti--History.

Subject: Haiti--History--To 1791.

Series: Hommes et sociétés

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*Cauna 03805*

*index 4/30/06*

*N.B. -*

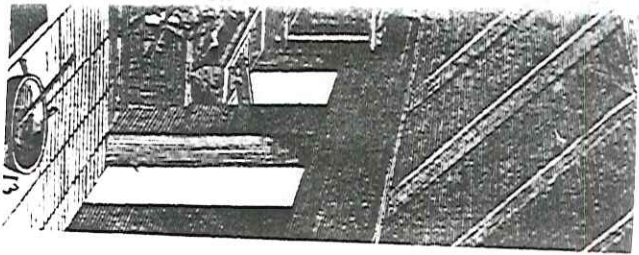
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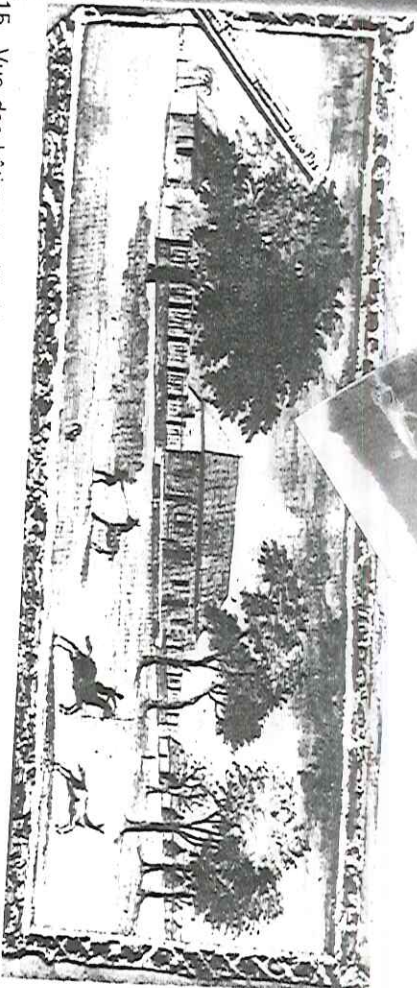
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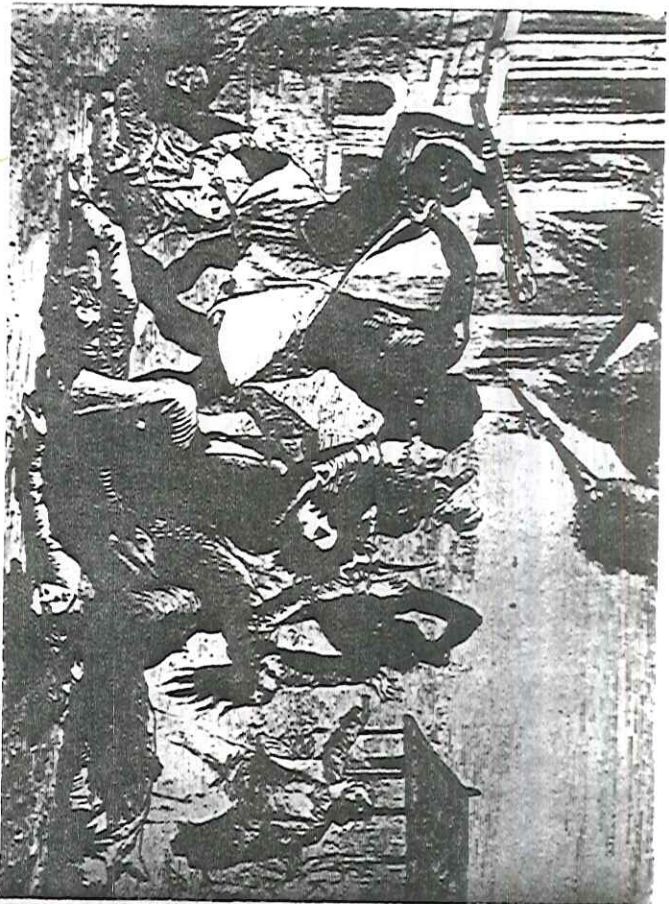
les chaudières, un  
les : bec de



15. Vue des bâtiments d'habitation de la sucrerie Clerisse. De gauche à droite : un portail, l'hôpital, la Grand-Case (maison du maître). Au fond, l'alignement symétrique des « cases à nègres » du quartier des esclaves ; devant, la savane.

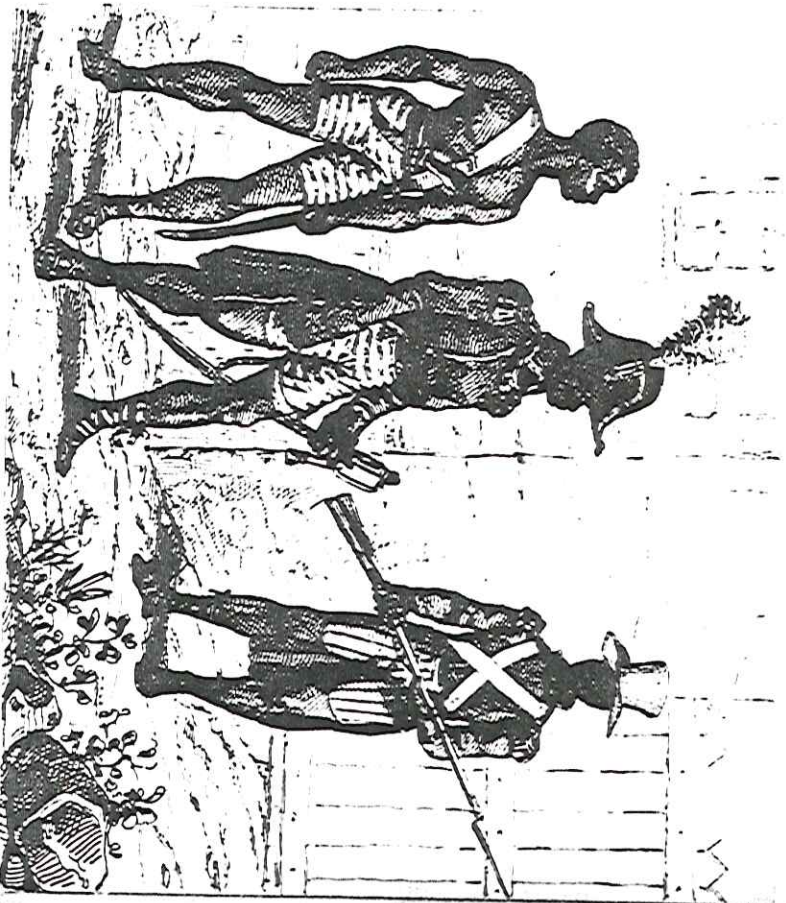
17



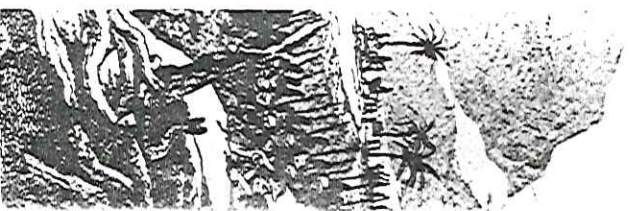


20. L'insurrection des esclaves du Nord en 1791.

22. Le Général Durbre romancier, était Jérémie, dans le Dominque, d'un ar le marquis Davy de d'une esclave noire Il refusa le commandon de Saint-Domingosait Bo

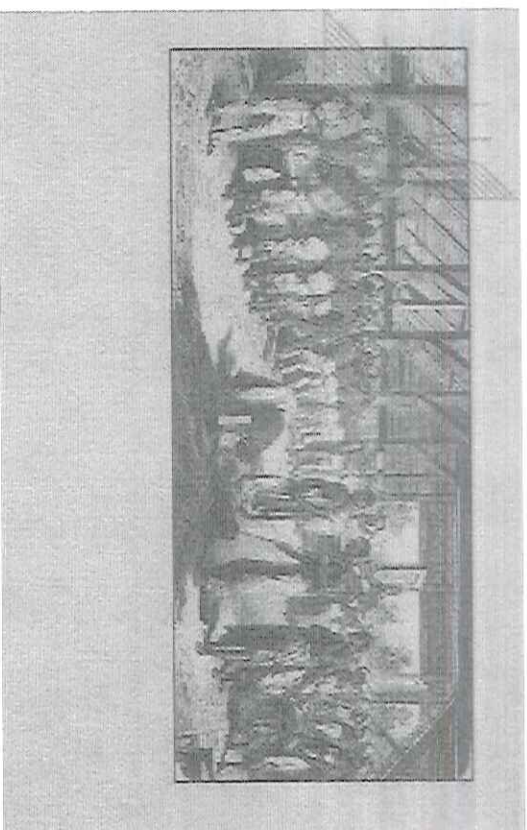


21. Troupes haïtiennes à l'époque de la Guerre d'indépendance.



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Image ID RVI 210517  
Title Black slaves grinding coffee in Surinam, mid-19th century (engraving) (b/w photo)  
Artist French School, (19th century)  
Location Private Collection  
Medium engraving  
Century C19th  
Nationality French  
Restrictions NO FRENCH RIGHTS AVAILABLE  
Keywords slave interior factory plantation slavery crushing powder granules manual labour work labourers workers barn production line trough Dutch Guyana shed



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Publication info: **Pittsburgh, Pa. : University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.**

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ISBN: 082293695X

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Description: **viii, 333 p. ; 24 cm.**

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Note: **Includes bibliographical references.**

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~~None~~ no images in the book





*William Anisah Sesarakoo*, son of John Bannishee Corrantee Ghinniee of Anamatooe and of Eukobah Daughter of Anisah Sesarakoo King of Aquamboe & Niece to Quishadoo King of Akroan. He was sold at Barbadoes as a Slave in y<sup>e</sup> Year 1744 Redeem'd at the Earnest Request of his Father in the Year 1748, and brought to England.

This Plate is most Humbly Inscrid to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. the Earl of Halifax, First Lord Commissioner for Trade & Plantations and one of his Majesty's most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council. by his most obedient & most hum. Ser<sup>vt</sup>.  
1<sup>st</sup> state before the piece Gabriel Mathias.



Unshah Sessarakoo (show his ~~xx~~ portrait in class)

The Royal African; or Memoirs of the young Prince of Annamaboe  
(London, 1749)

I. The "adventures" aroused considerable interest in England in the mid-~~ix~~ 18th century; written by some Englishman who tried to reconstruct the story apparently from ~~Sxxxxx~~ Sessarakoo himself who was ultimately brought to England

II. father, John Corrente, was a Fanti (gold ~~xx~~ coast) chief and slave trader--- (Corrente was name English ~~gxxxxxxx~~ gave him)  
~~xxxxxxx~~  
~~xxxxxxx~~ trader

A. Corrente was the chief or paramount chief at Annamaboe, on the Gold Coast, ~~xxxxxx~~ where the English Royal African Company had a fort; they paid him rent, and this was an importatn area of slave trading; Correntee also traded in gold

B. it was extremely imp't to the <sup>Royal Af. Company</sup> ~~English~~ that they remain in good favor with Corrente, and they invested alot of time and effort in maintain his good graces.

C. The French had forss not far away on the coast (in Whydah) and wanted to cash in also on the trade at Annamaboe, and began to curry the favor of John Correntee

1. Correntee then began dealing with the French also

2. The French in fact invited one of Correntee's sons to France so that he could see the country and gain an idea of how impressive France was

a. Correntee finally agreed, and send one of his son's to France; "The young Negro was sent over to France . . . The son of the African chief was received with all the honors due to a prince; he was not only cloathed, lodged, maintained, and attended, but educated in all respects in a manner ~~suitable~~ suitable to one of that dignity; and as such was received and treated at court, where he appeared on all occasions in a splendid dress. . . . after ~~xxxxxx~~ had remained in France a proper time, and all imaginable care had been taken to shew him everything that might give him high ideas of the kind king and people...."

he was sent back to his home in Africa with lavish gifts and goods and presents for his father and family

3. as a result, the father increased his dealings with the FRENch and his son, who by now knew their languages and customs, was an asset ~~x~~ in his father's buisness dealings with the French.

a. the father, however, continued his business connections with the English Royal African Comany, but also had business dealings with English privateers also



4. One of the English privateer captains, trying hard to cement his relationship with John Correntee, worked on him to convince him that the English were a ~~xxxxxx~~ far superior nation to the French, both in Naval power and the extent of their trade---

a. this captain invited him to send another of his sons to England to see for himself

5. John Corrente, aceded to this invitation, based on the very positive experience his other son had had in France and how useful that son had become to him in his ~~xxxx~~ business with the French--

a. also being convinced that the English were much richer and powerful than the French, he felt that a similar experience in England would help him even further in his business

6. Decided to send his favorite son to England-- Unshah--

a. unshah was a son of his chief wife who in turn was the ~~xxxxxxx~~ daughter of one of the biggest chiefs or princes --

b. the english captain also had made a special effort to befriend the son who in turn liked the captain and the english in general

c. when the ~~xxxxx~~ father proposed to his son that he be sent to England " so that he might be educated there and acquire that knowledge which rendered white men so superior to themselves and to the rest of the Negro nations, it was very agreeable news to the . . . lad" who jumped at the chance to ~~xxxxxx~~ go to England

7. After some time, the ship went underway; it was a slave ship and though the lad assumed that he would be going to England, he soon discovered that once the ship was underway that he had become a slave

a. the ship made for the island of Barbados(that's how I came across the account) and the son was sold as a slave on the island

8. difficult to reconstruct how the father finally found out what had happened to his son, but he did ultimately find out; he created such a storm with the English that the Royal African Company, finding its fort and slave trading activities threatened on that very important part of the coast, ~~xxx~~ sent a ship to Barbados with the express purpose of trying to locate the son

a. they were able to locate him on a plantation and then took him to England where he was apparently regally treated and even his portrait painted

not sure what happened thereafter

*This account was not written by Swansons but by some English man - not very far from account by African*



THE  
ROYAL AFRICAN;  
OR,

*J. Handley*

MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
Young Prince of Annamboe.

Comprehending

A distinct Account of his Country and Family; his elder Brother's Voyage to *France*, and Reception there; the Manner in which himself was confided by his Father to the Captain who sold him; his Condition while a Slave in *Barbadoes*; the true Cause of his being redeemed; his Voyage from thence; and Reception here in *England*.

Interpers'd throughout

With several HISTORICAL, REMARKS on the Commerce of the *European* Nations, whose Subjects frequent the Coast of *Guinea*.

To which is prefixed

A LETTER from the AVTOR to a Person of Distinction, in Reference to some natural Curiosities in *Africa*; as well as explaining the Motives which induced him to compile these MEMOIRS.

*Obelia* shews the Muse's utmost Power,  
A brave, an honest, yet a hapless Moor.  
In *Oromoko* shines the Hero's Mind,  
With native Lustre by no Art refin'd.  
Sweet *Tyba* strikes us but with milder Charms,  
At once renown'd for Virtue, Love, and Arms.  
Yet hence might rise a still more moving Tale,  
But *Shakespeare's*, *Aldison's*, and *Southern's* fail!

LONDON: Printed for W. REEVE, at *Shakspeare's* Head  
*Fleetstreet*; G. WOONFALL, and J. BARNES, at *Charing-*  
*Cross*; and at the Court of Requests.

[1749]

[1749]





To the HONOURABLE  
\*\*\*\*\* of \*\*\*\*\* , in  
*Essex, Esq;*

*It is very natural, Sir, that you should be surpris'd at the Account which our News-Papers have given you, of the Appearance of an African Prince in England under Circumstances of Disress and Misage, which reflect very highly upon us as a People. The deep Concern which you so pathetically express for his Misfortunes, is suitable to the Goodness and Generosity of your Heart; and as to your Apprehensions that this Story will not be confin'd within the Bounds of the British Dominions, wherever situated, it is certainly very just; for upon reading your Letter, I made it my Business to examine the foreign Prints at the Coffee-Houses about the Royal-Exchange, where they are taken in, and found the Story very circumstantially related from Hamburgh. But if this, Sir, raises your Regiment, that all Europe should be inform'd of a Fact that does us so little Honour, be pleas'd at the same time to reflect, that*

*B*





( ii )

That those who read it must at the same Time read the general Abhorrence with which the News of this Piece of Treachery was received here; and how effectually, as well as honourably, the Mischief has been repaired by the Interposition of the Government.

What my Friend told you, with respect to the Pains taken by me, to come as near as possible at the Truth of this Affair, was very well founded, as indeed was every thing else which he said upon that Occasion; excepting the high Commendations he was pleased to bestow upon the short Account that I have committed to writing of the Misfortunes of the Young African. The plain and naked Truth is, that not being perfectly satisfied with the Narrative in the News-Papers, and having had always a Curiosity to learn, with as much Exactness as may be, the Circumstances that attend such extraordinary Events as happen in our own Times, I have been, perhaps, more diligent and nice in my Enquiries into the Matter of Fact, and whatever relates to it, than many People, and finding my Pains rewarded by some Acquisitions of Knowledge, which I thought considerable, it appeared to me worth employing a few leisure Hours, in reducing what I have learned into some Kind of Order, that the Facts and Observations might not escape my Memory. This gave Rise to the following Memoirs, which are heartily at your Service; nor am I at all sollicitous about the Praise of them. You may, if you please, shew them to the Persons you mention, or to any of your Acquaintance who desire to peruse them; and you may likewise assure them, that to the best of my Knowledge, there is not a Syllable inserted which I do not firmly believe to be true.

1

( iii )

I must not however disguise, that there are many People in the World who affect to treat this Affair in another Light; some from that strange Principle of Incredulity, which induces them to question the Veracity of every thing that does not fall immediately within the Compass of their own Observation, or does not exactly tally with the Notions they have formed of Persons or Things, tho' the former may be of no great Extent, and the latter none of the most accurate. Some again have an Interest in the representing this Affair in an opposite Point of View, which you will very easily conceive; for after so flagrant a Breach of Trust, as selling a Free-Man, and a Person of Consideration, whatever his Complexion may be, for a Slave; it is no great Wonder that such as have had any Connection with the Persons concerned in such a Transaction, should use all their Industry and Skill to lessen his Character and Consideration, and endeavour to screen so flagrant an Act of Injustice, not to give it a harsher Name; by circulating Stories, which if true, would be far from disputating them; and which, from the visible Absurdities and Contradictions they are loaded with, all who have not as much Interest in believing, as the Authors of them had for inventing, consider as groundless and false. No Man breath- ing who betrays and sells a Prince, unless judicially convicted of it, will acknowledge the Crime; especially when he has an Excuse so ready at Hand, as denying that the Person so treated is a Prince, tho' that should be only a Quibble upon the Word.

There is, without doubt, a great Propensity in many of our own People, who have heard and read

B 2

in



( iv )

in those Parts, to magnify such as were possessed of the Government with whom they traded, with whom they had an intimate Acquaintance, and from whom they received great Favours. It is very likely that such Gentlemen may use the Terms Emperor, King, and Prince, with visible Impropriety upon some Occasions, and upon all with a Liberty that may not admit of a strict Justification. But on the other Hand, some other Traders, and those too commonly of the meanest Sort, take an unaccountable and a very unwarrantable Liberty of treating such Negro Governors with a ludicrous Contempt. For by this Means they lose themselves, and teach the Seamen with whom they converse, to forget not only all Decency and Respect, but (as bad Morals often accompany ill Manners) all Distinction of Right and Wrong; which leads them into Practices equally base in their Nature, and destructive in their Consequences; so that while, from a Vanity and Insolence (which are the usual Effects of Ignorance) they look down upon the poor black People as infinitely beneath them, they really degrade themselves, and which is much worse, draw a Scandal upon their Countrymen by their barbarous, iniquitous, and profligate Behaviour.

One may be easily extricated out of any Difficulty that arises as to the just Claim of the Young African now in England to a Title of Distinction, notwithstanding all the Sophisms of those, who either from Prejudice or Interest pretend to dispute it. Things are in all Countries the same, however the Names by which they are called may differ. As for Instance, Rice brought from Guinea remains Rice when it is brought here; tho' the Negroes

( v )

Negroes know nothing of that Word, and yet know as little of theirs for that Kind of Corn. A Person who has the Supreme Authority in any District, let it be of a larger or lesser Extent, is, in the common Acceptation of Speech, a Prince; and if from his Influence our Trade may be either advanced or hindered, he deserves a proportionable Respect from us, tho' he would be certainly entitled to strict Justice, whether he had that Influence or not. It is no Matter therefore what his Title be in Africa, or what the Nature of that Government which he administers; for if he be at the Head of it, and in consequence of his being at the Head of it, can assist, or injure us in our Trade, he is strictly speaking a Prince; and his Children may be so styled by Courtesy without any Solecism. If at any Time heretofore we have treated Persons of the like Rank with his Sons, or even if we had treated other Sons of his ever so rudely or indifferently, this is nothing to the Purpose; for we never could have treated them so if they had not been in our Power; and our having used it ill either then or now, does not reflect upon him or them, but upon us; and this Aspersion could only be wiped off by the Conduct that has been lately pursued, which is just in itself, and therefore honourable to us as a Nation.

I come now to the other Parts of your Letter, in which our Friend reported what I said very truly. The Puff of these Memoirs introduced a Discourse of the Curiousities of Africa, which led him to enquire what I thought of the Petrified City mentioned by so many different Authors of different Countries; and as I remember he hinted, that it was strange that being discovered so long ago



the another Race who are weaker or more ignorant with Haughtiness or Contempt, is to abuse Power and Science, and in spite of both to show ourselves worse Men than those who have neither.

After giving you these Lights with respect to the Subjects that seem to strike you so much, I should take it as a Favour if in Return you would remember the Request I formerly made you in Reference to a Discourse upon Sir Walter Raleigh's Golden Discoveries in South America, of which if you can procure me a Sight, it will much overbalance the little Trouble I have taken for your Entertainment, and will essentially bind me to my Way, and which you may esteem worthy of your Notice. If that Paper comes to your Hand before you think of returning to London, if you transmit it to the same Person who delivered your last, he will convey it very safely to me, whether I should be in Town or Country. I have nothing farther to add, but that, &c.

MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

OF THE

Young Prince of Annamaboe.

**T**HE great Country of Guinea, in the Sense of our mercantile and seafaring People, is that Part of Africa which from Cape de Verd, or the Green Cape, in the North Latitude of 14° 30' extends to the South and East as far as the Coast of Angola, or to the River Congo, in the Latitude of 6° 0' South. The common Phrase of the Coasts of Guinea is very sensible, and very significant; for we really have little or no Knowledge of any thing but the Coast of this Country: For, except here and there, no body has proceeded above fifty Miles within the Continent; and hence it arises, that



that the interior Parts of *Africa* are, to all Intent and Purposes, the least known of any in the World, with the Situation of which we are with Certainty acquainted. This shews the Advantage of Navigation beyond Travelling for Discovery, since from the Lights derived to us from Antiquity, it appears, that these Countries were as little known to the Ancients as to us, tho' they knew enough of one Part of the Coast of *Africa* to have penetrated into them, had it been practicable by Land.

GUINEA then, or the Coast of *Guinea*, taken in the general Sense before mentioned, and which, allowing for the Irregularity in the winding of the Shores, comprehends an Extent of four thousand English Miles; and is divided into *North Guinea*, which comprehends the Coast from Cape *Verd* to *Serra Liõna*, and *Guinea* properly so called; which begins with *Malaguetta*, or the *Grain Coast*; then follows the *Ivory* or *Tooth Coast*, next the *Quagna*, then the *Gold Coast*, beyond which lies the *Slave Coast*; and the remaining Part is generally called the Kingdom of *Benin*.

The Situation of *Guinea* near the Equator renders the Air scorching hot, which, with the frequent heavy Rains they have, makes it very unwholesome, especially to Foreigners. The Earth is water'd, besides the Rains, by several little Rivers which fertilize it, so that in some Parts of it they have properly two Summers and two Winters, the latter not very severe, as consisting only of continual Rains, which occasions the unhealthiness above mentioned, but fatten the Ground, and make it fit to produce, as it does, great Quantities of Rice, *Guinea* Pepper, *Indian* Wheat, and some Sugar Canes, Cotton, Millet, and many forts

forts of Grain and Fruits, peculiar to that Country. It has also Gold Mines, Elephants, Cattle, Leopards, Tygers, wild Boars, Goats, Sheep, Hogs, Monkeys, Apes, very nimble and sportful, and a Breed of Poultry very small. The Sea abounds in divers kinds of Fish, of which a large Account may be found in the many Descriptions that have been given of these Countries.

It is out of all doubt, that the *Portuguese* were the first Discoverers of these Coasts, notwithstanding the Pretensions of the *French*, who, if their own Words may be taken for it, are the Discoverers of every thing. But what is commonly said of our knowing little or nothing of these Parts till the Reign of *Edward VI.* is very far from being true. A very authentick *Portuguese* Historian informs us, that *John* the Second King of *Portugal* sent a solemn Embassy to King *Edward IV.* *Anno Dom.* 1481, to desire that he would hinder *John Grintam* and *William Fabian*, who were preparing Ships to go to the Coast of *Guinea*, in the Service of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and they were accordingly prohibited.

Notwithstanding which, however, they found Means to accomplish their Design, and actually doubled Cape *Verd* on the 5th of *March* 1482, and made so profitable a Voyage, that tho' they divided their Gains with the Duke of *Medina* their Patron, yet they put one hundred thousand Pounds a piece in their Pockets; and in the Year 1485, by Dirt of Money, which had always a very great Power, they procured a Liberty to trade from *Portugal*, and made their Peace in *England*. Sir *Peter Fabian*, the Nephew of *William Fabian*, continued this Commerce with incredible Profit; and



and from that Area, tho' not always, from *England*, *English* Subjects were considerable Adventurers, till such Time as *Queen Elizabeth* granted a Patent to *Thomas Gregory* of *taunton* in *Somersetshire*, and *William Pope*, for carrying on a Trade to *North Guinea*, for a certain Number of Years, after which our Traffick thither increased, and fell from Time to Time under new Regulations.

In the Reign of King *Charles I.* before the *Civil War* broke out, the Trade to this Country, which had ruined many private Adventurers for want of a Strength to protect it, and a Stock sufficient to carry it on, was put into better Order by a few wealthy and wise Citizens, who were concerned in farming the King's Customs; and the *Cattle of Cornwall* was built at the sole Charge of one of them, which was the first and principal Fortrefs of our Nation, till it was taken in the Year 1665 by the *Dutch*. Before the Year 1640 it was computed, that those interested in the *Guinea Trade* divided upwards of *fifty thousand Pounds* a Year; and yet they suffered some Loss and Disturbance from private Traders. The Number of those increased prodigiously during the Troubles, notwithstanding all the Protection that could be procured for those who maintained the Garrisons, from the several fluctuating Powers that during this Time became uppermost. The *Slave Trade* more especially grew higher and higher by Degrees, in Proportion as our Colonies, and in particular that of the Island of *Barbadoes*, came to be in a flourishing Condition. So that, before the Retoration, the purchasing Negroes in *Guinea*, and transporting them to the *West-Indies*, was become a fertile and considerable Branch of Commerce, by which King who were interested in it early made

gain

considerable Fortunes, notwithstanding the many Inconveniences to which they were still exposed for the want of a proper Regulation, as well as the Encroachment of Foreigners, and of the *Dutch* more especially, who were indefatigable in their Labours to monopolize that, as they had done other Trades, to themselves.

On the King's Return an Application was made for putting this Commerce into a new and more beneficial Method, for the Sake, as was then suggested, of the *English* Sugar Colonies, which were in their most prosperous Condition, and for the better supplying them with *Negroes*, on which their Plantations did at that Time, and still depend. Accordingly his Majesty King *Charles II.* in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, incorporated a Number of rich and active Merchants, under the Title of *Royal Adventurers for establishing and carrying on a Trade to AFRICA*. But the Affairs of that Company being extremely prejudiced before, and in the Time of the first *Dutch War*, notwithstanding that the *English* defended their Ports and Settlements with great Courage and Confiancy, and gain'd some Advantages over their Enemies, it was found necessary to grant a new Charter in 1672, with greater Powers and more extensive Privileges. It was this that gave Birth to the *Royal African Company of ENGLAND*, which upon this Establishment soon vindicated the Rights of the Nation, and carried on a most glorious and profitable Trade, coining thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty thousand Pieces of Gold at a Time, which from thence received the Name of *Guineas*, and were distinguished by the *Elephant* under the Royal Head, out of the Metal they brought from thence. Besides they exported vast Quantities of

our

*Barbadoes*

*R.A.C.*



our native Commodities and Manufactures, as well as abundance of *East Indian* and other Foreign Goods, and were in those Days considered as meeting, in a very high Degree, the Favour of the Crown, by the Services they rendered their Country.

Amongst other Settlements which this Company thought fit to make for securing and extending their Commerce, they had one at *Annamaboe*, in the *Tanin* Country, upon the *Gold Coast*. This was at first no more than a House with the *Engleish* Company's Flag flying, to shew to whom it belonged; but afterwards, with Consent of the Natives, who received an annual Rent for the Ground upon which it stood, they built, in 1679, a very neat, beautiful, and strong, Fort, with Stone, Brick, and Lime. This Fort was seated upon a Rock about 30 Paces from the Strand, having 12 Brass Guns and 2 Patereroes mounted; and the Establishment in those Times was a chief Factor, 12 Whites, and 18 *Greenetto Negroes*. The Beach, under the immediate Command of the Guns, was partly inclosed with a Mud Wall of eight Foot high, within which were Houses for the Company's Blacks; as in the Fort itself, the Lodgings were very neat and convenient, and the Warehouses large and commodious; in short, it was looked upon as the best and strongest Place upon that Coast; and while the Company was in its Prosperity, was regarded as one of its most important Posts, as well in the Point of Trade as of Situation. But by slow Degrees, like the rest of the Fortresses in the Hands of that unfortunate Company, it fell to Decay, lost first its Beauty, then its Convenience, and lastly, its Strength: so that, at this Time, it being of no farther Use, or rather

*Annaboe*  
*Fort*  
*Gold Coast*

its Owners having lost the Capacity of supporting it, this Castle has been slighted. The Walls and Ruins of it, however, still remain, the Ground Rent is said to be punctually paid, so that the Rights of the Company are still preserved; and if she should ever sit up her Head again, and recover any thing like her former Vigour, there is nothing to hinder the Portrets of *Annamaboe* from refusing once more its ancient Strength and Splendour. But whether that Time be, as some think, and many wish, at Hand, or at a Distance, the Wisdom of the Legislature will determine.

The *Tanin* Country is as happily situated as any upon the *Gold Coast*, lying pretty near the Heart of it. The Extent of this Country, however, is far from being great, making in the Whole little more than a Square of fifteen Leagues; the Town of *Tanin*, from whence it receives its Name, being about that Distance from the Sea, and the length of the Coast from East to West not more. There are in it five or six large Towns, of which that of *Annamaboe* is by much the most considerable. This District is very fruitful, more especially in Corn, of which there is great Plenty, and in which the Inhabitants drive a great Trade. They are not destitute of Cattle; but what they have are not much esteemed, more especially in Comparison with those of *Myddaw*, which are fuller of Juices and better tasted. The Sea affords them a great Variety of Fish, and taking all Things together, this may with great Justice be filled a very fertile and pleasant Country. Indeed no great Commendations can be bestowed upon the Air, which however is wholesomer than at *Myddaw*, or most of the Places on the *Steele Coast*.

*Annaboe*  
*Fort*  
*Gold Coast*



*Ceoff*, because the Country is higher, and is not so much incommoded with Marshes.

As for the People of *Pantin*, they form a free Republick, the chief Magistrate in which is the *Brasso of Annamaboe*. This Title, in the Language of the Country, signifies *Leader* or *Chief*, and he is assisted by the *Caboceros*, Sages or old Men of the Town. It is universally agreed by all the Writers who have mentioned this Place, that the Number of fighting Men therein, is at least equal to that of the adjacent Kingdom of *Saboe*; and yet it is allowed, that the Inhabitants of *Annamaboe* are not above one *fifth* of the *Pantianian* Nation, which has often, in Time of War, brought an Army of twenty-five thousand Men into the Field; and it is asserted, that the present Chief of *Annamaboe*, Father to the young *African* now here, has been at the Head of a greater Number. The Liberty which these People enjoy makes them both powerful and rich; so that the *Englishs*, the *Dutchs*, and the *Frenchs*, neither have, nor pretend to have any coercive Power over them, nor ever had, tho' the Town of *Annamaboe* lay immediately under the Guns of the *Englishs* Fort. On the contrary, there have been Instances, at the Time the Affairs of the *Englishs* Company were in a good Situation, that the Inhabitants of *Annamaboe*, when they thought themselves ill used by the Chief of the *Englishs* Fort, have obliged him to transport himself to Cape *Ceoff Castle*, from whence a Successor was sent more to their Mind, or they would not have received him.

The Source of this Power of theirs was in the *first* Place their Capacity of keeping the Fort continually blocked up, and cutting off Supplies of

of Provisions, by which those in the Place must have been quickly starved. They were also able upon such a Rupture, to have seized all the Passes from the inland Countries, particularly from *Stanzas*, whence great Numbers of Traders are constantly coming down, who bring not only much Gold, but a great many Slaves; and *lastly*, they could in such a Case transfer their own Trade, which was very considerable, either to the *Dutchs*, or to the *Englishs Interlopers*, which was a Thing equally fatal to the Company's Interest; and therefore notwithstanding their Fort, they were at all Times obliged to live upon good Terms with the Inhabitants and *Brasso of Annamaboe*, as their Business in that Country was Commerce not Dominion.

We may from hence discern the Advantage of a free Government in any Country or Climate upon Earth; for it is certain that the *Pantianians*, ever since we have known any thing of them, have been altogether independent, and have found it no difficult Matter to defend themselves against all the Monarchs in their Neighbourhood, that is, against all the *Negro* Nations subject to one absolute Chief, whether Hereditary or Elective. Nay, the very best Writers of these Affairs admit, that if the Chiefs of the several *Pantianian* Villages were thoroughly united, they might easily subdue many of their Neighbours. But from the very Nature of their Government there is no great Reason to expect this; for tho' common Danger readily engages them to arm for their mutual Defence; yet the Suspicion these Chiefs have of each other, and their Apprehensions that whoever was entrusted with the Command of an Army *abroad*, might make use of it to the Prejudice of his Countrymen's



trymen's Liberties at Home, keeps them from forming any such Projects. Besides their long Intercourse with the *Europeans*, the vast Advantages derived to them from Trade, and the different Spirit which the Nature of their Government excites, keeps up such an Equality amongst them, as renders any Attempt to change that Constitution, from whence these Advantages arise, absolutely impracticable.

The *Dutch* Writers generally bestow very hard Names on these People; they say, they are the haughtiest, proudest, and most insolent *Negroes* on the *Gold Coast*, which in plain *English*, means no more than that they are the Wealthiest and the Richest, upon whom all their Arts could never prevail, and with whom whenever they had Occasion to deal, they were obliged to act more upon the Square, than they were ever inclined to; and this notwithstanding *Amsterdam* Fort at *Cornantin*, built where the Fortrefs formerly stood, which was the first we (as is before observed) ever erected for protecting our Commerce in *Guinea*.

Whatever temporary Alterations may happen, with respect to this or that *European* Nation, yet the Trade to *Guinea* in general is always increasing, insomuch that at present those who understand it best, are inclined to think, that there is not less than eighty thousand Slaves exported annually from thence, and of these some judged that about a sixth Part are purchased at *Annamaboe*, to which Place, as has been said, they are brought, as to a principal Market, by the inland Traders. For the Kings of the interior Countries in *Africa*, are continually at War with each other, and the Prisoners taken in Flight, or surprized in sudden Excursions, are sold by both Parties. Such also as are condemned

*Annamaboe Trade*

demned for great Offences, are this Way disposed of, and in many Places when People become insolvent, they are publicly exposed to Sale for the Use of their Creditors.

There is no great Wonder therefore, that there should be a constant and regular Supply of these miserable People, because the Sources of their Misery, which are no other than the Vices of their Governors and themselves, are permanent. It may indeed appear surprizing, that such prodigious Drains have not long ago entirely dispeopled even the wide Regions of *Africa*; but this will cease to be a Wonder, when the Populousness of this Country is considered in Places where the People are not exposed to the dreadful Scourges of War and Famine, and are so happy as to enjoy a moderate Share of Liberty. It is said, the *Fantia* Country is not above two hundred Miles square, and that the Number of the People, taking in all Ages and Sexes, does not fall short of, but rather exceeds six hundred thousand Souls; and from thence we may form some Idea of the many Millions that there must be in this huge Continent.

In a Country like *Guinea*, where every Body comes for what they can get, where the *Europeans* have traded for no less than four Centuries, and where for a hundred and fifty Years past several Nations have been bidding one against another; and in some Nations, Individuals in the same Market, that is in Effect the Nation against themselves; one need not wonder that the *Negroes*, dull as they are (nor are they near so dull as they are represented) have been sufficiently taught to avail themselves of their own Power, and of the Polls and Vices of the *Europeans*. The *Portuguese*, when they were first plagued here with

D 2

*Fantia Country*



the *Dutch*, taught the *Negroes* to debase their Gold, and furnished them with Tools and Materials for that Purpose. The *Dutch* practised the same thing in their Turn against the *French*, and encouraged the laudable Practice of *Pansyring*, that is, Man-stealing. It is allowed, that under good Masters the *Negroes*-Traders have improved vastly, so that the *Krakra* Gold is sometimes not worth above twenty Shillings an Ounce; and it is recorded that a *French* Captain, the first Time he visited the Gold Coast, had a very large Quantity of Copper Filings imposed upon him for the Dust of that precious Metal.

An *English* Officer of great Experience and Integrity, having once expostulated with a sensible *Negro* upon the Iniquity of these Practices, and their Endeavours to raise continually their Prices upon such as came so far, and with so much Danger, to furnish them with the Conveniencies of Life; the latter very pertinently answered, "That it was true they set but a small Value on their Gold before the *Europeans* came among them; but observing their Eagerness and Avidity for it, they took it to be their *Pettish* or *Deity*, and that to be sure their own Countries must be very poor and thin, otherwise they would not leave them and run so many Hazards to pick up a little *Dust*, and a few *black* Men, for whom they expressed so much Scorn and Contempt." This plainly shews, that good Sense is the Companion of all Complexions, and that the Brain in *black* Heads was made for the same Purpose as in *white*, whatever some People may imagine.

There is another, and indeed a more innocent Method, by which the *Europeans* endeavour to at-

each

each such *Negroes* as have a Power of serving them, by whatever Titles they are distinguished; for in that too, when it serves their Purposes, they are as lavish as the proudest Son of *Jet* can desire, and this Method is bestowing upon them their own Country Names. The *Portuguese* calls the *Negro* Chief, who is his Friend, Don *Pedro*, or Don *Antonio*; the *English* give him the familiar Name of *Jack* or *Tom*; and the *French* shew their good Breeding by more sounding Appellations. All mean the same Thing at bottom, which is to fix the *Negroes* new named absolutely in their particular Interest.

Mr. *Aikins*, who was Surgeon to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and published an Account of his Voyage to *Guinea*, observes, that one *John Conny*, who was *Cabocro* at Cape *Gres Puntas*, exacted a Duty of an Ounce of Gold from every Ship that came to water there, and sent a poor bare-legged Black, armed with a gold headed Cane, with the Name *John Conny* inscribed upon it, to levy it. The *English* Officer, who went ashore with the Men, treated this Demand with the utmost Contempt, and instead of complying with it, bestowed upon *John's* Messenger a handsome Volley of Sea Compliments, interspersed with hard Names and Exclamations. Upon which *John* seized all the Water Casks, and made ten or twelve Men Prisoners, by the help of a strong Detachment of his swarthy-coloured Subjects. The Officer having now learnt more Civility, applied himself with good Manners to *John Conny*, and began very learnedly to inform him of the Distinction between a Merchantman, and a Man of War, and that the latter being a King's Ship, paid no Duties; but *John*, unmoved by his Sea Eloquence, and provoked at

the



the former Infolence, broke his Head, adding at the fame time with an Oath, *Me King here*, and fo a Treaty was commenced ; and after fatisfaction for the Affront, as well as for the Liberty of watering, the Cafks were replevied, and carried on board full, to the mutual fatisfaction of both Parties.

This *John Conny* was, in the Year 1719, in poffeffion of the *Brandenburg* Fort, at the Place beforementioned, where he lived ; but the *Dutch* thought the Habitation too good for him, and therefore fent three Frigates and a Bomb Veffel to demand it, pretending that the *Brandenburgers* had fold it to them. *John* received this Message with refpect, but faid, " They ought to have fent him the Deed of Sale, but that " however the *Brandenburgers* could fell no " more than they had, and that if they had fold " the Brick and the Lime, they might take " them away ; that for the Ground the *Brandenburgers* paid him Rent for it, and fince they " had quitted it he was not difpofed to let it to " any more white Men, but would live on it " himfelf." The Republicans treated him upon this as if they confidered him as a Monarch, that is to fay, they had recourfe to the *laft Reason of Kings*, cannonaded and bombarded fiercely for fome Hours, and then fent an Officer and forty Men to take poffeffion of the Fort, which they fancied by this time *John* had abandoned. He had fo, but it was to poff himfelf and his Subjects behind fome Bulwies that lay upon the Road, and he had a fmaller Ambufcade a little farther, who fhewing themfelves as the *Dutch* approached, they very imprudently threw away their Fire ; upon which *John* attacked, furrounded, and cut them all to pieces, payed the Entrance to his Houfe with

with their Sculls, and remained fix Years after in peaceable poffeffion of the Fort which his old Treants the *Brandenburgers* had relinquifhed.

Amongft other Places that have of late Years mended their Condition, we may reckon the Town of *Annamboe*, which commands all that Coaft, and is the Center of Trade for the *Fantin* Country. The *Braffe*, Head *Cabocero*, or *Negro* Chief, values himfelf upon his *Englifh* Name, which is *John Corrente* ; he has enjoyed that Poft long, is a Man, who to very good natural Parts having joined much Experience, is regarded even by the *Europeans*, as a very fenfible Perfon ; and as he directs all Things in a Place that is abfolutely independent, and in Right of that directs the Commerce of the whole Coaft, he has been all along courted, and careffed by fuch as have found it their Intereft to deal with him.

He is a very confiderable Trader himfelf in Gold, Slaves, and whatever elfe the Country affords, and lived always upon very good Terms with the Servants of the *African* Company, who have on their Side taken care to pay him his Rent very exactly for the Fort, and that too fince they found it no longer in their Power to keep it. For it is to be obferved, that though they flighted that Fort, yet they have always had a great Attention to the Trade of *Annamboe*, and have laboured as much as in them lay to preferve it ; in order to which it was neceffary to maintain and to depend upon the Friendship and good Faith of this potent *Negro*, which is now the only Security they have for it. This fufficiently fhews the Nature of his Office, and the Extent of his Power ; and yet there are fome other Inftances which may here be very properly mentiond, as plainly proving the Neceffity

1719

Annamboe  
John Corrente

R.A.C.



Necessity of their living well with him, and even of having some degree of Complaisance for a Person of his Character; whether we bestow upon it a Negro, or an *English* Title, that is, whether we call him *Cabocero*, Prince, or plain *John Corrente*.

Now it must be observed, that the *French*, who are very well established at *Whydah*, have been for many Years desirous of having a Share in the Trade of *Annambæ*, and for that Purpose took extraordinary Pains to gain the good-will of the *Cabocier John*, as knowing no better, indeed no other Way to procure it. Neither will it appear at all strange or unbecoming in him, that he accepted of these Addresses, or entered into a Correspondence with them; for the *Fantiens*, as before observed, were never under any kind of subjection to the Company, even in its most prosperous Condition, but held themselves at full liberty to deal with whom they pleased, and to vend their Commodities how, when, where, and to whom they thought proper.

What without doubt induced him the more readily to enter into Dealings with them, was not barely the superior Civilities, but the strict Justice and generous Way of trading that he met with amongst them; for it must be allowed, that the Negroes find all these Qualities in the Subjects of that Crown, who are employed in the Management of Affairs in *Africa*. Yet no Argument must be drawn from hence in favour of that People, as if their Virtue, Prey or Honour, exceeded those of other Nations, since nothing like that is the Case; they are not a Grain better, but only a little wiser than their Neighbours. As yet they are very far from being powerful in their Parts, for

for the Establishment that they have at *Whydah*; which they call *Yada*, and the *Dutch* *Fida*, is almost the only one, at least of any Importance, that they have upon the Coast of *Guinea*, and therefore to supply the want of Force they have recourse to Condescension, Affability, Fair-dealing, and giving a good Price.

Now from whatever Motives Men are led to behave in this manner, it is certain that let them be of what Colour they will, or come from where they will, they must be regarded as honest Traders, and good Customers; indeed of late Years this Trade is grown of very high Consequence to that Nation, because of the present Demand of Negroes from their *American* Colonies; which is the Reason of their being so attentive to whatever may promote and extend their Commerce on the Coast of *Guinea*; and this it is that engages them to act in the manner they do, and to neglect no Opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the black Chiefs, or of supplanting their Rivals in Trade, who were settled here long before them. In this, without question, they act wisely and worthily, nor with any Reason can we blame them; but at the same time it ought to put us upon our guard, and excite us to be very active and vigilant in an Affair which so nearly concerns our Honour and Interest, and in which, notwithstanding all their Arts and Influence, they can never hurt us, unless by Negligence or Inattention, we concur to prejudice ourselves.

But tho' the great Assiduity and constant Civility of these new Traders made some Impression upon the Negro *Cabocero*, and induced him so far to gratify their Inclinations as to take off considerable Quantities of their Goods, and to furnish them



them in return with Gold and Slaves : He not withstanding continued to keep up a fair Correspondence with our *African* Company, and shewed them it was not a mere Compliment when he valued himself upon being an *Englishman*. The *French* saw and were piqued at this, because it hurt their national Vanity, at the same Time that it was prejudicial to their Interest, they redoubled their Attacks therefore in order to engage him entirely : for tho' they could have no Hopes of engrossing the Trade, yet they were exceedingly desirous of being the most favoured Nation at *Annamboo*. To carry this to its utmost Extent, they boasted mightily of the great Power of their King, the Magnificence of his Court, the Extent of his Dominions, the Number, Wealth, and Politeness of his Subjects. Honest *John Corrente*, who had imbibed a Tincture of the *English* Spirit, would now and then cross them a little, and seemed to doubt whether all they said was true ; upon which they took Occasion to propose his sending one of his Sons over to *France*, who might not only see that Matters were really as they had flattered them, but might himself feel the good Effects of the clear Light, in which they had represented the Power, the Probity, and the kind Behaviour of the Cabocero of *Annamboo*.

At first this made little or no Impression, but being earnestly pushed and often repeated, the Negro Chief began to reflect within himself upon the Consequences that might attend it, and the Advantage that must arise from having one of his Children more knowing, and by far better bred than any of his Countrymen ever were ; and by running this over in his Mind, he saw, or at least he thought he saw, so fair a Prospect, attended with

DOWN  
COUNTRY

with so few Difficulties or Inconveniencies, that in the End he consented to their Proposition, and declared his Resolution, that when the next *French* Ships came to *Wydaw*, he would send one of his Sons on board them, to be carried by them to *France* at their Return, which gave those who had negotiated this Matter vast Satisfaction.

It is a vulgar, and at the same Time a most erroneous Opinion, that the Negroes upon the Coast of *Guinea* have little or no Tenderness for their Children, but sell them frequently for Slaves without Concern. This is so far from being true ; that no People in the World, generally speaking, express greater Kindness for their Offspring than they do, allowing for the Manners of the Country, and the Hardness with which they are brought up. On some Parts of the Coast indeed, if Children are un dutiful, upon Complaint to the King or Magistrates, they are thrice admonished ; and at length the Father has a Power given him, to prevent worse Consequences, to sell them in case they will not be reclaimed ; but this very Practice directly refutes that Notion. It must however be granted, that Influences there are of Negroes selling their Children ; but in Times only of excessive Famine, when they part with them to preserve the Childrens Lives and their own.

This was the Case about twenty Years ago amongst the People of *Wydaw*, when the King of *Dabone* drove them out of their Country, and obliged them to take Shelter upon several barren Islands not far from the Coast, where, for want of Canoes, it was impossible for his Troops to follow them, The Distress to which People are driven in such Cases of Necessity, exempts their Actions

send son to France

Downward



Actions from turning to the Prejudice of their general Characters. Hunger and the Sword are very pressing Arguments with white People as well as black; and therefore, what they compel Men to, can never be taken for the Custom of any Nation. In the present Instance, the Precaution of the Negro Chief shews him not to have been at all destitute, either of sound Sense or paternal Affection; he thought it for his own Interest, and for that of his Family, to send one of his Sons to *France*; but that Son was born of a Slave, which is a Circumstance among the Negroes that creates a kind of Illegitimacy; and we shall see that he was not altogether so cautious, when he thought fit to trust another Child in *English* Hands.

The young Negro was sent over to *France* with proper Recommendations to the Company; and these made not only a strong Impression on those to whom they were addressed, but also upon the Court, to which they were immediately communicated. The Son of the *African* Chief was received with all the Honours due to a Prince; he was not only clothed, lodged, maintained, and attended, but educated in all Respects in a Manner suitable to one of that Dignity; and as such was received and treated at Court, where he appeared on all Occasions in a splendid Dress, and was allowed to wear a Knot upon his right Shoulder, which as now we are so well acquainted with *French* Customs needs no Explanation.

Due Care was taken to inform the Father of his Son's Reception and Situation; and after he had remained in *France* a proper Time, and all imaginable Care had been taken to shew him everything that might give him high Ideas of the King and

and People, he was sent home in one of the Company's Ships, in a very handsome Manner, and with fine laced Cloaths to dazzle the Eyes of the Negroes, and to draw the Father over entirely to the *French* Interest. There is no doubt to be made that he was very welcome to see his Son safe returned to *Africa*, and to hear what mighty Honours had been paid him in *Europe*; he expressed himself in very full Terms upon this Subject to the *French* Agents, with whom he dealt more largely than formerly, but without estranging himself from the *English*.

This Conduct of the *French* Nation will appear more laudable the more it is weighed, the more it is sifted and considered; for undoubtedly nothing could contribute more to the spreading a general good Opinion of the *French* Nation amongst the Negroes, or produce a stronger Effect upon the particular Person it was meant to gain. All the Inland Traders coming from the most distant Part of *Africa* to bring their Gold and Slaves to *Annabon*, had an Opportunity of seeing the young *African* in all his *French* Finery, and to hear from his own Mouth, not only the Testimonies of Respect paid him, and the high Civilities shewn him by Persons of the first Quality, and such as were nearest in Power and Blood to the Throne; but also the vast Extent of the Dominions, the Number and Discipline of the Forces, the Affluence and Prosperity of the People subject to the *French* King. The Credit due to his Accouns were doubly enforced by his being an Eye-witness, relating what he saw, what he had an Opportunity of examining, and what it was impossible

*African to France*

*Return to France*



Possible for him to be deceived in; and by his being himself a Negro, their Countryman, one whom they had no Cause to suspect, and whose Appearance, joined to the concurring Testimonies of his Father, and the *French* Traders, delivered them from any Apprehensions of his meaning to deceive them.

So high a Character to be spread amongst so many Thousands of People was very cheaply purchased by two or three Years Board to a single Man, and the Present of a few fine Cloaths when he was sent home. It ought also to be considered as a convincing Proof of the Abilities and Integrity of the Company's Agents in *Africa*, who both formed and executed a Scheme of such Consequence to their Nation, with so great Dexterity, and who were seconded so thoroughly by the Company and the Court. We are apt enough to copy *French* Customs, *French* Fashion, and *French* Taste in Trifles; in this Respect it would not be amiss to copy their Policy, since it is very certain that the Trade of *France* is very much the Care of the Court, by which; to say the Truth, it principally thrives; for wanting the Advantages that we possess, an extensive Freedom, and a Number of wealthy Merchants, nothing could contribute to fix and establish their Trade here, in the *East Indies*, or in the *West*, if the Court did not lend its Influence and Assistance.

It was not only with the *English* and *French* Companies that the *Cabocero* of *Annamboe* maintained a close Correspondence, but with the separate Traders of the former Nation also, who in modern Times have much improved and extended their Commerce in those Parts, not only by the

the Advantage they have of trading without the Incumbrances of Forts, Garrisons, and regular Establishments, of all which however they enjoy the Protection, but by their keeping a Kind of settled Magazines or floating Factories almost constantly on the Coasts, from whence they are enabled to supply the Negroes continually with a Variety of Goods; and that too at a very cheap Rate, which, tho' a Convenience and an Advantage to those People, sinks the Value of *British* Commodities and Manufactures in *Guinea*, and raises the Price of Slaves in our Colonies in the *West Indies*.

With these Traders the *Cabocero* had a constant Intercourse, took off vast Quantities of their Effects, and afforded them in return the Prime of every Thing that came to his Hands. For Interest is a universal Deity, the *Fetters*, as these People call it, of the Negroes, as much as of the *Europeans*; and notwithstanding any Ties of Friendship and old Acquaintance with the *African* Company's Servants, towards whom he always carried himself with Civility and Respect, his Visits, for the Reasons beforementioned, were very frequent to the separate Traders, and from the very same Motives, those who were entrusted with the Management of their Concerns, paid him all the Marks of extraordinary Complaisance that the highest Pitch of Negroe Vanity could expect or desire; they knew his Influence, which made them ready to court him, tho', when out of the Reach of it (as is natural enough) they may affect to ridicule and despise it.

A certain Captain, who was one of the principal Directors of this Kind of Commerce, and more

Qualities of  
English private



note especially of the new Scheme, laboured with all the Address of which he was Master, to render himself a Favourite with the Cabocero of *Amannaboe*; in order to which, he neglected nothing that might either contribute to promote his Interest, or gratify his Inclinations; he was remarkably punctual in all Transactions with him; and very willing to give him Credit (which is often necessary) for as much and as long as his Occasions required. In short, he not only sought to acquire his Confidence as a Trader, but took every Step that he could possibly devise to live with him upon the familiar Footing of a Friend; and the better to accomplish this, he put on a seeming Affection for the Negroes; and a Degree of Complaisance for their Manners; which, however little to their Honour, it must be confessed is not very unusual amongst the *Europeans* of every Nation, who have for a Course of Years frequented the Coast of *Gutina*.

By the Practice of Arts like these, it is not at all strange that he fully accomplished his Design; and grew not only into such Credit, but into such Intimacy with *John Corrente*, that he was scarce more Master on board than ashore, which answered all his Purposes perfectly, as well with Regard to Ease and Convenience in living, as procuring unusual Advantages in his Dealings, which turned, or might have turned very much to his Account. For there is nothing that gains more upon the Negroes, more especially in their own Country, and where they are not at all in Danger of feeling the Effects of a sudden Change of Temper, than this familiar Manner of associating with them, which proceeds from their natural

natural Deference for white Men, and the Pleasure as well as Pride they have in living upon a Level and an Equality with them; which at the same Time contributes not a little to heighten the Reverence and Respect paid them by those of their own Complexion, who are naturally apt to fancy that there must be Qualities peculiarly great and noble, in Persons, who are thus admitted into Friendship, and a close Correspondence with Captains and others of superior Rank among the *Whites*. Besides, it affords them many Opportunities of prying into, and discovering what otherwise they could never any Way reach, as the Negroes are a cunning and subtle People, in common with other barbarous Nations; for this Turn of Mind is chiefly owing to want of Education; and a Power of thinking extensively, that forces Men to aim at compassing what they want by the Strength of their own narrow Abilities; which drives them into crooked Paths, just as Workmen perform Things but rudely and imperfectly who have the Use only of a few; and those, it may be, but coarse and tintrandy Tools.

It was to this Captain particularly, that the Cabocero of *Amannaboe* opened himself frequently upon the Head of his Son's Voyage to *France*; and the Sense he had of the great Honours that were done him during his Residence in that Country; asking at the same Time, what Difference there was between *France* and *England*? whether the latter was as good a Country, the King as powerful, or his Subjects as rich? to which the Captain gave such Answers as he judged convenient, not apprehending perhaps at first, to what these Inquiries tended. When Opportunities offered, the

Cabocero,



Caboceiro, proposed the same Question to find of the Company's Servants as he had Occasion to transact Business with, from whom he received more clear and explicit Answers; and who told him plainly that the *French* were a Nation that delighted in Pomp and Splendour; but that the *English* were much superior to them in Naval Power, and in the Extent of their Trade; of which the Negroe was easily convinced, on comparing the Number of Ships sent by the two Nations on the Coast of *Guinea*. From these Conversations, he picked up Hints that were very serviceable to him in many Respects, and enabled him to sit even out of the *French* Traders themselves Matters of Fact, that left him no Room to doubt of the Truth of what the *Englishmen* had told him.

This dwelt very much upon his Mind, and finding how useful the Knowledge which one of his Sons had acquired by Travel was, by his serving as an Interpreter with one Set of People, he had a Mind to procure the like Advantages, by employing another Son to enter as thoroughly into the Affairs of another Nation; which from their Superiority in Trade, and much greater Variety of Commodities and Manufactures in which they dealt, promised still greater Advantages. Several Accidents concurred to fortify him in this Opinion; but particularly his observing that the *English* separate Traders were much keener, and more expert in the Management of their Business than the *French*; that they frequently formed Schemes of outwitting them in their Commerce, and, generally speaking, succeeded in it; and in respect to this, he was the more confirmed by conferring with

Decide to  
Send to  
Son to  
English

with the most experienced of his own Nation, whose Observations concurred in this Particular, as likewise did those of the Inland Merchants, whose Demands were chiefly for *British* Goods and Manufactures.

The Son he intended to send to *England*, and who is actually here at present, was his greatest Favourite; his Mother was not only a free Woman and his chief Wife, but also the Daughter of one of the principal Persons in the Country. The Youth had been always distinguished by the quickness of his Parts, and the Affability of his Behaviour, as well as by a graceful Deportment, and a very agreeable Person. He had lived for a Time, when a perfect Child, in the Fort with one of the *African* Company's principal Officers, where he had learned to speak *English*, and had acquired a great Confidence in as well as a sincere Affection for the Nation. The old Caboceiro encouraged this Disposition in him all he could, told him frequently that himself was an *Englishman*, and that he ought to think himself so too; that the *English* were their best Friends, and treated them with the most Kindness, that they were a great and powerful Nation, as appeared from the Number of Ships that arrived annually in the Road of *Annamaboe*, and their rich Cargoes; that their Dominions in other Parts must be very large and productive of vast Riches, since they bought yearly such a Number of Blacks, who were employed in their Tillage and Cultivation, and that therefore he could not do better than to improve that Kindness and Effect they had for him, by endeavouring every Day to merit more and more their Favour and Friendship.

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English

Learn  
English



As these Rules suited exactly with his Inclination, the Lad pursued them with all the Spirit and Diligence imaginable, attached himself entirely to the *English* who frequented the Port, and from thence was taken Notice of and cared for by them in a very extraordinary Manner. The *French* Traders easily perceiving how much this Son was beloved of his Father and respected in the Family, as well as pleased with the Modesty of his Character, and his superior Abilities, were not wanting in their Applications, which however had very little Effect; for tho' he was never deficient in Civility, yet his Humour of piquing himself upon being an *Englishman*, and the strong Impressions he had received in the Port, gave him a Dislike to that Nation, which it was not possible for him to conceal. He was besides very little struck with Flattery, and had accustomed himself to a frank and open Manner of expressing his Sentiments, without the Gloss of Compliments or any dark Reserves.

Amongst all the People that had Business with the Cabocero of *Amnaboe*, the Captain before-mentioned had not only the greatest Credit with him, but was the freest and most intimate with his Family; and seeing his Father's Affection for him, professed always a peculiar Regard and a singular Tenderness for this Youth; who on his Part loved him with the Sincerity natural to his Years, and testified as much Duty towards him as if he had been his Father. When therefore the old Cabocero expressed in general Terms his Wish, that some Opportunity might offer of sending him to *England* that he might be educated there, and acquire that Knowledge which render-

ed white Men so much superior to themselves, and to the rest of the Negro Nations; it was very agreeable News both to the Lad and to the Captain.

The former, to whom the *English* had given the Name of CURIO, as most expressive of his sweet and amiable Temper, shewed the greatest Willingness imaginable to enter into his Father's Scheme, and to make a Voyage to *Europe*; as on the other Hand the Captain seemed to be wish'd with the Proposal, which at once shewed the Confidence of the old Man, and afforded him an Opportunity of adding to the Marks of Kindness and Good-will, that he had formerly given to his Son. Their Voyage to *England* was thenceforward the sole Topic of their Conversation; the Father was settled in his Resolution, the Boy was delighted with it, and the Captain spoke to him in a Language that was perfectly paternal. He was continually forecasting what Advantages he might draw from this Adventure, and without knowing it, was a very true Prophet of the Respect and Esteem which the young Man would certainly attract by his good Qualities, when in *England*. In a Word, this Project was the great Topic of Discourse in the Family, and they all delighted themselves with the Expectation of seeing with what mighty Improvements their young *Englishman* would return to *Amnaboe*.

As the Season was at a Distance in which the Captain proposed to depart, all Parties had sufficient Leisure to contemplate their respective Schemes in every Light, of which they were capable, and to flatter their Imaginations with any Circumstances that might set off and adorn them. The

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The *Caboeiro* might probably propose the pre-  
 serving in his Family that Post of Honour, tho'  
 in its Nature elective, by rendering his Children  
 so much superior in Knowledge to his Country-  
 men; and at the same time qualifying them to  
 serve the Community with such extraordinary Ad-  
 vantages. His daring Son ran over in his Mind  
 all the strange Things he had heard in the *English*  
 Fort, or among the Traders and Sailors of that  
 Nation: He pleased himself with the Hopes of  
 seeing these, and of comprehending perfectly a  
 Multitude of Subjects, of which in spite of all  
 his Inquiries he had only dark and confused Ideas.  
 In respect to the Captain, it may be presumed  
 from his future Conduct, that he looked upon his  
 young Pupil as an Acquisition of so much Wealth  
 as he would sell for, and applied himself besides  
 to make all the Uses in his Power of the *Caboeiro's*  
 Interest and Influence, while he remained in the  
 Country.

Indeed this had been all along of very great Be-  
 nefit to him, and tho' the *Caboeiro* did not enter  
 in every Respect into his Views, he had made him  
 subservient to his carrying into Execution most of  
 his Projects, by which himself and his Associates  
 had gained the Reputation of being among the  
 Number of the most clear-sighted and adroit Traders  
 that ever visited the Coast of *Guinea*. What  
 Returns both the old *Caboeiro* and his Son have  
 met with for their Friendships, Hospitality and  
 Favours, the World is not unacquainted with;  
 and what Right they have to treat with the most  
 ignominious and contemptible Language the Ne-  
 groes in general, Mankind will likewise judge.  
 But supposing them as low and mean as those  
 who

who hate and despise them most can represent  
 them; this can afford no Justification for deceiv-  
 ing or maltreating them. There is certainly no  
 Credit to be acquired by outwitting the Igno-  
 rant, nor will it prove a Recommendation in any  
 Country under the Cope of Heaven, for Men  
 who have had a good Education, to compare their  
 own Ends by imposing false Colours upon such  
 as they look upon as beneath them in every Re-  
 spect. What Grounds there is for this Opinion,  
 or how Man can differ from Man, but by the  
 superior Virtues of the Mind, the best Judges  
 will find it hard to distinguish, since as to all other  
 Advantages they are merely accidental, and he  
 who makes the best use of them is the best Man,  
 let his Complexion be *black* or *white*.

At length the Time came that the Captain had  
 finish'd his Affairs upon the Coast, and was to  
 leave it, which gave great Pleasure to all Parties;  
 the old Man was desirous that his Son should go  
 speedily, that he might have the better Chance of  
 living to see him return Home. The sprightly  
 Youth, full of the fond Hopes of seeing the  
 World, was impatient to depart; the Captain gave  
 not the least Check to their Hopes, but on the  
 contrary, continued to inspire his Pupil with a  
 passionate Desire of viewing all the Beauties of an  
 Island the most celebrated in the known World.  
 His Conduct was in every respect as kind as it had  
 ever been; and indeed the noble Youth does him  
 even now the Justice to acknowledge, that he  
 had no Hardships to complain of in the Passage,  
 and that on the contrary, he treated him with all  
 the Tenderness, all the Attention of a Father.

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( 40 )

This no doubt confirmed him entirely in those Sentiments of Respect and Veneration, which he had been so long accustomed to have for his Father's Friend, and kept even the slightest Suspicion from entering into his Thoughts. Under this happy Delusion he completed his Voyage from the Road of *Antinaboe*, to *Bridge-Town* in *Barbadoes*; nor was he undecieved even there. The very same Behaviour was kept up to the last, and the unfortunate Youth had not the least Foresight of the impending Evil, till like a Torrent it came pouring upon him all at once; and but for the Interposition of Providence, had irretrievably buried him in Misery and Despair.

When the Captain had sold him, and he was put into a Boat to be carried to his Master, he thought he was going on board the Ship that was to carry him to *England*. But what Language can express his Surprise, when from the rough Usage that he met with from two Slaves that were in the Boat, he had no Room left him to doubt that his Condition was the same with theirs? It must be left to the Reader's Imagination to frame a Notion of his Distress, which will be so much the harder, as the Freedom and Happiness of our Situation hinders us from ever beholding a Sight that any way resembles it. It must assuredly have struck him with a Horror, for white Men in general; have filled his Mind at once with as black Thoughts of them, and with better Foundation than some of these, affect to have for those of his Country with very little Cause.

But whatever his Thoughts, whatever his Reflections might be, they left him scarce a glimmering of Hope, distant from Home, far from Father,

( 41 )

Father, Family, or Friends, betrayed and abandoned by him whom he had always esteemed his Protector; and this in the very Dawn of Life. He had before him a Prospect so gloomy, that he stood in need of superior Greatness of Mind to bear the Shock without sinking under it, or taking some desperate Method to remove the Load. It was some Relief to him that he fell into the Hands of a Gentleman of distinguished Character, where he was treated with much Humanity, which abated somewhat of the Bitterness of that sudden and undeterred Reverse of Fortune; revived him a little, and encouraged him to breathe and live. This by Degrees gave him Leisure to look round him, to compare his past and present Condition, and to furnish himself with the best Helps that Reflection and Experience could suggest towards his Amusement and Relief.

He saw numbers in the like Condition, from a Variety of Accidents, but none of them in any Degree comparable to that which had brought this heavy Lot upon him. He was alarmed however to shew less Courage than the rest, or not to oppose Misfortune with equal Steadiness of Mind; he resolved therefore to bear, tho' he could not be reconciled to his Fate, and to sustain without complaining a Calamity it was out of his Power to remove. In this sad State his Innocence afforded him the only Consolation; it was a Satisfaction that he had not drawn this upon himself; and by Degrees the Fairness and Mildness of his Behaviour, procured other Alleviations of that galling Yoke. But neither Time nor these transient Comforts, could so far dissipate the Sense of his Condition, as to remove that Melancholy which

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Sold into  
Slavery

6/1/1785

Traveller  
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which followed his first Confinement ; but as this was not attended with any Indulgence of Sullenness or Obstinacy, it rather heightened than abated his other good Qualities, which gained him universal Esteem, while in the low State of a Slave.

The Captain, to cover this Matter in the best Manner possible, either about the Time, or soon after his selling his Pupil, transmitted to the Cabocero of *Annaboe*, an Account current, upon the Foot of which he was considerably in his Debt ; the Justice of this however he has since controverted. But be the Matter how it will, it seems very clear, that both Parties knew one another well enough to give Credit at other Times ; so that there could be no Cause for proceeding with that amazing Severity at this Juncture : it is also apparent that if procuring Satisfaction for his Debt was all the Captain had in View, he might as well have obtained it by keeping the young Man in his Custody, till the Father had satisfied his Agents ; but to proceed in so abrupt, so strange, and so clandestine a Manner, affords sufficient Light for the World to judge of the Nature of this Transaction. However, not long after this the Captain died, and left the young *African* in Circumstances as miserably and at desperate as could be imagined ; for he was not only a Slave, but a Slave at such a Distance from his Country, Father, and Friends, and so totally deprived of the Means of communicating to them his Condition, that if his Relief had in any degree depended upon his own Abilities to promote it, there is no doubt that he had lived and died in that deplorable Condition.

Yet if the Author of his Misfortune had been so pleased, he might have prevented this, by giving

*Captain dies*

ing the old Cabocero such Lights as would have put it in his Power to have redeemed his Son ; or it may be, if he had acted ingeniously with the Gentleman to whom he sold him at *Barbadoes*, the same might have been brought to pass ; but by doing neither, he plainly shewed, that, in his Opinion, all Blacks were destined to be Slaves ; and this therefore satisfied him, that he had only left the Youth, for whom he professed so much Friendship, in his proper Situation. But it is now Time to leave the young Man for the present, and return to *Africa*, in order to observe by what strange and secret Steps divine Providence provided for the extricating out of his Misfortunes an innocent Youth, unable to help himself.

The *French* continued to keep up their Intimacy and close Correspondence with the Cabocero of *Annaboe*, in which they had all along so much found their Account ; and as, after the Departure of the Captain, the separate Traders did not so much frequent the Coast, the Commerce of *Annaboe* fell almost wholly into the Hands of the *French* ; which, as it was very natural, gave great Dissatisfaction to the Servants of the *Royal African Company*, who considering the then Situation of Things, very reasonably expected their Affairs should have taken rather a better than a worse Turn. They did not spare either Endeavours or Expostulations with the Cabocero, but to very little Purpose. At first, indeed, he gave them good Words, but by Degrees all Ceremonies were dropped, and he told them very plainly, that he did no more than he had a Right to do ; and that he meant for the future

*French left in D  
provided for the  
England  
France / Africa  
Lovers  
Paris*



ture to deal not only on what Terms, and in what Manner, but with whom he pleased.

This Declaration needed no Commentary ; and therefore those who were intrusted with the *African* Company's Concerns, resolved, as the News of the War between the two Nations was arrived, and one of his *Britannick* Majesty's Ships actually upon the Coast, to recur to the only Means now left to set Affairs to rights, which was Force. Accordingly, at the Request of one of the Company's principal Agents, the King's Frigate Hood in as near the Town of *Annamaboe*, as could be done with Safety, and began to fire upon it. This had the desired Effect, at least in Appearance ; for the *Caboceiro* complied with the Terms prescribed ; and, as he said, sent all the *French* Traders out of the Place ; which however was afterwards discovered to be no more than a temporary Expedient, since he only concealed their Persons and Effects till such Time as the Man of War went off the Coast, and then they appeared and traded again as openly as ever, from a full Persuasion that the Danger was over ; and that for the future they had nothing farther to fear.

