Commandeering Aesop’s Bamboo Canon: A 19th Century Confederacy of Creole

Fugitive Fables

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Romance Studies in the Graduate School of Duke University

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In my thesis, “Commandeering Aesop’s Bamboo Canon: A 19th Century Confederacy of Creole Fugitive Fables,” I ask and answer the ‘Who? What? Where? When? Why?’ of Creole Literature using the 19th century production of Aesopian fables as clues to resolve a set of linguistic, historical, literary, and geographical enigmas pertaining the ‘birth-place(s)’ of Creolophone Literatures in the Caribbean Sea, North and South America, as well as the Indian Ocean. Focusing on the fables in Martinique (1846), Reunion Island (1826), and Mauritius (1822), my thesis should read be as an attempt capture the links between these islands through the creation of a particular archive defined as a cartulary-chronicle, a diplomatic codex, or simply a map in which I chart and trace the flight of the founding documents relating to the lives of the individual authors, editors, and printers in order to illustrate the articulation of a formal and informal confederation that enabled the global and local institutional promotion of Creole Literature. While I integrate various genres and multi-polar networks between the authors of this 19th century canon comprised of sacred and secular texts such as proclamations, catechisms, and proverbs, the principle literary genre charted in my thesis are collections of fables inspired by French 17th century French Classical fabulist, Jean de la Fontaine. Often described as the ‘matrix’ of Creolophone Literature, these blues and fables constitute the base of the canon, and are usually described as either ‘translated,’ ‘adapted,’ and even ‘cross-dressed’ into Creole in all of the French Creolophone spaces. My documentation of their transnational sprouting offers proof of an opaque canonical
formation of Creole popular literature. By constituting this archive, I emphasize the fact that despite 200 years of critical reception and major developments and discoveries on behalf of Creole language pedagogues, literary scholars, linguists, historians, librarians, archivist, and museum curators, up until now not only have none have curated this literature as a formal canon. I also offer new empirical evidence in order to try and solve the enigma of “How?” the fables materially circulated between the islands, and seek to come to terms with the anonymous nature of the texts, some of which were published under pseudonyms. I argue that part of the confusion on the part of scholars has been the result of being willfully taken by surprise or defrauded by the authors, or ‘bamboozled’ as I put it. The major paradigmatic shift in my thesis is that while I acknowledge La Fontaine as the base of this literary canon, I ultimately bypass him to trace the ancient literary genealogy of fables to the infamous Aesop the Phrygian, whose biography – the first of a slave in the history of the world – and subsequent use of fables reflects a ‘hidden transcript’ of ‘masked political critique’ between ‘master and slave classes’ in the 4th Century B.C.E. Greece.

This archive draws on, connects and critiques the methodologies of several disciplinary fields. I use post-colonial literary studies to map the literary genealogies Aesop; use a comparative historical approach to the abolitions of slavery in both the 19th century Caribbean and the Indian Ocean; and chart the early appearance of folk music in early colonial societies through Musicology and Performance Studies. Through the use of Sociolinguistics and theories of language revival, ecology, and change, I develop an
approach of ‘reflexive Creolistics’ that I ultimately hope will offer new educational opportunities to Creole speakers. While it is my desire that this archive serves linguists, book collectors, and historians for further scientific inquiry into the innate international nature of Creole language, I also hope that this innovative material defense and illustration of Creole Literature will transform the consciousness of Creolophones (native and non-native) who too remain ‘bamboozled’ by the archive. My goal is to erase the ‘unthinkability’ of the existence of this ancient maritime creole literary canon from the collective cultural imaginary of readers around the globe.
Dedication

This work is dedicated to the maritime marron turtles of the sea who carry there home wherever they go.
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1 Introduction to Commandeering Aesop’s Bamboo Canon

Figure 1: Allegory of the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonial.¹

¹ François-Auguste Biard, L'abolition De L'esclavage Dans Les Colonies Françaises (27 Avril 1848), 1849.
Figure 2: Allegory of the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonial (April 27th, 1848) 261 x 391 cm.²

² Ibid.
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3 Ibid.
**Jean Marie Gustave Le Clézio:** On the difficulties that the youth have in order to be published for example. That, that would be interesting: on the difficulty that someone who writes or even who thinks in Creole has to translate one’s thoughts in French and then to find an editor outside of one’s island. Therefore, all the relativity of editorial system why it is so difficult, when we are far from the big countries: from several countries that have money. Why it is so complicated? This must be simpler I believe at first that it is necessary to suppress taxes on books. Books should be tax exempt tax.

*The Journalist:* You are always a little bit angry in fact, **Jean Marie Gustave Le Clézio:**?

**Jean Marie Gustave Le Clézio:** Yes, because I find that it is a system in which it is difficult to be different, it is one system in which it is difficult to speak, to make one’s voice heard, one must ceaselessly, especially when one is very young, one must ceaselessly knock on all the doors, crash into walls. This should must be easier; it seems to me. 4

In my thesis, “Commandeering Aesop’s Bamboo Canon: A 19th Century Confederacy of Creole Fugitive Fables,” I ask and answer the ‘Who? What? Where? When? Why?’ of Creole Literature using the 19th century production of Aesopian fables as clues to resolve a set of linguistic, historical, literary, and geographical enigmas pertaining the ‘birth-place(s)’ of Creolophone Literatures in the Caribbean Sea, North and South America, as well as the Indian Ocean. Focusing on the fables in Martinique (1846), Reunion Island (1826), and Mauritius (1822), my thesis should read be as an attempt capture the links between these islands through the creation of a particular archive defined as a cartulary-chronicle, a diplomatic codex, or simply a map in which I chart and trace the flight of the founding documents relating to the lives of the individual authors, editors, and printers in order to illustrate the articulation of a formal and informal

4 This Maurician Creole writer Léclzio in response to the question “What will you say in your Nobel Prize Speech?” see video at [http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x70igg_jmg-le-clezio-nobel-de-litterature_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x70igg_jmg-le-clezio-nobel-de-litterature_news)
confederation that enabled the global and local institutional promotion of Creole Literature. While I integrate various genres and multi-polar networks between the authors of this 19th century canon comprised of sacred and secular texts such as proclamations, catechisms, and proverbs, the principle literary genre charted in my thesis are collections of fables inspired by French 17th century French Classical fabulist, Jean de la Fontaine. Often described as the ‘matrix’ of Creolophone Literature, these blues and fables constitute the base of the canon, and are usually described as either ‘translated,’ ‘adapted,’ and even ‘cross-dressed’ into Creole in all of the French Creolophone spaces. My documentation of their transnational sprouting offers proof of an opaque canonical formation of Creole popular literature.

By constituting this archive, I emphasize the fact that despite 200 years of critical reception and major developments and discoveries on behalf of Creole language pedagogues, literary scholars, linguists, historians, librarians, archivist, and museum curators, up until now not only have none have curated this literature as a formal canon. I also offer new empirical evidence in order to try and solve the enigma of “How?” the fables materially circulated between the islands, and seek to come to terms with the anonymous nature of the texts, some of which were published under pseudonyms. I argue that part of the confusion on the part of scholars has been the result of being willfully taken by surprise or defrauded by the authors, or ‘bamboozled’ as I put it. The major paradigmatic shift in my thesis is that while I acknowledge La Fontaine as the base of this literary canon, I ultimately bypass him to trace the ancient literary genealogy of fables to
the infamous Aesop the Phrygian, whose biography – the first of a slave in the history of the world – and subsequent use of fables reflects a ‘hidden transcript’ of ‘masked political critique’ between ‘master and slave classes’ in the 4th Century B.C.E. Greece.

This archive draws on, connects and critiques the methodologies of several disciplinary fields. I use post-colonial literary studies to map the literary genealogies of Aesop; use a comparative historical approach to the abolitions of slavery in both the 19th century Caribbean and the Indian Ocean; and chart the early appearance of folk music in early colonial societies through Musicology and Performance Studies. Through the use of Sociolinguistics and theories of language revival, ecology, and change, I develop an approach of ‘reflexive Creolistics’ that I ultimately hope will offer new educational opportunities to Creole speakers. While it is my desire that this archive serves linguists, book collectors, and historians for further scientific inquiry into the innate international nature of Creole language, I also hope that this innovative material defense and illustration of Creole Literature will transform the consciousness of Creolophones (native and non-native) who too remain ‘bamboozled’ by the archive. My goal is to erase the ‘unthinkability’ of the existence of this ancient maritime creole literary canon from the collective cultural imaginary of readers around the globe.

In the form of extended sequences and episodes, “A Journey through the Secret Lives of Commanders on the Move”, I theorize as a ‘retrospective’ ‘critique from down under’ referencing the newly (re)discovered lost link to Australia by which we discover the function of the first transoceanic nautical racing fable: “The Tortoise and Hare” and
how the first bamboo blue boat book arrived in Martinique in 1826. In chapter 2, I prove the authorship of a treasurer of Martinique (1846); in chapter 3, I regress back to a young French Professor ‘gone native’ in Reunion (1826) as a lover of blues and berimbau; in chapter 4, I place Mauritius (1822) as the ‘star’ colonial printing in which I unveil a family secret of how the Freycinet Family, a family of map makers, revolutionary one-armed captain-commanders, and even a cross-dressing stowaway wife all allied with the President of the Society of Kangaroos of the Oval Table to command the ‘independence’ of Creole from French.

While certainly offering a rare insight into the emerging literary trends of transnational pan-creole folklore, after analyzing this canon and its authors through an approach defined as sociometric (the network mapping), the core contribution of my thesis is a reasoned and systematic revelation of a set of ‘hidden structures’ which has given the Bamboo Canon its form: along with the transoceanic conspiratory creole ‘alliances’, the ‘subgroups’ embedded in the institutions, the ‘hidden beliefs’ of its commanders ‘on the move’ whose ‘forbidden agendas’ of alphabetization, from which sprouted the ‘ideological agreements’ to confederate a literary canon armed with fables and blues to finally arrive at a concorded consensus on the identities of these formally occulted ‘‘stars’ of the show’’ of boats and faces which launched a thousand fables.

It is not unknown that "all the creole territories have their fabulists" and of these fables "[t]hat which hits the emblem, is the link of generalized intertextuality which unites these different works in spite of their distances from one another of their authors
and of the not very easy diffusion in the 19th century of what we call in our days the "bien culturels," notably between the colonies." In a 2002 review of the first educational didactic publication series for Creole Languages, Margaret Marshall concludes that “[t]he C.A.P.E.S.…represents a breakthrough in the thinking of the French Ministry of Education” showing that the work is current and still being studied which “will contribute to the literary history of africannité.”

While the articulation of these collections of ‘first creole books’—often called ‘ancient’ creole literature—as a literary canon is deftly supported by a waves of literary scholars, linguists, historians, librarians, archivist, museum curators, and especially auction houses as foundational to the development of literature in each of these locations yet they have yet to be considered as constituting a canon in the studies of literature and literary criticism. These fables are considered to be important archeology and paleographical documents: an archeology allowing them to capture the evolution of the print material writing and typography, as if rare literary fossils.

While the articulation of these collections of ‘first creole books’—often called ‘ancient’ creole literature—as a literary canon is deftly supported by a waves of literary scholars, linguists, historians, librarians, archivist, museum curators, and especially auction houses as foundational to the development of literature in each of these locations. These ancient fables are used by are indeed considered to be important archaeological

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and paleographical documents: an archeology allowing them to capture the so-called evolution of the print material writing and typography, as if rare literary fossils. The notion of an archivist archeology of ‘ancient’ 19th century texts in Creole is in the recent publication of Marie-Christine Hazael-Massieux who is interested "primarily to present texts, to establish the rules of grammatical operations" (p. 12). These ancient texts include sacred and secular texts: passions, catechisms, Creole songs, revolutionary proclamations, parables, and grammars. More often than not, a text had served multiple use values in the political economy of written Creole, that is to say, the need to publish in the local dialect, whatever the reasons. In particular, there is a preference for the production of oral texts.

1.1 Three, Two, One, Creole Down Under: Concording Retro Grade “Bamboozling” Bamboo Canon

While I am interested in the latter fables in Guadeloupe, Trinidad, French Guiana, Louisiana, and Haiti, my dissertation focuses on the origin of the first three primary text and their authors to articulate a never before unveiled network between the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. The first of these bamboo blue boat book in the Bamboo Canon is The Trials of an African Berimbau (1822) originating from Mauritius written by judge and singer song-writer Francois Chrestien Desnoyers; the 2nd bamboo blue boat book is African Sketches (1826) out of Reunion Island written by a school teacher and amature player of the berimbau, Louis Emile Hery; and finally, it is 7800 nautical miles away in Martinique in the French West Indies that we have the 3rd bamboo blue boat
book, The Bamboo: Fables of Jean de la Fontaine Cross-dressed in Creole Patois by and Old Commander (1846), attributed to elusive figure by the name of Francois Achille Marbot which appears 24 and 20 years after it precedors from Mauritius and Martinique, respectively. I seek a narrative that will ‘capture the transition’, ‘identify informal actors’ in ‘liminal spaces’ to the creole language archive. Transitions can be described as who or what transported either the fable or the idea? If indeed there was a transition, where else could the material have been to before reaching the final destination?

After the publication of The Bamboo in 1846, François-Achille Marbot’s work served as a “trampoline” of inspiration for others such as Paul Baudot (1801-1870) from Guadeloupe. While Paul Baudot’s work is indeed the first book in Guadeloupean, prior to the printing of this book, there is a very rich and ample archive of Guadeloupean being printing in the press in the form of public opinion-editorials printed in the local press. What is most remarkable about Baubot is that with in the canon their exist works which have been attributed to him under various pen-names or pseudonyms, one of which is Dakoe, whose name appear in a wave of op-editorial letters in 1949 archiving the riots and the reponse to the first universal (male) suffrage in France after the 1848 defenitive abolition of slavery also refered to the end of the July Monarchy leading a new democratic social republic in the French Empire. Baudot’s work is the 1\textsuperscript{st}

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6 Jean Bernabé, La Fable Créole ([Petit-Bourg], Guadeloupe: Ibis Rouge editions : GEREC-F/Presses universitaires créoles, 2001), p. 43.
to mention former fabulist – François Achille Marbot, 1st to include a libretto for a full creole opera. He is a notary listen along side Francois Achille Marbot in the Almanach.

