

## Edgar Lake

### “(BLACK) HEADS, YOU WIN...”<sup>1</sup>

I propose to reconstruct aspects of post-colonial resistance in the Danish West Indies-cum-U.S. Virgin Islands using particular images and ideas of *blackness* in literary and portraiture traditions, to better understand how a spectrum of strategies were used to sustain widely-dispersed agency from a unique African Atlantic community, twice colonized: first by the Danes (1672-1916) and then the United States (1917) - to present.

The earliest double entry of *blackness* in the Danish West Indies portraiture tradition is of Rebekka Freundlich Protten, the first ordained black woman in the Atlantic world. Born a slave in Antigua about 1718, ‘Shelly’ (as she told her name to C.G.A. Oldendorp) was kidnapped and sold in St. Thomas in the mid-1720s, at the age of six or seven to the Dutch family of Lucas van Beverhout. By 1730, when Lucas died, his son Adrian freed Shelly, an exemplary household figure driven in every effort to devotion and literacy. By then, her name had been changed to Rebekka, and she was a Moravian Helper and devout evangelist.<sup>2</sup> She preached to hundreds of enslaved Africans despite persecution from other planters before traveling to Europe and Africa. Her remarkable efforts helped create the earliest African Protestant congregation in the Americas. Johann Valentin Haidt’s 1751 portrait, “Die Familie Protten” (“The Protten Family”), shows Rebekka with her Ghana-born husband, Christian; and their celebrated second child, Anna Maria.<sup>3</sup> Her studied poise in Haidt’s portrait, along with the Christ-like profile of the infant, Anna Maria, lend to the mythic notoriety of Rebekka; a woman who returned to Ghana for her final years, refusing to sail back to the West Indies on the slave-trading

ship, *Ada*, in 1776. Indeed, Sensbach probes the 1751 image we have of Rebekka. It might well have been our first realistic painted image of *blackness* outside of Africa:

“Haidt’s study of the Prottens sought to convey a sense of the Gospel’s universal embrace and to capture in warm, glowing tones the humanity of black Christians – notable in an age when slave traders justified their ever-expanding business on the ground of African barbarity. Along with other artists of his generation, Haidt was a significant contributor to emerging European discourses about African spiritual and physical beauty that would soon aid in threatening the slave trade.

Although Haidt might have wished his painting to suggest that Christianity denied importance of ancestry or physical appearance, in fact the Prottens’ “blackness” was a central motif of the work.”<sup>4</sup>

Sensbach describes Haidt’s manifesto—appearing in his writing—that a painter should choose the subject’s clothes “according to the complexion of the person.”<sup>5</sup>

Sensbach describes Haidt’s methodology as an act of his own integrity, if not personal faith:

“He composed the portrait so that the Prottens family’s own complexions stand out clearly against their black and white clothing and the dark background. In this, the only known representation of her, Rebecca wears a Moravian gown, *Haube*, and blue ribbon (for married women); the

image of solid Europeanized piety is far different from the kerchief and light cotton she wore in the West Indies.”<sup>6</sup>

Haidt’s earlier 1747 painting, “Erstlingsbild” (“The First Fruits”), its title still so resilient in the present-day Virgin Islands imagination,<sup>7</sup> is akin to, but distinct from David Crazz’s 1757 “Getaufte Neger . . . Negres baptizes” etching after Johann Jakob Bossart, which was published in *Zeremonien buchlein*,<sup>8</sup> the 1757 Moravian Yearbook.

Crazz’s engraving, “Negres baptizes”, along with G. P. Nussbiegel’s engraving after C. G. A. Oldendorp’s 1768 “Friedensthal in St. Croix au einen Bettage” (“Novices before Friedensthal [Mission] on a prayer day”),<sup>9</sup> are assuredly nascent in their representation of black Danish West Indians clothed in their European garb. Yet, what belies Crazz’s scene of prostrate converts, and later, “Friedensthal in St. Croix’s” impressive gathering of believers may not tell the entire story. Earlier, enslaved Africans promoted massive conversions as a strategy for gaining freedom, overwhelming the early Moravians’ modest expectations. One convert even gave his savings to support the mission in a phase of its earliest collapse.<sup>10</sup> “Negres baptizes” records this active rite of baptism administered by converted Africans with Europeans astutely sidelined, evidencing direct contact with the Divine. However, there were other strategies invoked through the rite to Baptism:

“The Kongolese of St. Jan in the Danish West Indies in the 1750s, as Christians of many generations standing, took it upon themselves to baptize all newly arrived slaves, serving as godparents of sorts to them.”<sup>11</sup>

Thornton further emphasizes:

“In North America, the churches helped supplant the [Black] nation in creolizing populations, while in Danish and English West Indies, where evangelical churches also had success, the church community may well have supplement the nation. In the Danish West Indies, the Moravians did much to popularize the creole language, “Kreolisk,” with its Dutch vocabulary, giving it a literature and promoting its speech in religion.”<sup>12</sup>

But, these images also show clothes-making traditions that originated with 18<sup>th</sup> century African textile trading with villages along river waterways, as well as with Europeans on the sea coasts. Seamstress traditions remained resilient through the 1800s of a flourishing cotton plantations system in the Danish West Indies.<sup>13</sup> The mercantile value of dyes extracted from local woods and cotton exports to Europe remain an unestimated feature of Danish West India labor during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Haidt’s “Erstlingsbild” (“The First Fruits”), features people from all over the world united by Christianity, as first converts of the Moravian faith. Yet, Haidt’s largest representation of “First Fruits” converts are from the Danish West Indians (four adults and four children). Although Rebecca’s absence is conspicuous, she is already in Europe; but, too, she is symbolically represented since Catherine nurtures Rebecca’s infant, Anna Maria.<sup>14</sup>

Beyond this narrative, “Erstlingsbild” (“The First Fruits”) has a transcending lore of its own; a veritable baptism of fire within its provenance. According to Honour:

“Haidt painted other versions “Erstlingsbild”: one

in 1748 for the brotherhood in Nenslaz (present-day Nowa Sol, Poland) that is supposed to have been destroyed by fire in 1758; a second in 1749 for the Kleine Saal of the Herrnhuter Germeinhaus, that was lost to fire in 1945; a third, dating from ca. 1760, that now belongs to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

There also exists a study for the 1749 canvass that burned in 1945, as well as a reduced copy after it; both are located in Herrnhut Archive de Bruder-Unitat.”<sup>15</sup>

These Haidt paintings, and their subsequent reproductions, and related images chronicle heretofore immeasurable currencies of *blackness*, pioneering examples of postcolonial strategies forging through the pioneering formation of a Black Atlantic Christian world.

Another example of subtle strategies transcending colonial strictures of the painterly image, depicted Brother Cornelius, whose honorific title was “The Black Evangelist.” Commissioned by the Moravian Brethren in 1781-82, the undocumented German painting, “The Black Evangelist”, was painted in the Danish West Indies.<sup>16</sup> It shows Cornelius against a light blue background, pointing to an open Creole hymnbook featuring his favorite text, Psalm 23.

Cornelius’s 1783 portrait with him pointing to his favorite text belies a wider pantheon of African American literary figures in the struggle of abolition, or anti-slavery campaigns. Cornelius’s portrait also extended a particular Black Atlantic regional portraiture tradition, including one of the Jamaican Latinate and Mathematician, Francis Williams.<sup>17</sup> It follows Thomas Gainsborough’s 1768 “Portrait of Ignatius Sancho”,

Williams's cohort; whose education, like Williams's, was also sponsored by the Duke of Montagu. But, Cornelius's portrait propitiously preempts Olaudah Equiano's 1789 portrait by the painter W. Denton, engraved by the miniaturist D. Orme, and which was the frontispiece of his now-famed autobiography.<sup>18</sup> Cornelius's image also grows in the forest of tall trees (an abolitionist tradition), standing alongside the 1773 portrait of Phillis Wheatley's portrait (attributed to Scipio Moorhead);<sup>19</sup> the 1779 painting (and subsequent 1813 engraving) of A.M.E. Founder Rev. Richard Allen; and, Raphaelle Peale's portrait of Absalom Jones believed to be dated before 1810. Finally, Cornelius's enigmatic portrait joins William Matthew Prior's 1835 portrait of William Whipper, clutching a book boasting his initials.<sup>20</sup>

These portraits remain vividly contiguous strategies of *blackness*, richly untapped systems of signification which were explored in a technology and ideological medium as effective as our own. "In mid-eighteenth century, discussion focused on Africans' and African Americans' abilities to become literate," claims Karen Dalton, "its evolution chartered earlier in images of blacks."<sup>21</sup>

The head of a Black imprinted on a medal cast by the Danish Academy of Arts in 1792, may be the first liberating image of *blackness* minted for the Danish West Indies – marking Denmark's proclamation to withdraw from the African Slave Trade. Modeled by Pietro Leonardo Gianelli, the 1792 medal was designed by the painter, Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard, then director of the Copenhagen Academy of Fine Arts.

Hugh Honour writes that Abildgaard, an admirer of the French Revolution, may well have suggested the issuance of the medal, having promoted a monument for the abolition of serfdom in Denmark, in the previous year. Understandably, he may well have

supported the abolitionist cause since his original inscriptions seem manifestly declarative. Around the figure of Nemesis, Abildgaard had originally written: *Jus homini vindico* (*I champion human law*); it would be changed to *En adsum*, (*Behold, I am Here*). For the front image, he proposed “*Miseris succurrere disce*” (“Learn to succour unhappiness”), which was replaced by “*Me Miserum*” (“Unhappy me”).<sup>22</sup>

Abildgaard’s selections offer strong alliterations that still provide unforeseen Black Atlantic vocational contexts; first, for *blackness* in the New World:

“ ‘*Miseris succurrere disce*’, for instance was adapted from the famous Virgilian line ‘*nonignara mali miseris succurrere disco*’ (not acquainted with love I learn to succor unhappiness) – a phrase which could all too easily have been interpreted as a reference to life under the Danish monarchy, turning the question (‘Am I not a Man and a Brother?’), into (‘Am I not also a slave?’)”<sup>23</sup>

Coupled quotes in the original sketches further reveal Abildgaard’s affinity for French literary history:

“The obverse bears the words, *Homo Sum*, and it may be no coincidence that this quotation from Terrence had previously been painted on the frontispiece of Bernadin de Saint-Pierre’s *Voyage à l’isle de France*, of 1773. *Miseris succurrere disco* was the epigraph of Saint-Pierre’s *Etudes de la Nature* (1784-88)”<sup>24</sup>

Abildgaard's efforts illustrate his initial strategy to universalize his expression of *blackness* far beyond Danish West Indian concerns:

“There cannot be much doubt that Abildgaard wished to go beyond the celebration of the Danish abolition of the slave trade and make a more general demand for liberty.”<sup>25</sup>

Abildgaard's skillfully-fought achievement<sup>26</sup> and the telling articulations for his medal offers a brilliant construct of obverse and reverse images that hint at a timeless fluorescence in themes of *blackness* and post-colonial strategy:

“The figure of Nemesis who humbles the great on one side, and the fine head of a black who appeals for pity only through the inscription, combine to make it a reminder of the human condition.”<sup>27</sup>

Contrastingly, early images did convey the horror and capricious denigration heaped on Black heads in the Danish West Indies. These may be considered as images of *blackness* under siege.

Perhaps the quintessential example was Johannes Heyliger's 1782 field practice target-disk. Even now, it shows the deeply subversive power of the heuristic image: a black family harvesting cane is shown; a black mother perpetually reaching for her black infant; the family group already framed by black bullet holes.<sup>28</sup>

An 1888 woodcut sketch used to pamphleteer “Queen Mary,” by C. E. Taylor, which, although summarily lacks any likeness to the youthful labor leader, nevertheless, over centuries still provides an alarmist's poster-image, intended to promote fear in the minds of planters – and the ill-informed. The figure appears as a wild-eyed arsonist,

armed with a cutlass and a flaming torch in either hand. Yet, along with new interpretations of Queen Mary, woodcut images of the leading 1848 rebellion figure, John Gottlieb alias “Budhoe,” and D. Hamilton Jackson, the 20<sup>th</sup> century labor leader, constitute a veritable gallery of (Black) Heads.