It was not long, however, before another of his Majesty's Ships arrived upon the Coast, to the Captain of which the like Application was made on the *African* Company's Behalf, and as readily complied with, The Company's Agent at this time embarked on board the Vessel, and after a brisk cannonading had put the Place into much Confusion, he took an Opportunity of sending a Servant on shore in whom he could confide, with a Message to the *Caboceiro*, importing, that as he had always valued himself upon being an *English*.

*Englishman*, and that the Nation was now at War with the *French*, it was not only improper but unlawful for him to correspond with them. At the same time he put him in mind of his former good Correspondence with the Company, the sincere Regard they had always shewn for him, and the great readiness on their Part to forget what was past, and to renew their old Friendship.

The *Negro Cabocero* received their Message with great cheerfulness and satisfaction ; he acknowledged the Case was very fairly stated, but insisted upon the kind Usage his Son had met with in *France*, and the Outrage and Insult that had been offered him by the Captain, who, under Colour of carrying his Child to be educated in *England*, had sold him for a Slave, which Fact he looked upon as sufficient to release him from all former Obligations. However, in regard he was still an *Englishman*, he was highly pleased to find that he was treated as such ; and that, provided satisfaction was made for the Injustice that had been done him, he was very willing that Things between them should be once more set upon their former Foot, and that there was no need of Force to compel him to a Measure, which was of all others the most suitable to his natural Inclination. It is easy to see that this was a satisfactory Answer, and gave Grounds sufficient to enter into a Negotiation.

The Terms of the new Agreement were not long in settling ; for old Friendships are sometimes like old China, when the Pieces are properly applied and well rivetted they are stronger than at first. It was promised to the *Caboceiro John*, that the Company would enquire after and recover his Son,



Son, that he should be carried to *England* and taken care of there, after which he should be also sent safely home. All other Disputes were likewise regulated to the mutual Satisfaction of the Parties, the *Cabocero* only insisting that no Violence should be offered to the Persons of the *French* Traders, whom, under Colour of being forced to it by the *English*, he cut off from all Commerce, and thereby compelled them to surrender to the Company's Servants, by whom they were sent, as had been stipulated, in great safety down to *Mphydavi*.

Thus this Affair terminated much to the Advantage of the Company, but so that they were obliged to take upon them the satisfaction of an Injury in which they had not the least Concern; and to this the Company will be always liable, because in *Africa*, as well as in *England*, they are considered as a corporate Body, to which Application may be always made, and who are at all Times answerable to the several *Negro* Governments upon the Coast for the Conduct and Behaviour of the *British* Nation, which is a Point highly deserving Notice.

Before we come to mention the finding and re-deeming the Son of the *Cabocero* of *Annamabor*, it may not be amiss to give a signal Instance of Generosity of Mind, and a truly great Spirit, in the Father of the sprightly *Negro*, who lives with our young *Hero* as his Companion. This Man in his own Country is stiled the *English Cabocero*; for it is to be observed, that the *John Corrente* is stiled the *Cabocero*, by way of Excellence or Distinction, the old Term of *Brasso* not being now much in use; yet he governs his little Territory by the Advice of the other *Heads* of Families, who are also stiled

stiled *Caboceros*, and who form a Council, that; in a politer State, would be called a *Senate* or *Regency*.

Amongst these some are particularly appointed for the managing and transacting Affairs with different Nations, and hence the Title of the *English Cabocero* is bestowed upon him who manages with the *English* Company, and confers, as Occasion requires, with their Agents and Servants. This Man having always professed a sincere and hearty Regard for our Nation, applied himself to the Gentleman who negotiated and concluded the Agreement that has been just mentioned; and after previously observing how much Credit the *French* had obtained by their good Usage of one of his Countrymen, and what an Odium had been thrown upon the *English*, on the score of selling that young Man's Brother, he told him, he had a Proposal to make, which was this; That as it was impossible to foresee what Difficulties would arise in executing literally what had been promised to *John Corrente*, he voluntarily offered his own Son to accompany him to *England*, that it might appear they had still a Confidence in the Nation, and the Company; nor did he give himself any Concern about the manner of his Treatment, which he left entirely to the good Pleasure of the Person to whom he recommended him. "But, said he, when he comes back, be sure to afford him a *Laee Goat*, at least as fine as that which was bestowed by the *French*, that our People here may be undeceived, and freed from their Prejudices in favour of the one, and to the discredit of the other Nation. This, continued he, is the only Method I can contrive for the Service of

*John Corrente's*  
*son*

those



date long ago  
written by J. Child

“ those to whom I have always professed a Friend-  
“ ship, and shall esteem it my greatest Happiness  
“ if one of my Family can in any Degree contribute  
“ to restore the good Opinion, that I could always  
“ wish my Countrymen might entertain of the  
“ People of *England*.”

This was certainly as clear and signal a Proof  
of Gratitude and Respect, as it was in the Power  
of Man to give, and is a sufficient Demonstration  
of the important Consequences that attend a judi-  
cious and humane Behaviour towards distant and  
barbarous Nations; a Thing long ago observed,  
and strongly recommended by the best Writers  
upon Trade, and more especially by Sir *Josiah*  
*Child*, than whom no Man ever understood the  
Subject better. We may therefore very readily  
imagine that the Offer was willingly embraced, and  
the strongest Assurances given to the *English* *Ca-*  
*bocero*, that his Son should be well treated, sent  
home safe, and that the Point of the laced Coat,  
should also be properly attended to.

To some indeed these will appear very trivial  
Things, and by them small Regard will be had  
to a People capable of being influenced, even in  
the most important Affairs, by Circumstances of  
so little Moment. But Persons of stronger Heads  
will see it in another Light; and find no Difficulty  
in discovering, that with all the Advantages of  
Sagacity and Politeness, other Nations are as much  
affected by Things which are at the bottom of as  
little Significance; for what are those great Points, of  
Stile, Rank, and Ceremony in all publick Nego-  
tations, but *laced Coats*, if beheld in a critical and  
impartial View?

When

When the Season come in which this Agent of  
the *Royal African Company* was to return to the  
*West-Indies*, and from thence to take his Passage  
home; the *English* *Cabocero*, in strict Compli-  
ance with his Promise, sent his Son along with him,  
who was treated in the Voyage, as he has been  
ever since, with all the Kindness and Regard pos-  
sible. Upon their Arrival at *Barbadoes*, the Son  
of the *Cabocero* of *Annaboe* was without much  
Difficulty found, and a valuable Consideration being  
given to the Gentleman who bought him, he was  
happily restored to Liberty, and to his former  
good Opinion of the Candour of the *British* *Na-*  
*tion*. For the Pains taken on his Behalf, and the  
great Zeal expressed to wipe off the Aspersions  
occasioned by his ill Usage, satisfied him fully  
that his Misfortune befel him from the Disposition  
of a single Person, and was entirely disapproved by  
*Englishmen* of every Denomination; thole even of  
the lowest Rank expressing a just Disdain of such  
iniquitous Practices; not more incompatible with  
the Doctrines of Religion, or the Principles of  
Morality, than with the natural Candour and Ge-  
nerosity of a true *English* Soul; to which, the  
young Prince has been clearly convinced that the  
Usage he met with was no just Exception.

After he was once restored to his Freedom,  
and the Nature of his Case became publick, every  
body expressed an Inclination to see him, and all  
who saw him were charmed with his Behaviour  
and Address. He was continually expatiating on  
the Justice, Kindness, and Goodness of those who  
had taken so much Pains to find him out in his  
low Condition, and to deliver him from the Load  
of his Misfortunes; but he rather affected Silence  
with

II

Principle  
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with Respect to the Author of them, and when ever he was obliged to mention him; did it not only without any Marks of an outrageous Resentment, but with a Decency that could scarce be expected, and as if he was conscious that no Exaggeration could make a more lasting Impression, than the simple and naked Relation of the Fact itself; in this without doubt he has thoroughly succeeded; for all Men of good Sense, and good Nature, which takes in all who feel the Weight of what others have unjustly suffered, are more affected by their own Reflections, than by the passionate Expressions, even of the most justifiable Resentment.

Upon his coming to *England* his Case was properly represented, and the Facts relating to it justified by all the necessary Testimonies that the singular and extraordinary Nature of them, and the various Circumstances that attended them, required, and which have entitl'd him to that high Protection, that generous and kind Notice which has been taken of him, by those who have a becoming Concern for natural Equity and Justice, as well as for the Reputation and Honour of the *British* People. This, as every Measure of the Kind will be, has been received with a Voice of universal Applause; the Nation has ratified and confirm'd the Rectitude of this Attention, shewn by the Government, and have taken a just Share in that wise and well-judg'd Compassion, which the Case of this noble and unfortunate Stranger so apparently deserves.

It is indeed true, that a Conduct so rational in itself is not without a Precedent even in the present Reign, tho' in favour of a Person of less Consequence,

justice. When the King of *Dabome* conquered *Hydras*, and carried away not only Multitudes of the Natives, but also an *Englishman*, whom they had very unjustly made Prisoner, one Capt *Lamb*, then in the *African* Company's Service, he treated him very kindly, and after a long Captivity dismissed him freely with considerable Presents; and upon his Promise of returning to him, allow'd him to take one of his Negro Subjects called *romo*, as his Servant. It seems the Captain did not care to run the Hazard of putting himself once more into the Hands of a Conqueror; whose Temper was none of the mildest; and who was apt to commit great Cruelties from Caprice; but however he ought certainly to have sent back *romo*; and his not doing it, gave just Reason to the Negro Monarch to be very much offended, as he really was. It was some Years before this Matter was clearly understood in *England*; but as soon as it was understood, and *romo* brought by his Master to *London*, due Enquiry was made, the Negro discharged from his Service, proper Care taken of him while he remained here; and as soon as it could be conveniently done, he was sent home again, at the Expence of the Government, as it was highly fitting that he should.

These are Matters that will always claim a suitable Regard, not only for the Sake of those to whom such Civilities are done, but for our own. And as there is no Country to which the Fame of the *British* Nation has not been carried by the Power of our Naval Force, or by the Industry of our Merchants, it imports us not a little, that our Humanity and Justice should be as extensive, as either the Terror of our Navies, or the Attention



we have to Trade. It is of as great Consequence to be esteemed, and to be loved, as to be dreaded or revered; the former is, and ought to be the natural Effects of our own Inclinations; the latter can only be right when it is justified by the Disrespect or Injuries we receive from others.

All singular and surprising Accidents have a general Influence, for the present; they employ every Tongue; they affect every Mind when they happen; yet Sensations of this Sort are momentary, and universal Oblivion, in a short Space of Time, succeeds to universal Admiration: But this is sometimes not at all expedient; for in many Cases it is very requisite that such Phenomena should be cautiously examined, and sincerely and circumstantially recorded. At least, these Things appear in this Light to those Minds that recollect the Disturbance it has frequently given them to meet only with broken Hints, and irreconcilable Circumstances of Matters that have happened in past Times, which they would be willing to comprehend more fully. This inclines People of such a Disposition to provide against the Disappointment of Men of the same Turn in succeeding Times; which it is presumed will appear not only a rational, but a laudable Species of industrious Curiosity.

The Subject of this short Discourse is as good an Instance as can be given of the Kind, in as much as in its Certainty and Importance it is to the full as considerable as in Singularity. The greatest and the best People in the Kingdom have thought it worthy of their Enquiry, and their Enquiries have been constantly succeeded by an entire Satisfaction; their Eyes, their Ears, their Senses, and their Understanding have been equally gratified; and our

*African.*

*African* Prince has appeared such from the Gracefulness of his Person, the Nobleness of his Sentiments, the Modesty of his Deportment, and the grateful Acknowledgments he continually expresses for the Justice that has been done him, and the Favours that he has received: Circumstances that amount to a kind of natural Demonstration; and which, without exceeding the Bounds of Truth, may be said to have spread universal Conviction amongst all who are not willfully blind and deaf; and who he open only to Conviction of another Kind.

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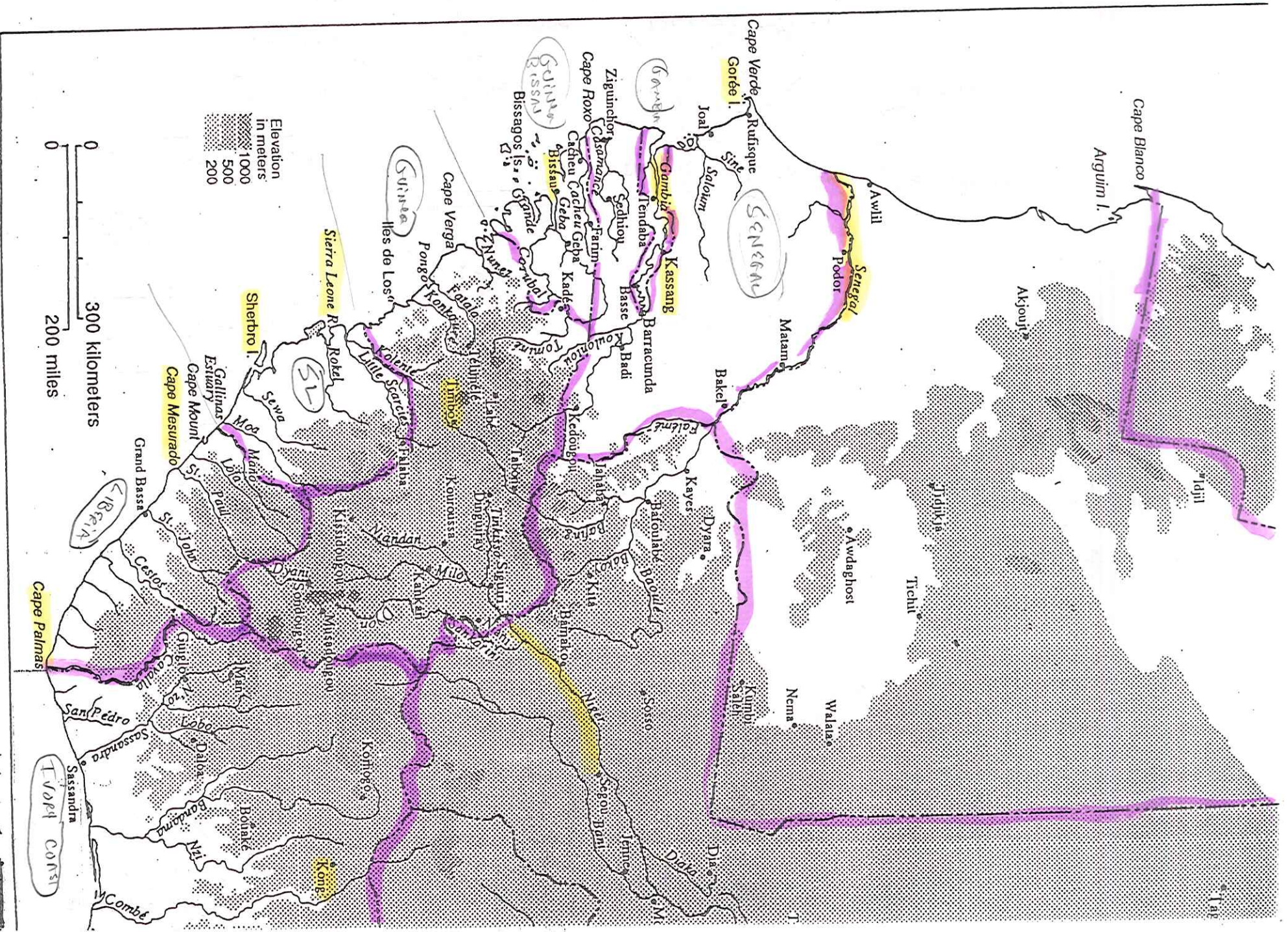
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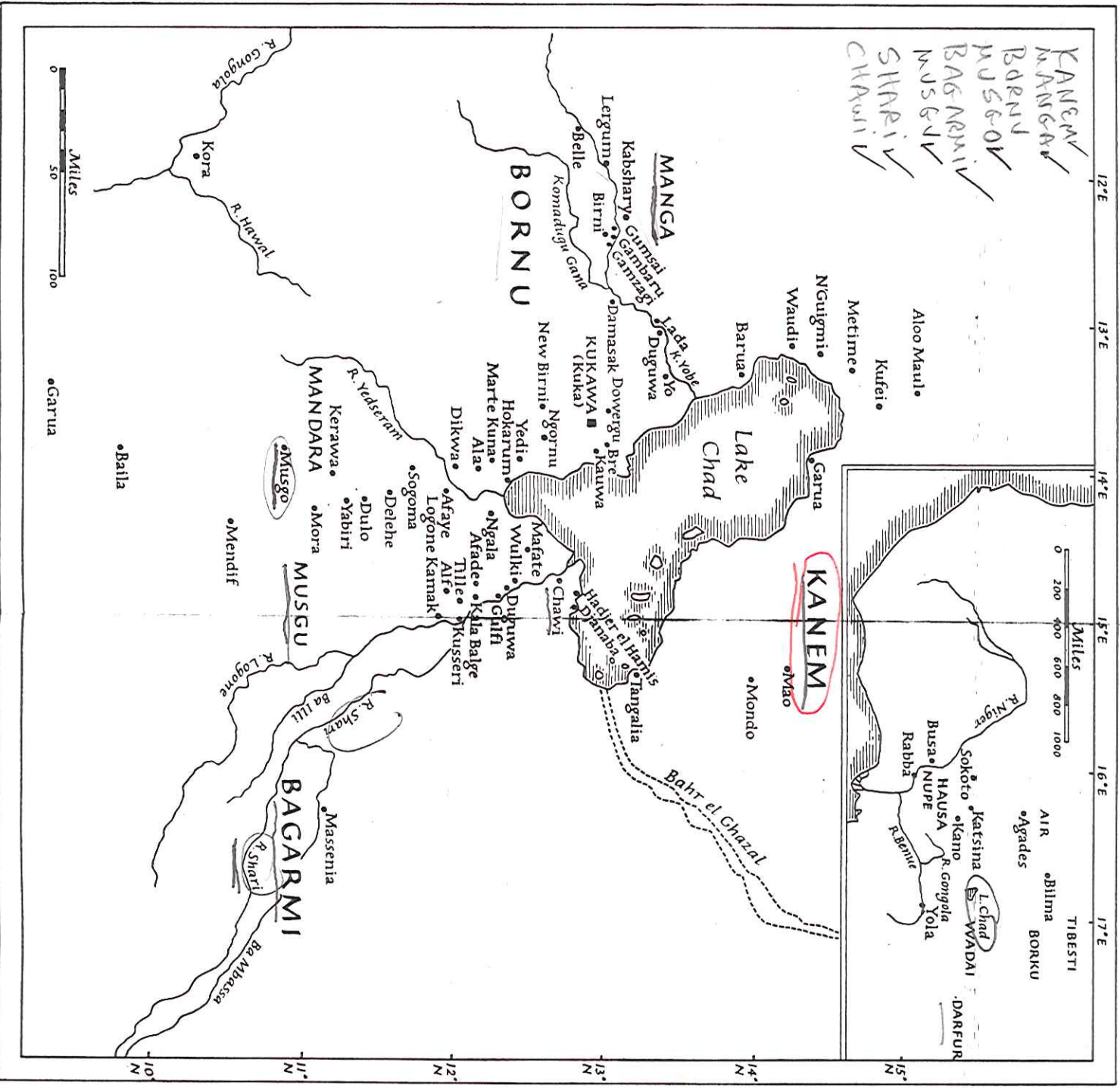


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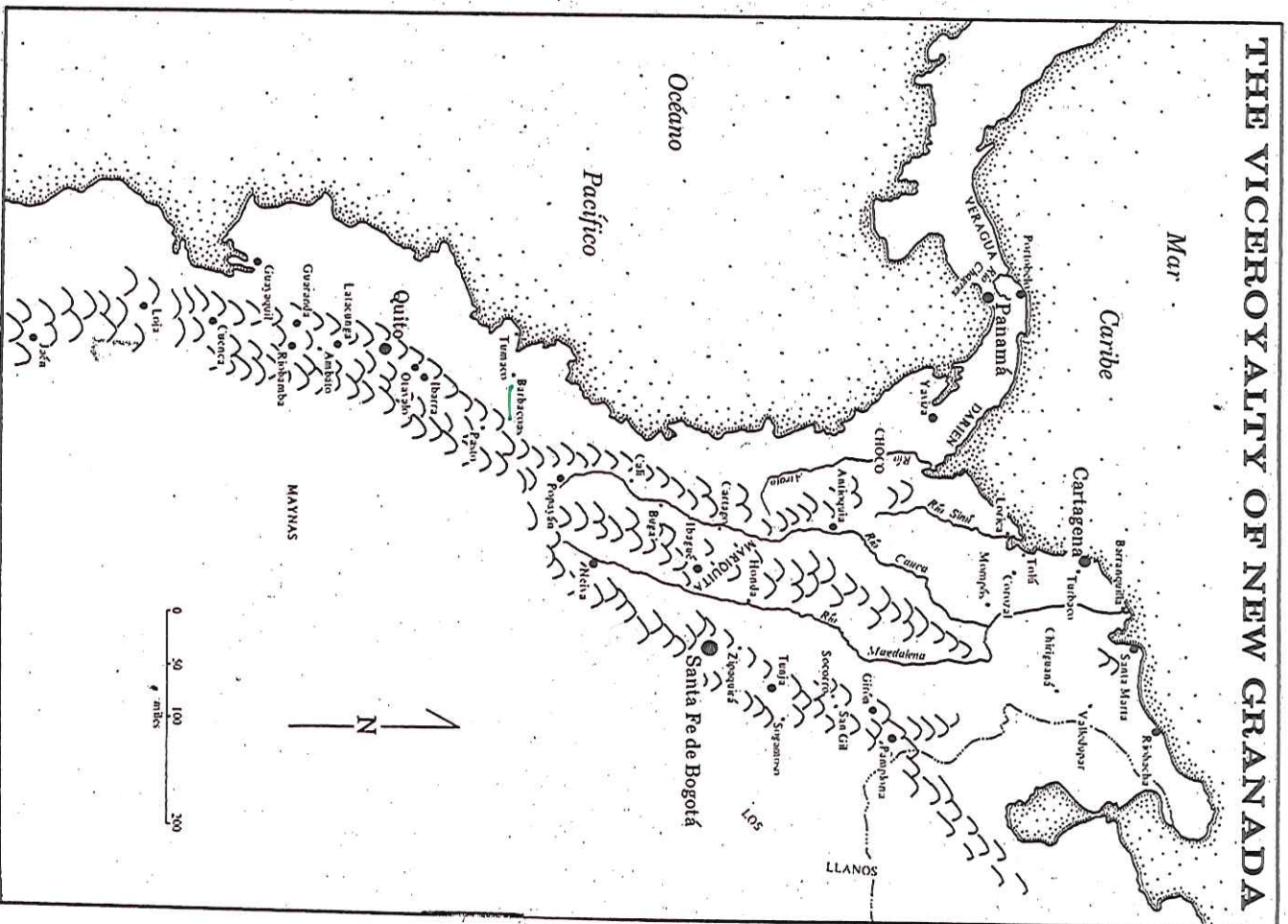
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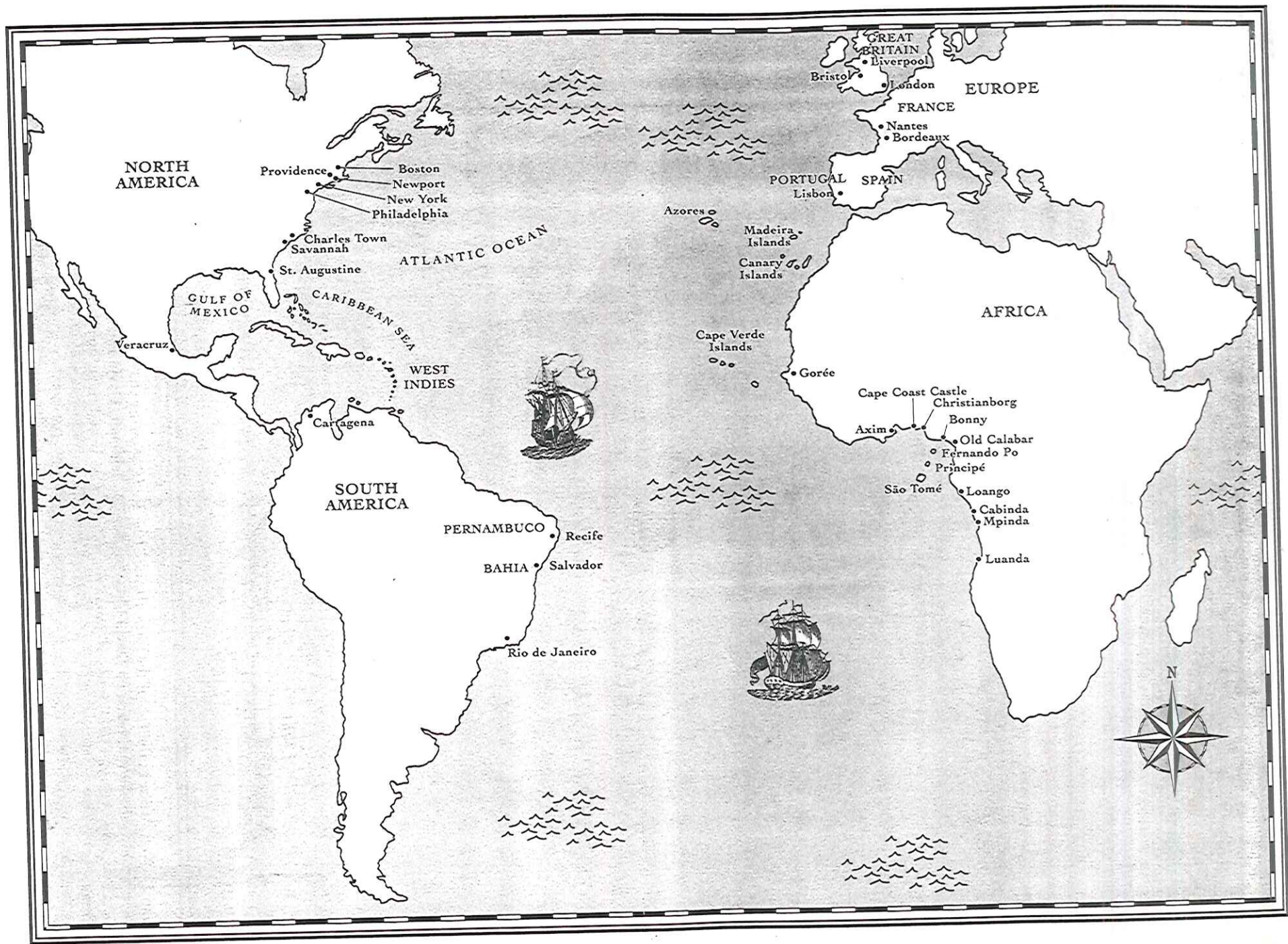


Map III. Bornu and Certain Adjoining States Explored by the Mission



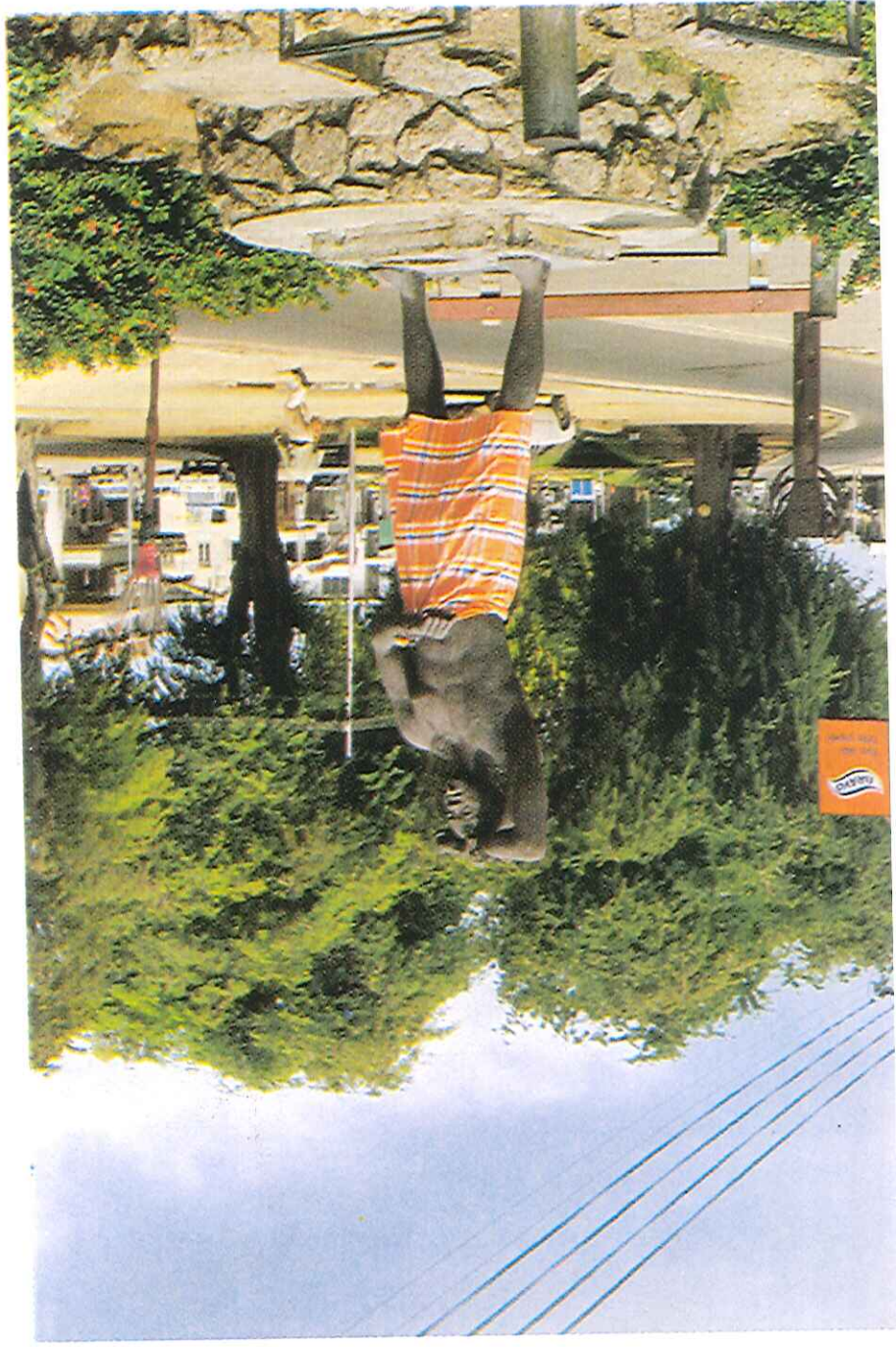






Map I: The Atlantic World circa 1750. Based on "The Atlantic Littoral, ca. 1700," *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), vi-vii, by Ira Berlin. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Copyright © 1998 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.





Statue of "Kwakoe"

From: Cultureel Mozatek

van Suriname.

Albert Helman.

Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

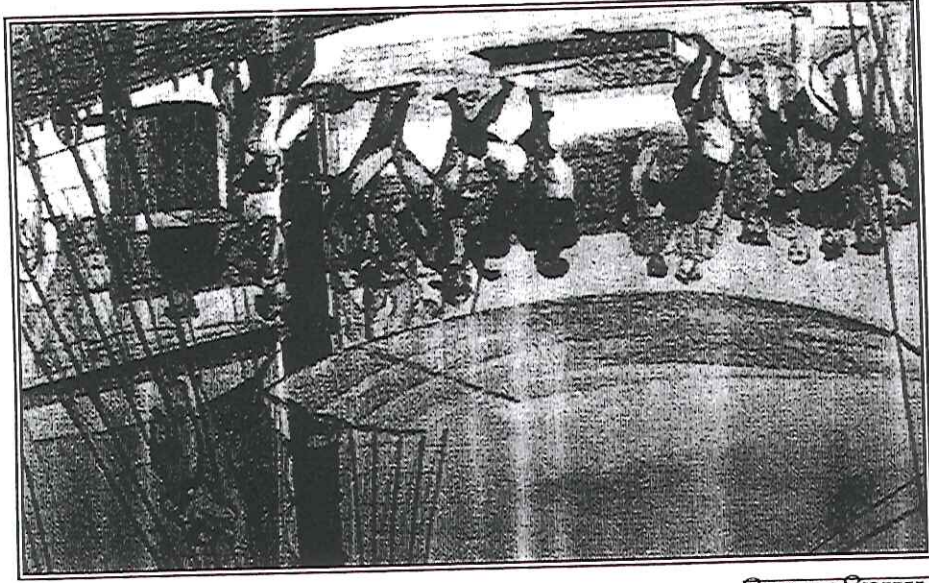
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# The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas:

*A Visual Record*

[www.slaveryimages.org](http://www.slaveryimages.org)



The approximately 1,200 images on this website have been selected from a wide range of sources, most of them dating from the period of slavery. The collection is envisioned as a tool and a resource that can be used by teachers, researchers, students, and the general public—in brief, anyone interested in the experiences of Africans who were enslaved and transported to the Americas and the lives of their descendants in the slave societies of the New World. The collection is grouped under the following eighteen categories:

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- Slave Ships and the Atlantic Crossing (Middle Passage)
- Slave Sales, Auctions, Markets: African Coast and the Americas
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*Compiled by*

*Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite*

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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

The banana, Brazils [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 18.4 x 12.7 cm.

not on SA map, see

There is  
evidence  
not on  
map

Earle visited Brazil

Earle 1793-1838

Copy with John Partridge in  
Brazil

Visited Rio de Janeiro  
Brazil 1820.



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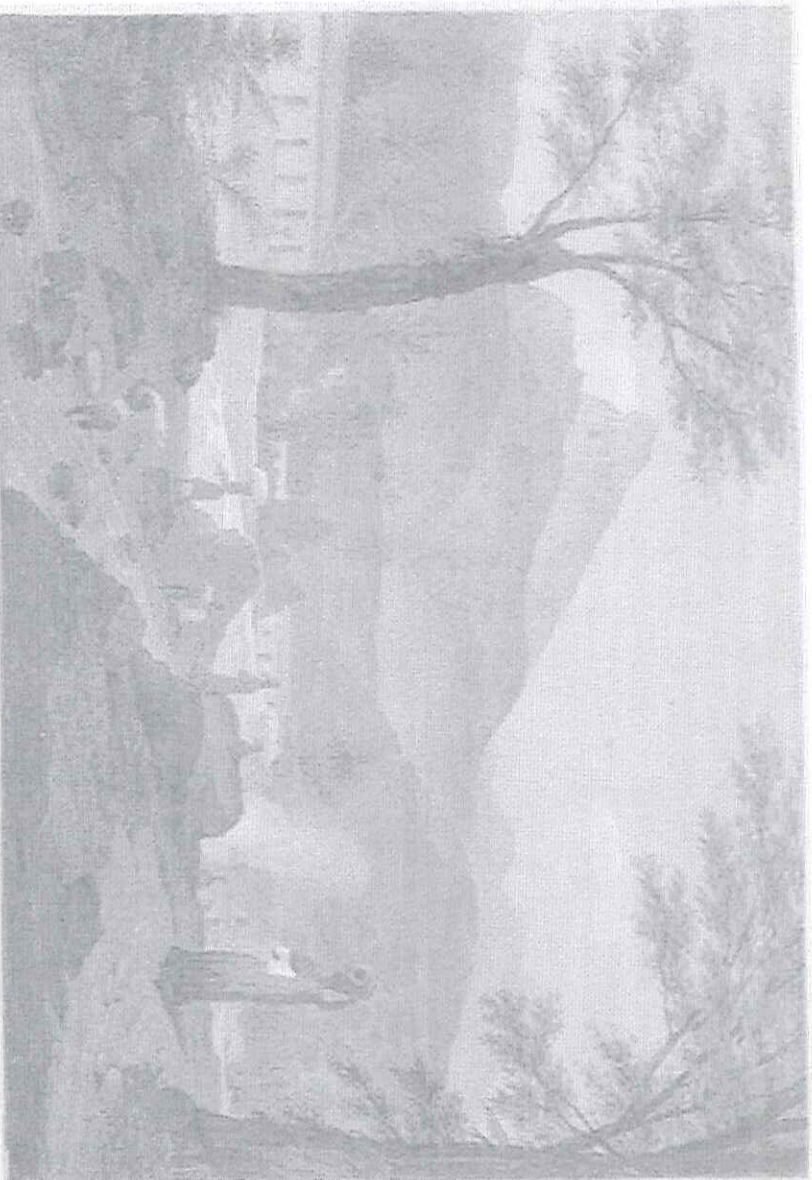
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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

View near Rio de Janeiro [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 17.8 x 26 cm.



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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

Games during the carnival at Rio de Janeiro [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 21.6 x 34 cm.



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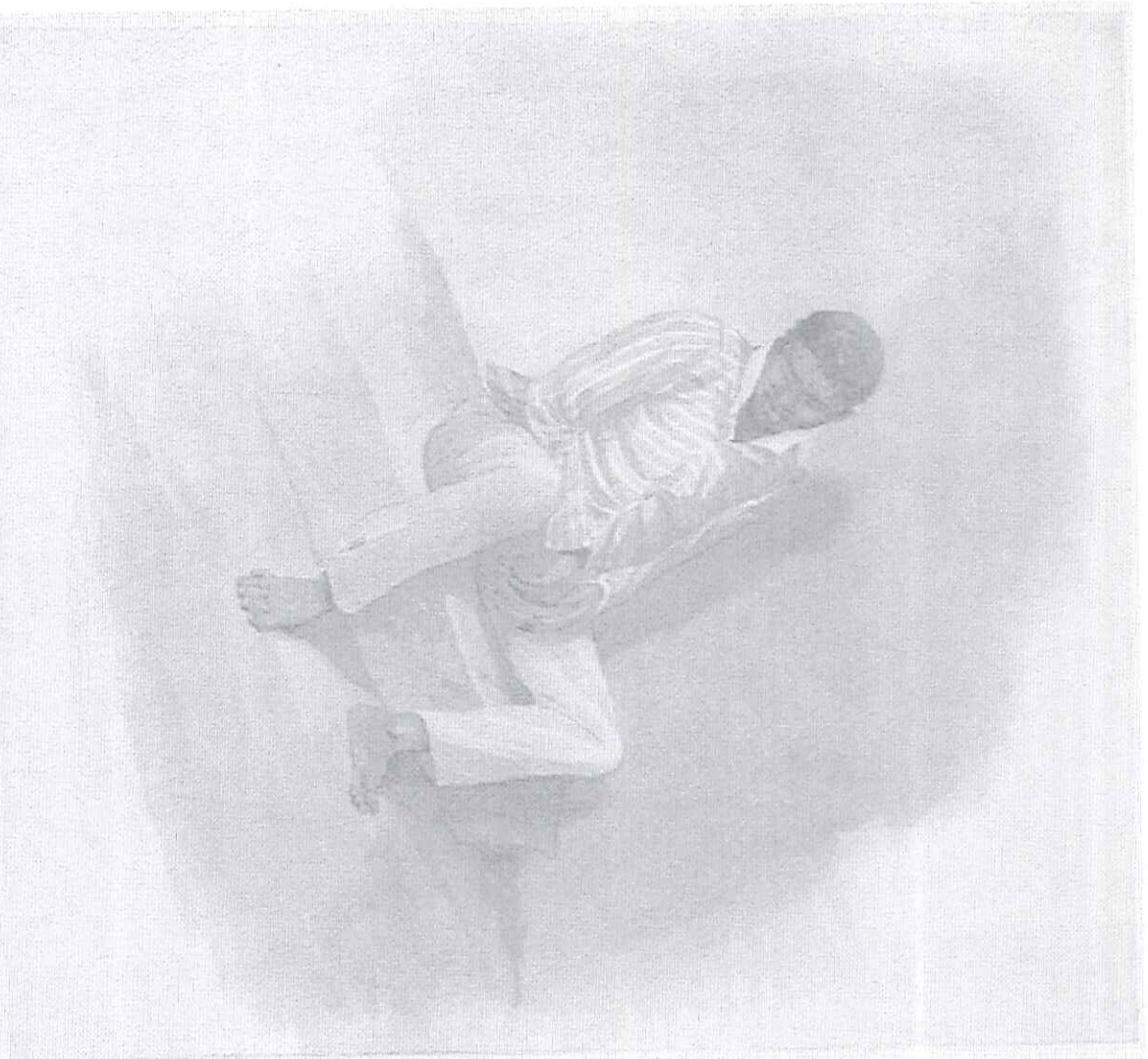
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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

A sleeping negro, Brazils [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 19.4 x 17.8 cm.



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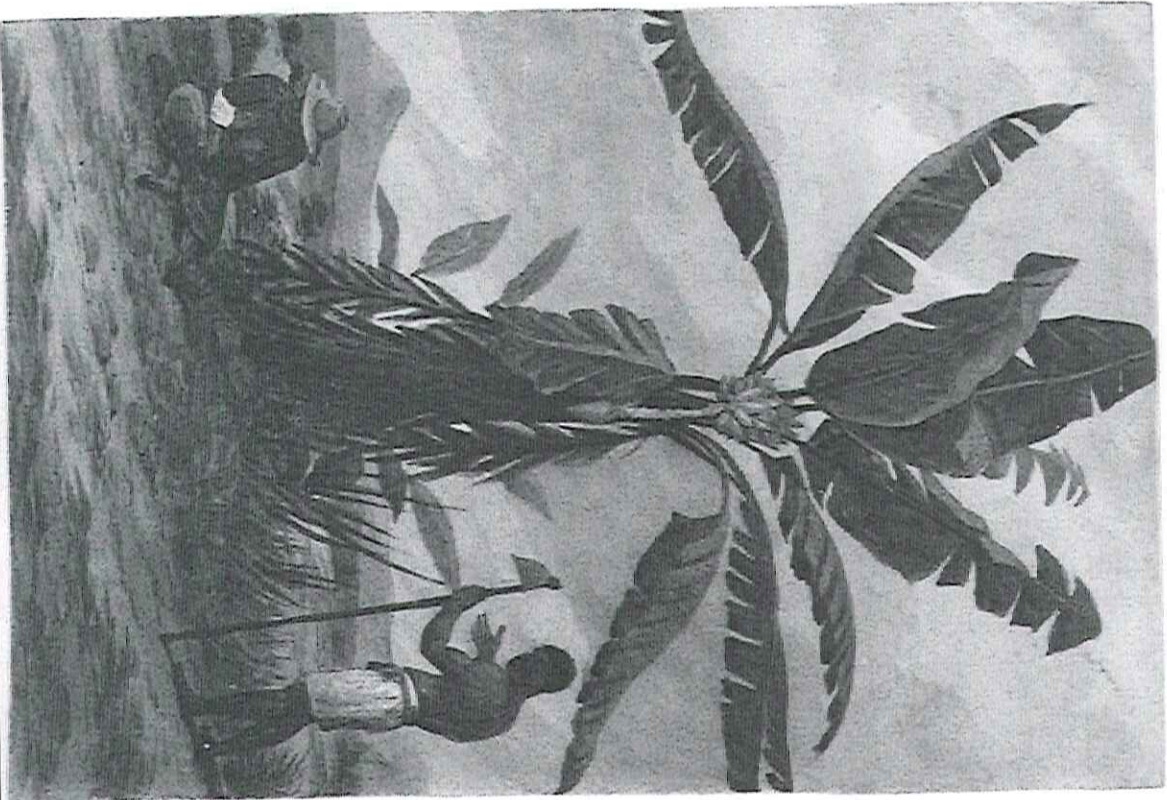
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PIC T135 NK12/97 LOC Box A38

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

The banana, Brazils [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 18.4 x 12.7 cm.



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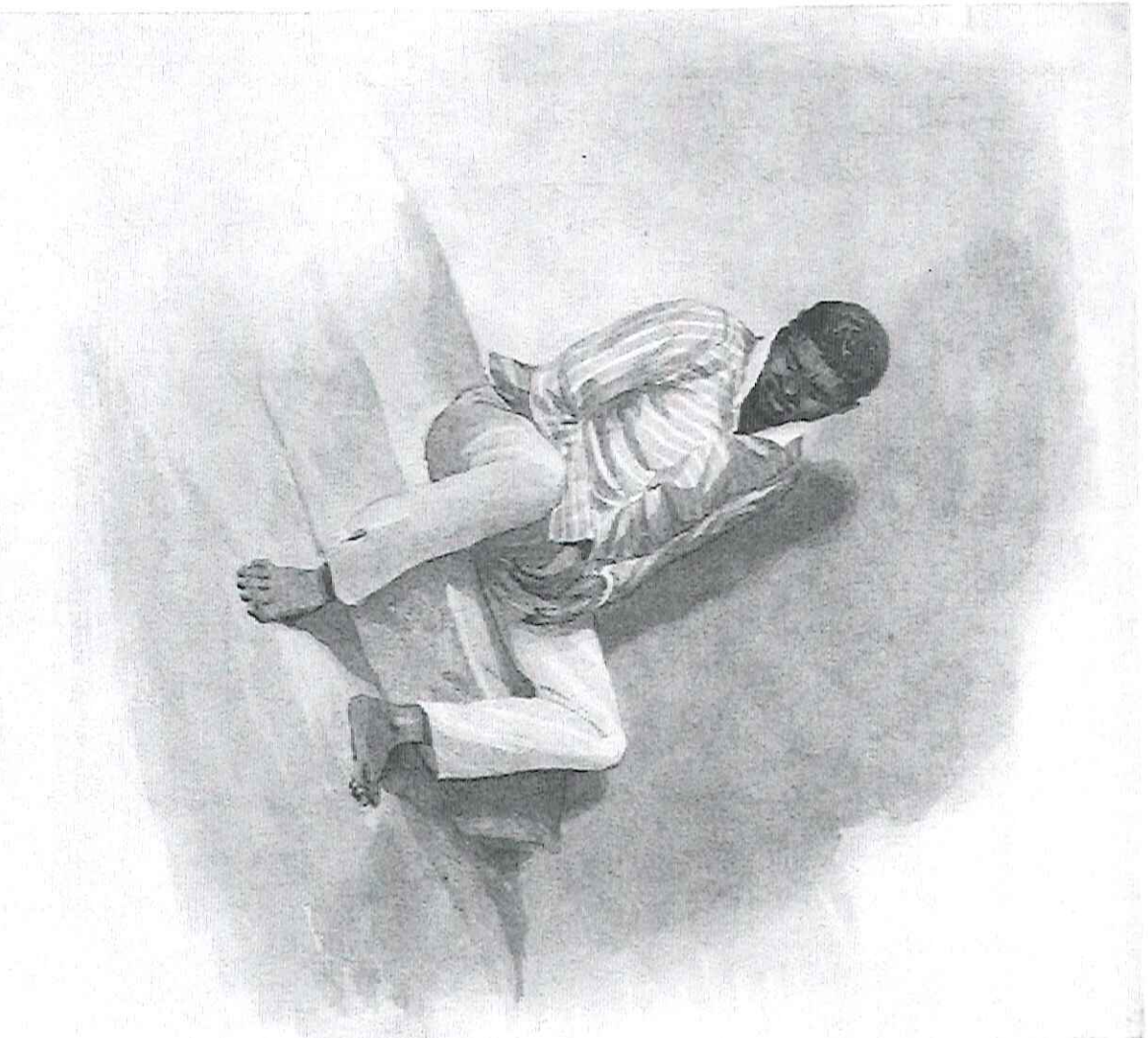
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PIC T143 NK12/105 LOC Box A38

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

A sleeping negro, Brazils [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 19.4 x 17.8 cm.



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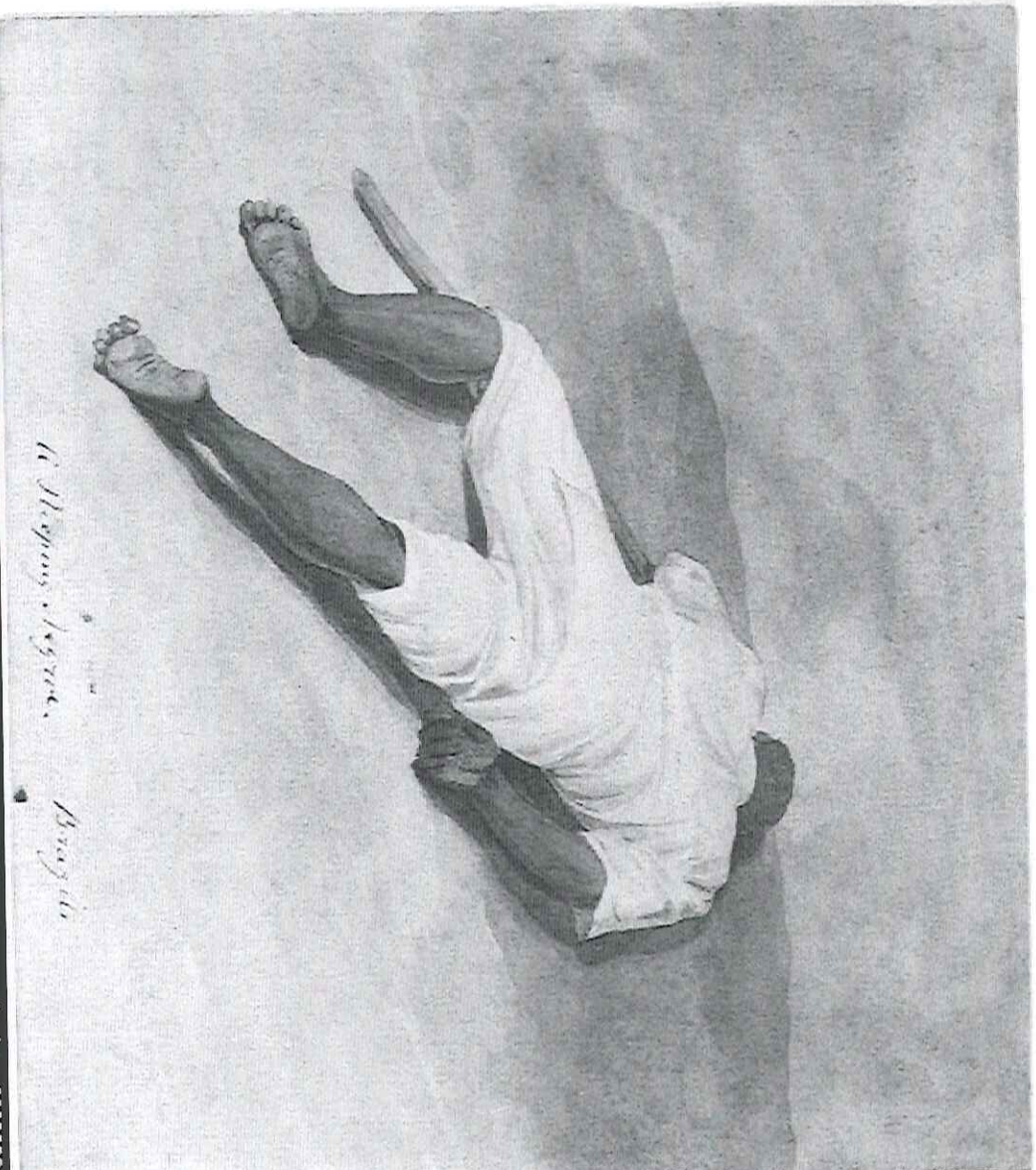
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PIC T144 NK12/106 LOCC Box A38

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

A sleeping negro, Brazils [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 18.1 x 21.3 cm.



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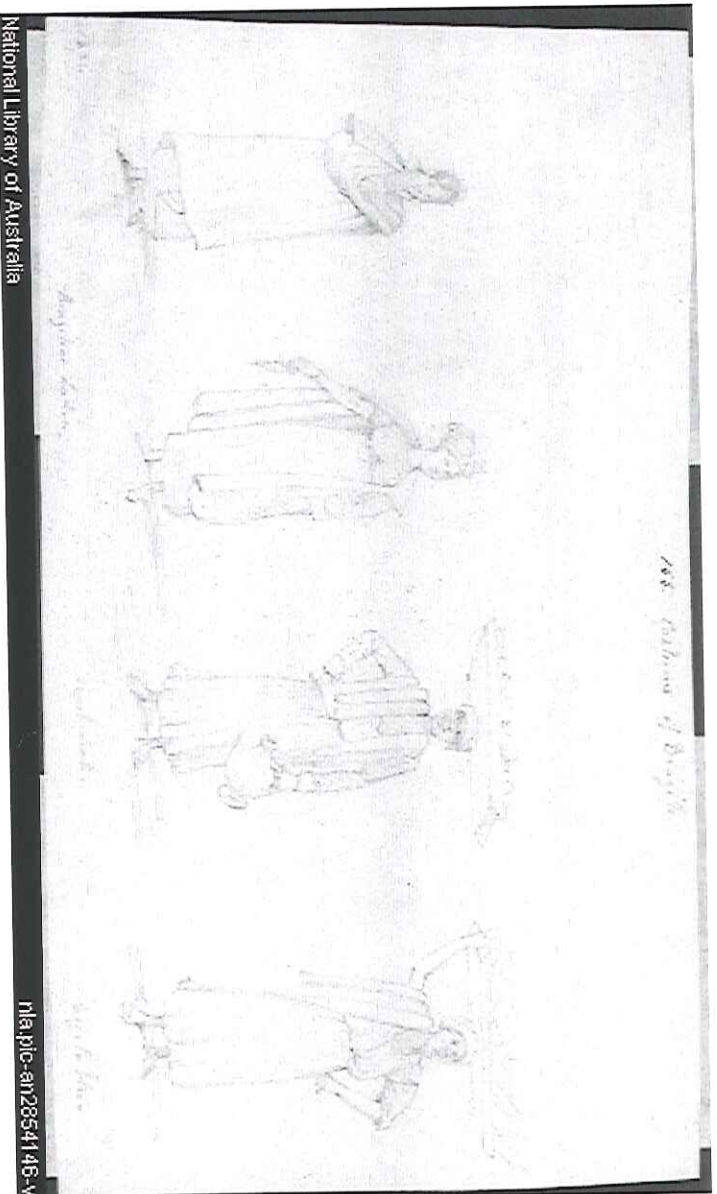
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PIC T192 NK12/155 LOCC Box A39

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

[Costume of Brazils, 4 figures 1824] [picture]

1824. 1 drawing : pencil ; 15.3 x 27.9 cm.



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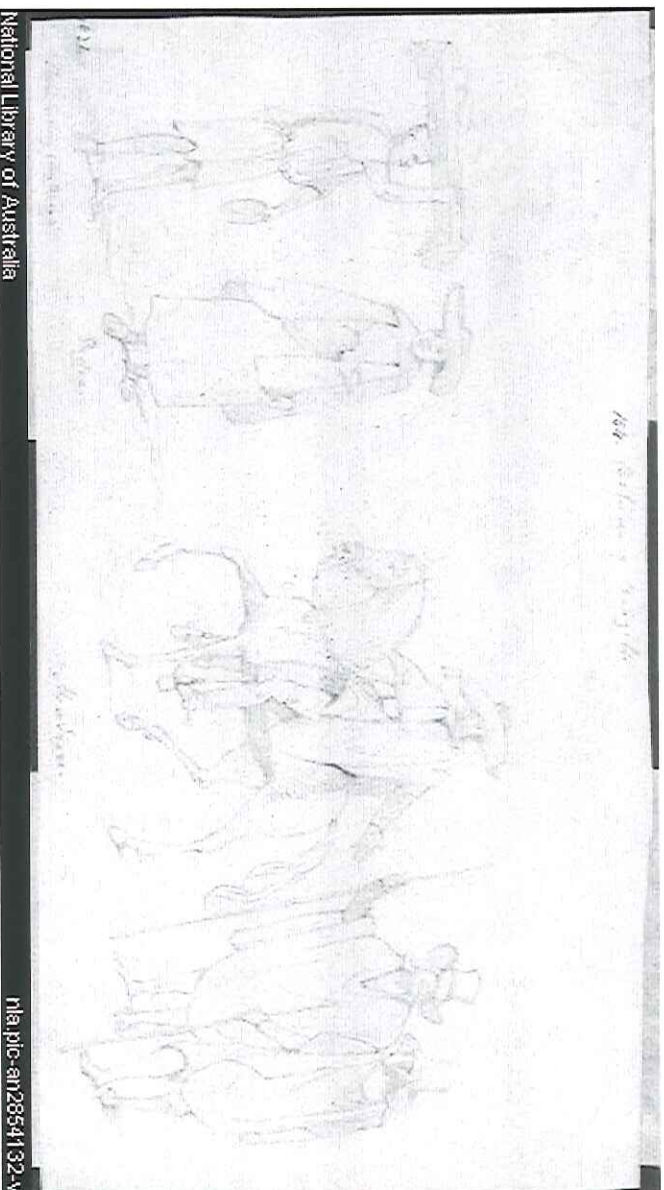


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PIC T191 NK12/154 LOC Box A39

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

[Costume of Brazils, man on horseback and four figures 1824] [picture]  
1824. 1 drawing : pencil ; 14.9 x 29.2 cm.



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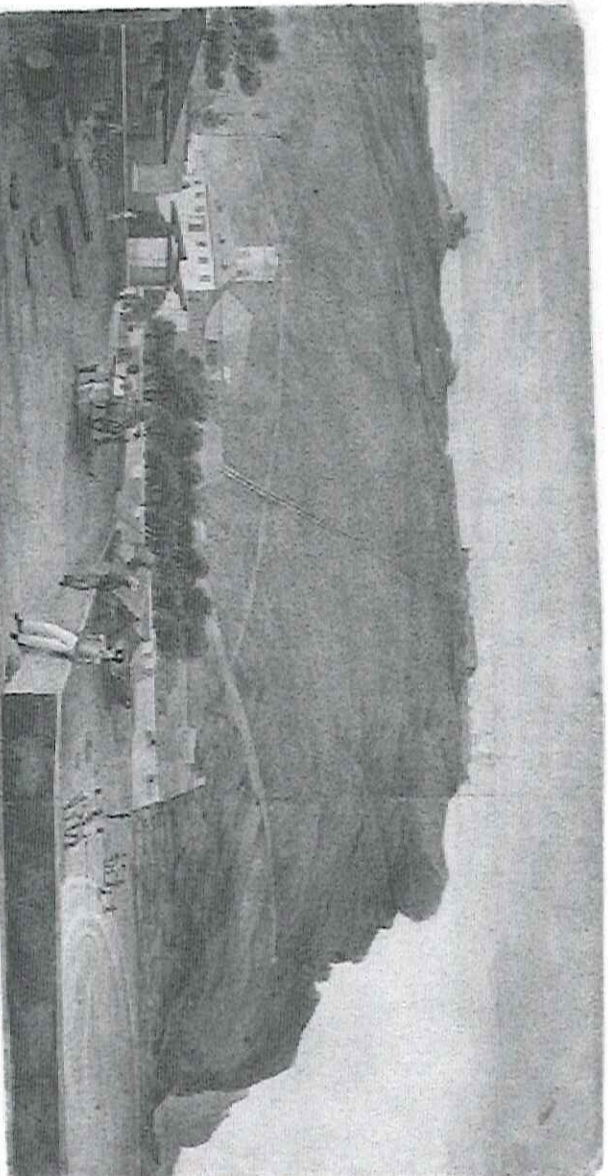
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PIC R11134 LOC Box C18

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

[A view of Jamestown and Ladder Hill, St. Helena, 1829] [picture]

[1829] 1 watercolour ; 30 x 60 cm.



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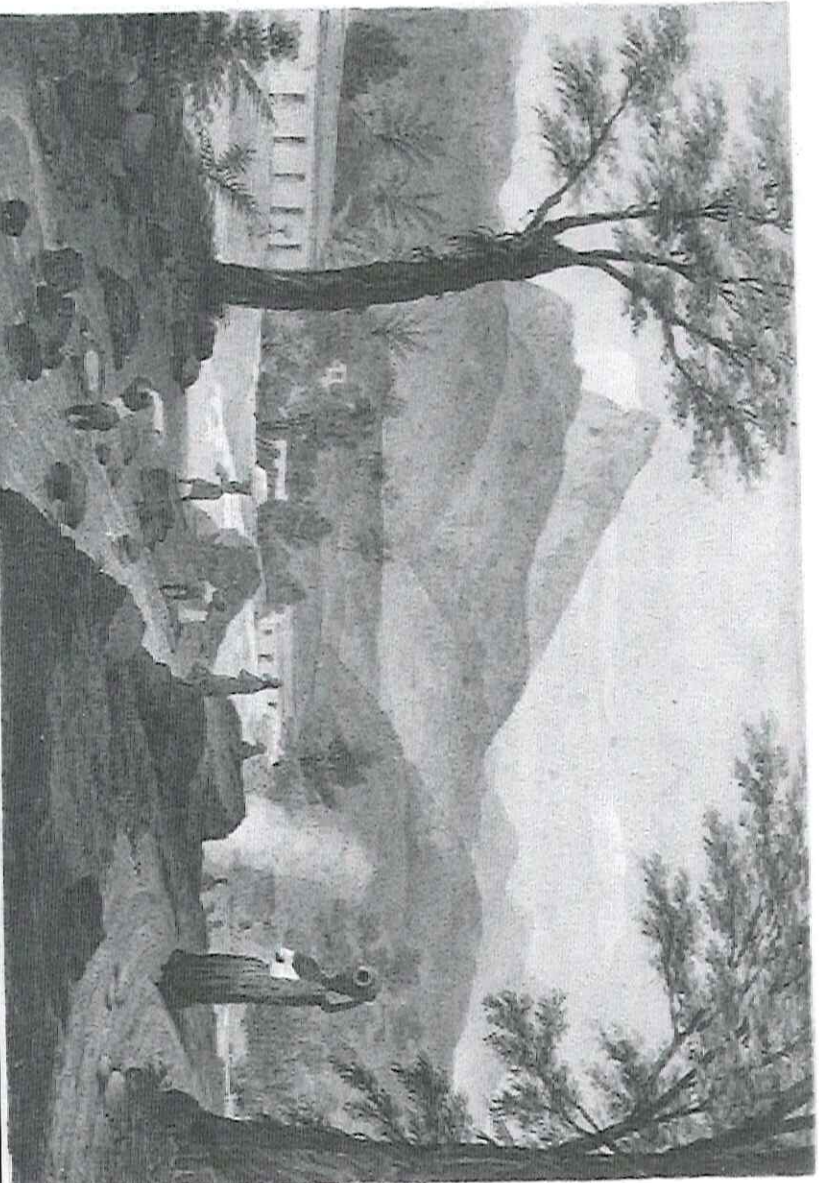
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PIC T134 NK12/96 LOC Box A38

Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

View near Rio de Janeiro [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 17.8 x 26 cm.



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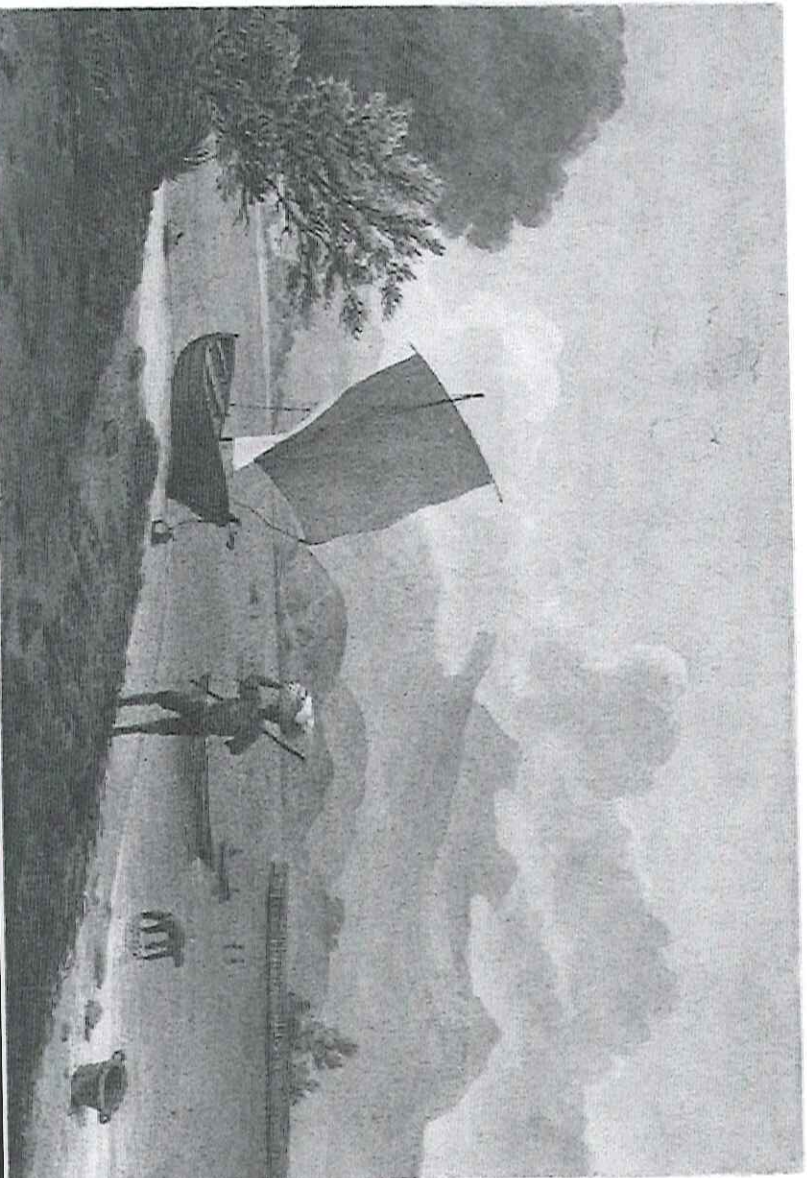
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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

Near Rio de Janeiro [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 17.2 x 26 cm.



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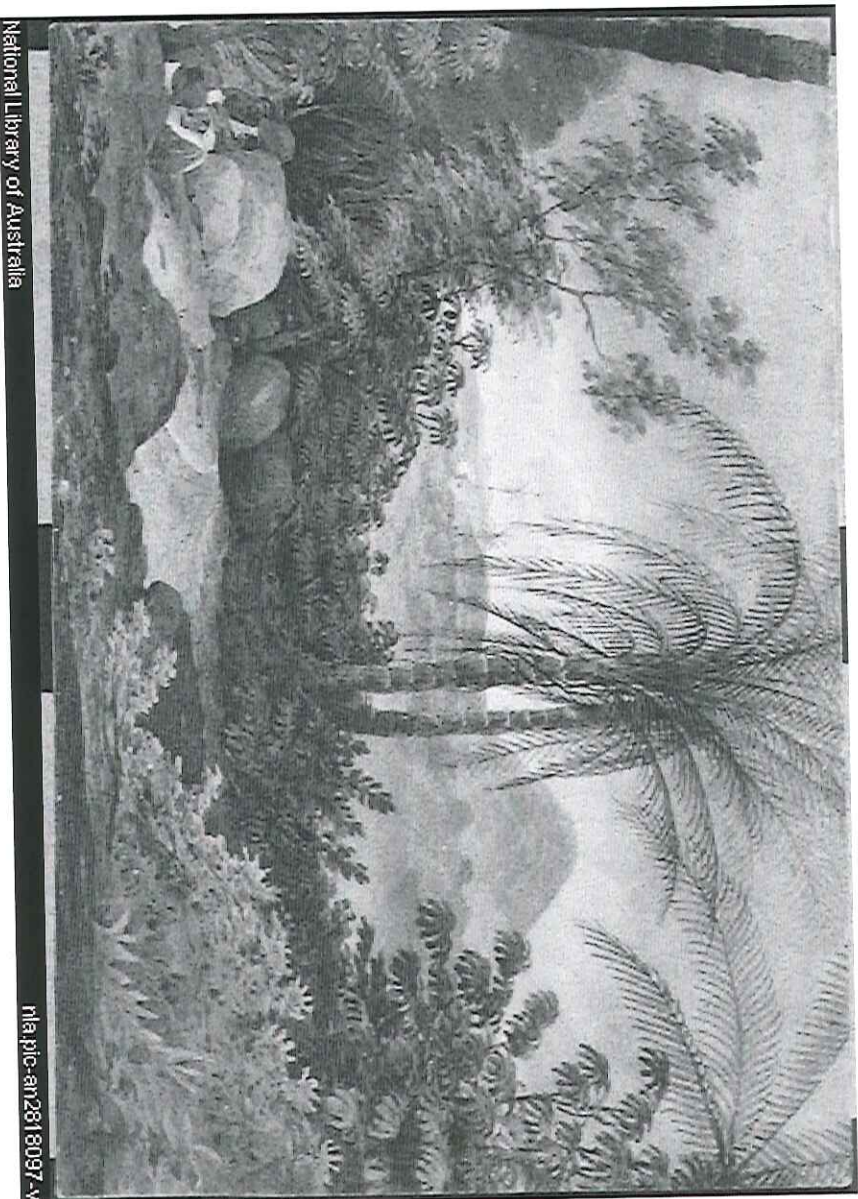
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nla.pic-an2818097  
PIC R290 LOC Box A31  
Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.  
[View near Rio de Janeiro] [picture]  
[182-?] 1 watercolour ; 16.1 x 24.2 cm.



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## 'The Hunted Slaves', Richard Ansdell, 1861



See image NW1P2P4

### Oil on canvas, 184 x 308cm Accession Number WAG3070

Painted in 1861, the year the American Civil War broke out, this dramatic picture shows two runaway slaves turning to face the dogs that have been set on them.

These animals could be seen as symbols of their white masters, but the escapees also face new dangers from their surroundings. A snake can be seen emerging from the bushes behind the woman.

The man is shown as a graceful, heroic and virile figure, reminiscent of such classical sculptures as the Laocoon and the Torso Belvedere.

The Civil War added topically to the image of slaves struggling for both their freedom and their lives. When it was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1861 the painting was accompanied by a quotation from the poem 'The Dismal Swamp' by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, describing an escaped slave's desperate flight. A passage from Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' also described a hunted slave attacked by dogs and may have inspired this piece.

Many Liverpool cotton merchants, who believed slavery kept cotton prices low, opposed the abolition of slavery. Blockades of Confederate ports during the war severely affected the Lancashire cotton mills. Ansdell donated this work to the Lancashire Cotton Relief Committee, who raised £700 through a lottery with it as the prize. The winner later gave the painting to the Corporation of Liverpool.



## 'The Hunted Slaves' 1861

Richard Ansdell (1815 - 1885)

Oil on canvas, 184 x 308cm

Accession number WAG 3070

*See Bird's nest*



The slave trade was abolished in Britain in 1807 but full emancipation of slaves in British territories was not achieved until 1834 and in France until 1848. In September 1862 (the second year of the American Civil War) in his Emancipation Declaration, President Lincoln stated that from the following January:

“...all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.”