There is also John Jacob Thomas who wrote both Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar (1869, 1934) and Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude in Trinidad. While globally within the entire canon for Trinidad, John Jacob Thomas’ work is the 5th bamboo blue boat book as the 1st from the island of Trinidad, it, too, stands out as a unique and independent work being: (1) the first trilingual bamboo blue boat book with fables in French, Trinidadian Creole, and English; (2) the 1st with origins from an island or territories with has never been a French colony or characterised as being under the ‘French crown’.

It is in 1869 that a new shoot of the bamboo blue boat book in the canon in Trinidad appears: a twin set of bamboo blue boat book in the world (im)printed on Trinidadian creole grammar: The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar and Froudacity: West Indian Fables both published in 1869 in at the Chronicle Publishing Office in Port of Spain, Trinidad penned by John Jacob Thomas, whose work was received throughout linguistic societies throughout Europe.

While globally within the entire canon for Trinidad, John Jacob Thomas’ work is the 5th bamboo blue boat book as the 1st from the island of Trinidad, it, too, stands out as a unique and independent work being: (1) the first trilingual bamboo blue boat book with fables in French, Trinidadian Creole, and English; (2) the 1st with origins from an island or territories with has never been a French colony or characterised as being
under the ‘French crown’. This is the 2\textsuperscript{nd} collection created post French abolition while Trinidad’s abolition was in 1834.

Thomas is therefore the first self-identified Black writer within in the Bamboo Canon. Georges Sylvain, the author of Krik ! Krak ! (1902) would be the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and last self-identified Black author within the Bamboo Canon. The universe of Thomas can be described as journalistic through is writing found in local journals, didaction through his dedication as a school teacher, and scholarly due to his publications which can found in philological jo in phi betransnational communicating with writers from around the globe.

It is in 1869, three years after the death of \textit{François Achille Marbot} in \textit{Réunion}, following the 1866 death of \textit{François Achille Marbot} dies in \textit{Réunion}, that we begin to see evidence of a global creole \textit{consciousness} in making the convergence of three press events: two reproductions and the invention of a new bamboo blue boat book. The first the most significant event is the appearance of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} publication \textit{Les Bambous} (1869) printed in \textit{France}. This publication is still printed without the name of an author however, there can be found a \textit{preface} written by the “friends of the author” along with a reference to an \textit{obituary} leading us to a journal in \textit{Moniteur de la Réunion} in \textit{Réunion Island} dated from 1866. It is only upon locating the newspaper (im)printed in \textit{Réunion} that a reader discovers the name typographically as “\textit{François Achille Marbot}”. Secondly, this year marks the 3\textsuperscript{rd} publication of \textit{François Chrestien’s The Essays of an African Berimbau} (1822, 1831, 1869) published in \textit{Mauritius} selling for
two shillings. This 3rd edition would be the last edition of the Mauritian bamboo blue boat book to be printed in the 19th century.

1.1.1 French Guiana – 1873

Seven years after the death of François Achille Marbot, and four years after the synchronic commandering indigenous from Martinique, Mauritius, and new impression from Trinidad, it is in 1873 that two men of the same family, Marie-François Isidore Auguste (May 16th, 1829- July 23rd, 1911) and Marie-Ferdinand Narcisse Alfred de Saint-Quentin (April 19th, 1840-May 18th, 1902), brother co-author Introduction to the History of Cayenne followed by a Collection of Stories, Fables & Songs in Creole with side-by-side Translation, Notes, and Commentaries, Study on Creole Grammar (1873)/ [Introduction à l’histoire de Cayenne suivie d’un receuil de contes, fables & chansons en créole avec traduction en regard, notes, et commentaires, étude sur la grammaire creole. Expansion of the Creole paraext with stories, fabes, and songs. This French Guianese bamboo blue boat book, again the 5th is remarkable within the canon for its several reasons: (1) the 1st to be commanded on the continent of South America; (2) the 1st co-authored in the title; (3) the 1st co-authored by members from family who are in fact brothers; (4) the 1st printed with a French translation; (5) the 1st with commentaries; and while as noted above there exists a

grammar from Martinique printed by Abbe Goux in 1842 as well as the first comparative grammar printed by John Jacob Thomas, the bamboo blue boat book from French Guiana is the 1st to be accompanied in folio by a ‘study on creole grammar’ or a grammatology. Furthermore, while the fables are not chantefables, there is indeed also a broadside balland in that it also clearly was inspired by the 1st bamboo blue boat book from Mauritius, the Trails of the African Berimbau (1822, 1831, 1869) written by Francois Chrestien Desnoyers of Mauritius.

While this the Saint-Quentin brother’s French Guyanese collection marks a milestone for the above reasons, French Guiana also palces itself on the map as the islan/territory to invent, to imprint, to circulate, and to rediffuse the 1st novel in an variet of Frer Creole.

By 1884, ethnolinguist HUGO SCHUCHARDT had displayed his knowledge of the entire genre of the Creole fable canon giving preference to the French Creole language over English Creole.⁸ In 1892, LOUIS Garaud, a colonial vice-recteur, nostalgically wrote about The Bamboo in his memoir, stating that it was the only Creole print publication existing to his knowledge. The fable genre then appears in Louisiana in 1896 by way of JULES CHOPPIN’S sustained publication of serialized fables printing in the Louisianian literary journal called the Athnée Louisianais. It is only in 1901 that GEORGES SYLVAIN

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⁸ There is a citation of the source article, for more see Louis Héry, Carpanin Marimoutou, and Elen Capucine, Fonder Une Littérature (Marseille: Editions K'A, 2003), p. 1.
published *Cric? Crac!* in the **Republic of Haiti** the largest population of Creole speakers on the globe.

### 1.1.2 *Louisiana (1896)*

The case of *Louisiana* French Creole (1896) by **Jules Choppin** is particular because there had never been a complete book of *Choppin’s* fables until 2007 in *Fables and Rêveries* where one can find the sporadic publication of individual fables in the local literary journal *L’Athénée Louisianais* from 1896 to 1902.

“*The handwritten documents in the collection preserve the process of human thought and creativity—from mind to pen to paper—with an immediacy and power lacking in texts produced electronically.*"

“*The general pattern of the collection was established by Pierpont Morgan, who began to acquire literary and historical manuscripts on a large scale during the 1890s. He sought not to achieve comprehensiveness in any particular field but rather to assemble important documents related to events of historical significance, lives of notable individuals, and the creation of great literary works.*"

**Louisiana**

1st North American.

French and Creole

### 1.1.3 Haiti (1902)

Finally, it is in 1901-1902 that Haitian Creole has its first publication as a book and in Creole of *Cric? Crac? Fables de La Fontaine racontées par un montagnard Haïtien et transcrites en vers créoles* by **Georges Sylvain**.
1.1.4 Seychelles (1920?)

Rodolphine Young (1860–1932)

“Died in 1932 at the age of 72, in BAIE SAINTE-ANNE in PRASLIN ISLAND, where she was a teacher, RODOLPHINE YOUNG can be considered the first writer writer—if not the first writer—in the SEYCHELLES.

She descended from a Dutch great-father, who was called DE JONG. Who had married a daughter of JEAN-MARIE LEBEUZE, a Frenchmen who settled in the SEYCHELLES in the late 19th century and had married a natural daughter of PIERRE HANGARD—the first settler in the SEYCHELLES—he had had with one of his slaves. RODOLPHINE YOUNG was herself the daughter of RALPH YOUNG and a Réunionnais, MARIE ANTOINETTE PAYET.

RODOLPHINE YOUNG was 1st teacher at the ANSE BOILEAU MAHE ISLAND, where we still remember her, then at BAIE SAINTE-ANNE. She has belonged to the phalanx of old teachers, now forgotten, that at the time when the teacher profession was little seen, so no salary, devoted themselves selflessly to the formation of generations of young Seychellois.”

Finally, what would be the significance or stakes of charting the in between movements as opposed to the points of arrival or of departure? The defining historical moment occurs between 1869 and 1872 when in 1869 we witness the synchronicity of three publications: 1st publication of the Creole Grammar (1869), the 1st bamboo blue boat book from Trinidad in Port-of-Spain which is the first to cite Aesop in the canon showing even an Anglophone Afro-Caribbean author is fully aware of this emerging canon; the 3rd publication of the Trials of an African Berimbau (1822, 1831, 1869) the 1st bamboo blue boat book from Mauritius; and finally the 2nd publication of the The Bamboo (1846) where it is the first time that the publication links the now attributed to François Achille-Marbot just three years after his death in Reunion Island. In his eulogy in reunion Island, it is explained « Mr. MARBOT was not only a émissent[?]”
administrator, but ‘In his leisure, rare but fertile, he cultivated muses, and he bequeaths
to his homelands some Creole verses (among other ones imitations of the fables of La
Fontaine) which obtained in his lifetime a legitimate success and which will certainly
survive him.’

Yet, it is in 1872 we find it deeply embedded in a several re-editions of a rare
bibliography of anonymous works, whose original author, Antoine Barbier⁹, the personal
librarian to Napoleon Bonaparte, claims to have found the ‘real’ author and canonizes
the Martinician bamboo blue boat book as a ‘supercherie,’ a word of Italian origin
meaning from ‘above’ referring to ‘a surprise attack’, ‘an injury or an affront’, or even ‘to
surpass, oppress, or crush’, characterizing it as of a ‘trickery, more or less calculated and
executed, generally implicating the substitution of the false with the truth’ akin to a
‘duping’, a ‘mystification’, or even as far as ‘fraud(ulent)’. More specifically, in literature
a ‘supercherie’ indeed denotes a ‘work published under a imaginary name’, ‘under the
name of a person who is not the author’, or ‘a work whose paternity is attributed.’ While
this rare French term carries little weight in the Anglophone mind, I propose the term
bamboozled—a word of mysterious origin—meaning ‘to deceive’ or ‘to get the better of
someone’ as in ‘hoodwink’, which astonishingly encapsulates, I argue, the enigma from
Martinique if not the entire Canon whereby I will show in my thesis that through the
anonymous publications, enigmatic titles, and an occulted transoceanic literary genealogy

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⁹ The original author Antoine Barbier died before the 1st publication of The Bamboo (1846). It appears to be his son
who took up the labor of publishing the latter editions.
the authors have certainly and intentionally ‘bamboozled’ a major of those interested in Creole Literature particularly those who have shown the most interest.\(^\text{10}\)

For ‘travestied,’ I will refer to the work as The Bamboo. As Defined by Oxford English Dictionary:


The original word for “translated” is “travesties”. Here are period use definitions: For travestied see, “1656 BLOUNT Glossogr., Travested, disguised or shifted in apparel; And metaphorically it may be applied to any thing that is translated out of one language into another.” See, http://dictionary.oed.com/;”

Recognizing Saint Lucia as a creole speaking island, here is a second ideological use of travestied from an 1844 period use in a commentary of H.H. Breen in his work St. Lucia. Historical, Statistical and Descriptive on page 184 (all italics mine):

“The Negro language is a jargon formed from the French and composed of words or rather sounds adapted to the organs of speech in the black population. As a patois it is even more unintelligible than that spoken by the Negroes in the English Colonies…It is short, the French language, stripped of its manly and dignified ornaments and travestied for the accommodation of children and toothless old women. I regret to add that it has now almost entirely superseded the use of the beautiful French language even in some of the highest circles of the colonial society,”

Therefore, it is ironic that despite his efforts, the French bibliographer mistakenly interprets an inscription in the title page as a clue to the author thereby naming someone other than François Marbot as the authors. This critical misinterpretation would continue

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\(^{10}\) The original author Antoine Barbier died before the 1\(^{st}\) publication of The Bamboo (1846). It appears to be his son who took up the labor of publishing the latter editions.
in several other bibliographies throughout the century even in 2002 when apparently Christie’s auctions house sells what appears to be the same copy from 1872 because they too have the same inscription attributed the work to the same incorrect author. It would only be resolved finally in 2002 by Marcel Chatillon who is the first to show that in 1885 Marbot’s son, Edmond Marbot, who is also occulted from the paratext, was a canon in Aix-en-Province and had his hand in the 1885 publication.

It is due to this intentional ‘bamboozling’ that with eyes and ears towards the production of creole fables and the epistolary echos of those who witnessed their flight, that my thesis, “Commandeering the Bamboo Canon: Confederating 19th Century Creole Fables in Flight,” is organized by the most elementary of principles of detective or forensic science: “Who? What? Where? When? Why?” and “How”?” or more specifically as a ‘Whodunit and did not tell” of ancient creole literature ran as a ‘natural experiment’ in which I aim not only to historicize but move further to make dynamic the account and analysis of ancient creole literature--by way of the bamboo blue boat book--as a popular transoceanic socio-cultural print phenomenon like a chapbook.

Methods

My cartulary-chronicle both draws on and critiques the methodologies of several trans-disciplinary fields: post-colonial literary studies to map literary genealogies of Aesop’s fables in Creole; 19th century Caribbean and the Indian Ocean abolitionary historiography; socio-linguistics and theories of language revival, ecology, and change by way of ‘reflexive Creolistics’ offering educational opportunities to Creole speakers; and
finally, musicology and performance studies in order to interpret the musical archive of creole blues while most linguists have been concerned with typography of fables.