Understandably, the most robust image of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s Danish West Indian liberating strategy and action, was the 1878 drawing, “The Fireburn”, which registered the deep struggle of Danish West Indian free laborers agitating for wages, collectively struggling to match their post-Emancipation aspirations.<sup>29</sup>

Combinations of medal-striking images of legitimacy, coupled with the emergent technology of photography, induced travelers of the Black Atlantic on all or both sides. Born in St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, on August 3, 1832, Edward Wilmot Blyden, with the assistance of John P. Knox, traveled to the United States in 1850 for theological training. He discovered Jim Crow racism so venal, that he immediately opted to go to Africa in the service of the American Colonization Society’s efforts to repatriate Americans of African descent across the Atlantic, back to Liberia. In 1850, or 1851, he arrived in Moravia, and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, edited *The Herald*, held the presidency of Liberia College (1880-84), and served two terms as Liberian Ambassador to the Court of St. James (1877-78, 1892). Beyond these tours, he also served as Liberia’s Secretary of State (1864-66). His magnum opus, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*,<sup>30</sup> and his fundraising stewardship<sup>31</sup> as the founding president of The College of Liberia, Africa’s first Black college, barely hint at the savant-capacities of this pan-African pioneer. In advancing a vision for Africa and Africans in the Americas,

Blyden's image of sage-like rectitude was known throughout the world.<sup>32</sup> As Liberian Educational Commissioner to Britain, Liberian Commissioner to the U.S. for Repatriation, he read and spoke widely, and often in several disciplines and languages, recruiting West Indian clergy into Liberia and colonial administrators for Sierra Leone, where he founded a newspaper, *The Negro*, before his death on February 7, 1912.

Blyden's immensely growing work continued as Sierra Leone government agent to the Interior, afforded growing influence and broad contacts with, among other African groups:

“[Blyden visited] hinterland Muslim elites and educational centers, and educational centers, making a trip to Timbo in Funta Jallon in 1872. He had studied Islam and Arabic at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866 . . . becoming [Sierra Leone's] Muslim Board of Education, in which capacity he promoted Islam and Muslims in both church and state.”<sup>33</sup>

Blyden's notoriety impacted the Danish West Indies, a population where West Africans of Muslim faith, and Black Arab ethnicity, were – as in all Caribbean islands – soundly evidenced.<sup>34</sup>

It may be that a 19<sup>th</sup> century image of Edward Wilmot Blyden emerges as a modern portrait of *blackness*. The portrait was minted on a medal in London, at the admittance of his credentials as Ambassador of Liberia to the Court of St. James in 1877 or 1892.<sup>35</sup> Inscribed on a bronze medallion, the fine abolitionist image of the West Indian-born diplomat and Presbyterian minister, Blyden's portrait partially explains his complex post-colonial strategies. Blyden's profile provides a hagiography of his world-traveling whereabouts, his heuristic presence in world affairs. His high white collar and

silken cravat contrasts his black resolute features, and natural hair. It is a precisely crafted emblematic image of *blackness*, at its most cosmopolitan and ideological indisputability.

Sanneh reminds us that Blyden looked deeply into Africa's complex relationship with the world:

“Blyden noted, Africa's relation to the rest of the world had always been strange and peculiar. Africans had not mingled with other people except to serve them.”<sup>36</sup>

More particularly, as it regards Blyden's 1950s natal electoral critique of Liberia—and his astute analysis of Liberia's Atlantic conjunction with African America—Blyden's redoubtable double-consciousness and incipient feeling of *blackness*, rivaled de Tocqueville's Civil War pessimism of blacks' prospects.<sup>37</sup> Sanneh ties the proverbial Atlantic knot:

“As Blyden said, Liberia was a little bit of South Carolina, of Georgia, of Virginia, in sum, of the ostracized, suppressed, depressed elements of these states which was tacked on to West Africa – a most incongruous combination, with no reasonable prospect of success.”<sup>38</sup>

Sanneh's sobering observation of early Liberia gives a glimpse of its interminable genesis of double-edged sovereignty, giving rise to Blyden's many missions:

“The colony had America in its eyes while it turned its back on Africa; though it was necessarily in Africa, its was preferably not of it.”<sup>39</sup>

Nemata Blyden incisively discerned Blyden's subtle appropriation of a complex identity:

“Blyden did not identify himself as a ‘West Indian.’ His ‘West Indianness’ was a mere chance of birth. As far as I am aware, though Blyden acknowledged that he born in the West Indies, he never referred to himself as a West Indian. Having emigrated to Africa at an early age he perceived himself as an African throughout his life.”<sup>40</sup>

In his own eloquent evangelical words, Blyden advocated his pan-African vision:

“You will at once perceive that I do not believe that the work to be done by black men is in this country. I believe that their field of operation upon is in some other and distant scene. Their work is far nobler and loftier than that which they are now doing in this country. It is theirs to betake themselves to injured Africa, and bless those outraged shores, and quiet those distracted families with the blessings of Christianity and civilization. It is theirs to bear with them to that land the arts of industry and peace, and counteract the influence of those horrid abominations which an inhuman avarice has introduced to roll back the appalling cloud of ignorance and superstition which overspreads the land, and to rear on those shores an asylum of liberty for the downtrodden sons of Africa

wherever found. This is the work to which Providence is obviously calling the black men of this country.”<sup>41</sup>

Blyden called for the total emigration of the African American masses, imagining Liberia as the gateway to Africa:

“By 1860, there were more than 4.4 million African Americans in the U.S., of whom 99 percent had been born in America. Among them, 448,000 were free, split evenly between North and South, but they resided largely in urban areas, where the free massively out-numbered the enslaved (Shick 1980, 11). By the same date, only about 13,000 had immigrated to Liberia.”<sup>42</sup>

Blyden’s other portraits of *blackness*, rightfully include a daguerreotype, circa 1852, which was taken soon after he arrived in the United States.<sup>43</sup> At seventeen, Blyden was photographed holding an oversized book, undoubtedly a bible, exalting him into the prestigious pantheon of Abolitionist portraits, joining the other Black Presbyterian, Richard Allen, and the black prince of commerce, William Whipple.<sup>44</sup>

Another corresponding photograph of Blyden was taken either in London, between 1877 or 1892, on his ambassadorial visits to the Court of St. James. Here, too, Blyden holds a large book, which appears to have models of the Kitty Hawk in various stages of flight. The photograph is further adorned with a scribal signature, confirming his variegated Atlantic mission: Rev. E.W. Blyden L.L.D.<sup>45</sup>

At the time of Blyden’s emergence in Africa in the early 1850s, Denmark had been in Africa for 192 years (1658-1850). Within Denmark, discursive expressions in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Danish art society dismissed incipient forms of *blackness*, more-so

noticeably grievous to the Danish painter, Hugo Larsen, who had returned on the eve of the inevitable sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States of America.<sup>46</sup>

In a last ditch effort to stimulate the West India Company, Danish painter, Hugo Larsen was sent to the Danish West Indies in 1904, to spend a year painting appealing images of the tropical landscape and the indigenous agricultural enterprise. When he returned for the 1907 Fall Exhibition in Charlottenburg, one of his two canvasses, “A jobmaker” (1905), or “A Cook,” (n.d.), prompted curious remarks by an art critic, perhaps scolding him for being old fashioned, or worse, for being too sentimental:

“He paints in the manner of Zahrtmann or Johansen, in as much as it suited the subject, and the style of Erik Henningsen he has not even shied way from, [as] if there was something humourous or pathetic to obtain from a Negro head.”<sup>47</sup>

Most recently, a widening discourse has started in radical parts of the Danish academic community, with budding ‘Atlantic’ conferences exploring Denmark’s colonial past. At a recent Contested Territories conference in Greenland, Tamar Guimaraes, a young Brazilian artist, once guest artist at The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts (2002-04), discovered the indubitable dispatch of Jan Leton’s life and remains. Leton was an Afro- Danish West Indian youth who was forcibly exiled in Skagen until his death in 1827. Using an 1884 engraving, *The Plantation*, Guimaraes illustrates a collective Danish amnesia through the transformation of its present name, *The Bailiff’s Forest*. Guimaraes exerts a renewed obligation to account for Leton’s stewardship in having planted the first forest to save the town’s notorious sand- drifts. Although mention appeared of Leton

from 1877 in plays and newspaper accounts, according to Guimaraes, “Leton’s Death Record is the only official document of his presence in Skagen, which is marked in writing during his lifetime.”<sup>48</sup> Using interviews and archival accounts about Leton’s existence in Denmark, Guimaraes spurs an international art discourse about this ongoing theme of *blackness* in Denmark’s post-colonial discourse.<sup>49</sup> Leton’s remains were buried in Skagen’s contentious forest, but subsequently exhumed and re-interred in the Lutheran churchyard in Skagen.

A 20<sup>th</sup> century portrait of *blackness* emerges for the Afro-Danish West Indian-cum-United States Virgin Islander, in *Woman from the Virgin Islands*, a pencil portrait by the German illustrator, and graphic designer, Winnold Reiss, appearing in the 1925 *Survey Graphic*.<sup>50</sup> The Munich-trained artist arrived in America to paint Native Americans on the prairie, but it would be six years before he achieved his dream. Meanwhile, he painted newly arrived immigrants in American cities, among them Afro-Danish West Americans who had sojourned to New York City’s Harlem district. That urban sojourn and subsequent contact with Native American nations echo the long-established mutual Moravian heritage of African and Native American communities. Danish West Indian Moravians were often apprised of visits to Native American mission communities, to include reports by Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenburg. Often, too, Danish West Indies converts corresponded with these communities.<sup>51</sup>

With the portrait, *Woman from the Virgin Islands*, Reiss extends a nascent German legacy and long standing artistic interpretation of Afro-Danish West Indian culture,<sup>52</sup> and particularly as it engaged with US inner-city exiles,<sup>53</sup> and projects post-1917 US mainland disparities of improved status for its territorial people. Post-colonial

strategies inherit many essential forms of *blackness*. Even as Reiss's image offers a delicate transparency mingled with head-hanging melancholia, one finds a similar registry, however distinctly latent, in Pissarro's 19<sup>th</sup> century drawings almost a century earlier in the Danish West Indies. His Drawing, *Multiple studies*, offers studies of three black heads amidst various other sketches. Another drawing, *Portraits and figural studies*, offer a smaller set where at least two heads are distinctly bearing black features.<sup>54</sup>

Edited by Alain Locke, the "Survey Graphic issue and the two subsequent printings of *The New Negro*, heralded the Harlem Renaissance."<sup>55</sup> The special issue was a veritable canvass of black heads, even "with the head as the focal point of the cover;"<sup>56</sup> its content assuredly "calling attention to the complex dance between type and individual..."<sup>57</sup> The social paradigm of Locke's vision of *The New Negro*, discusses "myriad concerns relevant to the African Americans toward a racial consciousness, and the concomitant moves in arts and letters – a central element in the participation of African Americans in American democratic life."<sup>58</sup> Charles Johnson's article, "Black Workers and the City," emphasized that the population of Harlem was "one part native, one part West Indian and about three parts Southern."<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Alain Locke portrayed Harlem as a race capital, the Great Migration of African Americans from the rural south and the influx of "so many diverse elements of Negro life...the African, the West Indian, the Negro American."<sup>60</sup>

## II

In his tome, *Atlantic History*,<sup>61</sup> Bernard Bailyn calls attention to "whether

there has been one Atlantic civilization, or, several.”<sup>62</sup> “Had there been one Atlantic civilization in the past,” Bailyn probes with his characteristic caveats, “and if it still exists has it diverged into several?”<sup>63</sup> According to Alison Games’s recent essay, Bailyn’s *Atlantic History*, was a product of twentieth-century political developments,<sup>64</sup> but she reminds us that “the kingdoms, states, and empires that became involved in Atlantic exchanges together contained thousands of different languages (two thousand in the Americas alone, with considerably less variation in those European and African states oriented toward the Atlantic.”<sup>65</sup>

Themes of *blackness* have nurtured post-colonial strategies for peoples of the US Virgin Islands, (and its earlier colonial designation, as the Danish West Indies), particularly as represented in Charles Verlinden’s pronouncement: That the massive contributions of European populations to the double continent of America “has made a new Europe...a specifically Atlantic human composition,”<sup>66</sup> to which Africa “is fatally linked.” In his narrative textbook, *Les Origines de la Civilization Atlantique*, Verlinden crucially considered “the Atlantic zone and its significance in the evolution of the world,” stressing the reciprocal relationships of “Atlantic Europe, the two Americas, and Africa.”<sup>67</sup>

Understandably, until Phillip Curtin’s 19<sup>th</sup> century study, *Jamaicas*, with its tabulations of the Hispanic English and French slave trades and which enabled Curtin to discover what he called a South Atlantic System, little else had solidified the great historical interest in the Atlantic slave trade. Bailyn adroitly reminds us of “the links between Curtin’s early *Jamaicas* and the massive database forty-four years later<sup>68</sup> that contained in itself a vast human panorama of Atlantic history, a tragic network linking

Africa, Europe and the Americas had grown naturally, in response to the creative impulses of scholarship, as the subject's importance, enhanced but not defined by social pressures, had become clear.”<sup>69</sup>