While slavery still persisted, the theme of the fugitive slave was to become an important one in art on both sides of the Atlantic.

Painted in 1861, the year of the outbreak of the American Civil War, this picture portrays two runaway slaves, turning to face the pack of mastiffs which has pursued them. When the painting was first exhibited the artist included a quotation in the catalogue from the Henry Wadsworth Longfellow poem 'The Dismal Swamp', which describes the flight of an escaped slave. Interestingly the subject of Longfellow's poem is an old and quite pathetic figure, unlike the graceful heroic man in Ansdell's painting.

Both Longfellow's poem and Ansdell's painting are powerful indictments of the savage treatment which Black slaves suffered.

Abolitionist writings from the United States and Europe undoubtedly had an important impact on artists and writers. Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', which had been inspired by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, won immediate popularity throughout Europe. A passage in this book describing how a slave named Scipio was cornered by a pack of dogs in a swamp may have been the inspiration for Ansdell's painting.

Harriet Beecher Stowe had even visited Liverpool in 1853, where she addressed meetings on the evils of slavery. Her liberal views were not well received. Liverpool was heavily dependent upon the importation of raw cotton from the Southern States and the export of finished goods. Several Liverpool merchants enthusiastically supported the Southern Confederacy states. They believed that slavery kept cotton prices low, so its abolition would have a damaging effect on the economy of north west England.

The Federal blockade of the Confederate ports during the American Civil War prevented the export of much cotton, upon which the Lancashire cotton mills were dependent, leading to serious unemployment and hardship in the area. Ansdell actually presented this painting to the Lancashire Cotton Relief Committee, set up to relieve the suffering of mill workers. The Committee offered the painting as a prize in a lottery, raising £700 (equivalent to £35,000 today). The painting was won by Gilbert Moss of Liverpool, who gave it to the Corporation.

The painting was on display at the Walker Art Gallery, for many years. It is now in the 'Legacies' section of the International Slavery Museum.

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is a variation of a well-known oil painting by Spanish artist Victor Patricio de Landaluze. He made several versions of it.

Here is one: [http://www.artnet.com/Artists/LotDetailPage.aspx?lot\\_id=69E789A045EDAEE1A00B4720971D59BA0](http://www.artnet.com/Artists/LotDetailPage.aspx?lot_id=69E789A045EDAEE1A00B4720971D59BA0)

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Engraved versions of the second one were printed in nineteenth century

Cuba more than once. For a reproduction see "El cimarrón. Grabado sobre un óleo de Patricio Landaluze." in Manuel Moreno Fraginals: El ingenio, Editorial Ciencias Sociales, La Habana, 1978, t.I, p. 255-259. The actual imaged doesn't have a page number in this book.

Different variations of the image were identified as "la caza del cimarrón", "el cimarrón", o "negro cimarrón" but maybe those titles were informally assigned afterwards. I don't have a full reference for

the actual paintings but there is a book on Landaluze's work, published in 1998, that identifies many of his most famous pieces.

Almost all of them of them were painted in Cuba and many are related to slavery, so you could maybe add them to your excellent database,

Take care!

lv

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

Fugitive Slave Attacked by Dogs, 19th cent. (?)



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



If you are interested in using this image, please consult [Acknowledging the Website](#).

for - Mary Evans - MD  
 Bairdman - MD

Image Reference

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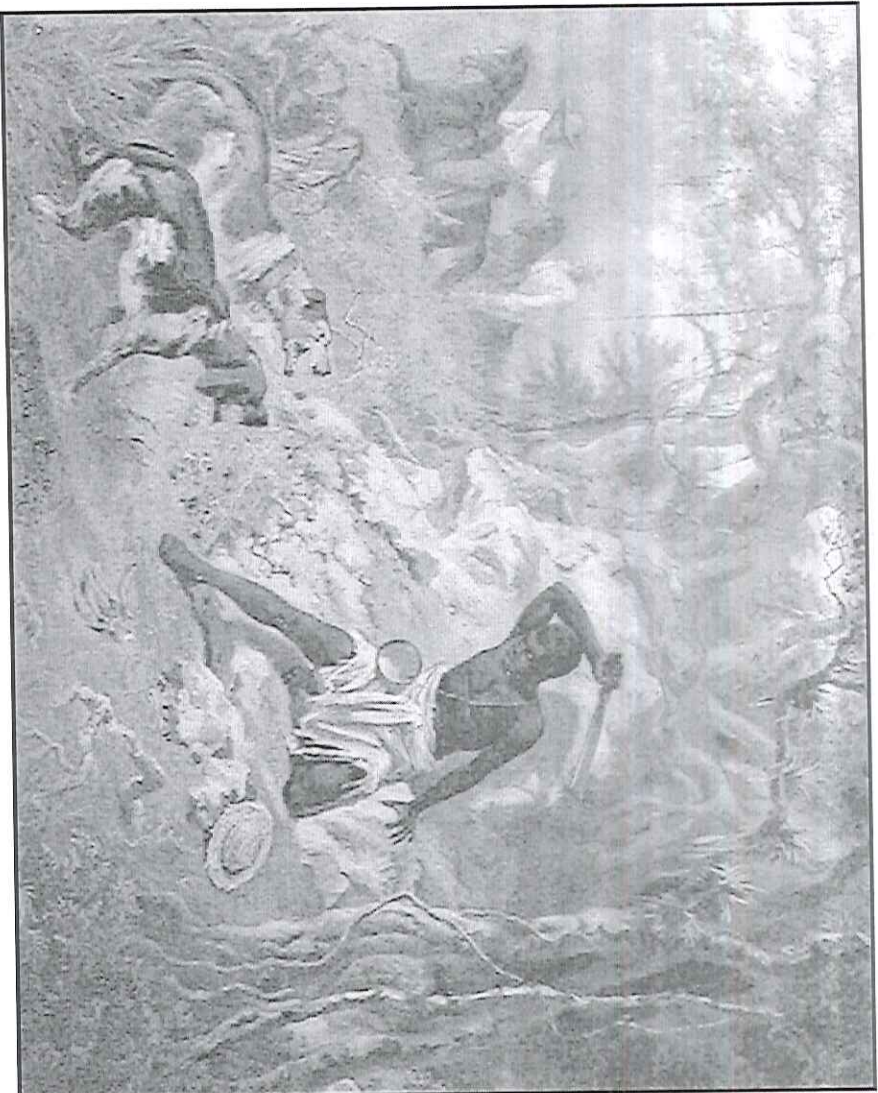
Isabelle Aguet, A Pictorial History of the Slave Trade (Geneva, Editions Minerva, 1971), plate 117 p. 110; original source not identified.

Comments

This seems to be cropped from a larger image, probably from an abolitionist publication; the area is unidentified.

~~Slave to Mary Evans MD~~





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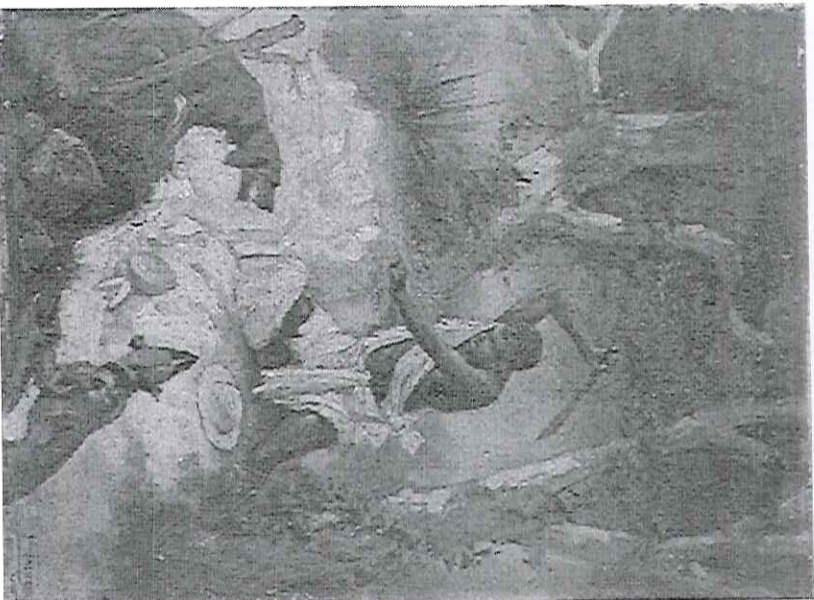
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## Victor Patricio Landaluze - Past Auction Results

**Victor Patricio Landaluze** - Past Auction Results

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**Victor Patricio Landaluze**

**Artist**  
**Title** At bay  
**Medium** oil on canvas  
**Size** 13.8 x 10.2 in. / 35 x 26 cm.  
**Description** Victor Patricio Landaluze (Spanish/Cuban, 1828-1889)

At bay  
 signed 'LANDALUZE' (lower right)  
 oil on canvas  
 35x 26cm (13 3/4x 10 1/4in).

**Misc.** Signed  
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 [Lot 172]  
 Exploration & Travel

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Bilbao : Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1998.

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7.  **Colecion de articulos : tipos y costumbres de la isla de Cuba, por los mejores autores de este género. Obra ilustrada por d. Victor Patricio de Landaluze. Fototipia Taveira. 1ra serie.**  
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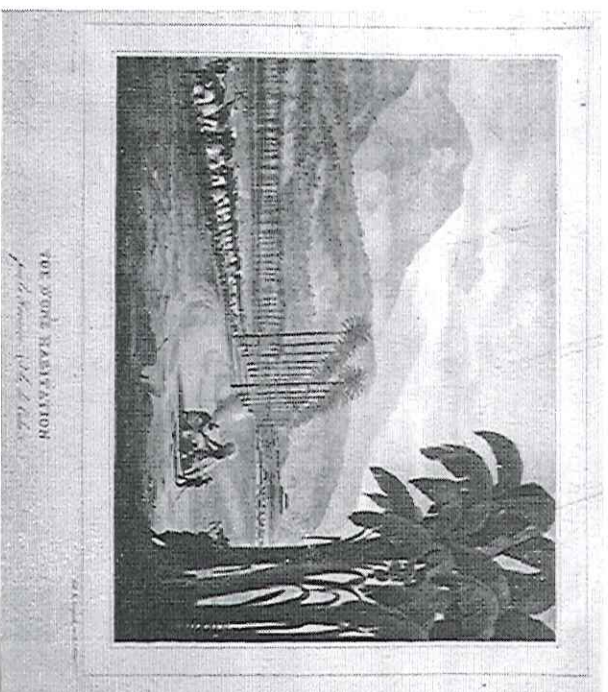
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► Les travaux d'Antonio d'Almeida Mendes, *Une histoire transcontinentale et transnationale de la traite moderne entre Atlantique et Méditerranée (XVe-XVIIe siècles, réalisés à l'école des hautes études des sciences sociales (EHESS), sous la direction de Bernard Vincent, répondent à l'autre objectif : montrer la dimension transcontinentale et transnationale de la traite négrière. Elle couvre plusieurs siècles. Le dépouillement d'archives portugaises et espagnoles, leur croisement, leur mise en communication des continents et des historiographies propose une méthodologie originale et pleine de possibilités.*

► La thèse *Réformisme et esclavage à Cuba (1835-1845)* de Karim Ghortbal, sous la direction de Bernard Lavallé, 2006 (université Paris III-Sorbonne nouvelle, UFR d'études ibériques et latino-américaines), répond au souci du CPMIE d'éclairer par l'analyse d'un territoire les dynamiques singulières et les effets d'événements extérieurs sur le système esclavagiste. La thèse éclaire les cheminement de l'abolitionisme dans une colonie, mettant en lumière les fondements des idées anti-esclavagistes et les contraintes qu'elles rencontrent.

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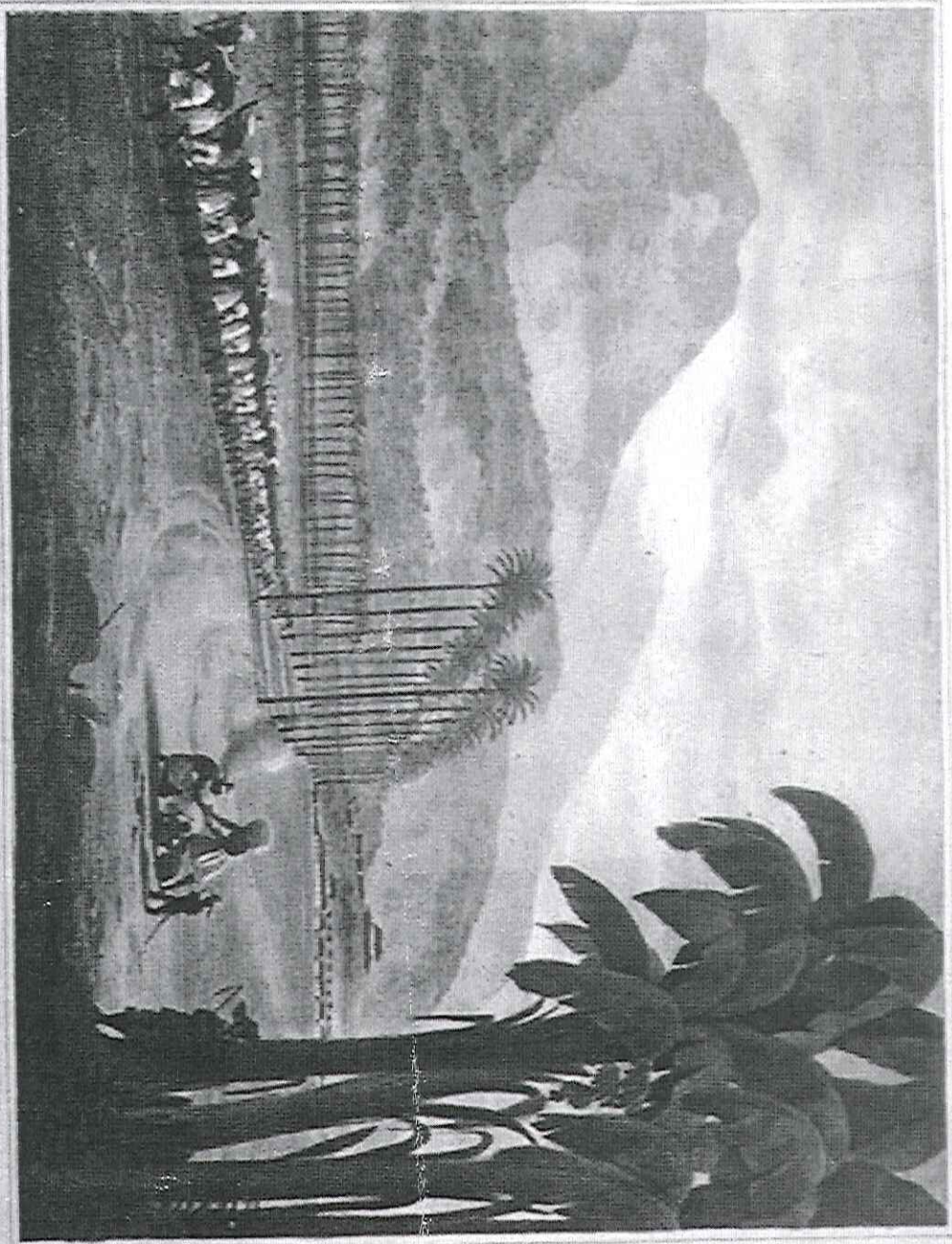
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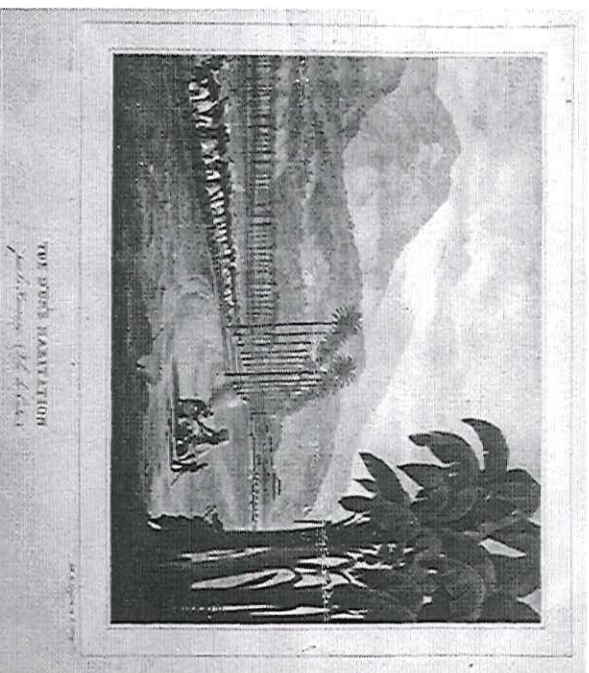
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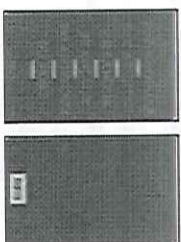
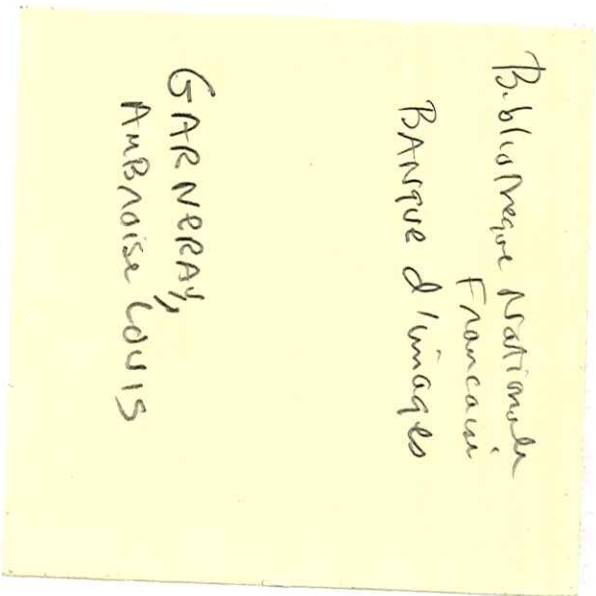
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cote cliché **RC-A-69038**  
légende **Vue du port de La Havane**  
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date du document **1830?**  
ou du recueil  
auteur(s) **Garnieray, Hippolyte (Graveur)**  
catégorie **Estampes**



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partie de **Recueil. Topographie de l'Amérique centrale et des des Antilles**  
auteur(s) **Garneray, Louis (Peintre)**  
**Garneray, Louis (Graveur)**  
catégorie **Estampes**




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| légende                        | Fort Royal, Martinique                                   |                                                                                       |
| département                    | Estampes et photographie                                 |                                                                                       |
| cote du document               | <b>DC-116 (E)-FOL</b>                                    |                                                                                       |
| complément cote document       | <b>Tome 5</b>                                            |                                                                                       |
| période du document            | XIXème siècle                                            |                                                                                       |
| date du document ou du recueil | 183.?                                                    |  |
| partie de                      | Vues générales des ports de mer...                       |                                                                                       |
| auteur(s)                      | <b>Garneray, Ambroise-Louis (1783-1857)</b><br>(Graveur) |                                                                                       |
| catégorie                      | Estampes                                                 |                                                                                       |
| note descriptive               | Epreuve en couleur                                       |                                                                                       |

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## Le pays des hommes libres et la patrie des braves (marché aux esclaves)

MIKAN No.: 2898027

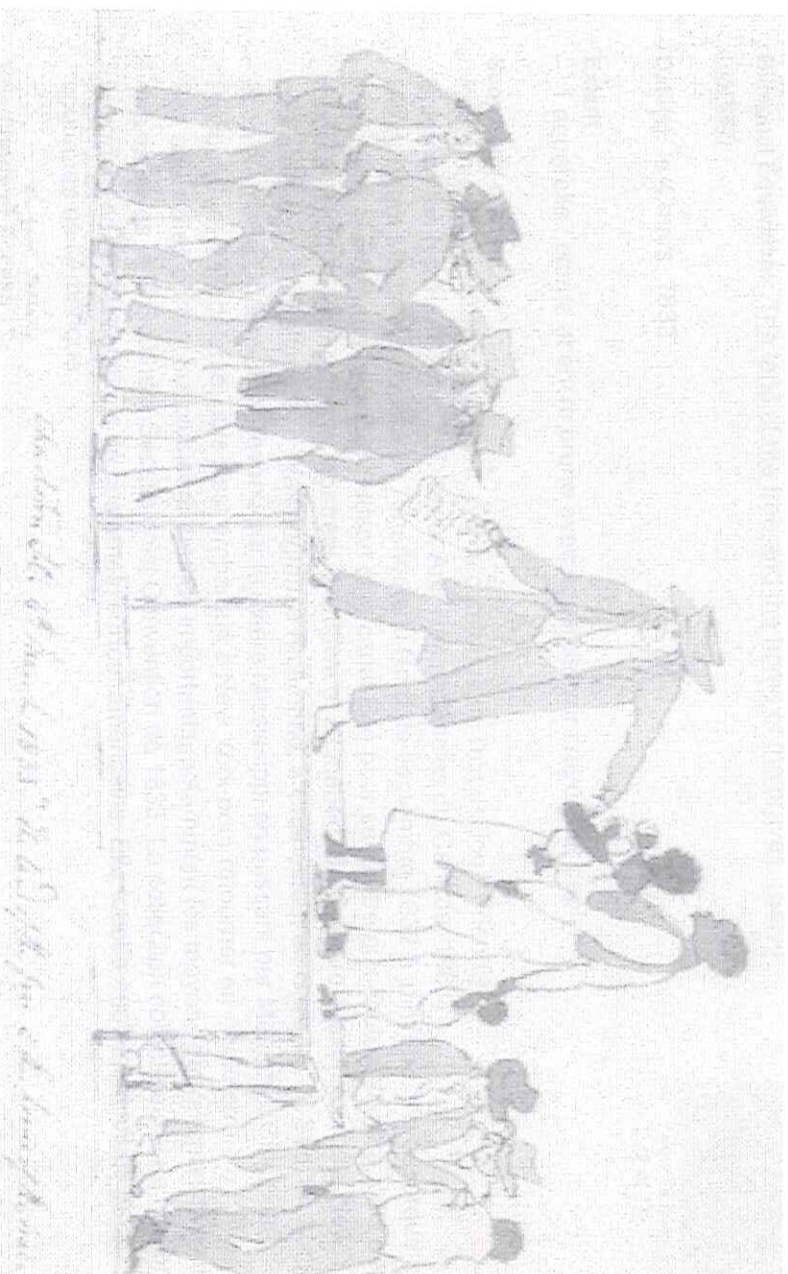
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1 of 1



c115001k

NOTE: This is in color



Created: 2005-08-07  
Updated: 2006-02-01

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**Additional name(s)**

Artist

Min, Henry Byam1804-1865**Reference Numbers**

Copy negative: C-115001

Item no. assigned by LAC: 00042

Other accession no.: 1981-042 PIC  
00042**Additional Information**Enlever de: Album: album de dessins exécutés au cours d'un voyage au Canada et aux États-Unis,  
1832-1833**Availability of other formats note**  
Transparent couleur disponible**Exhibitions note**

Titre d'exposition: Friendly Spies on the Northern Tour; 1815-1833; sketches by H.B. Martin.

Conservateurs: Jim Burant, Archives nationales du Canada, Ottawa, Ontario: 1981.04.02 - 1981.06.30.

Lieu de présentation supplémentaire: Market Gallery, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ontario;  
1982.01.23 - 1982.03.21.

Titre d'exposition: Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South.

Conservateurs: Kym S. Rice, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia; 1991.05.21 -  
1992.01.08.Titre d'exposition: Le Mouvement Antiesclavagiste au Canada. Conservateurs: Momryk, Myron,  
Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; 2001.02.12 - 2001.05.27.**Signatures and inscriptions**

Inscrit. Signé. Daté.

Inscription: recto, au crayon, b. g. : Nigger Selling; à la plume et à l'encre brune, b. : Charleston S.C. 4th  
March 1833 "The land of the free & home of the braves".

autre

SUJET - AUTRES MARCHÉ AUX ESCLAVES EN CAROLINE DU SUD - 1833

ART - MARTIN HENRY BYAM (1804-1865)

**Subject heading**

Charleston S. Carolina

**Source.**

Private

**Other system control no.:**

ICON184491

**MIKAN No.**  
2898027**Archives Search**Search Only: [Library](#), [Archives](#), [Website](#), [Search All](#).[Basic Search](#)  
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## Description found in Archives

### The land of the free and the home of the braves. (Slave market)

**Bilingual Equivalent:** Le pays des hommes libres et la patrie des braves (marché aux esclaves)

**Date(s):** March 4, 1833



[View Online](#)  
(1 of 1)

#### Extent

1 watercolour / aquarelle : pen and brown ink with watercolour over pencil on paper

#### Scope and content

See the exhibition catalogue, "Friendly Spies on the Northern Tour..." (Ottawa, National Archives of Can, 1981) for further information on Martin. Watercolours and drawings recording Henry Byam Martin's sojourn in North America from September 1832 to June 1833. He landed in New York, travelled via the Hudson River and Erie Canal to Niagara Falls, then proceeded to Toronto, Kingston, Montréal, Ottawa and Québec City. From Québec he returned to New York, and then travelled to Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, South Carolina, Alabama, and then to New Orleans. He returned up the Mississippi River via Memphis, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh to Philadelphia and then embarked at New York to return to England. Many important subjects, including methods of transport, the slave trade, and the Southern Secessionist Convention in 1833 are included in the watercolours. The collection also important for its depiction of costumes, particularly American and for its commentary on the American manners and customs.

#### Conditions of Access

Graphic (art)  
(Copy negative) C-115001  
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(Item no. assigned by LAC) 00042  
Graphic (art)

90: Open

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90: Open

nil

90: Open

nil

#### Terms of use

Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1981-42-42 Source: Dr. Nigel Davies, Gelati, Mexico.

Copyright: Expired

#### Additional name(s)

Artist

Min, Henry Byam1804-1865

#### Reference Numbers

Copy negative: C-115001

Item no. assigned by LAC: 00042

Other accession no.: [1981-042 PIC 00042](#)

**Additional Information**

Removed from: Album: an album of drawings taken during a trip through Canada and the United States, 1832-1833

**Availability of other formats note**

Colour transparency available

**Exhibitions note**

Exhibition title: Friendly Spies on the Northern Tour; 1815-1833; sketches by H.B. Martin. Curators: Jim Burant, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; 1981.04.02 - 1981.06.30. Further venue: Market Gallery, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ontario; 1982.01.23 - 1982.03.21.

Exhibition title: Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South. Curators: Kym S. Rice, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia; 1991.05.21 - 1992.01.08.

Exhibition title: The Anti-Slavery Movement in Canada. Curators: Momryk, Myron, Library and Archives Canada , Ottawa, Ontario; 2001.02.12 - 2001.05.27.

**Signatures and inscriptions**

Inscribed. Signed. Dated.

Inscription: Inscribed recto: in pencil, l.l. "Nigger Selling"; in pen and brown ink, bottom, "Charleston S.C. 4th March 1833 "The land of the free & home of the braves"".

other

SUBJ. - Other : Depicting Slave Market in South Carolina - 1833

ART. - Martin Henry Byam (1804-1865)

**Subject heading**

Charleston S. Carolina

**Source.**

Private

**Other system control no.:**

ICON858

**MIKAN No.**

2833438

Created: 2005-08-07  
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From: "CBA P&D" <pdbac@pantheon.yale.edu>

Subject: RE: James Johnson engravings

Date: Thu, 2 Jul 2009 13:05:58 -0400

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

Cc: "Fairman, Elisabeth" <elisabeth.fairman@yale.edu>

HTML TEXT

Dear Mr. Handler

Thank you for writing to the Yale Center for British Art.

These engravings of the West Indies by J. Johnson, a series of colored aquatints in three parts, are kept in the Center's Rare Book and Manuscript Collection. The call number for this book is T 687 Folio A. It is part of the J.R. Abbey Collection.

I have attached here the Abbey catalog's description of the aquatints. If you need more information than what the catalog entry provides, please feel free to write to Elisabeth Fairman, Senior Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at Elisabeth.Fairman@Yale.edu. If you would like to purchase copies of any of these aquatints please address your request to Maria Singer at photobac@pantheon.yale.edu.

Sincerely,

John M. Monahan  
Senior Curatorial Assistant  
Department of Prints and Drawings  
Yale Center for British Art

-----Original Message-----

From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu]

Sent: Thursday, July 02, 2009 11:01 AM

To: pdbac@pantheon.yale.edu













Subject: James Johnson engravings















Dear Mr. Monahan. For years I have been involved in the creation of a website on slavery in the New World (see URL below). A friend has recently brought my attention to engravings by James Johnson, a Series of Views in the West Indies (1827-1829). I cant find any description of these on-line in your catalog and wonder if you have some detailed information on these engravings that you could send me. Sincerely, Jerome Handler



Jerome Handler  
Senior Scholar  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Dr.  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
(434) 924-3296  
fax (434) 296-4714

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record  
<http://www.slaveryimages.org>

 **Attachment:** JJohnsonView.pdf (201Kbytes)

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# TRAVEL

IN AQUATINT AND LITHOGRAPHY

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Volume II

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LONDON

PRIVATELY PRINTED

AT THE CURWEN PRESS

1957

Central America  
R.F. 506.2 L 2-7-63  
678 [JOHNSON, J.]

VIEWS IN THE WEST INDIES

[1827-9] Parts

JA1847

TEXT: None.

SIZE: Oblong folio. Wrappers: 19×24½ in. Text and plates: 17½×24 in.; uncut.

WARNMARKS: Plates: J Whatman/1827, 1826, H S & S 1822, J Whatman/1828 (Part 3). Text: J Whatman/1827, H S & S 1825, G H Green/1829. Map: J. Whatman/1828.

BINDING: Three parts, original buff printed wrappers; front wrappers reading within ornamental border: No 1 [2, 3 (all figures in MS.)] of a series of Views in the West Indies; / Engraved from Drawings taken recently in the Islands; / with letter press explanations made from actual observation. / (rule) / The intention of this Work is to convey a faithful outline of the existing State of Slavery on the Plantations in the British Islands;—the Costume of the Negroes;—Process of Sugar Making, &c.; / combining at the same time a Selection of such Scenes calculated to form Pictures, and describe the Character of the Scenery in the several Colonies. / (rule) / Each Number to contain Four Views, coloured to imitate Drawings. / Names of Subscribers received by the Publishers, and by all Booksellers. / (thin and thick rule) / London: / Published by Messrs Underwood, Fleet-Street; / Davison, Whitefriars. Part 3 with ownership on imprint, reading: Smith Elder & Co. Cornhill, pasted over Messrs. Underwood, Fleet-Street. The new wording appears to have been carefully lettered in ink, by hand.

TEXT:

Part 1:

Prospectus, 8vo inset, advertising the publication by Smith Elder of a new map of Antigua, and plates of the West Indies, 1 leaf; Text, 4 leaves, versos blank.

Part 2:

Prospectus of a map of Antigua, as in Part 1, 1 leaf; Text, 4 leaves, versos blank.

Part 3:

1 leaf, recto 'List of Estates', verso 'Governors of Antigua', Text, 3 leaves; inset, 'Advertisement', 1 leaf, 5½×9¾ in.

MAP:

Part 3:

1. New and Improved Map of the Island of Antigua. Coloured.

PLATES: Signed: Drawn by J. Johnson; engraver as given; imprint: Nos. 1 to 8: London Published [date as given] by T. & G. Underwood, Fleet Street, Nos. 9 to 11: London Published [date as given], by Smith & Elder, Cornhill.

Part 1:

1. View of Saint John's Harbour, Antigua. / From Friar's Hill. Feby 1 1827.



## Central America

2. View in Old North Sound, Antigua, February 1 1827. 'Proof' at bottom right.
3. English Harbour, Antigua./From Great George Fort, Monks Hill. Engraved by T. Fielding; 1 May 1827.
4. View in Tortola./From Ruthy Hill. Engraved by T. Fielding; 1st May 1827.

Part 2:

5. Kingstown, Saint Vincent./From Sion Hill. Engraved by T. Fielding; 1st May 1827.
6. Calligua, Saint Vincent./From the Villa Estate. Engraved by T. Fielding; 1st May 1827.
7. View of the Soufriere Mountain, Saint Vincent./From the Wallbou Estate. Engraved by T. Fielding; Feb. 1 1827. 'Proof' at bottom right.
8. View in the Island of Saint Christopher./In the Parish of Nicola Town. Engraved by T. Fielding; Feb. 1 1827. 'Proof' at bottom right.

Part 3:

9. Saint John's, Antigua./From Otto's. Engraved by C. Bentley; March 1st 1829.
10. Saint John's Harbour, Antigua./From the Southward and Eastward. Engraved by C. Bentley; July 1st 1829.
11. View near St John's Antigua./From Gamble's. Engraved by G. Reeve; July 1 1829.

NOTES: Coloured aquatints.

Prideaux, pages 255, 336; Tooley (1954), No. 285. Published at £1. 11s. 6d. each part, according to an announcement by Thomas and George Underwood in 1823. Whether Smith, Elder adhered to this price is not known.

The T. Fielding is probably Theodore, as is stated by Prideaux, page 336. On page 255, however, she ascribes the book to one Johnson Fielding, a mistake presumably for Johnson and Fielding.

Parts 1 and 2 appeared in 1827 under the auspices of Underwood, who evidently failed to make it a success, for nothing further appeared until 1829, when the part containing three plates and a map was published by Smith Elder. Publication then ceased, and the 'Advertisement' slip at the beginning of the last part gives a glimpse of the difficulties: *Advertisement.* / (rule) / *In order to meet the objections that have been made to the form in which these Views have hitherto been published, and to enable purchasers to select scenes in one particular island, each Number will in future contain Views in one island only.* / Nos 4. and 5. will complete Antigua. / (rule) / *The great expense incidental to publishing a work of this description (dependant for its support chiefly upon the very limited number of persons connected with the Colonies,) compels the Publishers to solicit the Names of Subscribers, to enable them to proceed with confidence in its future progress. For this purpose, they have opened Subscription Lists for each of the several Colonies, to be proceeded with, according to the number of Names subscribed.* / \* \* *Proprietors of Estates, and other persons, in possession of Views which they*

might wish to have introduced in the Work, will have the goodness to communicate the same to the Publishers. Parts 4 and 5 do not seem to have been published. Thus finished one of the most ambitious projects in aquatint colonial views; a pity, for these plates are excellent. The cheaper lithograph was now well established, and was making inroads into the market for illustrated books.

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10 copies

YCBA C. Benoit

July 1, 2005

Johle Carter for  
Barkish out

~~Bellefleur, L. M.~~

~~1838 Sketches of Character, In Illustration of the Habits, Occupation, and Costume of the Negro Population, in the Island of Jamaica, Drawn from Nature, and in Lithography. 3 vols. Kingston, Jamaica: J. R. De Cordova.~~

~~Bridgens, Richard~~

~~1836 West India Scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character, The Process of Making Sugar, &c. from Sketches Taken During a Voyage to, and Residence of Seven years in, The Islands of Trinidad. London: Robert Jennings & Co.~~

~~Caddy, Lieutenant J. H.~~

~~1837 Scenery of the Windward and Leeward islands.~~

~~Cazabon, M. F. <sup>Michel</sup>~~

~~1851 Views of Trinidad from drawings by J. M. Cazabon. Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier.~~

~~Clark, William (drawings made)~~

~~1823 Ten views of the island of Antigua in which are represented the Process of Sugar Making, and the Employment of the Negroes, in the Field, Boiling-House, and Distillery from Drawings made by William Clark, During a residence of Three Years in the West Indies, Upon the Estates of Admiral Tallemach. London: ~~Thomas Clay~~~~

~~Debret, Jean-Baptiste~~

~~1851 Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil.~~

~~Eckstein, John~~

~~1805 Picturesque Views of the Diamond Reef.~~

~~Forrest, Lieutenant Charles~~

~~1783-1785 [Views in the West Indies].~~

~~Gosse, Philip H.~~

~~1851 A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.~~

~~Guilding, The Rev. Lansdown~~

~~1825 An Account of the Botanic Garden in the Island of St Vincent.~~

~~Hakewill, James~~

~~1825 A picturesque tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821. London: Hurst and Robinson.~~

~~c. 1820/1821 Six Watercolours Bound in a Volume, with ms notes, paperclipping.~~

\* Johnson, James

Nº1, 2, 3 of a Series of Views in the West Indies: Engraved from Drawings taken recently in the Islands: With letter press explanations made from actual observation - The intention of this Work is to convey a faithful outline of

the existing State of Slavery on the Plantations in the British Islands; \_\_\_ the Costume of the Negroes; \_\_\_ Process of Sugar Making, &c. : combining at the

same time a selection of such Scenes calculated for form Pictures, and describe the Character of the Scenery in the several Colonies. Each number to countain

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four views, coloured or imitate Drawings. names of Subscribers received by the Publishers, and by all booksellers. 3, 1829 for vol. 3, 1827 for vol. 1 & 2 vols. London: Messrs. Underwood vol. N° 1 & 2, Smith Elder, and Co. Cornhill N° 3, .

Kidd, Joseph B.

1838-1840 West Indian Scenery, Illustrations of Jamaica in a Series of Views, comprising the Principal Towns, Public Buildings, Estates, and most Picturesque Scenery of the Island. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

~~Lloyd, Susette-Harrier~~

~~1835 Sketches of Bermuda.~~

~~Morris David~~

1985 Thomas Hearne, 1744-1817, watercolours and drawings : a catalogue of a touring exhibition held at : Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, 17 August-28 September, 1985, Southampton Art Gallery, 2 November-8 December, 1985 [and] Victoria Art Gallery, Bath 14 Decem.

~~Porter, Lieutenant Whitworth [?], and Mrs Porter~~

~~1849 Views in the Island of Dominica.~~

~~Price, Richard, and Saffy Price~~

1988 John Gabriel Stedman's Narrative of a Five Years Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam In Guiana on the Wild Coast of South-America from the year 1772 to the year 1777. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Robertson, Rev. (Robert)

1732 A detection of the state and situation of the present sugar planters, of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands : with an answer to this query, why does not England, or her sugar islands, or both, make and settle more sugar colonies in the West-Indies? / written in the month of December 1731, by an inhabitant of one of His Majesty's Leeward Caribee Islands ; and humbly dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole ... London: J. Wilford.

~~Samuel, The Rev. Peter~~

~~1850 The Wesleyan-Methodist Missions, in Jamaica and Honduras.~~

~~Schomburgk, Sir Robert Hermann~~

~~1847-1848 The History of Barbados.~~

~~St. Clair, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Staunton~~

~~1834 A Residence in the West Indies and America. 2 vols.~~

~~Stedman, J. G.~~

1796 Narrative of a Five years' expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the year 1772, to 1777, elucidating the History of that Country, and describing its Productions, Viz. Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots; with an account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea. 2 vols. London: J. J. Johnson & P. Edwards.

~~Whitty, Captain I. S.~~

~~1839 View in the Vicinity of the City of Kingston, Jamaica.~~

Williams, Cynric R.

1826 A Tour through the Island of Jamaica. London: Printed for Hunt & Clarke.

~~Willyams, The Rev. Cooper~~

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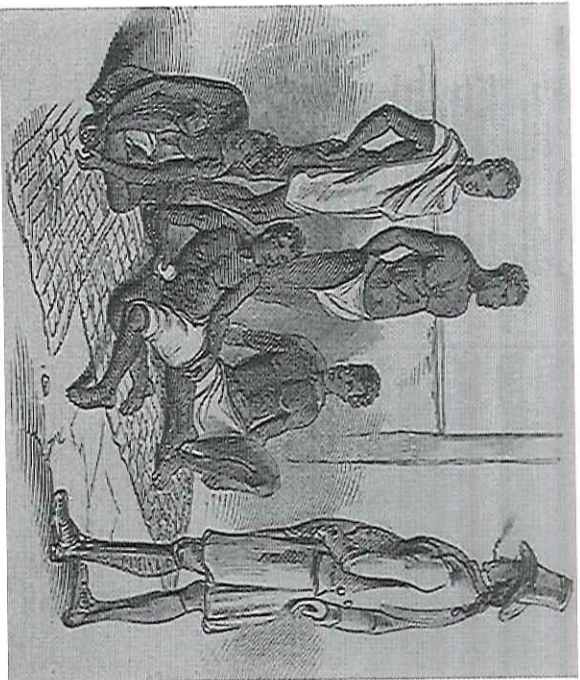
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Picture No 10045765

Date 1845

Description SLAVE MARKET, RIO

Details Scene in the Slave Market of Rio - a 'Lord of the Soil' estimating the 'flesh value' of recent importations - 'Nothing can be more calculated to shock...'

Source engraving by an unnamed artist in The Pictorial Times, 1847

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Earle, Augustus, 1793-1838.

Games during the carnival at Rio de Janeiro [picture]

[ca. 1822] 1 watercolour ; 21.6 x 34 cm.



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## Earle Collection

Augustus Earle (1793-1838), the son of an American artist, was born in London and may have studied painting at the Royal Academy. In 1815 he visited Sicily and Malta and spent some time in the Mediterranean, sketching antiquities, Moorish ruins and batteries. In 1818 he travelled in the United States and in 1820-23 he lived in Brazil and other parts of South America. In 1824 he embarked for India, but the ship was driven by a storm to Tristan da Cunha, where he was marooned for eight months. He was rescued by the Admiral Cockburn, which brought him to Hobart in 1825. He arrived in Sydney later in the same year.

Earle spent a little over three years in Australia, where he painted landscapes, studies of Aborigines and portraits of colonial notables. He travelled widely, including the Blue Mountains, Wellington Valley, the Hunter River, Port Macquarie and the Illawarra. He held exhibitions in Sydney and in 1826 published *Views in Australia*. In 1827-28 he spent several months in New Zealand. In late 1828 he left Sydney and travelled to the Caroline Islands, Manila, Singapore, India and Mauritius, finally reaching London in 1830. In 1831 he joined HMS Beagle as artist supernumerary and became a friend of Charles Darwin. However, declining health forced him to leave the ship at Montevideo in 1832. His place was taken by Conrad Martens.

Earle was the author of *Views in New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land* (1830), *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827, Together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan D'Acunha* (1832) and *Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants and Islands of New Zealand* (1838)

*Views in New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land* (1830)

*A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827, Together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan*

*D'Acunha* (1832)

*Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants and Islands of New Zealand* (1838)

Augustus Earle was the first professional artist to work in Australia. As a freelance travel artist, he had enormous curiosity about new lands and exotic peoples and a concern to depict them as accurately as possible. According to Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, 'Earle combines a Romantic response to nature with an acutely scientific interest in the accurate delineation of form'. Unlike Joseph Lycett and other contemporaries, he tried to capture the open nature of Australian trees and their olive-blue character. His figure studies vary in quality, but in several of his Australian works he conveyed the gradual degradation of the Indigenous peoples as a result of contact with Europeans, at the same time portraying the lingering dignity of some Aborigines.

## Acquisition

A watercolour view near Rio de Janeiro, which is now attributed to Earle, was bought by E.A. Petherick in 1887 and was acquired by the Library as part of the Petherick Collection in 1909. All the other paintings and drawings of Earle are in the Nan Kivell Collection. They were deposited in the Library by Rex Nan Kivell in 1948 and were formally acquired in 1959. They had originally been in the possession of Admiral William Henry Smyth, Earle's half-brother, and were sold by his grandson at a Sotheby's sale in 1926. They were bought by a dealer, Walter Spencer, who subsequently sold them to Nan Kivell.





## References

- Hackforth-Jones, Jocelyn, *Augustus Earle, Travel Artist: Paintings and Drawings in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1980.
- McDonald, Patricia, *The Wandering Artist: Augustus Earle's Travels Round the World, 1820-29*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1996.
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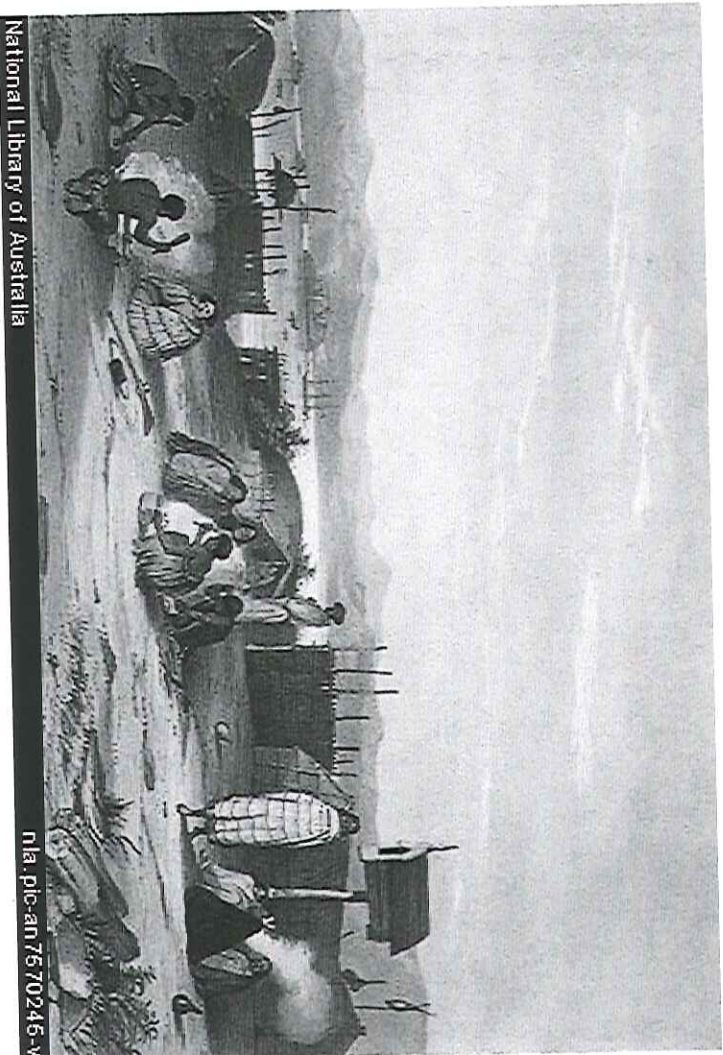
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To: jh3v@virginia.edu

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Regards

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From: "Wessel, Madelyn (mfw2y)"  
 <mfw2y@eservices.virginia.edu>

Subject: RE: advice

Date: Tue, 13 Jul 2010 10:26:43 -0400

To: "Handler, Jerome (jh3v)" <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Wording seems fine to me.

-----Original Message-----  
 From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu]  
 Sent: Tuesday, July 13, 2010 10:24 AM  
 To: Wessel, Madelyn (mfw2y)  
 Subject: Re: advice

thanks for rapid response. see below  
 On Jul 13, 2010, at 10:00 AM, Wessel, Madelyn  
 (mfw2y) wrote:

- > Hi Jerry:
- >
- > A few issues to take into account:
- > (1) You can't sell what you don't own; so obviously you would have to be careful not to deliver images for commercial uses in which you do not own the copyright (or that are not clearly in the public domain).
- yes. would only do stuff in public domain;

not copyrighted

> (2) The university is very fussy about fees/charges/and audit/accounting when money comes in. Before launching anything that would bring in money, you need to talk with VFH folks to be sure you are complying with applicable policies.  
-----yup

> (3) You should think about the practical logistics, as in, how are you going to administer a process/ checks? Visa/MasterCard (brings a ton of compliance stuff)

-----would only take checks and we process them here.

> > It may not be worth it once you look into all these details, but that's up to you!

-----i assume, from above, that our wording is ok? right? j

> > > > Best, Madelyn

> Madelyn Wessel  
> Associate General Counsel  
> University of Virginia  
> P.O. Box 400114  
> Charlottesville, VA 22904-4114  
> Tel: 434-982-2941  
> FAX: 434-924-1431  
> wessel@virginia.edu

> > -----Original Message-----

> From: Jerome Handler

[mailto:jh3v@cms.mail.virginia.edu]

> Sent: Tuesday, July 13, 2010 9:54 AM

> To: Madelyn Wessel

> Subject: advice



>  
> hi, just phoned you. in brief, our slavery website has been up for years and we get tons of requests for images. i've decided that we (the VFH) might as well try to get some money from commercial publishers who continue to "hound" me for hi resolution copies. To this end I've revised our statement and wonder if you think this will work. I would not provide any hi resolution copies that violates any agreement I've made with several special collections libraries, e.g., Uva. I have left the fee business intentionally vague. thanks in advance for your feedback. Jerry

- >
- >
- > Jerome Handler
- > Senior Scholar
- > Virginia Foundation for the Humanities
- > 145 Ednam Dr.
- > Charlottesville, VA 22903
- > (434) 924-3296
- > fax (434) 296-4714
- > <http://www.jeromehandler.org>
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Jerome S. Handler  
Senior Scholar  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Dr  
Charlottesville, Va 22903-4629  
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<http://www.slaveryimages.org>  
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Subject: FW: "Pictorial Images of the Transatlantic Slave Trade"  
From: Roiyah Sallus-Blackwood <[log in to unmask]>  
Reply-To: A discussion and information mailing list for the RSLP funded CASBAH projec <[log in to unmask]>  
Date: Tue, 13 Nov 2001 10:07:01 -0000  
Content-Type: text/plain  
Parts/Attachments: text/plain (42 lines)

> -----Original Message-----  
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> Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 7:55 PM  
> To: [log in to unmask]  
> Subject: "Pictorial Images of the Transatlantic Slave Trade"  
> Date: Sat, 10 Nov 2001 09:27:24 -0500  
> From: Jerome Handler <[log in to unmask]>  
> Up-date on website: "Pictorial Images of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A  
> Media Database."  
> Compiled by Jerome Handler (Virginia Foundation for the  
> Humanities) and Michael Tuite (Digital Media Laboratory, University of  
> Virginia), this searchable collection now contains close to 300 images  
> which we hope will be useful to teachers, researchers, students, and the  
> general public.

300

> The collection is not intended to be exhaustive, but the  
> images provide a glimpse into pre-colonial Africa and the experiences of  
> enslaved Africans who were transported to the Americas. The URL is  
> http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/  
> Since this website is designed for use by a wide and diverse audience, the  
> compilers are very  
> interested in maintaining historical and bibliographic accuracy. We  
> welcome any comments for improvement of the website, suggestions for  
> additional images, corrections to the information presented, etc. These  
> can be addressed to Handler at [log in to unmask] We are presently  
> expanding the website to include approximately 500 additional images  
> depicting various aspects of slavery and slave life in New World  
> societies,  
> including the Caribbean; this expansion should be available on the web  
> during the spring of 2002.

500  
Nov 01

> Jerome S. Handler  
> Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
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From: Michael Tuite <mlt3a@virginia.edu>

Subject: **Re: website**

Date: February 2, 2012 5:49:06 PM EST

To: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Ahoy!

I'm sorry to hear about your knee. I had forgotten about the South Africa trip. I hope you'll be able to go.

We left Filemaker behind many years ago. The website is undergirded by a MySQL database. The web interface is programmed with PHP.

Let's do lunch!

Michael

On Feb 2, 2012, at 4:12 PM, Jerome Handler wrote:

Admiral sir. what kind of data base management system do we have? filemaker? if so, what version? J p.s. i am supposed to fly to south africa on monday, but am having total knee fuck up problems

Jerome S. Handler

Senior Scholar

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities

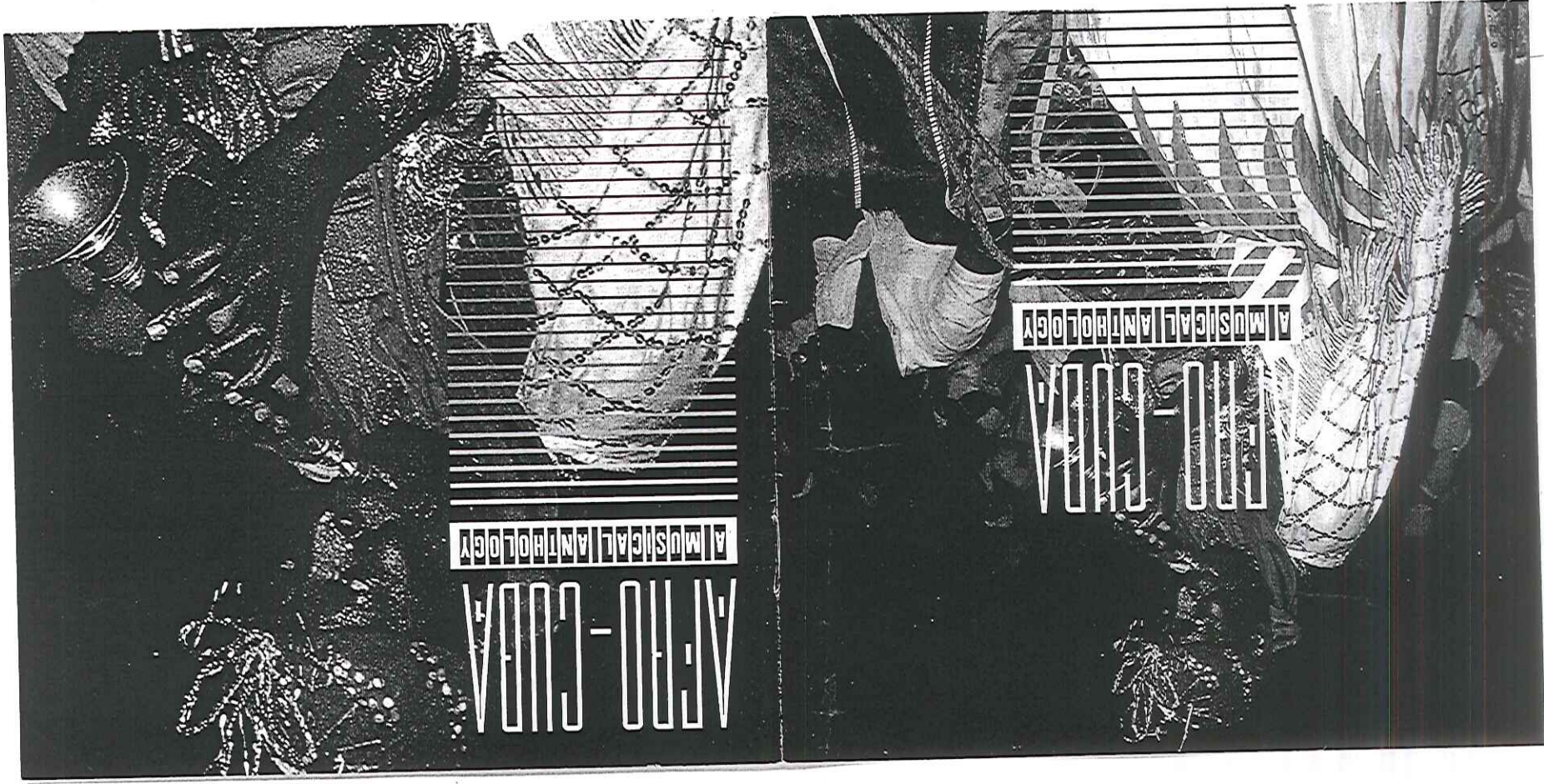
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A MUSICAL ANTHOLOGY

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AFRO-CUBA



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1. Song For Oduduá 2:04
2. Batá Drums For Changó 3:05
3. Song For Ochún (Iyessá) 2:48
4. Song For Ogún (Gina Martín) 2:31
5. Song For Asoyín 2:05
6. Song For Ebióso 1:50
7. Song For Ebióso 2:12
8. Enkame 1:59
9. Vemba 1:49
10. Salida Eff 2:04
11. Song For Palo Intárate 1:35
12. Cantos De Palo 1:53
13. Cantos De Yúka 5:4
14. Conguera 1:22
15. Nicanor Bouké (Yubá) 2:49
16. Front/Frente Solo (Yubá) 3:6
17. Ave María Morena (Yambú) 2:59
18. Consulate Como Yo (Guaguancó) 3:57
19. Timbalye (Guaguancó) (Carlos Embale) 3:44
20. Oyelo De Nuevo (Guaguancó) (Los Muñequitos) 3:46
21. Rumba Columbia 1:00
22. Mananga Murú (Columbia) 2:45
23. Esto No Lleva Batá (Los Papiñes) 3:39
24. Cabildo Caraball 1:57
25. Paso Franco Al Carnaval 2:26
26. Carnival Brass Band 3:40
27. La Chambelona 2:04
28. Medley Of Carnival Congas 3:37

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*Bolierino on Chinese trumpet Congo San Pedro]*

Photography by Harold Courlander (Havana

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Design by Nancy Given.

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singing in Lucumi, Celia Cruz and Gina Martin also recorded songs in *conjunto* format that were homages to different orishas. More recently, the Cuban group Mezcla, featuring the great *okpón* (Lucumi song leader) Lázaro Ros, has been recording a new ritual-popular music, some in the style of French Caribbean zouk, some influenced by jazz and rock.

## LUCUMI MUSIC

### 1. SONG FOR ODUUA with bata drums.

Among the Nigerian Yoruba, Oduua is the creator of the earth, the progenitor of all the Yoruba, and first king of the city of Ife. Among the Cuban Lucumi, Oduua is associated with the creation of life, and with death and the underworld. He is syncretized with San Manuel. This song is performed in ceremonies of high diviners, or at funerals. It is accompanied by a trio of bata drums: the *iyá*, or master drum; and the *itele*, which follows the *iyá*'s patterns; and the *okónkolo*, which plays ostinato phrases.

2. BATA DRUMS FOR CHANGO. The bata are shaped like tapered cylinders, and are double-headed. The drummers, known as *olubotó*, hold them horizontally in their laps, and strike them on both heads. (see plate 1.) While bata can



PLATE 1 Bata drummers (*olubotó*), Ciudad de Matanzas, Cuba.

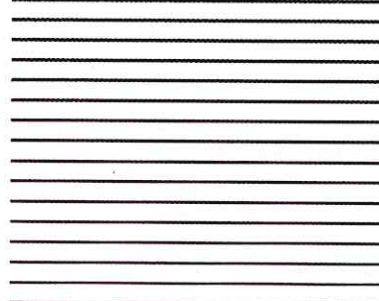


PLATE 2 *Iyésá* drummers, Cabildo de San Juan Bateca, Ciudad de Matanzas.



accompany songs and dances, they may also be played solo, as in this example from a *casa de ocha* in Matanzas. This piece was extracted from an *oru de igbodu*, a cycle of bata rhythms played at the beginning of a ceremony and intended as a salute to all the orishas. Clearly audible are the *chworó*, necklaces hung with bells that are placed around each head of the *iyá*, or master drum. Bata drums are played for many orishas, each with their specific *toques*, but they are especially associated with Changó, who is considered their owner. The Matanzas style of bata drumming has fewer *vios*, or

rhythmic changes, than in Havana.

3. SONG FOR OCHÚN, with *iyésá* drums. This recording was made in 1977 in the last surviving *iyésá* cabildo in Cuba, San Juan Bateca, which was founded in 1854 in the City of Matanzas. The *iyésá* are a Lucumi "nation" still recognized as having a distinct musical style. *Iyésá* drums are played with sticks, usually in groups of three, with a fourth drum added for certain *toques* (see plate 2.) Their combined rhythmic patterns are more unified than the three-way conversation among the bata drums. Accompanying them are two *agogo*, or dance gongs. This song for Ochún is taken from a cycle of *orú*, performed at the beginning of a ceremony in Cuba. Ochún is the "Yesá" (*Ijeshá*) orisha of the river and fresh water, described by Lydia Cabrera as the "Lucumi Venus" and the "mulata saint."

4. SONG FOR OGUN. Gina Martin became famous in Cuba in the late fifties for her recordings of Lucumi songs, and was known as the "white queen of black rhythms." After moving to Miami, she continued to record Lucumi music. This song for Ogun is performed in *güiro y tambor* style, which usually features one drum, a bell and beaded gourds, and here includes a piano. It was recorded in Miami in the mid-seventies. As is often the case in Lucumi music, this "song" is really a series, called *secuencia* or *trabajo*, of three distinct melodies, the last two introduced by the piano, which leaves its percussive role to cue in the chorus.

## THE ARARA

The name Arara is derived from the Dahomean city of Allada, and is related to the term Rada found in Haiti and to Arrada on the tiny island of Carracou in the Grenadines. In both cases the name refers to Dahomean styles of drumming. Other outposts of Dahomean culture in the Americas include houses in the Brazilian cities of São Luis do Maranhão, Salvador, Recife and Porto Alegre. In Cuba the Arara were always a minority overshadowed by the Lucumi, and their distinctive cultural identity is now in danger of disappearing. Arara centers are still to be found in Ciudad de Matanzas, Jovellanos. Máximo Gomez and el Perico, all in Matanzas.

5. SONG FOR ASOYIN. In the Fon pantheon, Sakpata is the *fofun* (spirit or deity) of smallpox and the earth. His praise name "Asoyin" has been translated by Judith Gleason as "terrible malady." In Cuba, he was syncretized with San Lázaro of popular Catholic tradition and with the Yoruba Obaluafe, known in Cuba as Babalú Ayé, who is said by the Lucumis to have come from Arara territory. The song is accompanied by claps and body percussion, a characteristic of Arara music in Cuba.

## ARARA MUSIC

6. SONG FOR EBIOSO. In West Africa the Arara had absorbed elements of Yoruba religion for centuries, and their *fofun* show similarities to the Lucumi orisha. When they found themselves alongside the Lucumi in Cuba, there was a reconnection between the Dahomean and Yoruba pantheons. Ebioso is the Arara equivalent of Changó, and his dancing style is similar, with many kicks and gestures of hurling thunderbolts. The song is again accompanied by claps and body percussion.

7. SONG FOR EBIOSO, with drum orchestra. This selection was recorded in Jovellanos, and is performed by members of an association called Ojun Degara, founded at the turn of the century. It is made up of members of the Baró family, who are descendants of slaves of the Arara Dajome nation from the Matanzas sugar estate known as Santa Rita de Baró, an important center of Dahomean culture. It is played on four drums: the *junga*, or master drum, played with a stick and the palm of the left hand; two support drums, called *junguede* and *juncto*, played with sticks; and a fourth drum, called the *jun*, which is played with a stick and follows the *juncto*. Other instruments include an *ogan* (a hoe blade struck with a piece of metal), and a pair of *chere*, or metal rattles. (see plate 3.)

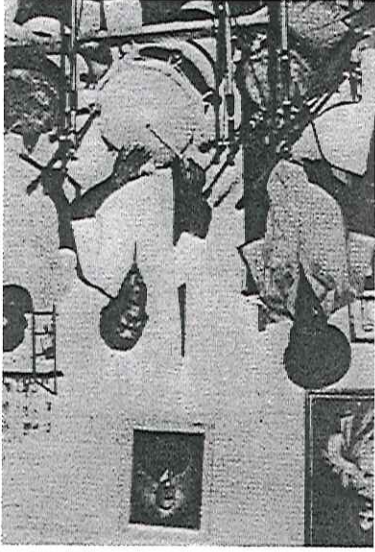


PLATE 3 Arara drummers, with *junga*, or master drum, in center; Ojun Degara Society, Jovellanos, Cuba.



## THE ABAKUA

In Cuba, peoples from southeastern Nigeria and southwestern Cameroon were known as Caraball or Brikamo, and they included the Egham, Efik, Ibibio, and others. The Egham and Efik re-established their Njébe or leopard secret society and opened their first *potenda*, or lodge, in 1835 in the town of Regla, across the bay from Havana and an important seat of Afro-Cuban culture.

The Njébe society became known as Abakua, after the word *Abakpa*, a term by which the Egham of Calabar were designated. It took root in the Havana area and in Matanzas, where it became a considerable force in local politics. In eastern Cuba, two Caraball cabildos still exist in the city of Santiago de Cuba, and play an important role in that city's carnival. The Abakua leopard-maskee, the *lreme*, has practically come to symbolize Afro-Cuban folklore. (see plates 4 and 5).

## ABAKUA MUSIC

8. ENKAME. Narrations recounting the foundation of Abakua, known as *enkame*, are part of the society's ceremonies. Here, two *plazas*, as the society dignitaries are known, take turns speaking in a form of Efik. The second plaza's section turns into song, answered by *monio*, or



PLATE 4 Portrait of Abakua *lreme* or *diobilo*, by Victor Particio Landaluze, 19th century painter of Cuban folklore.

brethren, in attendance.

Via Chano Pozo, the conga player in Dizzy Gillespie's big band and himself a member of

Abakua, the society's ritual language traveled from the *fambas* or sacred chambers of Havana's lodges to the jazz clubs on Manhattan's 52nd

Street. During a long solo drum break on

"Manterca," recorded live at the Royal Roost night club in 1948, Pozo launches into a passage in Efik,

answered by the band's "Uá!" (Everyone shut up

and listen!) The puzzled audience responds as if

he had been singing "Minnie the Moocher"

9. WEMBA. Abakua has special songs for every

ritual function. *Wemba*, led by the song leader

known as the *Morua*, is sung in the *famba* during

the purification of ritual objects. "*Wemba*" refers

to the mixture of ingredients used in the cleans-

ings. As in the preceding selection, the text

recounts events relating to the origins of Abakua.

10. SALIDA EFI. After the ceremonies in the

*famba*, a procession of dignitaries and brethren

emerges, including dancing *lremes*, who purify the

path. The instrumental ensemble heard here is

called the *biankomeka*, which is made up of four

drums, an iron dance gong (*ekón*), two sticks

beaten against the side of one of the drums, and

two basket rattles (*enikunde*). The song is in the

form of leader-chorus alternation. The Efi is the

most rapid of Abakua marches, and may be

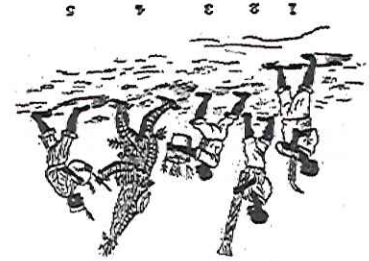


PLATE 5 Abakua woodcut showing 1) *Mosongo* with *lém* or sacred staff; 2) *Mokongo* with *lém*; 3) *límé* with *Sesé* drum; 4) *lreme*; 5) *Morua* directing the *lreme*.

among the most complex drumming styles found anywhere in the Americas.

## CUBAN KONGOS

Of all the collective terms used to specify Afro-Cuban origins, "Kongo" encompasses the greatest diversity of peoples brought to Cuba during the years of slavery. The names of the myriad Cuban Kongo cabildos reflect the geography of the slave trade or else include African ethnic designations. Sometimes they bore the names of slaving ports (Loango, Benguela and Cabinda, the last also very important for Brazil), and sometimes they specified clan origins, such as the Nsobo (Bazombo) and Mayombe (Yombe), who also gave their name to a Cuban-Kongo religion. Members of one surviving Kongo cabildo, San Antonio de los Congos Reales in the old colonial city of Trinidad, are still performing such archaic partonime dances as the *Danza de la Culebra* (Serpent Dance), which was well known in colonial Havana as *Matar la Culebra* (Killing the Snake), and was performed by Kongo *comparsas* on January 6, the Day of the Kings. Many forms of contemporary Cuban music, including most of the rumba and carnival styles described below, are full of Kongo references and influences and display continuity with older Kongo forms.

11. SONG OF PALO INITIATE. There are several branches of Kongo-based religion in Cuba, which are known generally as Reglas de Congo or Palo Monte, and more specifically as Mayombe, Bryuma and Kimbisa. Entry into them is through an initiation ceremony, called *kimbo* in Kongo and *juvamento* or "oath-taking" in Spanish. Inside the *munanso-bela* or sacred chamber, the initiate or *kuano* is possessed by the spirit of a dead person. He sings as he strikes the ground with his hand or a *gamboto*, a ceremonial staff that plays an important role in Kongo ritual, including funerals.

12. PALO SONGS. While there are variations in Kongo religions, all share in common the *nkisi* or *nganga*, a kettle in which are concentrated various natural forces and the spirit of a dead person. Some palo songs are directed at the *nganga*, stimulating the forces within, or else are meant to accelerate possession among participants. Palo rhythms are not as differentiated as the Lucumi and Arara toques for the orishas and fodun. They are played on three *ngoma* drums, accompanied by a guataca called an *ngongi*, and metal or gourd wrist rattles called *nkembli*. These songs, played for couple dances, feature alternation between a song leader, called *gallo* in Spanish and *insunu* in Kongo, and chorus, called

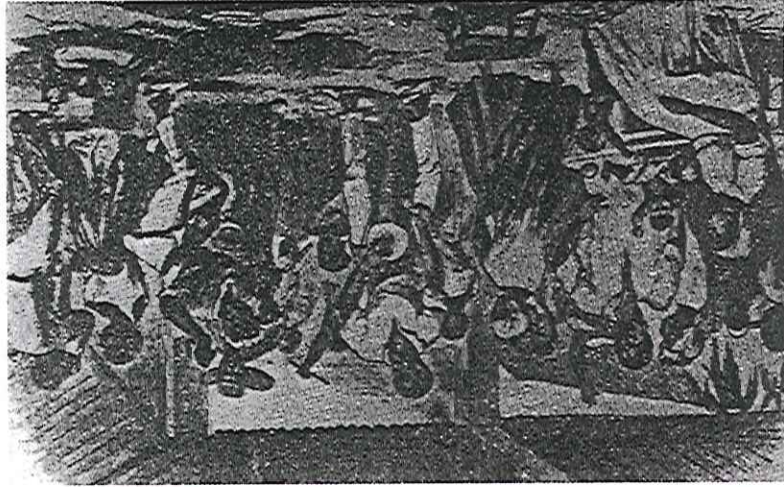
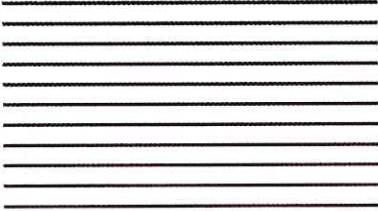


PLATE 6 Yika celebration in the *barracóns*, or slave quarters. From a 19th century engraving.





*vassallo* or *nuanda*. The first *canto de palo* men-  
tions Severina, a famous Mayombe priestess of  
old.

13. YUKA SONGS. As in the two preceding  
examples, these song texts are a mixture of  
*bozal*, a creolized Spanish, and Kongo. They are  
accompanied by a set of yuka drums, the most  
common form of secular Kongo music during  
the 19th century. Played in groups of three, they

were made by hollowing out tree trunk sections  
of various sizes and nailing on cowhide heads.  
The largest and master drum is called the *caja*.

which in typical Kongo fashion is held between  
the legs of the drummer (see plate 6.) Another  
musician plays a pair of sticks against the body of  
the *caja*, often on a piece of tin that has been  
nailed to the base of the drum. This stick part is  
called the *guagua* or *cajita*, which may also be  
played on a separate instrument. The middle  
drum is called the *mula*, and the smallest is the  
*cachimbó*. A *guazaca* is played as a time-keeper,  
and the *caja* player often wears a pair of wrist  
rattles. Yuka dancing featured the *vocunoo*, a  
dance styles elsewhere in the Americas.