Therefore, placed at the liminal crossroads, my thesis is the structurally divided into two overarching archaeologies highlighting the tension between the analysis of the materially immutable paratext (cover pages) of the material impressions not solely of fables but also of other popular print material against that of the notorious incestuousness and instability of the metatext (secondary discourses). I offer a new syntax—a set of devises employed such as creole chapbooks, command(eer), canon(ize), concord(ance), confederate, chart(ulary) and chronicle—defining the one-piece of creole literature as the first fable of the “Tortoise and the Hare” which binds the musical, literary, iconographic, and geographical canon together which form in my dissertation—Creole Canon in C.

What would a detailed and comprehensive and exhaustive empirical analysis not only charting, chronicling, and canonizing, but also to confederating the production of poetry, fables, song, and blues by illustrating the dynamic interrelationships between the the global and the local? The implications of signification of these ‘squints’ and ‘blinks’, as rightly so put by MARIMOUTOU drifts into the other realms of unknotted the charms of this Bamboo Canon simply of solving the aforementioned questions pertaining to circulation. I argue that bamboo blue boat books are indeed coded references to a past whose key has been lost in what MARIMOUTOU refers to as the ideological debates of each locality? What are these ideological debates? Are they as apparent as they seem or must we begin by unknotted these charming squints and blinks. Or, is there a creole one
piece which unknots the charmes, measuring the squints and blinks to these fabulous rhymes?

1.2 19th Century Linguistic Cataclysms via Confederacy of Abolitions

“Occasionally in the history of a language a cataclysmic event like a massive foreign invasion (e.g. the Germanic invasion of Roman Gaul in the fifth century ad) may have a devastating impact upon the social networks in the invaded country. As a result the rate of linguistic change is gradual, and its gradual and piecemeal nature makes it difficult to use internal, linguistic criteria in order to divide up the periods of a language’s history. Hence the rather arbitrary nature of the period divisions we find in traditional histories of French (see above, pp. 9-10).


Literature and linguistic nationalist in creole on the production of it very own CHAPBOOK under the guise of the bamboo blue boat book in conjunction within a period when the respective nation-states were revolting towards the tides of their own abolitions—a century described by C.L.R. JAMES author of The Black Jacobins as the ‘century of abolitions’ whereby each moment of (re)invention, (re)impression, circulation, and reproduction (i.e. commanding/commandeering) of the bamboo blue boat books deployed as tools of music, poetry and prose, and iconographic allegoric illustrations as evidence of ‘motivated sign change’. It was implicit in both the creation and in the impression of a transoceanic social, political, and theological sensationalized
rhetoric surrounding the various societal accords and discords regarding slavery, its multilocal and multi-temporal abolitions out what I attempt to theorize as the ‘birth’ of the ‘creole press.’ A sort of Neo Creole Confederacy whose confederating document is the bamboo blue boat book of fables and attributed to Francois Achille Marbot, Louis Hery, and Francois Chrestien hold the reins of the very colonial governmental institutions itself. The notion of confederating is based upon a shared linguistic, social, and economic relations which was marked at major bookend publications in French Legal History. The opening pages begins with the impression of the Code Noir in 1685 which set a capital precedent in the establishment eminent domaine on the colonies over ‘master’ and ‘slave’ on behalf of the King Louis XIV and undersigned by the King himself along with the the Colonel Richelieu. This date is also curiously doubled by the election of Jean de La Fontaine, French poet and source and inspiration of this canon into the French Academy (I topic I will address in the conclusion).

Closing with its final censureship with the definitive Abolition of Slavery in all of the French colonies not once but at times even twice not withstanding. In Réunion (1789, 1848), Martinique (1848), Guadeloupe and Dependencies (1789, 1848), French Guiana (1848), and Senegal and its Dependencies transforming to a New Republic each with their own unique relationship with the metropole. Despite the fact that France no longer occupied the islands or territories Mauritius (1835), Trinidad (1789, 1833-34), Louisiana (1, and Haiti (1802) these locations—all birth places of the bamboo blue boat book—would still retain their historical linguistic heritage
through a constant and dynamic maintenance of geographical and geological social, political, and economic ties to Creole, at times even losing all forms of comprehension of standard French.

Therefore, my socio-political view of these Creolophone nations imprinting ‘shoots’ of fables one that is embedded even hidden deep within Francophone Federated Republic coupled with this Creole Confederacy (both internal and external) which would eventually find a new balance in the local governance over (1) the transition from forced to free labor (subject to citizens); (2) the institution of civil and universal rights (political, judicial, and suffrage); (3) the establishment of imperial (secular) educational institutions for all citizens—black and white (both in the colony and in the metropolis), and finally; (4) the transformation of the structures of governance and allegiances (from Royal to Imperial) and hierarchies in the colonies turning territories; (5) lastly, here embedded in these changes in the layers of local governmentalities due to a past, current, or future abolition, bamboo blue boat books, were both call and response and ‘dialogic space’ to address to the urgent need to defend and illustrate the right of use of the creole language in public space between government and citizens regardless of the changes.

From MAURITIUS to HAITI and back again, my aim is to canonize and concord those who have labored over the mappings of these proverbs, proclamations, fables, cathecisms, folksongs, dances, illustrations and iconography aggregated in to a lush and flourishing literary canon of bamboo blue boat books creole CHAPBOOKs. I aim not so much to present extraneous bio-bio it editors and publishers seeking out and presenting
the alternative scenarios of the relational rhizomes between Francois-Achille Marbot, Louis-Émile Héry, and Francois Desnoyer-Chrétien of Martinique, Reunion Island and Mauritius respectively. To understand ny poroposal idea of (con)-federacy in the political history of French colonialism, it is Aimé Césaire in his monumental tome *Toussaint Louverture: La Révolution et le problem colonial* who alludes to this ‘comparative notion’ presenting minutes from assemblies between regional and colonial officials in France who are attempting to innovate a strategy of governmentality in the colonies. The speaker admits to the fact that he ‘must use comparative terms’ stating: “The colonies are, if I must use comparative terms in order to have myself better heard, a species of allied powers, of federated parts of the nation, that one could assimilate to our former State provinces.” Césaire summed up the discourse of an official saying, “maybe there was something else outside of a view of circumstance, a reactionary view but a French attempt at federalism, the first thing that we know, that the colonists had been well inspired to seize in passage.”(59) going further to define a sort ‘conception of colonial federalism, assuredly more progressive than the concept of assimilationism.’ It is a term whose connotation lends itself to national secrecy and conspiracy (commanding in Creole), while at the same time maintaining the sense of mutual alliance while generally federated are centralized (i.e. Francophone Federation). While traditionally this term ‘confederate’ has been limited to historiography of the Southern region of the United States to describe the military ground force pledging allegiance to pro-slavery Confederate States of America who took pride in their agency to bear arms and to ‘rebel’
against the Union Army to the American Civil Wars protesting their the latter’s decision for emancipation interpreted by the former as an intrusion on their states’ rights, I propose an admittedly comparative concept of an Creole Confederacy (not imagined) of ‘Aesopicopolitan confederates’ based on the work of Benedict Anderson in Imagined Communities there by extracting from the term confederate its more literal connotation such as join together into a group with the consent of all parties whereby the Creole nature is that the ‘alliance’ is through the acknowledgement of a set mutually intelligible languages yet sovereign languages.11

“a space of dialogue between the two creole islands of the INDIAN OCEAN and, from there with the CARIBBEAN, if one thinks that MARBOT does with an old commandeure the author of his fables and, moreover, the reference to AFRICA will inscribe the poetic of the fables in a universe which ceases to be that of the creole bourgeoisie of RÉUNION ISLAND, even if this wan remains that by which the universe of the fables s'ordonne. But, what is new here, is this idea that the creole universe is to explore, to discover, maybe to invent; that it is not given in total, not more to the Creoles than to the others and that it relève d'une construction.”(p.98)

While sketching out the organizing logics of genre and institution production of proclamation, proverbs, catechisms, etc, I show that ultimately the matrix or rhizome of the Bamboo Canon was and continues to be the fable ignited through what I characterize as a ‘confederated’ global efforts to promote fables and blues whereby little by little; island by island; these fables became of use; their uses made the law; these laws made the press; and lastly, these global presses were forced to conspire to command [invent,

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11 Criminal Law: “An agreement between two or more persons to do and unlawful act, or an act which though not unlawful in itself, becomes so by the confederacy. The technical term usually employed to signify this offence is conspiracy.”
imprint, diffuse, and reproduce] the creole literary print material. I argue that at the bourgeoning of these Creolophone nations, the agents of the government and subsequent its institutions became aware that despite the civic divisions into separate races, two sexes, and varying socially and legally mandated hierarchical degrees of civil and class status forming the divisions of between abolitionary and pros-slavery rhetoric, that Creole was the common language among all it citizens not only locally, but across this Creole Confederacy. Ultimately, the production of this print material can also be seen as a symptomatic of the fact that the bamboo blue boat books as collections of Aesop’s fables filled a proverbial ‘gran kannel’ of creole print material on humanism, pedagogical theory, and linguistic nationalism whereby the aforermented Aesopicopolitan citizen-commanders functioned as heralds for the inevitable use of creole throughout their royal, imperial, and eventually republican colonial institutions having already admitted themselves ultimately powerless over Creole realizing that the commanding of their utopin island instituions had become unmanageable.

This principle captivation of creole literary as a global confederated canon of shared ideas allow for the constructing of a defense and an illustration of this literature as as an arming of the archives by way of a cartographic presentation of the primary source documents including text, illustrations, and music audio visual materials which constitute this emerging global literary canon of creole fables which served as the material building foundation of the modern literary canon in these Creolophone spaces spanning from the Indian Ocean to the Caribbean Ocean starting in the late 18th century leading to
what is often described as the ‘hey day’ or ‘hay fever’ ‘ephemeral stage of the print culture—the period being the long duration of the 19th century.

While certainly offering a rare insight into the emerging literary trends of transnational pan-creole folklore, after analyzing this canon and its authors through an approach defined as sociometric (the network mapping), the core contribution of my thesis is a reasoned and systematic revelation of a set of ‘hidden structures’ which has given the Bamboo Canon its form: along with the transoceanic conspiratory creole ‘alliances’, the ‘subgroups’ embedded in the institutions, the ‘hidden beliefs’ of its commanders ‘on the move’ whose ‘forbidden agendas’ of alphabetization, from which sprouted the ‘ideological agreements’ to confederate a literary canon armed with Aesopic fables and bamboo blues to finally arrive at a concorded consensus on the identities of these formally occulted or even in this case cross-dressed ‘‘stars’ of the show’’ comprised of both boats and faces which launched a thousand fables over 100 years.

The second addresses the field of linguistics through the prism of language politics, literacy, language and colonialism, from the field of language ideologies, by way of a new trend in creole studies called “reflexive creolistics.” For some there is the notion of “Post-Creole,” for whom the terminology “creole” is already considered passé. Here, sociolinguists and creole literary scholars are concerned not with discovery of texts, but rather with presenting its new material analysis through material historism. What is most important about the section on linguistics is that Creole languages indeed have a
historiographical problem whereby the capabilities of (im)printing, reading, writing, and speaking have largely been subsumed by ideologies of the times. This means that while language has indeed been the primary focus, I am interested in these works because they are in Creole, however, my analysis of these works still consider them with and without particularizations. The second methodology addresses language politics, literacy, language and colonialism, from the field of language ideologies, by way of Degraff’s “reflexive creolistics,” as well as with Crichlow’s notion of “Post-Creole,” where Creolization has sparked global debates regarding humanism, pedagogical theory, and linguistic nationalism.\footnote{One can see two articles by Bambi B. Schieffelin and Rachelle Charlier Doucet, "The 'Real' Haitian Creole: Ideology, Metalinguistics, and Orthographic Choice," \textit{American Ethnologist} 21, no. 1 (1994). And Bambi B. Schieffelin and Kathryn A. Woolard, "Language Ideology," \textit{Annual Review of Anthropology}, no. 23 (1994). For more see, Michel DeGraff, "Relexification: A Reevaluation," \textit{Anthropological Linguistics} v. 44, no. 4 (2002); "Against Creole Exceptionalism," \textit{Language} 79, no. 2 (2003). Michaeline A. Crichlow and Patricia Northover, \textit{Globalization and the Post-Creole Imagination: Notes on Fleeing the Plantation} (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2009).} While Degraff identifies a “Creole Particularization”, I start with \textit{Degraff}'s concept of “reflexive creolistics” whose postcolonial goal is to “fully deconstruct: (i) the linguistic fallacies, both empirical and theoretical, of Creole exceptionalism; and (ii) the relationship among: (a) these fallacies, (b) the socio-historical context of the development of both Creole Languages and Creole studies, and (c) future educational opportunities, or lack there of, for Creole speakers.” He continues: “[t]his sort of post-colonial creolistics can be described as reflexive, Cartesian-uniformitarian and scientifically and socially responsible.” Lastly, he adds “reflexive

\footnote{Fanon says “There are too many idiots in this world…”}
creolistics questions the scientific and methodological conditions that have underlined our knowledge or lack of knowledge about Creole languages. Creole exceptionalism persists\textsuperscript{14} even in the face of readily available evidence that robustly contradicts it.\textsuperscript{15}

Language and Ideologies analytically applicable to my literary studies through two of the many often cited formulations of \textit{Frantz Fanon} when he articulates: “To speak means being able to use a certain syntax and possessing the morphology of such and such a language, but it means above all assuming a culture and bearing the weight of a civilization”(p.2). Secondly, “À l’école, le jeune Martiniquais apprend à mépriser le patois. On parle de créolismes. Certaines familles interdisent l’usage du créole et les mamans traitent leurs enfants de « tibandes » quand ils l’emploient»(15).

