The Intellectual Origins of American Slavery

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APPENDIX ONE

Supplementary Figures
Figure 1: Detail from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatre de l’Univers, Contenant Les Cartes de Tout Le Monde* (Paris, 1581; orig. pub. 1570), fol. 4 (“Africæ Tabula Nova”). MO 1.1581 pf*, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. This standard Ortelius map may be used as a guide for references to western Africa. Ortelius here labelled as Guinea a thin region along the coast to the east of Sierra Leon, but it should be observed that during this period Guinea was also the title used to refer to the entire stretch of coast between the Senegal River in the northwest just above Cape Verde and the Bight of Biafra to the east of Benin in the southeast. On the coast to the west of Melegete, the lightly travelled region that would come to be known in English accounts as the Pepper Coast, there are two landmarks discussed in Chapter Two of this account, both of them labelled with a red castle. The first is the town of Shamma or “Sama” from which the crew of Robert Gainsh took “certeyne blacke slaves” back to England in 1554; and the second is the Portuguese stronghold at Mina or “Mina cast.”
Figure 2: “Aphricæ Tabula IIII,” in Sebastiani Munsteri, Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini enarrationis libros viii. (Basileae, 1545; orig. pub. 1540), fol. 16. G1005 1545*, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. The source of the Nile is given here as three lakes that draw from an inland range known as the Montes Lunae or Mountains of the Moon. In this respect Münster had not followed his ancient source exactly, as Ptolemy had had the Nile begin in just two parallel lakes; and already in the “Nova Tabula” that appeared in the same edition of his masterpiece, Münster would reproduce this feature of the hydrographic system that he had found in the works of the Alexandrian. In fact into the second half of the nineteenth century, maps made in Europe would continue to rely upon Ptolemy for the source of the Nile and trace the river back to a pair of lakes which flowed in turn out of mountains still widely referred to as the Mountains of the Moon.
Figure 3: “Africa XVIII Nova Tabula,” in Sebastiani Munsteri, Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemei Alexandrini emnarrationis libros viii. (Basileae, 1545; orig. pub. 1540), unpaginated (after fol. 46). G1005 1545*, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. This map is well known for the representation of the one-eyed Plinian monster called Monoculi along the western coast. As a “Nova Tabula,” the map also includes symbols for kingdoms and cities below the northern coast that had been unknown to classical authors. The castle that denotes the royal seat of Prester John is one of these, but others include the scepters that denote Melli (or Mali) toward the western coast and Melinde to the east.
Figure 4: Detail from G. M. Junioris, “Africa: Ex magna orbis terre descriptione Gerardi Mercatoris desumpta,” in Gerardi Mercatoris, L’Atlas de Gerard Mercator et D’Hondius: Atlas ou Représentation du Monde Universel, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1633; orig. pub. 1595), between fols. 61 and 62. MM 1.1633.2 pf*, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. This figure is drawn from an edition of what has come to be known as the Mercator-Hondius Atlas. The awkward brown-and-red coloration of Prester John here differs from other editions in the Harvard Map Collection in which the outline of the monarch has not been colored at all and so is of the same shade as the land in the region—which is either white in black-and-white atlases or light green in ones with color. The color of the skin of Prester John was a topic of some interest to European observers and will be touched upon in Chapter Five of this account.
Figure 5: “Presbiteri Johannis, Sive, Abissinorum Imperii Descriptio.” in Abraham Ortelius, The Theatre of the Whole World (London, 1606), fol. 113. MO 1.1606 pf*, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. For the title of this map translated into English (and cited in the text), see fol. 112. This map contains a level of detail in the representation of eastern Africa that marks it out as a distinct achievement of the second half of the sixteenth century but retains as well certain features from such earlier maps as the 1540 “Nova Tabula” done by Münster. The Mountains of the Moon remain here as the source of the Nile, and as in the work of Münster elephants are drawn over stretches of obscure terrain. The rough location for the empire of Prester John among the landlocked branches of the Nile is of course one more feature that Ortelius retained from the cartographers of Münster’s generation.
Figure 6: “Africa,” in Abraham Ortelius, *Abraham Ortelius His Epitome of the Theater of the Worlde* (London, 1603), A4. STC 18856, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The path of the Nile River here did not follow what was during this time its standard course but split instead to the east of Congo into two more rivers that ran to the west and the east. By contrast the path of the Niger River here did follow its standard course in an east-to-west direction through western Africa. Herodotus had first placed the river upon this axis, and his opinion in this regard was more or less reproduced in Ptolemy. The account in Leo Africanus of the kingdoms along its banks seemed not to disconfirm this earlier impression of the path of the river. And as they would continue to do until the early eighteenth century, mapmakers in Europe in turn most often assumed that the Senegal and Gambia Rivers near the western coast flowed from this larger inland channel.
Figure 7: “AFRICÆ, described, the manners of their Habits, and buildinge,” in John Speed, A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World (London, 1662; orig. pub. 1627), unpaginated (between fols. 5 and 6). G1015.S64 1662: Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library. The body of water that borders on the regions of Barbary and Numidia in the top left corner of this map is called “the Atlanticke Sea”; but a title that is no longer in use, “the Aethiopian Ocean,” has been given here for the body of water that lies to the west of central Africa. The title is common in maps from this period: it is derived from the region of southern Ethiopia, which as we have seen was said to be composed of the coastal areas (shown here in red and green) that formed an upside-down arc around the former empire of Prester John (shown here in yellow).
Figure 8: “HONDIUS his Map of Africa,” in Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimage, fourth ed. (London, 1626), 620. STC 20508.5, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Along with that of Blaeu, the African map of Hondius had served as the model that Speed had followed in his own map of the continent. The thin dotted lines that trace the borders between regions in this version of Hondius roughly correspond to the thick many-colored borders that appeared in the second edition of Speed’s atlas shown in Figure 7.
Figure 9: Robert Walton, “A New, Plaine, & Exact Mapp of AFRICA” (London, 1658). G8200.W37: Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library. This production for the most part resembled that of Speed; but its more direct model was the work of Pieter van den Keere, who had drawn upon Hondius but added models of cities on the bottom edge of his maps and inserted the portraits of African kings on both the bottom and top edges. The inscription here boasts that in these figures were depicted “the habits of the countries and manner of the cheife Citties.”
Figure 10: Aaron Arrowsmith, “Africa” (London, 1811). G8200 1811.A7 vf, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University. An edition of this map was first issued in 1802, and the copy shown here was a large work composed of four separate sheets. The signature by Arrowsmith in the upper right-hand corner dedicated the map to “the Committee and Members of the British Association for Discovering the Interior parts of Africa.” Of course, as was noted in the text, the most noticeable respect in which this work differed from the productions of the seventeenth century was the extent to which the “interior parts” of the continent were not filled in. In the similar “New Map of Africa” done by John Cary in 1805, the area below the Equator that was simply blank in Arrowsmith was labeled “Unknown Parts.”