14. CONGUERÍA with yuka drums. This field  
recording was made in 1948, but it could date  
from a hundred years earlier. During the years of  
slavery, sugar estate owners would often spon-

sor Sunday festivals, called *conguetas*, and invite  
slaves from neighboring centrales to participate.  
Besides yuka drumming of the kind heard here,  
Cuba, they featured song contests between com-  
peting soloists, called *gallos*, as well as *makuta*  
dances and *maní*, a now obsolete combat dance  
roughly similar to Brazilian *capoeira*.

#### TUMBA FRANCESA

After the Haitian revolution, many refugees,  
including French planters and their slaves, fled  
across the narrow Windward Passage to eastern  
Cuba, where they established coffee plantations  
in the highlands around Santiago de Cuba. In that  
city and in Guantánamo, some of their former  
slaves and their descendants, who had clung to  
their Afro-Haitian culture, established their own  
*cabildo*-like associations, known as *tumba france-  
sa*, or "French drum." There they played Haitian-  
style drums and performed dances with names  
such as *masón* and *yubá* (*yuba*), similar to those  
found in Haiti today, and sang in Creole. (see  
plate 7.)

#### MUSICAL EXAMPLES

15. NICANOR BOUKE. This piece, recorded in  
a *tumba francesa* in Guantánamo, is sung in  
Creole with a few Spanish words mixed in. It is a

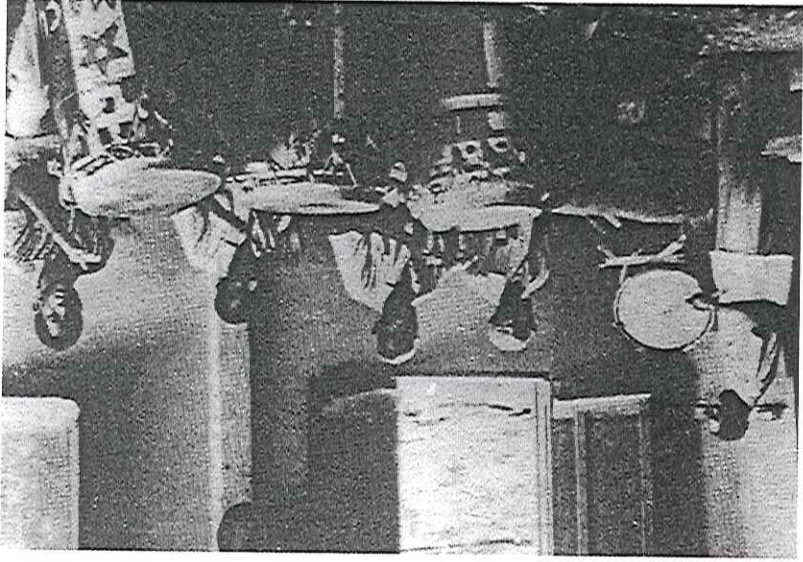
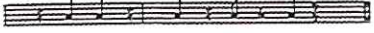


PLATE 7 *Tumba francesa* drummers, Guantánamo,  
Cuba.

and mimetic movements. This may be the most complex form of rumba. In it, the dancer imitates ball players, bicyclists, cane-cutters, and a variety of other figures. He may also reproduce steps of the Abakuá rreme.

#### MUSICAL EXAMPLES.

17. AVE MARIA MORENA. This yambú is played on *cajones*, originally packing crates and later wooden boxes. (see plate 8.) The yambú is sometimes called "rumba de cajón," or box rumba. It is accompanied by a pair of sticks or spoons playing softly in the background, and a pair of claves, playing the same pattern found in the son montuno:



18. CONSUELATE COMO YO. This recording from the mid-fifties was organized by Ignacio Fifiéiro in an attempt to reconstruct the style of Los Roncos ("the Hoarse Ones"), one of the large choirs of up to 100 voices that were formed in various Havana *barrios* during the years 1900-1914 to sing *guaguancó*. The lead singer is Carlos Embale, one of Cuba's greatest rumba soloists, who was also the sonero with Ignacio Fifiéiro's Septeto Nacional when it re-formed in 1958.

some forms of rumba; and the rumba song leader and chorus are called *gallo* and *vasallo*, respectively. The main stylistic difference is that the lead rumba drum is always the high-pitched quinto, the two deeper-toned support drums having taken over the *ostinato* patterns. The passage of the master drum from lowest to highest pitch may be considered an influence of European music on rumba drumming.

The three varieties differ in instrumentation. The three varieties differ in instrumentation, vocal style and choreography, but are all mimetic to some degree. The yambú is performed in slow tempo and is often thought of as an old people's dance. The dancers' gestures may mimic old age and/or the difficulty of daily tasks. And as the refrain says, "*en el yambú no se cura*" - in the yambú you don't perform the pelvic movement. The *guaguancó* is the modern, urban form of rumba. Its opening section, a usually wordless vocal flourish reminiscent of southern Spanish singing, is called *la diana*, the Spanish word for reveille. After an elaboration of the text, called *declamación*, a chorus enters with a repeated refrain in the section called the *copelillo*, and here the dance element "breaks out": a couple, dancing apart, simulates the man's pursuit of his female partner, and her attempts to turn away and cover herself. The *vacunao* symbolizes his sexual conquest. The *colombia* began in the rural areas of Matanzas, and is a male solo dance that features many acrobatic

yuba, the oldest dance in the rumba *francesa's* repertoire, in which participants form a circle, and couples and individual dancers perform in the center of the ring. The drum ensemble heard here consists of the deep-toned master drum called the *premier*, the *bulid*, and the *según* or *bulid-según*, the highest pitched. They are accompanied by sticks played on a hollowed-out wooden cylinder called *caja*, and by metal rattles called *chachás*.

16. FRONT/FRENTE - In the last section of the yuba dance, called the *front* in Creole and the *frente* in Spanish, there is a change in rhythm and choreography. A male solo dancer begins to dialogue with the *premier*, which is accompanied only by *caja*. This is the passage heard here.

## THE RUMBA

The rumba is a set of rhythms and their associated dances, with three main divisions: the yambú, the *guaguancó*, and the *colombia*. All of Lydia Cabrerá's elderly *Kongo* informants agreed that the modern rumba grew out of older rhythms that had been played on the yuka drums, with which there are some stylistic carry-overs: the rumba stick part is also called *guaguano*; the wrist rattles worn by yuka drummers also appear in



PLATE 8 Rumba musician playing a *cajón*, a large wooden box or packing crate used in the yambú.



## CARNIVAL

In Santiago de Cuba, cabildos and neighborhood groups took to the streets in June and July in masked celebrations known as *fiestas de máscaras*, which extended from St. John's Day (June 24) to St. Ann's Day (July 26). In Havana, the cabildos held public celebrations on the *Día de los Reyes*, or Epiphany (January 6), thus creating that city's first black carnival. In both cities, these Catholic holidays were opportunities for the public display of African dress, dance and musical instruments.

Carnival has of course expanded from these beginnings, adding such elements as floats, allegorical dances, figures from contemporary popular culture, and dance bands. Yet there is a constant re-historicizing of the event, with reminders of its African roots. In the Havana carnival, for example, one can still see carved guardian figures similar to those that appeared in old cabildo processions described by Fernando Ortiz. In another sort of historical reminder, carnival in Cuba now coincides with July 26, St. Ann's Day. It was on that date in 1953 that Fidel Castro and his troops attacked the Moncada barracks in Santiago while the city was absorbed in celebration. Cuban carnival now commemorates that event nationally. (see plate 9)

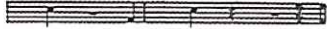
The new genre, called *son-bata* or *bata-rock*, entered the Cuban musical mainstream in the 1970s. This example of *bata-rumba*, recorded in the seventies, is performed by Los Papines, a rumba group known for their showmanship. It is stylistically quite different from the big band versions, and clearly shows the Cuban gift for developing new genres by combining or crossing pre-existing ones. The mozambique, for example, one of the major new rhythms to emerge in post-revolutionary Cuba, is the result of crossing mambo with conga. *Bata-rumba* creates a new kind of rhythmic complexity by "crossing" rumba and bata drums, and by combining Konogo-based and Lucumi approaches to percussion and pulsation patterns.

This piece is divided into two sections,

both played over an unchanging electric guitar figure. The first features only rumba drums, and the second adds the bata master drum as lead, playing over a bell pattern typically found in the town of Unión de Reyes in Matanzas. His real name was José Rosario Oviedo, and he was famous as a singer, drummer and dancer. Besides the lead quinto, other drums heard here are the *solador* and *tres golpes*, accompanied by claves and a pair of wrist rattles worn by the quinto player.

their repertoire the other forms of rumba, as well as Abakú and Lucumi music. In 1992 they successfully toured the United States.

The Matanzas style of playing guaguanco differs from the Havana style heard in the two prior tracks. The clave is the same, but the combined support drum pattern is different

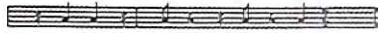


21. RUMBA COLUMBIA. This is an old columbian performed by elderly musicians from the Havana area. In the columbian, the male solo dancer dialogues or duels with the quinto player, to whose rhythmic figures he must respond.

22. MALANGA MURIQ. The *lloro*, or opening descending melody line of this columbian mourns the death of Malanga, a famous rumbero from the town of Unión de Reyes in Matanzas. His famous as a singer, drummer and dancer. Besides the lead quinto, other drums heard here are the *solador* and *tres golpes*, accompanied by claves and a pair of wrist rattles worn by the quinto player.

23. ESTO NO LLEVA BATA. The *bata-rumba* was developed in a big band setting by Los Irakere, who added bata drums to their rhythm section.

The clave is the standard pattern for the



The support drums typify Havana-style guaguanco:



19. TIMBALAYE. This recording was made in the early 80s by a group led by Carlos Embale called Los Nuevos Roncos, a clear allusion to the old rumba choir of Havana. Played with a chekeré and without clave, this guaguanco alludes to Angola, with whom Cuba traded musical influences during the years when Cuban troops fought in their civil war. It then turns into a song for Ochún, La Caridad del Cobre. It is not unusual for the frequently topical guaguanco to make references to both Palo Monte and the Lucumi orisha.

20. OYELO DE NUEVO. Los Muñequitos de Matanzas are from the barrio known as La Martina in the city of Matanzas. They began playing together in 1952, and originally interpreted the guaguanco, said to have originated in their city and in Havana. They subsequently added to

beat after the third stroke. In the Santiago conga,

it falls on the offbeat after the fourth stroke.

The melodic instrument is a double-reed shawm called the "Chinese trumpet," said to

have been introduced into Cuba in the 19th cen-

tury by Chinese laborers and to have entered

the Santiago carnival around 1915. This five-note

instrument is known in China as the *sona*, which

is derived from the *suoni*, a conical shawm of

India and Turkestan. The combination of shawms

and double-headed or kettle drums is typical of

military and outdoor festival music of the Islamic

world, and probably of medieval Spain. Santiago

was founded in 1515, when a recently "recon-

quered" Spain was permeated with Islamic "influ-

ences." The hot Islamic-sounding "Chinese drum-

pet" improvising over Afro-Cuban street drums

may be a distant echo of early Santiago's profes-

sional music, reconstituted and "Cubanized"

centuries later in this carnival conga. (see cover

photo)

26. CARNIVAL BRASS BAND. In the Santiago carnival, the paseros are comparas that feature brass bands, such as the one heard here. They are a more recent addition, and could be considered the "outdoor" or "street" form of a popular dance orchestra. Over a carnival beat, the band tosses riffs back and forth and quotes popular dance pieces, such as El Manisero ("The Peanut Vendor") and El Mozambique.

## CARNIVAL MUSIC

The organization of Santiago's carnival reflects

several clearly identifiable historical levels, each

with a distinct musical style. On parade are cabil-

dos, comparas (or *congas*) and *paseros*, some

with elements of Haitian origin, such as the

called Los Hoyos, named for an important black

neighborhood of Santiago, and nicknamed El

Cocoyé.

24. CABILDO CARABALI. Abakua never took

hold in Oriente as it did in western Cuba. Yet, in

Santiago there are vestiges of two old Abakua

cabildos, one of which, the Cabildo Carabali

Izama, was founded at the beginning of the 19th

century. It continues to function as a carnival

association. The rhythm heard here, played on

iron gong, parade drums and rattles, also accom-

panies its carnival songs.

25. PASO FRANCO AL CARNIVAL. Paso

Franco is one of the important comparas or

conga groups of Santiago, founded in the early

20th century in the neighborhood called El

Tivoli. It is famous for its percussion, which con-

sists of a variety of hand drums, parade drums,

gongs and brake drums struck with iron rods. The Santiago conga differs rhythmically from Havana, where the main accent falls on the off-

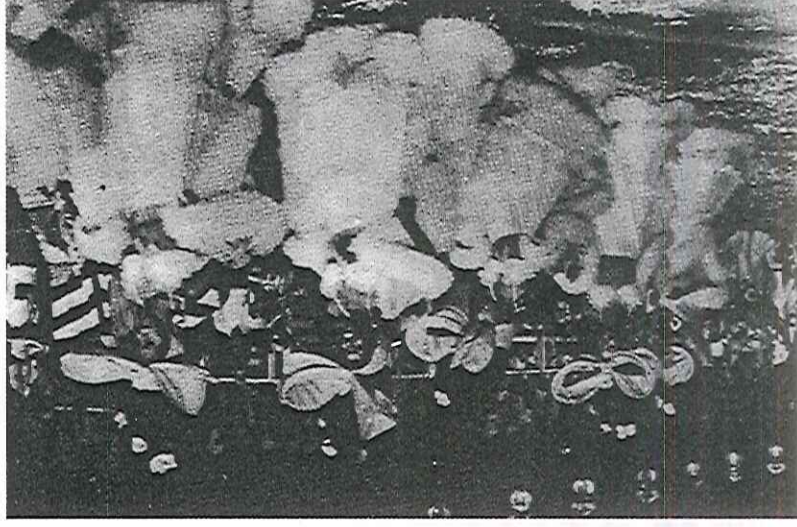
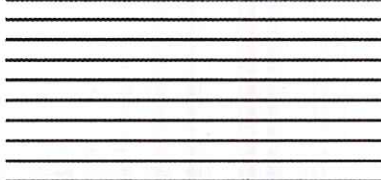


PLATE 9 Carnival dancers, Santiago de Cuba.





27. LA CHAMBELONA. This composition, played here in the style of a Havana *conga callejera*, or street conga, was adopted as the theme of the Liberal Party in 1908 and became known as the "conga liberal." It was played to enliven their meetings and rallies. The rival Conservative Party adopted "La Conga" as their theme, and satirical verses were set to both melodies in "answer-back" fashion.

28. MEDLEY of traditional Havana *congas*: Los Dandies, La Jardinera, El Alacrán. In Havana, the organized carnival groups called *comparsas* absorbed the older *cabildos*, often de-Africanizing their names while maintaining some traditional elements, such as a king and queen and decorated banners. In carnival, the *conga* orchestras of hand drums, parade drums and double gongs, (see plate 10) with a rumber as the melody instrument, accompany the *comparsa* couple and line dancers, who execute elaborate coordinated routines. This medley is associated with some of the most traditional *comparsas* of the Havana carnival.



PLATE 10 *Comparsa* drummers, with double bell, Western Cuba, c. 1940. Photo by Harold Courlander, from notes to his *Cult Music of Cuba*, issued on Folkways Records.

The statue was not originally intended to represent an actual historical personage, but was interpreted as such by the Creole population, who gave it the name "Kwakoe" (i.e. Quaco).



Statue of "Kwakoe",  
emancipated slave,  
erected in Paramaribo  
in 1963 to commemorate  
the centenary of  
the abolition of  
slavery in Suriname  
in 1863. (Kwakoe  
is now viewed by some  
Creoles as a self-emancipated  
slave/runaway; here he's  
been decorated with a  
"pangi" cloth & cap.)

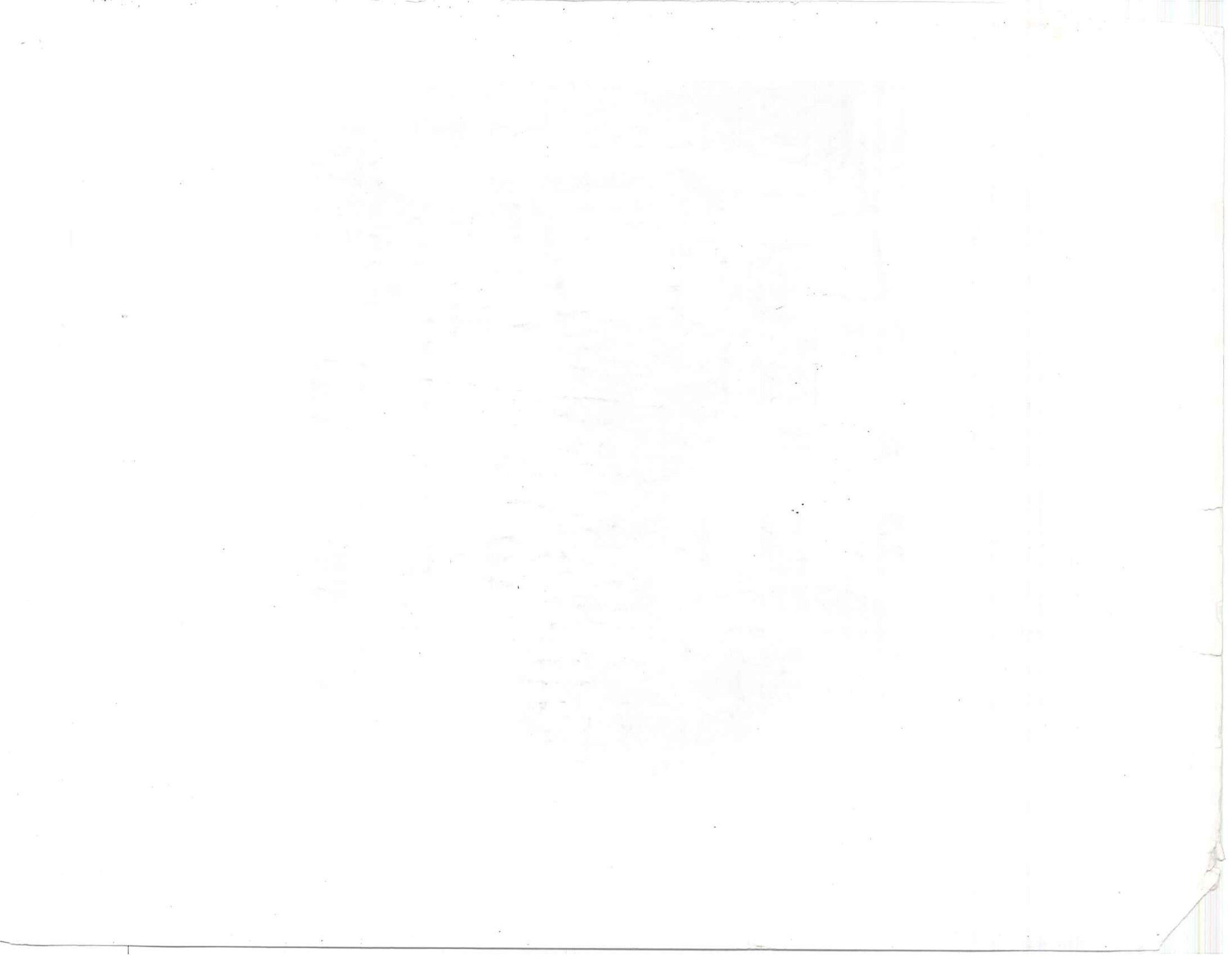
From: Suriname.

Jeannette van Bodegraven.  
Bloemendaal: J.H. Gottmer.  
1995.

(the cover photo from  
this travel guide)

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email address

From: "Mary Guyatt" <m.guyat

Subject: Sessarookoo

Date: Wed, 16 Feb 2005 15:24:16 +0000

To: <jh3v@virginia.edu>

*See also  
Silver Shop  
Fridays 5pm*

*Comment after New  
Version of portrait work*

Dear Jerome,

Thank you for your email about Sessarookoo which Elizabeth James has passed to me, as I have a particular interest in the representation of Africa and Africans in the V&A's collection.

I am afraid I do not know where the original Matthias painting is. All we have is a printed version of the portrait, as reproduced in the Gentleman's Magazine. This is on display in the V&A's British Galleries. I have checked the catalogue records and no mention is made of the original painting.

Have you tried the National Portrait Gallery or the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute? The websites are [www.npg.org.uk](http://www.npg.org.uk) and [www.courtauld.ac.uk](http://www.courtauld.ac.uk).

Another thought would be to get in touch with Dr Gus Casely-Hayford. He is a consultant to the British Museum and he gave a public talk some time ago in which he described how he had traced his family back to Sessarookoo. I have an address for him, which is:

24 Thurrlow Road , London, NW3 5PP and email [gus@eachayford.demon.co.uk](mailto:gus@eachayford.demon.co.uk) or [augustus.casely.hayford@artsinterlink.com](mailto:augustus.casely.hayford@artsinterlink.com)

If these details are out of date, I am sure the British Museum would be able to forward your enquiry on to him.

With best wishes for your further research,

Mary Guyatt

Curator, Designs  
Word & Image Department

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ISBN: 192156381

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Description: xv, 207 p. illus., maps, plates. 23 cm.

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Note: Bibliography: p. [192]-198.

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Relations were particularly strained during the years 1765-73 when Richard Brew was living at Anomabu. An Ashanti army, pursuing the Akim and the Wassaw, entered Fanti territory in 1765 and encamped as near the coast as Abura. Initially, the Ashanti had undertaken this action in alliance with Fanti, but discord between the two powers soon developed. It culminated in a brief outbreak of hostilities, the first occasion of direct Ashanti-Fanti conflict. Although there was a withdrawal inland, it was regarded on the coast as the preliminary to a subsequent and better-planned invasion, and for some years rumours and alarms circulated in the European settlements.<sup>1</sup>

Under these pressures, the Fanti states began to develop a greater degree of cohesion and consultation among themselves. They held frequent conferences in the seventeen-sixties, for example, to discuss the terms of a peace settlement with Ashanti, and to determine lines of policy on questions of vital concern to all in the maritime region. The conferences took place at Mankeessim, Abura, and Efatu.<sup>2</sup> The first two were Fanti's traditional centres. Efatu, however, lay outside its original confines and was the capital of the kingdom of Efatu to which Cape Coast had owed allegiance.<sup>3</sup> The fact that congresses were held and alliances negotiated during the course of Fanti's widening orbit of power during the eighteenth century.

Significant, too, in their effects upon Fanti were the European forts and factories on the coastline. With the British in particular, a long-standing business connection had been established, and the Fanti acted as middlemen in the trade between sea-board and interior. A consequence of European settlement was that it helped to increase Fanti's range of economic influence, and to mould political contours.<sup>4</sup> Maritime towns rose to

<sup>1</sup> M. Priestley, 'The Ashanti Question and the British: eighteenth century origins' in *Journal of African History*, vol. II, no. 1 (1961), pp. 35-59.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52.  
<sup>3</sup> Brown, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 118-24. In Efatu, sometimes written as Atutu or Fetu, the succession to the stool was not matrilineal, as with the Akan, but patrilineal; Brown, op. cit. vol. I, p. 196. See also D. Birmingham, 'A Note on the Kingdom of Fetu' in *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9 (Nov. 1966), pp. 30-3, and Otuwa Bagyire VI, *Abɔtɔhɛnɛ*, 'The Gyaams: a preliminary note' in *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 7 (Jan. 1965), pp. 21-3.  
<sup>4</sup> The effects of European settlement upon Fanti were complex; both integrating and disintegrating trends were fostered. See Arhin, art. cit. in *Ghana Notes and Queries*, no. 9 (Nov. 1966), pp. 66-70 for a discussion of Fanti as a segmentary society.

Fanti in the eighteenth century

The town of Anomabu has special relevance as the home of Richard Brew for the greater part of his life in West Africa. One of the earliest Fanti communities to be established on the coast, it lay at the seaboard end of an accessible inland slaving route. During the eighteenth century, Anomabu became a major British commercial centre and one of Fanti's leading states. At the beginning of the century, its military strength and independent trading attitude were already evoking European comment.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the century, the chief of Anomabu, who was now designated 'King' by the British, wielded influence over the rulers of an area stretching as far west as the river Pra, and ranked high in the British assessment of power distribution on the Gold Coast.<sup>2</sup>

The advancement of Anomabu owed much to the effective use, in the middle decades of the century, of opportunities created by European trade and settlement. A central figure in Anomabu's advancement was the chief caboccer, Eno Basie Kurenzi, or John Curranee in European styling, who was the founder of a dynasty of powerful chiefs,<sup>3</sup> and, as will be seen, closely connected with Richard Brew. He is variously described in the British records as *ohene*, principal caboccer, captain of Anomabu, and chief magistrate and general on that part of the coast;<sup>4</sup> he was clearly a dominant personality in local affairs. At one time he had been formidable on the military scene, and

<sup>1</sup> Bosman, op. cit. p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> B. Crutskshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, vol. I (London, 1893), pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 106-7; Ward, op. cit. p. 98 n. 29; J. N. Mason, 'The French at Amoku' in *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society*, vol. I, pt. 2 (1933), p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Melvill to Committee, 11 July 1751, T. 70/1517; the same to the same, 11 June 1752, C.O. 988/45; Dd 115; entry dd. 30 April 1763, T. 70/987; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XX (1750), p. 272; J. J. Crooks, *Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements, 1750-1874* (Dublin, 1923), p. 272; J. J. Crooks, *Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements, 1750-1874* (Dublin, 1923), p. 32; Brown, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 106-7. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, John Curranee is referred to in one entry as the Chinese of Anamaboc, obviously a misspelling of *ohene*.



had married Ekua, the daughter of King Ansa Sasraku of Akwamu after the defeat of the Akwamu Empire by a coalition in 1730. His marriage led to the adoption of Ekua's son, William Ansa, who was later a protégé of the British, and a daughter, Effua Ansa, who became the 'country wife' of Richard Brew.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of European commercial rivalry, John Curran was found himself a centre of intrigue in the seventeen-fifties, and he was courted assiduously by the British and the French. Each nation wished to build a fort at Anomabu, and for this the permission of the chief caboccer was essential.<sup>2</sup> With considerable bargaining skill, John Curran extracted from both parties all that he could in the way of material benefits and support; even after the British had secured the advantage and had begun building operations in 1753, he continued to behave in the same way.

There is no doubt that the prospect of a fort had economic attractions for the local population. It would be a stimulus to trade and employment, and no maritime town during the eighteenth century was more actively engaged in the middle-man network that revolved around settlement and slaving than Anomabu. But there was another side to the matter. By the mid-century, John Curran was advanced in years, and the question of succession to his elective office of 'Captain' loomed large.<sup>3</sup> The chance to strengthen the position of his family through association with a trading settlement could hardly have been unwelcome. Indeed, according to the British, he had raised himself to his present greatness by methods likely to bring eventual retribution, and their suggestion that the caboccer's desire for a fort was not unconnected with protection for his relatives after his death may well have contained an element of truth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles Bell to Committee, 4 Aug. 1762, T. 70/31, f. 10; Richard Miles and Jerome Bernard Weuves to Committee, 10 Sept. 1776, T. 70/32, f. 38; copy of Richard Brew's will, 3 Aug. 1776 (Somerset House, London); *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XX (1750), p. 272; T. Thompson, *An account of Two Missionary Voyages* (facsimile reprint, London, 1937), pp. 47-8; Cooks, op. cit. p. 32; Ward, op. cit. p. 111; I. Wilks, 'The Rise of the Akwamu Empire, 1650-1710' in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, vol. III, pt. 2 (1957), p. 132 and sec pp. 20-1 and 106-8. See p. 15 n. 2 below.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Melvil to Committee, 11 July 1751, T. 70/1517; Matthew Buckle, H.M.S. *Assistance*, to Secretary to the Admiralty, 19 Feb. 1752, Adm. 1/1485.

In the event, John Curran lived until 28 June 1764, by which time Anomabu fort had been occupied for seven years. He was succeeded as principal caboccer by a relation, Amonu Kuma, who was likewise committed to the British interest.<sup>1</sup> Under Amonu an important change took place. In 1774, a Fanti congress appointed him to the new position of 'King of the Town of Annamaboe'; the appointment can be interpreted to mean consolidation of the dynasty and higher political status.<sup>2</sup> It reflects the increasing significance of Anomabu, due in no small measure to economic factors.

At Cape Coast in Ebutu, the site of Britain's West African headquarters and home of many of the nineteenth-century Brews, similar developments can be observed. Here Fanti was extending beyond its original frontiers. It had defeated the Kingdom of Ebutu in 1711,<sup>3</sup> after which closer ties were gradually formed between Cape Coast and the neighbouring Fanti states. In time, Cape Coast was ruled by its own dynasty, independent of Ebutu, and became an integral part of Fanti and ultimately its effective capital.<sup>4</sup>

Politico-economic processes during the eighteenth century are illustrated by one of the town's most influential figures, Birempon Cudjo or Cudjo Caboccer, to give him the name used by Europeans.<sup>5</sup> By birth a native of Fanti, Cudjo was

<sup>1</sup> William Muttice to Committee, 20 July 1764, T. 70/31, f. 102; entries dd. 7 Sept. 1764 and 1 Nov. 1765, T. 70/988; entry dd. 10 Nov. 1770, T. 70/1029; Richard Miles and Jerome Bernard Weuves to Committee, 10 Sept. 1776, T. 70/32, f. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Entry dd. 19 July 1774, T. 70/1035. In the British African Companies' records, John Curran is not referred to as 'King'. According to a contemporary report, his office of 'Captain'—an elective one—generally passed to the eldest son; this would suggest that it fell within the organization of the patrilineal military companies or *asofu*. By the later eighteenth century, it seems likely that a different type of office, predominantly political rather than military, had evolved at Anomabu and was being held by Amonu Kuma. It is interesting to note the tradition that the first Omahene of Anomabu was elevated to that position because he helped the people financially. The stool today is known as the 'Amonu' stool; Thomas Melvil to Committee, 11 July 1751, T. 70/1517; the same to the same, 11 June 1752, C.O. 388/45, Dd 115; Christensen, op. cit. p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Boehm, Asante and Fante A.D. 1000-1800 in *A Thousand Years of West African History*, pp. 178-9 and sec p. 12 n. 3 above.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 130-5; de Graft Johnson, op. cit. pp. 148-9.

<sup>5</sup> Birempon' (*brempon*) is a Fanti word for a person wealthy through trade or inheritance; 'caboccer' is a corruption of the Portuguese *cabocero* (captain), and a European designation for one of the chief men of a community; Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, pp. 11-12.



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**William Dufay** Esq. **Sarakoo**, son of **John Amundine** Corranter **Shimtee** of  
Amundee one of **Enkeeth** Clampher of **Arach**, **Sparrikon**, King of **Yuanitree** &  
Viceroy **Quindoo**, King of **Arpena**. He was sold at **Bartholomew** here in y<sup>e</sup> Year 1714  
at the request of his father in the Year 17<sup>th</sup> and brought to **England**.  
This Man is now **Handly** bound to the **Arach** <sup>the</sup> **Chief** **Widdgias**, **Chief** **and** **Companion**  
of **Hand** **Bartholomew** one of **Widdgias** <sup>the</sup> **Chief** **and** **Companion** **of** **Hand** **Bartholomew** by his **name** **of** **Hand** **Bartholomew** **of** **Hand** **Bartholomew**.



around the world, savoyard hurdy-gurdy players, Bohemian glass-cutters, young black slaves were purchased as exotic necessities for fashionable research (11)

The three visitors shown here are an Austrian musical prodigy who stayed for over a year, an eminent American who spent several years in London, and an African who enjoyed brief fame.

### 3.85

John Faber (1684–1756) after Gabriel Mathias (d. 1803)

*William-Ansa Sasraku*, 1749

Published by Gabriel Mathias

Mezzotint with some scratched lines and engraved lettering, 328 × 225 mm

C.S. 323 (ii)

1902–10–11–1867 Bequeathed by William Eaton, 2nd Baron Chelyesmore

The Akwamu, Denkyira, Akim and Fanti people of what is now Ghana were involved throughout the eighteenth century in wars to control trading links with Europeans on the coast. In the mid-century Nana Ansa Sasraku, King of the Akwamu, defeated his neighbours and came to dominate a vast stretch of land from Denkyira to the Accra plains, at one stage even driving European traders out of their coastal fortress. Conquest of the peoples around him was not sufficient in itself to guarantee power in the region: it was essential to achieve effective communication with the main trading partners – the Europeans. Sasraku realized that he needed a trusted English-speaking mediator and so arranged for his son to be educated in England. Prince William Ansa Sasraku was put on board a British ship, but instead of delivering him safely to England the captain took the young man to Barbados and sold him into slavery. Luckily for the prince, his father's control of West African trade was important enough for William to be retrieved and taken to London as promised. He was the toast of the town and his story was told in prints, poems,

newspaper reports and a book entitled *The Royal African*. Garrick exploited the story by reviving Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* (1695), based on Aphra Behn's novel in which an African prince is sold into slavery, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported a visit by William Ansa Sasraku on 9 May 1749 to the Drury Lane Theatre, where members of the audience were moved as much by the prince's tearful reaction to the tragedy on stage as they were by the play itself.

The European trade in African slaves began in the sixteenth century in order to service sugar plantations in Brazil and later the Caribbean. Successful marketing had changed the perception of sugar – a native plant of Indonesia – from a luxury item to a staple food that was grown, processed and exported on a huge scale. The plantations required large numbers of strong manual workers who could withstand a hot, humid climate. Although European indentured workers and transported criminals were employed, Africans proved far more satisfactory. Slaves had long been high-status possessions in Africa and Europe – and the presence of exotically dressed black attendants in many portraits (see, for instance, cat. 00) demonstrates the continuation of this attitude – but on the plantations they were treated as beasts of burden and with systematic cruelty.

By the mid eighteenth century sugar was the most valuable import into England; William Beckford (1709–70), Member of Parliament and twice Lord Mayor of London, inherited a huge fortune earned from Caribbean sugar and left an estate worth a million pounds. Hans Sloane had begun his career as a physician in Jamaica (1687–8) and married the widow of a planter; his *Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbados, Nieves, St Christopher and Jamaica* (1707–25) discusses the medical and musical skills of the forty thousand Africans already living in Jamaica and describes the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked. The London-based Royal African Company held the monopoly of the British slave trade from the 1660s until 1730, but by

the middle of the century Bristol had become the main slaving port, and for most Londoners it was all too easy to ignore the inhumanity on which sugar wealth was based. Thoughtful individuals, such as Samuel Johnson (1709–84) – who left his manuscripts and much of his property to his (free) black servant Francis Barber – opposed slavery, but the first moves towards emancipation did not occur until the 1770s, and the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was not founded until 1787.

Faber's mezzotint was based on a painting by Gabriel Mathias, an artist of German origin who held an appointment in the office of the Privy Purse and after 1769 administered George III's subsidies to the Royal Academy.

For black people in eighteenth-century England see Gerzina; for a history of slavery based on contemporary accounts see Hogg.

### 3.86

James McArdeil (1729–65) after Benjamin Wilson (1721–88)

*Benjamin Franklin*, 1761

Mezzotint with some scratched lines and engraved lettering, 350 × 250 mm

C.S. 73; Goodwin 86

1902–10–11–3268 Bequeathed by William Eaton, 2nd Baron Chelyesmore

Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) is remembered by history for his central role in the establishment of the United States of America, but long before the War of Independence he was a well-known figure. He had established a successful business as a printer and publisher, in particular of the popular *Poor Richard's* almanacs with their homilies advocating the bourgeois values of thrift and industry that were coming to dominate society. He was also an active experimental scientist and Fellow of the Royal Society. This portrait, after a painting of 1759, makes reference to Franklin's theories on electricity and the experiment of 1752 when he flew a kite into a





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# Pennsylvania Magazine

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OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY



APRIL 1968

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VOLUME XCII

NUMBER 2



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HORACE MONTGOMERY, a teacher since 1927, is Professor of History at the University of Georgia. He has written on southern political and social history, American constitutional history, and more recently on American medical history.



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 АЕННАН

## *A Philadelphia Surgeon on a Slaving Voyage to Africa, 1749-1751*

SOMETIME during the late summer of 1749, probably in the month of September, William Chancellor of Philadelphia sailed as ship's surgeon aboard the sloop *Wolf* bound from New York on a slaving voyage to the coast of West Africa. His account of that voyage was recorded in a diary, one volume of which has survived and is now in the manuscript department of the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>1</sup> Another volume, either lost or destroyed, evidently covered the period from September, 1749, to mid-May, 1750. Chancellor titled the surviving volume "Continuation of a Voyage from New York to the Coast of Africa in the Sloop Wolf Gurnay Wall Command<sup>t</sup>. in the Years 1749-50 & 51."<sup>2</sup> The earliest entry in the more than 100-page manuscript is dated May 18, 1750, and the last was recorded on May 10, 1751, when the *Wolf* anchored at New York City after a slaving expedition that lasted twenty months. Both the pagination and the chronology are incomplete. Six pages are missing, while in other instances Chancellor simply abandons his scheme of pagination—duplicate page numbers and pages bearing no number at all are scattered throughout the diary. Separate daily entries were made until Sunday, September 2, 1750; on that day for the first time Chancellor's remarks extend over a week. The chronology grows even more vague after Sunday, September 30, since Chancellor does not thereafter return to the practice of entering daily comments until March 3, 1751, which he then continues until the end of the voyage, that is, to May 10, 1751.

Though one might wish that the complete Chancellor diary were available for study, nevertheless what has survived is of much value. It provides a fresh and detailed look at the African slave trade as

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Williams Papers, Ms. 899.

<sup>2</sup> The diary is described by Mr. P. William Filby, the Librarian, as follows: "16.3 cm. width, 20.5 cm. length; full leather; mbbbed (call) contemporary; spine has 6 tooled panels, 'Vol. I' in 2nd panel; c. 1760-1800."



seen through the eyes of a physician whose responsibility it was to maintain the slaves in good health until their arrival at the market for sale. With respect to such problems as the machinery and operation of the slave trade, relations between blacks and whites, and the intense international rivalries associated with the African trade, Chancellor's diary is a storehouse of information. But its primary significance is as an illustration of the horrors, the frustrations, and the precariousness of this branch of commerce. At a time when all trade was at best uncertain and unpredictable, that to West Africa in quest of Negro slaves was most uncertain of all.<sup>3</sup>

About William Chancellor, very little is known. His educational background and training, as well as his family connections in Pennsylvania, are all rather obscure. The Diary suggests an alert and curious mind, and one which had received more than a mere smattering of what the century had to offer in the way of a medical education. Chancellor knew Latin, for example; and, when the slaves under his care became ill with the flux, he was able to experiment successfully with a "recipe" for counteracting the sickness. With an interest in poetry, which extended even to writing a verse now and then, Chancellor had taken Alexander Pope as his idol. On February 15, 1751, he wrote: "This morning about two o'clock I was agreeably amus'd in my Sleep, with the thoughts of being in Company with my Friend Alex<sup>r</sup>. Pope, who I imagined was paying his respects to a Lady, but extremely melancholy, till the news was brought him, of her determination in his favour." A series of violent jerks, caused by the boom giving way, abruptly ended this brief visit with Pope.

Chancellor married, apparently after his return from Africa, and fathered a son. This son, William Chancellor, Jr., married Salome Wistar, daughter of John Wistar, and their descendants were united by marriage with several prominent Philadelphia families, including the Whartons. William Chancellor the diarist was a friend of Sir

<sup>3</sup> With rare exceptions, historians and students of the African slave trade have assumed that enormous profits were reaped by those who participated in the traffic. Very few have appreciated the hazards and dangers of the African trade or seemed cognizant of those developments which could make of African adventures financial disasters. See K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957), 348-349; Stanley Dumbell, "The Profits of the Guinea Trade," *Economic History Supplement to Economic Journal*, II (1931), 254-257; Francis E. Hyde, Brabury B. Parkinson, and Sheila Mariner, "The Nature and Profitability of the Liverpool Slave Trade," *Economic History Review*, Second Series, V (1953), 368-377.

William Keith, or years after return

The voyage the sloop *Wolff* at the middle of N<sup>v</sup> Slaves taken on t<sup>h</sup> of the Gambia un two-month peio<sup>r</sup> summed in traversi<sup>r</sup> River Gambia at June 1, 1750. In Banana Islands, burg) at Akwida slaving at the Ri<sup>r</sup> The second half<sup>t</sup> Coast, at Cape C January 18, 175 the *Wolff* began

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*Sunday, May 27* tering weather<sup>r</sup> beat over us and which must mak obliged to be to

<sup>4</sup> *The Pennsylvania* (1888), 24; XVIII (

<sup>5</sup> See the Book o<sup>r</sup> ecy, which identifi-



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William Keith, one-time governor of Pennsylvania. In 1763, twelve years after returning from Africa, Chancellor died in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup>

The voyage that began at New York in September, 1749, brought the sloop *Wolf* and Chancellor to the area of the River Gambia by the middle of November. According to Chancellor's "List of the Slaves taken on board the Wolf," the sloop remained in the vicinity of the Gambia until at least mid-January of 1750, purchasing in this two-month period twenty-nine slaves. Nearly six months were consumed in traversing that part of the African coast lying between the River Gambia and *Cape Coast Castle*, the Castle being reached on June 1, 1750. In the interim, there were stops at Sierra Leone, the Banana Islands, the River Sestos and at the Dutch fort (Brandenburg) at Akwidah on the Gold Coast. More than a month was spent slaving at the River Sestos, where twenty-five slaves were acquired. The second half of the year 1750 was spent in the waters off the Gold Coast, at *Cape Coast Castle*, Annamabo, and Lagos. It was not until January 18, 1751, after fourteen months on the coast of Africa, that the *Wolf* began her return voyage to New York.

The sloop was owned by Phillip Livingston and Sons, merchants in New York City. They had two other vessels slaving in Africa at the same time as the *Wolf*, the sloop *Rhode Island*, Peter James master, and the sloop *Stork*, David Lindsay master.<sup>5</sup> Both of these vessels are mentioned by Chancellor. Though this may not have been Chancellor's first experience at sea, he was not a professional seaman and the information which he provides on the *Wolf* is sketchy. She was a one-masted vessel, and in Chancellor's view was grossly inadequate for slaving. Relative to other slavers, even other sloops, she must have been of small size, for Chancellor repeatedly commented on the *Wolf's* lack of space:

*Sunday, May 27, 1750 [Brandenburg]:* This 24 Hours very bad and blustering weather which has prevented our Sailing The Sea has continually beat over us and down into the very hold and steerage where the sick are which must make it not dangerous to the sick only but the well also, being obliged to be to the ankles in water.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II (1878), 213; VI (1882), 153; XII (1888), 24; XVIII (1894), 35-36.

<sup>5</sup> See the Book of Trade of the sloop *Rhode Island*, 1748-1749, New York Historical Society, which identifies the Livingston firm as the owner of these vessels.



*Tuesday, May 29:* . . . these Sort of Vessels are terrible things to have Slaves in, especially so great a numb<sup>r</sup>. sick, & none but myself to look after them.

*Wednesday, August 8 [Cape Coast Castle]:* Tho there is not a vessel in the harbour that carries more than we do, tho there are 5 Ships 3 Snows 1 Brig- & 3 Sloops, yet there is not one so unfit for Slaves, for we have no quarter-deck no platform abf [?] aft for Children which we have of 3 & 4 years old, that they lie on Casks & it is no wonder we loose [sic] them so fast.

*Tuesday, August 21:* This morning hoisted a signal for Sailing which we expect to do in 3 or 4 days, for Nazareth, our slaves yet continue very ill with disorders almost incurable, proceeding from their weakness ever since the Measles and a want of exercise which they cannot have on board so vile a Vessel as this.

*Friday, August 31:* To my mortification died this morning a Boy Slave, of the Dropsy, likewise one of our own men died this [day], who has been ill of an Odematous swelling ever since we left the River' Gambia, these misfortunes are I think sufficient to make me repent my coming to Africa in this Vessel, not that I might live easy but she is no way proper for we are continually wet on our Decks, and our Slaves, to their Ankles often in water.

*Wednesday, September 12:* There has not been a day for this week past but our decks have been overflown with water and our Slaves to their ankles in it, with the utmost affliction it is I behold it being certain that few of them will escape without violent Colds that they have ever had.

Although poorly equipped for slaving, Chancellor believed the *Wolf* was properly fitted for warfare:

*Saturday, September 29:* We are now in earnest expectation of the French Snow I mentioned having this afternoon perceiv'd her with our glasses come to an anchor with the Rhode of Cape Coast, got all our Guns loaded & Shotted ready for an attack being the best fitted Vessel for that purpose here tho' the worst for Slaves.

If, on balance, William Chancellor found his voyage to Africa unsatisfactory and unpleasant, this was due in no small measure to his relations with Captain Gurnay Wall. Like Chancellor, Wall seems to have been a Philadelphian, and by 1749 he was acquainted with both the sea and the slave trade. He had been sent by Robert Ellis, a Philadelphia merchant, to Antigua in August, 1749, and told to dispose of his cargo of twenty-one barrels of tar and seven barrels of pitch in return for "good Likely Negroe Boys and Girls if you Can

meet wt them, at Advantage."<sup>6</sup> Let that Gurnay W<sup>o</sup> from Antigua wit Women, Boys a This cargo was Jones. In the D: incompetent cor of his employers cellar were still 12 o clock last ni coming on"—th rated, a develo) ashore:

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*Monday, June 18*

<sup>6</sup> Robert Ellis to ( Society of Pennsylvania 7 *American Weekly* ports Into Pennsylvania



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meet wt them, and if not, in any thing you think Proper for our Best Advantage."<sup>6</sup> Later that year a Philadelphia newspaper reported that Gurnay Wall, commander of the brig *Martha*, had returned from Antigua with "A VERY likely Parcel of young Negro Men and Women, Boys and Girls. Also Rumm, Sugar, Ginger and Coffee."<sup>7</sup> This cargo was being sold, according to the notice, by Edward Jones. In the Diary, Captain Wall is presented as a stubborn and incompetent commander who did not always act in the best interests of his employers. As late as May, 1750, however, Wall and Chancellor were still on friendly terms—*Wednesday, May 23, 1750*: "At 12 o'clock last night the Capt. call'd me up to see a violent Tremado coming on"—thereafter relations between them steadily deteriorated, a development that was fueled by Wall's extensive visits ashore:

*Saturday, June 2, 1750 [Cape Coast Castle]*: In the afternoon the Capt. went to the Castle the Slaves being ill I could not accompany him.

*Monday, June 4*: The Capt. has been on shore ever since yesterday morn- ing in hopes no doubt of putting off our Provisions.

*Monday, June 11*: At noon the Capt. went on Shore, having in the morn- ing rec'd a line from the General that he wou'd bargain for our Rumm.

*Tuesday, June 12*: This morning sent a Canoe for the Captain but he sent us word back to send Six hds of Rumm ashore to the fort which with pleasure was perform'd.

*Wednesday, June 13*: This morning came a Canoe for another Hogshhead of Rumm from the Fort which she got, sent the boat for the Captain but she return'd without him he being indisposed on shore.

*Thursday, June 14*: the Capt<sup>n</sup>. ill on shore.

*Saturday, June 16*: Sent the boat for the Captain but he cou'd not come off.

*Sunday, June 17*: Sent the yawl in the Evening for the Capt. but he did not come off.

*Monday, June 18*: *No Captain yet.*

<sup>6</sup> Robert Ellis to Capt. Wall, Aug. 6, 1740, Robert Ellis Letter Book, 1736-1748, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>7</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, Nov. 27-Dec. 4, 1740; see also Darold D. Wax, "Negro Imports Into Pennsylvania, 1720-1766," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXII (1965), 274.



*Tuesday, June 19:* Here have we lain this 5 days doing nothing but fretting, and not selling a tacku's worth of Rum in a day, and waiting the motion of the Capt. ashore, who says he's sick. . . . In the Evening after a very long stay the Capt. return'd on board.

*Wednesday, June 27:* I cannot help reflecting on our present unhappy Circumstances, with some kind of terror; seldom a day passes with [out] some most unhappy disquietudes, from the Superior to the inferior person on board, nothing but Discontent . . . for my part, I must be contented, since I have enter'd on this unhappy Voyage I must go thro with, tho with such anxiety, yet that I ought to put up with, if I consider that the good of a number of poor souls, depends on me. . . . Shou'd I forsake the Vessel which I have often had an Inclination to do, I certainly at my arrival at New York, shou'd be greatly to blame, especially, if any thing shou'd happen Among the[se] which my presence wou'd have in any measure prevented], but yet it is greatly, that from these motives to stay, I must stay in Misery, and that I cannot receive the Usage due to me from the Captain, which I do not, for this he threatened to turn me out of the Cabbin, because I refus'd to cook his Dinner for him. . . .

*Wednesday, July 11:* There is no one in this world let his state be ever so independent that can promise unto himself the least happiness, for my part I have had my share this my first Voyage to Africa and everybody on board, on acct. of the chief person on board the Vessel, in short to me it is harder than to others, because the manner in wch. I was bred . . . to mention every circumstance of his ill usage wou'd be mean, and my Spirit scorns to let me complain, notwithstanding my Reasons, I am almost prompted to it but can't.

*Sunday, July 29:* This morning rec'd what is call'd a Dashee from the King that was a little fresh meat, which God knows we very much want, our Sailors especially who have had nothing but Pork this 2 months, it is impossible to conceive the ill humors of them since surely convinc'd of not going home this fall, and indeed I sincerely believe that some unexpected will happen among them, their daily complaints against the Capt. Vessel & provisions is enough to give any one uneasiness & misery to be in the same Vessel with. them.

*Sunday, August 26:* This morning we kill'd a Turtle weighing 198: and had no less than 8 on board to take part, myself from the usage I receive from the Capt. stand as a looker on, and eat when the rest have done, hard fate that we cannot keep ourselves within due bounds, nor remember what we have been however it is sufficiently to show me I have been in Africa, and that I came with G: Wall.

*Thursday, August 28:* It is now to be suppos'd I am in the very height of my miserys, not only from the Deaths of the Slaves, but the reflection, that by

the Capt. is cast on me of which I am heartily.

*Wednesday, September* place where his Soul there, and when he is thing happen amiss d rising of the Slaves, f which I must be so f Evening the Capt. Authority, with a Co for an Alteration in t Mate, the Consequen

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the Capt. is cast on me on that acct. I am threatened to be brought to a Trial, of which I am heartily glad as it will, I hope, clear me from any aspersions.

*Wednesday, September 12:* the Capt. is gone to Cape Coast Castle, that place where his Soul seems to be fixt, for he is never easy but when he is there, and when he is I am under most terrible apprehensions for shou'd any thing happen amiss depend upon it 'tis me that suffers most, my fear is the rising of the Slaves, for he will have no Centry kept at the Barricado door, which I must be so free as to say is greatly to be wish'd for. . . . In the Evening the Capt. return'd from Cape Coast, and usurp'd his former Authority, with a Countenance as stern as a Saracens head, Oh how I wish for an Alteration in his Behaviour to the men on board, especially the 2d. Mate, the Consequence I cannot tell, but fear it.

*Friday, September 21:* At the return of the Capt. last night we again had words about a mere Trifle, I brought with me from N: York a Mag: for 1747 that had in it the speech of Miss Polly Baker, since our arrival here he has had one of the same date given him which he yesterday sent for seeing 2 Mag: of the same date one I knew to be mine & thereon wrote C\_\_\_\_\_r: It hapned to be this I sent him & because my name was thereon, occasioned our words.

In common with many other Europeans who visited Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chancellor found the land impressive, with a charm and beauty all its own. He often commented on the striking appearance of the country:

*Friday, May 18, 1750:* These people [along the Ivory Coast, near Cape Palmas] have a very fine & fertile Country and produces every thing for the Sustainance of man. . . .

*Sunday, May 20:* The Land from the River Sestos to Cape Palmas is low but after you get round that Cape, the Land stretches to the Eastward and is agreeably diversify'd with high Lands. . . . In the afternoon pass'd the Redland in length 5 leagues, and in the middle of which there stands a high hill which is intirely red, you are scarce pass'd this red hill before a beautiful Valley presents itself to you, so that in short you have beautifull prospects of hills & dales the whole coast along.

*Sunday, May 27:* [Near Ancober River, on the Ivory Coast] beheld the Sun shining by Intermission the most beautifull greenhills Rocks & Dales, where grows that by which many a one is happy & many undone, I mean Gold.

*November:* tis hop'd we shall do something, after our long and unhappy stay in this part of that delightfull world Call'd Africa, where tis so falsly said, that Gold grows on the Trees, and for wch. we have paid so vastly dear.



*Mid-December:* Was I now in love with Africa, It is in my power to sue for chief Surgeon of the Castle but, Afric's Lands shall not stop me nor shall it's Riches any more intice me.

*January 22, 1751:* Having as I have said departed Africa, I this day 22 January once more saw myself in the Ocean and a wide and unbounded [prospect] lying before me, but to my mortification calm on calm, which has drove us in the Latitude of Ferdinando Poo, an Island near the bite, inhabited by Savages and supply'd from the main with them, It is a most charming and beautiful place, but cannot be conquered by any, being themselves determin'd to keep it, they are in nature Cannibals.

As this last remark suggests, Chancellor was more favorably impressed with Africa than with its natives. He insisted that certain parts of West Africa were inhabited by cannibals, and in so doing he was carrying forward a myth that had received wide currency in earlier times but was beginning to break down by the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> His attitude toward the native blacks was generally negative and his remarks about them could be derogatory:

*Friday, May 18, 1750 [On the Ivory Coast]:* I am now got into a most shocking part of the world, among Savages, and I know not what, It seems as if Providence had order'd us to have no communication with these merciless wretches for the part which they have possession off [sic] begins at the River Sanwin and ends at Cape Loho, the length near 300 & 50 miles, but there is but one place on this part but is full of Rocks that is Cetra Crew, and indeed there and here you cannot come to anchor without riding among Rocks, so that this whole coast has very little Trade, tho' they have the greatest plenty of Ivory, here it is that the Vessels are so often cut off [ ] by the Cannibals here & even while they are on board the Vessel we are obliged to have men under arms & under the deck conceal'd, we are so much afraid of an attack, our boats never go ashore, if they do, the men are certain that they will be immediately cut up, broild on the coals, and devour'd, Dogs here sell at a very great price nay sometimes £5 Sterling which they eat, In the very looks of these people you may perceive something that is Merciless and vile, at the very sight of one of them this morning my blood grew cold, their stature which is gigantic their look which is feirce [sic] and the Scars of which they have have [sic] an innumerable sight all over their body's with the feathers &c hanging about them, I say is enough to terrify any body, A vessel dare not lay here above 2 days, unless they have a mind to be cut off & eat to peices [sic] for they certainly will make an attempt on you, by

<sup>8</sup> Katherine George, "The Civilized West Looks at Primitive Africa: 1400-1800, A Study in Ethnocentrism," *Isis*, XLIX (1958), 70.

night, and I have bee that they often eat t men to their Countri. Savages like themse war, and all the peof and these people if t cannibals too . . . l miserable way can i forms me they are n

*Saturday, May 19:* wind driving us too bals, nigh which pl those wretches settle sake of the human c wou'd not wear, you very narrowly, & ne answer the descripti situation of the mer run ashore, and ha with the currant st people (which make their Bodies especia grown old or any w.

*Monday, May 21:* to which is very lo place is the utmos Quagua Coast and *Saturday, June 23!* I know of none so which are the sam dence, I was lookin Far, and told him : did not wash himse

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night, and I have been credibly inform'd by some of the people to windward that they often eat th<sup>r</sup>. own children, and if they ever get any of the black men to their Country of another nation tho' not 10 miles from th<sup>r</sup>. own and Savages like themselves, they immediately kill them, they are forever at war, and all the people they get that way are devour'd in the same manner, and these people if taken by the opposite side are likewise eat, they being cannibals too . . . but a people that have all th<sup>r</sup>. lives been bred up to this miserable way can not be ever thought to be better tho' the Captain informs me they are more civil than they formerly were. . . .

*Saturday, May 19:* Early this morning, after a very uneasy night, the wind driving us too nigh the Shore, we pass'd the high lands of the Cannibals, nigh which place is a Village call'd Drewin, where are a number of those wretches settled, in hopes of plundering & taking Vessels more for the sake of the human creatures on board then the goods which if they had they wou'd not wear, you may see them come down on the beach & watch you very narrowly, & no doubt longing for you, their looks in short every way answer the description of one of the furies, how dreadful then must be the situation of the men who pass this way, when they know their fate, if they run ashore, and having at this time of the year, violent Tranados which with the currant set right on the shore it makes it more so. . . . these people (which makes them more frightfull) shave their heads, Beards, & cut their Bodies especially their faces in different forms their woman [sic] when grown old or any way defective they immediately put to death, and Eat.

*Monday, May 21:* at night pass'd Cape La Hoe the land from St. Andrews to which is very low, and at a distance the Trees appear like Ships, This place is the utmost limit of the Ivory Coast, and the beginning of the Quaqua Coast and the End of the Cannibal Land.

*Saturday, June 23 [At Annamabo]:* Of all the Negroes I have yet met with I know of none so very superstitious as they are hereabouts, Th<sup>r</sup>. fctishes which are the same as the Negroes Dominies at Gambia is th<sup>r</sup>. sole confidence, I was looking at my watch to day, a negro standing by, I put it to his Ear, and told him it was my fictish & that he wou'd immediately die, if he did not wash himself which he wth. the utmost haste immediately did.

*Wednesday, June 27 [Near Annamabo]:* Nigh this place lies a nation who are by the marks in th<sup>r</sup>. faces distinguish'd, they are call'd Dumcoes, and are hated by every oth<sup>r</sup>. nation hereabouts, they are actually what I have seen of them perfect fools, and are never by the Vessels bought, unless the master be a young Trader, and does not know them but as all the negroes are on the different Coast mark'd. it's easy to remember them.

*Tuesday, July 3:* The negroes in these parts tho' they are very ingenious, yet have not half that honesty and good nature, that the Gambia men are endowed with neither will you receive half that civility from them, indeed



it is not to be wondered at for are constantly drinking that enemy to man I mean Rum—& raw.

*Saturday, July 7:* The natives of the gold coast are not so black as other negroes but rather yellow, yet have more life and cheerfulness in them of any slaves you get except the Gambia.

*Thursday, July 26:* The young negro I yesterday mentioned [who though of royal blood had been stolen and sold in Barbados] was not very long ago redeemed, by Mr. Crayton, one of the chiefs of Cape Coast who carried him to England where he has been made so much off [sic] as to . . . be invited even into the Prince of Wales's apartment, cou'd the Prince but see how we dispise black men nay even his very father, twou'd make him wonder.

Despite Chancellor's obvious antipathy toward the blacks, he was intrigued by their customs and paterm of living. A substantial portion of his Diary was given over to observations on native practices, some of which he viewed with sympathetic awe:<sup>9</sup>

*Monday, June 4, 1750:* At the end of the Rock whereon is built Cape Coast Castle is another call'd the Tabula against which the water beats with so much force that the noise thereof is hear'd all over the fort. To this Tabula the negroes of this coast repair once a Year to renew what they call their fictish's that is thr Gods, which is nothing but a peice [sic] of paper made into any fold, gold cast into Shape or any such foolish thing, this Tabula is by them thought to be the father of all thr. Gods, they have them likewise on other coasts, which I forgot to mention.

*Tuesday, June 5:* There is nothing in which the negroes so much differ in Africa as the make of their Canoes & paddles, here they are flat bottom'd every where else on the Coast thr. bottoms are round.

*Friday, June 15:* It is impossible to imagine how very dextrous the negroes are in catching fish with a net, this morning I watch'd one man throw one of 3 yards deep, and hale it in himself with innumerable fish.

*Thursday, June 28 [Gold Coast]:* They have here two different ways of burying the dead, by which they are distinguish'd, when a grand person dies they put them into a Chest where they keep them till such time they are ready to bury them, that is till they have Rum & blew balls, for the moun-

<sup>9</sup> Europeans had from the beginning exhibited a curiosity about native practices in Africa, and their descriptions grew less antagonistic as the years passed by. For a generally sympathetic treatment of African customs, see Joseph Hawkins, *A History of a Voyage to the Coast of Africa and Travels Into the Interior of that Country; Containing Particular Descriptions of the Climate and Inhabitants, and Interesting Particulars Concerning the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1797).

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*Monday, July 30:* Y call a great fictish da: cheers [officials] to be Capucheer pleases, th walks out but gold tal found either in the pu day, let them be whoi subjection that they a some to the head Cap

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ers then they take them out put them in a peice [sic] of cloth just as they died for they never strip them, and Lay them on the ground (not in a Grave) in a convenient place, there build a hut over 'em & cover it for fear of the Rain with Indian corn leaves for 3 days then they destroy that hut and dig a Grave wherein they put 'em and over that build another hut, then for 6 weeks successively mourn, then end.

*Saturday, June 30:* I yesterday promised to give an acct. in what manner they bury their kings, it is thus, when they are first dead they keep it a great secret that the natives may not know it, for the death of a king as in England makes a great alteration on state affairs, when he first dies, they make a kind of a something, like our Grid Irons, whereon they lay him and day after day they make a fire under him which melts him, his fat they ketch in urns his body they in solemnity inter.

*Monday, July 2:* The negroes in this part of the world have a day they call fictish day, which is Friday their Sunday, it is their custom at that time to dress themselves in greens about their hats which are straw, knees & ankles, they likewise whenever they [sic] is a scarcity of fish, lay what they call a fictish, for 6 weeks, during which time no one can catch a fish with a net but with a hook as many as they please, this they do that there may be sufficient to stock the vessels that lay here.

*Saturday, July 21:* Early this morning bought a turtle that weigh'd 200 weight, for 5 Gall Runn, the negroes never eat them, but look on them as one of their Fictishis, tho they sell them to the English & they are so plenty that every day you may dine on one of them.

*Monday, July 30:* Yesterday was reckoned among the negroes what they call a great fictish day that is a day which day is appointed by the Capuchens [officials] to be kept sacred to their God, it is appointed when the Capucheer pleases, there are a set of men who are appointed to see no one walks out but gold takers, till 4 o Clock in the afternoon if any of them are found either in the publick paths or Streets they are sold for Slaves the next day, let them be whom they will, thus they keep the poor low creatures in subjection that they are even afraid to carry Runn on Shore without sending some to the head Capuchers, whom they call their masters.

*Tuesday, July 31:* When 4 o Clock the time I mentioned yesterday comes they begin a battle with Sticks & Stones in which a number very often get not only broken bones, but even loose [sic] their lives, this brings on a palabar [meeting or negotiation] which is not settled without a great Sum of money paid to the Capuchers, by which as this battle is every weak [sic] they get a good maintenance at the Coast of Annamaboo for at other places there is no such Custom.



*Thursday, August 2:* The superstition of the negroes here is vastly surprising, they even put at the head of their Canoes, all the Bones of a Goat or any thing they kill, which is one of their fictishes, and in which they firmly believe.

*Friday, August 17:* I forgot to mention that the day I was at C. Coast was the day the fictish I mentioned was laid against catching fish with a net, was out, the fictish was a goat tail, it was carried in a fine clean bason laid on cotton, by a young woman, to the water side, and at the waters edge they fired one Volley, then danced then put the fictish into the muzzle of a gun and fir'd it away, after which there was rejoicing & firing & above one hundred Canoes out with nets to catch Herring.

*Friday, September 14:* The Capuchens I have mentioned already, and what they are, that is people in the greatest power Never one of them departs this life without having one or two people kill'd on the Spot in honour to him, and burnt in the manner of the antient's from which they take it.

It is evident from the above passages that native customs had undergone some change as a result of contact with Europeans. Funeral practices, for example, had been modified to the extent that goods obtained from white traders were crucial to the entire procedure. Chancellor noted other instances, too, of the European impact on native culture patterns:

*Friday, June 29, 1750 [Gold Coast]:* If a poor person dies in these parts, their friends are obliged to keep them till they can either beg money enough, or if they have a Slave sell it to get Rum, or nobody will appear at the funeral, during this time they keep them close lock'd in a chest.

*Sunday, July 8:* As soon as you arrive at Annamaboo, you will have negroes come off to you to desire you to take their Sons on board, to learn them English, which they generally do, & keep them in the cabin to wait on you neither is there any thing, the negroes so much esteem as a negro who talks English, and by thr. country men they are very much esteem'd.

*Monday, July 9:* The negroes here were formerly as ravenous as those mentioned off of Cape Labo, but by the English Vessels being constantly here they are in some measure become naturalized, which has been very much to thr. advantage, for they are now not only acquainted with English Customs, but often send their Sons to England & have them again.

*Tuesday, July 17:* The negroes in this part of the world were formerly just such as mentioned at the first page of this Volume, but by the trade of the English with them, they are become the most civilized of any on the Coast it is impossible to imagine with what art and cunning they will case

brass even so nice a not well acquaintance what he buys.

White traders the natives with other goods. The pean manufactur served them well of the slave trade of trading, were able power. Ch Africans could t countless ways made by the na precisely because equals.<sup>10</sup>

*Thursday, June 7* take of Palabars, puts me in mind (Roberts) and Ki gone to settle, at boys at Dix Cove arrival on Shore, which they denie Pope says might even come to blc Dutch forts . . . 8 hundred Negre

*Friday, June 22:* maboo, for as it and fish, so plen provisions, at lea of this lies In°. ( commands the C of the kings is le

<sup>10</sup> For other con- trade, see Francis D Evaline Martin, ed. Accidents in the Li to the Year 1757"—



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White traders on the coast of Africa had definite advantages over the natives with whom they conducted the exchange for slaves and other goods. They fostered a native dependence on rum and European manufactured goods. Their superior technology and fire-power served them well when disputes arose with the blacks. Yet the terms of the slave trade, as those terms had been worked out over centuries of trading, were such as to leave in the hands of the blacks considerable power. Chancellor became familiar with the pressures which Africans could bring to bear on white traders, and he noted how in countless ways the success of the slave trade was tied to decisions made by the natives. The African trade was successfully conducted precisely because it was a co-operative effort, an exchange between equals.<sup>10</sup>

*Thursday, June 7, 1950:* I have forgot to mention that when the Negroes take of Palabars, they mean counsels or the settling of a disagreement, what puts me in mind of this a Palabar which the general of the Fort (Mr. Roberts) and King Cudgyo whose town joins the Fort with his army are gone to settle, at Dix Cove, the case was this there was some of [sic] English boys at Dix Cove fishing as fish are on this coast extremely plenty at their arrival on Shore, some of the Dutch boys insisted on some of their fish which they denied, on which blows arose, between them, and from this as Pope says mighty things arise from trivial causes, so this has, for they have even come to blows and the firing of great guns between the English and Dutch forts . . . and on this acct. it is General Roberts and the army of 8 hundred Negroes are gone there, to endeavor to settle it.

*Friday, June 22:* There is no part of Africa, so plentiful as this Annamboo, for as it is a place for Trade, they have Goats, Hogs Ducks, Fowls and fish, so plenty Crabs Lobsters, &c. that you need not ever want fresh provisions, at least those that have a mind to purchase them, At the back of this lies In°. Corantie with an army of 130 thousand men with which he commands the Country, but their [sic] is now an obstruction to trade, as one of the kings is lately dead and they know not who to choose.

<sup>10</sup> For other contemporary examples of native participation in and control of the slave trade, see Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa* . . . (London, 1738); and Evaline Martin, ed., *Nicholas Owen, Journal of a Slave Dealer*—"A View of Some Remarkable Accidents in the Life of Nics. Owen on the Coast of Africa and America from the Year 1746 to the Year 1757"—(London, 1930).



*Sunday, June 24:* Here they call their Linguisters Gold takers because they attend you and see that you take none that is bad, they have no books here as they have to windward, for if they are ever detected in defrauding you of one penny they are made slaves of for life, they are very little trusted here, but are obliged to leave a pledge which they often do to pay in such a time, if they do not, the pledge, tho' twice the value is yr. own, here likewise they trust the English very much for they take yr. note, if you can not get at the goods they want, tho' it be for a Slave.

*Monday, June 25:* This morning had on board the head men of the Towns here for their Customs which on the whole comes to near 100 ackees, you must against their coming on board prepare Beef or pork as much as they can eat and punch as much as they will drink and at their departure hoist your colours and salute them with your Guns, during the time they are on board it resembles an ale house all talkers no hearers, but it is with them ever so.

*Tuesday, June 26:* They have here a very good custom, among the Ships which the negroes have brought them to, for they never will come off to you after 4 o Clock but in the morning by day light, after we<sup>ch</sup>, if any of the masters of the Vessels have any thing good or fresh to eat they at Sun Set hoist a jack & every body repairs there.

*Wednesday, July 11:* Early this morning the King of the Fantees call'd In<sup>o</sup>. Corantie sent his Canoe with. 12 negroes for me, deny going I cou'd not, from the Ship to the Shore I was attended with the Singing of them, at my arrival I waited on Tho. Clifton Esq<sup>r</sup>, chief of Annamaboo, and sent to let his Majesty know I was arriv'd, but I cou'd not see him till, in the afternoon, however I spent my time with Mr. Clifton in contemplating how hard it is to get admission, to great people, his business with me on shore was to consult, in order to relieve a disorder he now has on but cou'd give him no hopes of any, it being incurable. . . .

*Thursday, July 19:* The negroes here have the same ill faculty attending them that other negroes have, Those who live at Annamaboo are call'd the trading men that is those that talk English, and they are sure if they sell a slave to keep one third of the goods from the Bushmen, that is that live in the bush or Country, and are ignorant not only of trade, but English.

*Sunday, July 22:* A few years ago there was a Vessel here call'd the floating factory, she came out completely fitted for 3 years, and sent out her boats or tenders, who brought Gold and Slaves innumerable, every year she sent home a Vessel with. 4 hundred ounces of Gold, & 4 Hund<sup>d</sup>, Slaves notwithstanding which she never paid any cust<sup>s</sup>, nor any thing to the pond [?] for the vast quantity of water she used which gave the negroes the greatest uneasiness, and they were determin'd one way or other to be revenged, this Vessel was sent out in opposition to Cape Coast Castle.

*Monday, July 23:* T 3 years, with the success affair was. The continuing obliged him to make: came ashore he wou'd sign'd to go on shore, well eat her bottom, to take to their boats the negroes, during v tance, and the protection was, something like persons they came o Coast they were pre came to demand his ounces of Gold, the Cape Coast, where I

*Friday, August 10:* other Fantees, the first the passage down to King, but he being the passage will be c Slaves will be plenty, he opened came thi

*Thursday, August 1* between the towns Canoe of C. Coasts, hinder it, therefore a palabar & stopt t

*Saturday, August 1* there to settle a [stealing] some old ple, but he went a day gave them the absent, came down cou'd not make u her with. the value men, who wou'd h this affair will tis Capt. Rolison.