\textit{Here I ask, not only what is the weight of Creole in the world, but also while recognizing the weight of the base that the Francophone Canon has on the Creolophone Canon, I ask seek to measure the weight of World literature looming over it. supports it? How do we define these “Espaces Créoles\textsuperscript{16}”? Which Francophone writers have chosen to create Creole texts}

I also believe that a study of “Les Bambous” offers a fascinating commentary on future educational opportunities, not just for \textit{fables}, but also for canonizing, \textit{concording},

\textsuperscript{14} italics mine
\textsuperscript{15} For more see ; DeGraff, "Against Creole Exceptionalism."
confederating, and creating a geographical cartulary-chronicle through empiricism the origins of the Bamboo Canon.

How can we reconcile the socio-political development of Creole within the space of such a particularized system of linguistic violence in the French Nation State? What is Grégoire’s impact on ethno-linguistic anthropology in France and the Caribbean?

How to read this along with monument his 1808 work De la littérature des Nègres? 17

Here, I also critique the work of Michèle de Certeau et al in Une politique de la langue : la Révolution française et les patois : l’enquête de Grégoire where I seek the syncretic history of language revolutions in the French West Indies and the Indian Ocean.

1.3 Whence Cartulary Chronicle?

"bricoleur……whether it be one of Lévi Strauss’s primitive myth-makers or a Western literary critic, creates a structure out of a previous structure by rearranging elements which are already attanged with the objects of his or her study. The structure created by this arrangement is not identical to the original structure, yet it functions as a description and explanation of the original structure by its very act of rearrangement. To put this simply, the bricoleur-critic breaks down literary works into themes, motifs, keywords, obsessive metaphors, quotations, index cards, and references’ (ibid.:5); in the terms of literary criticism. The critic can then display the works’ relation to the system of ‘themes, notifs, keywords’ which make up the literary system out of which the work was constructed." (p. 96)

What is a cartulary? What is a chronicle? What is the function? When attempting to ‘bricoler’ (in the Terms of Genette) it was important to find a form generated by the


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archive of the canon itself. Once located and archived in its context, there appeared to be no other choice than to appropriate the term. I argue that this term cartulary, hidden deep within the paratext of the Bamboo Canon, has been offered as a clue or entry point to revealing canonical formations.

“In the introduction to the book entitled Les Cartulaires, it is argued that in the contemporary diplomatic world it was common to provide a strict definition as the organized, selective, or exhaustive transcription of diplomatic records, made by the owner of them or by the producer of the archive where the documents are preserved.”

The terms CARTULARY or chartulary comes from the Latin term cartularium or chartularium. Also known by the term of codex diplomaticus, the cartulary often been in the form of a rotulus—a medieval term for a roll or a cylindrical volume storing medieval manuscripts or registers. These said cartularies were defined as being diplomatic transcriptions of legal documents, which, when collected in this genre forms a material archive of the foundational moments and the legal rights of ecclesiastical establishments, municipal corporations, industrial associations, institutions of learning, genealogies of private families. Specifically, the term CARTULARY is characterized by documents being ultimately being collected, bound or rolled into one sole document. Furthermore, the custodian of such CARTULARY is also referred to as a CARTULARY.
Sourced and discovered in Le Cartulaire d’Arles, a cartulary written by Edmond Marbot, was Canter in Aix-en-Provence, an anonymous editor of the 1885 4th edition at the Makaire House, and the son of our accused fabulist commander.¹⁹

Unmasked only recently, but never vetted, it is certainly certain that Edmond Marbot was responsible in part for the commanding of the Bamboo in Aix-en-Provence at the Makaire publication house most likely naming it the “4th shoot.”

Upon investigation of his writing and publications, it is duly noted that his impressions both textual and in song are spread across all genres both sacred and secular. His publications include leaflets of marriage vows and sermons in his role at the cathedral at the Chanoine of the Cathedral of Aix-En-Provence. It includes literary, historical, and pedagogical treaties all with an air of proclaiming the diversity of regional histories and cultures. Furthermore, when we investigate the publications of Makaire in

the late 19th century, the most fitting term for these materials is chapbook. Yet, what is most particular is that it indeed a *bibliothèque bleue* or *blue library* of French regional print matter in regional patois around France. In the conclusion of his very detailed work he steps out of materiality into a transcendental realm when grasping with trends of *cartularies*, summing up is work saying that maybe they are: “Symptomatic, unveiling of a special state of the soul, indicating a preoccupation, a sort of presentiment of events, which were soon going to disperse our archives? What is clear is that there is no more fitting place for the 1885 4th edition of Les Bambous other than Aix-en-Provence. In his edition of *The Cartulary of Arles*, after observing in his research that the trends of publication could be, it is tempting to wonder if Edmond Marbot is referring to something else.

Creole?

In dialogue with the son of Francois Marbot, I extend his commentary to the Bamboo Canon, whereby having similar observations of fables were certified from the Mauritius, to Reunion, to Martinique, Guadeloupe, Trinidad, French Guiana, Louisiana, Haiti, and Seychelles, I ask “could we not see in the commanding of the bamboo blue boat books, a symptomatic, unveiling of a special state of the soul, indicating a preoccupation, a sort of presentiment of events, which were soon going to disperse our archives?”

Yet fully acknowledging the largesse of his question he states: “I will not cut short the question, I pose it: the interest, exclusively psychological by the by, to which it
is attached will make me forgive it.” Appearing to take back his question he explains that his interest in the question itself of about ‘presentiment’ ‘unveiling the special state of the soul’ and the dispersal of the archive are merely ‘psychological’ and therefore he can ‘forgive it. Here, the notion of cartularies and the formulation of Edmond Marbot presents an opportunity for a rather power rhetoric for what a cartularies and a study of them might imply. While the source of it is only incidental it seems to create cohesiveness in the Bamboo Canon as well as it continues articulations.

In other words, what is this special state of the soul which these symptoms unveil? What or ‘sort of presentiment of events’ in this case of 19th century creole literature could have been symptoms unveiling a special state of the soul of the authors and editors preoccupation? Could the event be abolitions? Could the presentiment be due to the fact that they were commanders? In this light, if called a symptom what could it be symptomatic of? In short, it seems that the Bamboo Canon could have been provoked by the presentiment on behalf of the commanders themselves ‘unveiling a special state of the soul’ knew that change was near and that something was going to come and disperse their archives.

1.3.1.1 Son of Marbot – Edmond Marbot, Chanoine, Aix-en-Provence

Hoffman

Makaire →

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"As for him who becomes your husband better than others I can say that he offers all the guarantees of a happy future, because he gives you a kind and generous heart, as the blooming day perpetuates our distant beaches, in the beloved country, which rocked our childhood. It may not become of me to praise glory of this Creole race to which I myself belong. But I can not so disguise, selfishness, rooted more in the old continent of Europe, is not a tropical plant. There, unfortunately, far from us, the exuberant nature, covering our lush vegetation, also leaves upon our souls the imprint of its generosity. When impartial history will examine the causes of this decline, which for half a century ruined or diminished so many colonial fortunes, it will say that the fault of our fathers, if it could be, it is to have never known how to count with the heart."

I will give a description of this genre and then explain how the cartulary pertains to the form and function of my thesis and the active verb charting. Primary guiding question is taken from the archive itself from the son of Marbot, through the introduction of a genre known as a cartulary.

**Cartulary or Chartulary**, masculine noun. A register which contains the property titles or the temporary privileges of a church or of a monastery. **Cartulary of an abbot, of a cloister, of a priory; mediaval cartulaires. The piece on which is aligned on the rings of an oak monastic histories and Cartularies.**

Pronunciation. and Orthography: Ds Ac./m 1694-1932: Lar. 19th century admits CARTULAIRE or CHARTULAIRE.

**Etymology and History.** 1340: diplomatic. “collection of legal documents”; here more specifically “a collection of form ulae to redact legal documents”. Borrowed from Medieval Latin. chartularium “collection of legal documents” (circa 1227 ds Mittellat. W., s.v. chartularium, 528, 49); chartularium is derived from decharta (charte*); we note in low Latin chartarius first “civil servant in charge of the register of the armed forces” (354 ds TLL s.v., 1002, 49), then more generally a « notary » (vie s., ibid., 1002, 62). Frég. abs. littér. : 15.

“By the end of the seventeenth century, the Neapolitan jurist Giambattista Vico and other historians were already at work disassembling structures like these while striving to create a more meaning chronography of culture. True, Vico included a traditional Eusebian table of the years from the Flood to the Second Punic War in his Scienza nouva (New Science), which reached that, “In fact these people and events did not exist at the times and places commonly assigned to them, or never existed at all.” The ancient Egyptian and Persians, in his view, had known almost nothing about early
history. Their first ancestors had been barbarians, terrified by the thunder and lightning that followed the Flood. Since they had no solid records of their early history, they simply invented them, making then as long as their vanity demanded demanded. Traditional chronology from Eusebius to the present was built on these fragile foundations.

“Hence Vico’s contempt for his own table as well as those of others…The task of chronology, Vico argued, was not to identify the exact eras at which kings had supposedly ruled, but to distinguish the stages of development through which human culture has passed—and by doing so, to make clear, against the conventional wisdom, that the human race had become wiser as time passed. In his view, Homer was not the sophisticated, philosophical poet that allegorists had thought they read, but a primitive bard who had written for semibarbarous Greeks at the beginning of their history. Chronographies had lost is original function as the key to the Bible, but had gained a new one as the record of culture and its transformations.” (p. 90-95)"

“Giambattista Vico, the lonely, prescient Neapolitan scholar who hoped to make history into what he called a “new science,” retained the traditional Eusebian chronological table in his study of world history. But in his text he dismissed his own table as a tissue of errors inherited from the pagans and argued that historians should use a philosophical, not a chronological, method to recreate the development of human society.” (p. 94, Figure 25-26).

“In the Renaissance, historians became more ambitious and critical. Teachers and theorists claimed, over and over again, that chronology and geography were the two eyes of history: sources of precise, unquestionable information, which introduced order to the apparent chaos of events./

In Geography, the visual metaphor fit beautifully. Armed with new knowledge about the Earth’s surface, Renaissance mapmakers updated the ancient maps created by Ptolemy in the second century to include the Americas, the Indian Ocean, and much else. At the same time, techniques of mapping made advances, with striking results for both science and politics. By the seventeenth century, the map had become a key symbol not only of the power of monarchs but of the power of knowledge itself. Cartography was a model of the new applied sciences; at once complex and precise, it also gave an impression of immediacy and realism.” (p. 17)

“The antiquaries were not the only chronologers of culture. Many scholars responded to the vast surge of printed information, ancient and modern, that threatened to overwhelm their libraries, bibliographies, and notebooks by devising a field of inquiry that they called “literary history.” Literary historians like Daniel George Morhof made a formal effort to collect the primary and secondary sources for every field of human activity and drew up manuals for less energetic readers, teaching the tricks needed to stay up-to-date—early modern counterparts to Pierre Bayard How to Talk About Books You Haven’t Read. In German universities, professors gave courses on the subjet, reading out
list of titles from great libraries and commenting on their authors and their contents. (p. 87)"

“History, he explained, was a vast ocean, and the student needed the proper navigational equipment in order to avoid shipwreck. Ideally, he explained, the student would memorize “the whole order of time. As it were, reduced into a single body and set out in particular periods or segments, and whenever important events were mentioned, he would immediately be able to work out to which period or segment they belong.” (p. 89)."

Figure 5: Screenshot of "Charting the Bamboo Canon." This image features the paths of Fables and Fabulists. Click on image for access to video demonstration

Please click here on video for access to a demonstration video of the features of the data visualization model.

In my thesis “Commandeering the Bamboo Canon: Confederating of the 19th Century Creole Fables in Flight, Echoed by 4 Epistlographies,” I ask what is the nature of the transoceanic bamboo blue boat books and its relation to the world that allows itself to
be the dominant form of capital linguistic ammunition igniting and arming a literary
canon inspiring around the globe the simple idea of the ingenious (re)-invention,
indigenous impressions, diaspora diffusion, and rhizomatic (re)productions which would
sprout other off-shoot Creole literary print material (impressions) of fables in other
faraway islands and in other faraway territories Creole speaking or not?

Over the course of my research on the genesis and the globalization of Creole
Literature in the 19th century as represented in my thesis “Commandeering the Bamboo
Canon,” there was a pressing need to visualize the multitude of data archiving the
dynamic circulation of both the literature (bamboo blue boat books) as well as that of the
commanders (author) who commanding them in a map which presents chronologically
through time and geographically through space the dispersion of the emergent Pan-Creole
literary canon (The Bamboo Canon).

Initially the primary objective of this dynamic data rich visualization was created
in order to help keep track of the various forms of data that I had been collecting of the
years. The nature of this data is diverse and equally dispersed throughout the world as the
bamboo blue boat books themselves. Over this time period, what was initially served as a
canvas or palette upon which to place my data in the creation of a textual narrative of my
thesis instead transformed into a parallel project in a class of itself.

In this brief document, I will first outline four stages loosely defined stages
leading up to the current version of this Google Earth Mapping project developed through
teaching French and Creole language and literature, public presentations in international
and domestic conferences especially at the Quai Branly Museum in Paris, France, and finally, formally researching the history of the study of social networks known as *sociometry* as well as the visualization of said networks—the *sociogram*—as described by Jacob L. Moreno the founder of these methods and terms such as network analysis and social interaction.

Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes


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Figure 6: Model for Infographic: “Creole Commander On The Move” Service Records from the Legion of Honor
Using as background the public military service records from the Legion of Honor, I developed a set of infographics, which, at a quick glance allows the reader to see the grades and honors of the agent as well as a graphic depiction of the boats.