Alison Games further observes that recent scholarly efforts for an Atlantic perspective to place people at the center of their work, beginning with efforts like Curtin's massive scholarship to calculate the size of the transatlantic slave trade, have led to innovative and extensive research on the African diaspora. These include an “approach, unfettered by state borders, pursues the logical lines of the trade, and puts people at the center, tracking the transmission of all elements of culture, from political identity to material goods to language to religion, all around the Atlantic basin.”<sup>70</sup> Games cites Paul Gilroy's 1993 tome, *The Black Atlantic*, as exemplary (“One of the most important conceptualizations of the Atlantic emerged from this vantage”).<sup>71</sup>

Beyond the various phases of Atlantic studies, therefore, Gaines rightfully advocates that we not merely look for the literal points of geography and ports of contact, “but rather about explaining transformations, experiences, and events in one place on terms of conditions deriving from that place's location in a large, multifaceted, interconnected world.”<sup>72</sup> Games is summarily emphatic: we are obligated to an enduring discourse beyond compass and Meridian lines, “across imperial, regional and national boundaries. To that end, the circulation of ideas, tastes, preferences and other less easily calculated and quantified aspects of exchange,”<sup>73</sup>

To better understand the particular contributions of the Danish West Indies in the Black Atlantic tradition, we may examine Torres's and Whitten's introductory essay, *To*

*Forge the Future in the Fires of the Past.* They articulate creatively insurgent contours of *blackness* within the Black Atlantic tradition as the complex dialectic between:

“the darkening influences of white demonstration in the African diaspora and the enlightened cultural, social, economic creativity produced and reproduced in the eternal fires of black rebellion.”<sup>74</sup>

When Denmark joined in the war against the Dutch wars of Louis XIV against the French, temporary trade with St. Croix ceased with; St. Thomas creditors held valueless rigsdollars worth of paper causing the French to seize the company’s yacht at St. Croix. By 1678, the French attacked St. Thomas “carrying off a few slaves and some free negroes.”<sup>75</sup> Even then, West India Company Negroes retained identification with their African ‘nations,’ carrying names embed in ethnic language groups, a practice which survived until late nineteenth century census despite significant conversions to Christian names by baptized Blacks.<sup>76</sup> Conversely, officers of the Danish West India companies were called King’s Negroes, because there were perceived in a significant way as an early shadow extension of the Danish Crown, maintaining their own armed forces for administering the colonies under the charter for the Danish king.

Other deep patterns, say of kinship, existed among the ineffable amalgamation of the survivors of the Middle Passage:

“Despite different vocabularies and underlying assumptions, traditional African thought modeled the social universe as one great family held together by various genealogical connections. This outlook was so pronounced that even where genealogical ties patently did not

exist, individuals used terms of address and reference that made it seem as if they did...Conspicuous use of terminology and other symbolic efforts to categorize genetically unrelated people as kin referred to as “fictive kinship.’ It is a way of expressing feelings associated with genuine kinship, or at least as an attempt to elicit behaviors appropriate between classes of kinsmen. Africans had to rely heavily on fictions because, transported from the protective circles of their own families, they stood bereft of real kinship bonds, a circumstance totally alien to their culture and one calling for immediate rectification...Though probably only a few Africans ever sailed to the New World in the company of close kin, fellow passengers nevertheless disembarked with a functional equivalent,, their “shipmates,” fictive relations who for the rest of their lives would stand in the stead of siblings.”<sup>77</sup>

In the larger annals of the maritime Atlantic, deep accounts of kinship and heroic acts existed, and were inevitably transmitted:

“At least 155 documented slave mutinies occurred aboard ship, and an equal number of slavers are known to have been interrupted, or “cut off,” by Africans...Seafaring storytellers etched vignettes of Africans’ resistance into their listeners’ memories, vignettes of the Fante canoemen’s strike at Anamabu in 1753, or of the success mutiny aboard a Danish slaver lying in the Rokel estuary in 1788,”<sup>78</sup>

Jeffrey Bolster draws transatlantic lines more directly evidencing this heritage:

“Free black seamen traveled with relative impunity

between northern ports, Haiti, and the lower South before 1822.

An all-black crew with white officers aboard the brig *C. Perry*, for instance, sailed from Philadelphia to Savannah, then to St. Thomas in the Danish [Virgin] Indian Islands, (sic) to Cape Haitian, and back to Savannah. Sailors on St. Thomas formed lasting impressions of merchants and artisans of color, roles traditionally closed to American free blacks.”<sup>79</sup>

The agency of Black maritime culture spread and consolidated into social and political cohesion, establishing deep and subaltern roots in the Caribbean. According to the scholar, Bolster, During the War of 1812, white sailors formed committees on ships, settling grievances, trying and punishing men, brokering paying jobs. Blacks in selected New England towns, “had gathered on election day to select their own dignitaries called kings and governors. For the Black community that celebrated it, Negro Election Day became the highlight of the year.”<sup>80</sup> Many-layered narratives still serve present-day festivals in the Caribbean, where “national” cultural groups are re-assembled in great mass; or, homecoming is evidenced by particularistic displays and promenading.

These have deep roots in the historic outgrowth of *black* maritime conventions:

“The New World, however, despite the shackles of slavery, already had well-established traditions honoring their own freely chosen rulers. In ports and colonies around the Atlantic including Antigua, Barbados, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Venezuela, New Orleans and Argentine, all Familiar to African American sailors, annual festivals

inducted or honored black kings and queens. Blacks, in at least twenty-one New England cities and towns are known to have celebrated Negro Election Day.”<sup>81</sup>

Many other subtle interpolations of the Black Atlantic can be read in primary examination of Caribbean societies. African Americans, including Frederick Douglass’s call to arms;<sup>82</sup> sought frequent inclusion of the Americas in his term of *blackness* in his July 4<sup>th</sup> 1852 discourse:

“I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave’s point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July.”<sup>83</sup>

This recognition of a maritime tradition may well begin, as stated by Nicholls, in Christiansted, at New Year 1893, “The streets thronged... a model ship of considerable size... [with] numerous crew... in uniform.”<sup>84</sup> This Black maritime tradition further survived in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Danish West Indies with boat floats in Christiansted, St. Croix with black officers on deck and midshipmen aloft on the masts.<sup>85</sup> In the first U.S. Virgin Islands carnivals, it survived as a solid tradition of floats oftentimes disguised as a civic salute to the naval presence. Lately, it has survived through individual entries: visual expressions of social parody, some performers utilizing emblems of the fishermen traditions; wizardly calypso-singers parodying political ‘live bait’ in fish traps, or as ribbon-sash attired impromptu grand-marshals.

Douglass's eloquent 19<sup>th</sup> century challenges, along with frequent 20<sup>th</sup> century Danish West Indian visits from W.E.B. Du Bois; and US Virgin Islands visits by Langston Hughes and Robert Hayden, each underscored many reflexive comparisons:

“Their response to the racial situation in the Caribbean is more help in understanding the America they left behind than in understanding the Caribbean societies they testify about. And so Du Bois's rhapsody about his visit to Jamaica in 1915 tells more about race in America and more about Du Bois than it does about Jamaica itself, the ostensible object of his report.”<sup>86</sup>

Both Hughes and Du Bois visited the Virgin Islands frequently, and Frederick Douglass's publication, *The North Star*, was a popularly read newspaper in 19<sup>th</sup> century Danish West Indies, challenging free men to preserve their liberty:

“Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.  
Better even die free, than to live slaves...Massachusetts  
Now welcomes you to arms as soldiers...the day dawns;  
The morning star is bright upon the horizon!”<sup>87</sup>

Danish West Indian, James McLoud, was one of three West Indians who joined the 54<sup>th</sup> Volunteer Regiment of Massachusetts and marched to Fort Wagner on June 18, 1863. They served in ranks alongside Private Lewis and Regimental Sergeant-Major Charles Douglass, sons of Douglass; and Toussaint L'Ouverture Delaney, son of Martin Delaney. At the battle of Fort Wagner, twenty-seven black soldiers and three white officers were killed, 25 soldiers died of wounds, 11 died in captivity, 51 were missing.

James McCloud survived and was discharged, rewarded with a special bounty for his service with distinction.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the Civil War era sculptor, took life-sketches from blacks in Boston and New York to cast his models commemorating these recruits in constructing his historic monument. The Shaw Memorial is a tribute to the Black soldier in that war.<sup>88</sup>

According to Kaplan, in the winter of 1881, Henry Hobson Richardson, architect of Boston's Trinity Church, revived the longtime 1866 initial efforts of the committee which included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Sumner, and the black Baptist minister, Leonard A. Grimes. Saint-Gaudens was selected to undertake the task:

“I modeled about forty black heads,” Saint-Gaudens remembered, “of which I selected the sixteen that are visible in the relief. Some heads that were very good I rejected...”<sup>89</sup>

Others responded to the call for liberty in intellectual ways both prolific and misunderstood. Edward Wilmot Blyden was typical in his original aspirations of blackness. Born in the Danish West Indies on St. Thomas in 1832, Hollis Lynch reminds us that Blyden was one of the few black thinkers “to make a significant impact on the English-speaking literary and scholastic world in the nineteenth century.”<sup>90</sup>

Paul Gilroy lays bare a glimpse of his ideological mapping:

“He was, for example, one of the first black authors from the Americas to make authoritative interventions in early African history. He visited Egypt in 1866 and defended both the idea that civilization had begun in Africa and the still controversial

argument that the Nile Valley civilizations had been produced by Negroes.”<sup>91</sup>

Yet, Blyden’s now famous passage on viewing the ancient Egyptian landscape couples, re-appropriates Alexis de Tocqueville’s earlier homage to the West Indies, and reassigns it to his earliest vision of Africa:

“I felt that I had a peculiar ‘heritage in the Great Pyramid’ ... The blood seemed to flow faster through my veins. I seemed to hear the echo of those illustrious Africans. I seemed to feel the impulse of those stirring characters who sent civilization to Greece - the teachers of the fathers of poetry, history and mathematics – Homer, Herodotus and Euclid... I felt lifted out of the commonplace grandeur of modern times.”<sup>92</sup>

Indeed, Blyden’s monastic embrace of world literature may have seemed exemplary, but it may well hint at his background, typified by the influence of educated parents coupled with exposure to Jewish and Presbyterian instructions. Beyond this, there were Dutch Creole publications that flourished in Moravian and Lutheran educational cultures to which he was exposed. But, Blyden was also cultivated in myriad Danish West Indian cultural retentions of language and well acquainted in the various acts of resistance in the Danish colony of his youth. Almost a century before Blyden’s birth, open defiance in speech and actions toward demanding Whites were well documented among his enslaved people. Actions ranging from voluntarily starving to death, or declaring forthrightly that servile labor was beneath them, proved that enslaved Africans did fiercely create resistance to oppression. They used every available tool to demonstrate

open defiance to in human treatment. An instance was the military rebellion in St. John's 1733 revolt:

“Apart from their common oppression by whites, about the only thing unifying most of these groups was the Dutch Creole language; a mixture of Danish and African tongues concocted by the first Africans to arrive in the late seventeenth century, which all subsequent generations learned, and which black and white islanders spoke to each other. *Mij diodte mij loppein myn lande*: so ran the Amina expression in Dutch Creole that at death the soul would escape to Africa – ‘When I die, I shall return to my own land.’”<sup>93</sup>

Gilroy, then, inadvertently outlines the fulmination of Blyden's philosophical grammars:

“Literate and cosmopolitan in his intellectual interests, Blyden was also influenced by the cultural nationalism of Herder and Fichte, as well as the political nationalism of contemporary figures like Mazzini and Dostoyevsky.”<sup>94</sup>

Yet, more subtle ties existed between these Atlantic communities – Blyden's Danish West Indies, and Sierra Leone and Liberia - the 19<sup>th</sup> century African territories where he spent his talents. Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, the base for the recaptured Africans by the British Navy under the terms of the act of 1807 abolishing the slave trade. Remarkable narratives emerged from those resettlement opportunities.

Alexis de Tocqueville's poetic observation of the Caribbean,<sup>95</sup> for instance, may also be ascribed to Edward Wilmot Blyden's poetic descriptions that earliest

contextualized the Black Atlantic.<sup>96</sup> Then, more so, adding to the complexity of Liberia's legacy, Tocqueville "situated the Liberian colonization efforts firmly within the context of America's domestic slave dilemma."<sup>97</sup> "The terrible principle of Negro slavery, he said, was unwittingly adopted by nations that were now not free to get rid of it."<sup>98</sup>

Yet, deeper fictions assured mutual Black Atlantic achievements a longevity that, even now, echoes Blyden's complex Danish West Indies heritage of humanist service, despite his deeper calling for his selected base to be in Africa.