*Wednesday, Septe* we came to a Rest turns will let none



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*Monday, July 23:* This floating factory I say, carried on this trade near 3 years, with the success above mentioned but see how unstable this human affair was. The continual importunities of the negroes to the Captain of her obliged him to make some promise which he did & it was this that when he came ashore he wou'd give them his Leg, for he had but one, & he never design'd to go on shore, the worms, after they had Sent home the 3 Vessels had well eat her bottom, and She suddenly sunk, the men & master were obliged to take to their boats, and go on shore, where they were safely protected by the negroes, during which time they sent up to Cape Coast to beg for assistance, and the protection of those few things they had saved, this I say this was, something like a revolution of affairs to use for aid from those very persons they came out in opposition to, after having a promise from Cape Coast they were preparing to depart when the Capuchers or head man came to demand his promise which was his leg, and insisted on it or 100 ounces of Gold, the Last of which he chose to part with, then proceeded to Cape Coast, where he was protected.

*Friday, August 10:* There are two nations here one call'd Shantees the other Fantees, the former extending as far as the kingdom of Morocco, but the passage down to the Fantees has been stop'd this 7 years by Poco the Kings, but he being dead the Capuchers have made a peace, and imagine the passage will be open in 6 weeks, and his army of 150,000 depart, by wch. Slaves will be plenty and got everyday. . . . The news of it's being soon to be opened came this day.

*Thursday, August 16:* We now have no trade here on acct. of a palabar between the towns here, the reason thus, The men of Cornantine seiz'd a Canoe of C. Coast, & kept the men The men of Agar saw them & did not hinder it, therefore the men of Annamaboo seized them, which has caused a palabar & stopt the Trade.

*Saturday, August 18:* This boat [*la long boat*] was sent away to Barsaw there to settle a palabar Capt. Rolison had occasioned by panianing [*stealing*] some old Capuchers, the negroes thereon seized some of his people, but he went away and left them to the rage of the negroes, who every day gave them the Bastinado, when Capt. Boats, whose long boat was then absent, came down they paniard some of his people too, as Capt. Boats, cou'd not make up the palabar then, but when his long boat return'd sent her wth. the value of 10 Slaves, who settled it and redeem'd the poor white men, who wou'd have been sold as Slaves in the back parts of the country, this affair will tis suppos'd occasion bloodshed between Capt Boats & Capt. Rolison.

*Wednesday, September 12:* To endeavour to lower the price of the Slaves we came to a Resolution to let the Negroes have no **Rum**, and they in their turns will let none of us have any water, or Corn so that we seem to be de-



termin'd on something but believe they will weather us out, for they can better go with out Rum then we without Corn or Water. . . .

*November 23:* This day determin'd to fall the price of Slaves which provokes the Negroes so much that they will neither let us, have Water nor Corn.

Relations with native Africans, pivoting around the exchange of goods, were often turbulent, and ranged from the use of economic pressure to the seizure of individuals. The mechanics of trade between blacks and whites could be confused and chaotic, the more so because on neither side were there well-defined organizations or lines of authority. In 1749, when Chancellor reached the coast of West Africa, the English trade to that continent had been open to private traders for fifty years, since 1698. Further, the African trade had long been characterized by rivalry and competition between various European nations. In Chancellor's Diary there is mention of Dutch, Danish, Portuguese and French slaving vessels, to say nothing of those ships from England and the various American colonies. The result was a very complex situation, involving unstable and changing conditions of trade. Chancellor gave much attention to the international aspects of the African trade:

*Wednesday, May 23:* When you are here you may [see] a Castle standing upon a rising ground, at the End of a red hill, This Castle is call'd Brandenburg & belongs to the Dutch Netherlanders, coming from Sea in a Sunshiny day the Castle affords a beautiful prospect but when you are abreast of it, it cannot be seen at all on acct. of a great high rock that lies before it. In the Evening we were obliged to come to an anchor on acct. of a Trenados coming on, tho' within 3 or 4 leagues of the Fort at which place we design to stop to put off some of our Provisions.

*Thursday, May 29:* After you get around Cape 3 Points the Land again trenches to the Eastward . . . about 4 leagues round the Cape lies a Dutch castle at Aquedah off which place in the Evening we anchor'd and sent our boat to the Castle to see if there was any trade.

*June 1:* The Castle [Akwidah] is situated at the bottom of a hill on the top of which where the General resides is a small battery they are both well fortified by art and nature have 600 soldiers, 4 bridges which at any time they draw up, and prevent your getting in, these bridges with 200 soldiers have come to hand since the war, they being afraid of an Invasion from the French.

*Saturday, June 2:* . . . which is a place they Ships [*sic*] let them few Shot.

*Wednesday, June 6:* Vessels that now lay

*Saturday, June 16:* Annamaboo, which at the mine all which scarce any trade at and have not 100 Sl

*Wednesday, August* the long boat, boun bacco and then to F

*Sunday, September* Trade are gone to I to windward are cc Ships, and no trade

*Sunday, Sept. 16:* Dutch Capt. the I palabar who sh'd, b them, on wch. Le ! went on board the English colours me under English colo this day he was ent wch. he return'd an

*Saturday, Septemb* American fleets rec was a frenchman t afternoon a Sail ap for an Engagemen being on board the

*November 14-16:* Maure, the Ship is to Trade at Anna the Commanders deny them comm ready for an Enga that the King of ] this reply provok'



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1968 SLAVING VOYAGE TO AFRICA 481  
*Saturday, June 2:* 3 or 4 days ago arriv'd 4 French men at Annamaboo, which is a place they have not liberty to Trade at which the English Ships Ships [*sic*] let them know, by driving them away after the exchange of a few Shot.

*Wednesday, June 6:* Disposed of great part of our flower to some french Vessels that now lay here, for Gold.

*Saturday, June 16:* In the afternoon a Dutch Ship arrived here bound to Annamaboo, which will make the 17th Sail there, 4 here at C. Coast, and 2 at the mine all which places are in sight of one another, so that there is scarce any trade at all, and some of the Vessels have lain here 10 months, and have not 100 Slaves.

*Wednesday, August 29:* This day at noon, carry'd 5 men Slaves, on board the long boat, bound to Widadah there to trade with the Portuguese for Tobacco and then to proceed to Accra where we meet her.

*Sunday, September 2, to Monday, September 10:* Some Vessels seeing no Trade are gone to Leward and windward, others not meeting with success to windward are come here, so that all Africa is at present overrun with Ships, and no trade to be had.

*Sunday, Sept. 16:* There has lately been a grand palabar here between a Dutch Capt. the Dutch and English Capt. Le gard & Capt. Rust had a palabar who sh'd. be Commodore but cou'd not agree, words arose between them, on wch. Le gard left his Vessel on wch. he was then on board, and went on board the English the next day wch. was yesterday he hoisted English colours made an Entertainment for all the English Capts & fired under English colours. The whole Fleet of English saluted him 7 Times & this day he was entertain'd on board an English Vessel, with firing of Guns wch. he return'd and hoisted a broad pendant, at mast head.

*Saturday, September 22:* This morning the Commanders of the British and American fleets rec'd advice from the General of C. Coast Castle, that there was a frenchman to windward coming down to intercept our Trade. In the afternoon a Sail appear'd on wch. every Englishman in the Rhode got ready for an Engagement & myself got all our guns on bre [*sic*] side The Captain being on board the Commodore. [*The vessel turned out to be a Dutchman.*]

*November 14-19:* [On November 14] came down 2 Frenchmen to Fort Maure, the Ship is that I mentioned p. 147 Vol: 1 they are come determined to Trade at Annamaboo, several messages have pass'd from Cape Coast to the Commanders here but Capt. Wall was this day Nov 18 1750 sent up to deny them coming into this Rhode, in whose absence I got every thing ready for an Engagement. Novr. 19th The Capt. return'd with this answer, that the King of France cou'd spare powder and ball, & they wou'd use it, this reply provok'd us, and in the night in Company with Capt. Darbyshire,



Capt. Powers (of which I was Lieutenant) and Capt. Boats we weigh'd Anchor, in order to come to an Engagement, in the morning by day light we came to, Capt. Darbyshire on the Starboard side of the Ship Capt. Boats at her Stern, Capt. Powers on the Starboard Side the Snow, and the Wolf Sloop at her Stern, Orders were sent for them to depart which was answer'd with a Shot, and the Engagement began, with all the force and Resolution of Englishmen and having play'd away with the loss of our rigging and Sails for two hours we came to a Cessation of Arms, but they like cowardly Dons, only did it to prepare for a brisker attack, wch. exasperating us to the greatest Degree, we again began with red hot shot, determin'd to die or conquer, In the midst of it our Topmast was Shot away, and our maintopsail yard, went over the side, two or three of our men ran below, but I brought them up, and fix'd them on the Arning in the very heat of the Battle, one of them got behind a large Copper while the Shot were continually playing against it tis true I was much intimidated at first, but the whistling of the Shot carry'd my fears away Our Slaves being confin'd below, there was little danger of their being hurt, The last broadside we gave the Ship which was not nighest to us, which she return'd with equal fury with her small arms, and in which I rec'd four small Shot in my Legs, but I did not feel it, till it was over. At ½ after 7 they struck, upon these conditions that we wou'd let them fill their water, which we consented to, and in the Evening a noble Entertainment was made on board the Ship, to which the Capts. & Officers were invited and having well soud ourselves with their Claret, they made each of us a present of a lac'd hat, & the next morning having saluted us with 13 Guns, and departed to Leward, we to our Stations at Annamaboo, and rec'd the Compliments of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, for this peice [sic] of Service, but this was poor Satisfaction to my wounded Legs.

[*Sometime in December, 1750*]. The affair with the French men did not end on our driving them from Mauree but Capt. Darbyshire drove them from thence [to] the Mine where they anchor'd tho' fir'd at by the fort this fort has given orders to the war canoes to take all private trad<sup>s</sup> so that our long boat every day expected is in danger of being taken.

[*Late December, 1750*]. The quarrel between us and the Dutch at Butters has occasioned great bloodshed, Our long boat, in his passage to Assine was attack'd by the war Canoes but after an Engagement of 8 hours, she got clear & proceeded on her Voyage the day after which Capt. Darbyshires boat & Capt. Boats that went with provision to Diskove were attack'd and a most bloody Engagement they had Capt. Darbyshire's boat had one man kill'd Capt. Boats mate shot in the head but they did not come away before they had landed their Provision and burnt a small Dutch negro town, Our own mate was shot across the neck.

Within the context of this keen competition and jockeying for position the purchasing of slaves proceeded. Trade could be dulled by

the presence of too might temporarily could be halted by teen months were slaves, which, as (

*Thursday, May 24,* much to do as I can measles, & two of t Sestos, and will no c a few days can [sic] him for sound, whic did't see it.

*Wednesday, June 6:* a quart which is the

*Thursday, June 7:* Ship here for 2 Slav

*Truesday, June 19:* are here, without at

*Thursday, June 28:* a hhd. of Rumm half

*Saturday, June 30:*

*Friday, July 13:* Annamaboo.

*Saturday, August 4* the negroes they in & I have even know having his Rumm Slave that was offe against the next da

*Wednesday, August* year on the Coast, has lost 70, were tl same our own, tha markable is that tl

*October 23, 1750:*

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the presence of too many vessels in a particular area, African politics might temporarily disrupt the acquisition and sale of slaves, or trade could be halted by failure to agree on prices or trading rights. **Fourteen months were necessary for the *Wolf* to get in its complement of slaves, which, as Chancellor emphasized, was a long time indeed:**

*Thursday, May 24, 1750* [*At the Dutch Fort Brandenburg*]: I have now as much to do as I can well manage, having no less than 11 Slaves ill of the measles, & two of the dropsy which were bought by the mate at the River Sestos, and will no doubt depart soon, it is very odd that the negroes can in a few days can [*sic*] patch up a dropsical child as if nothing [*ailed*] him & sell him for sound, which they often do, & these two have had some time, tho he did'nt see it.

*Wednesday, June 6:* our Gold we buy by weight our Rumm sells for a Tacku a quart which is the weight of a pea, 4 Takus makes 5 Shill:

*Thursday, June 7:* This afternoon sold some of our Provision to a French Ship here for 2 Slaves.

*Tuesday, June 19:* As to Slaves there are none, and 7 Rumm Vessels yet we are here, without any thoughts of going further unless to Annamaboo.

*Thursday, June 28:* This morning had the good fortune to get a Slave for a hhd. of Rumm half water.

*Saturday, June 30:* This morning bought 3 boys of a very good size.

*Friday, July 13:* This morning rec'd on board 2 boy Slaves for Rumm from Annamaboo.

*Saturday, August 4:* A Person of any sagacity may easily penetrate into the negroes they imagine the English have a fictish that lies in their heads, & I have even known an Instance since I have been here, of a Captain's not having his Rumm mix'd, told them, his fictish wou'd not let him buy the Slave that was offered but he wou'd think for his head, which is the saying against the next day, at wch. time his Rumm was ready.

*Wednesday, August 22:* It is very remarkable that no Slaves have died this year on the Coast, but those bought at the river Sestos, Capt. Harrison who has lost 70, were those purchased there, . . . Capt Boats, who lost 35 the same our own, that were purchas'd there have died; and what is more remarkable is that they have all died of the same disorders.

*October 23, 1750:* we purchas'd 2 very Young Slaves.

Those slaves purchased and placed on board the *Wolf* required care—they had to be fed and kept reasonably clean—and almost con-



stant surveillance. The threat of a slave uprising was always present, especially while vessels remained near the coast where a successful mutiny would permit the captured Negroes to return with relative ease to the mainland.<sup>11</sup> Chancellor was haunted by the fear of a slave uprising and, in fact, before the *Wolf* got safely off the coast, she was the victim of an abortive uprising:

*Wednesday, June 6, 1750:* The chief of provision that is got here for our Slaves is Indian Corn which is severall ways dress'd, that ground is call'd by the negroes *Cankee*, this is the third time we have changed our Provisions since we came on the *Cast* [*sic*], which all Ships do.

*Monday, June 11:* Going into the Steerage this morning found a little girl dead, she went down last night very well which made me suspect some foul play, and on turning about found her right ear bloody got my Instruments and opened the part where I found the Temporal Bone fractur'd, on an Inquiry among the Slaves found one of the women had beat her in the night.

*Tuesday, July 24:* It is the greatest mystery to me that can be on what account we stay here especially as we have 60 Slaves, near 200 ounces of Gold, & 40000 wt. of wax, & lime enough to get home but rather than do any thing for the interest the Captain came on I think we are loosing [*sic*] every day.

*Tuesday, August 7:* Our Slaves by their long continuance on board the Vessel, where they are obliged to set still all day long are so cramped that this day I was obliged to bath 7 of their knees, with warm water before they cou'd walk, this they are not subject to in other Vessels.

*Thursday, August 30:* By the departure of the long boat we are depriv'd of a number of our hands so that there only remains 2 on board before the mast, and this day the Capt went to Dinner & Supper on board the *Sylvia* of Bristol, and left me only 2 men on board and 44 Slaves, that during his absence I am oblig'd to see my pistols prim'd & loaded & not stir before the Bulkhead.

*Monday, September 17:* This is the fifth day that we have had the weather excessive bad, with the water over our decks, which I imagine to be the reason of 3 [slaves] being now ill of the pleurisy, The Capt out of the Vessel & this day not a white man on board but myself unless 2 that are ill.

On October 5, 1750, the *Wolf* left Annamabo and sailed easterly along the Gold Coast bound for Lagos. At two in the morning on

<sup>11</sup> Darold D. Wax, "Negro Resistance to the Early American Slave Trade," *Journal of Negro History*, LI (1966), 6-7, 9.

October 11 the vessel because of unfavorable twelfth. Sometime I boarded the *Wolf* to try freedom. The whole four pages are missing evidence on the mate, Thomas Gels lows picks up at the timely assistance that miring how great my mate come out of the less than a second of of his Soul & Body, I reason be persuaded did not rise the day I cannot help mention boys to whom I had Pistol and Cutlass, 8 blood got me some w up, nor can I mention jump'd over board I swam he pull'd his fire which effectually finished anchor'd in Annamal lives from the Britis thought off [*sic*] was the *second mate* we had the Slaves rising have them home again, so defence of the Vessel. say unhappy condition the yawl were taken mentioned (& conversation with the reason of the Insurrection the usage he rec'd from them, a notion of them, into them, they were from this but they were fear of being concerned will soon be



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October 11 the vessel turned westward to return to Annamabo, but because of unfavorable winds she did not reach Annamabo until the twelfth. Sometime between October 5 and October 10 the slaves on board the *Wolf* tried to overpower the ship's crew and regain their freedom. The whole episode is unclear because at this crucial point four pages are missing from the Diary. Chancellor does provide some evidence on the mutiny, however, and indicates that the second mate, Thomas Gelston, was the ringleader. The passage which follows picks up at the point where the Diary resumes:

timely assistance that ever took up Cutlass or pistol, and I cannot help admiring how great my resolution of forbearance was, when I saw the second mate come out of the women's Room, for had I not just recall'd myself, in less than a second of time, I had certainly annihilated [*sic*] the nothing less of his Soul & Body, for his Cowardice but we cannot without the greatest reason be perswaded but that he is deep in the plot, how happy was it, they did not rise the day before when the Capt. was ashore at the fort. . . . I cannot help mentioning that during the time of this action one of the little boys to whom I had taken a liking and he to me, attended me with Balls Pistol and Cutlass, & during the time that I was fainting with the loss of blood got me some water to wch. I attribute my being able to keep myself up, nor can I mention without being affected how one of our Slaves that jump'd over board drowned himself, for finding that in spite of himself he swam he pull'd his frock over his head, & there held it while he had strength, which effectually finished him, & this unhappy affair. . . . Having safely anchor'd in Annamaboo Rhode & rec'd the congratulations of our preserv'd lives from the British and American Commanders, the first thing to be thought off [*sic*] was the refitting our much damaged Vessel. . . . [*Concerning the second mate*] we have discover'd that he has been the only instigation to the Slaves rising having perswaded them to it, with a promise of carrying them home again, so that it appears why he was not concern'd with us in the defence of the Vessel, but was secur'd below, While affairs were in this I may say unhappy condition, we rec'd an acct. that the Slaves that got away in the yawl were taken so that we may every day with the vile man before mentioned (& concern'd in the plot) expect them. . . . Having some conversation with the rebel negroes last night they unfolded the whole mystery of the Insurrection which was contriv'd by the second mate in revenge to the usage he rec'd from the Capt, since the loss of the long boat, as he told them, a notion of their being to be eat in Europe he had likewise instill'd into them, they were to put thr. design in Execution the day we departed from this but they wou'd not consent till part by his promise and part by thr. fear of being eat in Europe he prevail'd, The other white man concern'd will soon be here, & if he turns kings Evidence, the second mate will



take his Trial on board a man of war expected daily . . . [Oct. 30] on wch. day I went to Cape Coast and return'd the next with the white man that went away in the yawl he having walk'd there from the Fort at Winnebah, and the next day he being extremely ill, in a Salivation, discovered me an acct. of the whole affair whose deposition I took, The second mates intention was to procure the Gold dust to himself, and then by putting to death the white men, turn pirate with the Vessel, and was the very person that gave the Cutlass they had got to them, face to face they were brought but he denied every circumstance they upon oath positively declared to his face, How this unhappy affair will end, Heav'n & the Sovereign director can only tell, the Capt. recover'd of his wounds myself able to put my foot to the ground & the Cooper is likewise recovered of his fracture. . . . This morning January 16th 1750/1 we sent on shore to the Castle our troublesome Gent. that caused the Insurrection among our Slaves, Thos. Gelston, native of Belfast in Ireland, to be sent to the man of war with our accusations against him, there to take his Trial, oblig'd again to put our Slaves into the chain imagining that they have some thoughts of renewing their attempts on us.

William Chancellor was unable to limit his activities to those directly involving the care of the slaves. He was forced by the very nature of the African trade to serve in numerous capacities—as soldier, trader, and negotiator. Yet his major responsibility was to oversee the slaves, to nurse them when they became ill and to strive to maintain them in good health so that their sale would bring maximum prices. It is not surprising, therefore, that his Diary should focus on the health of the slaves. He worried and fretted as he watched over them, and often seemed to express a genuine humanitarian concern. His reputation as a professional surgeon, however, was always close to the surface; dead or sickly Negroes would cast reflections on his competence:

*Saturday, May 26, 1750* [At the Dutch Fort Brandenburg]: At 12 o'Clock last night it began to rain and continued this whole day, however we hoisted out the yawl, and sent her to the Castle in the midst of it, it wou'd have came to my share to have gone in her, had not we so great a number of the Slaves ill, which are 37 in number, besides the Capt. and two of the Sailors, Judge how I am perplex'd now.

*Tuesday, May 29:* On the 26th of this month I mentioned 37 of the young Slaves being ill of the measles the whole number makes now forty three, and this very Evening a Girl of about 5 years old departed with them, and imagine that more will tip off.

*Wednesday, May 30:* I found a boy dead, at Reader, whoever thou describe the Torture I subscribe to a watry grave one of *Saturday, June 2* [At C morning, found one of t birth, I may truly say I almost distracted me of boat had she been saved deck and hardly able to them.

*Tuesday, June 5:* Ear dead, whom I opened some of the[m] 12 & 13. flux & Measles.

*Saturday, June 9:* At found one of the girls

*Wednesday, June 13:* whom I opened and fo of them, this makes tl beginning sickness Ma *Thursday, June 21:* which time died a girl boy of the Dropsy.

*Sunday, July 1:* This Sickness I have had o for his disorder, for h dead I opened and too Sole care of the Slave even die.

*Friday, July 13:* at Flux.

*Wednesday, July 18:* in the utmost anxiety not have been sick ha fection was,) on the c them which is now in ofen is, this if it shou now on the recovery having staid so long to



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*Wednesday, May 30:* This morning early going down among the Slaves, I found a boy dead, at noon another, and in the afternoon, another. Oh Reader, whoever thou art, it is impossible for you to conceive or me to describe the Torture I sustain at the loss of these Slaves we have committed to a watry grave one of wch. boys was to have been my own.

*Saturday, June 2 [At Cape Coast Castle]:* Going down into the hold this morning, found one of the boy Slaves dead, whome we committed to a watry birth, I may truly say unhappily for me, the uneasiness it has gave me has almost distracted me oh how great a misfortune was it to loose [sic] the long boat had she been saved we shou'd not have come this far; to see 29 come on deck and hardly able to crawl must be affecting to one who has the care of them.

*Tuesday, June 5:* Early this morning found a little girl about 3 years old dead, whom I opened immediately and found in her Intestines 7 Worms some of the[m] 12 & 13 Inches roll'd up together in a bundle, she had had the Flux & Measles.

*Saturday, June 9:* At 3 o Clock this morning going down among the Slaves found one of the girls dead.

*Wednesday, June 13:* at noon dyed the girl I have mentioned of Worms, whom I opened and found the Pylorus or neck of the Stomach chock'd full of them, this makes the twelfth Slave we have lost since our fatal day of beginning sickness May 1.

*Thursday, June 21:* This morning hoisted our Jack and pendant (ne'er which time died a girl Slave of that vile disorder the Flux) and at noon a boy of the Dropsy.

*Sunday, July 1:* This morning died a boy . . . my medicines with the Sickness I have had on board are near expended neither had I any proper for his disorder, for he died of Stone in his Kidneys & which after he was dead I opened and took out, it is very affecting thing that I who have the Sole care of the Slaves and know what is proper must see them suffer & even die.

*Friday, July 13:* at noon threw over a boy Slave who died of the white Flux.

*Wednesday, July 18:* There is scarce a day now passes without my being in the utmost anxiety the reflection of the Slaves we have lost (which wou'd not have been sick had not the Capt. gone on board a Vessel where the infection was,) on the other hand the dread of having the Small Pox among them which is now in the Rhode and on board which Vessel the Capt very often is, this if it shou'd it shou'd [sic] get on Bd. among our little creatures, now on the recovery from the Flux will I am afraid, cause us to repent the having staid so long to no purpose on the Coast of Africa.



*Friday, July 20:* I forgot to mention that yesterday to add to many misfortunes we threw over board a child of 3 years old, she first had the Measles, then Green Flux, then white then bloody in 3 months, which made her so very weak as to be [unable to lift her hand to her head. At my departure from york, I was ignorant that any children were to be purchased so that my medicines are very harsh for them.

*Monday, August 6:* This morning went on board Capt Rowes a Ship belonging to Bristol to see if I cou'd by any means get medicines for those now on board that are sick, but notwithstanding all my Endeavours cou'd not, In short it is a very melancholy prospect to see every body sick and not have a medicine to help them and the thoughts of being out 6 months longer with<sup>t</sup>, medicines is a miserable thought.

*Thursday, August 9:* This morning went on board Capt Boats, who has lost 35 Slaves, nor is there a Vessel on the Coast, but what have lost 20 owing to the Rains going off so soon, and that excessive-foggy bad weather we have had, 4 Slaves I now have the one of which is choak'd with worms, but I have not that to give her, to kill them, my case is hard to see Young Creatures suffering in this manner in short it renders my life a misery to me.

*Saturday, August 11:* This Evening died a girl Slave from which before her death I took 12 large worms.

*Sunday, August 12:* This morning said our Commodore Capt. Meadows for Jamaica wth. 250 Slaves, about which time died a little girl who has within this month had 3 different sorts of Fluxes, I took from her likewise some worms, nor have we one now on board of the Slaves but what have them, owing to the bad water we are obliged to drink.

*Monday, August 13:* I can not here once more help regretting that loss I am at for Medicines, and the uneasiness it must consequently give me to see the Slaves in want and even die, never since May have I had either Astriugent, Cathartick, Sudonsick or anadyne that with what can I practice, but ill natured people will be apt to censure me, for thr. deaths tho I can give them nothing but good nursing. To my mortification died this morning a girl of the Dropsy, of which we now have 4 ill.

*Tuesday, August 14:* The loss of the Slaves above mentioned, tho' I had not medicines to practice, as I knew, it wou'd be a reflection on me, threw me into the utmost uneasiness I therefore sent a book wth. thr. disorders Symptoms & Medicines apply'd to the Surgeon of the Commodore to peruse who sent me an answer greatly to my satisfaction & somewhat eas'd me.

*Monday, August 20:* That no censure whatever might fall on my actions in regard to the sick slaves I sent a Copy of their disorders to the Surgeon of the Snow Sylvia who now lies here, to know whether any thing more cou'd be done for their preservation but at my return from Cape Coast found a

Letter from him, in which do no more, and that a he thought I did what

*Thursday, August 23:* some bad gold I had re in the very heat of the; but tho I suffered for it my arrival on board concerning whom I had ; Castle, but he cou'd sa

*Friday, August 24:* T dropsical number three sultation with the Surgeon, approved too of 1

*Monday, August 27:* very much as the deat has thrown me into a Account of their disor present to the owners

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*Tuesday, September 11* Liverpool, who has m body, that is in her Sl; for my part I cannot; appear that the mann to the Rules of Physi

*Monday, September 21* unpolite people, yet tl morning, Six differen some of their Officers; all well except 3 whic

*Saturday, September 2* bt. at the Searces, ha age, and nothing else  
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Letter from him, in which he told me that had he the care of them he cou'd do no more, and that according to the disorders he saw them inflicted with, he thought I did what was just.

*Thursday, August 23:* Early this morning went to Cape Coast to return some bad gold I had rec'd there and imprudently left it again at 11 o Clock in the very heat of the Sun so impatient I was to see how my Slaves went on, but tho I suffered for it in having all the skin off my face, by the Sun, yet at my arrival on board found a girl Slave dead of the Dropsical number, concerning whom I had some talk with Mr. Hipsly Surgeon of Cape Coast Castle, but he cou'd say no more then that I was right in my prescriptions.

*Friday, August 24:* This morning I had the grief to see another of the dropsical number thrown overboard, for whom I again today had a consultation with the Surgeon of the Burne of Liverpool, but he to my satisfaction, approved too of my proceedings which in due time shall be mentiond.

*Monday, August 27:* I did not imagine that it was in the power to alter so very much as the deaths of the Slaves I mentioned have, in short their loss has thrown me into a melancholy out of [which] I shall not easily recover, an Account of their disorders & medicines apply'd I am now writing in order to present to the owners at my arrival in America.

*Wednesday, August 29:* At night died a boy of the Dropsy.

*From Sunday, September 2, to Monday, September 10:* Ever since the day above mentioned have we been laying here, without the least prospect of purchasing any Slave Those on board continue well and hope to keep them so, having bought a Chest of Medicines.

*Tuesday, September 11:* This afternoon a Snow arriv'd here belonging to Liverpool, who has met with the same ill success that has attended every body, that is in her Slaves for she has lost 75 of the measles only, out of 120, for my part I cannot, nor shall not till at my arrival in America I make it appear that the manner in wch. I proceeded with the Slaves was according to the Rules of Physick.

*Monday, September 24:* Notwithstanding the Dutch are thought the most unpolite people, yet they are very complaisant for this 6 days running every morning, Six different Dutch Ships have had their coulours half mast, for some of their Officers dead, So very fatal is Guinea to some, my Slaves now all well except 3 which number I have ever had ill since the first of May.

*Saturday, September 29:* In the Evening threw over old Dick of 65 years bt. at the Searces, hardly able to walk when purchas'd he died of pure old age, and nothing else.

*November 23:* Have now great Success with the Slaves having not lost one this 2 months, I have discover'd a Recipe for that Vile Disorder the Flux.



*January 29, 1751:* This morning to our Satisfaction found we had got into the Trade winds, which will in some measure hasten our so tedious voyage, and relieve me from Slaves most of whom are now very sea sick, & trouble enough to me, of Consequence I remember and it may be seen that in Physick I have had anxiety enough, and I think Surgery has now a mind too to try me, for I have no less than 14 with Imposthumes, Tho I hope to overcome them, and 3 women with bad humours in their right Breasts, one with a small cancer which I have dissected and is on the Recovery.

Chancellor left no doubt about his own feelings regarding this African voyage. On January 18, 1751, the day the *Wolf* began her homeward journey, he wrote: "At day light the Capt. on board and at 8 o'Clock we weigh'd anchor, in order to leave the Coast of Africa, thanks to God bound to New York, and in Company with Capt. Powers bound to the West Indies and I think I can now say that few in their first voyage have met with the misfortunes I have since my departure from America." He was moved to put his thoughts into verse:

Safely departed Afric's shore at last,  
I feel nor think on Dangers I have past,  
And hope in time, to reach my native shore,  
And never think of these dread voyages more.

Several days later, again considering the events of the past months, he wrote: "Nor do I think I can possibly have satisfaction for the miseries I have undergone this voyage." And true it was that Chancellor had experienced nearly all that a slaving voyage to Africa had to offer: disputes with his captain, slaves who were sick and frequently died, a serious slave mutiny, and bloody encounters with foreigners, all stretched over more than a year of slaving on the coast.

But this combination of events did not turn him against the trade. Indeed, he hardly felt it necessary to justify the man-stealing and transportation of slaves across the Atlantic. There are few Diary entries that touch on this issue, but those that do reveal that Chancellor was not a critic of the slave trade:

*Thursday, September 13, 1750:* It is accounted by numberless people that a voyage to Africa in regard to the purchasing Slaves is very vile, but in my opinion and I think I know, it is not in the least so, tis redeeming an unhappy people from inconceivable misery under which they continually labour, and from those miseries of life into which they are every day precipitated. . . .

*Saturday, September 12* body, when he dies out of whose skulls th here Jno. King of the several on his recover they are better in bein of Death.

The passage hom fourteen months of places between Gan traded on the coast seventy-five slaves: on the voyage to Ni ing a strong wind w overb'd. we put ab yard but our Ende; drowned." The oth and Lingerin Illne The slaves who s provisions and lon Chancellor wrote o plorable . . . and to stand so very low not have a fair wir having been confin at noon the next d saw a sail which we Douglass from Phila boat, and bring on b less condition g'lb. of Water & Butte, th happy favour thank the welfare of my F

At this time th south of Delaware home, she had bee latitude of Fernan on February 12, 1'



we had got into tedious voyage, sick, & trouble seen that in as now a mind, Tho I hope to ht Breasts, one recovery.

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less people that y vile, but in my xdeeming an un- they continually ' are every day

*Saturday, September 15:* A king very often takes it into his head to kill any body, when he dies numberless poor unhappy creatures are sacrificed to him, out of whose skulls they drink Rum as soon as clean'd, Since I have been here Jno. King of the Coranties whom in his Illness I attend has sacrificed several on his recovery from it, and will soon will [*sic*] more go, that I say they are better in being servants to the English then in this continuall dread of Death.

The passage home was long and tedious, lasting 113 days. In the fourteen months of slaving 135 slaves had been purchased at various places between Gambia and Annamabo. Of these, sixty died or were traded on the coast before the *Wolf* even departed Africa, leaving seventy-five slaves for the middle passage. Only two slaves were lost on the voyage to New York. One of these was a Negro man who during a strong wind was put to holding the gaff: "unluckily struck him overb<sup>d</sup>. we put about immediately . . . then threw over a small yard but our Endeavours to save him were in vain, for he was soon drowned." The other was a boy slave who died on May 5 "of a long and Lingering Illness . . . Consumption."

The slaves who survived the Atlantic crossing did so despite short provisions and long periods without fresh air or airings on deck. Chancellor wrote on May 2 that "Our condition in short is very deplorable . . . and our Slaves grown excessive weak, some not able to stand so very low with cold & want of Provision & water; & sh<sup>d</sup>. we not have a fair wind in a few days we shall loose [*sic*] some of them having been confind 22 days below & never on Deck." Fortunately, at noon the next day they

saw a sail which we spoke with and found it to be the Peggy Capt John Douglass from Philadelphia to Antigua, he was so kind as to hoist out his boat, and bring on board of us, we having acquainted him with our success- less condition 9lb. of Bread 2 Hogs, 2 Barrels of flower, 2 ps. of Beefsome Rum, Water & Butter; the latter of which was actually May butter to us, this happy favour thank God will keep us up till our arrival, By him I heard of the welfare of my Friends in Philad<sup>e</sup>. . . .

At this time the *Wolf* was in the area of latitude thirty-eight, south of Delaware Bay. When the *Wolf* left Cape Coast Castle for home, she had been blown by contrary winds to the southeast, in the latitude of Fernando Po. The vessel had dropped south of the equator on February 12, 1751, recrossed it moving north and then once more



sailed under the line on February 14. The equator was crossed for the last time on March 8, with the *Wolf* steering away to the northward. By March 23 the sloop was in the latitude of Barbados, where Captain Wall had originally intended to put in, but at the time provisions were still holding up well and he decided to sail by the island. This caused Chancellor to write with evident disappointment that he had "lost all hopes of seeing that beautiful place and to my grief tho not stopping hastens me home." The topic of cancer was crossed the morning of March 31, "on the strength of which barbicu'd a very pretty pig, and drink'd the health of all our Friends that love us, and all that we love." Two weeks later, on April 13, the Bermudas were sighted: "It was very pleasant to sail by the whole South side of it and take a view not only of the Land Houses but people on horse-back, boats a fishing but much pleasanter to think I really saw, a part inhabited by white men, after my so long Absence."

Gale winds had been encountered in the West Indies and the *Wolf* had suffered extensive damage. As the sloop moved northwesterly toward New York, contrary winds from the northwest prolonged the voyage. A northwest wind on April 22, for example, drove them 30 miles to the south. And on April 26 Chancellor wrote that "This morning a strong N. W. came on, and is now driving us to the Southward, where as we shou'd have been in soundings this night, unhappy us. . . . This N W lasted 48 hours 53 miles drove to the Southw'd." But on May 6 he could relate that "This Evening to our great Satisfaction got Soundings 28 fathom water Black Sand." The next day they had "a joyful sight of the Long wish'd for Land," though again a northwest wind "came on in an hour after and drove us out of sight of it." Finally, on May 10, "at 4 in the afternoon anchor'd with a Salute of 7 Guns of the City of New York, I now sincerely think that if ever I said with sincerity, I ought to say now Glory be unto thee O Lord God." "Thus," Chancellor wrote on the last page of his diary,

have I given a succinct account of a Long and tedious voyage of 20 months and a passage of 113 Days, by which it is plain, that as some men are distinguish'd by Riches, Honours, and the Like, others may be as remarkable in the degrees of thr. Affliction, and may be forced to pass not only days but years of that which we call Life in such a manner, that if it were not for higher considerations, it wou'd be far better not to be, than in the very best

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<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Elizabeth I  
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of man's years, in the time of hopes, prospects and advantages a man be so wretched as to be debar'd the Capacity of making use of them, and in a sense buried alive, but thro' all afflictions there is a comfort which is, that a generous Education administers infallible remedies under the greatest of our miseries, and tho' fortune may sometimes stagger the Virtue of such as have been so educated in times of Prosperity, yet she cannot take from them that Serenity & Resolution which never forsakes them in the days of their greatest Adversity.

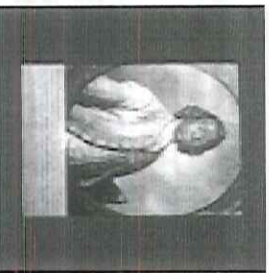
For William Chancellor the adventure was climaxed by a notice which appeared in the *New York Gazette* on May 13, 1751; for the Negroes the same announcement presaged a new adventure, “on Friday bondage in America. To be sold, the announcement read, “on Friday the 17th Instant, at 10 o'clock in the Morning, at the Meal Market. A Number of likely Negro Slaves, lately imported in the Sloop *Wolf* directly from Africa. Those that are not disposed of on that Day, will be sold at Publick Vendue the Friday following.”<sup>12</sup>

*Oregon State University*

DAROLD D. WAX

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, 1930-1935), III, 451.





IMPORT

File Name

1028

Slide Number

31

Media Type

Image

Title

William Unsah Sessarakoo, ca. 1749

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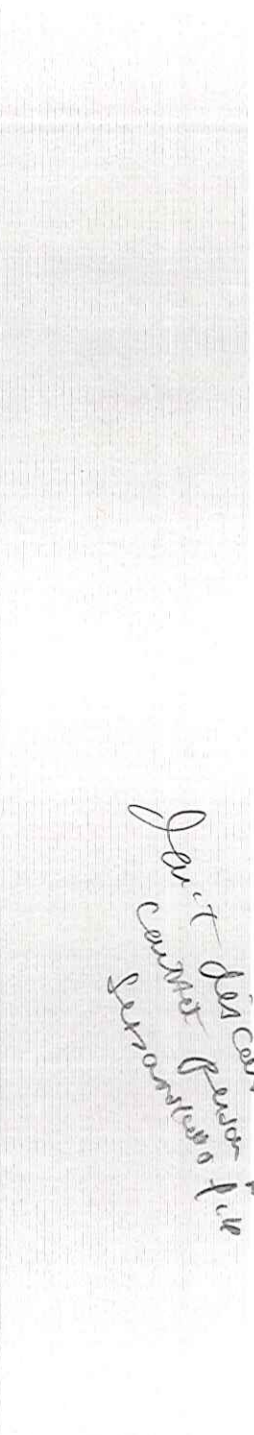
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Description



Source

See comments



Acknowledgement



Comments

This engraved mezzotint, dated 1749, by John Faber Jr., a well-known English engraver, is from a portrait pair London painter by the Universal Magazine (London, 1748, vol. 3, p. 232). Both the painter and the engraver a (not clearly visible on our website, but quite evident when examining the original engraving). We have no info when he painted it; or the present location of the painting. The engraving caption reads: "William Unsah Sessi of Anamaboe and of Eukobah, daughter of Ansah Sessarakoo, king of Aquamboe & niece to Quishadoo, king the year 1744. He was redeemed at the earnest request of his father in the year 1748 and brought to England of Sessarakoo (The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe [London, 1749]), see Jerro Barbados, Slavery & Abolition, vol. 19 (1998), p. 136n7. Another version of this engraving (see image referent Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 20 (June, 1750), facing p. 272, which refers to an earlier article in the magazine b London (vol. 19 [February, 1749], pp. 89-90). The engraving was published in separate sheets and sold at 1 s (London) has two copies of this engraving (see NPG online data base). The Barbados Museum also has a coi



File Sessarakoo

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas

William Unsah Sessarakoo, ca. 1748

1749 ✓



Price 1'6" p  
Click on the image to open a larger version in a new window.

If you have additional information regarding this image, or corrections to the comments or source sections, please contact the authors. If interested in using this image, please consult [Conditions of Use](#).

National Portrait Gallery (London)  
MS 2 copies of this engraving

Image Reference  
1028

Source  
See comments

Comments

1749

This engraving, by John Faber the younger, is from a portrait painted by Gabriel Mathias. The portrait caption reads: "William Unsah Sessarakoo, son of John Bannishsee Corrantee, ohinee of Anamaboe and of Eukobah, daughter of Ansh Sessarakoo, king of Aquamboe & niece to Quishadoo, king of Akroan. He was sold at Barbados as a slave in the year 1744. He was redeemed at the earnest request of his father in the year 1748 and brought to England." For details, including reference to a "biography" of Sessarakoo (The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe [London, 1749]), see Jerome S. Handler, Life Histories of Enslaved Africans in Barbados, Slavery & Abolition, vol. 19 (1998), p. 136n7. Another version of this engraving was published in the *Tone*, Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 20 (1750), p. 252, see image reference gentmag on this website. (Photo of this mezzotint engraving, located in the Barbados Museum, was provided in October 1960, by the late Neville Connell, Director.)

John Faber Pinx 1749  
Portrait of William Unsah Sessarakoo

Reports on his state to London  
Gentleman's Magazine

(see Gentleman's Magazine on life in Barbados)





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Sitter  Artist  Portrait

**William Ansah Sessarakoo** (floruit 1744-1749), African prince  
Sitter in 2 portraits

Page 1 of 1

NPG D9199

**William Ansah Sessarakoo**  
by John Faber Jr, after Gabriel Mathias  
mezzotint, mid 18th century  
Archive Collection



NPG D9200

**William Ansah Sessarakoo**  
by John Faber Jr, after Gabriel Mathias  
mezzotint, mid 18th century  
Archive Collection



Page 1 of 1

The online database contains information on 58,883 works, 37,759 of which are illustrated; the National Portrait Gallery's collection includes over 320,000 works. We are expanding this database regularly - last updated November 2004.

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*Handwritten notes:*  
Hewz Andrew & Libby  
Fu - Fri 10 - 5  
D 207 - 306 - 0055  
- 04T 257  
George St - behind NPG  
Chairing Mass  
Robyn Francis  
Spog room

Feb. 25, 2005

Allen

National Portrait Gallery  
Hertzs. Auction + Library

Brown 60x - Portrait c. 17th  
Green 50x - British s. 17th  
red 50x - portrait

Inventory of Surrogate's -

on right hand border (on artwork) J. Falsu leaf 1749  
on left hand border (on artwork) G. Mathias print

No date given when painted by Antonio, set Falsu's engraving  
dated 1749

in extreme lower left, underneath the caption, in small print, is  
the price of the engraving / 5 6 p " (one shilling, 6 pence)  
engravings were approximately 1711 - the NPG has 2 copies -  
they are in 6/4s, not color

NPG has item 1074 -

Leaf corresponds with Anthony ~~Blund~~ Blund July 1972  
Blund in Baldoni is trying to locate the original portrait -  
the NPG can't help him - doesn't know where it is -  
also makes reference to the Cover-Traut's Anthony Pitt's -  
these contain no reference to the Mathias portrait

Brown 50x - foreign s. 17th -

only has photographic copy of Berto engraving -

NPG Archive Acquisition # D9199

APP appearance negative 52144

Check if any copy of photo has names of Mathias + Falsu (with date)  
clearly visible - also price is low at hand comm -  
IF NOT consider possibility of ordering it - (over)



Green lot - British Sites

No Sussanloo

Red Box - Painters

Gabriel Matthio (1719-1804) file

~~cont~~ contains another photographic copy of Susseville engraving  
negative # 52144 - but no other information

2/24/05 British Library (PP. 5439

The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure  
London, 1748 vol. 2

Another, American, Susseville not visited

vol. 3 (London, 1748)

p. 232 - gives a list of British  
Painters "Now living ... who are justly  
esteemed eminent masters" - Matthio is  
on the list but absolutely nothing said of him -

By John  
Hinton

2/24/05

NPG - Subject under file - on a biography of G.M.

MATHIAS, Gosad. or MATTHIAS

~~Re~~ NO Mathias or Matthias in card catalog

GRAVES, ALGERNON

The Society of Artists of Great Britain and the  
Free Society of Artists [1761-1783]

London, 1907

Index of portraits exhibited at 3rd Society

Does not list ~~Mathias~~ Smeaton -

Mathias exhibited several portraits at the Free Society  
but in 1761 & 1762 but not of Smeaton

Brian Stewart and Mervyn Cullen

The Dictionary of Portrait Painters in Britain

up to 1920 (1997)

Very brief entry on Mathias (p. 322)

1719-1804, was in Rome in 1745-8 -

listed as ambrosio painter in London by Unger

Magazine 1748 - Some of his portraits reproduced

in Traveller - nothing else

British Lib. 2/24/05

~~Mathias~~



Dennis - But why

See G.M.

gentle magazine

Sp. coll ~~KF 4506 A 1776 Z~~

AP 4.63 - available on ~~time~~ line

See Vol. 20 June 1750 p. 272

a brief article, <sup>RIGHT COLUMN</sup> starting William Anshah Sessanaikoo

Get clean copy of entire page 272 -

refers to Vol. 19 (1749) p. 89, 372

(see original of sp. collection) x p. 89 (F-15) - <sup>173</sup> - entire all blocked out can't read

p. 372 (Aug) - long poem

"Zana at the court of ANNA-MABBOE, to me

African Prince, now in England"

~~number of tablets reported a full visit~~

~~USA - BUT NOT WITHIN AS ~~OTHER~~ BUT TRY~~

~~Vol. 19, 20~~

AP 4.63 SP: collections was ~~all~~ vols

Abraham doesn't have vol. 19 + 20

Dorman, Vol. 2

237. SAMUEL POIRIER TO JOHN CLEVELAND.<sup>1</sup>

COWPERS COURT, CORNHILL, 1754, Oct. 8 [28].<sup>2</sup>

Two Black Boys the Sons of Two Caboccers of Anamaboo and Aga, who came home with Capt. Cockburne, being at their Friends Request to be immediately sent back to Africa: and the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa being desirous of their Return in a King's Ship they have directed me to request the Favour of the Right Hon'ble The Lords of the Admiralty for an Order for their being taken on board the *Gosport* Capt. Edwards and carried to Mr. Melvil at Cape Coast Castle. As the Company intend writing by this Man of War, they would be glad to know.

237

238. THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO AFRICA:  
MINUTES OF COMMITTEE.<sup>1</sup>

Oct. 16, 1754.

Read a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Read to the Secretary dated Wombwell Hall, 8ber 14th, 1754, relating to the Two Black Boys at Rochester.

Ordered. That a Lodging be provided for the said Two Black Boys, and order'd up to Town. . . .

Oct. 23, 1754.

Order'd That a Letter be wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty to procure an Order for the Two Black Boys, now come from Rochester: to be taken on board the *Gosport* Capt: Edwards to be carried to Africa.

Order'd That the Two Black Boys, Agna and Suckee,<sup>2</sup> be supply'd with the following Apparel, *Vizt*:

12 Ruffled Shirts, 1 Blue Coat and Breeches for each lin'd with white, lac'd with Silver and Silver Buttons, 1 Scarlet Cloth West coat for each trim'd with Silver, 2 Frocks and Breeches, 2 Scarlet worsted West coats, 2 Silver laid [laced] Hatts, 2 Bag Wiggs, 8 pr. of white stockings, 4 pr. of worsted Do., 8 pr. of Pumps, 2 pr. of strong shoes, 2 pr of Silver Buckles.

And that Mr. Peregrine Cust be desir'd to provide the same. . . .

Agreed with Mr. Waters for the Board and Lodging of the Two Black Boys, at one Guinea per Week each; Washing, and other Expences, attending, and shewing them the Town, to be allowed him.

<sup>1</sup> . . . 1 Admiralty Papers. I. 1754. Oct. 8. Samuel Poirier was secretary of the com-



Oct. 30, 1754.

Read a Letter from John Cleveland Esqr. to the Secretary, dated Admiralty Office 8ber 28th 1754 advising, that the Lords of the Admiralty had given the necessary Directions for taking the Two Black Boys on board the *Gosport*, Capt. Edwards, to be carried to Mr. Melvil, at Cape Coast Castle: that the *Gosport* was now in the Downs, and after her getting to Spithead, she would sail with the first fair Wind.

Order'd That the Secretary do wait upon My Lord Halifax with the Two Black Boys. . . .

Nov. 6, 1754.

Read an Account deliver'd in by Mr. Peregrine Cust for the Cloathing of the Two Black Boys, John Agna and Geo. Suckee; amounting to fifty Three Pounds Fifteen Shillings and Ten Pence.

Feb. 26, 1755.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Peregrine Cust deliver'd to the Committee several Bills on Account of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua and George Sackee *vizt.*

|                                                                                     |      |     |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----|----|
| The Rev'd Mr. John Moore's Bill, for Board, Schooling and Necessaries               | £    | s.  | d. |
| Mr. Richard Walter's, for Board, nursing etc.                                       | 40.  | 8   | 6  |
| Mr. Thos. Thornley Apothecary, for Physick for Mr. Sackee in the small Pox          | 17.  | 11  |    |
| Mr. Thos. Thornley's Bill, for Doctor's Fees, and Physick for Mr. Aqua in small Pox | 2.   | 4.  | 2  |
| Mr. Peregrine Cust's for Two Suits of Cloaths for the Two Gentlemen                 | 18.  | 5.  | 8  |
|                                                                                     | 14.  | 10  |    |
|                                                                                     | £92. | 19. | 4  |

That Ninety Two Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Four Pence be paid to Mr. Peregrine Cust to pay the above Bills.

March 5, 1755.

Bill for Capt. Geo. Cockburne for the Maintainance and Education of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee, from the 23d of July 1754, to the 21st of 8ber following, amounting to sixteen Pounds, Twelve shillings.

Order'd That the said Bill be paid.

May 28, 1755.<sup>4</sup>

Paid the Revd. Mr. John Mooré £42. 6. 2 for a Quarter's Education and Maintenance of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee.

email address

Select Mailbox--

From: "Elizabeth James" <e.james@vam.ac.uk>

Subject: Re: elizabeth james

Date: Thu, 17 Feb 2005 16:43:04 +0000

To: <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Jerry:

Nothing in:  
the National Art Library catalogue  
Grove Dictionary of Art online  
Artists' Papers Register (though this is a resource that you might like  
to bookmark  
[http://www.aah.org.uk/resource/apr\\_main.html](http://www.aah.org.uk/resource/apr_main.html) )

>From entries in the standard biographical sources, it appears that Mathias was in Rome in 1745, exhibited in London (Free Society of Artists' in 1761 and 1762, but being unsuccessful in art later took up an appointment in the Privy Purse office. (Might get some information on this from The National Archives [formerly Public Record Office, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> but I don't imagine this is of much interest. He apparently died in 1804 'very old', which may give a date for searching obituaries.

I have found one possible lead. In the new Dictionary of National Biography, a letter \*to Mathias is quoted in the entry (written, as it happens, by another V&A colleague) for the miniature painter Samuel Finney (1719-1798). The letter is in the Finney papers at the Cheshire Record Office. Search here for the brief collection record:  
<http://archive.cheshire.gov.uk/DserveB/index.htm>  
which mentions papers relating to sugar & coffee plantations in Barbados, 1681-1705 (much earlier than the portrait, obviously). Mathias could \*conceivably have made a particular connection with Sessarookoo through a mutual acquaintance in the Finney family??

I telephoned the Record Office to ask whether there are other letters to or from Mathias in this archive. Here is the detail; but they are all much later. However, they should suggest where he lived then, and maybe you could follow up other libraries and archives in that location.  
DFP 33 Letters to Samuel Finney III from GM, Scotland Yard, Whitehall, a friend, 16 items, 1788-1798;  
DFP 34/1-41 Letters from SF III to GM, 1775-1798;  
DFP 34/50 Letter from SF III to Miss M, daughter, 1/1/1789;  
DFP 34/51 Letter from SF III to Miss M, daughter, 13/10/1789;  
DFP 36/10 Letter from SF III to GM, 24/12/1795, completed 7/1/1796  
The Cheshire Record Office phone number is +44 (0)1244 602574. I note that they offer the services of a professional researcher (at a cost), so I'm not sure how much trawling they're able to do themselves.

I presume you know the texts in the Gentleman's Magazine vol. 19, with the account of Sessarookoo's attendance at the first night of Oroonoko

Colbert  
Gardner  
I  
Nightingale  
17th century



at Covent Garden. You don't think the painting might have been done specifically for engraving do you? just a jobbing portrait of a celebrity? I see it is one of a pair on the page. Research tools not available here (e.g. MLA bibliography, dissertation indexes etc. etc.) might perhaps point you to discussions of the Gentleman's Magazine, and how it worked?

I do think it would be worth your contacting the National Portrait Gallery with the general enquiry even if they can't locate the particular painting, as Mary recommended, since Mathias seems to have specialised in portraits. And do follow up her remarkable contact for a descendant of the subject! I should think he would share your interest in the present location of the portrait.

regards,  
Elizabeth

*Elizabeth James*

Elizabeth James

Librarian (Documentation Manager)  
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The V&A's Word & Image Department incorporates the National Art Library and the Museum's prints, drawings, paintings and photographs collections.

>>> Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu> 14/02/2005 20:14:48 >>>  
Hi Elizabeth. That was very quick..How did you know I need help :) ?

I'm arriving London on Sunday and hope to be at the NAL sometime during the week. I am interested in a particular painting, done in 1748, by the English painter, Gabriel Mathias. I have attached a copy of the engraving (by Faber) based on that painting. Specifically, I am interested in:  
a) where the painting is now located?  
b) more important, any background information that would explain how Mathias came to paint this portrait, how he came in contact with the subject, etc. A brief overview of the life of the subject, Sessarookoo, can be found on our website.  
<http://hitchcock.its.virginia.edu/Slavery/details.php?filename=I028>.

Of course, I do not expect you to do the research for me but any

-----

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Until 27 February at V&A South Kensington  
Admission free

Part 1. Out L-5

From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>  
Date: Sat Apr 3, 2004 9:32:11 AM US/Eastern  
To: Vergelle <MSVergelle@aol.com>  
Cc: Handler Jerome <jh3v@virginia.edu>  
Subject: gabriel mathias

Sir Marcus: by time you read this the Grand National will have been over. glad lambling, etc. went well, that Tristan received the books, etc. I have told EVERYONE who will listen about the wonders of the HOT WATER BOTTLE. Now, for your mission--should you choose to accept it. The subject is Gabriel Mathias, an 18th century British painter, who died in 1804. I am particularly interested in one of his paintings, a portrait done in 1748.

First, you have to look at our website

<http://nitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/>

click: Explore the Collection

Type a word: l029 or Sessarakoo

look at the portrait of Sessarakoo--this is the portrait in which I am interested; read the blurb I have written.

Specific queries:

- 1) where is this portrait now located?
- 2) any information that might explain how/why/where, etc. Mathias came to paint this portrait

We have consulted the following sources, but none give the information I am seeking:

- 1) Dictionary of British 18th century painters in oils and crayons, by Ellis Waterhouse
- 2) The Diary of Joseph Farrington, edited by Garlick and MacInlyre

Elizabeth James might be able to find this information very quickly in some published source (the bibliographic reference would be sufficient) or know someone who would undertake this research for me (I would pay, of course). Look forward to hearing from you. best, Jerry

p.s. hope to post the Gardner biography by next week, in time for end of lambling season



From: Jerome Handler <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Subject: **Re: elizabeth james**

Date: February 14, 2005 3:21:24 PM EST

To: "Elizabeth James" <e.james@vam.ac.uk>

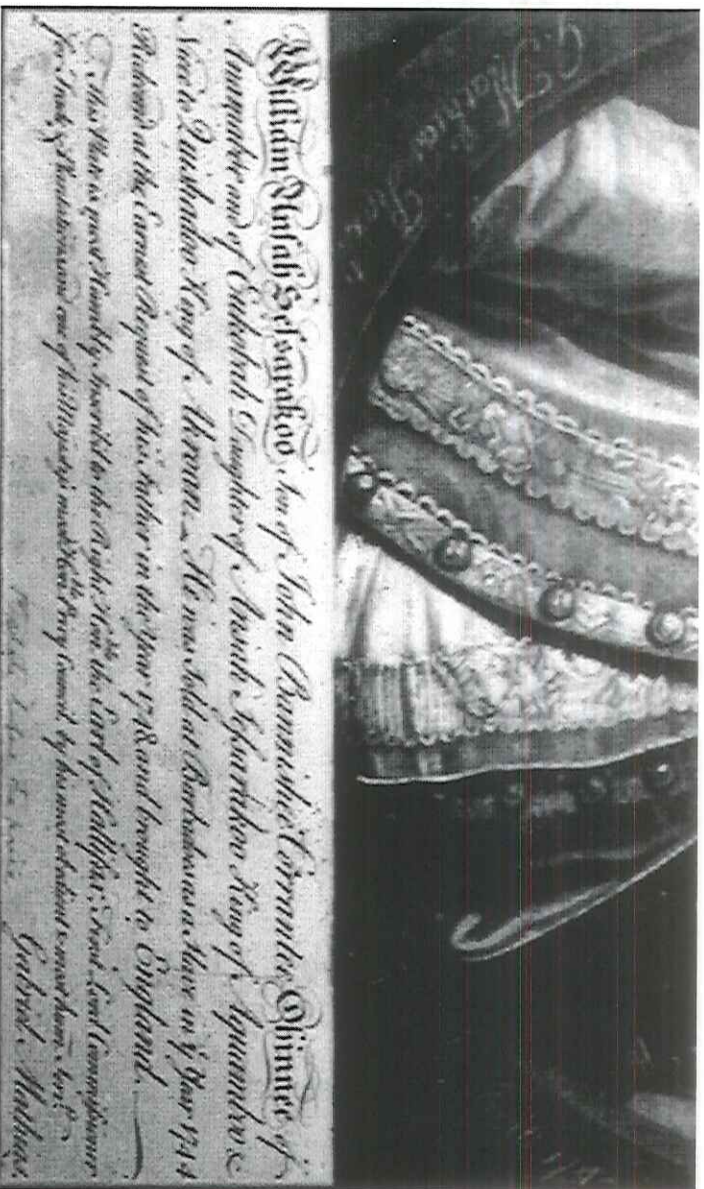
 1 Attachment, 289 KB



Hi Elizabeth. That was very quick...How did you know I need help :) ? I'm arriving London on Sunday and hope to be at the NAL sometime during the week. I am interested in a particular painting, done in 1748, by the English painter, Gabriel Mathias. I have attached a copy of the engraving (by Faber) based on that painting. Specifically, I am interested in:

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leads you or anyone else can provide would be appreciated. I have already consulted Elis Waterhouse, 'Dictionary of British 18th century painters in oils and crayons' and Garlick and MacIntyre, eds. The Diary of Joseph Farrington.... Shall I ring you on Monday, the 21st. Perhaps we might even lunch together. Best, Jerry  
On Feb 14, 2005; at 1:03 PM, Elizabeth James wrote:

Hi Jerry,

I hope you're well. How can I help?

Elizabeth

Elizabeth James

Librarian (Documentation Manager)  
Word & Image Department  
Victoria and Albert Museum  
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London  
SW7 2RL

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fax: +44 (0)20 7942 2394  
email: e.james@vam.ac.uk



Description of the LYON, &c.

89

Of the LYON.

THE LYON, for his superior strength and ferocity, as well as for a kind of gratitude and generosity, is cited to him on the testimony of many well known horses; is said to be the *King of the Bells*. They are generally of a dun colour; but black, white, and red lions have been found both in *Africa* and *Asia*. The general shape of this animal, and his claws, teeth, eyes, and tongue, as well as the structure of the internal parts, greatly resemble those of a cat, his tongue is very rough, and sharp, with points like claws, both in hardness and shape; the hair of some is curled, of others long, shaggy, and thin; the fore feet have each five claws; and the hinder feet four; his sight and smell are very acute, and he is said to sleep with his eyes open. The male has a long shaggy mane, which hangs over his head and neck; but the female has none. It is usual for the *African* to nail up a lion alive on high posts, when being grown old, and not able to hunt wild beasts; they approach towns as to deer others, even when they are perishing with hunger. The *Leop* represented in the plate, which is a copy of a painting from the life by an eminent hand, was a present from the *American* ambassador.

*Remaria*, quod animalia bruta utitur ratione  
medium homine. 180. 2. p. 109.

WEDNESDAY 8.  
The merchants, &c. petitioned for a harbour to the *Dunoon*. (See V. 18, p. 559)

THURSDAY 9.

Was a general meeting of the proprietors of the *Stitchin* loan, where it was agreed to name five new trustees (alderman *Jaffson* one) to assist the former, and that applications should be humbly made to the K. of *Prussia*, for the immediate payment of the said loan and arrears of interest, pursuant to treaties.

A verdict obtained by *Thomas Chondler* of *Glifford's Inn*, against the hundred of *Sharnig*, *Berk*, for 15 bank notes of 500*l.* and 10*l.* in money, with a liver watch, of which he alleged he was robbed within the said hundred on *March* 24 last. Was set aside in the court of common pleas, he not having complied with the statute in particularly describing the bank notes in the *Case*.  
By a new bill brought in, 40 hundred will be liable for more than 500*l.*

The peace was proclaimed by the under sheriffs of *Middlesex* at *Hobborn-harts*, (See *Mag. Feb.* 1749.)

Hick's ball, *Geivell street*, *Norton-fair*, and *Stitchin-fair* market.

Was fought at *Brownston's* amphitheatre, a very long battle between *Stark* the famous boxer of *Norwich*, and one *Pridd*, a sailor; it lasted an hour and 32 minutes at sheer boxing, without hogging, standing still, or above 4 falls in the whole. *Stark* by two crofs but-lock falls, feasonably given, got the victory.

FRIDAY 10.

The Duke's regiment of dragoons, formerly the D. of *King's*, who behaved bravely at *Culloden*, and in *Flanders*, were disbanded at *Nottingham*.

Was try'd in the *Marshfield* court, a cause between a woolcomber, plaintiffs, and a master of the said trade, defendant, who had hopped 1*l.* a week for lodging; the plaintiff obtain'd a verdict for 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* with costs.

MONDAY 13.

Being the last of the term, *Sir John Douglas*, and several other persons, appeared at the court of king's bench on their recognizances.

A great number of *Englishmen* discharged the *Dutch* service, petitioned the secretary at war, for relief, being almost naked and starving; and were dismissed with some present relief, and a promise of due notice of their petition.—Of 1200 *English* discharged in one week, 8 or 900 immediately enlisted in the *Prussian* service; 3 communitaries attending for that purpose.

WEDNESDAY 15.

The lord mayor with several aldermen, and other commissioners of his majesty's court of lieutenancy of *London*, went in procession from *Guildhall* to *St James's*, and presented a loyal address to his majesty, and were graciously received.

THURSDAY 16.

His majesty went to the house of peers and gave the royal assent to a bill for granting 45, in the pound by a land tax for 1749; to a bill for declaring the authority of the commissioners appointed by his majesty, under the great seal of *Great-Britain*, for receiving, hearing, and determining appeals in causes of prizes; and to three private bills.

Eleven men out of each company of the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment of foot-guards, were discharged.

Capt \_\_\_\_\_ trafficking on the coast of *Africa*, went up the country, where he was introduced to a *Moors* king, who had 40,000 men, under his command; This prince being taken with the

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Checked

Ms. A. P. 16, 1749

Magazine

See Hawkins's (1749)

08.19 pp 89-90

08.19-10323 VA, VA 22904-4110  
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public behaviour of the *English*, entertained them with the greatest civility; and at last repofed fuch confidence in the captain, as to entrult him with his fon, about 18 years of age, with another fprightly youth, to be brought to *England*, and educated in the *European* manner. The captain received them with great joy, and fair treatment, but bafely fold them for flaves; fhortly after he died, and the fhip coming to *England*, the officers related the whole affair; on which the government fent to pay their ransom, and they were brought to *England*, and put under the care of the right hon. the earl of *Hullifax*, firlt commissioner of trade and plantations, who gave orders for clothing and educating them in a very genteel manner. They have fince been introduced to his majefty, richly drefled, in the *European* manner, and were very gracioufly received. They appear fometimes at the theatres, and particularly on the *Affinil*, were at *Covent Garden*, to fee the tragedy of *Oroonoko*. They were received with a loud clap of applaufe, which they acknowledged with a very genteel bow, and took their feats in a box.

The feeling perfons of their own colour on the ftage, apparently in the fame diftrefs from which they had been fo lately delivered, the tender interview between *Imoinda* and *Oroonoko*, who was betrayed by the treachery of a captain, his account of his fufferings, and the repeated abufe of his placibility and confidence, ftrongly affected them with that generous grief which pure nature always feels, and art had not yet taught them to fupprefs; the young prince was fo far overcome, that he was obliged to retire at the end of the fourth act. His companion remained, but wept the whole time; a circumflance which affected the audience yet more than the play, and doubled the tears which were shed for *Oroonoko* and *Imoinda*.

FRIDAY 37.  
20 children out of 76, were taken into the foundling hofpital.

MONDAY 30.  
We were executed at *Tyburn*, *Ulfar Gabagon*, *Terrine Connor*, and *Joseph Mopham* for filing gold money, *John Jones* for forgery, *Wm Jeffries* for fmgling, and *John Frimley* for robbing on *Smallberry Green*. *Gabagon* and *Connor* were papills of confiderable families in *Ireland*, the former was a very good *Latin* fcholar, and editor of *Brindley's* edition of the claffics; he tranflated *Mr Poy's Eflays on Criticifm* into *Latin* verfe,

and after his confinement the *Temple of Fame* and the *Meliffib*, which he dedicated to the *D. of Newcastle*, in hopes to obtain a pardon; he alfo wrote verfes in *English* to *Prince Georges*, and *Mr Adair* the recorder, which are publifhed in the ordinary of *Newgate's* accounts, together with a poetical address to the *Duchefs of Queensborough* by *Connon*. — In a poem addrefled to *Gabagon* in the faid account, are the following verfes

Who without rapture can thy numbers read  
Who hear thy fate, and forrow not fucceed,  
Who not condole thee betwixt fear and hope,  
Who not admire thee hns tranflating *Pope's*  
Tranflating *Pope* in never dying *lays*;  
Brief of books, of liberty, and eale;  
Tranflating *Pope*, beneath foreverft doom,  
In numbers worthy oth *Auguftan* *Rears*;  
Whofe ableft fons might glory in thy strains,  
Tho' fang in mafly, dice, incumb'ring chains.

THURSDAY 24.  
*Henry Sherburn*, alias *Little Harry*, (fee p. 28) was committed to *Whitby* gaol, where the wives of *Carter* and *Falkon* are alfo to be try'd for advifing the murder of *Chatter* and *Gally*, with the widow *Pajon* and her 2 fons.

MONDAY 28.  
On the 31th ult. *Jenabon Brooks*, and a clergyman were tried at *Guildhall* for combining together, making an affault, and confining in an unhabited houfe in *Kimburb Street*, againft her will, *Mary Rending*, worth 1500*l*, with an intent to compel her to marry the faid *Jenabon Brooks*, who was found guilty, and fentenc'd to one year's imprisonment in *Newgate*, and to find fecurities for his good behaviour for two years alter; the clergyman was acquitted.

The government has ordered forts to be built at *Vermouth* in *Northumberland*, *Ulster*, *Barrerebad*, the entrance of the bay of *Glenhurk*, *Gartoh*, *Port Maulin*, two on *Sly* ifland, and two at *Roff*.

37 convicts being the remains of 135 that fuffer'd fhipwreck in the *Desmon*, bound for *Meriland*, made their efcape out of a lighters, in which they were brought back above *London* *Bridge*, the gaoler refus'd to take charge of 'em.

A grant has paffed to *Thomas Ribright* of the *Peultry*, *London*, of his new-invented method of making fmall perfpective glaffes, and other inftruments, in one and the fame cafe, both with and without microfopes, in a very portable manner.  
Mr *Robert Dingley* paid for the ufe of the feveral hofpitals of *St Thomas*, *St Bartholomew*, *Foundling*, *London* workhoufe, and that at *Bald*, each *5*0*l*** towards a publick academy for drawing, &c. *50*l**. for relief of feamen disabled,

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B. L. March 7, 2005

Spec. album

~~Stephens~~ <sup>for</sup> the Gutterman Magazine

~~W. L.~~

(1749)

G. M.

Vol. 19

~~p. 89~~

Vol. 20 Jan 1750, p. 272

Vol. 19 (1749),

~~Feb~~ February

Thur. Feb. 16

(pp. 89-90)

Account of 2 Africans

knights by English captives to England -

Separation not mentioned - see Vol. 20 (1750)

of Job & Separation

Vol. 20 (1750) -

Portrait

page 1

of Job

~~of~~

B. L. by copy -

but p. 272 has brief notice -

"William Ansa's Separation, son of John Bannishree

Corranree Chinese of Ammahoe, and of Cokobah,  
daughters of Ansa's Separation, King of Aquamboe,  
and niece of Quishadee King of Atwood.

(See Vol. XIX. p. 89, 372.)

AP. 4. 63

See

Spec. album

William, VNA

of Job

**BLACK LONDON**

**Life before Emancipation**

---

Gretchen Gerzina

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS  
*New Brunswick, New Jersey*

1995

*Other books by the author*  
Carrington: A Life



the commonly repeated comparison of Irish to Negroes, and the allusion to black slaves' padlocked collars, a fashion which supported a whole industry of metalworkers and jewellers, but of the common use of black people as ornaments themselves.