The above informational graphic provides movements of Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes. At a quick glance, a reader can see the three medals awarded from the Legion of Honor: Officer, Knight, and Commander. The boats in the lower right hand corner are archived illustrations of the boats on which he was expedited on the various military campaigns.
Figure 7: Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes
3. Rose de Freycinet (born Pinon)
3rd Stage: Full Dissertation on Google Earth:

Figure 8: Screenshot of "The World on Creole" : Atlantic Ocean, South America, North America, Western Europe
Figure 9: Screenshot of "The World on Creole": Mauritius, Reunion Island, Indian Ocean, Austraulia (Southern Hemisphere)

4th Stage: Giving a theoretical grammar Sociogram and Sociometry

It was in the Fall of 2014 that I formally began to research data visualization and its history especially as it related to the social sciences. It was at this stage that I was introduced to the terms ‘sociogram’ and ‘sociometry’, terms which immediately begun to allow me better describe my literary and linguistic mapping of Creole Language and it authors, its literature, and its dynamic change in a technical syntax and grammar accessible to those in the social sciences.

Jacob L. Moreno, graduate from the University of Vienna, was born May 18th, 1889 in Bucharest, Romania and died May 14th, 1974, Beacon New York, USA. His
fields of study are theory, education, psychiatry, psychology, psychotherapy, and social psychology. He is best known for sociometry and psychodrama and for the founding of group psychotherapy and psychodrama as one of the leading social scientists of the 20th century. Moreno is best known for the invention and the development of the sociogram, defined as “a graphic representation of social links that a person has. It is a graph drawing that plots the structure of interpersonal relations in a group situation.”

Figure 10: Stock Portrait of the ‘father’ of Sociometry, Jacob L. Moreno (1889-1974)

Sociometry is defined as a “quantitative method for measuring social relationships,” and within this emerging field, Moreno is best known for the invention and the development of the sociogram, defined as “a graphic representation of social
links that a person has. It is a graph drawing that plots the structure of interpersonal relations in a group situation.”

“This term *sociometry* relates to its *Latin* etymology, *socius* meaning companion, and *metrum* meaning measure. Jacob L. Moreno defined *sociometry* as “the inquiry into the evolution and organization of groups and the position of individuals within them.” He goes on to write “As the …science of group organization, it attacks the problem not from the outer structure of the group, the group surface, but from the inner structure.

“*Sociometric* explorations reveal the hidden structures that give a group its form: the alliances, the subgroups, the hidden beliefs, the forbidden agendas, the ideological agreements, the ‘stars’ of the show.”

“He developed *sociometry* within the new sciences, although its ultimate purpose is transcendence and not science. ‘By making choices based on criteria, overt and energetic, Moreno hoped that individuals would be more spontaneous, and organizations and groups structures would become fresh, clear and lively.’ One of Moreno’s innovations in *sociometry* was the development of the *sociogram*, a systematic method for graphically representing individuals as points/nodes and the relationships between them as lines/arcs. (1) Moreno, who wrote extensively of his thinking, applications and finding, also founded a journal entitled *Sociometry*. 
“In Sociometry, Experimental Method and the Science of Society: An Approach to a New Political Orientation, Moreno describes the depth to which a group needs to go for the method to be “sociometric”. The term for him had a qualitative meaning and did not apply unless some group process criteria were met. One of these is that there is acknowledgement of the difference between process dynamics and the manifest content. To quote Moreno: “there is a deep discrepancy between the official and the secret

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21 Courtesy of Wikipedia.
behavior of members.” Moreno advocates that before any “social program” can be proposed, the sociometrist has to “take into account the actual constitution of the group.”

“Other criteria are: the Rule of adequate motivation: “Every participant should feel about the experiment that it is in his (or her) own cause…that it is an opportunity for him (or her) to become an active agent in matters concerning his (or her) life situation.” And the Rule of “gradual” inclusion of all extraneous criteria. Moreno speaks here of ‘the slow dialectic process of the sociometric experiment.”

Moreno’s Autobiography, an encounter with Sigmund Freud in 1912:

“I attended one of Freud’s lectures. He had just finished an analysis of a telepathic dream. As the student filed out, he singled me out from the crowd and asked me what I was doing. I responded, ‘Well, Dr. Freud, I start where you leave off. You meet people in the artificial setting of your office. I meet them on the street and in their homes, in their natural surroundings. You analyze their dreams. I give them the courage to dream again. You analyze and tear them apart. I let them act out their conflicting roles and help them to put the parts back together again.”

1.4 Outline of Chapter 1: Aesopicopolitans’ Anonymous

1.4.1 Section A

In chapter 1, ‘Aesop Anonymous,’ I attempt to set the stage In terms of iconographic representations, the most important aspect is the presence of the phyrgian cap or the bonnet rouge illustrating that from its very first impressions the symbolic relationship between the ideologeme of Aesop and the birth of the Creole printing press in Creolophone spaces around the globe.
Undersigned by as set of French Generals Polverel, Sonthonax, etc. and even the Emperor Napoleon, these proclamations and articles. Documents the first instances of insititutional use and debate surrounding the use of both French and Creole in governmental proclamations, articles, and ordinances posted in public spaces in the urban spaces in the colony of Saint-Domingue. We see the first traces of proverbs which in turn as the moral of the fables.

In *Fables of Power: Aesopian writing and political history* Annabel Paterson writes on the history and criticism of *Aesop*; parodies; politics and government during the 16th-17th century in Great Britain. First, starting with the traditional “emancipation story” of *Aesop, Patterson* defines the “underestimated” function of the fable as addressing “how fables came to be written, by whom, and why? Rather than on form (grammar, the essentials of narrative fiction and relations between moral and exemplar).” Later, Patterson qualifies Richard Mulcaster’s *Elementarie* as “an important manifesto of Elizabethan humanism, linguistic nationalism, and pedagogical theory,” in which “Aesop became a symbolic challenge from below to the social theory of good government that the work promised.” She concludes that the manifesto was a “counter-example to the Platonic barrier between education and the slave class.” I argue that during this 19th century of abolitions the Aesopian prose of the

23 Ibid., p. 8.
bamboo blue boat books (i.e. the genre of the fable) generated and echoed the parliamentarian discourse during their respective abolitionary periods and that, Annabel Patterson’s concepts of humanism, linguistic nationalism, and pedagogical theory as applied to both form and function of Aesopian Verse in Creole articulate a political and governmental institution described generally as a Creole Confrderacy or rather even dynamized as a ‘tropicopolitan confederacy’ composed of ‘tropicopolitan confederate’ citizens—commanders. Just based on the genre of the fables, might we be able to infer, as in the Elizabethean case, that these bamboo blue boat books may have even served as creole manifestos on education in their locales?  

In Section I of Chapter 1, Literary Genealogy of the Afro-Fabulists touching on the life of Aesop through La Fontaine Aesop. I present the literary genealogies defining Aesop as an ideologeme for the commanding of ‘hidden’ or ‘masked’ ‘critique of power from below’ to the ‘popular masses’ in the form of the beast fable writ as ‘Aesopic voice print’. In Section II of Chapter 1, I trace John Jacob Thomas in Trinidad in 1869 seeking the birth place of creole literature passing through his unmasking himself as a Black writer tracing the birth-place of creole literature as early as 1869 as far away as Trinidad.

In the third part, I respond to the immediate question of where are the fables now? And What to they mean today by through the presentation of a Global Positioning system for fables. I de-particularize Creole Literature offering a very stable archive of period

24 Italics mine for these following terms.
fables and blues as the founding documents of the regional patois presses in France. The following section presents the current world wide international reception of Creole Literature in institutions through a geographical canon of Creole print matter.

Finally, I end with the, John-Jacob Thomas, a Trinidian School-Teacher and scholar who is the first Afro-Creole author of a bamboo blue boat book originating in Trinidad and the first unmasked author. It is in *Creole Recitations* by Faith Smith that we finally have the first attempt to critically trace in a monograph any author, yet I argue that Thomas has yet to be fully canonized due to his distance as a Trinidanian from French administration.

I present the literary genealogies defining Aesop as an ideologeme for the commanding of ‘hidden’ or ‘masked’ ‘critique of power from below’ to the ‘popular masses’ in the form of the beast fable writ as ‘Aesopic voice print’. I de-particularize Creole Literature offering a very stable archive of period fables and blues as the founding documents of the regional patois presses in France. The following section presents the current world wide international reception of Creole Literature in institutions through a geographical canon of Creole print matter.

In the form of extended sequences of rhizomatic encounters and episodes in their lives, it is in the concept of “A Journey through the Secret Lives of Commanders on the Move” that I theorize upon a ‘retrospective’ ‘critique from down under’ referencing the newly (re) discovered lost link to Australia by which we discover the function of the first transoceanic nautical racing fable: “The Tortoise and Hare” and how the first bamboo
blue boat book arrived in Martinique in 1826 by way of private ‘informal’ epistolary communications from Paris to the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean, and South America. In each chapter, I present a case study to derive the relational histories therein between and to excavate the precise answers of how both the fables and the fabulists circulated and who was responsible for their global mass circulation. At the same time, I ‘examine and refute the empirical-comparative, theoretical, and sociohistorical bases’ of several scholars regarding the function of both the literature and individual fabulists while at the same time offering an alternative dynamic scenario archiving the material history of this emerging Bamboo Canon.

Here, we can now better understand Sassen’s definition of where she states: “[B]ecause it is about switching from one to another relational system and/or organizing logic, an analytics of tipping points needs to accommodate the distinction between that which is prevalent and that which is not yet is in the process of becoming dominant, that is, it is already producing systemic changes. What is becoming may as yet be incompletely formalized or basically informal.” Here, I argue that there are ‘excluded’ previous informal actors, through what process can a narrative accommodate for the possibility of a ‘novel tipping point’ or a moment in time which, once there is a change in the relational system, the informal actors play not only a formal role, but a central role in the ‘informal’ assessment of measuring change.

What is most helpful about Sassen’s work is that in spite of the revealing new networks, the finding of new tipping points, and the archiving of new capabilities, is the
idea that “foundational change need not entail the elimination of everything that constituted the preceding order” and that the “intermediaries” of tipping points and capabilities allow her “to capture, or deduce, this feature of foundational change because they disaggregate the whole into capabilities that die with the death of the old order and others do not. She further adds: “A novel order is not an invention ad novo, and it does not necessarily announce itself as new, as radical strangeness—like science fiction or a futuristic account.”

In chapters 2, 3, 4, from Martinique, to Reunion, and finally to Mauritius know as the ‘star’ of colonial printing. I aim to prove in my dissertation through a set of founding documents that these three fabulists were indeed in direct communication with another in varying modes and that least the 2nd and 3rd collections were directly informed by the first collection known as the Le Bobre (1822) by way of a Freycinet. If by the 3rd publication in Martinique it is unclear whether the presence of “La Fontaine” was an incidental or determining or casual factor to creole publication, we only need restart the Bamboo Canon with the first call to fables in 1822 in the Voyage Autour du Monde and the “Rabbit and the Tortoise” moving in the same manner with Le Bobre (1822) and move past Les Esquisses (1828) and Les Bambous (1846) stopping at the 1848 abolition. Afterwards, it was profusely proliferated almost as if in tacit conspiration by the agents throughout these islands. Each with its account of genesis (account of its origins), of exodus (account of its dispersal or diaspora), their commandeering and subsequent commanding (account of their rhetorical use-values), and continued impressions founding
the law of their lands. One must conceive in effect that each of the races of the *Blacks*,
which existed then and still exist now in these Creole speaking colonies—former and
current—must have had to alter Francophone Literature in a particular way, and that this
new *shoot of literature* must have had to regularize or conserve its original *rudeness*,
according to the ideas and the degree of the culture of spirit of those who (im)print it.

1.5 **Outline of Chapter 2 - Martinique (1846)**

1.5.1 Baron Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet

1.5.2 Abbe Goux

1.5.3 Francois Achille-Marbot (1815-1866)

J.J. Thomas preceded my Mauritian Catechism

1.5.4 Pierre Lavollé

Since its initial publication during the *July Monarchy* in Fort-de-France,
Martinique, *The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine travestied in creole patois by an
old commander* (1846), the 1st in the Caribbean and 3rd world wide, has been
acknowledged definitively by linguists, literary scholars, and historians with specialties
in an out of the Caribbean as the first “creole patois” book/monograph printed in the
Martinique as well as the first “creole patois” book printed in the Creolophone French
Colonies in the Americas (Haiti, Guadeloupe, Trinidad, French Guiana, and
Louisiana). Since its earliest inception in Martinique, *Les Bambous* homed in first to
the eager eyes and ears of bibliographers paleographer in France, who viewed the work
as curious, not even so much for the fact of its Creole impression, but again due to its
anonymity, but nevertheless worthy of their most prized *Americana* and *Antilliana* collections as its documented presence in institutions represents the *material cultural patrimony*—print culture by way of the book—archiving the development of an *inmaterial patrimony*—Creole song, *fables* and *dance*. **Martinique** (1846) is home to the 1st collection in the **Caribbean**. This is the 3rd collection in the world. This is the first and only bamboo blue boat to be published 1st anonymously. It is the 1st to have an author named posthumously.