John Christopher Taylor, one of the Nigerian 're-captives,' became a pastor at Onitsha. According to Sanneh, "he did a translation into Igbo and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, between 1860 and 1871."<sup>99</sup>

Another 're-captive,' Henry Johnson, was trained at Cambridge University and ordained in 1866. Like Blyden, he spent some time in Palestine studying Arabic studies. Much like (Rbekka's second husband) Christian Protten's translation projects of the Twi language, Johnson "wrote a Primer on the Mende language...[and] in 1886 he published a comparative vocabulary of the Niger and Gold Coast (Ghana) languages."<sup>100</sup>

Perhaps Nigeria's most renowned 're-captive,' Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, lent a major achievement in "translation of the Yoruba Bible [which] was the first such translation into an African language."<sup>101</sup> Like Blyden, Crowther joined several expeditions: one in 1841, when the Church Missionary Society was forced to enter Nigeria; later in 1843, he was "authorized to resume the Niger Mission, and, in effect, to become the leader of the outreach to Nigeria."<sup>102</sup>

Yet, of any of the ‘re-captured’ Africans, the most directly linked to Blyden was James Johnson. He too, was recruited into the colonial church ranks, and as:

“a companion of Crowther, who he succeeded as the de facto leader of the cause in Nigeria. He was consecrated assistant bishop in 1900... He was to play a critical role as the catalyst for modern African Nationalism. He wrote to great affect on the unique African contribution to the story of Christianity and was an ally of Dr. Edward Blyden, perhaps the foremost black intellectual of the nineteenth century.”<sup>103</sup>

### III

Torres and Whitten’s landmark essay further provides new signifying parameters for newly emergent manifestations of *blackness*, a tradition of *black letters*, providing new interpretations for the US territory:<sup>104</sup>

“The term, *black*, according to Webster, is an adjective derived from the Latin constructs meaning, in a literal sense, “sooted, smoke black from flame.” Its first meaning in the twentieth century is “opposite to white. The “sooted” (darkened, blackened) concept derives in an earlier (or deeper) etymology from the Latin *flagrare*, “flame,” “burn” with a transformation to “flagrant.”<sup>105</sup>

The branded characters, or *black letters* designation, “SPG” on very many enslaved blacks in the Danish West Indies, as in the larger Black Atlantic communities,

offer inestimable witness to the power of language. Beyond this, having to carry letters of permission to travel between plantations; or, to be seen in the towns after sunset, suggests myriad provenances of dread not yet crucially assessed. Repression of secular expressions, except as derogatory images and descriptions of devalued property-worth printed as Runaway posters, may have subsequently produced deep ambivalence on illiterate Africans in the New World. Yet, in the Danish West Indies, it is inestimable to perceive how conventions of bible classes and baptism; biblical literacy and the exchange of letters by Believers generated by the first Afro-Danish West Indians who perceived how to resourcefully traverse the boundaries of freedom.

Indeed, the absence of letters could prove fatal, as evidenced in the Specifications of Persons confined in the common jail in 19<sup>th</sup> century Jamaica. There, Antonio Moralles, a Creole runaway from St. Thomas. Moralles insisted that he was free. Yet, as a carpenter of the schooner, *Sparrow*, his protests was to no avail. The record showed, “he had no document, thereof.”<sup>106</sup>

Moralles’s predicament brought rectitude to the advocacy by Abolitionist leaders like William Wilberforce, who argued the following:

“As the law at present stands, if a white person asserts right to hold his fellow-creature in perpetual slavery, the burden of proof lies not on the asserter owner, but on the alleged bondsman. He is required at the period of the most severe affliction to which men can be subjected in this world, to prove a negative; to show that he is not a slave.”<sup>107</sup>

Beginning in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, excerpts from hundreds of black letters written by Afro-Danish West Indians to various figures of royalty or religious compatriots, can be prescribed to its other Latin transformational construct, *flagrare*, or “flagrant.”<sup>108</sup> Decrees of the Danish King demanding decent treatment for enslaved Africans in the Danish West Indies, though ignored by the planters, cultivated a reliance on imperial intervention about various grievances. Count Zinzendorf, founder of the Moravian Brethren, in his 1739 visit to the islands, was given two petitions signed by 650 men and 250 women signatures grouped by gender, to deliver to King Christian VI, and Queen Charlotte Amalia of Denmark, respectively.<sup>109</sup>

In addition, over 150 other letters were written to the Moravian Brethren communities in Europe, and the United States, demonstrating a new post-1734 Rebellion strategy: an engagement through letters with Danish Authority, seizing Zinzendorf as their ambassador by proxy. These Dutch Creole-written petitions, and letters proved communities thoroughly steeped in European and African traditional protocols: Danish royalty was addressed by gender, petitions were signed by the most prominent literate converts.”<sup>110</sup>

In the following examples, Rebecca Freundlich Protten’s letters, along with Brother Cornelius’s letter, and William Augustus Gilbert’s letter from the Danish West Indies, and Boston, respectively, various conceptual and philological properties are exhibited; or, “black letters,” figuratively and literally emanate an iridescence of social and political thought, self-evident in territorial strategies of *blackness*.

Rebecca Freundlich Proppen's 18<sup>th</sup> century letters were profoundly shaped by the Pietists' idioms of self-denial, but the portrayal of her inner life may have been influenced by one of her favorite texts, the Dutch *Martelaers-Boek*.<sup>111</sup> Inadvertently, this deepens the link of Germanic expressions between Haidt's *First Fruits* portrait of Proppen's family and Reiss's portrait, "*Woman from the Virgin Islands*."<sup>112</sup> Besides, her letters echo expressions shared with other practitioners of the nineteenth century marshalling strategies of post-colonial struggle. Rebecca spoke at least four languages, could write in at least two; "stood trial for sedition...refusing to back down when a magistrate tempted her to be blasphemous, declaring her self willing to return to slavery instead."<sup>113</sup>

Sensbach reminds us that Rebecca seemed driven by the urgency of her work; walking great distances and speaking with great stirring passion. She struggled against the resentment of many who, unlike her, were still un-free. Yet, with dogged steps brimmed with exhaustion, Rebecca's greatest feat seemed a quiet authority of conviction, challenging many women "to convert through the less visible but equally important – and even clandestine – work of tutoring behind the scenes."<sup>114</sup>

Sensbach is explicit in describing the urgency of Rebecca's *lettres de art* ("Time is short and I am a bad writer so that I can't express in words as I would like"),<sup>115</sup> and her remarkably succinct *pièce de résistance*:

"It was there in the subdued moments and unrecorded exchanges where teaching and learning took place, where insights were traded and the desire for knowledge quickened, that the hidden revolution in African American consciousness emerged."<sup>116</sup>

On May 28, 1737, and in strict catechist vernacular, Rebecca captures complex themes of *blackness* wedded to a shrewd revelation of status as she writes to Moravian Faith women, or Single sisters in Herrnhut, Germany:

“...Oh! Help me to praise him, who has pulled me out of the darkness...I hope you will remember me. I pray that you will try to write me. I am a housemaid in Adrian van Beverhout’s house. Rebecca.”<sup>117</sup>

In response to her husband, Christian Prott[en],<sup>118</sup> and his expressions of being distraught over their enforced separation, Rebecca shows her mastery at self-deferral.<sup>119</sup> In a 1760 response to his epiphany-like return to his homeland, and in what Sensbach describes as “a phonetic, half-German, half-Dutch scrawl”<sup>120</sup> she writes the following sample of self-deferral; then, crafts a remarkable sample of Reason:

“This letter has been a long time in the writing, I hardly know what to say, that I should have made you wait so long before writing. And you know well that I love you and that I will never forget it. That I promise, but poor me, what will your poor heart do in these times Turn to Him, who has every thing. The Lord blesses and protects you and meets you and clothes you with mercy. I received your last letter, from 12 May 1759, with joy and sorrow. Dear heart, what should I say? My heart, the Lord shows us mercy, that we may turn ourselves over to Him. We know his great hear well, and He also taught us that a great heart is patient. I want to say something to you, and I put before this example,

that if your mother had known that she would see you again,  
that when it happened, I think you believed it, but your poor  
mother could not believe it and didn't know where to find the  
faith [to believe it]. I believe you felt that too.”<sup>121</sup>

Rebecca Proppen is further embedded in one of the primary features of Atlantic enterprise, where wider recognition of transatlantic agencies conjugate the impact of European and African languages on each other. Heretofore, as it relates to the Danish West Indies, these linguistic impacts were hardly recognized; and until Oldendorp's text is read,<sup>122</sup> significant questions as to the transatlantic linguistic impact by Creoles on European languages seems slyly esoteric.

Virgin Islanders today, descend in large numbers from the Twi language-speaking group loosely called the Akan, a major language spoken in today's nation of Ghana. This shared heritage has been galvanized, for instance, by Rebecca Freundlich Proppen's two continents sojourn; a heroic sojourn which is both existential and ideological. Rebecca was last married to Christian Prott[en], who compiled the earliest written example of the Ga language, and a catechism written in Fante language, as a device of conversion in the service of Danish and Moravian missions.<sup>123</sup> His 64-page text, written in Danish, is a complex set of translations, not only of secular and sacred texts, but of the conversion of languages:

“provides a basic vocabulary, an overview of Ga and Fante  
grammatical structures, and translations of key biblical texts  
such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Luther's  
Catechism, and the sacrament of baptism. Though his orthogra-

phy is now obsolete, Protten established himself in his time as a pioneer in the exceptionally difficult tasks of translating European and African languages into each other.”<sup>124</sup>

On September 28, 1781, another Moravian Helper, Brother Cornelius, famed for his speeches and letters wrote a remarkable document, representing his strategy for his family; in this case, a granddaughter, unborn. It remains one of the earliest of this type in the Danish West Indies – matching his painterly image, offering a deep gaze, literally and figuratively haunting:

“Humble Petition!

Your Excellency’s most humble and loyal servant hereby takes the Liberty to approach your Excellency in the follow matter: I myself Have been Your Excellency’s slave and through your Excellency’s deceased father I obtained permission to buy my freedom.

I now have a daughter who has a daughter, my grandchild, named Johanna, who is a slave on your Excellency’s plantation Thomas. As I am her grandfather I would very thankful if you would permit me to buy her freedom, before I die. I would be very happy to have done this.

Therefore I humbly ask you’re your Lordship, General von Schimmelmann as a favor to be allowed to buy my grandchild her freedom. My daughter always suffer from illness. If Your Excellency Will grant me this favor I will pay the price asked for her freedom either In cash or buy another young slave who cn do her work in the future According toYour Excellency’s resolution.

“I remain your Excellency’s humble servant.

Cornelius”<sup>125</sup>

Cornelius’s other letters to the Moravians in Europe were often sent among the letters of Governor-General Thomas de Malleville, who had been Cornelius’s convert. Along with his much admired oratory<sup>126</sup> as a lay preacher, Cornelius’s multi-language literacy may well have vaulted him to international notoriety. Indeed, his 1787 Creole letter to Count von Schimmelmann, interceding for the freedom of his grandchild, yet unborn, is now well established as a remarkable example of European and African vernaculars and complex mixture of calligraphy in the strategy for unborn generations.<sup>127</sup> Cornelius’s membership into a larger literary constellation can be anticipated, but like Jan Leton’s sojourn into contested plots, Cornelius too, is one of only two black people buried in the Brethren’s private cemetery in New Herrnhut, St. Thomas.<sup>128</sup>

One of the earliest Creole letters was penned by William Augustus Gilbert, a runaway from St. Croix, who lived in Boston. He writes to King Christian VIII, on August 12, 1847 - on the eve of the 1848 Emancipation - with sage-like comments featuring post-Napoleonic War Articles of naming (both his person and the island), comparative representations of status, and a moral challenges and compliments to Danish royalty:

“(To His Supreme Magistrate, King Christian VIII, Copenhagen,  
Denmark)

Sir:

I take my pen in hand a runaway slave, to inform your excelcy  
of the evil of slavery. Sir, Slavery is a bad thing and if any man

will make a slave of a man after he is born free, i, should think it an outrage becos I was born free of my mother wom and after I was born the Monster, in the shape of a man, made a slave of me in your dominion. Now, Sir, I ask your excelcy in the name of God & his kingdom is it wright? For God created man Kind equal and free so i have a writ to my freedom now but that is not all Sir i want to see my Sisters and my Brothers and i now ask your excelcy if your excelcy will grant me a pass to go and come. when ever I fail dispose to go and come to Ile of St. Croix or Santacruce the west indies Sir I ask in arnist for that pass for the Tears is now gushing from mine eyes as if someone had pour water on my head and it running down my Cheak. Sir i ask becose i have some hopes of getting it for i see there your Nation has a stablished chirches and schools for inlightening the Slave. That something the American has not done all though she is a republican. my name is Frederick Augustus Gilbert now I has another name thus Wm. F.A. Gilbert.”<sup>129</sup>

Then, in a remarkable dialogue, in which William Gilbert admits to the bold strategy of writing while underwriting the risk of his admission as a runaway, yet he invokes the moral challenge of monarchial power:

“Sir, when I see such good sines i cannot but ask for such a thing as liberty and freedom for it is Glorius. Sir i make very bold to write to a King but i cannot help it for i have

been a runaway slave I hope your excellency will forgive me  
if it is out of order Please to send your answer to the Danish  
Council in Boston.”<sup>130</sup>

George Handley, in his article on triangulation and the aesthetics of temporality in  
Tiepolo’s Hound,”<sup>131</sup> places *blackness* in the Danish West Indies squarely between  
Pissarro’s Old World exodus and Derek Walcott’s New World sojourn:

“Nature, in other words, is all that remains of ancestral  
memory, whether one is a displaced African in the new  
World, or a twice-displaced Jew, who one in his journey  
to France crosses, as Walcott crafts it in verse, (the deep reversing  
road/of the diaspora, Exodus.)”