Even while black people in general and black slaves in particular fell into certain proscribed types of representation, however, one of the common reactions to their plight was an ironic and unabashed bathos. Never was this better demonstrated than on Wednesday, 9 May 1759, when the theatre-going public of London was treated to a double drama. Two Africans, one of them a recently rescued enslaved prince, attended a production of Thomas Southerne's adaptation of *Oroonoko* at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The young men received a standing ovation as they entered, and during Oroonoko's final speech, all eyes were on them as much as on the actors. The recent captives wept at the play's conclusion, but the audience wept even more in watching them do so. Here were theatre and transference at their finest, and London lapped it up. An English actor could induce catharsis in an African by pretending 'to be' someone like him; the audience could view both scenes simultaneously, and applaud both, then read a description of it the next week in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

This prince, William Ansah Sessarakoo, was constantly in the news, and he and his companion were in demand everywhere. Their story inspired poetry and drama, and a fifty-three-page history, *The Royal African: Or, Memoir of the Young Prince of Annamaboe*. Briefly the facts were these: the young prince had been sent to London for education and, like the legendary Oroonoko, had been deceived by the ship's captain who 'instead of performing his promise, sold him to a gentleman in London.<sup>11</sup> The prince's father commanded a powerful African trading area, and both French and English companies were courting his favour. To ensure continued trade, the French had invited one of his sons to Paris, where he stayed for some time learning French political and economic practices. Not to be outdone, the English later proposed the same thing for William, who already spoke English and considered the English traders his mentors and friends. Greed got the better of the English ship captain,<sup>1</sup> and he decided instead to settle the king's debt to them by selling the prince in Barbados,

Garrick, it was an indictment (Isaac Bickerstaffe's 1768 opera a European setting, and also A typical farce in many ways, peaks squarely against slavery. n, but is allowed to declaim m his 'Massa' who 'lick[s] me gets the final word in the last ungo became a byword in late when a Colonel Barré applied yson, who apparently did the ne stuck and afterwards Dyson 'toonned as a black man, often pered slave of the Duchess of e a synonym for any rude and as with the anonymous 1792 h a black man sells rabbits to a s approvingly by the hind legs. go says to her. 'If Blacke Man

oo,

their way more or less crudely 1. When the Prince of Wales fell a mulatto woman on his way opular artists wasted no time in he character in Coleman's opera c in a hammock with her breasts ers knew in these and other cases eral understanding of the signifi- ology . . . When evoking African i effect appealing to the conscious /white people recently made aware ween black and white.<sup>10</sup> When, ryden wrote a prologue to Beau- ess, he joked that English soldiers ild 'Each bring his love a Bogland es will long trains become./With y backs,/Quite to put down the ience easily understood not only



only conciliates their friendship, and softens their manners, but adds greatly to the security of the traders.<sup>14</sup> Soon African leaders regularly began sending their sons to England, as they had already done to Portugal and Spain, to learn some of the ways of the Europeans with whom they traded. Christopher Fyfe estimates that in 1789 there were approximately fifty boys and twenty-eight girls in Liverpool, London, Bristol and Lancaster, all from the Sierra Leone region.<sup>15</sup> Some of these (mostly young men) were dispatched to a variety of small schools around Liverpool to learn English and other useful commercial skills, while later in the century others were sent by missionaries to London for more comprehensive educations. There was also a third group of black students, for some West Indian planters sent their biracial as well as their white children to England to be educated. (This is the precedent for Rhoda Swartz in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*.)

Like Oronoko and the young prince of Annamaboc, it was not unusual for unscrupulous ship captains to view their African charges as financial opportunities rather than as commissions, and to sell the young men. Because of a situation similar to this, the English discovered in 1733 that there were already well-educated Africans. Taught by his father, a Muslim imam of royal lineage, a young man named Job ben Solomon was captured in Cambodia in 1731 and sold for £45 in Maryland. Desperate, he sent a letter in Arabic to his father via London, where General James Oglethorpe took it to Oxford to be translated. 'The translation pleased him so much, and gave him so good an opinion of the man,' noted *The Gentleman's Magazine* later, 'that he directly ordered him to be bought from his master' and carried to England.<sup>16</sup> When he arrived in London two years after his enslavement, Job could translate between Arabic and English and was taken up by the English nobility. He stayed fourteen months and was continually 'honored and feted by polite society, treated as an equal by some of the country's greatest scholars and headed by the nation's elite . . . A handsome, congenial man, Job was besieged by invitations from all quarters, notably from the Court. City merchants, scholars, philanthropists, aristocrats and those who were merely curious, vied with each other to sample the unusual spectacle of a scholarly African in their midst.'<sup>17</sup> Novelists were quick to incor-

where the ship next sailed on its triangular route. France and England were then at war, with battles between their ships taking place off the coast of Annamaboc (Sierra Leone today); both countries wanted the king to choose a European national alliance. His fury with the English over their duplicity in selling William first led him to choose the French, but he later changed his mind when the English agreed to retrieve the young man and take him and another young African from Barbados to London as promised.

Few cases of slavery aroused English public indignation and excitement as much as this one. Nicknamed 'Cupid' by the English traders in Africa because of his sweet and trusting personality, William became an immediate favourite with everyone. Sentimental poems about him appeared almost immediately, addressed from him to a fictitious African lover named 'Zara', and from 'Zara' back to him. Samuel Johnson referred to this and similar cases when he wrote that 'In our own time, princes have been sold, by wretches to whose care they were entrusted, that they might have an European education; but when once they were brought to a market in the plantations, little would avail either their dignity or their wrongs.'<sup>12</sup> The Africans' desire for European

education and their exotic nobility were irresistible to the public, which had a sentimental bent coupled with a righteous indignation, but this passion seemed reserved for those Africans who were 'wrongly' enslaved. As Wylie Sypher later put it, 'few besides anti-slavery crusaders seem to have paid much attention to the 14,000 Negro servants in England. But your free-born Briton could feel for a prince, particularly a prince in distress.'<sup>13</sup> In eighteenth-century Britain issues of race also involved issues of class, and both were fodder for high and low drama.

Sometimes the schemes to educate Africans as go-betweens for trade backfired, and the cost of maintaining them in England exceeded expectations. Yet despite one letter of 1755, to the governor of Cape Coast Castle from the 'Company of Merchants Trading in Africa', complaining that two black students 'have cost above £600 for Education, maintenance &c. since their being in England,' it was a common practice, according to one slave ship captain, for 'merchants and commanders of ships to Africa, to encourage the natives to send their children to England; as it not



remained in England after the abolition of the slave trade? Like the children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Francis Barber, they married and raised families and worked – in England. They became, in short, English people, even though the records of their lives are obscure and scattered, and they have for the most part been forgotten by their descendants. But there must be many thousands of British families who, if they traced their roots back to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, would find among their ancestors an African or person of African descent.<sup>110</sup>

Their descendants live among us.<sup>111</sup> From London to Liverpool they walk the same streets as their ancestors, with lineage that goes back, for some, even to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They have intermarried and become inextricably entwined in England's past and present. While individuals have doubtless been long forgotten, theirs is nonetheless an unbroken living legacy, a continual and very English presence.

## Notes

### Chapter 1: Paupers and Princes

1. Peter Fryer, *Black People in the British Empire: An Introduction* (London: Pluto Press, 1988), xiv.
2. Quoted in Nigel File and Chris Power, *Black Settlers in Britain 1555-1958* (London: Heinemann Education Books, 1981) 6, from 'Acts of the Privy Council, xxvi, 1596-7, 16, 20, and 21,' and 'Licensing Caspar van Senden to deport Negroes' (1601) in *Tudor Royal Proclamations, 1588-1603*, ed. J.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 221.
3. James Walvin, ed., *Black and White: The Negro and English Society 1555-1945* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1973) 9.
4. Walvin, *Black and White* 9, referring to J.A. Rogers, *Nature Knows No Color-Line* (New York: 1952) 161.
5. File 6.
6. File 6.
7. Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1978) 140.
8. Folarin Olawale Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833* (London: Oxford University Press for The Institute of Race Relations, 1977), 13.
9. I have used a microfiche copy of the original hand-written and hand-corrected text. Part of a series called *Three Centuries of English and American Plays*, it was filmed by the Redex Company from a manuscript housed in the Larpent Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and loaned by the Cleveland Public Library in Cleveland, Ohio.
10. Walvin, *Black and White* 24.
11. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXIX (1749), 240.
12. Quoted by Wylie Sypher, 'The African Prince in London,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1941), 244.
13. Sypher, 'The African Prince in London, 237.
14. *Memoirs of the Late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Greene, 1830) 300.

See Univ of  
Virginia  
Library -  
on - 11/14/17  
UVA  
Special Collection  
AP3, 64  
also microfilm  
204

note Mathias 4/3/04

### Gabriel Mathias

British Painter in the 18<sup>th</sup> century who died in 1804. Painted portrait of an African prince, 'William Unsh Sessarakoo,' in 1748

Found listing of Mathias in *Thieme-Becker Kunster Lexikon* vol. XXIV. Gave reference to the *Dictionary of British 18<sup>th</sup> Century Painters in Oils and Crayons*.

*The Dictionary of British 18<sup>th</sup> Century Painters in Oils and Crayons*, by Elis Waterhouse, published by the Antiques Collector's Club in 1981, said that he was a painter of portraits and figural genre. He studied under Batoni in Rome from 1745 to 1748 (just before he did the Sessarakoo portrait). In 1762, he gave up painting for an office in the Privy Purse. The citation for this information is *Farrington's Diary*, 14 June 1795.

*The Diary of Joseph Farrington*, edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre and published by Yale University Press in 1978 had a June 14<sup>th</sup> entry in its 2<sup>nd</sup> volume. Farrington wrote that Mathias had been in Italy until 1748 and then returned to Britain. This leaves the door open for the possibility that Mathias painted the Sessarakoo portrait either in Italy or in Britain. Farrington also mentioned that while in Italy, Mathias was "very intimate with Verret."

website

http://ketchcock.hc.virginia.edu/Steven/

clerk - refers to collection (William Unsh Sessarakoo)  
type & word; 1728

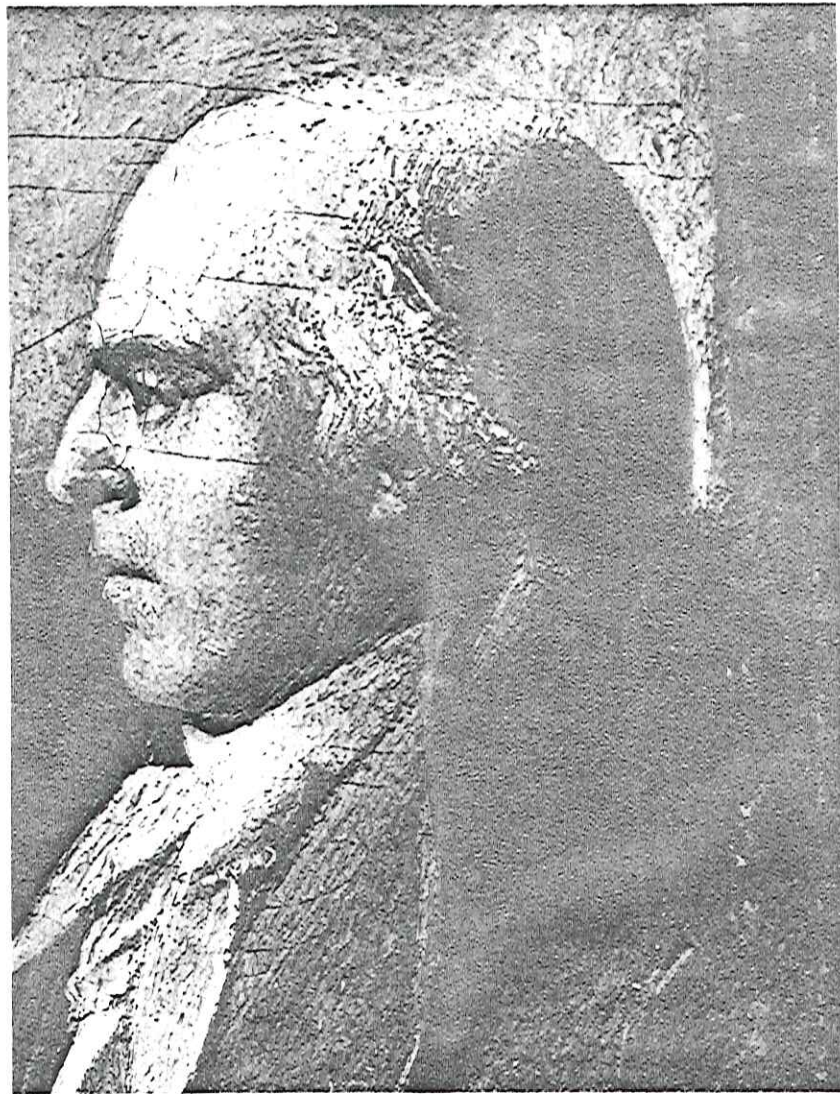
1) where's original portrait  
2) download that image help figure how/when it was painted in Virginia how to paint it

I have looked at the following sources

+ reference to image  
1728  
page 20028

what were of  
Mathias?  
write Elizabeth  
Downey or VFA,  
Nov 1. 12 of 1981





8. Henry Singleton R.A. *Joseph Farington*, detail from *The Royal Academicians in General Assembly* (Plate 12). The Royal Academy of Arts, London.

THE DIARY  
OF  
JOSEPH FARINGTON

edited by

KENNETH GARLICK and ANGUS MACINTYRE

VOLUME II

JANUARY 1795 — AUGUST 1796

Published for the Paul Mellon Centre  
for Studies in British Art

by

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
NEW HAVEN AND LONDON

1978



Captn. Hamilton called, I was out. He left a letter from Captn. Fairfull and wrote himself that Rev. Dr. Robertson of Calendar, has heard that Mr. Peter Graham of Aberfoil, is to be mentioned as having contributed much to the History of the Forth, and He thinks He ought to be noticed as I perused papers of his writing on subjects connected with that river &c.

Smirke drank tea with me. I told him I had been lately employed in digesting landscapes & drawing them on Canvass.

Easterly winds have prevailed several days and Monday & Tuesday much rain, and since little sunshine. — Humphry called in the evening.

Saturday — 13th.

Captn. Hamilton I called on. I told him Mr. Graham of Aberfoil had rendered me very particular service by accompanying me to the source of the Forth, and that I was obliged to Dr. Robertson for lending me a copy of the Statistical account which He had sent to Sir John Sinclair, but that it was an obligation of much less importance than what I owed to Mr. Graham, or even to him (Captn. Hamilton) who had accompanied me to Loch Lubenaig &c. — That He might inform Dr. Robertson I am not the compiler of the *Historical part* of the Rivers, but certainly am disposed to recommend such notice as may be proper to be taken of each person who has contributed to the stock of information.

Captain Hamilton of Leney, is now in Lord Elgins Fencibles and is going to Ireland.

Singleton I called on to see the Academician picture which is on shew at his house No. 4 Haymarket. Barry on seeing the picture consented to set for his Portrait which He had before refused thinking the distribution of situations not sufficiently equal.

G. Dance I dined with and afterwards sat for a profile.

Sunday June 14th.

Steers I breakfasted with.

Bryant the picture dealer, married a sister of Lord Shrewsbury by whom He has several Children. Steers has seen Lord & Lady Shrewsbury at Bryants.

Rossi went to Windsor this afternoon, with a petition to the King which He intends to present tomorrow morning the object of which is to be appointed by His Majesty to execute one of the monuments ordered for St. Pauls or Westminster Abbey to memory of Officers. — Smirke drew up the Petition & I proposed some alterations, which He adopted.

Mr. Mathias, Deputy pay-master of his majestys privy purse I dined with at his house at Ealing, in company with G. Dance, Tyler & Richards. — Mr. Ball, a surgeon, who married one of Mr. Mathias's daugtrs. and Miss Mathias were there.

Mr. Mathias was bred a portrait painter, and was under Ramsay in

1739. — In 1745 He went to Italy and returned in 1748. — He was 75 years old last December.

Mr. Mathias was very intimate with Vernet while at Rome. Vernet married there a Miss Parker, daughter of an Englishman who had formerly been in the English Navy but settled in Rome & became an Antiquarian.

Mr. Finney, of Fulcheth, is now about 76 or 7 years of age.

Ramsay was a man of cold & narrow mind and possessed so little professional ardour that He has said He never painted but two pictures that were not for money.

Richards told us that on closing the Exhibition acct. last night it appeared that £830.9.0 had been recd. this year more than the rect. of last year. — The whole rect. £2032.

Easterly, cold winds still prevail. — Glass 56.

Monday June 15th.

Christie I called on. Mr. Bryant & Mr. Slade have not yet settled their accts. for the purchase of Sir Joshuas pictures. About the first week in July the money will be required.

G. Dance I dined with & He afterwards finished my profile.

Dr. Haydn, we called on at his lodgings No. 1 Bury St., St. James's. He was dressing to attend the Prince of Wales. He engaged to dine at Dances on Wednesday next. Lady Elizabeth Pratt & a party of her forming are to dine there.

Deval, the mason of Mortimer St., lately deceased, contracted to build Newgate at 2 shillings & sevenpence a cubical foot for the *stone & working* it (plain work & mouldings included). This was in the year 1770. — Such is the rise on this article that three shillings & six pence a cubical foot is now paid for the stone before it is worked. It may now be averaged when worked out at Four shillings a foot.

Morland, Senior wrote to me again to be considered when the Charity of the Academy is distributed. He is 76 years old.

Tuesday June 16th.

Lady Beaumont wrote to inform me Mr. West had called there today and subscribed three guineas towards the maintenance of poor Cozens and would subscribe a guinea annually. — She desired me by Wests direction to adress a letter to the Council to recommend Cozens as an object of the charity.

Miss Harriet Hardman wrote to me that Her Father had authorized her to purchase a small landscape of mine in the exhibition.

Byrne called. — Lady Beaumont will take His daughters miniature copy of Sir George[s] portrait by Sir Joshua, and Lady Beverly has employed Her to make a copy of *her* portrait by Sir Joshua. — His eldest daugrs. drawing of flowers has been admired in the Exhibition & Mrs. Davies of





**JAMES MAUBERT.** 'Edward Bathurst and family,' 94ins. x 121ins. Painted c.1714/5. Sotheby's sale 23.6.1971 (90). Traditionally by Maubert, who painted another Bathurst family group. It includes the honeysuckle which Maubert liked to introduce into his portraits.

**MASON, Rev. William** 1724-1797

Literary character and amateur painter. Born Hull 12 February 1724; died Aston, nr. Sheffield, 5 April 1797. He was Precentor of York; a friend of Horace Walpole and friend and biographer of Reynolds. Exh. (drawings) RA 1782, 1783 and 1786; and painted, 1764, a 'Good Samaritan' of astonishing febleness as the 'altarpiece' for the church near the house at Nuneham Courtenay.

(*A candidate for praise, exh. cat., York Festival, 1973.*)

**MASQUERIER, John James** 1778-1855

Society portrait painter in oils and pastel, and occasional painter of history pictures and landscapes. Born London 23 October 1778; died Brighton 13 March 1855. His family was of French origin and he was taken to Paris 1789 and studied there under Vincent and Carle Vernet. He returned to London at the Revolution and entered RA Schools 1792. Exh. RA 1795-1838; BI 1807-44. He became a pupil and assistant to Hoppner 1796-99, and his earlier portraits are exercises in a smudgy variety of Hoppner's style. He travelled a good deal in Ireland and the

Midlands, and visited Paris for two months in 1800, bringing back a portrait of Napoleon, which was a great success in London. In 1802 he made his first visit to Scotland and stayed with Raeburn, the least valuable qualities of whose style became the model for his later portraits. He was a very successful and a very indifferent portrait painter, mainly in pastel. He retired to Brighton in 1823, but sent a number of feeble subject and history pictures to BI until 1844.

(*R.R.M. See, Masquerier and his circle, 1922.*)

**MATTHIAS, Gabriel** 1719-1804

Painter of portraits and figural genre. Born December 1719; died Acton 1804. Studied under Ramsay 1739; in Rome 1745 to 1748, where he studied under Batoni. He is listed as 'an eminent painter' in London in the *Universal Magazine*, 1748. Exh. FS 1761-62 but soon afterwards gave up painting on being given an office in the Privy Purse. There are two mezzotints after his pictures by Faber Jr. and one by McArdeil. A signed portrait of 'John Chute' 1758 is at The Vyne.

(*Farington's Diary, 14 June 1795.*)



Edwards Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters*, 1808. Planned as a continuation of Walpole: it is largely derived from personal knowledge, and, although sketchy, is sometimes our only source of information.

Egerton Judy Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Pictures 1655-1827* (in the Paul Mellon Collection), London, '1978' [actually 1980].

Egmont *Diary of the 1st Earl of Egmont, 1730-1747*, in Historical MSS. Commission, 3 vols., 1920-1923.

Farington *The Diary of Joseph Farington, 1793-1821*.  
 Quoted under the day of entry. The full text is still being published (vols. 1 to 6 ed. K. Garlick and A. Macintyre) and has only reached 1804. For later dates the 8 vols. of excerpts (ed. Greig, 1922ff.) have had to be used. Farington was extremely inquisitive about the dates of birth of his fellow artists.

Farrer Rev. Edmund Farrer, *Portraits in Suffolk Houses (West)*, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1908.

The MS of *Suffolk Houses (East)* is in the Ipswich Public Library.

Fawcett Trevor Fawcett, *Eighteenth Century Art in Norwich*, in *Walpole Society*, XLVI (1978), 71-90.

Fleming, Adam John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, 1962.

Forcella Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, Roma, 14 vols., 1869-1884.

Ford, Byres Brinsley Ford, *James Byres*, in *Apollo*, XCIX (June 1974), 446-461.

Foskett Daphne Foskett, *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters*, 2 vols., 1972.

Foster Sir William Foster, *British Artists in India 1760-1820*, in *Walpole Society*, XIX (1931), 1-88; brief additional notes in XXI (1933), 108/9.

Goulding and Adams Richard W. Goulding and C.K. Adams, *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to the Duke of Portland*. K.G., 1936.

Grant Colonel Maurice Harold Grant, *A chronological History of Old English Landscape Painters*, 3 vols., n.d. and 1947.

A revised edition in 8 vols., Leigh on Sea, 1957-1961. Colonel Grant had looked attentively at a great many bad pictures and he illustrates many landscapes attributed to little known painters (usually signed, but he gives no indication). There is a great deal of waffle but he lists engravings.

Groce and Wallace George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860*, New Haven and London, 1957.

This is the most compendious one-volume dictionary and has the essential bibliographical information.

Gunnis Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, 1953.

There is also a very slightly revised edition (n.d.).

Hall, Marshall Marshall Hall, *The Artists of Northumbria*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973.

Hammelmann Hanns Hammelmann, *Book illustration in Eighteenth Century England*, ed. T.S.R. Boase, 1975.

Harris John Harris, *The artist and the Country House*, 1979.

Very abundantly illustrated but with many speculative attributions.

Haswell-Miller and Dawnay A. Haswell-Miller and N.P. Dawnay, *Military paintings in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen*, 2 vols., 1966 (plates) and 1970 (text).

Hayward List A list, preserved in the Print Room of the British Museum, of artists of British nationality who visited Rome between 1753 and 1775. Compiled by or for Richard Hayward, the sculptor (see *Walpole Society*, XXXVI (1960), 37, n.9).

Hearne Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 11 vols., Oxford Historical Society.

Herrmann Luke Herrmann, *British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century*, 1973.

Hofstede de Groot *A Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, English edition, 8 vols., 1908-1927. (Vols. 9 and 10 exist only in the German edition, Esslingen, Stuttgart and Paris 1926 and 1928.)

Hutchison Sidney D. Hutchison, *The Royal Academy Schools, 1708-1830*, in *Walpole Society*, XXXVIII (1962), 123-191.

This is often the only source (unquoted in the text) for the christian names and dates of birth of many minor painters. When a previously unknown date of birth is given for a



ALLGEMEINES LEXIKON  
DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTLER

VON DER ANTIKE BIS ZUR GEGENWART

BEGRÜNDET VON ULRICH THIEME UND FELIX BECKER

UNTER MITWIRKUNG VON ETWA 400 FACHGELEHRTEN  
BEARBEITET UND REDIGIERT VON

H. VOLLMER, B. C. KREPLIN, L. SCHEEWE, H. WOLFF,  
O. KELLNER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

HANS VOLLMER

VIERUNDZWANZIGSTER BAND

Mandere — Möhl

VEB E. A. SEEMANN VERLAG LEIPZIG

W. S. Owen 1942

he condemns the traffic in Negroes, which, as Postlethwayt's *Dictionary* observed, was profitable, if not "social." He employs what Johnson called his "arts of delusion" to suggest that Guinea's sultry strand is a fit market for "the drapery light/Of Manchester or Norwich"; yet, he goes on,

... the valued trade,

Along this barbarous coast, in telling wounds  
The generous heart, the sale of wretched slaves;  
Slaves by their tribes condemned, exchanging death  
For life-long servitude; severe exchange!

(IV, 192-6)

Dyer hesitates between enthusiasm for genial trade and his moral uneasiness. He proposes that traders "With just humanity of heart pursue/The gainful commerce," especially since "sable chieftains" may "in future times/Burst their frail bonds, and vengeance execute." The description of Africa is, like Thomson's, a curious mosaic of "unknown sandy deserts," "valleys and pleasant plains" with "shade of verdant groves" and "soft refreshing breezes."

The appropriate reply to Dyer's confidence in social trade is Churchill's *Gotham* (1764), which does not refer to the African particularly, but to any "savage race" with which Britain trades:

The worth of freedom strongly she explains,  
Whilst she bows down, and loads their necks with chains.

*The Equality of Mankind* published by Michael Woodhull in 1765 contains a weak imitation of Pope's "poor Indian" passage, but heightened by the poet's indignation against "those who truck humanity for gold."<sup>4</sup>

The most striking poems in the noble Negro tradition at this time are by the Rev. William Dodd, "The African prince, now in *England*, to *Zara* at his father's court" and "The Epistle of *Zara* at the Court of Anamaboe, to the African

Prince now in England," which were first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July and August, 1749; both became set-pieces in Dodsley's, Bell's, and other poetical collections.<sup>5</sup> The story of this prince is told in the anonymous brief novel *The Royal African* (c. 1749); he was the son of a Fantin chief, who was sent to England to be educated; but the captain to whom he was entrusted sold him into slavery in Barbadoes. Upon the protest of his father and the story's transpiring in England, the prince of Annamaboe (he is known by no other name) was ransomed and brought to London.\* As the chronicle of the *Gentleman's* reports, the prince and his companion appeared on February 1, 1749, at the Covent Garden while *Oroonoko* was playing. The plight of Southerne's hero affected them with "that generous grief which pure nature always feels"; this African sensibility so touched the audience that it "doubled the tears which were shed for *Oroonoko* and *Imoinda*."

Dodd's poems are in the rarest vein of savagery. The splendor of Annamaboe with its "thousand servants" and "officious courtiers" yields nothing to that of the court at Mrs. Behn's Coromantien. This regal African feels a proper Oroonoko-like contempt for the rabble of ordinary slaves "of manners brutish" who "mock'd my suff'rings, and my pangs renew'd." Like Oroonoko, the prince of Annamaboe cringes at the thought of appearing before his loved one as a slave "recent from the scourge." The epistle of the prince closes with exclamations about the humiliation of royalty ("Princes have been sold," said Dr. Johnson), the righteousness of Britain in ransoming him, and the baseness of the Inkle-like captain who betrayed him. The prince makes a strange comment upon *Oroonoko*:

O! *Zara*, here, a story like my own,  
With mimic skill, in borrow'd names was shown;

\* See *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (1941), pp. 237-247.



Sessarakoo

From: "Editha Nancy Jacobs" <[jiacobi@sunbeach.net](mailto:jiacobi@sunbeach.net)>

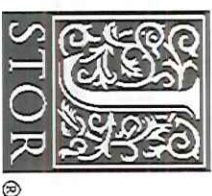
Maybe in North America, but not in the Caribbean! I can recall reading of an incident in 1744 when Prince William Ansa Sessarakoo, the son of the powerful ruler of Annamaboe(modern Ghana) was on his way to school in England, when the trader taking him there made a detour and sold him as a slave in Barbados. He was later retrieved and taken to England, where he became an overnight sensation. In Barbados, he was an overnight celebrity in Bridgetown as the inhabitants there were charmed by his behaviour and dress. If you require more information, I also have a mezzotint copy of Prince William.

See Gretchen Gerzina, "Black London: Life Before Emancipation" New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995, 11-12.

I have recently joined this discussion, so I have been reading quietly first, before including my two cents worth.

Best regards,

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Cave Hill Campus  
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Barbados  
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## The African Prince in London

Wylie Sypher

*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr., 1941), 237-247.

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## THE AFRICAN PRINCE IN LONDON

By WYLLIE SYPPER

The "visiting foreigner" was always an attractive person to the eighteenth-century primitivist, and the various American Indians, East Indians, and South-Sea Islanders who journeyed to England have been recognized as "influences" in the history of popular opinion. Throughout the century a number of authentically royal Africans also visited London, chiefly under duress, to be sure, but none the less serving as examples of savage virtue. How largely the prolonged vitality of the Oroonoko legend, especially in the service of anti-slavery sentiment, was due to these regal Negroes is not certain; yet one can say with assurance that they were the substance of things hoped for in noble savagery. Although Miss Burney may have deemed Omai an indifferent bard, no one seems to have qualified his admiration for the African princes. For one thing, they were verily princes, not, like Omai, of "the middling class of people"; and to the levelling eighteenth century, savage virtues always seemed brighter in gentility. If we except Ignatius Sancho, few besides anti-slavery crusaders seem to have paid much attention to the 14,000 Negro servants in England. But your free-born Briton could feel for a prince, particularly a prince in distress.

Had it not been for the villainy of slave-traders, none of these Africans might have caught popular fancy. During the eighteenth century petty chieftains along the Gold and Slave Coasts not infrequently sent their sons to Europe to be educated. On the good will of these coastal chieftains depended the profits of Liverpool, Bristol, or London investors; nevertheless, a British captain running the Middle Passage to the West Indies could rarely overcome the temptation to sell a journeying prince into slavery. Ordinarily the betrayed prince was redeemed through the righteous indignation (or the less-righteous policy) of English merchants, who made their peace by hurrying the ransomed African to England, settling him comfortably, and reassuring his royal sire as to British honor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See H. A. Wynham, *The Atlantic and Slavery*, London, 1935, p. 224. "Two sons of Gold Coast Caboceers were instructed in the Christian faith, in reading, writing, and accounts in England, and returned to Africa in 1755 in H.M.S. *Humber*, the Governor of Gambia being warned to show them 'all the civilities in his power' on their way through. They drove down to Plymouth in the same coach as the wife of the captain of the ship. Their berths cost the Company of Merchants Trading

Possibly the earliest instance to gain literary recognition was that of "the African" Job Ben Solomon, who was in England fourteen months in 1733-4.<sup>2</sup> This Negro of theocratic rank had both personal charm and a distinguished mind. Job was sent by his father, high priest of Boonda, "to sell two Negroes" to Captain Pike, an English slaver. On his return to Boonda he refreshed himself at the home "of an old Acquaintance," where he hung up his arms, which "were very valuable; consisting of a Gold-hilted Sword, a Gold Knife . . . , and a rich Quiver of Arrows." He was promptly seized by marauders, sold to Captain Pike on February 27, 1730, and taken to Maryland. In his distress he wrote a letter in Arabic to his father; this letter came to the notice of General Oglethorpe, who sent it to Oxford to be translated. Under Oglethorpe's bond, Job sailed for England in March, 1733, and was housed at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, where he "had the Honour to be sent for by most of the Gentry of that Place, who were mightily pleased with his Company." A subscription of £59/6/11½ having been collected toward his freedom, Job went to London to be introduced to Sir Hans Sloane, for whom he translated Arabic manuscripts and inscriptions on medals. Sir Hans presented him to the Duke of Montague, who

. . . pleased with the Sweetness of Humour, and Mildness of Temper, as well as Genius and Capacity of the Man, introduced him to Court, where he was graciously received by the Royal Family, and most of the Nobility, from whom he received distinguishing Marks of Favour.<sup>3</sup>

in Africa £50. Other bills for their expenses at Plymouth before the ship sailed, for diet and for 'check shirts,' came to £30; but the Company refused to be responsible for two bureaux which the 'two black gentlemen had bespoken, and which the captain refused to put on board . . . Finally, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle was informed that the cost of educating them, and sending them back to Africa, had amounted to over £600; and he was instructed to 'send us no more black gentlemen except you find it necessary for the benefit of the trade.' About the same time a Mr. Roberts carried away a son of the King of Popo, and a son of a Caboceer of Dixcove . . . and the Company of Merchants becoming alarmed lest it might 'prejudice English interests at Popo', sent the son back to his father . . . This little affair cost them £100' [in gifts to the King]. (*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.)

<sup>2</sup> This story was told at least twice: in Thomas Blinett's *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda* . . . , London, 1734; and in Francis Moore's *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa* . . . with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, & Pholuy . . . , London, 1738. Both accounts were used by the editor of "The Remarkable Captivity and Deliverance of Job Ben Solomon, a Mohammedan Priest of Bûnda, near the Gambia, in the Year 1730," *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . , [London], 1745, II, pp. 234-240.

<sup>3</sup> Moore, p. 203.



When in July, 1734, under patronage of the Royal African Company, he set out for Boonda, he had accumulated gifts worth over £500, including a watch from the Royal Family, and "noble presents" from the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, "several Ladies of Quality," a Mr. Holden, and the Royal African Company. Of Job's person and talents Blunett says:

... His Countenance was exceeding pleasant, yet grave and composed; his Hair long, black, and curled, being very different from that of the Negroes commonly brought from *Africa* . . . On all Occasions he discovered a solid Judgment, a ready Memory, and a clear Head . . . In his Reasonings there appeared . . . strong Sense, joined with an innocent Simplicity, a strict Regard to Truth, and a hearty Desire to find it . . .

His Memory was extraordinary; for when he was fifteen Years old he could say the whole *Alcoran* by Heart . . .

The Abbé Grégoire numbered him among the illustrious Negroes of the age.<sup>4</sup>

Distinguished as Job may have been, he did not attain the literary celebrity of the African who was known through two poems by the Rev. William Dodd as the lover of Zara, and who is almost certainly the same prince about whom was written a novel called *The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboë*. If this prince is the original of the lover of Zara, it is possible to trace his career through this novel and through the *Gentleman's Magazine*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Henri Grégoire, *De la littérature des nègres*, Paris, 1808, pp. 182-183. There were many other widely known Negroes—Phillis Wheatley, François Williams, Othobah Cugoana, *et al.*—but evidently not of royal standing and therefore not considered here.

<sup>5</sup> Is it possible to prove that the prince of this novel is the prince of Dodd's poems? The anonymous author of *The Royal African* assures us that "there is not a Syllable inserted which I do not firmly believe to be true." He is probably truthful.

The British Museum dates first and second editions (one of 53, the other of 55, pages, and both printed by "W. Reeve, etc., London") at 1720. The second edition (alone available to me) was printed for "W. Reeve, at Shakespeare's Head, Fleetstreet; G. Woodfall, and J. Barnes, at Charing Cross; and at the Court of Requests." Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers* lists W. Reeves as a bookseller and publisher at Shakespeare's Head in Fleet Street c. 1753-1759; John Barnes as a bookseller and publisher (of O'Connor's *Considerations Upon the Trade to Africa*, 1753, *inter alia*) who moved in 1753 from Charing Cross to Haymarket and the Court of Requests; and George Woodfall as a bookseller and dealer in pamphlets at Charing Cross c. 1748. Internal evidence also dates the novel as being after 1720. The author (second ed., p. 53) mentions the capture of Captain Lamb by the King of Dahomey. Bulfinch Lamb wrote his letter to Governor Tinker while he was in cap-

Though the book ran to at least two editions, there is the flavor of literature only on the title page, which bears the following verses:

*Othello* shews the Muse's utmost Power,  
 A brave, an honest, yet a hapless Moor.  
 In *Oroonoko* shines the Hero's Mind,  
 With native Lustre by no Art refin'd.  
 Sweet *Juba* strikes us but with milder Charms,  
 At once renown'd for Virtue, Love, and Arms.  
 Yet hence might rise a still more moving Tale,  
 But *Shakespears*, *Addisons*, and *Southerns* fail!

Briefly, the Prince's story as told by the novel is this: John Corrente, a Fantin Caboceiro, who can muster 25,000 men to arms, once sent his elder (and illegitimate) son to France to be educated; he was there treated so courteously and now speaks so warily of the French that the British traders encourage John to send his younger tivity on Nov. 27, 1724; and Archibald Dalzell (*History of Dahomey*, London, 1793, pp. 10-11) says that Lamb stayed with King Trudo of Dahomey until 1726 (see also Robert Norris, *Memoirs of Bossa Addee, King of Dahomey*, London, 1789, xiv; and William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea*, London, 1734, p. 7 ff.). The novel also refers to Atkins' *Voyage to Guinea* (p. 23), not printed until 1735. Furthermore, the captain who kidnapped both this African prince and the prince of Dodd's poems died shortly after his treachery (p. 44); and, as in the case of Dodd's hero, the kidnapped prince comes to London with a "sprightly *Negro*, who lives with our young *Hero* as his Companion" (pp. 48-49). The novel mentions the prince as "now here" in England (p. 18), and as "actually here at present" (p. 37). (See also pp. 23, 29 for further hints as to the date of the novel.)

An entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XXI (1751), p. 331) continues the story of the prince: ". . . the Kings of *Amslam* and *Faethu*, two great trading nations in the south of *Africa*, are preparing to send their eldest sons to *England*, to be educated in the same manner as the prince *Ammahboa*, who arrived safe there in *December* last, to the joy of his royal father." Dr. William Van Lennep has kindly provided me with the last word on this prince: "[This day [July 31, 1751] was read before the board of admiralty, a letter sent by captain Jasper, from the prince of Annamahoe, in which he expresses his gratitude for the civilities shewn his son while he was at our court, and offers the assistance of 20,000 men to build a fort on the coast of Africa in case of obstructions from the French" (John Charneck, *Biographical Notices*, London, 1794-1798, V, p. 395, s.v. "Richard Jasper").

Another entry in the *Gentleman's* demands a word: "[Two *Africans*; one of them son to the King of *Ammahoo*, and the other son to the high priest of the sun, were baptized at *St. Sepulchre's* church, by the rev. Mr. *Moore*" (XXV (1755), p. 184). The explanation probably is that the hero of the novel and Dodd's poems returned to Annamahoe in December, 1750, and that his father sent another son to England. This latter son seems to be one of those mentioned by Wyndham in footnote 1, above.

The date of the novel is evidently c. 1749, and the Prince of Annamahoe is almost certainly Dodd's prince.



son, and heir, to England. The captain to whom the prince is entrusted, however, sells him as a slave in Barbadoes. No one objects to this treachery until the Cabocceiro hears of it; he at once prohibits all trade with the British and turns to the French. The British merchants, in consternation, ransom the Prince, protesting . . . that his Misfortune . . . was entirely disapproved by *Englishmen* of every Denomination; those even of the lowest Rank expressing a just Disdain of such iniquitous Practices; not more incompatible with the Doctrines of Religion, or the Principles of Morality, than with the natural Candour and Generosity of a true *English* Soul.

When the Prince is taken to London, he attracts the "kind Notice" of "those who have a becoming Concern for natural Equity and Justice, as well as for the Reputation and Honour of the *British* People." Disregarding the 20,000 or more Negroes carried each year from Africa to the West Indies, the author commends the "universal Applause" of "that wise and well-judged Compassion, which the Case of this noble and unfortunate Stranger so apparently deserved." The Prince himself "has appeared such from the Gracefulness of his Person, the Nobleness of his Sentiments, the Modesty of his Deportment." Here is a striking juxtaposition of humanitarian sympathy with the impulse to truck, barter, and exchange.

"*Shakespears, Addisons, and Southernns*" may have failed; but the Rev. William Dodd composed two album pieces on this prince.<sup>4</sup> How largely the fame of these two poems is due to the notoriety of Dodd may be questioned. Howbeit, the history of Zara's princely lover is sketched in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which explains that Captain ———, "trafficking on the coast of *Africa* went up the country, where he was introduc'd to a *Moorish* king, who had 40,000 men under his command." This king was persuaded to send his son, "about 18 years of age, with another sprightly youth," to England for education "in the *European* manner." With traditional perfidy, the captain sold the prince and his companion, and then died. The ship's officers having told the story in England, the government ransomed the youths and brought them to London "under the care of the right hon. the earl

<sup>4</sup> See *The Poetical Calendar*, London, 1763, IV, p. 13; Dodsley's *Collection*, London, 1783, IV, p. 222; Bell's *Classical Arrangement*, London, 1789, VII, pp. 117, 162-3. *The Monthly Review* for July, 1749, notices "The African Prince, now in *England*, to Zara, at his Father's court; quarto, pages 15, price 6d. . . . an heroic epistle, attempted in *Ovid's* manner."

of *Hallifax*, first commissioner of trade and plantations." They were presented at court, "richly dressed, in the *European* manner." But their appearance at the Covent Garden on February 1, 1749, when *Oroonoko* was played, was sensational:

... They were received with a loud clap of applause, which they acknowledged with a very genteel bow, and took their seats in a box. The seeing persons of their own colour on the stage, apparently in the same distress from which they had been so lately delivered, the tender interview between *Imoinda* and *Oroonoko*, who was betrayed by the treachery of a captain, his account of his sufferings, and the repeated abuse of his placability and confidence, strongly affected them, with that generous grief which pure nature always feels, and which art had not yet taught them to suppress; the young prince was so far overcome, that he was obliged to retire at the end of the fourth act. His companion remained, but wept the whole time; a circumstance which affected the audience yet more than the play, and doubled the tears which were shed for *Oroonoko* and *Imoinda*.<sup>7</sup>

The *Gentleman's* likewise records that in November, 1749, these "two young *Africans*, who have been in *England* some time, were baptized by the Rev. Mr. *Terrett*, reader of the *Temple*, who has undertaken to instruct them in the christian faith."

The prince had seen *Oroonoko* in February, 1749. In the *Gentleman's* for July appeared the first of the two poems by Dodd, "The African prince, now in England, to Zara, at his father's court"; in August the same magazine printed the companion poem, "Zara, at the court of *Annamboboe*, to the African Prince, now in England." Both are in the pseudo-African manner of the day: the prince easily eclipses Omai, even though he may not rival Oroonoko; and Zara, like Imoinda, is "female to the noble male." The prince speaks of his position at Annamboboe:

Nurtur'd in ease, a thousand servants round,  
My wants prevented, and my wishes crown'd,  
No painful labours stretch'd the tedious day,  
On downy feet my moments dance'd away.  
Where'er I look'd, officious courtiers bow'd,  
Where'er I pass'd, a shouting people crowd.

His love for Zara is Platonism heated by savage ardor:

Together sinking in the trance divine,  
I caught thy fleeting soul, and gave thee mine!

The prince feels deeply the injustice of slavery—for himself; he recalls the hours of his duress:

<sup>7</sup> *Gentleman's Mag.*, XIX (1749), pp. 89-90.



At night I mingled with a wretched crew,  
 Who by long use with woe familiar grew;  
 Of manners brutish, merciless and rude,  
 They mock'd my suff'rings, and my pangs renew'd.

One thinks not only of Oroonoko with his refined contempt for his fellow Negroes, but of Itanoko, Zinza, Inco, and Zimao, and the whole procession of royal slaves sweeping through anti-slavery prose and verse. Dodd, like the author of *The Royal African*, discerns that by the release of one royal slave, justice has been done:

No more *Britannia's* cheek, the blush of shame,  
 Burns for my wrongs, her king restores her fame; . . .  
 Whate'er is great and gay around me shine,  
 And all the splendor of a court is mine.

Perhaps inspired by the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dodd fancies what the prince must have felt when he beheld *Oroonoko* at the Covent Garden:

O! *Zara*, here, a story like my own,  
 With mimic skill, in borrow'd names, was shown;  
 An *Indian* [*sic*] chief, like me, by fraud betray'd,  
 And partner in his woes an *Indian* [*sic*] maid.  
 I can't recall the scenes, 'tis pain too great,  
 And, if recall'd, should shudder to relate.

Zara responds with an epistle that deepens the great gulf fixed between her prince and his fellow Negroes:

Hold, Hold! Barbarians of the fiercest kind!  
 Fear heav'n's red light'ning—'tis a Prince ye bind;  
 A prince, whom no indignities could hide,  
 They knew, presumptuous! and the Gods defy'd.

She rests confident, too, in the steadfastness of his primitive love:

. . . in *Britann's* happy courts to shine,  
 Amidst a thousand blooming maids, is thine—  
 But thou, a thousand blooming maids among,  
 Art still thyself, incapable of wrong;  
 No outward charm can captivate thy mind,  
 Thy love is friendship heighten'd and refin'd;  
 'Tis what my soul, and not my form inspires,  
 And burns with spotless and immortal fires.  
 Thy joys, like mine, from conscious truth arise,  
 And, known these joys, what others canst thou prize?

Manifestly an *Oroonoko redivivus*! It is easy to believe that such literary figments as *Day's Dying Negro* and *Mrs. Mackenzie's*

Prince Adolphus of Tonouwah are patterned not only after Oronoko and noble savages in general, but more precisely after visiting African princes.

Even the West Indian could feel for injured royalty. John Singleton, inspired by the muse of "tuneful Grainger, nurs'd in fancy's arms," who "So elegantly sung" *The Sugar Cane*, printed in Barbadoes in 1767 *A General Description of the West-Indian Islands*, "Attempted in Blank Verse," he modestly adds. The poem (reissued, with changes, in London ten years later) digresses from the picturesque tropical landscape to remark upon the wretch

. . . who once betray'd  
A sacred trust, which hospitality  
And honor bound him to perform, and sold,  
Like a base villain, for a little trash,  
That pledge of friendship, which his royal host  
(A king he was in Afric's sable realms)  
Deliver'd to him with a parting sigh;—  
His only son . . .

The Cabocero who is willing with 20,000 men to establish British fortunes on the Guinea coast seems to Singleton a "fond father" rearing his son

. . . to arms  
And virtue—virtue such as Nature's sons  
Are taught to practise, unallay'd with art.  
Happy! thrice happy! had not Europe's fame  
Induc'd the credulous old man to trust  
With this false friend the darling of his age.

And Dr. Johnson, though contemptuous of savages, was reverential enough toward royalty. "In our own time," he says in his argument on the Knight case which he dictated to a demurring Boswell on September 23, 1777, "Princes have been sold, by wretches to whose care they were entrusted, that they might have an European education; but when once they were brought to a market in the plantations, little would avail either their dignity or their wrongs." The lover of Zara is a not-inconsequential person in the eighteenth century.

In 1759 another royal Negro, like the prince of Annamaboe, for an instant holds the spotlight in the London theatre, this time the Drury Lane. On Wednesday, May 9,



. . . a young African prince appeared publicly at the Theatre Royal in *Drury Lane*. This youth was committed some time since to the care of an *English* captain to be brought over for education, but the captain, instead of performing his promise, sold him to a gentleman in *London*. The father of the prince being lately dead, and the captain being upon the coast, was at that time desired by his subjects to bring the young prince home; but he giving them no satisfactory account, was seized, imprisoned, and ironed, and then confessed the truth; upon which an order was sent to a merchant in that trade to procure the prince's enlargement, which was done by purchasing him of the gentleman who bought him; and he is soon to return to his native country.<sup>s</sup>

This African prince kindles no British muse, and at once passes from the *Drury Lane* into oblivion.

The Negro Gustavus Vassa, however, enjoyed no mere crowded hour of glory; indeed, his figure stretches Munchausen-like across the closing decade of the century. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*, appeared first in two volumes in 1789. In 1794 there was an eighth edition, enlarged, printed at Norwich, and I have seen an edition printed in Leeds as late as 1814. The preface of this 1814 edition explains that the first edition "was graced with the names of a greater number of worthy characters than had before adorned the pages of any small book published in this country"—a claim that may or may not be informative: Ignatius Sancho's *Letters* had appeared (in 1782) with something over a thousand names, many of "quality"; but it was not a small book—nor was Vassa's. His adventures, true or not, were too exciting and continual even to summarize. He was, in any case, the son of a chief in Benin, and in 1765, together with his sister, was kidnapped by slavers, who sold him in Barbadoes to an officer in the British navy. After extraordinary wanderings to Turkey, then northwest to seek an arctic passage to the East, then back to the West Indies, Vassa settled in England and helped manage the first colonization of Sierra Leone; for some reason the Bishop of London was unwilling to sanction his going to Africa as a missionary. His marriage to Miss Cullen of Ely is announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1792.

There were, of course, many Africans being instructed in Christianity by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the

<sup>s</sup> *Gentleman's Mag.*, XXIX (1759), p. 240.

dissenting sects, and the Sierra Leone Company; periodicals from the mid-century on frequently mention Negroes lately baptized in one or another London church. Even in this evangelism an African prince played his part—for Naimbanna seems to have been known to all the godly of 1793. His father, Naimbanna, king of Robanna, Sierra Leone, with a true eighteenth-century enlightenment, dispatched one of his sons to Turkey to be reared as a Mohammedan, one to Portugal to be reared as a Roman Catholic, and a third—Naimbanna—to England, where, as his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* has it, he “imbibed . . . the strongest attachments to the principles of the Protestant faith.”<sup>9</sup> Naimbanna, whose name was John Frederick until he was christened Henry Granville, arrived safely in England on September 22, 1791, under the care of Alexander Falconbridge, who committed him to Granville Sharp, who in turn arranged with Henry Thornton to put him under the Rev. Mr. Gambier in Kent. Naimbanna's father complained to Sharp that there were “three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, who were carried away by one Captain Cox, captain of a Danish ship.” (Thornton later cited this letter in an anti-slavery debate in Parliament.) Sharp replied that he would “make particular inquiries after your three relations”—Corpro, Banna, and Morbour—and that the young Naimbanna exhibited a “good disposition, modesty, behaviour, and great diligence and application to learning.” The reports of the Sierra Leone Company for 1794 comment upon the “alteration which . . . took place in his mind.” In April, 1793, came word that the King of Robanna had died, and about May 23, Naimbanna sailed for Africa. On July 18, he was dead of a putrid fever. Zachary Macaulay had serious trouble convincing the Negroes that the British had not killed him. Poor Naimbanna's last days were saddened by the oaths of British tars; in his pocketbook was found the following entry, written as he boarded ship: “I shall take care of this company which I now fallen into [*sic*], for they swears a good deal, and talked all manner of wickedness. Can I be able to resist that temptation, no I cannot, but the Lord will deliver me.” Londoners agreed that “he possessed a good understanding, a disposition

<sup>9</sup> LXIII (supplement), pp. 1215-6. The remainder of the information about Naimbanna is from Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp*, London, 1828, II, pp. 161-171; and Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, London, 1900, pp. 34-42.



earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, and a great facility in receiving instruction," as well as an "easy address and suavity of manners."

One of the Cheap Repository Tracts, inspired by Hannah More, tells his story, rephrasing the reports of the Sierra Leone Company. Nainbanna, said to be twenty-three (he was twenty-nine), is described in *The Black Prince* as

... not handsome, but his manners were extremely pleasing, and his disposition kind and affectionate; at the same time, his feelings were quick and jealous, and he was very violent in his temper, as well as proud and disdainful.

Discipline in "Christian principles," however, subdued this impetuosity: "before his departure from England, not only his pride, but also his revengeful spirit had become hateful to him." In fact he turned something of a prig; when he happened upon an impropriety in what he was reading aloud, "he instantly shut the book" until a lady left; then

... he dashed the book with a degree of fury which astonished the gentleman who was present, against the wall of the room, declaring that the man who wrote the book ought to be punished . . .

One senses the tone of Bristol boarding schools. Indeed, Christian principles did not make Nainbanna's life any simpler:

Among the difficulties which his new view of things laid upon him, one respected his wives. He had two while in Africa, but he clearly saw the New Testament allowed only one; his difficulty was to know which of them it was right for him to keep.

By nice casuistry he cleaved to the second one, who had brought him a son; all the while protesting his willingness "to make a sacrifice of his feelings, should it appear right to keep the first in preference." Nainbanna signifies to the author that "God has given to the most rude and savage people minds capable of knowing, loving, and serving him."

Thus the century that fashioned and exalted the noble Negro ended with worry about the salvation of souls in Africa, and with an acceptance of the white man's burden.

Simmons College



[[The French (1760)]]

The French have no establishments on the Guinea Coast other than those at River Senegal and at Whydah on the Lower Coast, both of which /46/ are, however, not of any importance.<sup>101</sup> Yet in recent years they have done considerable shipping [of slaves].<sup>102</sup> They have often tried to get a foothold on this Coast, but have not taken the right course, as happened in 1744, when they attempted to establish themselves at Annamaboe. They thought it was enough that for several years they had supported in Paris, as a prince, a Negro boy from Annamaboe, the son of Corrantrin, calling him *le Prince [et] l'Empereur de la Côte de Guinée* [Prince and Emperor of the Guinea Coast].<sup>103</sup> What an incorrect report the captain who had brought him to Paris had presented is shown by the fact that Fante, where Annamaboe lies, is by no means the most powerful kingdom on Gold Coast. Indeed, there are cities in Fante which are much larger than Annamaboe, and in Annamaboe city itself there are caboccers, or kings, who are ten times more powerful than Corrantrin, father of the boy whom the French captain took to France with him.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> In his later work R. omits the mocking comments on French behaviour of his earlier publication—see below (1756, /24/-/27/).  
<sup>102</sup> The French who from the sixteenth century had traded in western Guinea, especially in Senegal, in the eighteenth century attempted to break into the trade in eastern Guinea, mainly in order to obtain slaves for their new West Indian colonies. They established no forts but had trading stations on Côte d'Ivoire and Gold Coast, and also at Whydah on the Slave Coast. For French establishments on the Slave Coast, see Barbot [1732] (1992) 635; John D. Hargaraves, *West Africa: The former French States* (1967) 61-2; Law (1991) 126 ff. For the French on Gold Coast, see Van Dantzig (1980b) 47; Albert van Dantzig, 'English Bosman and Dutch Bosman VIII', *History in Africa*, 11 (1984) 329 note 50. R.'s dismissal of the value of French trading activities in Senegal and at Whydah was not well founded.  
<sup>103</sup> A very much fuller account of the French at Anomabu and the episode of the boy taken to France appeared in the earlier work—see below (1756, /29/-/31/). For an earlier French attempt to obtain a footing at Anomabu, see Van Dantzig (1980b) 58-9. For the French elsewhere on the Gold Coast, at Assini and Komenda, see Paul Kossler, *L'Établissement d'Isigny, 1687-1702* (1935) xxx-xxxii, 73-7, 79-80, 96-103; Daaku (1970) 17, 61, 80-1.  
<sup>104</sup> The French targeted Anomabu for several reasons: the large African settlement there could provide water and provisions; extensive trade in slaves from there already existed; the old Dutch fort had been demolished by the English and there was nothing yet to replace it; finally, they believed that they had a personal connection with the caboccer. (With variations, 'Caboccer' is derived from the Portuguese *caboga* 'head, leader'.) Corrantrin (Korrantri) was Eno Baisee (Aho Bassi) Kurenti, otherwise known as John Curranice, a merchant of Anomabu and, despite what R. says, a 'Great Cabuicer', according to de Petersen writing an essay in Fante history, in David Henige and T.C. McCaskie, eds., *West African Economic and Social History* (1990) 141). In 1752 the RAC urged Governor Melvil to gain and keep the support of Curranice (J.J. Crooks, *Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements from 1750 to 1874* (1923) 19 20). It was not uncommon for African notables to send their sons to Europe for education, as the guests of a host country with which they had relations on the Coast. Korranice, profiting by the competition between the English and the French at

Anomabu, also had two sons studying in England (Museum of Science, West African Trade).

capital and interest on the place, but also ceding it to his ship-owner or heirs. If there are no living heirs, the captain is pardoned by the Government in England, and he cedes the place to the crown. All of the English-men who have been on the Coast know that the forts and establishments they have in Sierra Leone, and which have been so advantageous for trade, /25/ have been acquired in the way which I have just described, including the entire Island [Banana Island], whose size is 20 miles.<sup>97</sup> I have also heard of other places but have not myself visited any others than the ones [sic] mentioned here. However, I have been at River Gallinas, acquired by the English in the same way.<sup>98</sup> The Dutch are also said to have a place [there] still in their hands, but that began with an East Indian ship whose whole crew, except for five men, were close to death. Knowing nothing of navigation, they grounded the ship on purpose, saving as many goods and cannon as they could, and they built a small fort as protection against the Negroes. I do not know where this place is, although I am very well acquainted with the Upper Coast, but some Dutchmen have told me this story.<sup>99</sup> Who could imagine that the English nation, in possession of so many advantages and enjoying such encouragement both in England and on the Coast—being so experienced in trade and owning the most powerful colonies and islands in different climates in the West Indies, and, most of all, having captains, to whom they entrust their trade, who are experienced and sensible men, having travelled on the Coast since boyhood—who could imagine, I say, that they would be entirely forced out of the sugar trade by the French? (N.B. When we speak of 'the sugar trade' the term must be understood to cover all West Indian products, notably sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton.) That the English now ship only a little of these goods compared to what they did earlier is because the French offer a better price for them [in France], therefore other nations [than the English] go there to buy them.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>97</sup> The major English bases in the Sierra Leone district, on Bunce Islands and Sherbro Island, belonged to the Royal African Company and its successors. Independent traders had establishments at other points but it is not known that any were acquired in the way R. describes. Other trading points were in the hands of Mulatto descendants of Portuguese and English traders. The two Banana Islands are small and jointly measure at the fullest extent only two miles. Almost certainly, R. has confused these islands with Sherbro Island, whose extent is about 30 miles. The above assumes that R. was using the English mile, but if the Danish mile of 4.7 English miles, he grossly exaggerates the size of his island.  
<sup>98</sup> The English never acquired River Gallinas but English ships traded there (Adam Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Kernels: A History of the Gallinas Country (West Africa) 1730-1890* (1983b) 21-4).  
<sup>99</sup> No source for this story has been traced.  
<sup>100</sup> The foundation is that the English ship only to England and not to France, whereas before

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The French have no establishments on the Guinea Coast other than those at River Senegal and at Whydah on the Lower Coast, both of which /46/ are, however, not of any importance.<sup>101</sup> Yet in recent years they have done considerable shipping [of slaves].<sup>102</sup> They have often tried to get a foothold on this Coast, but have not taken the right course, as happened in 1744, when they attempted to establish themselves at Annamaboe. They thought it was enough that for several years they had supported in Paris, as a prince, a Negro boy from Annamaboe, the son of Corrantrin, calling him *le Prince [et] l'Empereur de la Côte de Guinée* [Prince and Emperor of the Guinea Coast].<sup>103</sup> What an incorrect report the captain who had brought him to Paris had presented is shown by the fact that Fante, where Annamaboe lies, is by no means the most powerful kingdom on Gold Coast. Indeed, there are cities in Fante which are much larger than Annamaboe, and in Annamaboe city itself there are caboccers, or kings, who are ten times more powerful than Corrantrin, father of the boy whom the French captain took to France with him.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> In his later work R. omits the mocking comments on French behaviour of his earlier publication—see below (1756, /24-127/).

<sup>102</sup> The French who from the sixteenth century had traded in western Guinea, especially in Senegal, in the eighteenth century attempted to break into the trade in eastern Guinea, mainly in order to obtain slaves for their new West Indian colonies. They established no forts but had trading stations on Côte d'Ivoire and Gold Coast, and also at Whydah on the Slave Coast. For French establishments on the Slave Coast, see Barbot [1732] 635; John D. Hargrave, *West Africa: The former French States* (1967) 61-2; Law (1991) 126 ff. For the French on Gold Coast, see Van Danzig (1980b) 47; Albert van Danzig, 'English Bosman and Dutch Bosman VIII', *History in Africa*, 11 (1984) 329 note 50. R.'s dismissal of the value of French trading activities in Senegal and at Whydah was not well founded.<sup>103</sup> A very much fuller account of the French at Annabou and the episode of the boy taken to France appeared in the earlier work—see below (1756, /29-31/). For an earlier French attempt to obtain a footing at Annabou, see Van Danzig (1980b) 58-9. For the French elsewhere on the Gold Coast, at Assini and Komenda, see Paul Rousset, *L'Établissement d'Assini 1687-1702* (1935) xxx-xxxii, 73-7, 79-80, 96-103; Daaku (1970) 17, 61, 80-1.<sup>104</sup> The French targeted Annabou for several reasons: the large African settlement there could provide water and provisions; extensive trade in slaves from there already existed; the old Dutch fort had been demolished by the English and there was nothing yet to replace it; finally, they believed that they had a personal connection with the caboccer. (With variations, 'Caboccer' is derived from the Portuguese *cabega* 'head, leader'.) Corrantrin (Koranteng) was Eno Baisse (Aho Bassi) Kurntsi, otherwise known as John Curranter, a merchant of Annabou and, despite what R. says, a 'Great Caboccer', according to de Petersen writing from Elmina (BLL, Furley N45 (2 7, 1741); T.C. McCaskie, Nananom Mpow of Mankekssim: an essay in Fante history', in David Henige and T.C. McCaskie, eds., *West African Economic and Social History* (1990) 141). In 1752 the RAC urged Governor McVil to gain and keep the support of Curranter (J.J. Crooks, *Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements from 1750 to 1874* (1923) 19-20). It was not uncommon for African nobles to send their sons to Europe for education, as the guests of a host country with which they had relations on the Coast. Koranteng, profiting by the competition between the English and the French at Annabou, also had two sons studying in England (Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society* (1969) 12 15, 40; Van Danzig (1980b) 59).

If there are no living heirs, the captain is pardoned by the Government in England, and he cedes the place to the crown. All of the Englishmen who have been on the Coast know that the forts and establishments they have in Sierra Leone, and which have been so advantageous for trade, /25/ have been acquired in the way which I have just described, including the entire Island Bannama [Banana Island], whose size is 20 miles.<sup>97</sup> I have also heard of other places but have not myself visited any others than the ones [sic] mentioned here. However, I have been at River Gallinas, acquired by the English in the same way.<sup>98</sup> The Dutch are also said to have a place [there] still in their hands, but that began with an East Indian ship whose whole crew, except for five men, were close to death. Knowing nothing of navigation, they grounded the ship on purpose, saving as many goods and cannon as they could, and they built a small fort as protection against the Negroes. I do not know where this place is, although I am very well acquainted with the Upper Coast, but some Dutchmen have told me this story.<sup>99</sup> Who could imagine that the English nation, in possession of so many advantages and enjoying such encouragement both in England and on the Coast—being so experienced in trade and owning the most powerful colonies and islands in different climates in the West Indies, and, most of all, having captains, to whom they entrust their trade, who are experienced and sensible men, having travelled on the Coast since boyhood—who could imagine, I say, that they would be entirely forced out of the sugar trade by the French? (N.B. When we speak of 'the sugar trade' the term must be understood to cover all West Indian products, notably sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton.) That the English now ship only a little of these goods compared to what they did earlier is because the French offer a better price for them [in France], therefore other nations [than the English] go there to buy them.<sup>100</sup>

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or longer.<sup>109</sup> Now you can understand why scurvy appears among them, and thus, lamentably, they must [die and] be thrown overboard.<sup>110</sup>

#### [The French (1756)]

The French, on the other hand, have no establishments on the [Gold] Coast. Their ships are more costly to equip and run than those of other nations. Their sailors must have their warm bread twice a week, their /26/ pot of wine every day, their garlic, etc., otherwise they die like flies. Most of the goods they have for trade on the Coast are bought in Holland. I know of no more than three or four varieties of their own East Indian goods which are suitable for trade on the Coast. Their *Bougiers*, *Indiennes* [Indian cloths], *Linnias*, and white and blue *Saltenpers* [cloths] are all purchased in Holland.<sup>111</sup> If they are anchored on the Coast alongside an Englishman and the Englishman pays seven or eight ounces [of gold] for a slave, the Frenchman must pay nine or ten ounces. But do we not see that the Englishman [despite paying less] compares his trade more quickly and acquires better slaves than the Frenchman?<sup>112</sup> The French officers dress like cavaliers, and you even see an apprentice [sic] staining a couple of lace-trimmed cloaks in the Guinea surf.<sup>113</sup> Instead of having a captain and a first mate on a ship, as we do, they have a captain, a second-captain, a lieutenant, a second-lieutenant, an ensign, and pilots or apprentices.<sup>114</sup> While the surgeon is a major, if you ask a French officer how many trips he has made to the coast, he answers that he has made so and so many 'campaigns'.<sup>115</sup> An Englishman can finish his business in one hour, for the purchase of as many as one hundred slaves. But with a Frenchman it requires several ceremonies. If

<sup>109</sup> For the rations of both crew and slaves on board Danish ships, see Svend Erik Green-Pedersen, 'Om Forholdene på Danske Slaveskibe', in *Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg Årbog* (1973) 47–50. Bread is not specifically mentioned but it would appear that the rations were rather better than R. suggests.

<sup>110</sup> R. presumably meant to say that seamen who died of scurvy were 'buried at sea'.

<sup>111</sup> 'Bougiers' is probably an error for 'bougies' (derived from Portuguese *buxias*), that is, cowries.

<sup>112</sup> R. is leading up to criticism of the French traders for dawdling.

<sup>113</sup> For a drawing showing Frenchman in Guinea in full dress, see Barbot [1732] (1992) Frontispiece. But Frenchmen were not alone among Europeans in 'dressing up' to impress Africans, as they doubtless thought.

<sup>114</sup> Since 'pilots' cannot have been 'apprentices', these are not alternative terms for the same persons, yet ships cannot have carried the latter as alternative personnel to the former, so the meaning is obscure.

<sup>115</sup> The explanation is probably that earlier French trading voyages tended to be also exploratory expeditions on behalf of the government, for instance, seeking out sites for bases on Gold Coast, and therefore were 'campaigns' directed against hostile rivals. Note G. Thilman and N.L. de Moraes, Villault de Bellefond sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique. Les deux premières campagnes de l'Europe (1666–1671). *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire*, série

In 1744 the captain brought the boy back again, and thought that with his father's help he could build a fort there. The French brought a load of goods with them to the value of 30,000 *rixdaler*, which they stored in Corrantrin's house. But the caboccer himself, with his people, stole most of the /47/ goods from the French, by undermining their house at night. At first the French had wanted to guard their goods, and therefore they stayed at night in the place where the goods were locked up, yet somehow Corrantrin woke in at night, bound them hand and foot, and stole everything there. After that, they had to work out how to stay alive. Finally, they proposed to leave, but Corrantrin set fire to the house and let it burn down, only to have a reason to keep them there. He claimed that he had hidden many treasures and a great quantity of gold in the walls, and that his fire had damaged many thousand ounces of gold which the French had to pay for before they could leave. Doubtless he thought that the French would again send him another juicy steak. In the end, they got away at night and fled to the English at Cape Coast, and in that way escaped from the so-called emperor of the Guinea Coast.<sup>105</sup>

Outfitting of their ships costs the French more than outfitting costs other nations.<sup>106</sup> I believe that no nation can outfit ships for trade better than we do, and no nation takes on more freight than we do — which is difficult to understand.<sup>107</sup> /48/ The crews of the English ships must have their *caks* [cakes], the French their *biscuit*, which are hard twice-baked rusks of fine wheat flour. The officers and those who are ill are given fresh bread twice a week, for which they have a baking oven on board.<sup>108</sup> Our sailors bite with joy into their mouldy rusks, so that a cloud of mould floats about their ears. They tap or crush the worms out — to some extent — and everyone is then satisfied. They are fortunate if the food is not already spoiled when packed here in Copenhagen, in which case they must eat rotten provisions for six months

<sup>105</sup> R. considerably heightens what he said about the same episode in his earlier publication, where he gave a more sober, and detailed, narrative of the boy's stay in France, of the borrowing experience of the governor La Cour, and of the fate of the boy — see below (1756, 31). His melodramatic improved version was no doubt intended to shock the lay reader. Nevertheless, the episode occurred while R. was on the coast, perhaps even while he was in refuge at Cape Coast, close to Anomabu, so the anecdote seems reasonably trustworthy. Other anecdotes about Corrantrin appear below, Chapter 4, /224/, /233–/234/.

<sup>106</sup> Repeat a statement made in 1756, /25/, below.

<sup>107</sup> By the mid eighteenth century, the outfitting of ships in the Guinea trade, especially slave ships, in almost all respects was in fact fairly standard for all nations (Herbert S. Klein, *Rise of Merchant Empires* (1990) 304–5; Leif Svalöwen, *Slaveskipet Freydenborg* (1996) 92). For economic aspects of the eighteenth-century Atlantic slave trade, in James D. Tracy, ed., *The*

the types of ships used by the Dutch and their adaptation to different types of cargo, see Postma (1990) 142–4. R.'s last remark is itself difficult to understand, but perhaps he means that despite the advantages of the Danes, they made smaller profits than other nations.

<sup>108</sup> The earlier publication does not limit the provision of fresh bread to the officers, but on the

that the earlier publication does not limit the provision of fresh bread to the officers, but on the



scarcely stops to sit down if there is nothing more for him to do. This kind of conduct suits the temperament of the Guinea factors best.<sup>116</sup>

All this was only to show the differences between the business methods of the English and French slave-traders. When a Frenchman has brought his slaves to the West Indies he will prepare his overall costing, and an Englishman will do the same. Should it appear that the Frenchman's slaves come to 20–25 *rixdaler* per head more than those of the Englishman, would you not assume that the Englishmen could deliver their [West Indian] products for a better price here in Europe than the French could? The English sell the Gold Coast slaves for £40 sterling. Upper Coast slaves for £30. Angola and Lagoon slaves for £20–25. The French, on the other hand, never receive less than 1,200 *livres*, and for an extra fine slave, 1,400–1,600 *livres*.<sup>117</sup> The reason for this must be sought in the West Indies. In fact, their remarkable laws, handed down by their king, are what make it possible for the French to carry so many products from the West Indies. And their islands are governed by reasonable men, normally individuals who /29/ have already, in Europe, proved by their courage and reason that they are worthy of running a government. They are normally *Chefs d'Escadre*, commanders, men who have shown their merit and to whom the Court wishes to give an opportunity to enrich themselves, which they usually do within a period of five to six years. I shall let this matter rest until I come to speak of the colonies of all the nations in the West Indies.

The French have often tried to establish themselves on the Gold Coast, seeking especially to settle at Annamaboe in Fante, where until now the Negroes have not cared to have [resident] any Europeans. It is true that the English once had a fort there, but they were so plagued by the Negroes at that place that they thanked God to be able to get away. The Negroes then tore the fort down completely and negotiated directly with the ships. It is this place that has given rise to jealousy between the French and English courts, but at the present time, since the recent peace of 1748, French ships are chased away from there, as from Gold Coast in its entirety.<sup>118</sup> Sensible Englishmen say that the Article [of the treaty] blocking the French slave trade is more advantageous for the nation as a whole than it would have been to retain Cape Breton. The French arrived there [at Anomabu] in droves before the last war, and for every single Englishman there were ten Frenchmen. The Negroes at Annamaboe would like to trade with the French, from whom they receive higher prices for their slaves and provisions.

<sup>116</sup> It is not easy to follow R.'s somewhat rambling line of thought in this paragraph.

<sup>117</sup> 300 *livres* = £25 (Law (1991), 174). This makes the ordinary price £100 and the higher prices £117–£133. But all these figures seem implausible.