### 1.5.5 Non-Creoliste on Marbot

First, there is **Marie-Christine Rochmann** whose “L’esclavage fugitif dans la littérature antillaise: sur la déclive du morne” reviews the history and criticism of ‘fugitive slave’ as literary trope in *Caribbean Literature from 1833-1848*. In the subsection, “The Dominate Orientations of the Representation of the Maroon,” Rochmann argues that it is from the literature of the ‘nègre marron’ that there “emerges...a beginning of the *héroïsation*” of this monumental figure in **Caribbean** History. Then, **Rochmann** identifies *The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine travestied in Creole Patois by an Old Commander* as one of about twenty works, all of which have made a place for “maroons” in the period literature. Using the example of the canonical fable ‘The Wolf and the Dog,’ **Rochmann** recognizes the clear “maroon/slave confrontation” which is allegorically voiced through the lively conversation between the ‘cousins’ in the animal kingdom. Finally, on the motivation of the author, she suggests: “maybe **Marbot** was incited by the *Governor* of **Martinique** to whom he [**Marbot**]
was a “conseiller écouté.” **Rochmann’s** historical survey offers a very detailed placing of *Marbot* within a canon of abolitionary literature, however, while her methods are literary and historical, I seek to account for additional governmental print publications off the press during this moment. 25

Secondly, I turn to **Colette Maximin’s** sociological work on civilization and ethnic groups in her book *Dynamiques interculturelles dans l’aire caribéenne* where, describing dialogism as “assembling” and “transcending” at the “expense of the dominated classes,” she dedicates a subsection, “A Testimony (involuntary?) on the Limits of Dialogism: *The Bamboo* of *François Marbot,*** to **The Bamboo.** Here, providing an enigmatic title with “parentheses” and a “question mark,” she describes *Marbot’s* writings as an adaptation of “‘Lafontaine’s [sic] [text] to a Martinician reality.’”26 Instead of using the methods of dialogism, she favors the terms “métadiégétique”—explaining that the narrator is not *Marbot*, but rather the *commander*. Here, through a careful study of the ‘commander’s’ structural and syntactic use of *nous* (second person plural) in the *patois créole*, **Maximin** contends that the *commander’s* race is “ambiguous” ultimately arguing that that narrator seems “to melt totally in the slave masses].” What is important in this analysis is that **Maximin** nuances

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26 Italics mine. Here, throughout the entire article, Maximin removes the space from La Fontaine.
the ideology by shedding more light on the elusiveness of the “commander.” In my work, I seek to shed more light on the attributed author François-Achille Marbot.²⁷

**Patrick Chamoiseau** and **Raphaël Confiant**, in *Lettres Créoles : Tracées Antillaises Et Continentales De La Littérature : Haïti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, 1635-1975*, provide a literary account with numerous inconsistencies. **Raphaël Confiant**, the maître de conférences at the Universities of the Caribbean and French Guiana, and major writer on Caribbean intellectual history who was a member of a committee of research scholars designated with creating a degree program within the confines of the French National Educational system for those competing to receive certification for a Masters Degree in French Creole asks “Why a Blanc créole descends from his pedestal to use the jargon of the Nègres in a tentative of literary writing?”

For Confiant, ‘The Bamboo (1846) are then a last effort to conjure an ‘irredentism nègre by reinforcing the proslavery ideology in a subtle manner. **Confiant continues asserting that** : “As far as the rest, the work has known a thunderous success at the heart of the white Creole caste. In spite of its hardly evident literary qualities, it was reedited a charge of times. Certain lettered [people] want to discard this work from Antillian literature with the motif of the inacceptable of its thesis.’ On one hand, Confiant offers a very useful characterization of the fables as ‘transformed, trafficked, hijacked’,

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suggesting such that we see’ Compère Lapin’ and ‘Compère Mulet’ from the Creole story(tales), yet on the other hand when it comes to historical information on the author of the work, he ignores all historical document stating: “Marbot, is white but he is not Béké. He has neither land or slaves and belongs to the social layer of immigrants to the penniless islands absorbed into the royal administration or even into the army” making up ‘this does not prevent him from having solid pro-slavery convictions like the Grand Békés’. On literacy he adds that “in this middle of the 19th century, the Nègres did not know how to read. School existed only for the master’s rejects and in minimal proportions.” On another note, scholar states that “when Marbot writes his fables in Martinique [1846], he had not yet left his country” and “his family did not have the ability to send him because they were poor with 5 children.”

In chapter 1, I trace all the editions while at the same time tracing how the life of François Achille Marbot represented with in the publications. From its initial appearance in 1846, we simply can trace the geographical publication locations of subsequent editions as the take flight throughout world fleeing Martinique and homing abroad, we find that the 2nd edition, a facsimile of the 1st, is printed in Nancy, France (1869). The 3rd and 4th are from Aix-en-Provence, France (1885) by Makaire and from Paris, France (1931) by Peyronnet both containing an actual biographical notice of the author while the latter is doubled in volume with an accompanying French translation of the “creole martiniquais” translations, which were adapted from La Fontaine deleting or occulting patois from the orginal paratext. The 5th was printed in Belgium (1976) by
Casterman and has new translations in French. The 7th and latest edition homes to its source not to Paris nor to Martinique not to Aix-en-Provence, but rather to Cayenne, French Guiana (2002) in a new guise and purpose by Ibis Rouge not only with a new 3rd French translation but also with a new spelling system.

In chapter 1, I present an alternative scenario showing Marbot’s family geneology, pace Confiant, coming from a highly lauded military family spread around the world thanks to Jean Baptiste Antoine Marcellin de Marbot (1782-1854), French general, 4th cousin of a parent, who in the preface of his infamous 19th century memoire states: “I saw the Empire. I took part in the gigantic wars and I was nearly crushed by his fall. I have often approached the Emperor Napoleon. I served in the headquarters of five of its most famous marshals…” The most revealing account is a childhood memory of an intimate encounter with Napoleon: “General Bonaparte, who knew my mother asked me very politely news, affectionately complimented me for having so young, adopted the profession of arms, and gently took me by the ear, which was always the caress most flattering him to do the people he was satisfied, he said, turning to my father: ‘there will one day be a second General Marbot.’ adding ‘This horoscope was true.’ Furthermore, I show that while Marbot himself did not own slaves his maternal grandmother did in fact own slave, pace Confiant.

The second is to establish a more accurate record of the biography of Marbot due to the presentation of Hazael-Massieux. In fact, pace Massieux, while ‘much of his career was spent in Martinique. He did not move from there until 1854, except for two years
of embarkation in 1836 in Fort-Royal on *La Toulonnaise*, commanded by M. Joursin from Toulon on January 9th on which Marbot would have participated in new repairs involving only the topsides and the changing of a part of the forefoot while serving under a lieutenant who had been apart of the station [which] has been established on the African Coast for the suppression of the slave trade. » Pace Confiant, by the record François Achille Marbot appears to be surrounded by abolitionism.

What is most significant about *Les Bambous* above all the other *bamboo blue boat books* is that it is the only collection of *fables* whose *cross-dressing* is that of a complete metrically diverse versification in creole of (50) *fifty fables* of *Jean de La Fontaine* following the rules of concordance of classical poetry in *verse* and *rhyme*. When compared to its two forerunners *Canon* from the publication of *Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain* (1822, 1831) in *Mauritius* to *Seychelles* in 1902 and even more recent waves up until even today, the capital characteristic about *The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine* cross-dressed in patois creole by and Old Commander, is that it remains the *only* Creole rendition of Jean de *La Fontaine* in *perfect* metered *rhyme* and *verse* without one single failed rhyme or counting of meter. *Les Bambous* was *cross-dressed* and composed with the greatest of mathematical and versificatory precision. Neither *adaptation*, *imitation*, nor *(free) translation*, yet curiously self-titled as a *travesty* or a *cross-dressing*, it is here that *The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine* cross-dressed in *patois creole by and Old Commander* (1846) differentiates itself and *aesthetically* transcends the entire *Bamboo Creole Canon*. 
Who invented, imprinted, circulated, and rediffused The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine travestied in Creole Patois by an Old Commander (1846)? In other words, who was the true commander? What is its paratext? Who really wrote Les Bambous? What exactly was written in Les Bambous? Where is Les Bambous written? When was Les Bambous written?

In chapter 1, I carefully study The Bamboo (1846) a work which is technically anonymous. While it is attributed to a Martinican born commissaire and ordonnateur who served in the Guadeloupe and Réunion Island—François Achille Marbot (1817-1866), it is not until the 3rd edition published in 1869 that the collection is eventually attributed to him, albeit posthumously—as if framed for having been the author of such a innocuous et parodically subversive work. Yet, again, The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine travestied in Creole Patois by an Old Commander (1846) transcends the Bamboo Canon that is yet again not only as a technical masterpiece, but also due to the major mystery of its invention which is made opaque by this posthumous authorship, or attribution, or even framing, that I ask and then answer a simple question: who would not frame himself, who could not frame themselves, who did not frame themselves for the ingenious (re)inventions, the indigenous (re)impression, the diasporic (re)difussion, and rhizomatic (re)productions? And to investigate the nature of the relationship of the editors to these author? What perpetuates their publications? What are the mechanisms of editorial success? How can we measure this success?
Finally, in light of a masked or occulted author, I take seriously the presence of an equally occulted commander who states in versification and to Creolophone interlocutors: “You all Niggas of my masters gather here” Finally, I present a preliminary analysis of the message in the prologue that knowing these fables will help “nèg” [black] and “béké” [white] who “must suffer” to enter into “paradise” when they are both “dead.”

Who and how old is this commander? What is a commander? Where is this commander? Why is this commander travestying fables of Jean de La Fontaine? When does this commander commit the travesty? Why in patois creole? If we accept, as I do, in this study, that Marbot indeed as least had his hand in the production of this Seminole work, then, then the question is rather, if not Marbot, then for whom might Marbot be covering. If Marbot imprinted it without authorship maybe he was writing for someone else who did not want to be named there by making Marbot a ghostwriter or a nègre (French)?

My primary aim is to apply the critical terms offered in the work of Saskia Sassen’s Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages, where I am interested in the ways in which she develops theories that allow for the study and analysis of the history of social systems, the development of the nation state, and the process of globalization. While the content pertaining to the study of the feudal system in Europe does not address the content of my dissertation, it is in the introduction under the section chapter headings: “Historicizing Assemblages of Territory, Authority, and Rights” and “Foundational Transformation in and of Complex Systems” that she defines the terms
capabilities, tipping points, and organizing logics as a means of “Using History to Develop an Analytic of Change.” In this case, my dissertation on the study of the Bamboo Canon necessitates a regression to both Mauritius and Reunion because it is possible that their entry into this Canon of fables could offer information on the origins of Les Bambous (1846).

Here, while the questions of Les Bambous (1846) parallel and regressively of Les Esquisses Africaines (1826) and Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain in the subsequent chapters.

Who wrote Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain? What exactly was written in Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain? Where was Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain written? When was Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain written? What set of institution or set of individuals invented, imprinted, circulated, and dispersed The Trails of an African Berimbau? Furthermore, how can we characterize, qualify the nature of the relationship between the 1st collection, the Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (1822), and the 2nd and 3rd collections in Reunion and Martinique where both of these relational cases must be addressed and concorded separately.
1.6 Mapping Chapter 3: Réunion Island (1828)

1.6.1 Baron Louis de Freycinet

1.6.2 François Achille-Marbot (1815, Martinique-1866, Reunion Island)

1.6.3 Louis Emile Héry (1777-1840)

1.6.4 Institution of Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927), Austria

Hugo Schuchardt, one of the great experts in his field, has added considerably to the international reputation of the Graz School of Philology, even beyond the field of Romance Languages and Literature. Still today he is held as one of the most influential Austrian linguists.

Therefore, insofar as Les Bambous (1846) has come to have three major nodes: (1) first local Creole book which happens to be (2) fables and (3) Jean de La Fontaine for the island of Martinique. Are these three nodes determining factors or only incidental? The particular chronology of my thesis takes a detour from Martinique into the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Réunion Island) due to the fact that while the Les Bambous (1846) is indeed the first creole monograph in the Caribbean region, historically it is merely the 3rd collection of creole fables in the world, preceded by two publications: Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain: Petit receuil de poésies, composées de chanson choisies et corrigées, et de quelques fables traduites de Lafontaine[sic] en créole; Suivies de méditations mélancoliques par un amateur (1822, 1831, 1869, 1998, 2013) published first by an amateur and latter also attributed to François Christien-Desnoyers (1767-1846) and Les Esquisses Africaines: Fables créoles et explorations.
dans l’intérieur de l’île Bourbon (1828, 1856, 1883, 2003) by LOUIS EMILE HÉRY (1777-1840) of MAURITIUS and RÉUNION ISLAND respectively. The RÉUNION ISLAND bamboo blue boat book occupied the 2nd of its kind in the Bamboo Canon. It is the first creole book printed in RÉUNION and it also contains a collection of fables. The African Sketches is also unique because its author LOUIS HÉRY, a school teacher, is the only foreign born author or agent of the Bamboo Canon—non native creole speaker. HÉRY is also the 1st with profession as school teacher. While the proof of contact has been accepted based on detailed comparative literary and linguistic analysis of the fables, there has never been offered any empirical evidence of contact between the fables and the fabulists.

After proving the authorship of a treasurer of Martinique (1846), in chapter 3, I regress back to a young French Professor ‘gone native’ in Reunion Island (1826) as a lover of blues and berimbau. Héry’s portrait are found at the Quai Branly Museum. We learn that he is related to François Chrestien Desnoyers as well as to his biographer through a genealogical database.

In spite of the fact that he was French born, it is nevertheless fascinating that of the entire set of authors, editors, and printers i.e commanders of the Bamboo Canon, I have only been able to locate not one, but in fact two portraits of Louis Hery. The first portrait of Hery entitled “Young Hery” [See Chapter 1: Section C] is a beautiful large water color is the first time this
Furthermore, I look at first institution to publish and study Creole, the *Bulletin of Arts and Science* focusing on the international correspondence of Austrian linguist Hugo Schuchardt, who by 1884, Hugo Schuchardt had displayed his knowledge of the entire genre of the the Bamboo Canon giving preference to the French Creole language over English Creole.²⁸

Here, it appears that numerous scholars both in the past and present have been bamboozled criticizing the 2nd author of a bamboo blue boat book due to the fact that he was not born on Reunion Island. The point of this case study is to illustrate recurrent inconsistencies in these scholar’s methodologies as applied to concording the relationship between Louis Héry and Francois Desnoyer-Chrestien to understand the nature of the relationship of the first imprinting of Mauritian Creole and Reunion Creole by the nature of the intimate relationship between the the authors. There fore, the many contributions to Reunion is proving through genealogical records his relationship to the Mauritian author François Chrestien Desnoyers as well as other Creole agents in the Indian Ocean.