But Walcott, a one-time artist-in-residence in St. Thomas whose sketches for a  
production of *Ti-Jean and his Brothers*, “shadows” Pissarro sketches, adds a pentimento  
of Black tropes to his epic couplets in time-transcending conversation with Pissarro:

“My history veins backwards  
to the black soil of my birthplace, whose trees  
  
are a hallowed forest; its leaf word  
uttering the language of my ancestors  
  
then for original centuries a helpless dimming  
of distance made both black and language fade

to an alphabet of bats and swallows skimming  
the twilight gables of Dronningens Gade”<sup>132</sup>

Matters of ‘light’ reveal a recurrent motif in the transatlantic poetic discourse of artists such as Pissarro, and Gauguin. Walcott, a poet and painter strives to embody this discourse, even within the text and format of his painterly book, “Tiepolo’s Hound.”

“The paint is all that counts, no guilt no pardon  
No history, but the sense of narrative time  
Annihilated in the devotion of the acolyte,  
As undeniable as instinct, the brush strokes rhyme  
And page and canvas know one empire only: light’

(p. 244)

Handley writes of the essential triangulation of Pissarro’s experience and Atlantic destiny, painting from his sketches and a memory of *blackness*:

“His work in the Caribbean up to departure for France  
exhibited a rather flat naturalism, as exemplified by his 1856 work,  
“Two Women Chatting by the Sea,” painted during his first year in  
France. Although his pre-European work establishes evidence that  
his fascination with light stem from his Caribbean experience it also  
reminds us what he might never have become had he never left.”<sup>133</sup>

#### IV

In Jan de Jong's valuable compendium of Negro Dutch Creole proverbs collected in the Danish West Indies, during 1922-23,<sup>134</sup> there is a most telling Akan proverb:

*Croc no bang slang, slang no bang croc*

Translated into English, it becomes the compound sentence:

("The Crocodile is not afraid of the snake, the snake is not afraid of the crocodile").<sup>135</sup>

While Danish historian, Jens Larsen, used this contraction to show that Dutch Creole "throws out of parts of speech not absolutely necessary to the meaning of the sentence,"<sup>136</sup> he inadvertently emphasized an idiomatic jettisoning that disguises other cultural and ethical retentions.

The *deep memory* of contentions between specific European powers may have been arbitrarily retained among West Africans brought to the Danish West Indies, underscoring the slave trader's hubris, in an early sense of pan-African destiny.

According to Georg Norregard, a 17<sup>th</sup> century event emphasized Danish and Norwegian excursions into Africa were hired by the Duke of Kurland. He writes:

"In 1652, Peter Schhule, commander of the Kunlarden vessel, *Crocodile*, threatened Major Fock, Commander St. Andrew's Isle, during a dispute that he would go to Denmark and get a force

of men to take the Kurland fort and turn it over to the king of Denmark. The threat was no doubt based on a ‘deep knowledge’ of the interests of the Danish crown in West Africa, as well as on the presence of Danish subjects in the Kurlander settlement.”<sup>137</sup>

According to Norregard, had it been carried out, Denmark would have been in possession of territory in Africa years earlier, albeit on a different part of the coast.

Norregard offers an ironical speculation:

“And since Denmark might have been less easy to dislodge than Kurland, the Gambia might have been Danish rather than British.”<sup>138</sup>

The Dutch Creole Proverb (“Croc no bang slang, slang no bang Croc”), or (“The crocodile is not afraid of the snake; the snake is not afraid of the crocodile”), extends the pathos of another post-emancipation irony: Norregaard records that after January 1, 1834, “One captain was fined for having sailed slaves to the island of St. Croix.”<sup>139</sup>

In a classic example of Twi Language *mmébuo*, or proverb-making, post-1916 US Purchase folktales in the Virgin Islands indubitably hint at, as Kwame Appiah justly phrases it, “The first immediate consequence of this mutual recognition is that the literal intentions are, so to speak, cancelled. Further, Appiah reminds us that distinctions invite us to invite contextualization in our reflections.”<sup>140</sup>

Furthermore, de Jong’s collection reveals adherence to specific codes of Blackness: applying caution to boundaries of fraternizing with, and casually abandoning affiliation with Whites.

In this case, (itself an adaptation to Brothers Grimm Fairy Tale, “Katze und Mause in Gesellschaft”), Anansi and Tekoma are actors, with Tekoma assisting Anansi in the field before feigning to be called away “to baptize his bastards.”<sup>141</sup>

Reflexively commenting on European narrative structure, Tekoma’s three children are named, “I Have Just Begun,” “Just in the Middle,” and “Finished.”

Here, now, is the rest of the narrative as told to Jens de Jong:

“At dinner time Anansi finds excrements instead of the meal which he had prepared before they went to work. When Tekoma is interrogated, he proposes that Anansi shall tie him up and beat him until he says: ‘that’s enough’; afterwards he shall do the same thing to Anansi. When he has received about 3 blows, he says: ‘that enough’ and is untied. But when Anansi, in his turn, says: ‘that’s enough,’ Tekoma asks: ‘Where in the world have you heard a negro who is beaten by a white man say ‘that’s enough’? He goes on beating until Anansi is dead.”<sup>142</sup>

De Jong speculates of this narrative, as with another version (where Anansi gets hold of Tekoma by way of the tar-baby and burns him to ashes), - Is it a version of the tar-baby story.

In the second case, called within the Twi language proverb-tradition as the *ébé* form of proverb-making,<sup>143</sup> my example emphasizes the toxicity of false hopes, specific to a double-dose of colonial rule, this 1922 folkloric account is less gilded in proverbial idiom, but doubly sobering in geography and political landscaping:

“How the people in St. Jan are living nowadays. In the South

The people are exceedingly poor. The impoverished estate-owners cannot give them any work. So they have to make a living by burning charcoal and fishing. But most of the fish cannot be sold. The people in the North are a little better off: they cultivate bananas and tuberous plants. When the island was still Danish, many people found a living on the sugar estates. They were regularly paid and properly fed. Also they were allowed to cultivate potatoes on fallow sugar fields. They were silly enough to expect that the Americans would bring them food for nothing, and so they voted for America. But the Americans have treated so badly as not even to allow them their Drink of rhum. (sic) This is the reason that many have died.”<sup>144</sup>

The Middle Passage system of kinship, as devised by Africans who crossed it, shows the undeniable allegiances that resulted in “canoe” fraternities, mistaken as curious figures appearing late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean and in London. “John Canoe” and Jonkanoo,” are recognized masqueraders whose genuine affiliations escape but the very well informed scholars.

Among early Virgin Islands festivals, when friendship groups from Haiti, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and other Eastern Caribbean island communities, traditional forms of particular cultural displays included the hoop-skirted horizontally striped masquerade, or large columnar drummer corps formations. These hint at old ties with secret fraternal groups steeped in runaways, and surreptitious travel networks. Gwendolyn Hall, seeking to clarify colonial designation like “Mina,” in different contexts, identifies sources on both sides of the Atlantic over time and place.”<sup>145</sup>

She gives over-arching contexts to this one category:

“Enslaved Africans, for instance, designated as Mina over time and place in lists of slaves in notarial documents, in lists of runaway slaves from maroon communities, in conspiracies and revolts against slavery, in Irmandades in Brazil and in Cabildos de Naciones in Cuba as well as in notarial documents and sacramental records.”<sup>146</sup>

Hall cites further:

“Phillip Howard’s study of the Cabildos de Naciones in Cuba contains one reference to a specific *cabildo* named Mina, the Cabildo Mina Guagui...the reliance on firearms among the Mina in the Americas coincided in time with their incorporation into the military tactics of the Akwamu and the Mina in the Gold Coast/Slave Coast region and was probably a carryover from Africa...In Santo Domingo in the Caribbean, A community of runaway slaves from the French part of the island was established in 1678 near the capital of the Spanish part of the island. It was named San Lorenzo de los Minas. This community still exists and is now known as Los Minas...The Mina were recognized as a formal, organized community in Cuba. In 1794, the Cabildo Mina Guagui of Havana was given permission ‘to sponsor dances and other activities in the Libros a Cabildos.’”<sup>147</sup>

In the colonial period of the Danish West Indies, Rothschild Francis, a champion of the laboring class, closed his shoe-repair shop, and with the help of friends published *The Emancipator*, asking for a constitution that would rid the dreaded Naval rule in the territory. While drawing the ire of the middle class, Francis was affectionately called “Polly” by his followers. It can only be surmised that accounts of kinship among his followers in the Downstreet Ward, gave him the honorific title as many their ancestors had survived the Middle Passage from West Africa on the slaver, “Polly.”<sup>148</sup>

After January 1, 1834, while there were no large-scale shipments of slaves in Danish ships, smaller vessels were given permission to exceed time limits. One captain was fined for sailing sailed slaves (sic) to the island of St. Croix.

“Vore Gamle Kolonier,”<sup>149</sup> the 1952 standard two-volume study of Denmark’s various colonial colonies, shows a striking image of an enslaved African punished with one leg hitched backwards by chain to his neck brace. The accompanying caption (“An Invention made by a French Man in War linico”) describes implicit reasons why the figure is dressed only in a pleated skirt, revealing a Black figure in profile resting on a full-length crutch looming over the cultivated hillside estate, the labors of which he has escaped. Strangely, the runaway figure’s pose is now a signature part of the dance repertoire for the most popular Virgin Islands folk-dance figure: the Moko Jumbie. (See: Exhibit Kolonier/Carnival).

By surreal juxtaposition, another figure frontally shows “a slave that has his leg cut off for runningaway,” the conspicuous coupling of the noun ‘runaway’ becoming verb, ‘runningaway.’ Drawings of the two figures show them wearing heavy pleated

skirts and Elizabethan headwear, while carrying their upper torsos exposed for savage credibility.

Here, *blackness* and its creativity reveal explicit and implicit strategies for survival can be conceptually placed between the manifestly sartorial jousting, and the perspectives demanded by ‘one-legged’ appearances. Besides, descriptions of intents are timelessly lodged between two curious linguistic phrases of slang and linguistic contractions, namely, “linico” and “runningaway.”

As early as 1892, the Moko Jumbie appears in the St. Thomas’s Christmas festivities.<sup>150</sup> Today, the most retentive West African cultural trope in the US Virgin Islands is the Moko Jumbie; a performance figure on stilts, with both its name and iconic figure enjoying cultural currency as trademark in various tourist venues. Remarkably, the Moko Jumbie (its sardonic apostrophe, long gone) still appears in sundry civic and migration registers of the Virgin Islanders cultural landscape.

At one annual Christmas party given by Virgin Islands Civic Association at the Rockland Palace Ballroom in the 1950s, the “Mock ‘O Jumbie” perennial figure, John Magnus Farrell, Hansen takes him in group pictures with Virgin Islands families.<sup>151</sup> All this evidences a West Indies existential tradition of “the dark side of Christmas.”<sup>152</sup> Dirks reminds us that some seventy uprisings of enslaved African peoples in the West Indies occurred between 1649 and 1833, for which thirty-seven incidents can be accounted. December was the peak month for uprisings, with nearly one-third of the attacks planned or scheduled for implementation in that month. The potential for uprising may have been transformed into the uprising for potential – contributions supporting year-long goals, were self-evident among Virgin Islands peoples. They

boasted more civic organizations than any other Caribbean group in New York City, becoming first in securing a police permit for a black political rally in Harlem.