<sup>118</sup> The reference is to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, at the end of the War of Austrian

a French captain hears there are slaves at a fort, he normally comes in a *chaloup* [sloop] as far as the breakers, where the factor at the fort has him picked up in a Negro boat, called a canoe. He brings three or four braided trimmed *monstours* with him. They then walk through the courtyard of the fort where the slaves are sitting. Expertise in trading should then enable the captain to do business immediately, were he to only show a list of his goods, since every one is knowledgeable about them. But after the first compliments have been exchanged, he normally requests that /27/ a boat be sent out to his ship to fetch several bottles of champagne and Burgundy wine. When that has been done and the factor asks him if he wishes to buy slaves, the captain may answer, '*Nous ne partons point de négocier ni aujourd'hui ni demain, Monsieur!*' [We will not discuss business either today or tomorrow, Sir!] The wine is then brought ashore, and the *messieurs* dine. They normally disdain all our foods and have their own cook brought ashore so he can prepare better food for us. They tell us that their cook has been trained in Paris at the home of a prince or duke, and they dilate on the types of *pate* or *friticasse* he prepared for them the last time. Nor does the captain forget to order a number of spices not found here on the Coast. All this is done, and then the *messieurs* at the forts drink cheerfully with *Messieurs les François*, and so everyone becomes very merry. The Frenchmen demonstrate the new *Capitoler* [turns] and *Krumpsring* [leaps] their dance-masters in Paris have devised recently. They tell us of their amours, etc., and if we so wish, our neighbours, English or Dutch, are invited in to observe this remarkable trade. Should they accept, and the captain's wine come to a hasty end, he must again request a canoe to fetch another dozen [bottles] of each kind.

If you think I am presenting an exaggerated picture, I must admit that differences do indeed exist among the French. I have known a Ban-cio from Rochelle, a Courchamp from St Malo, a Boisandre from Nantes, men whom, in truth, no European could surpass in good conduct and experience in trade. What I have said applies to the majority, and should I [be thought to] include those for whom that picture is much too severe, anyone who has known le Chevalier de la Bretagnerie also knows that many of his like are to be found among the French captains. It is said that when /28/ those who have lived on the Coast for three or four years become very solemn, some of them almost morose, it is due to the illnesses of the land, but I believe it comes from the way of life. When young [inexperienced] boys come among them, they have different dispositions and these may serve as an excuse for poking fun at the new-comer. If he wants any kind of refreshment he may have to pay double for it. An English captain, as soon as he sees a factor who has slaves for sale, takes his money out of his pocket, shows what and how much he will pay



Corrantlyn (one of the small Negro kings) receives more custom or toll from them than from the English.

This Corrantlyn was one of the oldest caboecers in Faneland, and he wielded a great deal of authority. The English at Cape Coast persuaded him to allow his heir — whom we have seen entitled Prince of Annamaboe in our official journals /30/ and about whom a novel has been written which we have read — to go to England.<sup>119</sup> The Chief Agents reported to some important people in London that this Negro boy might, at some time in the future, be useful to the English nation, and people of high status collected money for his education and sustenance. This happened a few years before the French received one of Corrantlyn's sons in France. An English journalist had, without hesitation, given the boy who came to England the title of 'prince', so a French captain also wished to bring a prince from Annamaboe. He described to Corrantlyn the advantages that one of his sons could enjoy in France, if he took him there. But this would have been of no use if the captain had not given Corrantlyn the value of three to four slaves. This was [merely] to console Corrantlyn in the event of the boy being lost, since he still had 30–40 sons living with him and he could purchase four or five slave boys with the goods received. Any Coaster knows that a Negro acts no differently in respect of his slaves and in respect of his children. The captain took Bassi (the boy's name) aboard, and during the voyage he taught him how to deport himself in his fine braid-trimmed clothing, and how to act when he arrived in France. Bassi played his role excellently, and the captain showed him great respect on board ship. The boy became accustomed to being called 'Monsieur le Prince'. On his arrival in France, the captain personally took Bassi to the Court and presented him to the ministers, telling them that he himself had such high status with the King of Annamaboe that the latter had entrusted to him his prince and successor. The captain made a long speech, claiming that the King of Annamaboe informed the French King that he had sent his prince to France because of the affection he felt for the French, and /31/ so that the boy should be given Christian instruction. The captain also spoke of the national advantage when, in the future, a king who had been in France, and was a Christian, ascended the throne of Fante. Bassi was instantly treated in a manner fitting for a prince, being given four lackeys, a *hofmeister* [chamberlain], and so on. He was then christened by the Archbishop of Paris, the King himself acting as his godfather, and given the name 'Louis Bassi, Prince de Corrantlyn'. He could write this much and the name was written in all the books given him to take home from France. He read French well. In 1744 the French sent a Governor and two other officers to Annamaboe, together with this

<sup>119</sup> This is cited in *The Royal African Company: an account of the young prince of Annamaboe* (London, n.d.

'prince', in order to build a fort. The Governor was M. de la Cour, who had served earlier for a few years at Fida [Whydah]. He brought with him a cargo worth 100,000 *livres*, and since a fort could not be built quickly he had to store all these goods in Corrantlyn's house. The English made threats, and their warships shot cannonades at Annamaboe, to no avail. The Negroes did not want to lose such rich pickings so easily. M. de la Cour was admired along the entire Coast, and I believe no other man could have held out as well for four years among the Negroes as he did. His Company sacrificed their employees, since from his nation he received neither more men nor more ships. Corrantlyn himself stole all the goods during the first year, and in the three following years de la Cour had to struggle to remain alive. The French [finally] left for Fida, leaving the prince behind at Annamaboe. His father not liking him, because Bassi could not tolerate seeing the French being treated so badly, rejected him. After that Bassi was in my service, and was paid the same salary and given the same type of work as any other Negro boy. /32/

#### [The Danes (1760)]

In a separate chapter I shall deal with us (the Danes), the third nation [at present] established on the Guinea Coast.<sup>120</sup> I must first report something about the religion, nature, and customs of the inhabitants. /49/

#### [The Danes (1756)]

Before I leave the Guinea Coast I must report on the third nation established on the Gold Coast, which is ourselves, the Danes. I wish I could honestly praise us for always having sensible governors, always capable factors, and always warehouses so full of quantities of goods that, on the strength of their quality and fair prices, we had the most trade at Accra, where we have our chief castle. But that would be not telling the truth. Let no one take offence if I speak truthfully about us. I believe no Dutchman reading here what I have written about the English, and no Englishman reading what I have written about Dutch methods, could add more from their own experience. No Dane has been on the Coast who has had to travel around as much as I have, first up the Coast, then down the Coast, then up River Volta, then inland. If any of my poor Governors lacked wine or brandy, I had to take off with slaves or gold — be it day or night, whether I was risking my life or not, whether there were ships in the roads or not — and travel 20–30 miles up or down the coast in a small Negro boat. It mattered not to the Governors. And the strangest thing about it all was that I was the only one capable of keeping the Company's books, and had I died the

<sup>120</sup> References to the Danes are scattered through the narrative, but are gathered together



from them than from the English.

This Corrantyn was one of the oldest caboccers in Fanteiland, and he wielded a great deal of authority. The English at Cape Coast persuaded him to allow his hair—whom we have seen entitled Prince of Annamaboe in our official journals /30/ and about whom a novel has been written which we have read—to go to England.<sup>119</sup> The Chief Agents reported to some important people in London that this Negro boy might, at some time in the future, be useful to the English nation, and people of high status collected money for his education and sustenance. This happened a few years before the French received one of Corrantyn's sons in France. An English journalist had, without hesitation, given the boy who came to England the title of 'prince', so a French captain also wished to bring a prince from Annamaboe. He described to Corrantyn the advantages that one of his sons could enjoy in France, if he took him there. But this would have been of no use if the captain had not given Corrantyn the value of three to four slaves. This was [merely] to console Corrantyn in the event of the boy being lost, since he still had 30-40 sons living with him and he could purchase four or five slave boys with the goods received. Any Coaster knows that a Negro acts no differently in respect of his slaves and in respect of his children. The captain took Bassi (the boy's name) aboard, and during the voyage he taught him how to deport himself in his fine braid-trimmed clothing, and how to act when he arrived in France. Bassi played his role excellently, and the captain showed him great respect on board ship. The boy became accustomed to being called 'Monsieur le Prince'. On his arrival in France, the captain personally took Bassi to the Court and presented him to the ministers, telling them that he himself had such high status with the King of Annamaboe that the latter had entrusted to him his prince and successor. The captain made a long speech, claiming that the King of Annamaboe informed the French King that he had sent his prince to France because of the affection he felt for the French, and /31/ so that the boy should be given Christian instruction. The captain also spoke of the national advantage when, in the future, a king who had been in France, and was a Christian, ascended the throne of Fante. Bassi was instantly treated in a manner fitting for a prince, being given four lackeys, a *hofmeister* [chamberlain], and so on. He was then christened by the Archbishop of Paris, the King himself acting as his godfather, and given the name 'Louis Bassi, Prince de Corrantyn'. He could write this much and the name was written in all the books given him to take home from France. He read French well. In 1744 the French sent a Governor and two other officers to Annamaboe, together with this

<sup>119</sup>The novel is *The Royal African, or memoirs of the young prince of Annamaboe* (London, n.d. [1749]). The prince was William Ansh, son of Eno Baisie Kurenti, alias John Curranice.

had served earlier for a few years at Fida [Whydah]. He brought with him a cargo worth 100,000 *livres*, and since a fort could not be built quickly he had to store all these goods in Corrantyn's house. The English made threats, and their warships shot cannonades at Annamaboe, to no avail. The Negroes did not want to lose such rich pickings so easily. M. de la Cour was admired along the entire Coast, and I believe no other man could have held out as well for four years among the Negroes as he did. His Company sacrificed their employees, since from his nation he received neither more men nor more ships. Corrantyn himself stole all the goods during the first year, and in the three following years de la Cour had to struggle to remain alive. The French [finally] left for Fida, leaving the prince behind at Annamaboe. His father not liking him, because Bassi could not tolerate seeing the French being treated so badly, rejected him. After that Bassi was in my service, and was paid the same salary and given the same type of work as any other Negro boy. /32/

[The Danes (1760)]

In a separate chapter I shall deal with us (the Danes), the third nation [at present] established on the Guinea Coast.<sup>120</sup> I must first report something about the religion, nature, and customs of the inhabitants. /49/

[The Danes (1756)]

Before I leave the Guinea Coast I must report on the third nation established on the Gold Coast, which is ourselves, the Danes. I wish I could honestly praise us for always having sensible governors, always capable factors, and always warehouses so full of quantities of goods that, on the strength of their quality and fair prices, we had the most trade at Accra, where we have our chief castle. But that would be not be telling the truth. Let no one take offence if I speak truthfully about us. I believe no Dutchman reading here what I have written about the English, and no Englishman reading what I have written about Dutch methods, could add more from their own experience. No Dane has been on the Coast who has had to travel around as much as I have, first up the Coast, then down the Coast, then up River Volta, then inland. If any of my poor Governors lacked wine or brandy, I had to take off with slaves or gold—be it day or night, whether I was risking my life or not, whether there were ships in the roads or not—and travel 20-30 miles up or down the coast in a small Negro boat. It mattered not to the Governors. And the strangest thing about it all was that I was the only one capable of keeping the Company's books, and had I died the

<sup>120</sup>References to the Danes are scattered through the remaining chapters but are fullest in Chapter 4.

File  
Submitted

THE JOURNAL OF  
A SLAVE TRADER  
(John Newton)

1750-1754

*With Newton's Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*

(1788)

*Edited, with an introduction, by*  
BERNARD MARTIN  
and  
MARK SPURRELL

1962

LONDON  
THE EPWORTH PRESS



*Monday 19th November.* In the morning had a smart SE. tornado by the help of which I got safe on board at 11 a.m. Found all well (thank God). The carpenter has finished the barricado, which I set him about when I went away.<sup>10</sup> Bought a woman and a girl slave of William Skinner, which he brought from Camaranca and 2 quintall of Camwood. Sent Mr Hamilton in the yaul with him [Skinner] into his river, he assuring me there is some trade there. I am informed that his Majesties Ship the *Surprize*, Captain Patrick Baird, is at Sierra Leon. In the afternoon went on shoar, but could hear of no trade. As I have great reason to beleive there will be a run of slaves from Sherbro shortly, and Captain Ellis proposes to sail in a day or two, I endeavour to wait with patience, for think it will be best to stay here as long as I am a single ship.

*Tuesday 20th November.* Fair weather, land and sea brease. Was most of the day on shoar attending upon Mr Addu, and am to have his answer to morrow, he not having yet settled with the frenchmen, to whom he says he owes 6 slaves. In the afternoon had a visit from Mr Clow and my quondam mistress P.I.<sup>11</sup>

*Wednesday 21st November.* Fair weather, fresh land and sea breases. In the afternoon, Mr Clow and P.I. being on board, one of their people, who had assisted me in securing Will Lees at the Plantanes, coming inadvertently too near him as he sat upon the windlase, he unexpectedly struck at him with the carpenter's maul, but just missed his head, the maul grazing on his breast. Had this been offered to any of the people of the main land or this island, it might have been of very dangerous consequence, but having P.I. with me, a laced hat made up the matter. Put Lees in hand cuffs and stapled him down to the deck, at which proceeding 2 others, Tom Creed and Tom True, behaved with a great deal of insolence, these three having been in a close cabal since the fighting affair at Sierra Leon. I bore it as well I could, being resolved to apply to the man-of-war to morrow.

[From a letter to his wife next day: 'I have had a visit from my quondam black mistress P.I. I treated her with the greatest complaisance and kindness; and if she has any shame in her I believe I made her sorry for her former ill-treatment of me.']

*Thursday 22nd November.* At 9 a.m. set out in the punt with Will Lees in irons to deliver him to the *Surprize*, man-of-war, at Sierra Leon.<sup>12</sup> Had a

<sup>10</sup> The barricado shut off the slaves quarters from the rest of the ship. See entry of 7th December.

<sup>11</sup> See Introduction, p. x.

<sup>12</sup> H.M.S. *Surprise* and H.M.S. *Humber* were reporting to the Board of Trade and Plantations on the forts maintained by the Royal African Company and other traders.

strong SE. tornado all the way to the cape with hard rain and a great sea, that I was several times afraid that the punt would have filled with us, but by the favour of good Providence, got safe round the rock at 4 p.m., and on board the *Surprize* by 6. Waited on Captain Baird and discharged my man. Afterwards went on board the *Triton*, Boucher, lately arrived from Bristol. Arrived likewise since I sailed, a large cutter from London, Joseph Cockburn, master. No letters from home. In the morn the yaul came on board, brought 1 small girl which makes our number 13.

*Fryday 23rd November.* Fair weather, variable winds. In the morning waited upon Captain Baird to beg he would make the Bonana's in his way down to rid me of the rest of my mutineers, which he consented to, tho he did not otherwise intend to call there. He desired I would stay on board the *Surprize* to show him where to anchor, he having no body on board that was acquainted there. In the evening he unmored.

*Saturday 24th November.* At day light the *Surprize* weighed. I staid on board her till we came to the Bonana's which was about 5 p.m. Brought her to an anchor a little without our own vessel in 9 fathoms. Sent word to Mr Marshall to salute Captain Beard with 7 guns; he returned 5. Mr William Anseh Setarakoo, one of the African princes, as they were stiled in England, who is on his passage to Anamboos in the *Surprize*, came on board with me, and spent the evening with me very much to my satisfaction, being master of a great deal of solid sense and a politeness of behaviour I seldom meet with in any of our own complexion hereabouts. The first part of the night blew fresh with a short ugly sea; got down the top gallant yards.

*Sunday 25th November.* Fair weather. In the afternoon put 3 more men on board the *Surprize*, Thomas Creed, Owen Cavanagh and Thomas True, who all refused to sign receipts for their wages; delivered the bills for the balance due to them to Captain Baird and took his receipt. Entered 4 men he gave me in the room of mine, their names, William Lapworth, William Prickett, John Seringer and John Hymus. In the evening took Mr William [Anseh Setarakoo] on shoar to shew him the island, and [waited] on him myself on board the *Surprize* at night, where we parted both very well pleased.

*Monday 26th November.* Fair weather, land and sea brease. In the morning the man-of-war and the *Halifax*, Captain Ellis, sailed for to leeward. In the evening the yaul to the Plantanes to see if any trade is come down yet, and to inquire after the longboat, for I begin to be uneasy at her long stay. Filled a load of water. People employed, as have been several days past, in making waroning for a netting upon the awning. Carpenter at work upon the bulkheads.

*Tuesday 27th November.* Fresh gales of wind from the N. to the NE. with a great deal of rain. In the morning sailed the *Cornwall*, Duncombe,



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

**Subject: Re: Black African slave dealers/sons/education**

Date: June 15, 2006 5:58:22 PM EDT

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

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

---

1.

From: jacobi@spiceisle.com [mailto:jacobi@spiceisle.com]

Dear Dennis Anthony,

I am aware of the sons of African rulers being educated in England, but I am unsure whether they were slave dealers. The one with which I am acquainted is of Prince William Unshah Sessarakoo whose father was the ruler of Annamaboe, now part of the area known as Ghana. In 1774, Prince Unshah was on his way to England for his education when he was sold as a slave in Barbados. See the work of Gretchen Gerzina, Black London: Life before Emancipation, 1995, Rutgers University Press.

hope this will be of help.

Regards,

Editha Jacobs

2.

From: john.weiss@VIRGIN.NET

Why unlikely? Although I have no direct information to offer, I would say that from the standpoint of both education history in the UK and British foreign policy in Africa there seems to be nothing inherently unlikely about the story. If British education was admired in those parts of Africa with which Britain had had commercial dealings, nothing in the British system would have obstructed sons of wealthy enough African fathers being sent to Britain for an education, and the inculcation of British frameworks of reference in a future generation would have been welcomed by those seeking to increase British influence in Africa.

John Weiss

Independent scholar, London

Researching the Black American refugees of the War of 1812:

<http://tinyurl.com/p4rpt>





with a factual section – was published in Norwegian and English by C. Huitfeldt Forlag and the Norwegian Maritime Museum in 1997.

AN EXHIBITION ON ST. CROIX. A compact, permanent *Fredensborg* exhibition has been mounted at the Fort Frederik Museum in Frederiksted on St. Croix, with assistance from the St. Croix Landmarks Society. This was Norway's gift to the 150th Anniversary Emancipation Celebration 3 July 1998.

AN EXHIBITION IN GHANA. A similar exhibition was presented as a gift from Norway to Ghana 16 February 1999. The exhibition is on permanent display at the National Museum in Accra.

Thus, exhibitions and other activities have been organized on the three continents that were affected by the final voyage of the *Fredensborg*.

As a result of the significance of the *Fredensborg* and the "Slave Route Project" in UNESCO's "Culture of Peace" program, NORAD, The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, has made a large contribution. Among other things this has made possible the exhibitions on St. Croix and in Ghana as well as work with an international educational project about the slave trade for UNESCO's Associated Schools Project, ASP.

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rway, Den-  
a the Aust-  
Museum in

68 by Kurt  
ger readers

After the opening of  
the exhibition in

Ghana the Akwamu  
arranged a splendid  
and memorable tur-  
bar at the court in  
Akwamu for the  
UNESCO-Fredensbor-  
Team. In the middle  
of the picture we see  
the Paramount Chief,  
Nana Otumfuo  
Anisah Sasraku VI,  
with central represen-  
tatives of the  
Akwamu people and  
other Ghanaians.  
Others are from Nor-  
way, St. Croix and  
France.



CORRAIER

William St. Claire

N.Y. 2007

7

# The fort

## *Oceanic rivalries*

In the middle of the eighteenth century the French government, which had no land facilities on the Gold Coast, made a series of determined efforts to establish their own slaving fort. France had the largest population of any country in western Europe and access to immense resources, but French merchants seemed to be losing out commercially to the British wherever they clashed, in India, in Canada, and in the Caribbean. French efforts to settle French-born colonists in Guiana had resulted in catastrophe, and they rightly suspected that the British, the Dutch, and the Danes had informal understandings aimed at keeping them out of the best sources of African slaves. The site the French chose was Anomabu, a few miles down the coast from Cape Coast Castle, where one of the main trading paths from Asante reached the sea.

Near Anomabu was the slave market of Kormantse, known to the British as CORMANTEE, where the Dutch had a fort. Slaves obtained from this market, 'Cormantees,' were believed by the British and American planters to be physically the strongest available to be bought in Africa, the most suited to withstand the harsh working conditions in the plantations, and therefore, commercially, the most efficient at producing the tropical crops that their owners exported

## *The Door of No Return*

Could she not wait to catch their answering breath?  
 Was she content, content with ocean's sound  
 Which dashed its mocking infinite around  
 One thirsty for a little love?

None smile and none are crowned where lieth she,  
 With all her visions unfulfilled save one,  
 Her childhood's, of the palm-trees in the sun -  
 And lo! their shadow on her sepulchre!

In our own time Kwadwo OpoKu-Agyemang, a Ghanaian who grew up in sight of the Castle, has written a series of poems, one of which catches the spirit of its sepulchral commemoration of the named and the nameless:

And the sea cackled, foaming at the mouth  
 Till dry cracks ploughed the waves back;  
 Hope, said the sea, is not a method  
 There are too many sad stories  
 Carved in indifferent stones:  
 There is always another story  
 After this is told



across the oceans. Although 'Cormantees' also had a reputation for being more rebellious than slaves obtained from elsewhere, they commanded a premium price.

At Anomabu, the landing beaches, although rocky and always dangerous, were better than anywhere nearby. A lodge had been built by the Dutch around 1640, captured in turn by the Swedes, the Danes, the Dutch again, the English, the Dutch again, and then the English, who built a fort there in the days of the Royal African Company. That fort, Fort Charles, matched Fort James at Accra – the two sons of King Charles I being major shareholders and promoters. However, by the mid-eighteenth century, when Fort Charles had become ruinous, the French government calculated that if they could obtain permission to build a new fort in the vicinity, not only would they have a source of supply of strong slaves for their own plantations but they could oust the British. For a time it seemed to the political leaders in London and Paris that the rocky headland of Anomabu on the Gold Coast was the key to commercial dominance in the whole Atlantic basin, if not the whole Europeanized oceanic world.

The local political leader, Eno Basi Korante, known to the British as 'John Corrantee,' kept his options open. In 1751, when the decision point seemed near, the British made what they thought was a clever preemptive move. As Richard Brew, the governor of the British fort, wrote, 'I sent a secret message to their priests offering 20 [about £80] to them to make their God declare in our favour. But to my great mortification had this answer – John Currantee has offered 60 [about £240] to speak for the French.'

The contest seemed to be over. However, when two French naval warships arrived off Anomabu with materials to build the French fort, they found that they could not complete their bargain. The lieutenant they sent ashore to announce their arrival declared that they had been sent by the king of France to build the fort as agreed.

When John Corrantee said they could not do so unless they had a letter from the king of England, the result was reported to Cape Coast Castle by the gleeful British governor:

John Corrantee moved to indignation told him that if he ever caught any of them ashore he would cut off their heads. The men of war lay in the roads until they had sold their brandy to the English ships for very bad gold, during which time they buried a great part of their ship's crews and will not in all probability attempt any more Annamaboe expeditions in a hurry.

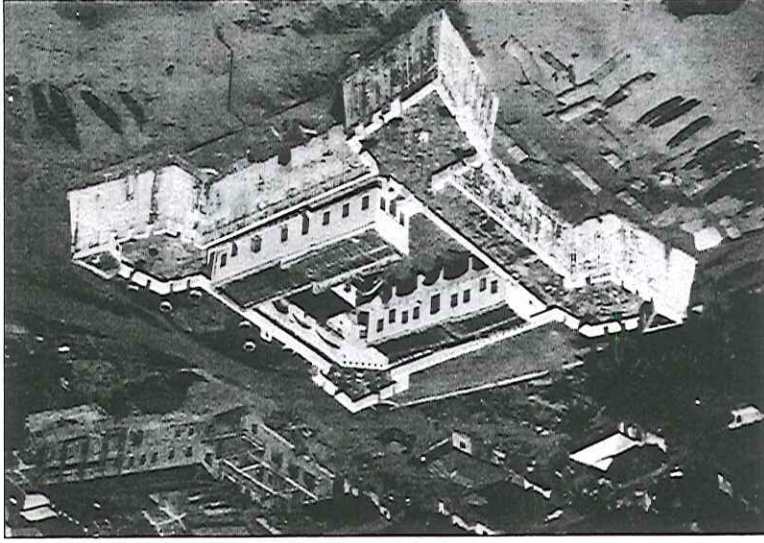
French warships returned two years later. In August 1753 the British governor reported that the French had promised £40,000 to buy the land for a new fort, equivalent to twice or three times the British annual budget for the Castle and all the British forts combined, and an indication of their eagerness to seize a share of the trade. All three parties knew, however, that even if the British outbribed the French, they could still lose. John Corrantee, who had not signed the 1753 treaty under which the leaders of the Fante agreed to give the British exclusive rights, sent one of his sons to France, and a daughter was married to Richard Brew. As Brew wrote with a frankness seldom encountered in a business normally smothered in hypocrites about mutual esteem, friendship, and loyalty, 'And how should it be otherwise? The nature of the trade excludes what we call affection. The negroes know we would buy every one of them if we could sell them again, and reckon it is as fair trade to sell our interest as we do to sell their persons.' Occasionally, in the records of the negotiations for Anomabu, the British preserve an individual African voice. One local leader and trader, Abbrah Acriphy, who favored keeping the Anomabu concession in the hands of the British, is reported as emphasizing that



he too acted in his own interests, and it is striking that, in protecting himself from the charge that he was a British puppet, it was by their costume that he distinguished them: 'I am no Englishman's servant. I have no silver-headed cane nor fine cloth, yet I am here waiting for Annamaboe [to be built].' Acridity may be teasing the British, perhaps even sharing a literary allusion with them. It was only twenty years before that John Atkins, a naval surgeon, in his published account of his voyage to Guinea, had commented that at Annamabu the pale and thin British officers were so slovenly in their dress that they wore no cane and carried no snuff box.

It was in these circumstances that the Company of Merchants persuaded the British government to pay for the building of a new state-of-the-art British slaving fort at Anomabu. The result was the only British fort in Africa specially designed by the British for the slave trade. Unlike Cape Castle, to whose construction several European nations contributed, Anomabu is, as a piece of architectural design, as British as Buckingham Palace. The building was designed by John Apperley, the military engineer who had built Plymouth dockyard in England; he went to Anomabu to supervise the construction, and became the first governor. It is often referred to in the secondary literature as Fort William, one of several Fort Williams built around this time by the British in India, North America, and in the Scottish highlands. However, this 'Fort William' was a renaming in Victorian colonial times. The Royal African Company had called its forts after its royal investors, but to the Company of Merchants, representing the nation of free-trading shopkeepers, it was always just 'Annamaboe fort.'

The foundations of the new fort were laid in August 1753. The fort consists of a regular square with pointed diamond-shaped bastions at each corner, and small gates to seaward and landward. Since the British were not allowed to close a right of way linking two parts of the town of Anomabu that ran along the shore, the fort was built



20. *The British purpose-built slaving fort at Anomabu with the private 'Castle Brew' fort nearby.*

further back from the beaches than they would have preferred. Like the other forts it seems to have been designed to look impressive when seen from the sea, and that may have been the reason why it has unusually high walls and no defensive ditch. These walls were, as Lawrence discovered when he undertook his restorations in the 1950s, built to an unusually strong standard, being brick all through and not just faced with brick as at Cape Coast Castle. As elsewhere, the fort was painted white. Apperley blasted at the rocks in hopes of finding a freshwater spring but without success. Unlike the Castle, therefore, Anomabu fort could be approached by land from all sides, although all the ground nearby was exposed to deadly enfilade fire from the bastions. If it were besieged, it would be dependent on whatever food, water, and armaments it had stocked up.

Architecturally, the fort at Anomabu was as plain and utilitarian as the Castle. Inside were private chambers for the governor



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WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY  
HARRISON M. WRIGHT  
THIRD EDITION

THOMAS BIRCH FREEMAN

BY

JOURNAL OF VARIOUS VISITS  
TO  
THE KINGDOMS OF  
ASHANTI, AKU, AND DAHOMI  
IN WESTERN AFRICA

ANSAY

them since their arrival. I saw an Ashanti at Elmina on the 21st instant, who was in Kumasi when they arrived, and left it on the evening of the same day, for the coast. The "African Queen" sails this day at four o'clock; and it will probably be three weeks or a month before another vessel leaves the coast for England. Mr. and Mrs. Shipman, and myself, are all quite well, and enjoying excellent health and spirits. The former are intended to remain here, and the latter is expected to become the colleague of Mr. Brooking, when Mr. Freeman returns, which will probably be very shortly.

SECOND JOURNAL  
OF THE  
REV. THOMAS B. FREEMAN.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTS FROM CAPE COAST FOR KUMASI—ASABU—AKROPUL—TUKWAN—  
YANKUMASI—CHIBBU—MANSU—BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF THE MISSION  
IN MANSU—FRNBERIRIM—PASWIA—CROSSES THE RIVER PRAH—  
ARRIVAL OF A MESSENGER WITH A LETTER FROM THE KING OF ASHANTI  
—ESIRIMAN—ANSAH—AKWANSIHEM—PASSES THE ADVANSI HILLS.

SATURDAY, Nov. 6th, 1841.—All things being ready,

after great trouble in preparation, at half-past twelve, P. M., we started on our journey to Kumasi. Our party consists of the two Princes, \* Henry Smith, Esq., (who thinks of accompanying us to the River Prah,) the Rev. Robert Brooking, my interpreter, our servants, about one hundred and fifty carriers from the coast, with one hundred and sixty from Ashanti, and a Sergeant and six soldiers from the Fort. The party may altogether amount to three hundred and forty men.

The most difficult part of our work was that of conveying the carriage, which the Committee has sent out, as a present for the King. The narrowness of the road in many places impeded us much; and night coming on before we could reach a croom with the body of the

\* William Quantamissah, and John Anah, who had accompanied the Niger Expedition from England as far as Cape-Coast Castle.—Ed.

AUSANT



us at his residence. On our arrival, we were ushered into the spacious area where we dined last Tuesday, and found the King seated in an elevated room, having an open front at the end of the yard, under a large and splendid silk umbrella, surrounded by his family, many of the Princesses, children of the two former Kings, his sister, and several of his wives. One side of the yard was occupied by numerous females, part of whom were wives of the King, and the others, attendants and children. On the opposite side, in another elevated room with an open front, a number of native musicians were placed; and down in the yard, in front of the band, sat the King's chief eunuch, and several little boys who attended upon him.

The Princes, Mr. Brooking, my interpreter, and myself, took our seats at the lower end of the yard; on our right, stood twenty little boys, each bearing a gold-handled sword, several of whom were covered with golden ornaments. One wore a cap decorated with eagles' feathers, and a pair of golden rams' horns. Many of the royal family, were dressed in rich silk cloths, their ankles, wrists, breasts, shoulders, and necks being decorated with golden ornaments. The King was dressed in a very handsome cloth of native manufacture, and a leopard's-skin cap, richly ornamented with gold; he had also similiar ornaments upon his arms and legs. His sandals were heavily laden with gold and silver.

No adult males of the royal family were present, save Quantamissah and Ansa. Not even Osai Kujoh was permitted to witness the scene about to take place. The only men besides ourselves who were suffered to attend, were the eunuchs, their attendants, and the men composing the band. Apoko and the principal Chiefs, linguists, &c., were all excluded, on account of the

King's wives; no male Ashánti being permitted to see them. If any of them are walking in the streets, every man is obliged to avoid them, either by turning into another street, or by retiring into a house out of the way, or by retracing his steps; and if he have not time to avoid them in this manner, he must turn his face to the wall, and wait until they have passed by.

Shortly after we had taken our seats, the King rose from his chair, descended into the yard, and came and spoke to us in a very cordial and affectionate manner. He said, no Ashánti Chief or Captain was ever allowed to be present on occasions like these. He never allowed them the honour of meeting him with his wives; but that he had made arrangements to meet us under such circumstances, as the best means he had of testifying his satisfaction, in the safe and happy return of the Princes, and in the kindness which had been shown both to them and to himself.

The band then played, when several of the King's wives, and some young women, from fifteen to twenty years of age, members of the royal family, laden with golden ornaments, engaged in a sort of dance, by moving round the yard one after the other, in rapid but graceful succession. There was nothing in their appearance offensive to the eye, or disgusting to the mind. They were handsomely dressed, and behaved with the greatest decorum. While they were dancing, the King kept his seat. When they ceased, he descended into the yard, and began to dance himself. When he passed us, he said, it was not usual for the Kings of Ashánti to dance before their wives in the presence of any one; but he did so before me, in honour of the Queen of England. He then danced away, and took his seat; then several of the females, among whom was the Queen-mother, followed, singing at the same time war-songs in honour

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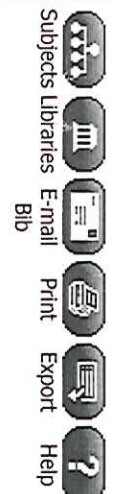
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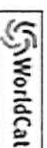
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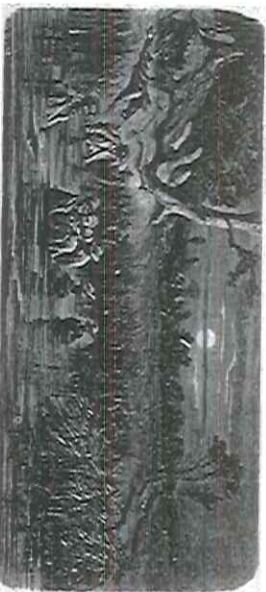
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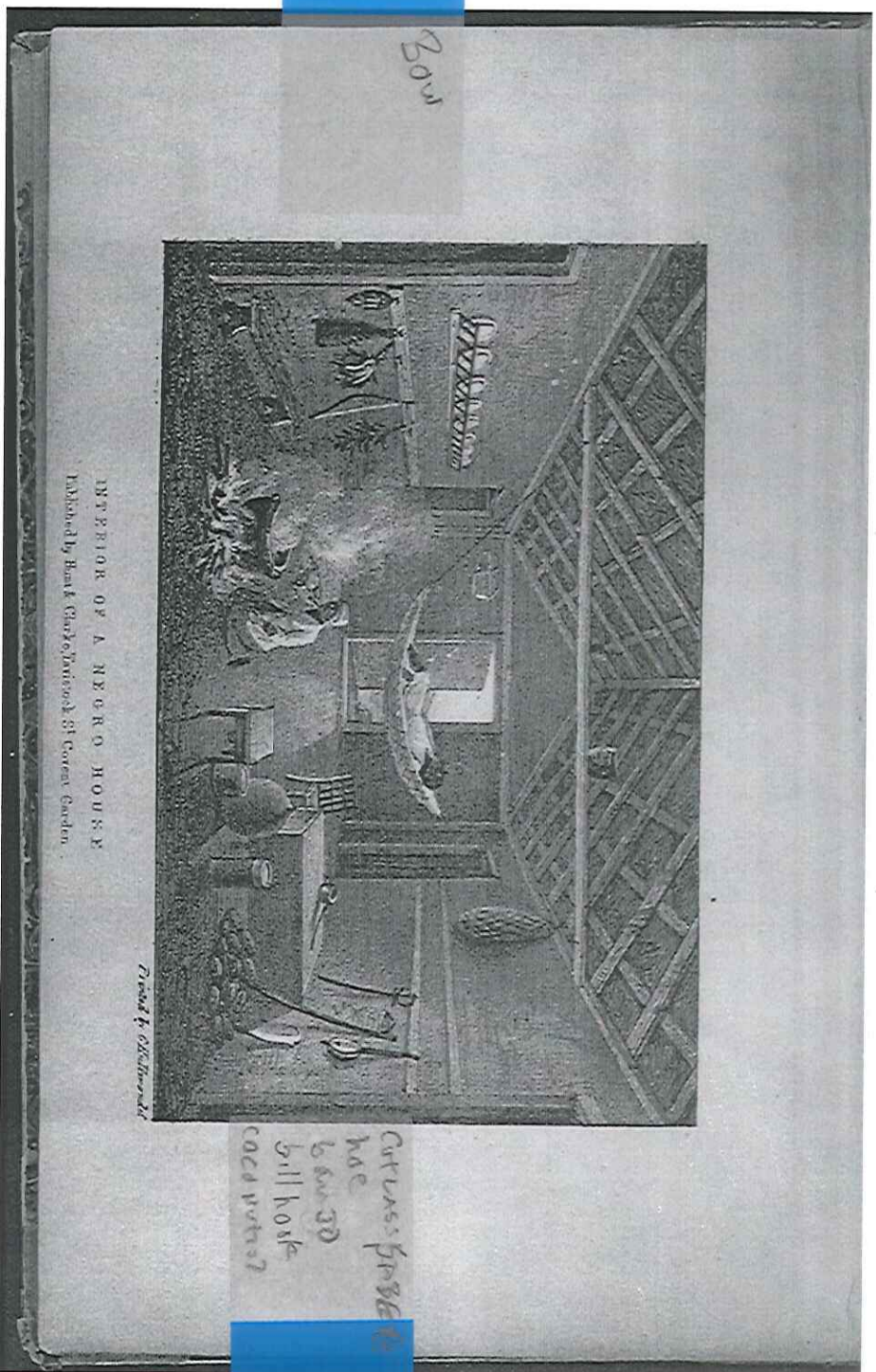
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## Interior Of A Negro House



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Two Pines in house  
 dimensions are considerably large

h Amusek ?

huge house

the Braxton de - Polle copies of 1823





Augustus in Scotland, as I saw it in the

year 1813.

Imprints, as I entered, I beheld two cows in the hall or vestibule, through which it was necessary to pass to a door on the left hand which opened into the parlour, a room about fifteen feet long and ten wide, with two beds in it, under one of which a pig was routing among a parcel of feathers, which I have no doubt were a hot-bed for fleas, for I was tormented with them while I remained under the roof, and for some time after. There was a fire in the middle of the floor, which was the bare earth, and round it sat the family, an elderly man and his wife, and seven or eight dirty children: an iron pot, suspended by a chain from one of the rafters, contained a mess of potatoes, which the mother was taking out with a fork, and disposing in a broken earthen pan; an old woman, which the woman gave from her hand to the children as they asked for it; the children were covered with a cutaneous eruption, and stopped from time to time to scratch themselves. A brood of chickens were fluttering for their share, and the and almost fighting

I will describe a cottage not far from Fort of Comaught, of which I will not speak; but I have fully in recollection the negro comparatively epicurean plenty of the negro cept to contrast their squalid misery with the souls! it is almost idle to mention them, except to contrast their squalid misery with the circumstances: as for those of Ireland, poor much, even under the most favourable circumstances: as for those of England enjoy as not denied them. I have great doubts whether the labouring people of England enjoy as of the share of happiness which fortune has a superficial knowledge of their comforts and of the negroes enabled me to gain more than acquaintance with the habits and dispositions in the conversation of Miss Neville, whose for some days, where I found a vast resource this place induced me to prolong my stay

The climate and the agreeable society of

January 11—Sunday.

CHAPTER XVI.

JAMAICA.

Chronic Williams, 1827  
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was simmering in an iron pot, and consisted of ochro and cocos, picked crabs, and salt fish, with a bit of salt pork. The lady was peeling a few plantains to roast, and the lord of the mansion was inhaling the fumes of tobacco from a short junko pipe, as he lolled at his ease in his hammock, suspended from one of the rafters to within two feet of the floor. There was a substantial deal table in the hall, with four rush-bottom chairs and a wooden bench, over which hung a bunch of corn and a machet or cutlass; above these was a shelf with a range of white plates and a few glasses, and above these hung several pieces of salt fish, and a good bunch of plantains. There was a basket of yams near the table, as if just brought in, and on it a coconut shell with a handle, to ladle water or soup. Several tin pans hung from one of the beams, and among them a large net full of cocos. There was an oil-jar in one corner to hold water, and a hoe and bill-hook in another, beside a large gourd with a hole in it, which serves as a musical instrument, and is called a drum. There was likewise a gombya, and a bouja, which is much like a guitar, and several calabashes were ranged along the

pig was no less *obstrepulous* in his demand for provender. The mansion was black with smoke, which found an exit at a hole in the centre of the roof and at three or four broken panes in the solitary window. The only liquor that the family drank was buttermilk, which they mixed with the potatoes. There were two chairs in the room with broken backs, a stool, and a chest of drawers, worth perhaps five shillings.

I know comparisons are invidious, but the generous reader will pardon me for giving an account of a negro house and its contents, as I saw it a day or two ago.

The house is about forty feet long and almost eighteen wide, built of boards and covered with fan-palms, divided into five apartments, of which the principal is eighteen feet square. This is the hall; the other apartments lead from it; three serving for sleeping-rooms, and the fourth for a sort of pantry. There is a door at each end of this hall through which the smoke escapes when it is necessary to boil the pot; at no other time is there occasion for fire. When I entered, I saw a negro woman squatting on the floor attending the cookery of her husband's dinner, which

constituted him executor, that he might be consoled in his dying moments with an assurance of the honours he should receive after death. This was the person who was buried during my stay at Pedro.

The negro finding his end approaching, had sent to beg his master would come to visit him, and at the interview which followed, delivered to him a long stocking filled with dollars and pistoreens. Mr. Klopstock's waiting man had previously taken the old negro's daughter for his wife, and had behaved so well to her, that her father deputed his executor to reward him with five pounds. He then begged that plenty might be laid out to give him a "handsome funeral," that is, to buy him fine clothes and provide abundance for the mourners to eat and drink; and the remainder of his fortune he left to his daughter for herself. No people perhaps quit this mortal life with greater fortitude and resignation than the negroes. They will sometimes provide their funeral clothes themselves on the approach of death, and they often keep their own coffin boards in their houses ready for occasion; yet they are not insensible to the hopes of a future existence, although, except

I must not forget to mention three young children, fat and sleek as moles, that were playing about the house and garden, which contained plantain suckers, an alligator pear tree, mangos, two or three coco-nut trees, orange trees, a few coffee bushes, and many other fruits and vegetables, and a pine-apple fence separated it from the adjoining garden. There was a pigstye in one corner, occupied by a sow and her family. This is a portrait of one of the inferior cottages, some of the best having jealousies and piazzas, with terras floors. Every garden has a pigstye, and the poultry-roost at a little distance from the house.

I was very anxious to witness the ceremony of interring the dead; but though a funeral took place during my stay at Herenhansen, I was told that the negroes are not fond of admittng white people to be spectators of their performances on these occasions, and I did not attend. Their chief object is to give the deceased a handsome burial, which means an expensive; one and a great proportion of their savings is often devoted to this purpose. Mr. Klopstock related to me an account of a negro who begged to be indulged in this way, and





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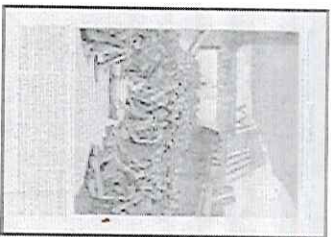
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**THE AFRICANS OF THE SLAVE BARK "WILDFIRE,"—[From our own Correspondent.]**

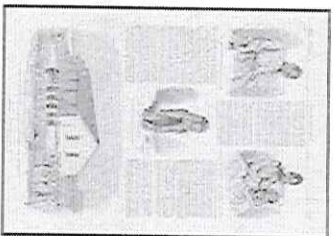
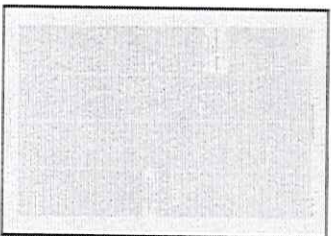
Harper's Weekly, Vol 4, June 2, 1860,

THE SLAVE DECK OF THE BARK "WILDFIRE," BROUGHT INTO KEY WEST ON APRIL 30, 1860.—[From a Daguerreotype.] Pp 344-346



Key West, Florida, May 20, 1860.

On the morning of the 30th of April last, the United States steamer *Mohawk*, Lieutenant Craven commanding, came to anchor in the harbor of this place, having in tow a bark of the burden of about three hundred and thirty tons, supposed to be the bark *Wildfire*, lately owned in the city of New York. The bark had on board five hundred and ten native Africans, taken on board in the River Congo, on the west side of the continent of Africa. She had been captured a few days previously by Lieutenant Craven within sight of the northern coast of Cuba, as an American vessel employed in violating our laws against the slave-trade. She had left the Congo River thirty-six days before her capture.



Soon after the bark was anchored we repaired on board, and on passing over the side saw, on the deck of the vessel, about four hundred and fifty native Africans, in a state of entire nudity, in a sitting or squatting posture, the most of them having their knees elevated so as to form a resting-place for their heads and arms. They sat very close together, mostly on either side of the vessel, forward and aft, leaving a narrow open space along the line of the centre for the crew of the vessel to pass to and fro. About fifty of them were full-grown young men, and about four hundred were boys aged from ten to sixteen years. It is said by persons acquainted with the slave-trade and who saw them, that they were generally in a very good condition of health and flesh, as compared with other similar cargoes, owing to the fact that they had not been so much crowded together on board as is common in slave voyages, and had been better fed than usual. It is said that the bark is capable of carrying, and was prepared to carry, one thousand, but not being able without inconvenient delay to procure so many, she sailed with six hundred. Ninety and upward had died on the voyage. But this is considered as comparatively a small loss, showing that they had been better cared for than usual. Ten more have died since their arrival, and there are about forty more sick in the hospital. We saw on board about six or seven boys and men greatly emaciated, and diseased past recovery, and about a hundred that showed decided evidences of suffering from inanition, exhaustion, and disease. Dysentery was the principal disease. But notwithstanding their sufferings, we could not be otherwise than interested and amused at their strange looks, motions, and actions. The well ones looked happy and contented, and were ready at any moment to join in a song or a dance whenever they were directed to do so by "Jack"—a little fellow as black as ebony, about twelve years old, having a handsome and expressive face, an intelligent look, and a sparkling eye. The sailors on the voyage had dressed "Jack" in sailor costume, and had made him a great pet. When we were on board "Jack" carried about in his hand a short cord, not only as the emblem but also as the instrument of his brief

File of Rev  
Harpers Weekly

Check for  
Vibrations of SLAVES  
CLAIMING  
musical instruments

Bark  
US report  
SLAVES from cargo

~~480~~ 510 captives

400 boys 10-16  
50-70 from cargo  
60-70 women +

website  
E027

delegated authority. He would make the men and boys stand up, sit down, sing, or dance just as he directed. When they sang "Jack" moved around among them as light as a cat, and beat the time by slapping his hands together, and if any refused to sing, or sang out of time, Jack's cord descended on their backs. Their singing was monotonous. The words we did not understand. We have rarely seen a more happy and merry-looking fellow than "Jack."

From the deck we descended into the cabin, where we saw sixty or seventy women and young girls, in Nature's dress, some sitting on the floor and others on the lockers, and some sick ones lying in the berths. Four or five of them were a good deal tattooed on the back and arms, and we noticed that three had an arm branded with the figure "7," which, we suppose, is the merchant's mark.

On the day of their arrival the sickest, about forty in all, were landed and carried to a building on the public grounds belonging to Fort Taylor, and Doctors Whitehurst and Skrine employed as medical attendants. We visited them in the afternoon. The United States Marshal had procured for all of them shirts, and pants for the men, and some benevolent ladies of the city had sent the

*THE PRINCESS MADIA.—[From a Daguerreotype.]*

girls and women gowns. Six or eight were very sick; the others did not appear to be in any immediate danger of dying. We were very much amused by a young lad about fifteen years old, not much sick, who had got on, probably for the first time in his life, a whole shirt, and who seemed to be delighted with every body and every thing he saw. He evidently thought the speech of the white man was very funny. When a few words were spoken to him he immediately repeated them with great glee. Pointing to Dr. Skrine, we said "Doctor." He said "Doctor." And then pointing to Dr. Whitehurst, we said "Doctor too." He said "Doctor too." The doctors had selected from the bark a woman about twenty-four years of age to assist the nurse in taking care of the sick. She had been dressed in a clean calico frock, and looked very respectably. About sundown they all lay down for the night upon a camp-bed, and were covered over with blankets. And now a scene took place which interested us very much, but which we did not understand and can not explain. The woman standing up slapped her hands together once or twice, and as soon as all were silent she commenced a sort of recitation, song, or prayer, in tone and manner much like a chanting of the Litany in Catholic churches, and every few moments the voices of ten or fifteen others were heard in the same tone, as if responding. This exercise continued about a minute. Now what could this be? It looked and sounded to us very much like Christians chanting together an evening prayer on retiring to rest. And yet we feel quite assured that none of these persons had ever heard of Christ, or had learned Christian practices, or possessed much, if any, knowledge of God as a Creator or Preserver of the world. We suspect that it was not understood by them as a religious exercise at all, but as something which they had been trained to go through at the barracks in Africa or on board the ship.

In two days after the arrival of the bark the Marshal had completed a large, airy building at Whitehead's Point, a little out of the town, for the reception and accommodation of these people; and after getting them clad as well as he could in so short a time, they were all landed on the fort wharf, and carried in carts to their quarters. On arriving there they all arranged themselves along the sides of the building, as they had been accustomed to do on the decks of the vessel, and squatted down in the same manner. It took the Marshal and his as-

*THE BARRACCOON AT KEY WEST, WHERE THE AFRICANS ARE CONFINED.—[From a Daguerreotype.]*

assistants some little time, and no small efforts, to give the Africans to understand that they were free to move about, to go out and come in at will. They learned this in the course of a few hours, however, and general merriment and hilarity prevailed. We visited them in the afternoon, and

W. G. Brown - 15-08-04  
for to 05  
G. G. G. G. G.



have done so several times since; and we confess that we have been struck, as many others have been, with the expression of intelligence displayed in their faces, the beauty of their physical conformation, and the beauty of their teeth. We have been accustomed to think that the civilized negroes of our own country were superior, in point of intelligence and physical development, to the native Africans; but judging only by the eye, we think it would be difficult to find, any where in our own country, four hundred finer and handsomer-looking boys and girls than these are. To be sure you often saw the elongated occiput, the protruded jaws, and the receding forehead; but you also often saw a head as round, with features as regular as any European's, except the universal flat noses. Little "Jack" has a head as round as an apple.

A number of these negroes—perhaps twelve or fifteen in all—have been more or less at and about Loando, a Portuguese town on the coast, and have learned to speak a little Portuguese. Through an interpreter we learned from them that some four or five—perhaps more, but probably not many—had been baptized at the Roman Catholic missionary station at Loando. Francisco, a young man, says he was baptized by a Franciscan friar in Loando; that he was a slave in Africa, and does not wish to return there. He says he had rather be a slave to the white man in this country. Salvador, a bright-looking, smart lad, has been baptized. Constantia says she was baptized in Loando. She does not remember her father; she was stolen away when she was young, and was sold by her brother. An-

AN AFRICAN.—[From a Daguerreotype.]

THE ONLY BABY AMONG THE AFRICANS.—[Daguerreotype.]

tonia and Amelia are both fine-looking young women, aged about twenty, and were both daptized at Loando. Madia, a pagan, unbaptized, aged about twenty, has obtained among the white people here who have visited the quarters the name of "The Princess," on account of her fine personal appearance and the deference that seemed to be paid to her by some of her companions. The persons we have here mentioned, including some eight or ten others, evidently do not belong to the same tribe that the rest do. Indeed the whole number is evidently taken from different tribes living in the interior of Africa, but the greater number are "Congos." The women we have named have cut or shaved the hair off the back part of their head, from a point on the crown to the back part of either ear. It is the fashion of their tribe. None of the other women are thus shorn. Many of the men, women, boys, and girls have filed their front teeth—some by sharpening them to a point, and others by cutting down the two upper front teeth. The persons above named have their teeth in a natural state. Perhaps fifty in all are tattooed more or less.

Travelers describe the natives of Congo as being small of stature, cheerful, good-humored, unreflecting, and possessed of little energy either of mind or body. Negro indolence is carried with them to the utmost excess. The little cultivation that exists, entirely carried on by the females, is nearly limited to the manioc root, which they are not very skillful in preparing. Their houses are put together of mats made from the fibre of the palm-tree, and their clothes and bedding consist merely of matted grass.

The President, on receiving news of the capture of the *Wildfire*, sent a special message to Congress on the subject, from which we give an extract below. The subsequent capture of another slave ship with more Africans will probably lead to some enactment on the subject. The President says:

"The expenditure for the Africans captured on board the *Wildfire* will not be less than one hundred thousand dollars, and may considerably exceed that sum. But it will not be sufficient for Congress to limit the amount appropriated to the case of the *Wildfire*. It is probable, judging from the increased activity of the slave-trade and the

Per N. M.  
L. O. G. / Congo

Deputy Marshall cartoon

vigilance of our cruisers, that several similar captures may be made before the end of the year. An appropriation ought, therefore, to be granted large enough to cover such contingencies. The period has arrived when it is indispensable to provide some specific legislation for the guidance of the Executive on this subject. With this view, I would suggest that Congress might authorize the President to enter into a general agreement with the Colonization Society, binding them to receive, on the coast of Africa from our agent there, all the captured Africans which may be delivered to him, and to maintain them for a limited period, upon such terms and conditions as may combine humanity toward these unfortunates with a just economy. This would obviate the necessity of making a new bargain with every new capture, and would prevent delay and avoid expense in the disposition of the captured. The law might then provide that, in all cases where this may be practicable, the captor should carry the negroes directly to Africa, and deliver them to the American agent there, afterward bringing the captured vessel to the United States for adjudication.

"The capturing officer, in case he should bring his prize directly to the United States; ought to be required to land the negroes in some one or more ports to be designated by Congress, where the prevailing health throughout the year is good. At these ports cheap but permanent accommodations might be provided for the negroes until they could be sent sway, without incurring the expense of erecting such accommodations at every port where the capturing officer may think proper to enter. On the present occasion these negroes have been brought to Key West; and, according to the estimate presented by the Marshal of the Southern District of Florida to the Secretary of the Interior, the cost of providing temporary quarters for them will be \$2500, and the aggregate expenses for the single month of May will amount to \$12,000. But this is far from being the worst evil. Within a few weeks the yellow fever will most probably prevail at Key West; and hence the Marshal urges their removal from their present quarters at an early day, which must be done in any event as soon as practicable. For these reasons I earnestly commend this subject to the immediate attention of Congress."

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|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 10-Sep-09    | Add-on work to improve the visual appeal of the website. | 3.00        | \$180.00        |
| <b>Total</b> |                                                          | <b>3.00</b> | <b>\$180.00</b> |





105 Caran Road, Williamsburg, VA 23185. hope.norman@vitrifire.com. 434.227.2195

### Invoice

Invoice #: HTN-Handler.org-001  
Date: August 11, 2009

Bill To: Dr. Jerome Handler  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903

| Week         | Description                                                                                                           | Labor Hours  | Balance           |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 9-Jul-09     | purchase of domain names jeromehandler.org and jeromehandler.com. Hosting for website.                                | N/A          | \$228.85          |
| 31-Jul-09    | Creation of website displaying results of research on Barbados archaeology, ethnography, history and Atlantic slavery | 18.00        | \$1,080.00        |
| <b>Total</b> |                                                                                                                       | <b>18.00</b> | <b>\$1,308.85</b> |



105 Caran Road, Williamsburg, VA 23185. hope.norman@vitrifire.com. 434.227.2195

### Invoice

Invoice #: HTN-Handler.org-002  
Date: August 25, 2009

Bill To: Dr. Jerome Handler  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903

| Week         | Description                                                                                                               | Labor Hours | Balance         |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 31-Jul-09    | Add-on work for website displaying results of research on Barbados archaeology, ethnography, history and Atlantic slavery | 5.00        | \$300.00        |
| <b>Total</b> |                                                                                                                           | <b>5.00</b> | <b>\$300.00</b> |



# JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY

at Brown University

BOX 1894, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02912

TEL: 401-863-2725 FAX: 401-863-3477

EMAIL: JCBL\_Publications@brown.edu

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities

Barbados Account

145 Ednam Drive

Charlottesville, VA 22903-4629

c/o Jerome Handler

3/3/2009  D  5547

Invoice Date Invoice #

PO #  CHECK

Payment Type

Check # 081674 Date: 3/19/09

Customer Database  
434-924-3296

Telephone #  Customer Type

| QUANTITY | ITEM NO. | DESCRIPTION                                                                  | PRICE   | AMOUNT  |
|----------|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| 1        | D        | Scanned digital image on disk (300 dpi, TIFF)                                | \$10.00 | \$10.00 |
|          |          | Parra. Descripcion de diferentes piezas de historia natural... Havana, 1787. |         |         |

**CREDIT LINE TO READ:**  
"Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University."

Ship To:

Subtotal:  \$10.00  
 Disc %:  Discount:  0.00  
 Sales Tax:  0.00  
 Postage:  2.50  
 Packaging:  5.00  
**TOTAL:  \$17.50**

WHITE: ORIGINAL INVOICE-CUSTOMER  
 GREEN: DUPLICATE COPY-CUSTOMER  
 YELLOW: DEPARTMENT COPY

*Ms. Bogard*

**AID**

I.D. # 05-0258809

The John Carter Brown Library

P' dos Account from VFH  
deposited into USA credit union used Aug. 2, 2017

\$551.16





University of Virginia Fund  
P.O. Box 400314  
Charlottesville, VA 22904

Deposit Aug. 2 to  
USA Checks

166077

**Jerome Handler**

07/25/2017

| Document No. | Date      | Description           |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| BARBADOS     | 7/24/2017 | Professional Services |

| Amount   | Discount | Net Amount |
|----------|----------|------------|
| 8,551.16 |          | 8,551.16   |

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
146 Edinam Dr.  
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Total 8,551.16

# VFH Barbados

## Account Summary

| Asset Summary       | Balance as of      |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| FV/FH121            | 07/21/2017         |
| Cash                | \$ 8,551.16        |
| Short term pool     | \$ -               |
| Mid-term pool       | \$ -               |
| Investment Pool     | \$ -               |
| <b>Total Assets</b> | <b>\$ 8,551.16</b> |

Mid-term pool  
0%

Investment Pool  
0%

0%



### For the period July 01, 2017 through July 21, 2017

#### Gifts Receivable (gross value of securities gifts in process of settling)

#### Gifts and Deposits

| Checks and Payroll Disbursements             | Check #               | Vendor Name                | Description                    |          |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
|                                              | July 20, 2017 ACH3854 | Virginia Dept. of Taxation | Payment of Invoice PPINV169817 | (2.70)   |
|                                              |                       |                            | VFH Folk Life Program          | (2.70)   |
| General Journals & Miscellaneous Adjustments | 7/20/2017             |                            | Net Disbursements              | (10.68)  |
|                                              |                       | Apr-Jun 2017 Admin Fee     | VFH Barbados                   | (10.68)  |
|                                              |                       |                            | Net Adjustments                |          |
| Net Cash Activity                            |                       |                            | Opening Cash Balance           | 8,564.54 |
|                                              |                       |                            | Net Cash Activity              | (13.38)  |
|                                              |                       |                            | Ending Cash Balance            | 8,551.16 |

#### Investments

|                            |          |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Net Investment Activity    |          |
| Ending Investment Balance  | -        |
| Total Cash and Investments | 8,551.16 |



ACCOUNT HOLDER TRANSACTION 06/02/17 11:41 AM 10001 1/1 INL 0751 520000  
XXX356 JEROME S HANDLER V/C#: 334860



CHECKS RECEIVED: 10.05  
CHECKS RETURNED: 0.00  
CASH RECEIVED: 8562.01  
TOTAL RECEIVED: 8562.01  
CASH RETURNED: 0.00  
TOTAL RETURNED: 0.00

ACCOUNT SFX TRAN  
XXX356-805 DEP  
BEG BAL 73,482.71  
AMOUNT 8,562.01  
NEW BAL 82,044.72  
CHECK NO. FEE/PEN  
CHECKS RECEIVED  
CHECKS RELEASE  
RELEASE  
CASH RECEIVED  
TOTAL RECEIVED  
CASH RETURNED  
TOTAL RETURNED

Don't Stand in Line! Access your account ONLINE! Loan payments, account transfers, check balances...www.uvaacreditunion.org

CASH RECEIVED

CASH BACK

8551.16

~~8551.01~~

University of Virginia  
Community Credit Union  
(434) 964-2001  
www.uvaacreditunion.org

Disbursed: 0.00

Received: 0.00



# UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA

## Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201  
United States  
PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Customer Number: 3664  
Transaction Number: 1000056063  
Transaction Date: 24-OCT-16  
Due Date: 23-NOV-16

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/ar/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000056063

Transaction Date: 24-OCT-16

INVOICING ORGANIZATION  
20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers

P.O. NUMBER

TERMS

30 NET

| LINE NO | DESCRIPTION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------|--------|
| 1       | AIRPORT EXTREME<br><br>100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>*****<br>The services invoiced hereunder are subject to the University of Virginia's standard terms and conditions found at <a href="http://www.virginia.edu/finance/avpcomp/laxform/LVA%20STC.pdf">http://www.virginia.edu/finance/avpcomp/laxform/LVA%20STC.pdf</a> , and shall not be varied, modified or amended by any subsequent purchase order, invoice, statement of terms and conditions or other document or instrument unless the parties execute a separate written document to include such provisions. | 1   | 179.00     | 179.00 |
|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     | TAX        | 0.00   |
|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     | TOTAL DUE  | 179.00 |

Comments or Special Instructions:

CCB-00070426 9/20/16



University of Virginia Alumni Association  
University of Virginia Fund  
Request for Disbursement

(Please print or type)

From: Cary Ferguson      E-mail: cs5g      Vendor: University of Virginia  
Date: October 27, 2016      Phone: 924-7190      Invoice #: 1000056063  
Amount: \$179.00      Acct #: FVFFH 121  
Pay To: University of Virginia      Acct Name: Barbados  
PO Box 400201      Check #: \_\_\_\_\_

Charlottesville, VA 22904

Date Paid: \_\_\_\_\_

Deadline 12 Noon Tuesday for pickup THURSDAY after 3 P.M.

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS

**XXXXX Hold for pick-up ~ VFH**

**PURPOSE:** Please identify the nature of your request by checking one of the boxes below:  
(Credit card statement must be accompanied with receipts and approved by department head)

Reimbursement \_\_\_\_\_ (answer questions 1-3)      Contractual/Personal Services \_\_\_\_\_ (answer questions 4-8)  
Payment for Goods XXX      Scholarship/Fellowship/Award \_\_\_\_\_ must have W-9 (SS#)  
Transfer of Funds \_\_\_\_\_      Prize \_\_\_\_\_ must have W-9 (SS#)  
Other \_\_\_\_\_      Honoraria \_\_\_\_\_      must have W-9 (SS#)  
W-9 attached \_\_\_\_\_

Reimbursements

1. Are all receipts attached?      YES      NO      ON FILE      XXX
2. Are these expenses considered allowable under University and IRS guidelines?      YES      NO
3. If NO, please explain. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Reimbursement must be approved by a dean or department head.

Personal Services

4. Attach completed IRS Form W-9 (payment cannot be made without W-9)  
Is this a University employee (part-time or full-time) or a graduate student?      YES      NO  
If YES, please attach written approval for payment from Yoke San L. Reynolds, Vice President of Finance  
924-0716 (Payment cannot be made without approval)

Is this person a U.S. Citizen?      YES      NO

5. If NO, please request a transfer of funds to your University account. For tax compliance reasons, we cannot pay foreign individuals for personal services through the UVA Fund.

Comments:

Program: Barbados      Type of Expense: Supplies

Disbursement Authorized By: Gail Shirley-Warren      Gail Shirley-Warren  
Signature      Print/type name here  
\*\*\*\*\*

If payment is to be made to a commercial vendor, attach original invoice for our files and an invoice copy to include with check.

Completed vouchers should be forwarded to Patricia Wharam at the appropriate address below:  
USPS:      Alumni Association      Messenger Mail:      Alumni Association  
P.O. Box 400314      Charlottesville, VA 22904      P.O. Box 400314



# UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA

MacBook Red Ink

## Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201  
United States  
PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Customer Number: 3664

Transaction Number: 1000050334

Transaction Date: 25-FEB-15

Due Date: 27-MAR-15

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/ar/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000050334

Transaction Date: 25-FEB-15

|                               |             |        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| INVOICING ORGANIZATION        | P.O. NUMBER | TERMS  |
| 20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers |             | 30 NET |

| LINE NO   | DESCRIPTION                                                                        | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------|--------|
| 1         | 60W MAGSAFE2 POWER ADAPT FOR M<br>100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>***** | 1   | 79.00      | 79.00  |
| TAX       |                                                                                    |     |            | 0.00   |
| TOTAL DUE |                                                                                    |     |            | 79.00  |

Comments or Special Instructions:  
CCB-00027537-2/12/15 JEROME HANDLER





# UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA

## Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201  
United States  
PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Customer Number:

3664

Transaction Number:

1000050335

Transaction Date:

26-FEB-15

Due Date:

28-MAR-15

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/ar/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000050335

Transaction Date: 26-FEB-15

|                               |             |        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| INVOICING ORGANIZATION        | P.O. NUMBER | TERMS  |
| 20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers |             | 30 NET |

| LINE NO                                          | DESCRIPTION                    | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT   |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|------------|----------|
| 1                                                | MACBOOK PRO 13 IN 2.6GHZ 128GB | 1   | 1,199.00   | 1,199.00 |
| 2                                                | LACIE PD P2220 500GB           | 1   | 79.99      | 79.99    |
| 3                                                | APPLECARE MACBOOK/IBOOK        | 1   | 183.00     | 183.00   |
| 100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>***** |                                |     |            |          |
| TAX                                              |                                |     |            | 0.00     |
| TOTAL DUE                                        |                                |     |            | 1,461.99 |

Comments or Special Instructions:  
CCB-00027093 2/7/15 JEROME HANDLER



# UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA

## Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201  
United States  
PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Customer Number: 3664

Transaction Number: 1000050336

Transaction Date: 26-FEB-15

Due Date: 28-MAR-15

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/ar/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000050336

Transaction Date: 26-FEB-15

|                               |             |        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| INVOICING ORGANIZATION        | P.O. NUMBER | TERMS  |
| 20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers |             | 30 NET |

| LINE NO | DESCRIPTION                                                                        | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------|--------|
| 1       | CASE MACBOOK PRO 13 RETINA POW<br>100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>***** | 1   | 49.95      | 49.95  |
|         |                                                                                    |     | TAX        | 0.00   |
|         |                                                                                    |     | TOTAL DUE  | 49.95  |

Comments or Special Instructions:  
CCB-00027094-2/7/15 JERMOME HANDLER





# UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA

## Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201  
United States  
PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Customer Number:

3664

Transaction Number:

1000043750

Transaction Date:

29-APR-13

Due Date:

29-MAY-13

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000043750

Transaction Date: 29-APR-13

|                               |             |        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| INVOICING ORGANIZATION        | P.O. NUMBER | TERMS  |
| 20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers |             | 30 NET |

| LINE NO   | DESCRIPTION                                                     | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------|--------|
| 1         | APPLE MOUSE<br>100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>***** | 1   | 69.00      | 69.00  |
| TAX       |                                                                 |     |            | 0.00   |
| TOTAL DUE |                                                                 |     |            | 69.00  |

Comments or Special Instructions:  
7MO026674-3/20/13 JERRY HANDLER

| Date       | Description                    | Amount      | Type        |
|------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 9/31/2011  | BRANCE <del>Account</del>      | 8828.28     | (Official)  |
| 11/2/2011  | Contribution                   | 500.00      | +           |
| 11/3/2011  | UPC Renewal - Spring website   | 58.00       | -           |
| 11/24/2011 | NBC Uniqs                      | 75.00       | +           |
| 12/9/2011  | HPD/ma uniqs                   | 50.00       | +           |
| 11/30/2011 | Balance                        | 9,009.01    | (Official)  |
| Feb. 2012  | "                              | 9,116.56    | (Official)  |
| 4/24/2012  | Umi Euro Subvention            | 600.00      | -           |
| 6/30/2012  | Balance                        | 9077.68     | (Official)  |
| 7/19/2012  | Intc + attachments             | 1,752.99    | -           |
| 7/31/2012  | Balance                        | 7,313.37    | (Official)  |
|            | 6.49 - UPS to Kormanin Gradina |             |             |
| 8/31/2012  | Balance - 7363.37              |             | Official    |
| 12/17/2012 | Conclad                        | Semi 178.85 | - Checkbook |





University of Virginia Fund  
 P.O. Box 400314  
 Charlottesville, VA 22904

118354

Longleaf Services, Inc.

12/13/2012

| Document No. | Date     | Description                   | Amount | Discount | Net Amount |
|--------------|----------|-------------------------------|--------|----------|------------|
| SUB/BOOKVI   | 12/11/12 | Sub/book/video - VFH Barbados | 178.85 |          | 178.85     |

Total 178.85

THIS DOCUMENT IS PRINTED ON PAPER CONTAINING UV FIBERS, MICRO PRINTING, BLEED THROUGH NUMBERS AND ARTIFICIAL WATERMARK



University of Virginia Fund  
 P.O. Box 400314  
 Charlottesville, VA 22904

SUNTRUST  
 SunTrust Bank

68-02  
 510

No. 118354

PAY \*\*\*\*\*ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY EIGHT AND 85/100 DOLLARS \*\*\*\*\*  
 \$USD AMOUNT

DATE 12/13/2012

\*\*\*\*\*178.85

TO THE ORDER OF

Longleaf Services, Inc.  
 116 S. Boundary Street  
 Chapel Hill, NC 27514

*[Signature]*

⑈ 118354 ⑈ ⑆051000020⑆ 1000040526310⑈

|              |                                     |                         |             |             |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| CHECK NUMBER | 2074849                             | UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  | DATE        | 28-Sep-2012 |
| VENDOR NAME  | VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANIT |                         |             |             |
| Invoice No.  | PO Number                           | Invoice Description     | Voucher No. | Amount      |
| vss2u 092712 | UNMATCHED                           | Refund per department's | 2713303     | 19.99       |

Questions: For Financial Aid and Student Stipend Payments contact Student Financial Services at 434-982-6000. All other questions should be directed to Procurement Services at 434-924-4212.