Here, I will critique three major terms as introduced and defined by SASSEN. The third term organizing logics will be collided with the methodologies of my thesis. Capability or rather the set of capabilities that are key in this study of The Bamboo Canon because the major capability of study here is both the one of printing on islands in general supplemented by the capability to print in a language defined as French-Creole. Here, if

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²⁸ There is a citation of the source article, for more see Héry, Marimoutou, and Capucine, *Fonder Une Littérature*, p. 1.
we take Sassen’s definition of capability as applied to the bamboo blue boat book, we acknowledge that the production of each book on an island an time period, regardless of the language, required: “a collective production whose development entail[ed] time, making, competition, and conflicts, and whose utilities are, in principle, multivalent because they are conditioned on the character of the relational systems within which they [the bamboo blue boat book] functions.” On a second note, Sassen then adds, “[t]hat is to say, a given capability can contribute to the formation of a very different relational system from the one it originates in.”

Here, in relationship to my thesis on The Bamboo Canon, if it is indeed necessary to trace back to the origins of the capabilities of commanding or commandeering, then it can not be assumed that the same ‘system’ for commandeering and confederating Creole were the same for federating French as clearly the relational systems of power for these languages are very different in the political and geographical locations. How might we begin to differentiate between the two systems? Following the notion of capabilities presents the second notion of which allows us to first ask what evidence do we have of the capacities to publish in Creole? What series of events lead to the first 1822 Mauritian-Creole book’s publication in Mauritius as opposed to any other location?

Here, the notion of the creole and book is crucial because it is the notion of tipping points, which allow us to have a better conception of the utility of the rest of the creole literary matter, which appears elsewhere before 1822 in Mauritius. The “dependence” is not necessarily easy to recognize, as the new organizing logic can and
will tend to alter the valence of a given capability.” [quote?] In this sense, ‘dependence’ from the field of literature can be defined as inspiration from a previous work. Here, Sassen has developed a precise yet open tripartite definition of tipping points. First, Sassen frames her work arguing that: “for the types of questions raised in this book, identifying the tipping point is a matter of extant historiographies and possibly novel interpretations.”

She continues her clarification stating that: “The central concern in this book is two fold: to develop an analytics that allow a more complex explanation of foundational change and to develop a better explanation of the foundation change we are living through today.” In this line of inquiry, the prime example would be to ask if François Achille Marbot, the current attributed author of the 3rd creole chapbook Les Bambous (1846) of Martinique had been in communication with François Chrestien-Desnoyers, the author of Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain Mauritius? Was the idea of commandeering the governmental press to commandeering a (chap)book in creole of fugitive fables based upon La Fontaine’s fables dependent intellectually upon its imprinting around the globe and across the seas in Mauritius? In the same syntax we can ask: what tipped the Marbot’s Les Bambous (1846) to be published? If there is one ideology, it is that that first speculates that starting an islands history shall indeed result in a new future story.
1.7 Outline of Chapter 4: Mauritius (1822)- ‘Creole Down Under’

1.7.1 François Chrestien Desnoyer’s (1767-1846)- “The Trials of an African Berimbau”

François Chrestien Desnoyer’s (1767-1846) Les Essais d’un bobre Africain: Petit Recueil de poésies, composées de chansons choisies et corrigées, et de quelques fables traduites de Lafontaine [sic] en créole; suivies de méditations mélancoliques par un amateur (1820, 1931, 1869, 1998….) contains seventeen fables, poems, and songs, whose tunes are indicated below the title.29 The Trials of an African Berimbau is indeed the first fully bound creole book published in the whole entire world. It is the first document printed in Mauritius to archive in the title its traditional and national dance and instrument such as the berimbau or bobre. This is the 1st collection of Mauritian sega and also the sets the precedent for being printed without an author’s name, although the 2nd edition printed in 1833 is neither posthumous nor anonymous. François Chrestien-Desnoyers (1767-1846) is the author the first bamboo blue boat book is a creole, a judge, and a singer songwriter of prose and verse.

Jean-Georges Prosper names Les Essais d’un bobre africain as the first creole fable placing it within the national “patrimony” in Mauritius given that it

29 François Chrestien, Les Essais D’un Bobre Africain : Augmentée De Près Du Double Et Dédiée À Madame Borel Jeune, 2nd ed., Rare Book Collection of Bnf (Mauritius: Imprimerie de G. Deroullede & Co; Imprimeurs du Gouvernement, 1831). N.B. I have only seen the 2nd edition of this work. Bernabé defines this as an “musical string instrument in the form of a bow,” see Bernabé, La Fable Créole, p. 44, n. 33.
“projects also the African image of the slave colony.”

PROSPER then asserts that the predecessors in the INDIAN OCEAN Diaspora represent a “créolitude”, a term unique to “MAURITIUS, RODRIGUES, SEYCHELLES, COMORES, MADAGASCAR… etc”. PROSPER makes note of the MALAGASY PRINCE RATSITATANE who was in exile 1822 and sentenced to death for having supposedly incited a slave invasion following French defeat in 1810. Le Bobre Africain contains fables in both French and Creole. There are also historical accounts of the Battle of Waterloo and the later fall of Napoleon’s Army in 1815. It is also important to note that in 1847 MAURITIUS became the 5th location in the world to produce postal stamps, demonstrating its unique networks within the global economy. Furthermore, there is a commune on the island of MAURITIUS called BAMBOUS.

Could this city have been the inspiration for MARBOT’S title? Did FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE know about this location? Given the unique history of this island, it will be important to understand the economic relationship that MAURITIUS uniquely cultivated given that it was one of the earliest poles for official communication and postal services. Could MARBOT have gotten a parcel from MAURITIUS while living in MARTINIQUE?

30 “When Britain captured the Mascarenes in 1810, it renamed île de France as Mauritius, Ile Bonaparte reverted again to île Bourbon until 1848, and there after la Réunion.” for more on this moment in 1848 see, Pier Martin Larson, Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora, Critical Perspectives on Empire (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. xvi. ; See also Jean-Georges Prosper, "La Place De Maurice Dans La Créolité De L'océan Indien," Littérature Mauricienne No.114 (1993): 84-85.

31 “La Place De Maurice Dans La Créolité De L'océan Indien,” p. 87, n. 6.

32 For precise global location see, http://maps.google.com/maps?q=bambous&hl=en&ie=UTF8&hq=&hnear=Bambous,+Black+River,+Mauritius&ll=-20.277656,57.356873&spn=0.597713,0.666046&z=10.
Where else could *Le Bobre Africain* have been delivered? Was there a copy sent to Martinique?

Here, the notion of the creole and book is crucial because it is the notion of *tipping points*, which allow us to have a better conception of the utility of the rest of the creole literary matter, which appears elsewhere before 1822 in Mauritius. The “dependence” is not necessarily easy to recognize, as the new organizing logic can and will tend to alter the valence of a given capability.”[quote?] In this sense, ‘dependence’ from the field of literature can be defined as inspiration from a previous work. Here, Sassen has developed a precise yet open tripartite definition of *tipping points*. First, Sassen frames her work arguing that: “for the types of questions raised in this book, identifying the tipping point is a matter of extant historiographies and possibly novel interpretations.” She continues her clarification stating that: “The central concern in this book is two fold: to develop an analytics that allow a more complex explanation of foundational change and to develop a better explanation of the foundation change we are living through today.” In this line of inquiry, the prime example would be to ask if François Achille Marbot, the current attributed author of the 3rd creole chapbook *Les Bambous* (1846) of Martinique had been in communication with François Chrestien-Desnoyers, the author of *Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain* Mauritius? Was the idea of commandeering the governmental press to commandeering a (chap)book in creole of fugitive fables based upon *La Fontaine*’s fables dependent intellectually upon its imprinting around the globe and across the seas in Mauritius? In
the same syntax we can ask: what tipped the Marbot’s *Les Bambous (1846)* to be published?

After proving the authorship of a treasurer of Martinique (1846) and after established the family connection between Louis Emile Héry and François Chrestien the authors of the bamboo blue boat books from Mauritius and Reunion Island, I place Mauritius (1822) as the ‘star’ colonial printing in the hands of François-Chrestien Desnoyer and his edition, it is in the the fourth chapter where in which I unveil a detailed micro-history of a public family who very publically launched the first call for Creole fables.

In this chapter, I have two primary goals. The first is to show how *The Trials of an African Berimbau (1822)* are directly related to the case of the aforementioned Malagasy Prince in 1822 because Never before has there been an articulation of the relationship between the actual historical periods and the publication of the 1st bamboo blue boat books. I will illustrate how scholars of Indian Ocean creole have always been aware of both Freycinet and the Malagasy Prince but how they had not fully pursued the archive connecting these events.

The heart of this chapter is to illustrate how a frigate captain mapmaker, a revolutionary one-armed captain-commander, and even the first European women to circumnavigate the globe on a French military vessel after dressing as a sailor to accompany her husband, the map-maker played the most major roles in the expansion of Creole literature in the first half of the 19th century through an alliance with (1) Francois
Desnoyers-Chrétien the President of the Society of Kangaroos of the Oval Table in Mauritius, with (2) Louis Héry in Reunion Island, a Professor of Rhetoric and Letters, and with Francois-Achille Marbot, a young sailor cum treasurer in Martinique to command to the world that not only is Creole ‘independent’ of French, but that the lives of its speakers matters.

1.7.2 Thomi Pitot

1.7.3 Ratsitatane, Malagasy Prince

“Since the news of the evasion of the named RATSITATANE was known, Black Madagascan prisoner to the central fortress of PORT-LOUIS, the orders of the MAJOR GENERAL RALPH DARLING, as well those from the Governor of this colony, HIS EXCELLENCE ROBERT TOWNSEND FARQUHAR, were that he needed to be found at any cost, and all rebellion of the fugitive slaves had to be punished severely, so to avoid all risks of revolution such as the one whose victims were formerly colonists from SAINT-DOMINGUE.”

1.7.4 Louis Freycinet: Voyage autour du Monde (1825)

Freycinet family. Family itinerary

In the form of extended sequences and episodes, “A Journey through the Secret Lives of Commanders on the Move”, I theorize as a ‘retrospective’ ‘critique from down under’ referencing the newly (re)discovered lost link to Australia by which we discover the function of the first transoceanic nautical racing fable featuring a ‘marron’ Tortoise who, in a bet, beats a Hare in a race to a banana tree claiming that she [Tortoise] carries
her house wherever she goes in “The Tortoise and Hare” and how the first bamboo blue
boat book arrived in Martinique in 1826 though an ‘unthinkable’ micro history linking
Martinique, Reunion, and Mauritius by the military and scientific expeditions of ‘old’
Napoleonic creolophone commander thanks to the transoceanic and epistolary writings of
one their wives who herself cross-dressed as a commander to take part in the conspiracy.

The 2nd person of interest is Louis-Henri Freycinet, frigate captain, knight of
Saint-Louis and of the Legion of Honor was also correspondent of the Royal Academy of
Science of the Institute of France and member of several savant societies as well as
commander of a 2nd expedition to around the world where Mauritius was in many ways
the center of his voyage. While Louis-Henri Freycinet has become famous in history of
cartography as the first person to publish a map of the Australian coastline, from the
perspective of the Bamboo Canon, he is at the same time the first person in the world (1)
to publish “The Tortoise and the Hare” creole fable when he meets Francois Desnoyer
Chrestien four years before the initial publication as well the first person in the world to
write a literary review of any Creole literary print matter

In this section, I present the first through analysis of the first review of Creole
literature where Freycinet’s ‘unthinkable’ genesis of Creole Language as the following :
"Independently from French, which forms the base of the language in L'ILE-DE-
FRANCE, a sort of patois was invented by the noirs” and then citing his meeting with
Francois Desnoyer Chrestien he ends saying “After such a try, it is permissible to
conceive of a possibility of reproducing in créole a large number of works from our
literature. I can cite several others of them from the same author, and it is regrettable that
I see myself forced to suppress them here."

Additionally, from the perspective of musicology we also learn that Freycinet is the first person in the world to publish Creole musical airs transcribed in his publication in the form of sheet music. I have arranged for a full orchestra one of the creole music airs.

1.7.5 Milbert, left for sick in Mauritius: Voyage Pittoresque à l’île-de-France (1811)

Lastly, the last person of interest is Milbert an artist left in Mauritius in 1811 whose narrative in which he claims that “nèg” in Creole or French can also refer to sailors and shipmates proving to us that Freycinet Family had been on a mission at least since their first voyage. While he is not a part of the family, Milbert’s accounts are the first to illustrate that all ‘nègres’ are not slaves or even black: “I have heard more than once, in the harbor, my negroes call our sailors he is a white negro. Witnesses of being hit with a rope, bilge and other punishment inflicted on these men (...) they believe that they are a distinct species whites "(p. 274) ³³.

³³ "J’ai plus d’une fois entendu, dans le port, mes negres appeler nos matelots ca li nègre blanc. Témoins des coups de corde, de cale et autres punition qu’on inflige à ces hommes (…) ils croient que ce sont des blancs d’une espèce distincte”.
1.7.6 *ROSE FREYCIENET: TRAVEL JOURNAL (1818) AND LETTERS (1826)*

The next member of the family Rose Freycinet, née Pinon, is the wife of Louis Freycinet, who dresses as a sailor in order to board her husband’s vessel making her the first European women to circumnavigate the globe. While most accounts of Rose fashion her an anti-Dido by accompanying her husband, I argue that once we enter Rose’s *journal* from the voyage as well as her letters into the Bamboo Canon, we begin to see that Rose Freycinet has been left out of history.