From the 1920s to the present, Virgin Islands artists and Moko Jumbie performers took part in the Harlem Renaissance. Jose Antonio Jarvis's participated in Alain Locke's vision of a New Harlem/New Negro constellation, representing Virgin Islanders with published poems. His subsequent use of Countee Cullen's towering silhouetted figure as a frontispiece in his 1935 pan-Caribbean poetry volume *Bamboula Dance and Other Poems*,<sup>153</sup> demonstrates a subtle affinity with his Mock O' Jumbie heritage. Jarvis participated in the 1939 New York World's Fair, receiving an IBM Medal for Science and Art, and the Golden Gate Exposition in 1939.<sup>154</sup>

\*\*\* [See further VICA Newsletter in home files for moko jumbie citations].

Lastly, in an effort to address the densely furtive observation of Radhakrishnan's 1993 essay, "Postcoloniality and the Boundaries of Identity,"<sup>155</sup> particularly as it relates to individual agency:

“”Is the entire world ‘postcolonial,’ and if so, can every world citizen lay claims to an ‘equal postcoloniality,’ i.e., without any historical reference to the asymmetries that govern that govern the relationship between the worlds of the excolonizers and the excolonized? Is ‘postcoloniality’...

a general state of being, a powerful shorthand for an intense but traveling human condition, or is it a more discrete and circumstantial experience taking place within specific geopolitical boundaries?”<sup>156</sup>

I offer a few examples of photographic images of 1918 Travel Passes given to immigrants from the Danish West Indies, who had recently become US Virgin Islanders.

The June 5, 1918 Travel Pass Application<sup>157</sup> image of Rebecca Roberts, a 25 year-old seamstress born in St. John, shows her holding a strand of fern; her grip and poise resembles the Abolitionist portrait of Phillis Wheatley. One imagines her mastery of certitude and literary subversion is assured when she scratches out “647 Lenox Ave,” and substitutes it for “225 West 143 Street, N.Y.,”<sup>158</sup> as the anticipated address, necessary “for the purpose of visiting my brother, Ralph Roberts.” On the same page of her application, Rebecca Roberts adjusts the description of her “complexion,” having first written “Dk Browne” she then erases the word “Browne,” leaving a linguistic phenotype “Dk.” When she fills in the color of her eyes, she writes “Brown” without the adding the “e” once applied to describe her complexion. Her height is written in tape-measure precision: “5 ft, 5 ½ in.” It is as if Rebecca (plumed and further graced with an expensive silver pendant), is stitching her profile through a social fabric of enormous thread-count.

Maria Branch, a 51 year old “laundress,” born on August 17, 1866 on St. Croix, is the epitome of dedication. Strangely resembling Rebekka’ features, Maria carries herself worthy of her travel intentions: “working for Dr. King.” She leaves for “Porto Rico,” with the doctor’s family, already grey-haired with apparent lifelong expectation.

John HERNs, a 51 year old "Seaman," at first writes "50" for his age. He was born on November 18, 1867 – and is correctly in his fifty-first year. More confidently, he writes "Danish" where it is required to state his citizenship. It would be another 10 years before formal naturalization is granted, following US involvement in World War I. HERNs needs his pass "to work on the American sloop, Carib." Under the slot for destination "sailing between the West Indies," HERNs writes tell-tale signs of his nautical experience in the descriptive slot, Marks; "small scars in corner of eye." Like his fellow-seaman, James McCloud, HERNs leaves his home on King Street, Christiansted, an assured "Danish" citizen, deftly skirting the designation, Afro-Danish West Indian, reserved for those countrymen who went to New York City.

Similarly, the immaculate poise of Rudolph Ulysses Lanclos, a 19-year old clerk, shows the polished gaze of a studio actor; his almost serpentine zeal belies an immigrant resolution to make passage to America. He too, adjusts his application narrative: "visiting my aunt," he writes, confidently; then erases it; that sudden change of relations created by two quick run-through lines (one straight, the other concave, inadvertently resembling the capsized hull of a schooner). Then, Lanclos writes: "visiting a friend, Allan O'Neal, at 164 West 144 Street, NYC." Perhaps Allen was the son of his god-father, Morris O'Neal, described as "witness" on Lanclos's birth certificate. Perhaps, too, one Richard Lanclos a messenger at a Crucian hotel, who appears as a New York-born son of a Crucian mother, and a St. Thomian father is the errant offspring of his anonymous aunt. Two things betray Lanclos's vaunted intent in sailing to New York City aboard the steamship, Saga: his stated purpose seems disarmingly casual. His small fraternal pin is seditious in its prominence; and richly reminiscent of Edward Wilmot Blyden's own fraternal pin, as he

had arrived in New York half-century earlier. In time, Lancloss re-appears in the 1930 US Virgin Islands census as the territory's first native "physician/dentist".

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<sup>1</sup> Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard's 1792 medal commemorated the Abolition of the slave trade in the Danish West Indies, which was to have officially been enacted in 1803. However, the 1759 St. Croix Rebellion registered Black impatience against ongoing cruelties and exploitation. Subsequently, the 1848 Rebellion, and immediate 1848 Emancipation Proclamation in the Danish West Indies forced the elimination of Denmark's original plan that slavery would be abolished in 1859. Summarily, Denmark losing to Norway in 1814 and Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, coupled with the 1878 Labor Riot forced the beginning of colonial reform culminating in several offers to sell the Danish West Indies colony by Denmark. Porto Rico was acquired after the Spanish-American War in 1898, along with the undertaking of the Panama Canal, a subsequent naval scheme resulted in the 1916 US Purchase of the Territory.

<sup>2</sup> "A Caribbean Mission," Arnold R. Highfield, and Vladimir Barac, Eds., and Translators) Karona Publishers: Ann Arbor, 1987, pp. 314-315

<sup>3</sup> "Gewinn und Gewissen," Christian Degn, Neumunster. 1974. (See further: "Rebecca," Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2006. p. 136a. (Sensbach notes that the painting is kept in the Unity Archives, in Herrnhut, Germany. He notes further, that the portrait was officially attributed to the Moravian painter Abraham Brandt. But, Vernon Nelson, the foremost authority on Haidt, credits the painting to Haidt because of its stylistic consistency with his work.)

<sup>4</sup> "Rebecca's Revival," Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005. p. 197

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 197

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 197

<sup>7</sup> Johann Valentin Haidt's *Erstlingsbild (First Fruits) 1747*, in "Image of the Black in Western Art," (volume 4, Part 1) Hugh Honour, Ed., Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass. 1989. p. 189. Courtesy of Unity Archives, Zeist, Netherlands (Also see: J. Antonio Jarvis, Virgin Islands historian and poet, who published a volume of poems, "Fruits in Passing," The Art Shop, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, 1932, in celebrating the heritage of the Danish West Indies Emancipation.)

<sup>8</sup> "The Image of the Black in Western Art," Vol. 4, Part 1, Hugh Honour, Harvard University Press, 1989. p. 59. (Honour cites: "[David Craz], Kurze, zuverlaBige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der Bohmisch-Mahrtschen Bruder bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum Herkomen, Lehr-Begrif, aussern u. inner Kirchen-Verfassung and Gebrauchen, aus richtigen Urkunden und Eerzehlungen von einem ihrer Christlich Unpartheiischen Freunde herausgegeben und mit sechzen Vorstellungen in Kupfer erlautet ([Switzerland]), 1757, pl. VII.) p. 314

<sup>9</sup> "Friedensthal in St. Croix an einem Bettage, da die Toeuflinge zur Toufe in die Kirche ge Fuhrd werdon, 1768 zu Anfang May und zu Mittage, du die Sonne uborn Scheitel jthet, aller Schaltten fenckrecht faellt, uberhaupt wenig Schatten ijt. Hinten das Wohnhaus zur lincken die Neger Kirche, zur rechten Negerhoeufer." C.G.A.O. Pinx. (Engraved by G.P. Nujsbiegel jc. Nor.) in C.G.A. Oldendorp's *History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*, as edited in abbreviated text, *A Caribbean Mission*, originally edited by Johann Jakob Bossard (English Edition and Translation by Arnold R. Highfield and Vladimir Barac); Karoma Publishers: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1987. p. 599 (Jon F. Sensbach's caption in his text, *Rebecca's Revival*, Harvard University Press, 2005, credits C.G.A. Oldendorp with this engraving, c. 1767, Courtesy of Unity Archives, Herrnhut, Germany.) p. 241

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<sup>10</sup> “Rebecca’ Revival,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005, p. 193  
(Here, Sensbach writes: “Black Workers, in fact, had largely kept the mission afloat by continuing to mobilize the faithful. At one point the few remaining white missionaries ran completely out of money and were kept alive only by a loan from the enslaved helper Mingo.”)

<sup>11</sup> “Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800,” John Thornton, Cambridge University Press: United Kingdom, 1992, 1998. p. 323 (Also see: C.G.A. Oldendorp, *Geschichte der Mission den evangelischen Bruder auf dem Caraiibischen Inseln St. Tomas, St. Croix und St. Jan* (ed. Johann Jakob Bossart, Barby and Leipzig, 1777), p. 441. See English translation, Arnold Highfield and Vladimir Barac, C.G.A. *Oldendorp’s History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands*...(Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 263

<sup>12</sup> “Africa and Africans in the Making of the New World, 1400-1800,” John Thornton, Cambridge University Press, UK, 1992, p. 331

<sup>13</sup> “Cotton Plantations of St. Croix,” George F. Tyson, *Bondmen and Freedmen in the Danish West Indies*, George F. Tyson, Ed., VI Humanities Council, St. Thomas, USVI, 1996.. (Tyson states that cotton plantations on St. Croix “enjoyed a brief prosperity (roughly 1740-1770) during which time they contributed significantly to the economic and social development of the fledgling Danish colony. Cotton quickly became an important export crop and the relatively large cotton plantocracy, mostly of British descent helped define the cultural focus of free society.”) p.103

<sup>14</sup> “Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press,: Cambridge, 2005. p. 191

<sup>15</sup> “Image of the Black in Western Art,” Hugh Honour, Harvard University Press, p. 313 (See: Vernon Nelson, “John Valentine Haidt,” Williamsburg exhibition catalog. Also: The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, March 6-April 24, 1966; Williamsburg, 1966)

<sup>16</sup> “Black Education in the Danish West Indies,” Eva Lawaetz, St. Croix Friends of Denmark Society, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, VI, 1980. p. 50.

<sup>17</sup> “The Alphabet is an Abolitionist,” Karen C. Chambers Dalton, *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 1991-92, U of Mass. Press, Amherst. pp. 545-580. The author seeks to ascribe to Brother Cornelius a particular notch in the Black Atlantic portraiture tradition. But, within a deeper abolitionist literary genre of portrait figures pointing to a favorite text, he places Brother Cornelius alongside Francis Williams (1735); Phillis Wheatley (1773); Olaudah Equiano (1789); Absalom Jones (1810); Rev. Richard Allen (1813); and William Whipper (1835).

<sup>18</sup> “The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, The African written by Himself,” Olaudah Equiano, (London, 1789)

<sup>19</sup> Phillis Wheatley’s volume of poems, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London, 1773) was published with the engraving of her image, with the narrative: “Phillis Wheatley, Negro Servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston,” on its engraved border. Its caption reads: “Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept. 1, 1773, by Archibald Bell, Bookseller No. 8 near Saracens Head Aldgate.”

<sup>20</sup> Images of Francis, Sancho, Equiano, Wheatley, Allen, Jones, and Whipper mentioned in this context, are cited in “The Alphabet is an Abolitionist,” Karen C. Chambers Dalton, *Massachusetts Review*, vol. 32, No. 4, 1991-92. pp. 545-580.

<sup>21</sup> “The Alphabet is an Abolitionist’ Literacy and African Americans in the Emancipation Era,” Karen C. Chambers Dalton, *The Massachusetts Review*, Volume XXXII, No. 4, Winter 1991-92, University of Massachusetts, p. 545

<sup>22</sup> “The Image of the Black in Western Art,” Part 1, Volume 4, Hugh Honour, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass. (Menil Foundation, Inc.,) 1989, p. 77

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 316

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* (Abildgaard’s drawings are in Copenhagen’s Statens Museum for Kunst, Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, and reproduced in SKOVBORG, N. A. Abildgaard Tegninger, p. 124. Nos. 48, 49)

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p.78

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* Abildgaard’s efforts contrasts with Thorkelin, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences in Copenhagen who opposed abolition while urging amelioration and the giving of religious instruction slaves, in “An Essay on the Slave Trade,” in *The Gentleman Magazine*, August, 1788, p. 724

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> “Fra slaveri til frihed: Det dansk-vestindiske slavesamfund 1672-1848,” Nationalmuseet Publishing, Denmark, 2001 p. 70 (The 1782 shooting target consists of a Black couple working in a sugar cane-cutting

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scene, *Ubekendt maler: Skydeskive for Johannes Heyliger*, Kjobenhavnske Skydeselskab og Danske Broderskab.)