Page Total 19.99

CHECK NUMBER  
2074849

Nineteen Dollars And Ninety-Nine Cents\*\*\*\*\*

PAY TO THE ORDER OF  
VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANIT  
145 EDNAM DR  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22903-4629

Bank of America, N.A.  
North Carolina 66-798/531 NC

Procurement Services  
P.O. Box 400202  
Charlottesville, Virginia 22904-4202


NOT VALID AFTER SIX MONTHS FROM DATE

|    |     |      |
|----|-----|------|
| MO | DAY | YEAR |
| 09 | 28  | 2012 |

*Steven A. Williams*

⑆ 2074849⑆ ⑆ 053000199⑆ 000480155001⑆

\*See Reverse Side For Easy Opening Instructions\*

 UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA  
Procurement Services  
P.O. Box 400202  
Charlottesville, Virginia 22904-4202

VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANIT  
145 EDNAM DR  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22903-4629

2074849 Hold For: Virginia Sprouse Phone: 4-4081

10/1





1 MAC

Invoice

Make payments and address inquiries to:

Customer Number: 3664

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA  
ATTN: ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE PO BOX 400201  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904-4201

Transaction Number: 1000040637

United States

Transaction Date: 17-JUL-12

PHONE: 434-924-7180 FAX: 434-924-1034  
EMAIL: UVA-AR@virginia.edu  
FEDERAL ID NO: 54-600-1796

Due Date: 16-AUG-12

To pay by credit card (MC, VISA, DISCOVER, or AMEX)  
or to charge your bank account go to:

Bill to:

Attn: Accounts Payable  
Va Foundation For The Humanities  
20535  
PO BOX 400749  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

<http://www.virginia.edu/finance/ar/customers/pay.html>

If payment by check: Amount Paid: \$

Make checks payable to University of Virginia

Please detach and return top portion with your payment. Do not staple or clip your check to the form.

Customer Name: Va Foundation For The Humanities

Transaction No: 1000040637

Transaction Date: 17-JUL-12

|                               |             |        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| INVOICING ORGANIZATION        | P.O. NUMBER | TERMS  |
| 20535 - BU-Cavalier Computers |             | 30 NET |

| LINE NO                                          | DESCRIPTION        | QTY | UNIT PRICE | AMOUNT   |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----|------------|----------|
| 1                                                | IMAC 27" 2.7GHZ I5 | 1   | 1,599.00   | 1,599.00 |
| 2                                                | 3YR APPELCARE      | 1   | 119.00     | 119.00   |
| 3                                                | OFFICE MAC         | 1   | 15.00      | 15.00    |
| 4                                                | CABLE FIREWIRE     | 1   | 19.99      | 19.99    |
| 100% of Invoice due in this installment<br>***** |                    |     |            |          |
| TAX                                              |                    |     |            | 0.00     |
| TOTAL DUE                                        |                    |     |            | 1,752.99 |

Comments or Special Instructions:  
7MO025318-7/1/12 JERRY HANDLER



University of Virginia Fund  
 P.O. Box 400314  
 Charlottesville, VA 22904

111865

University of the West Indies

04/05/2012

Document No. Date Description  
 INV # 1201112 04/04/12 Inv # 1201112-143 VFH Barbado

| Amount | Discount | Net Amount |
|--------|----------|------------|
| 600.00 |          | 600.00     |

Total 600.00

THIS DOCUMENT IS PRINTED ON PAPER CONTAINING UV FIBERS, MICRO PRINTING, BLEED THROUGH NUMBERS AND ARTIFICIAL WATERMARK



University of Virginia Fund  
 P.O. Box 400314  
 Charlottesville, VA 22904

SUNTrust  
 SunTrust Bank

68-02  
 510

No. 111865

PAY \*\*\*\*SIX HUNDRED AND 0/100 DOLLARS

DATE

\$USD AMOUNT

04/05/2012

\*\*\*\*\*600.00

TO THE ORDER OF

University of the West Indies  
 Press  
 7A Gibraltar Hall Rd.  
 UWI Mona Campus  
 Kingston, 7 JAMAICA

⑈ 111865 ⑈ ⑆051000020⑆1000040525310⑈

*Od by 924-3296*

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
 145 Ednam Dr.  
 Charlottesville, VA 22903

*4-6-12*



Barbados Account

Jan. 31, 2010 Balance in Account - 4834.10

|                           |         |         |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|
| Debit - Books JCB         | 123.93  | 4710.17 |
| Added - Misc Contribution | 500.00  | 5210.17 |
| Debit - Car. Computer     | 119.94  | 5090.23 |
| Added - Contribution      | 1000.00 | 6090.23 |
| Debit - Car. Computer     | 49.99   | 6040.24 |
| Added - Proceeds Sold     | 17.50   | 6057.74 |
| Debit - even chair        | 617.42  | 5440.32 |

March 26, 2010

|                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Provisional balance   | 5440.32 |
| Added - Kelly Hayes   | 40.00   |
| Debit - UPS charges   | 31.70   |
| Added - Proceeds sold | 17.50   |
| Debit - UPS charge    | 7.11    |
| Debit - UPS charges   | 6.86    |

June 30, 2010

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Balance (Cory's request) | 5492.47 |
| 1000 contribution        | 6492.47 |
| Debit iPod case          | 543.99  |
| Consigne J Over          | 50.00   |
| UPS charges              | 5.37    |

Sept 1

Provisional balance 5993.11

|                      |          |
|----------------------|----------|
| Richard hardware     | 500 -    |
| Added. Proceeds sold | 517.50 ✓ |
| UPS charges          | 5.23     |

10/1

CAU. Computer Keyboard guard 24.95 ✓

10/2

1060 contribution + 1000.00 ✓

10/18

15.15 Misc check + 120.00 ✓

10/25

book sale + 35.00 ✓

11/4

Amount from pass + 50.00 ✓

11/10

CAU. Computer - Note Card - 99.00

5,0035.33

50035.33

Date

11/16

6000 35.00 + Hourly Payment

11/12

" 50.00 + (unc paid) ✓

11/29

Car. Computs 59.99 -

(10% fee speaker)

11/29

PROVISIONAL BALANCE - 50060.34

12/1

Person printers +

50.00

12/8

Car. Computs -

(10% fee speaker)

44.99

1/3/2011

Person published + 25.00

1/13

BANK Overleas

+ 150.00

1/15

SEER

+ 90.00

1/31/2011

BALANCE 6,844.50 (official)

2/25

Car. U. Pass

+ 100.00

3/1

1000 Contribution + 1,000.00

3/2

Person's name  
responsive solutions

- 92.50

3/15

UPS Charges

- 20.30

3/22

Walmart Pass

+ 50.00

3/29

BALANCE PROVISIONAL

7,881.70

8/30

Bruce Johnson - 200.00

6/12-14

1000 Contribution +

6/15?

Tara Getz + 100.00 (permission)

7/8

Car. Computs (paybook ipd) - 72.45

9/28

B, 1/4 ticket

- 379.40

9/29

BALANCE PROVISIONAL

8,329.85

0



**PRE-APPROVAL FORM**

Date: November 3, 2011

Requestor: Trey Mitchell

Program: Slavery Images (Jerry Handler)

Vendor/Supplier or Pay/Reimburse: Network Solutions

Vendor Quote Information  
 Date contacted: \_\_\_\_\_  
 SWAM Vendor Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Amount Quoted: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No SWAM Vendor available: \_\_\_\_\_  
 UVA Contract Vendor used: \_\_\_\_\_

Written estimate or invoice(s) [attached]: \_\_\_\_\_

Amount: \$58.50

Alumni Fund Name and Account: # \_\_\_\_\_

UVA Project and Award: # \_\_\_\_\_  
 Alumni P-Card  X  
 (Check if applicable)  
 UVA P-Card \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Check if applicable)

Purpose: 3 year renewal for slaveryimages.net and slaveryimages.org

1. Did you check your budget to determine correct category?  Requestor  Supervisor
2. Is this expenditure included in your approved budget?  Requestor  Supervisor
3. Is a Budget Amendment Form required?  No  Yes, attached

Budget categories below:

|                               |                       |                            |   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Conf & Workshops              | Licenses & Fees       | Software                   |   |
| Dues & Memberships            | Mailing Services      | Staff Development          |   |
| Equipment Rental              | Marketing & Promotion | Storage and Moving         |   |
| Exhibits                      | Meetings (Board Mtgs) | Subscriptions/Books/Videos |   |
| Furniture & Equip             | Postage/Shipping      | Supplies, Office-Other     |   |
| Grants                        | Printing & Copying    | Telephone                  |   |
| Grants (VAM)                  | Professional Services | Travel                     |   |
| Graphic Design                | Rent-occupancy        | Web Design & Maintenance   | x |
| Insurance, Facilities & Other | Repairs & Maintenance |                            |   |

Requestor's Signature  Date: November 3, 2011  
 Supervisor's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 3, 2011

**If request is over \$500, OR if you are using Alumni Association funds (any amount), you must receive pre-approval from Kevin McFadden.**

Kevin McFadden \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_





|                                      |                   |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Passenger Type Used in Pricing       | Adult             |
| Total Fare per Person                | 358.00 USD        |
| Additional Taxes and Fees per Person | 21.40 USD         |
| <b>Total Price</b>                   | <b>379.40 USD</b> |

- View Fare Rules.
- Residents of Latin America or the Caribbean must be present and show Credit/Debit Card at time of check-in.
- Flights not on American Airlines, American Eagle, or AmericanConnection® are on a request basis only. Fares and availability are subject to change.
- In order to comply with federal security regulations, we may provide government agencies access to data you disclose to us. For more information, view our Privacy Policy.
- If you choose to pay using a credit card or U.K.-billed Pay/Pal account, a processing fee of £4.50 per ticket may apply.
- Optional Services and Carrier Charges include, but are not limited to, items such as checked or carry-on baggage, seat selection and seat upgrades.

**Summary Details**

**Credit Card Information**

|                  |             |
|------------------|-------------|
| Card Type:       | VISA        |
| Account #:       | **** * 5219 |
| Expiration Date: | *****       |
| Description:     | united visa |

Pg. 1/59

**Delivery Information**

|                  |                                  |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| E-Ticket E-MAIL: | JEROME.HANDLER@GMAIL.COM00/00/00 |
|------------------|----------------------------------|

**Contact Information**

|                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cell Phone:                     | (1) 914-466--9013 |
| Email Address:                  | KMBILBY@GMAIL.COM |
| Business ExtraA Account Number: |                   |

**Upgrade Reservation**

| Flight Number | Departing           | Arriving            | 500-mile Upgrades Required per Person | Request Upgrade? |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 4297          | ORD Chicago         | CHO Charlottesville | Not Offered*                          | N/A              |
| 4383          | CHO Charlottesville | ORD Chicago         | Not Offered*                          | N/A              |

500-mile Upgrades may be purchased at the airport or at a discount when purchased online.

\*Upgrades are not offered on certain American Eagle flights, American Connection, oneworld partners or other airline carriers.

# American Airlines

[CLOSE WINDOW](#)  
[PRINT PAGE](#)

Note: This is not your receipt. You will be receiving your itinerary confirmation along with your receipt soon. You may print your Itinerary & Receipt directly from AA.com once the status is updated from "Purchased" to "Ticketed".

### Reservation Details

#### Record Locator

**BDTTDV**

Your record locator is your reservation confirmation number and will be needed to retrieve or reference your reservation.

#### Status



Purchased -  
 Sep 28, 2011

#### Reservation Name

**BILBY**

You can name your reservation so it's easier to locate when you return to AA.com (e.g. Quarterly Meeting).

### Your Itinerary

| Carrier                                                                                                                          | Flight Number | Departing             |                          | Arriving              |                          | Cabin   | Booking Code | Seats |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------------|-------|
|                                                                                                                                  |               | City                  | Date & Time              | City                  | Date & Time              |         |              |       |
|  AMERICAN AIRLINES OPERATED BY AMERICAN EAGLE | 4297          | ORD Chicago           | Oct 20, 2011<br>08:40 PM | CHO<br>Charlotteville | Oct 20, 2011<br>11:25 PM | Economy | S            | 14A   |
|  AMERICAN AIRLINES OPERATED BY AMERICAN EAGLE   | 4383          | CHO<br>Charlotteville | Oct 24, 2011<br>04:25 PM | ORD Chicago           | Oct 24, 2011<br>05:15 PM | Economy | S            | 10A   |

### Your Notifications

| Contact              | Notification Summary                                                                                                                                | Actions |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| My Cell: 434-2425834 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Send 2 hours prior to departure</li> <li>CONNECTING FLIGHT DEPARTURE STATUS</li> <li>GATE CHANGES</li> </ul> | Enabled |

### Fare Summary

Average Fare per Person: **358.00 USD**





7074

70-7642/2812  
01

**JEROME S HANDLER**  
120 BLITHE CT  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22901

Nov 13, 2011  
Date

Pay to the Order of VFH \$ 2000.00  
Dollars



1217 West Main Street • Post Office Box 2888  
Charlottesville, VA 22902-2888  
618-457-3595 www.siu.org

For Contribution J S Handler MP

⑆ 2812764201⑆ ⑆⑆⑆9600⑆ 7074

Member Since

WARREN SHEFFIELD™

Virginia Foundation  
for the Humanities  
and Public Policy

145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA  
22903-4629

1/2 POSS Receipt  
1/2 Seward  
Wheatstieckel  
vfh





VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANITIES  
145 Edham Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Phone: 804-924-3296 Fax: 804-296-4714

March 30, 2011

**INVOICE #2011a**

Payable from Barbados Account to

Bruce Johnson  
PO Box 172  
Covesville, Va 22931

| <b>Product or service provided</b>                                                                                       | <b>Quantity</b> | <b>Price</b> | <b>Total</b>    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Research assistance and photo manipulation for website, <a href="http://www.slaveryimages.org">www.slaveryimages.org</a> |                 | 200.00       | 200.00          |
|                                                                                                                          |                 |              |                 |
|                                                                                                                          |                 |              |                 |
| <b>Total Order:</b>                                                                                                      |                 |              | <b>\$200.00</b> |

WPC

50.00

*Please deposit to Barbados Account*

**WAVELAND PRESS, INC.**  
VFH-Barbados Account  
2110 ROYALTIES

**061669** 3/22/2011 50.00

⑈051559⑈ ⑆07192277⑆ 000018129304⑈

MEMO

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

*Carol D. Ryan*



Fifty and 00/100\*\*\*\*\* DOLLARS

PAY TO THE ORDER OF VFH-Barbados Account

\$\*\*50.00

**WAVELAND PRESS, INC.**  
4180 IL Route 83, Suite 101  
Long Grove, IL 60047  
(847) 634-0081

First American Bank  
Eik Grove Village, IL 60007  
70-2277719

**061669** 3/22/2011



**JEROME S HANDLER**  
120 BLITHE CT  
CHARLOTTEVILLE, VA 22901

7058

70-7642/2812  
01

*March 1, 2011*  
Date

Pay to the

*VEH*

\$ 3,000.00

Order of

*two thousand*

Dollars



**SIU CREDIT UNION**  
1217 West Main Street • Post Office Box 2888  
Carbondale IL 62902-2888  
618-457-3395 www.siucreditunion.org

For:

*Car Wash*

*J S Handler*

MP

⑆ 2812764201⑆

⑆ 11196003⑆ 7058

Member Since

MARCOUS SHEFFIELD™

*2,100.00  
to  
Barbados*

CAVALIER COMPUTERS BOOKSTORE BRANCH  
 4TH FLOOR CENTRAL GROUNDWORK GARAGE  
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22904  
 PHONE: (434) 924-3475  
 FAX: (434) 924-4447  
 EMAIL: CAVCOMP@VIRGINIA.EDU

ACCOUNT SALE 007 004 CCB0261429  
 CASHIER: MIKE 12/15/10 15 27

01 DRIVE FLASH G3 16GB  
 370305 16954939 1 1 44.99

Subtotal 44.99  
 VA STATE TAX 2.25

Items 1 Total 47.24

*EN*

Subtotal 44.99

Items 1 Total 44.99

\*\*\*\*\*

BOOKSTORE CHARGE

44.99

Cust: VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES  
 3010

Acct: CAV COMP EXT  
 Bal: -248.97

Change Due 0.00

THANK YOU FOR SHOPPING AT CAVALIER  
 COMPUTERS. PLEASE RETAIN RECEIPT FOR  
 REFUNDS AND EXCHANGES. RETURN WILL BE  
 ACCEPTED WITHIN 1 WEEK FROM THE DATE  
 OF PURCHASE ONLY IF WRAPPING IS  
 UNOPENED. WWW.CAVCOMP.VIRGINIA.EDU

*15 Hand*

OFFICE USE ONLY

# \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Submitted \_\_\_\_\_

Cashier \_\_\_\_\_

The above charges will be billed to the above department within 30 days. Please review and if there are any discrepancies or questions please contact the UVa Bookstore at 804-924-1076.





# PURCHASE ORDER

## Virginia Foundation for the Humanities

145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Phone 434-924-3296 Fax 434-296-4714

The following number must appear on all related correspondence, shipping papers, and invoices:  
**P.O. NUMBER: VFH032210-001**

**TO:**  
American Office of Charlottesville, LLC  
Attention: Cassie Byrne  
400 Preston Avenue Suite  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
434-923-3255 Fax 434-923-3244

**SHIP TO:**  
Jerome Handler  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
434-923-3296

| P.O. DATE  | REQUISITIONER | SHIPPED VIA | F.O.B. POINT | TERMS |
|------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| 03/22/2010 | GSW           |             |              |       |

| QTY                 | UNIT | DESCRIPTION                                                       | UNIT PRICE | TOTAL  |
|---------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------|
| 1                   | EA   | WK Chr, Aeron, Std-HT Prue., Std (see attached proposal #23270-0) | 1          | 566.44 |
| 1                   | EA   | Delivery                                                          | 1          | 50.98  |
| SUBTOTAL            |      |                                                                   |            | 617.42 |
| SALES TAX           |      |                                                                   |            |        |
| SHIPPING & HANDLING |      |                                                                   |            |        |
| OTHER               |      |                                                                   |            |        |
| TOTAL               |      |                                                                   |            | 617.42 |

- Please send two copies of your invoice.
- Enter this order in accordance with the prices, terms, delivery method, and specifications listed above.
- Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship as specified.

Send all correspondence to:  
**Virginia Foundation for the Humanities**  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Phone 434-924-3296 Fax 434-296-4714

Date: 3/26/10

PACKING LIST

CAVALLER COMPUTERS FALL ORDER: 7 M O 2 3 5 5 2

P.O. BOX 400819 Please refer to the above number on all correspondence.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22904-4819

Phone: 1 (434) 924-5475 Ship Date: 12/07/80

Customer: 3010 Ship Via: ON CAMPUS

Ship: JERRY HANDLER Ordered: VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES  
TELEPHONE 242-5834 P.O. BOX 400749  
145 EONAM DRIVE 345 EONAM DRIVE  
VFH ARLING GAIL SPIRELY-WARREN  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, NT 22903 CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22904

Phone #: 4-8978

| Ordered Qty | Backorder Qty | Shipped Qty | Location | SKU      | Description       | Type Price | Item Disc | Extended Price |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| 1           | 0             | 1           |          | 16896374 | ECO-VUE IPAD CASE | 14.99      | 0.00      | 64.99          |

Print Name: Jerry Handler Date: 12/2/80

Signature: [Handwritten Signature]

TERMS:

Returns will be accepted within one week from the date of purchase only if the wrapping is unopened. To request a refund, you must produce this store receipt. If any product is found to be defective upon opening, Cavalier Computers will repair or replace the item at its option with all due haste. Cavalier Computers is unable to repair any item for which it is not an authorized service provider. By signing this form, I certify that I am eligible under conditions established by the manufacturer of the above listed products and/or by the University of Virginia to receive an educational discount, which has been reflected in the prices listed above. Charges to departments will be submitted to Accounting Operations five (5) days from date above. Please review and contact The UVA Bookstore at 434-924-3221 if there are any questions.



# Balances Account (FV FH 121)

Misc. poster

5/4 8.45 to expense

| Date             | Debit | Credit         | Description                                     |
|------------------|-------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 3/3/09           |       | 4619.91        |                                                 |
|                  | +     | 75.00          | Preserve books                                  |
|                  | -     | 1308.85        | Kepe Norman - website                           |
|                  | -     | 300.00         | Kepe Norman - website                           |
|                  | -     | 180.00         | Kepe Norman - website                           |
|                  | +     | 2000.00        | Contribution to VFH                             |
| Balance 11/9/09  |       | <u>4906.06</u> |                                                 |
|                  |       | 1670.00        | Computer Mac Book Pro + accessories             |
| Balance          |       | 3236.06        |                                                 |
| <hr/>            |       |                |                                                 |
| 9/30/09          |       | 4018.00        |                                                 |
|                  | ✓     | 2000.00        | Contribution to VFH                             |
| Balance          |       | 6078.00        |                                                 |
| 11/1/09          | ✓     | 1670.00        | Computer MacBook Pro                            |
| Balance 11/30/09 |       | <u>4408.00</u> | 5270.29                                         |
|                  | -     | 4.91           | UPS - B'dos                                     |
| 12/17/09         | -     | 96.00          | USA printing - home                             |
| 1/5/10           | -     | 97.50          | CAV. Computer - printer setup, keyboard printer |
| 1/6/10           | -     | 169.00         | Apple mouse - input exten                       |
| "                | -     | 48.00          | Apple keyboard                                  |
| "                | -     | 29.95          | Key Board pen                                   |
|                  | -     | 101.43         | JCB Books                                       |
| <hr/>            |       |                |                                                 |
| 1/31/2010        |       | 4834.11        |                                                 |
|                  | ✓     | 500.00         | Misc. Giftcard Contribution (B'dos cost)        |
|                  | ✓     | 123.93         | JCB Books (misc. cost)                          |
|                  | -     | 119.94         | Car Computer (SFT wear - misc)                  |
|                  | +     | 1000.00        | to VFH (B'dos cost)                             |

Please send  
UPS, NOT USPS  
 + let me know  
 approximate cost - \$599  
 Thanks  
 J \$5.99  
 H.



CAVALIER COMPUTERS BOOKSTORE BRANCH  
 4TH FLOOR CENTRAL GROUNDS PKG GARAGE  
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22904

PHONE: (434) 924-3475  
 FAX: (434) 924-4447

EMAIL: CAVCOMP@VIRGINIA.EDU

ACCOUNT SALE 007 001 CCB0252133  
 CASHIER: PRISCILLA 10/01/10 16:37

01 KBC NBATR LG BLK W/WHT LT  
 370304 16372610 1 T 24.95

Subtotal 24.95  
 VA STATE TAX 1.25

Items 1 Total 26.20

Tax Exempt: UVA CARD

Subtotal 24.95

Items 1 Total 24.95

BOOKSTORE CHARGE

24.95

Cust: VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES

3010

Acct: CAV COMP EXT

Bal: -568.94

Change Due 0.00

*Humanities*

CAVALIER COMPUTER BOOKSTORE BRANCH  
 OFFICE USE ONLY  
 Xerox Solutions Charge Invoice #

ACCOUNT SALE 007 001 CCB0252133  
 CASHIER: PRISCILLA 10/01/10 16:37

Date Submitted Cashier

CHARLOTTE, 2010  
 VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES  
 PO BOX 400749  
 145 EDMAN DRIVE  
 ATTN: GAIL SHIRLEY-WARREN  
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22904  
 243-5524

ACCOUNT: CAV COMP EXT  
 CAV COMP EXTERNAL

Ref Code:

Date of Charge: 10/01/10

001 KBC NBATR LG BLK W/ 1 N 24.95  
 370304 16372610

Subtotal 24.95  
 Balance Due 24.95  
 TOTAL CHARGE 24.95

Comments:  
 \*\*INVOICE INVOICE TO FOLLOW FROM  
 CARROLLERS TAX EXEMPT\*

SIGNATURE

VA FOUND FOR THE HUMANITIES

The above charges will be billed to the above department within 30 days. Please review and if there are any discrepancies or questions please contact the UVA Bookstore at 434-924-1076.



5556

30-7426/3140

Date 4/11/2016

KELLY E HAYES  
3640 N PARK AVE  
INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46205-3518

Pay to the Order of Virginia Foundation for the Humanities \$40.00

FOUNTAINS

Signature

USAA FEDERAL SAVINGS BANK  
10750 MADERMOTT Fwy  
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78288-0544  
(210) 456-8000 1-800-832-3724

USAA

For *Book - Under*

⑆374074269⑆ ⑆026⑆ ⑆202⑆ ⑆8⑆ 5556

MP

*Cassie Byrnes 329-1182*



# American Office

OF CHARLOTTEVILLE, LLC

400 PRESTON AVE SUITE CHARLOTTEVILLE VA 22903 | tel:434-923-3255 | fax:434-923-3244

PROPOSAL NUMBER

23270-0

DATE

03/17/10

SALESPERSON

CASSIE BYRNE

PROJECT #

12553

## PROPOSAL

PAGE

1

**BILL TO :**

VIRGINIA FOUNDATION  
FOR HUMANITIES  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
CHARLOTTEVILLE VA 22903

**SHIP TO :**

VIRGINIA FOUNDATION  
ATTN: JERRY HANDLER  
145 EDNAM DRIVE  
CHARLOTTEVILLE VA 22903

ACCOUNT# 13054 PROJECT DESCRIPTION AERON CHAIR

CUSTOMER P/O: PENDING

TERMS:

FOR HUMANITIES

| SEQ#                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | MFG | PRODUCT#     | PRODUCT DESCRIPTION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | QTY | UNIT PRICE | EXT PRICE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------|-----------|
| 100                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | HST | AE111AWB     | CUSTOMER CONTACT:<br>JERRY HANDLER<br>(434) 924-3296<br>jh3v@virginia.edu<br>Customer P/O#PENDING<br><br>+Wk Chr,Aeron,Std-Ht Pneu,Std<br>Ttl,Adj Arms,NonuphsPdcs/B<br>N2 +no additional support<br>G1 +graphite<br>BB +2 1/2" hard caster, black yoke, carpet<br>BK +black<br>3D +pellicleA@ classic<br>01 +pellicleA@ classic carbon<br>PLEASE TAG AS FOLLOWS:<br>EC | 1   | 566.44     | 566.44    |
| 106                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | AO  | LABOR - DELV | DELIVERY<br>LABOR TO RECEIVE AND DELIVER<br>DURING NORMAL BUSINESS HOURS,<br>9% AS PER THE CONTRACT.<br><br>THANK YOU FOR YOUR BUSINESS!                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 1   | 50.98      | 50.98     |
| Client agrees to pay any sales tax, use tax, and any other applicable taxes that now or hereafter, are found to be due by virtue of the sale, and to indemnify and hold AO harmless of any liability. Terms and conditions attached as well as the quote, must be signed to execute as an order. COL - If COL is specified, AO reserves the right to charge for the actual amount of leather shipped from the mill. Due to hide discrepancies, our quote sq ft amounts might be slightly off from actual amounts. |     |              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |     |            |           |
| <b>SUBTOTAL</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |     |            | 617.42    |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |     |            | 617.42    |

Accepted By \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

American Office \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_





400 PRESTON AVE SUITE | CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22903 | tel: 434-923-3255 | fax: 434-923-3244

## DELIVERY TICKET

|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| ORDER NUMBER | 900450-0     |
| DATE         | 04/20/10     |
| SALESPERSON  | CASSIE BYRNE |
| PROJECT #    | 12553        |
| PAGE         | 1            |

**BILL TO :**  
 VIRGINIA FOUNDATION  
 145 EDNAM DRIVE  
 CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22903

**SHIP TO :**  
 VIRGINIA FOUNDATION  
 ATTN: JERRY HANDLER  
 145 EDNAM DRIVE  
 CHARLOTTESVILLE VA 22903

**CONTACT** TEL / FAX 434-243-5524 434-296-4714

**ACCOUNT#** 13054 **PROJECT DESCRIPTION** AERON CHAIR **QUOTE#** 23270- **CUSTOMER P/O** VFH032210-001 **TERMS:** FOR HUMANITIES

| SEQ# | MFG | PRODUCT #       | PRODUCT DESCRIPTION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | QTY | SHIP | BIN LOC |
|------|-----|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------|---------|
| 100  | HST | AE111AWB        | CUSTOMER CONTACT:<br>JERRY HANDLER<br>(434) 924-3296<br>jh3v@virginia.edu<br>Customer P/O#VFH032210-001<br>CUSTOMER CONTACT:<br>JERRY HANDLER<br>(434) 924-3296<br>jh3v@virginia.edu<br><br>+Wk Chr. Aeron, Std-Ht Pneu., Std<br>Tlt, Adj Arms, NonupstPds/B<br>N2 +no additional support<br>G1 +graphite<br>BB +2 1/2" hard caster, black yoke, carpet<br>BK +black<br>3D +pellicle@ classic<br>01 +pellicle@ classic carbon<br>PLEASE TAG AS FOLLOWS:<br>EC<br><br>DELIVERY<br>LABOR TO RECEIVE AND DELIVER<br>DURING NORMAL BUSINESS HOURS,<br>9%, AS PER THE CONTRACT.<br><br>THANK YOU FOR YOUR BUSINESS! | 1   | 1    |         |
| 106  |     | AO LABOR - DELV |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 1   | 1    |         |

DELIVERED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

Printed Name: \_\_\_\_\_

ACCEPTED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

Printed Name: \_\_\_\_\_

**CLIENT COPY**

Period      # Months      Total      Single Visitor      Package per month

2/1/2007 - 8/25/2010      42 mos      489, 433      11,653

12/25/2006 - Apr. 25, 2008 - 16 mos      205, 034      12,815

12/25/06 - Apr. 22, 2009 - 28 mos      351, 522      12,554

12/25/06 - 12/25/09 - 36 mos      438, 954      12,193

~~12/25/06 - 4/22/2010~~

10/14/2008 - 10/14/2009      12 mos      152, 383      12,698

12/25/06 - Oct. 19, 09 - 46 mos.      409, 322      8898 \*

1/31/08 - 1/30/2011      36 mos      410, 898      11,914

~~For~~

2007 - 11

08 - 12

08 - 12

10 - 2

÷ 7      1,746

1000

Period -      2006 - 2008 - (3 yrs)      12, 815      Over pool value

2009 - 2011 (3 yrs)      11, 414



# Google Analytics



Search reports and help

CUSTOMIZATION

Reports

REAL-TIME

AUDIENCE

Overview

Active Users

Cohort Analysis BETA

User Explorer

Demographics

Interests

Geo

Behavior

Technology

Mobile

Custom

Benchmarking

Users Flow

ACQUISITION

BEHAVIOR

CONVERSIONS

## Audience Overview

Email Export Add to Dashboard

Shortcut This report is based on 100% of sessions. Learn more

Jan 1, 2016 - Dec 31, 2016

Greater precision

ANALYTICS EDUCATION

- 1 Introduction to Audience Analysis
- 2 Compare mobile conversion rates
- 3 Target profitable geographic areas
- 4 Analytics Academy
- 5 Encoded URLs in reports

Use this section to understand your audience characteristics.

The Audience reports provide insight into

- the demographics of your audiences. Go to Audience > Demographics.
- your mix of

All Users  
100.00% Sessions

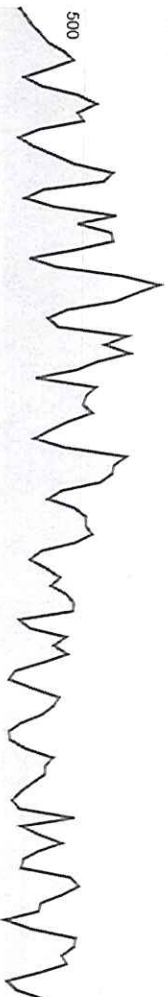
+ Add Segment

### Overview

Users vs. Select a metric

Users  
1,000

Hourly Day Week Month



April 2016

Sessions

123,932

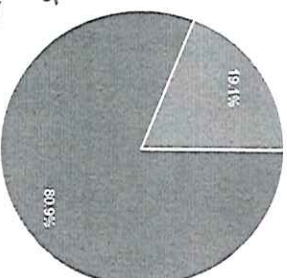
New Visitor Returning Visitor

8384

Users  
100,611

$\frac{1}{12} =$

80%  
~~New Visitors~~  
Date: April 15, 2016



Pageviews

1,426,071

6/5/2014

From: "Trey Mitchell" <valt-web@virginia.edu>  
Subject: Users and Sessions  
Date: June 5, 2014 12:03:31 PM EDT  
To: "Handler, Jerome S. (Jerry)" <jh3v@Virginia.EDU>  
Reply-To: <valt-web@virginia.edu>

Sessions are what used to be called "Visits"

Users are what used to be called "Unique Visitors".

So if one "User" (like me) goes to your site once during the report period you're looking at, that's 1 user and 1 Session. If I go to your site 4 times, that's 1 user and 4 sessions.

-Trey

=====  
=====

Trey Mitchell  
Webmaster  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
(p) 434-924-4584 / (f) 434-296-4714  
[VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org)  
[edl@cont.org](mailto:edl@cont.org)





Analytics Site

### Audience Overview

Email Export Add to Dashboard Shortcut

Feb 27, 2013 - Feb 27, 2014

ANALYTICS: EDUCATION

- Introduction to Audience Analysis
- Compare mobile conversion rates
- Target profitable geographic areas
- Analytics Academy

Use this section to understand your audience characteristics. The Audience reports provide insight into

- the demographics of your audiences. Go to Audience > Demographics.
- your mix of new and return visitors and the

Audience Reports

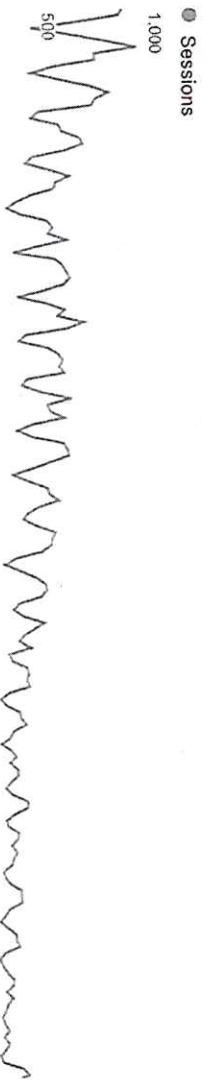
All Sessions 100.00%

Add Segment

#### Overview

Sessions vs. Select a metric

Hourly Day Week Month

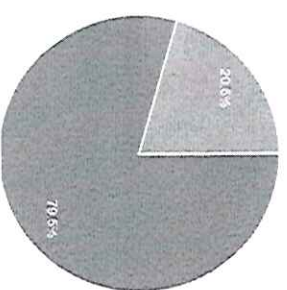


- Acquisition
- Behavior
- Conversions

Sessions 163,331

Users 130,998

10916 conversions



New Visitor Returning Visitor

12/2/2014



From: **Trey Mitchell** [valh-web@virginia.edu](mailto:valh-web@virginia.edu)  
Subject: RE: [slavery website](#)  
Date: December 2, 2014 at 1:57 PM  
To: Handler, Jerome S. (Jerry) [jh3v@Virginia.EDU](mailto:jh3v@Virginia.EDU)

Google's terminology now is "Sessions" instead of unique visits. A distinction without a difference.

2012-13: 169,532  
2013-14: 159,031

=====

Trey Mitchell  
Webmaster  
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(p) 434-924-4584 / (f) 434-296-4714  
[VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org)  
[eduUConf.org](http://eduUConf.org)

-----Original Message-----

From: Jerome Handler [\[mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu\]](mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu)  
Sent: Tuesday, December 02, 2014 12:56 PM  
To: Trey Mitchell  
Subject: slavery website

trey, i'm stuck in DC waiting for connecting flight to cho. would it be too much trouble to give me number of unique hits on our website for the period 1 dec. 2013- 1 dec. 2014; and for the same period in the previous year. thanks. i dont have access to a computer and dont have my google instruction sheet. if i could have the figures by anytime tomorrow, it would be appreciated. thanks. jerry

Jerome Handler  
Senior Scholar  
Virginia Foundation for  
the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903





Find reports & more

### Audience Overview

Feb 27, 2012 - Feb 27, 2013

Email Export Add to Dashboard Shortcut

ANALYTICS EDUCATION

- 1 Introduction to Audience Analysis
- 2 Compare mobile conversion rates
- 3 Target profitable geographic areas
- 4 Analytics Academy

Use this section to understand your audience characteristics. The Audience reports provide insight into

- the demographics of your audiences. Go to Audience > Demographics.
- your mix of new and return visitors and the

Audience Reports

Audience

#### Overview

- Demographics
- Interests
- Geo
- Behavior
- Technology
- Mobile
- Custom
- Users Flow

All Sessions 100.00%

+ Add Segment

#### Overview

Sessions vs. Select a metric

Sessions 1,200

Hourly Day Week Month



April 2012

July 2012

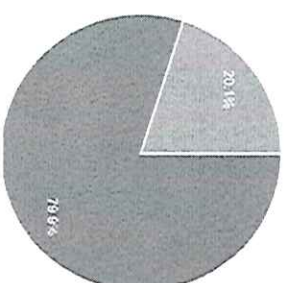
Sessions

171,175

New Visitor Returning Visitor

Users

137,965



*11497*  
*Quarterly*

2012

2012 - 2013  
Feb. 27 2013 - 2014



Jerome Handler <jh3v@Virginia.EDU>  
Re: website states  
February 27, 2013 9:51 AM

thanks. yeah, i forgot how to access and can't find my notes. will print up this letter so, theoretically, i shouldn't need to bother you again :)  
On Feb 27, 2013, at 9:43 AM, Trey Mitchell wrote:

135,491 Unique Visitors  
2,101,980 Pageviews

That's pretty much exactly on par with the 2011 calendar year.

You can access these stats anytime you want by going to [www.google.com/analytics](http://www.google.com/analytics) and logging in with [jerome.handler@gmail.com](mailto:jerome.handler@gmail.com).

password: ~~#1234567890~~  
# \$ 710 Q R b

-Trey  
=====  
Trey Mitchell  
Webmaster  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
(p) 434-924-4584 / (f) 434-296-4714  
[VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org)  
[edUjCont.org](mailto:edUjCont.org)

**From:** Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 27, 2013 9:39 AM  
**To:** Trey Mitchell  
**Subject:** website states

Trey, at your convenience could you plse give me stats on unique hits to our website for the calendar year 2012. thanks. jerry

Jerome S. Handler  
Senior Scholar  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Dr  
Charlottesville, Va 22903  
(434) 924-3296  
[www.VirginiaHumanities.org](http://www.VirginiaHumanities.org)



2008-2011

Analytics Settings View Reports: www.slaveryimages.org

My Analytics Accounts: www.wignafoundation.org

jerome.handler@gmail.com | Settings | My Account | Help | Sign Out

Dashboard

Intelligence Beta

Visitors

Overview

Benchmarking

Map Overlay

New vs. Returning

Languages

Visitor Trending

Visitor Loyalty

Browser Capabilities

Network Properties

Mobile

User Defined

Custom Variables

Traffic Sources

Content

Goals

Export

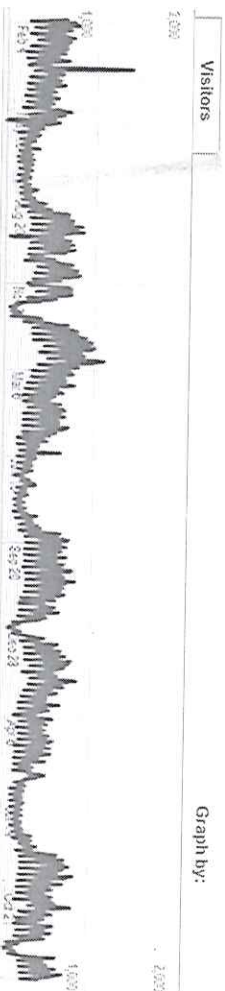
Email

Add to Dashboard

Advanced Segments: All Visits

## Visitors Overview

Jan 31, 2008 - Jan 30, 2011



410,898 people visited this site

499,174 Visits

### Visitor Segmentation

410,898 Absolute Unique Visitors

Visitors Profile: languages, network locations, user defined

6,653,126 Pageviews

13.33 Average Pageviews

Browser Profile: browsers, operating systems, browser and operating systems, screen colors, screen resolutions, java support, Flash

00:05:15 Time on Site

38.91% Bounce Rate

Map Overlay  
Geolocation visualization

82.01% New Visits

Try Google Ad Planner.  
Understand the demographics and behaviors of your website's visitors.

## Technical Profile

| Browser           | Visits  | % visits | Connection Speed | Visits  | % visits |
|-------------------|---------|----------|------------------|---------|----------|
| Internet Explorer | 332,630 | 66.64%   | Cable            | 138,445 | 27.73%   |
| Firefox           | 105,196 | 21.07%   | Unknown          | 134,475 | 26.94%   |
| Safari            | 42,545  | 8.52%    | DSL              | 115,428 | 23.12%   |
| Chrome            | 13,246  | 2.65%    | T1               | 94,000  | 18.83%   |
| Opera             | 2,346   | 0.47%    | Dialup           | 12,652  | 2.53%    |

[view full report](#)

[view full report](#)

**Help Resources**  
About this Report  
Conversion University  
Common Questions

**My Customizations**  
Custom Reports  
Advanced Segments  
Intelligence Beta  
Email

### Custom Reporting

Feb 2008  
M  
A  
M  
J  
J  
A  
S  
O  
N  
D  
2009-12  
2010-12  
2011-1  
36 weeks

[Export](#)
[Email](#)
[Add to Dashboard](#)
[jerome-handler@gmail.com](mailto:jerome-handler@gmail.com)
[Settings](#)
[My Account](#)
[Help](#)
[Sign Out](#)

Analytics Settings [View Reports: www.slaveryimages.org](#)

My Analytics Accounts: [www.virginiafoundation.org](#)

## Map Overlay

Jan 31, 2008 - Jan 30, 2011

- Dashboard
- Intelligence Beta**
- Visitors

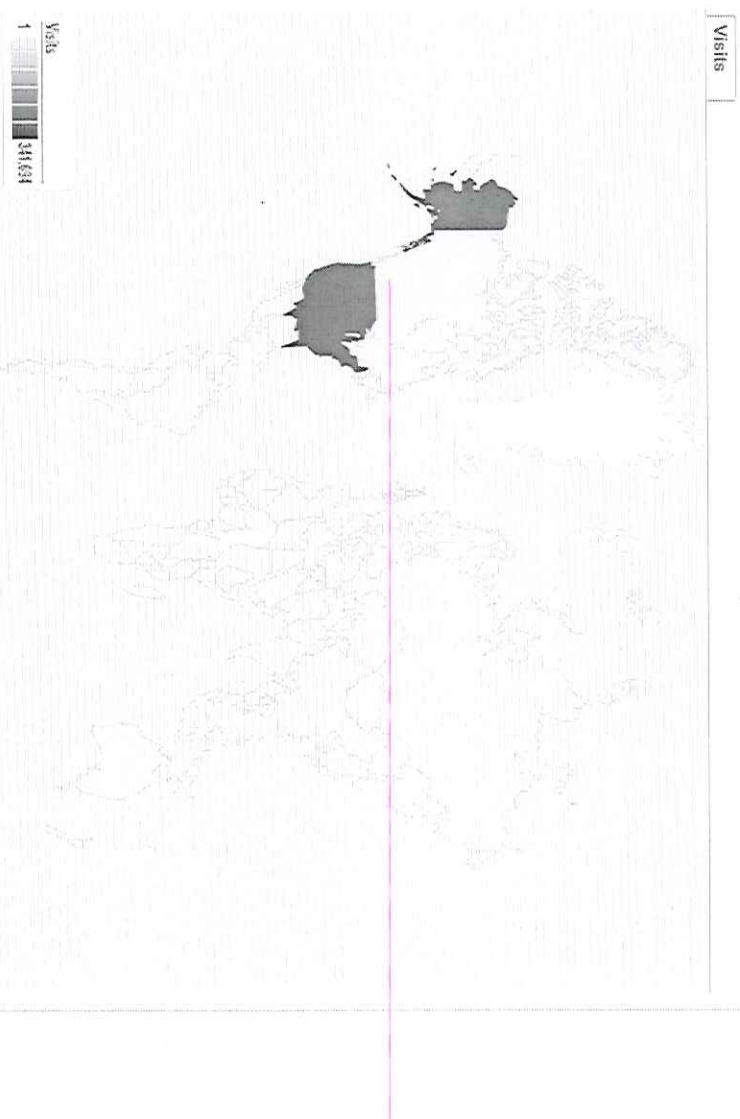
- Overview
- Benchmarking
- Map Overlay**

- New vs. Returning
- Languages
- Visitor Trending
- Visitor Loyalty
- Browser
- Capabilities
- Network Properties
- Mobile
- User Defined
- Custom Variables
- Traffic Sources**
- Content**
- Goals**

- Custom Reporting**

- My Customizations**
- Custom Reports
- Advanced Segments
- Intelligence Beta
- Email

- Help Resources**
- About this Report
- Conversion University
- Common Questions



### 499,174 visits came from 215 countries/territories

Detail Level: [City](#) | [Country/Territory](#) | [Sub Continent Region](#) | [Continent](#) [Dimension:](#)

| Site Usage               | Goal Set 1              | Views:                     |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Visits                   | Pages/Visit             | Avg. Time on Site          | % New Visits             | Bounce Rate              |
| <b>499,174</b>           | <b>13.33</b>            | <b>00:05:15</b>            | <b>82.12%</b>            | <b>38.91%</b>            |
| % of Site Total: 100.00% | Site Avg: 13.33 (0.00%) | Site Avg: 00:05:15 (0.00%) | Site Avg: 82.01% (0.14%) | Site Avg: 38.91% (0.00%) |



#320

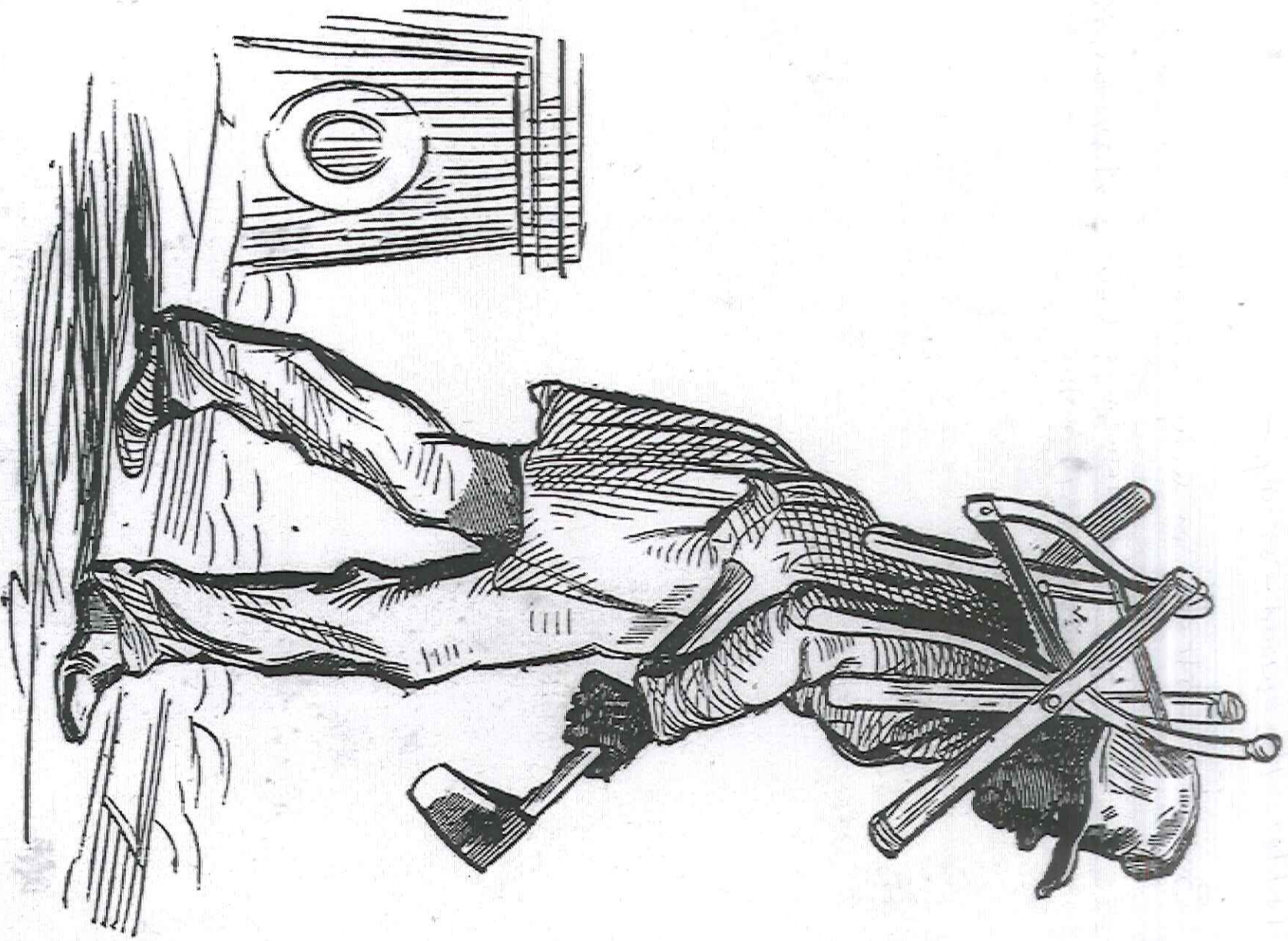
Title: The wood-sawyer

Source: Illustration in City Characters or, Familiar  
Scenes in Town (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton; New York:  
D. Appleton & Co. 1851), p. 96

Location

~~Not in Series~~

NOT in UVA



THE WOOD-SAWYER.



Jan 12, 2010

12/25/06 - 1/12/2010

### General Summary Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:01 AM



#### Visitors

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Visitors:                      | 443326 |
| New Visitors:                  | 442860 |
| Return Visitors:               | 466    |
| Site Bounce Rate:              | 33%    |
| Average Time on Site:          | 6m 5s  |
| Total Visitors Logged to Date: | 446011 |



#### Visits

|                                   |        |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Visits:                           | 535805 |
| Return Visits:                    | 92945  |
| Visits less than 90 seconds long: | 60.35% |
| Average Visits per Visitor:       | 1.21   |
| Total Visits Logged to Date:      | 539099 |



#### Page Views

|                                  |         |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Page Views:                      | 7608428 |
| Average Time per Page:           | 25s     |
| Average Page Views per Visit:    | 14.20   |
| Total Page Views Logged to Date: | 7662629 |

Analytics Settings

View Reports: [www.slaveryimages.org](http://www.slaveryimages.org)

My Analytics Accounts: [www.virginiafoundation.org](http://www.virginiafoundation.org)

### Dashboard

#### Intelligence BETA

Visitors

Overview

Benchmarking

Map Overlay

New vs. Returning

Languages

Visitor Trending

Visitor Loyalty

Browser Capabilities

Network Properties

Mobile

User Defined

Custom Variables

Traffic

Sources

Content

Goals

Custom Reporting

#### My Customizations

Custom Reports

Advanced Segments

Intelligence Beta

Email

Export

Email

Add to Dashboard

Advanced Segments: **All Visits**

Feb 02 - Jan 08  
Feb 08 - 89  
Feb 09 - 10  
Jan 10 - Aug 25 7 (new)

## Visitors Overview

Feb 1, 2007 - Aug 25, 2010

Visitors

Graph by:



# 489,433 people visited this site

595,345 Visits

### Visitor Segmentation

Visitors Profile: languages, network locations, user defined

**489,433 Absolute Unique Visitors**

8,192,402 Pageviews

Browser Profile: browsers, operating systems, browser and operating systems, screen colors, screen resolutions, java support, Flash

13.76 Average Pageviews

00:05:25 Time on Site

Map Overlay  
Geolocation visualization

34.87% Bounce Rate

82.20% New Visits

Try Google Ad Planner.  
Understand the demographics and behaviors of your website's visitors.

## Technical Profile

Browser

Visits % visits

Connection Speed

Visits % visits

Internet Explorer

400 000

74 000%

111,111,111

404 072

97 000%

#### Help Resources

About this Report



*Next Stat*

*Dec. 2*

*User Name: J Brown  
PW: ord*

*IF available*

*12/25/06 - 4/25/08*

### General Summary Report

Reporting Date: **Monday, December 25, 2006 - Friday, April 25, 2008 04:58 PM**



#### Visitors

*16 mos*

Visitors:

**205034**

New Visitors:

**204690**

Return Visitors:

**344**

Site Bounce Rate:

**29%**

Average Time on Site:

**6m 13s**

Total Visitors Logged to Date:

**207722**



#### Visits

Visits:

**247338**

Return Visits:

**42648**

Visits less than 90 seconds long:

**58.79%**

Average Visits per Visitor:

**1.21**

Total Visits Logged to Date:

**250632**



#### Page Views

Page Views:

**3712425**

Average Time per Page:

**24s**

Average Page Views per Visit:

**15.01**

Total Page Views Logged to Date:

**3766620**

Dec. 25, 06 - Dec. 25, 09 - 3 yr

### General Summary Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Friday, December 25, 2009



#### Visitors

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Visitors:                      | 438954 |
| New Visitors:                  | 438487 |
| Return Visitors:               | 467    |
| Site Bounce Rate:              | 33%    |
| Average Time on Site:          | 6m 5s  |
| Total Visitors Logged to Date: | 445734 |



#### Visits

|                                   |        |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Visits:                           | 530403 |
| Return Visits:                    | 91916  |
| Visits less than 90 seconds long: | 60.34% |
| Average Visits per Visitor:       | 1.21   |
| Total Visits Logged to Date:      | 538765 |



#### Page Views

|                                  |         |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Page Views:                      | 7531009 |
| Average Time per Page:           | 25s     |
| Average Page Views per Visit:    | 14.20   |
| Total Page Views Logged to Date: | 7659250 |

Open - 3 ems  
Present - H end

to print  
make pdf



Dec. 25, 2006 - Nov 22, 2009

12/25/06-4/22/09

### General Summary Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Wednesday, April 22, 2009 09:50 AM

28 months



#### Visitors

351522

Visitors:

New Visitors:

351084

Return Visitors:

438

Site Bounce Rate:

30%

Average Time on Site:

5m 55s

Total Visitors Logged to Date:

354207



#### Visits

Visits:

424180

Return Visits:

73096

Visits less than 90 seconds long:

60.08%

Average Visits per Visitor:

1.21

Total Visits Logged to Date:

427474



#### Page Views

Page Views:

6162356

Average Time per Page:

24s

Average Page Views per Visit:

14.51

Total Page Views Logged to Date:

6216551

# World Regions Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Wednesday, April 22, 2009 09:02 AM

|   | Region              | Visitors ▼ | %      |
|---|---------------------|------------|--------|
| 1 | North America       | 245198     | 69.67% |
| 2 | Europe              | 71477      | 20.31% |
| 3 | Unknown             | 9242       | 2.63%  |
| 4 | Australia / Oceania | 7488       | 2.13%  |
| 5 | Asia / Middle East  | 7297       | 2.07%  |
| 6 | Africa              | 6975       | 1.98%  |
| 7 | South America       | 4263       | 1.21%  |



General Summary Report

1 UV. 10/14/2008 - 10/14/2009

Reporting Date: Tuesday, October 14, 2008 - Wednesday, October 14, 2009 11:46 AM



Visitors

Visitors: 152383

New Visitors: 150133

Return Visitors: 2250

Site Bounce Rate: 36%

Average Time on Site: 5m 59s

Total Visitors Logged to Date: 412012

Visits

Visits: 181224

Return Visits: 31091

Visits less than 90 seconds long: 62.48%

Average Visits per Visitor: 1.19

Total Visits Logged to Date: 496980

Page Views

Page Views: 2380729

Average Time per Page: 27s

Average Page Views per Visit: 13.14

Total Page Views Logged to Date: 7119637

### General Summary Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Wednesday, October 14, 2009 11:40 AM

46



mwpmhs



SINA  
12/2006

#### Visitors

Visitors: 409322  
New Visitors: 408866  
Return Visitors: 456  
Site Bounce Rate: 32%  
Average Time on Site: 6m 6s  
Total Visitors Logged to Date: 412007



#### Visits

Visits: 493681  
Return Visits: 84815  
Visits less than 90 seconds long: 60.27%  
Average Visits per Visitor: 1.21  
Total Visits Logged to Date: 496975



#### Page Views

Page Views: 7065406  
Average Time per Page: 25s  
Average Page Views per Visit: 14.31  
Total Page Views Logged to Date: 7119606



## World Regions Report

Reporting Date: Monday, December 25, 2006 - Wednesday, October 14, 2009 11:43 AM



**Report Filters:**

Text Filter:

Showing results 1 - 7 / 7

Jump to Page

View

|   | Region              | Visitors ▼ | %      |
|---|---------------------|------------|--------|
| 1 | North America       | 286336     | 69.87% |
| 2 | Europe              | 81293      | 19.84% |
| 3 | Unknown             | 10055      | 2.45%  |
| 4 | Australia / Oceania | 9177       | 2.24%  |
| 5 | Asia / Middle East  | 8844       | 2.16%  |
| 6 | Africa              | 8807       | 2.15%  |
| 7 | South America       | 5282       | 1.29%  |

From: Trey Mitchell <vafh-web@virginia.edu>  
Subject: google analytics

Date: Tue, 12 Jan 2010 11:10:40 -0500

To: Jerry Handler <jerryh@virginia.edu>

 HTML  
 TEXT

Jerry,

As I mentioned, VFH has moved away from Nextstat for web analytics and is instead using a free service from Google. Your slavery images site has stats in google analytics going back to Feb. 2007.

You can access these stats by going to <http://www.google.com/analytics/> click "Access Analytics" and login with your google account (Jerome.Handler@gmail.com).

-Trey

--  
Webmaster  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
[www.VirginiaFoundation.org](http://www.VirginiaFoundation.org)  
434-924-4584





Search reports and help

CUSTOMIZATION

Reports

REAL-TIME

AUDIENCE

Overview

Active Users

Cohort Analysis BETA

User Explorer

Demographics

Interests

Geo

Behavior

Technology

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Custom

Benchmarking

Users Flow

ACQUISITION

BEHAVIOR

CONVERSIONS

audience characteristics.

The Audience reports provide insight into

- the demographics of your audiences. Go to Audience > Demographics.
- your mix of

*Handwritten signature*

All Users  
100.00% Sessions

+ Add Segment

*Jan 1 - Dec 31, 2016*

Overview

Sessions vs. Select a metric

Hourly Day Week Month

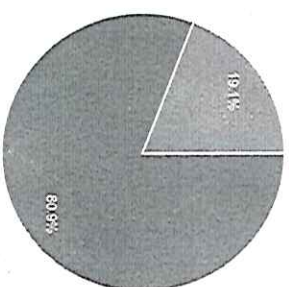
Sessions

1,000



April 2016

New Visitor Returning Visitor



*Individuals*

Sessions  
123,932



Users

100,611



Pageviews

1,426,071



Pages / Session

11.51



Avg. Session Duration

00:04:19



*Note: 7 website accessed from VFH my e-mail is not checked - I checked anywhere else my e-mail is copied*

Recent Seen Message in INBOX

|               |      |         |          |                    |                        |               |
|---------------|------|---------|----------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Prev          | Next | Reply   | ReplyAll | Delete             | --Select Addressbook-- | AddToAddrbook |
| ToMailbox     |      | Forward |          |                    | MakeRule               | ShowPrintable |
| email address |      | Bounce  |          | --Select Mailbox-- |                        | Copy Move     |

Your message has been sent

From: "Trey Mitchell" <vafh-web@virginia.edu>  
 Subject: RE: slavery website  
 Date: Wed, 1 Feb 2012 08:41:02 -0500  
 To: "Handler, Jerome (jh3v)" <jh3v@Virginia.EDU>

Headers  
Text

This is for SlaveryImages.org

Jan 1, 2011 – Dec 31, 2011  
 137,988 Unique visitors  
 171,539 Visits  
 2,115,048 Pageviews

Jan 1, 2010 – Dec 31, 2010  
 130,802 Unique visitors  
 158,952 Visits  
 2,027,727 Pageviews

=====

Trey Mitchell  
 VFH Webmaster - VirginiaHumanities.org  
 edUi Co-Founder - edUiConf.org  
 Phone: 434-924-4584 | Fax: 434-296-4714

**From:** Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 31, 2012 6:12 PM  
**To:** Trey Mitchell



2/15

New

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

WHP - 32  
 pre-claw - 240 + 19 = 259

Carton - 43

European Milk - 54

State Skiffs - 70

State Sells - 73

NW A9 - 108

Plant Score - 84 + 6 = 90

Domestic sbs - 58

Misc. occup - 97

Maintenance - 68

Misc. sence - 54

Personnel - 11

Religion - 38

Military - 26

Pub. persh - 87

Competition - 13

Partners - 73

Plus News  
 1237 1252  
 + 6 1258

Form 1269  
 Apr. 26, 2010

1237  
 19  
 16  
 1252





July 1, 2014 - June 30, 2015

| Site                               | Sessions | Pageviews |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| AAHistoricSitesVA.org              | 6,877    | 15,634    |
| BackStoryRadio.org                 | 263,827  | 652,837   |
| blog.EncyclopediaVirginia.org      | 36,975   | 46,012    |
| DocumentsCompass.org               | 5,103    | 9,034     |
| edUiconf.org                       | 19,459   | 99,759    |
| EncyclopediaVirginia.org           | 944,871  | 1,478,949 |
| SlaveryImages.org                  | 149,681  | 1,882,086 |
| VaBook.org                         | 50,573   | 155,902   |
| VirginiaBookArts.org               | 10,550   | 21,764    |
| VirginiaFolklife.org               | 12,175   | 22,290    |
| VirginiaHumanities.org             | 64,487   | 123,276   |
| VirginiaHumanities.org/fellowships | 4,879    | 9,326     |
| VirginiaHumanities.org/grants      | 3,046    | 5,823     |
| VirginiaHumanities.org/bookcenter  | 1,356    | 2,593     |
| VirginiaIndianArchive.org          | 5,877    | 26,763    |
| WithGoodReasonRadio.org            | 30,776   | 56,170    |

July 21, 2015



From: **Trey Mitchell** vath-web@virginia.edu  
Subject: Analytics  
Date: July 23, 2015 at 2:23 PM  
To: vfh-staff@virginia.edu

All,

Attached you should find a summary of website analytics for all VFH sites for July 1, 2014-June 30, 2015 for your August 3 reporting deadline.

A couple reminders:  
**Sessions** – The number of times someone visited your site during the year. A session is made up of one or more pageviews.  
**Pageview** – Every time an individual web page is viewed that counts as a pageview.

We report data for a few “sites” that are actually sub sites within [VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org). You’ll see those in grey. Their numbers are also included in the data for [VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org) as a whole.

-Trey

=====

**Trey Mitchell**  
Web Communications Officer  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
(p) 434-924-4584 / (f) 434-296-4714  
[VirginiaHumanities.org](http://VirginiaHumanities.org)  
[edUjConf.org](mailto:edUjConf.org)



2014-15Analytics.xlsx



vfh

VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANITIES  
145 Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Phone: 434-924-3296 Fax: 434-296-4714

January 23, 2011

*Due for computer services*

**INVOICE #BP072300**

Product or services provided to:

UVa Library Publishers  
Attn. M. Wessel  
Charlottesville, Va

| Product or service provided                                                                                                                           | Quantity | Price    | Total    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| High resolution image, "Judy Thomas in her Office" (Image Reference "Thomas"; from <a href="http://www.slaveryimages.org">www.slaveryimages.org</a> ) | 1        | \$100.00 | \$100.00 |
| Total Order                                                                                                                                           |          |          | \$100.00 |

**CHECK for 100 U.S. dollars PAYABLE TO:**  
VIRGINIA FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANITIES-BARBADOS ACCOUNT

Send to:  
Prof Jerome Handler  
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities  
145 Ednam Drive  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
U.S.A.

**Delivery of image made upon receipt of payment**

**INDEMNIFICATION**

Seen Message in "INBOX"


















--Select Mailbox--






From: "Wessel, Madelyn (mfw2y)" <mfw2y@eservices.virginia.edu>  
 Subject: RE: "Invoice" with notes  
 Date: Wed, 26 Jan 2011 16:07:17 -0500  
 To: "Handler, Jerome (jh3v)" <jh3v@virginia.edu>

Jerry: this is not how I would handle this but I am trying to help you given what you want to do.

Returning the draft is not me blessing your enterprise, which I consider risky for a variety of reasons. You should check with VFH before proceeding.

You would be far better off providing occasional images to scholarly non-profits for non-commercial purposes, limited yourself to scans you have made yourself rather than using materials from archives, and not adding on anything that brings in revenue rather than covering your minimal costs.

Madelyn Wessel  
 Associate General Counsel  
 University of Virginia  
 P.O. Box 400114  
 Charlottesville, VA 22904-4114  
 Tel: 434-982-2941  
 FAX: 434-924-1431  
 wessel@virginia.edu

-----Original Message-----  
 From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu]  
 Sent: Wednesday, January 26, 2011 3:00 PM  
 To: Wessel, Madelyn (mfw2y)  
 Subject: Re: "Invoice" with notes

Madelyn, plse see attached; with your suggestions and the internet, this is what I've crafted. look forward to your response. Jerry

On Wed, 26 Jan 2011 10:44:04 -0500  
 "Wessel, Madelyn (mfw2y)" <mfw2y@eservices.virginia.edu>



wrote:

>Jerry: please review

>

>Madelyn Wessel

>Associate General Counsel

>University of Virginia

>P.O. Box 400114

>Charlottesville, VA 22904-4114

>Tel: 434-982-2941

>FAX: 434-924-1431

>wessel@virginia.edu

>

>

>-----Original Message-----

>From: Jerome Handler [mailto:jh3v@virginia.edu]

>Sent: Wednesday, January 26, 2011 10:13 AM

>To: Madelyn Wessel

>Subject: invoice

>

>M.thanks for talk yesterday; it took more than 10 minutes  
(smile). looked at Special Collections website, can't find the  
"indemnification certificate" to which you refer. attached is  
a mock invoice, of the type I send. what do you suggest. Jerry

>

>Jerome Handler

>Senior Scholar

>Virginia Foundation for the Humanities

>145 Ednam Dr.

>Charlottesville, VA 22903

>(434) 924-3296

>fax (434) 296-4714

><http://www.jeromehandler.org>

><http://www.slaveryimages.org>

Jerome Handler

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fax (434) 296-4714

<http://www.jeromehandler.org>

<http://www.slaveryimages.org>

@ **Attachment:** invoice\_INDEMNIFICATION V3rev.doc  
(35Kbytes)

**To the purchaser: Please read and acknowledge this statement by affixing and dating your signature below, and returning the signed copy to Professor Jerome Handler, at the above address.**

The image (s) from this website are not provided on the basis of any claim of ownership of the copyright or the actual materials from which the image (s) have been obtained. No copyright or other legal rights to the image (s) are warranted, and the purchaser is solely responsible for any uses made of the images.

By signing below, the purchaser acknowledges the above and agrees to defend and indemnify the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities for any claims, losses, damages, liabilities, judgments and fees and expenses related thereto arising out of the purchaser's use of the image (s) sold pursuant to this invoice.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_



## The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record

The *Journal of American History*, in collaboration with the Web site *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, <http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu>, publishes regular reviews of Web sites. The reviews appear both in the printed journal and at History Matters. History Matters provides an annotated guide to more than one thousand Web sites for teaching U.S. history. The goal is to offer a gateway to the best sites and to summarize their strengths and weaknesses with particular attention to their utility for teachers.

The Web site reviews are edited by Kelly Schrum. Please contact Jeffrey McClurken at [jmclurk@unm.edu](mailto:jmclurk@unm.edu) if you would like to suggest a site for review or write a review. We also welcome comments on our review guidelines, available at <http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/submit/webstitereviews.html>.

The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record, <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/index.php>. Created by Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuitt Jr. Maintained by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the Digital Media Lab at the University of Virginia Library. Reviewed June 28, 2012.

Christer Peitley

+ Author Affiliations

This Web site is a vast archive of 1,280 images related to the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas. According to the creators, the collection "is envisioned as a tool and a resource that can be used by teachers, researchers, students, and the general public." It does not seek to interpret the sources or offer extended commentary on their origins, nor does it enter into discussion of the accuracy or authenticity with which they represent any particular aspect of the slave trade or slavery. Instead, the site provides users with basic information about the titles, creators, dates, and locations of each image. The task of interpreting the images is largely left to users, although several are accompanied by fairly substantial comments on issues such as the careers of the artists who produced the images and the books from which they have been excerpted. Comments also steer users toward publications containing fuller discussion of the displayed images, which include many paintings, etchings, and sketches made during the period of slavery. Some date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but most of the site's material relates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are also modern photographs of sites and artifacts.

It is easy to browse the archived images. They have been intelligently selected and are organized according to eighteen categories that conform to key areas of scholarly research on slavery and the slave trade and to the sorts of themes that are commonly covered by school and university curricula. The themes covered include slavery in Africa, the Middle Passage, New World plantation life and labor, slave housing and family life, free people of color, urban slavery, religion, military activities, punishments, rebellion and resistance, emancipation, and postslavery societies. There are also sections devoted to maps and to portraits of

individuals, ranging from unnamed studies of "Gold-Coast men and women" from the seventeenth century to better-known images of named individuals, such as Toussaint Louverture and Frederick Douglass. The collection can also be searched using key words. The term *Obeah*, for example, brings up three images relating to religious practice, including a photograph of a Barbadian grave site; and the term *sugar* produces over one hundred images, most pertaining to aspects of sugar cultivation and production.

*The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas* is an excellent database. Scholars of the Atlantic slave system will be familiar with many of the images, but most researchers will discover something new. The site does not charge users to download images for use in educational and noncommercial activities, but it does ask users to provide a full reference to the site when citing the material. A few of the images are subject to copyright, and the contents of the site are not directly available as large high-quality files. This means that to find files suitable for use in publications, scholars might need to use the information provided on the site to look for the images elsewhere. This is not a problem, and the site is of great use as a resource and as a hub of information. Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite Jr. have performed an impressive and useful service to the growing global community of students and scholars working on Atlantic slavery.

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Oxford University Press 



Transpa to Henry Corsey

- On computer - letter file 51 Army maps
  - ✓ Bank bot w/m misc. paper file
  - ✓ 2 bots w/m 6,6105 photo charts
  - ✓ Storage bot w/m CD's + DVD - hives. maps
  - ✓ External disc drive w/ TIF maps
- African lands crew ??

Dec 12 Morning Meeting

Transpang website

what is involved

John B. Anestors - Fairday

What should I ask

Henry - list of similar sites

KIT Von DANK

12/12/

Busson

what is involved in transpang, Time, money

how knowledge is they

what is your problem w/ site

Paul

JOHN 12th

X

\* MATT  
MORNING of 12th  
9:30-10:30





LOVEJOY

DATELHS

MUS - MATRIX

QUENKA -

Transfer SITE to USA down  
Michigan State

Henry Lovejoy - 720-266-1527

What is involved in transferring website from ~~current~~ <sup>STP</sup> server to another

Jan. 11 Meeting w/ Gisson, Tracy