<sup>29</sup> Drawing in the *Illustreret Tidende*, 1878, Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark)

<sup>30</sup> “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race,” Edward Wilmot Blyden, Edinburgh University Press: England. 1887. (Also: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Edinburgh University Press, England. 1967)

<sup>31</sup> “Abolitionists Abroad,” Lamin Sanneh, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1999. p. 230

<sup>32</sup> Nemata A. Blyden, in *West Indians in West Africa 1808-1880*, declares that “he [Blyden] never returned to his place of birth, though he frequently traveled to Europe and the United States.” p. 167 Other accounts (written and oral), to include Jennifer Ryan’s film project outline, “*A Voice from Bleeding Africa – On Behalf of her Exiled Children*,” affirm that “Blyden revisited his home island of St. Thomas in 1862, founding the St. Thomas-Liberia Association.” Caribbean Communications Network, Arroyo Seco, Mexico, 1990, p.10

<sup>33</sup> “Abolitionists Abroad,” Lamin Sanneh, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1999. p. 230

<sup>34</sup> “A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle...A Negro (1821): a Neglected Work by Anne Gilbert of Antigua,” Robert Glen, manuscript read at the Middle Atlantic Conference on British Studies, NY. 2001. (Revised paper delivered at *The Political and Artistic Cultures of Antigua and Barbuda Conference*, August, 2005. Also due in the 2006 special issue (*Antiguan Works*) of the C.L.R. James Journal, Brown University, RI.) Glen traces Peregrine Pickle, a Mohammedan cabin boy who passes through the Danish West Indies for a time, then takes passage to Barbados, before settling at the English shipping yard in Antigua. Beyond this, Archibald Stevenson Forrest (1869-1963), a landscape and figure painter who illustrated in John Henderson’s 1905 *West Indies*, when he painted several paintings in the US Virgin Islands before his death in 1963. See further: Grant M. Waters’s *Dictionary of British Artists (1900-1950)*, Eastbourne Fine Art: England, 1975.

<sup>35</sup> Bronze medallion portrait of Edward Wilmot Blyden, by Scheer, Massachusetts Review, University of Massachusetts: Amherst, volume 31, No. 3, Autumn 1990; back cover page. (It shows a rare photograph of Edward Wilmot Blyden formally dressed in a French aviator’s collar, with silk tie, and vest beneath his jacket. London. The author was able to notify the family of Dr. Edward Blyden III, through his son, Dr. Bai Blyden, about this rare image of the medal after personal correspondence with Sidney Kaplan, Contributing editor of *The Massachusetts Review*.) Edith Holden in her *Blyden of Liberia*, (Vantage Press: New York, 1966), gives this account of the elusive papers and medals of Edward Wilmot Blyden: “Upon his arrival in the United States in 1947, the grandson and namesake of Dr. Blyden, Edward W. Blyden, III, learned of the whereabouts of his uncle in New York, then an old man, and blind...About the same time the grandson was shown what purported to be the Turkish medal presented to Dr. Blyden in 1905 by the Sultan of Turkey, by a New York book dealer, who stated he had bought it at auction.”) p. 15

<sup>36</sup> “Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa,” Lamin Sanneh, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 240 (See further: E.W. Blyden, *The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church: A Lecture Delivered at the Breadfruit School House, Lagos, West Africa, January 2, 1891* (London: W.B. Whittingham, 1891), p. 6

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 219 (Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, colored by the US Civil War: The Negro race will never again leave the American continent, to which the passions and vices of Europe brought it; it will not disappear from the New World except by ceasing to exist.”)

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215 (Also: for Blyden’s quote, see E.W. Blyden, *The Three Needs of Liberia: A Lecture Delivered at Lower Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, Liberia*, January 26, 1908 (London: C. M. Phillips, 1908), pp. 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> “West Indians in West Africa 1808-1880: (The African Diaspora in Reverse),” Nemata Amelia Blyden, University of Rochester Press: Rochester, N.Y., 2000. p. 167

<sup>41</sup> “The Call of Providence to the Descendants of Africa in America,” in *I Am Because We Are*, Fred Lee Hord (Mzee Lasana Okpara) and Jonathan Scott Lee. University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, 1995. pp. 122-23. (Reprinted from Edward W. Blyden, *Liberia’s Offering* (New York: John A. Gray, 1862). pp. 67-91.)

<sup>42</sup> “African-American Exploration in West Africa,” Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indiana, 2003. p. 10 (See also: Schick, Tom W. 1980. *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. )

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<sup>43</sup> *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, daguerreotype taken by Rufus Anson, circa 1852, at his 580 Broadway, New York City studio. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. (See: "African-American exploration in West Africa," James Fairhead, Tim Geysbeek, Sven E. Holsoe, and Melissa Leach, Eds., Indiana University Press, 2003, p. 11 For the photograph, Blyden wore a satin vest, and a bow-tie, with his suit jacket. He also wore a small button on the lower left side of his vest. A bounced light situated behind him sharply outlines his shoulders and head.)

<sup>44</sup> "The Alphabet is an Abolitionist," *The Massachusetts Review*, Karen C. Chambers Dalton, Winter 1991-1992, University of Massachusetts: Hempstead. pp. 545-580.

<sup>45</sup> "Blyden of Liberia," Edith Holden, Vantage Press: New York, 1966. (Frontispiece).

<sup>46</sup> Denmark sells the Danish West Indies to the United States for \$25 million in 1916, without a plebiscite.

<sup>47</sup> "Hugo Larsen in the Danish West Indies 1904-1907," Oregaard Museum, Hellerup, Denmark, 2006 p. 33

<sup>48</sup> "Contested Territories: Representing Postcolonial Interests," Tamares Guimaraes, Greenland National Museum and Archives, Nuuk, Greenland; April 21-May 14, 2006, (Visit website: rethinking-nordiccolonialism.org for Guimaraes's narrative on Jan Leton.)

<sup>49</sup> "Jan Leton's Letters," and "The Gardening," Edgar O. Lake, *Kult*, Volume 3, Issue 1; Institute for Language and Culture, Roskilde University Centre, Denmark, 2006

<sup>50</sup> "Woman from the Virgin Islands," in *Four Portrait of Negro Women*, Winnold Reiss, Survey Graphic, 1925, p. 685

<sup>51</sup> "Moravian Mission," Edited and Translated by Arnold R. Highfield and Vladimir Barac: Korama Publishers, Ann Arbor, 1996. (Bishop Spangenberg arrived in the Danish West Indies on September 10, 1736. He was first to make use of the Creole language in his work.") p. 322 (Later, Spangenberg sent a letter written in Creole to the black Moravians in St. Croix by Nathaniel Seidel which was read in May of 1753. It was received with great delight. Two years later, Christian Heinrich Rauch visited the Danish West Indies in 1755, "delivering greetings to the Negroes from the congregation in Bethlehem and from the North American Indian congregation.") p. 517

<sup>52</sup> "Rebecca's Revival," Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005 (Sensbach writes: "In the 1680s the Danes even gave their slave-trading concessions to a German company from Brandenburg, but reclaimed it for their own company in 1717.") p. 15. Also see: Theodor Storm's novel, *Von Jenseits de Meeres (Beyond the Sea)*, Westermann's Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte No. 17, 1864; and, Laage, Karl Ernst; Lohmeier, Dieter, Eds., *Theodor Storm Samtliche Werke*, Frankfurt Germany am main, 1987.

<sup>53</sup> "Surveying Harris's Territory Afresh: Mapping a Living Virgin Islands Landscape," Edgar O. Lake, *The Caribbean Writer*, volume 17, University of the Virgin Islands, St. Croix, VI, 2003. p. 191 in which the author cites Virgin Islands poet, Jose Antonio Jarvis, who published his poems in the Harlem-based Urban League's journal, *Opportunity*, and who won its 1927 Fine Arts Prize. Additionally, Caspar Holstein's series of three articles on the Virgin Islands which appeared in *Opportunity*, in June, July, and November, 1926. The articles addressed concerns with US imperialism and the relationship of dark-skinned and white peoples internationally, in *Speech and Power*, volume 2, Gerald Early, 1993 pp. 217-221

<sup>54</sup> "Camille Pissarro in the Caribbean, 1850-1855: Drawing from the Collection at Olana," Catalog: Hebrew Congregation of St. Thomas; Lilienfeld House, St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands; December 16, 1996-March 14, 1996. pp. 56, 60.

<sup>55</sup> "Enter the New Negro," Martha Jane Nadell, Harvard University Press, 2004, p. 35

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* (Roland Hayes's head floats on the cover, anchored neither by body nor by background. Reiss's drawing portrays "a disembodied head staring out at the viewer. The face is framed by a full Afro that gives the impression of a halo. The effect is disconcerting, for the head looks almost like a mast, given its lack of a bodily anchor, yet the face claims individuality and a naturalistic look.") p. 51

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p. 37

<sup>61</sup> "Atlantic History: Concept and Contours," Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25

<sup>64</sup> "Atlantic History" Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," Alison Games, *American Historical Review*, June, 2006, p. 743. Games cites Bailyn's article, "The Idea of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 20, no. 1 (1996).

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid. p. 742

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. p. 23

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p. 23 See also: Charles Verlinden, *Les Origines coloniales de la civilization atlantique*, Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale – Journal of World History - Cuadernos de Historia Mundia, I (1953), 378-383, 398

<sup>68</sup> Atlantic History,” Bernard Bailyn, (“Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database is a collaborative product of four historians (English, Canadian, and Americans) which assembled in systematic-searchable form a vast array of information to some 27,000 slave voyages,, two-thirds of the estimated total – Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, British, and North American.”) p. 33

<sup>69</sup> “Atlantic History: Context and Contours,” Bernard Bailyn, p. 33

<sup>70</sup> “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,” Alison Games, *American Historical Review*, June, 2006. p. 743

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 743. Paul Gilroy published *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1993)

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p. 747

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 746

<sup>74</sup> “To Forge the Future in the Fires of the Past: An Interpretative Essay in Racism, Domination, Resistance, and Liberation,” (See: *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*); Arlene Torres, Norman E. Whitten, Jr., Eds., Indiana University Press, Bloomington: Indiana, 1998, p. 3

<sup>75</sup> “The Danish West Indies under Company Rule 1671-1754,” Waldemar Westergaard, The Macmillan Company: New York, 1917, p. 42

<sup>76</sup> “Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850,” Georg Norregard, Translated by Sigurd Mammen, Boston University Press: Boston, Ma. 1966. p. xvi

<sup>77</sup> “The Black Saturnalia,” Robert Dirks, University of Florida Press: Gainesville, Monograph No. 72, 1987, pp.114-115

<sup>78</sup> “Black Jacks: African Roots in the Age of Sail,” W. Jeffrey Bolster, p. 59. (See: Chapter African Roots of Black Seafaring.) The author has immortalized the Virgin Islands peoples’ deep heritage to Anamabu (“and when the blind man passes, we say:/it is only the palm trees at Anomabu”) in his poem, *To Ghana*, published in *Présence Africaine*, Edgar O. Lake, volume 160, 1999, p. 173)

<sup>79</sup> “Black Jacks,” Jeffrey Bolster, p. 192

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. p. 108

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p. 108

<sup>82</sup> “Men of Color!” in *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, (Boston: DeWolfe Co., 1895) pp. 112-113

<sup>83</sup> “Frederick Douglass Discusses The July Fourth Address,” *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, Herbert Aptheker, The Citadel Press: New York, 1951, 1986, p. 332

<sup>84</sup> “Old-Time Masquerading in the U. S. Virgin Islands,” Robert W. Nicholls, Vi Humanities Council: St. Thomas, VI. 1998. p. 20

<sup>85</sup> “Emancipation: The Virgin Islands of the United States celebrates its 150 Year Anniversary, July 3, 1848--1998,” Erik Lawaetz, Edition Poul Kristensen: Denmark, 1998 p. 235. (Also see: American-Danish Friendship Festival booklet, 1967)

<sup>86</sup> “Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic,” Alan Rice, pp. 180-81

<sup>87</sup> “Men of Color, to Arms” *Black Protest: History, Documents and Analyses, 1619 to the Present*,” Joanne Grant, Ed., Fawcett Premier, NY. 1968. p. 84 (W.E. B. Du Bois was a friend and colleague of St. Thomas native, and first US Navy Bandmaster, Alton Adams. An early 1920s black composer with his own community band participated in Harlem Renaissance parades. Langston Hughes frequently brought young African Americans to participate in Dr. Randall “Doc” James’s Talent Festivals during James’ 1950s-1960s competitions.)

<sup>88</sup> “*Dawn’s Early Light*,” Edgar O. Lake, *The Caribbean Writer*, Volume 8, 1994. p. 62. (The poem bears the epigram: “In memory of James McCloud, a 21 year-old seaman from St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, who fought with the 54<sup>th</sup> Volunteer Regiment of Massachusetts, 1863-1865.”) Also, published in “Seasoning for the Mortar: Virgin Islanders Writing in *The Caribbean Writer*, Volumes 1-15,” Marvin Williams, Ed., University of the Virgin Islands: St. Croix. 2004. pp. 98-99

<sup>89</sup> “The Sculptural World of Augustus Saint-Gaudens,” Sidney Kaplan, *The Massachusetts Review*, Spring 1989. p. 29. (See the portfolio: “Augustus Saint-Gaudens,” Sidney Kaplan, with the complete historical narratives of The Shaw Memorial; pp. 17-35. Details of Saint-Gaudens’s “Black Heads” appear on pages: [cover], 17, 27, 29, 32-35.)

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- <sup>90</sup> “Edward Wilmot Blyden, 1832-1912: Pan Negro Patriot,” Hollis R. Lynch, Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York, 1967, p. 54
- <sup>91</sup> “The Black Atlantic,” Paul Gilroy, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1993. p. 209
- <sup>92</sup> Ibid
- <sup>93</sup> “Rebecca’s Revival,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005. p. 21 (Also see: C.G.A. Oldendorp’s *A Caribbean Mission*, pp. 225-226; Johan Lorentz Cartstens, *St. Thomas in Early Danish Times: A Grand Description of all the Danish, American or West Indian Islands*, trans. And ed. Arnold R. Highfield, originally published in the 1740s as *En almindelig Beskrivelse om alle de Danske, Americanske eller West-Indiske Eylande* (St. Croix, 1997)., pp. 61-75, quote on p. 74; Kea, *When I Die*,” pp. 159-160.
- <sup>94</sup> “The Black Atlantic,” Paul Gilroy, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1993. p. 209. (See also: H. Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Nationalism* ( London: Macmillan, 1946)
- <sup>95</sup> “Democracy in America,” Alexis de Tocqueville, Harper & Row, Publishers: New York, 1966, pp. 19-20 (Alexis de Tocqueville’s remarks on the West Indies (“When the Europeans landed on the shores of the West Indies, and later of South America, they thought themselves transported to the fabled lands of the poets.”) were grounded in M. Malte-Brun’s *Précis de la Géographie universelle au Description de toutes les parties du Monde*, Paris, 1826, vol. V.
- <sup>96</sup> “The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness,” Paul Gilroy, Harvard University: Cambridge, Mass., 1993. p. 209
- <sup>97</sup> Ibid. p. 217
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid. p. 217
- <sup>99</sup> “Abolitionist Abroad,” Lamin Sanneh, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1999, p. 217
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid. p. 127
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 127 (Sanneh writes: “Crowther was the foremost churchman of nineteenth-century Africa and a pioneer of the cause in his native Nigeria.”)
- <sup>102</sup> Ibid. p. 128
- <sup>103</sup> Ibid. p. 129
- <sup>104</sup> “Blackness in Latin American and the Caribbean,” Torres and Whitten, Jr., Eds., Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1998 p. 3
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid. p. 3
- <sup>106</sup> “Slavery in the West Indies,” William Wilberforce, Negro University Press: Washington, D.C., 1823, p. 71 (Re-printed in 1969. Green Publishing, N.Y. 1969)
- <sup>107</sup> “Negro Slavery, or A View of the More Prominent Features of that State of Society as it Exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, Especially in Jamaica,” William Wilberforce, in “Slavery in the West Indies,” London, 1823, p. 69
- <sup>108</sup> “C.G.A. Oldendorp A Caribbean Mission,” edited by Johann Jakob Bossard, English translation and eds. Arnold R. Highfield, and Vladimir Barac; Karoma Publishers, Inc: Ann Arbor, 1987, p. 330
- <sup>109</sup> “Eyewitness Accounts of Slavery,” Isidore Paiewonsky, Fordham University Press: New York, 1979
- <sup>110</sup> “Eyewitness Accounts of Slavery,” Isidore Paiewonsky, Fordham University Press: New York, 1979
- <sup>111</sup> “Rebecca’s Revival,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005. p. 38 (Sensbach writes: “somewhat different versions of the same source discuss Rebecca né Shelly’s impression of the Book of Martyrs,” in Oldendorp, CM, 314, *Historie*, part II, vol. 1, pp. 177-178.)
- <sup>112</sup> “Enter the New Negro,” Martha Jane Nadell, p. 61 (“Amy Kirschke has pointed to the possible influence of the *Scherenschnitt*, the German folk art of scissors-cut images, on Reiss.”)
- <sup>113</sup> “Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005, pp. 4-5 (Also: “A Caribbean Mission,” Arnold R. Highfield, and Vladimir Barac, Editors and Translators; Karona Publishers: Ann Arbor, p. 346
- <sup>114</sup> “Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World,” Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005. p. 79
- <sup>115</sup> Ibid. p. 129. (Letter from Rebecca to Anna Nitschmann, February 16, 1739, R15, Ba. 11, UA; translated by Marjoleine Kars.)

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid. p. 79

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. p. 63

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. pp.212-214

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. 212

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. p. 212

<sup>122</sup> "History, of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, edited by Johann Jacob Bossard [i.e. Bossart] orig. published in Barby, 1770, in German.

English edition and translation Arnold R. Highfield and Vladimir Barac, Korama: Ann Arbor, 1987

<sup>123</sup> "Rebecca's Revival," Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005 pp. 218-219.

Christian Protten published his manuscript under the Danish title, "En nyttig Grammatisk Indledning til Tvende hinindtil gandske ubekjendte Sprog, Fanteisk og Acraisk" ("A Useful Grammatical Introduction to Two Completely Unknown Languages, Fante and Ga"). Protten's catechism also supplements Joannes Capitein's catechism written in 1744.

<sup>124</sup> "Rebecca's Revival," Jon F. Sensbach, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005, p. 219 (Also see: H.M. J. Truutenau, ed., Christian Protten's 1764 Introduction to the Fante and Accra (Ga) Languages (London, 1971).

<sup>125</sup> "Black Education in the Danish West Indies: The Pioneering Efforts of the Moravian Brethren," Eva Lawaetz, St. Croix Friends of Denmark Society, St. Croix U.S. Virgin Islands, 1980 p. 88

<sup>126</sup> "Die Schimmelmans in Atlantischen Dreieckshandel, Gewinn und Gewissen. Neumunster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1974, p. 338. (Brother Cornelius's sermon is recorded in a diary from Frederiksted, St. Croix as follows: "Brother Cornelius preached about the verse 'Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit' in such a moving way that even our white brethren and Sisters were moved to tears...")

<sup>127</sup> "Black Education in the Danish West Indies," Eva Lawaetz, St. Croix Friends of Denmark Society, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, 1980. p. 49. (Additionally, a typed English translation of Cornelius's letter is printed on p. 88 )

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 54. (Cornelius's tombstone inscription is in Creole: "Hieso rust die gebeent van die getraute/Dienaar en Friend Jesus/Em Ka loop na si Liefde Heers." ("Here rest the bones of the true servant/and friend of Jesus/He has gone home to his master's love")

<sup>129</sup> "Maritime Maroons: *Grand Marronage* from the Danish West Indies," N.A.T. Hall, William and Mary Quarterly, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sents, Vol. XLII, October 1985, p. 397 (See also: Henlagte Sager, Vestindisk Journal, No. 141, 1848, Genreal Toldkammer, Rigsarkiv)

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> "Triangulation and the Aesthetics of Temporality in Tiepolo's Hound," George Handley, Callaloo Journal, Johns Hopkins University Press: Maryland, Volume 28, No. 1, p. 246

<sup>132</sup> "Tiepolo's Hound," Farrar, Straus and Giroux: London/New York, 2000, p. 244

<sup>133</sup> The Callaloo Journal, Johns Hopkins University, Md.; Volume 28, Issue No. 1, p. 246

<sup>134</sup> "Het Huidige Negerhollandsch (texten en woordenlijst); "Uitgave van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademis van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde," Jan Petrus Benjamin de Josseling de Jong, Amsterdam, 1926, p. 123

<sup>135</sup> Ibid (Also see: Jens Larsen's "The Negro Dutch Creole Dialect," in Bondsmen in the Danish West Indies.," George F. Tyson, Ed. Virgin Islands Humanities Council, St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands, p. 120

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. p 120 (Reprinted from "Virgin Islands Story," Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1950, pp.102-111

<sup>137</sup> "Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850," Georg Norregard; Boston University Press: Boston, Mass. 1966, p. xvi

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

<sup>139</sup> Norregard p. 183

<sup>140</sup> "Thick Translation," Kwame Anthony Appiah, Callaloo 16.(1993) p. 812

<sup>141</sup> "Het Huidige Negerhollandsch (texten en woordenlijst); "Uitgave van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademis van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde," Jan Petrus Benjamin de Josseling de Jong, Amsterdam, 1926, Folkstory # 36, p. 115-116

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p. 1116

<sup>143</sup> "Thick Translation," Kwame Anthony Appiah, Callaloo 16.4 (1993) p. 812

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<sup>144</sup> “Het Huidige Negerhollandsch (texten en woordenlijst): “Uitgave van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademis van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde,” Jan Petrus Benjamiin de Josseling de Jong, Amsterdam, 1926. Folkstory # 26, p. 113-114

<sup>145</sup> “Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas,” Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 2005. p. 116

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid. pp. 116-119

<sup>148</sup> “Eyewitness Accounts of Slavery,” Isidore Paiewonsky, Fordham University Press: New York, 1979

<sup>149</sup> “Vore Gamle Kolonier,” Johannes Bronsted. Westermanns Forlag Publisher, Copenhagen, 1952, p. 126

<sup>150</sup> “Old-Time Masquerading in the U.S. Virgin Islands,” Robert W. Nicholls, Virgin Island Humanities Council: St. Thomas, 1998. p. 20. Nicholls states; “The steets thronged...masqueraders, pole plaiters,...It is noteworthy, tht for ca. 1892 we have Visby-Petersen’s (1917) detailed description of Christasin St. Thomas with Devils, a Mocko Jumbie, and significantly, Queen Mary’s parade in which the celebrated leader on the Fireburn and her retinue danced throughthe streets of Charlotte Amalie provocatively singing ‘Fan Me.’”

<sup>151</sup> Austin Hansen’s Photographic Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, NYPL. (Hansen’s photographic logs show photos for, among other events, “Carnival Time at Hunt’s Point, February 8, 1948; Duke of Iron, Louise McCoy as “Queen 1974,” etc. One needs to re-examine the potency of belief employed in incidents such as the mock funeral for ex-Georgia governor, Eugene Talmadge, at the Golden Gate Ballroom in 1942, sponsored by The People’s Voice newspaper.

<sup>152</sup> “Agnostic Rites,” in Black Saturnalia, Robert Dirks, University of Florida Press, Monograph Social Sciences Series, No. 72, Gainesville. p.167

<sup>153</sup> “Surveying Harris’s Territory Afresh: Mapping a Living Virgin Islands Landscape,” Edgar O. Lake, The Caribbean Writer, volume 17, 2003, University of the Virgin Islands: St. Croix. p. 191 (See also: J. Antonio Jarvis’s *Bamboula Dance and other poems*, Art Shop Publishers, St. Thomas, 1935; and Kraus Reprints, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1970. Jarvis also received the Selective Service Medal fro President Truman n 1946, the lone black at the ceremony; a burdensome vindication implied for Truman’s earlier cruel remarks about the territory.

<sup>154</sup> “Surveying Harris’s Territory Afresh: Mapping a Living Virgin Islands Landscape,” Edgar O. Lake, The Caribbean Writer, Volume 17, 2003; University of the Virgin Islands: St. Croix. p. 191

<sup>155</sup> “Postcoloniality and the Boundaries of Identity,” R. Radhakrishnan, Callaloo 16:4, 1993, p. 750

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> “transfer,” a multimedia exhibit co-curated by Edgar Endress, Lori Lee and Janet Cook-Rutnik was convened on the three main islands (St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John) over a two year period, culminating on March 17, 2006. As part of the graphic text, Endress changed the character, “e”, of the one-word exhibit title “transfer”; it is deliberately reversed in red in an otherwise white “blotted” white font. I suspect, it signifies a “reversal” of historical migration throughout the Americas, refurbishing both new demographic and ideological conventions of status and identity.

<sup>158</sup> “Harlem’s Danish West Indian 1819-1964,” Geraldo Guirty, Vantage Press: New York, 1989, p. 33, 31 (Guirty records 149 W. 136<sup>th</sup> Street, N.Y.C., as the headquarters of the Virgin Islands federated societies. Guirty writes: “This coordinated venture was just a central committee to make the benevolent service of the societies more practical and efficient.” Many arriving Virgin Islands had enclaves in Harlem in proximity to their organizations, creating a base from which they ventured to other boroughs seeking employment.