While her husband remains scientific in his publication (to the extent that she is absent in the official narrative), Rose produces her own travel narrative in which we learn more detailed information about the meeting between Louis-Henri Freycinet and François Chrestien Desnoyer where we learn what her husband suppressed. Here, I present Rose’s account of Creole in Mauritius with the Society of Kangaroo of the Oval Table meeting a brother ‘who could not remember anything by heart; a judge, an engineer who recites to her Creole poetry on ‘Thought’; and the current and former President of the Association, Thomi Pitot. Rose also meets the top prints in the island. What did Rose learn? What can her account tell us about the circulation of Creole literature?

In the next section on Rose, we then return back with her to Paris in 1826 analyzing her epistolary letters around the globe. Here, I focus on the moment that Rose mails her husband’s book with the creole fable to her brother-in-law in French Guiana, Baron Henri-Louis Claude de Freycinet former Governor of Reunion, French Guiana, who is on the way serve as governor in Martinique.
1.7.7 Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Governor in Reunion, French Guiana, and Martinique

Where and when could this tipping have happen? If there exists a true historical and material connection, how would a researcher begin to empirically begin to prove ‘dependence’ or ‘inspiration’? Lastly, the proof may be self-evident once there is an establishment of a new organizing logics based on exploration. Here, with the section on Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet that I aim to provide a ‘novel’ interpretation to the history of creole printing and imprinting are due to the fact that much of the previous assessment of the capabilities of circulation and (im)print have not been integrated into the previous studies of this work. Sassen explicates in the second definition: “[B]ecause this analytic aims at capturing the transition from one order to another, it must accommodate the possibility of informal actors and practices as part of the pertinent processes, both of which may eventually become formalized. Among those dynamics informal practices are particularly important as the allow me to explore one of my hypothesis, to wit, that also the excluded make history.”

While Rose and her husband have provided for history a long literary record, it is when we move further to the brother, Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes fighting for the abolition of slavery in Guadeloupe, that a new history begins to form. I trace the life of Baron to finally land him in Martinique, where present a
reasoned and logical argument binding Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet
(1770-1840) to the Bamboo by way of Francois-Achille Marbot, the attributed author.
Here I assigned Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet as the ‘old’ ‘commander’
who simply could not author his own work due to the fact that he had one arm and
incapable of writing thereby enlisting Francois-Achille Marbot to be his ‘nègre’ thereby
explaining why François-Achille Marbot left no trace of his own name.
2 Aesop Anonymous – Powerless Over Patois

And the turtle always marched on.

The hare at the end was laying in wait
He saw the turtle at the bait
He wanted to gallop very quickly
But his nation, it was much to ditzy,
And he lost his wager.

“Douvant poule ravett pas ni
Raison. Provèbe là bien voué
Li voué ladans caze bèkè,
Li voué dans la caze neg aussi.”

François Marbot, Les Bambous, Le Loup et l’agneau, Creole proverb

“La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure”

La Fontaine, Les Fables, Le Loup et l’agneau, French proverb

“Might makes right”

- Popular proverb

Figure 12: “Dans nam la Republique: Proclamation”. Haitian Creole Proclamation
2.1 Section A of Chapter 1: Genealogy of the Early Modern or Ancient Creolophone Literature

2.1.1 Proclamations Article #40

Posters of the Revolutionary Period in Creole

3rd by Massieux- Etienne Polverel and Léger Félicité Sonthonax, “as Civil Commissaries of the make this decision of abolition in August 1793 in face of the slave revolts of the colony. It is in this decision that the Convention decides on the General Abolition of February 4th, 1794.”


Preamble to the Proclamation:

“It is not among the Negro slaves that we must look for the cause they revolt; it is not on their heads, it is not they themselves who are looking to disturb, it is people who are tricking them; those who are making them act, those who are conducting them, they don’t have parents in Guinea, it is the French, it is the little French who are doing it here, who wanted to lose all of the colonies or prevent them from remaining for France; it is them who are making the war such that all of the free people are engorging themselves. It is them still even them who armed the slaves to kill all of the white French people and all of the mixed-blooded people; it has been a long time since everyone has known the truth. First, Borel saved Port-au-Prince with the band of Brigands who was with him, all the Negroes of Cul-de-Sac with those in Croix-des-Bouquets who were disturbing, they all returned back to work, it is therefore free-people we must punish si they want all Negroes to return back to order.”

Last Article 40 of Proclamation:
“That all their slaves know that which that law obliges them to do; that they know their punishment they are going to do to them, if they do not obey the law that the are supposed to know that the law wants that they not be unhappy, and finally that they know all the ways that the law gives to them, for when they want to bring charges which render them justice.

We order this proclamation to be immediately arranged in creole language, so that all their slaves understand ca qui ladans; that it is imprinted, published, and posted tout partout; that they record it at the intermediary Commission, to the two Superior Councils, in all the tribunals and in all the municipalities of the Colony, in French language and in Creole Language.

We want that all the plantations have two copies of these proclamations, one in French and the other in Creole, and that the Colony places it around where everyone is capable of seeing it.

All the inhabitants, the procurors, or Colomes-Gerant, they will be obliged every Monday early in the morning, before the Negroes go off to work; assembled before the door of their Big House and when they are all going to listen; & and the master who should fail [his duties], he shall pay 500 piastres of a fine: if it is the Procurer & the Colome-Gerans, who fail [their duties], they [the law] shall take their plantation from under their hands; they they will never be able to have another [plantation] in this country ever again."

We order the General-Governor to tienbe la main such that these proclamations are well executed all everywhere”

The first proclamations in the collection of Hazael-Massieux date from May, 1793. The Proclamation of Francois Delpeche declares “Amnesty for the revolted slaves who rallied for the Republic,” in Cayes by Lemery Printer, from July 12th, 1793. It continues: “We Olivier Ferdinand Delpech, Civil Commissary of the Republic, which the French nation had sent in this country, to put order and tranquility every where.” Since Civil Commissaries Polverel and Sonthonax, they declared in this country, on past June 21st, that the French Republic wanted to give liberty to all Negro slaves who were fighting in the war and who are capable of fighting for the Republic, when their commissaries commanded against all enemies who are able to go to other parts and those who in this country here. There is the Proclamation of Leger Felicité Sonthonax at Cap Français also by P. Catineau, printer, August 29th, 1793: Proclamation of the general
abolition of slavery. There are even a set of Debates which took place between the accusers and the accused in the affairs of the colonies “[w]here on the Ventose 6th, Year III (1795) February 24th, 1795, Polverel et Sonthonax must respond to the accusation of the settlers to replace them for having pronounced the abolition of slavery and for having published the proclamations in creole which had to be read before the workshops to announce it. (Debats, Tome 3 - p, 3, 4, 5).

There is proverb from Toussaint Louverture leader:

“On September 4th, 1797 [Fructidor 18th, An V] Extract from the Report, Address to the Executive Directory by the citizen Toussaint L’Ouverture, Chief General of the Forces of the French Republic in Saint-Domingue in the Cap Français, chez P. Roux, the printer of the Commission (p. 40). In the discussion between himself and Sonthonax, Toussaint Louverture cites a Creole proverb: “A pig which has already eaten a chicken, sides eyes from one of his eyes, sides eyes from his other eye; that does not prevent him when he passes by the chicken, he will still go try to eat it!”

We can also look to the The Address of Burnel, Agent of the Direction in Cayenne, French Guiana, 24 Nivose an VII (1799):

“Proclamation inviting the new citizens to work and to the defense of the Republic. There exists several dozens of proclamations Creole and of by-laws of the Commissaries of the Republic.”

“Saint-Domingue or in French Guiana, but none for Guadeloupe.” He further notes parenthetically that “Martinique was at this time [an] English colony and that ‘to be noted’ are the often times differences of the text between these proclamations in French and in Creole.”

Given the deep social cultural trench dividing Francophones and Creolophones, the above proverb can be understood as a riposte to the superstructure of a particular French Federalism, which insists not only upon a Creole imaginary, but also by illustrating and defending such imaginary though radical language redefinition. Our proverbial example illustrates the historical “development” of such “attitudes about
language and their speakers”, one where the Creole speaker’s intelligence is over-determined by the very fact of speaking Creole. Nevertheless, if we move away from of the field of socio-linguistics, we can move to a more psychoanalytical and existential approach to this very serious predicament as presented to us by another famed Martinician veteran of the Republican Army, Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), in his book *Peau Noir, Masques Blancs*, stating that:

> We attach a fundamental importance to the phenomenon of language. That is why we deem necessary this study, which must be able to deliver to us the same elements of comprehension of the dimension for-others of people-of-color. Being understood that to speak is to exist absolutely for the other. ¹

Here, Fanon defends the approach to the first chapter of *Black Skins, White Masks* entitled “The Black Man and Language” where, through personal anecdotes, ethnographical dialogues, and mythical encounters, he explores the near existential crisis that Creole speakers have with the French Language. We can extend Fanon’s critique to the above proverb given that Fanon helps us to understand that if the speaker of a language is denied his or her very tongue, not only is there a negation of the language, but that inherent in that linguistic negation is a negation of the carrier of said language. Conflant and Fanon reveal to us the complex nature between these two language systems, as illustrated through the trivialization of vocable “fwansé” which questions both langue and language in the Creole Language Systems.

In this tightly packed proverb from Martinique and Haiti, we can trace an entire epic of language and of power dynamic between Creole Language Systems and historical universalizing efforts and imperial tendencies of French Language Universalism. It is from Martinician Creolist and polemicist Raphaël Confiant that we can arm ourselves with a better understanding not only of the proverb as a genre of speech, but also of the unique structural antagonism between these systems of representation and signification:

“Therefore, one can say that the proverb congeals language in a case of marble or, more exactly, of stone, because its first mark is “la lapidarité”. The proverb chisels the spoken word of which it is a smith. This is why, more often, it reduces morphology (the disappearance of articles), purges syntax (suppression of conjunctions) or ennobles the lexicon. It is moreover this last task, that is to say the rendering in epigraphic form the most banal word, which seems to most characterize the Creole proverb.”

As for the proverb “Palé fwansé, pa di espri”, we see in it inscribed an historic crystallization of an epic and a particular dialectical tension between the French Language and an entire system of Creole Languages. In order to ‘chisel’ away at its meaning, we must begin with the grammar in and of itself as presented to us by Confiant in order to fully grasp its subversive nature. Firstly, in terms of ‘morphology’, we notice a habitual and standard lack of the French definite article: a vestigial lack from various West African Language systems. Secondly, this proverb is devoid of any substantive logical markers: whose lack in the Creole version is clear even in

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3 For more a more thorough view and analysis on Afro-Centrism in Creole see Ama Mazama, Langue Et Identité En Guadeloupe Une Perspective Afrocentrique (Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe: Editions Jasor, 1997).
CONFIANT’s interpretative translation as: “To speak French does not mean that one is intelligent”—where the original literal translation from Creole would be “speak French, don’t mean wit”. In CONFIANT’s translation, he has added the copula “to be”—an absence prevalent in a wide variety of Creole Systems. Additionally, CONFIANT also adds to the phrase a relative pronoun, a rare or even null set entity in most Creole Language Systems⁴. Furthermore, according to CONFIANT, it is this last task that plays on what we can call a doubly signified speech act in the utterance of “fwansé”. In other words, it is the utterance “fwansé” in a Creole speech act which re-ennobles not the predominate understanding of “Français” as signified in French and in FRANCE, but rather one in which “fransé” has been subverted, inverted, or forged to communicate a meaning diametrically opposed to the conventional imperial signification in Creole in a Creole Language. Lastly, what is most remarkable is that the ‘most banal word’ in this proverb etched in the Creole imaginary is the word “fwansé”. Therefore, this proverb affirms that Creole Speakers do, indeed, have “l’espri” and that its speaker do exist, by giving new meaning not to “Français” in French, but to “fwansé” as uttered in Creole.

While a popular book of proverbs is very helpful in understanding the power dynamics that exist between French and Creole, it is equally advantageous to look at some sources tackling this dilemma from the vantage point of ethnography and socio-linguistics. We can therefore turn our attention to “The “Real” Haitian Creole: Ideology,

⁴ See differences on kreyòl swa and kreyòl rék.
Metalinguistics, and Orthographic Choice” where **Schieffelin** and **Doucet** clearly summarize the *French* and *Creole* dialectical conflict in the context not only of *Haiti*, but also in *Mauritius, Reunion Island, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Trinidad, French Guiana*, to an extent *Louisiana* and *Seychelles*:

“Their creole languages developed under similar social and economic circumstances, where varieties of *French* were in contact with different *African* languages. This colonial experience provided not only the medium in which similar linguistic structures and vocabularies evolved, but also the socioeconomic foundation for the development of a set of attitudes and ideologies about the languages and their speakers. In all of these countries, Haiti included, a small group of *French* speakers occupied positions of authority over a large dominated population. French was the prestige language, and the creoles were assigned a range of lower social values.”

### 2.1.2 Aesop According to La Fontaine

Jean de *La Fontaine* is considered *France*’s national poet due to the 1668 publication of his masterwork, *Fables choisies*, and he is noted for writing the most comprehensive collection of Fables after *Aesop* the *Phrygian* slave circa 620-560 BCE. Jean de La Founatin’s path to national poet beings with a life of clergy, to a life of law, to life of nature, and finally that as an *immortel* of the Académie Française. “*Les Fables*”, 239 of them, depict the politics of the natural animal world in which *lions, oaks, foxes, and Greek Gods* turst and unger even exuding a most destructive quality, *l’amour-propre*. Whta is worse is that the stories in these beast fables remind the reader of any age of ourselves: the human race. The *fables* question artistic and personal freedom, death, friendship, love,

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and above all the dynamics of power. *La Fontaine* states, “They do not yet know themselves”, and this was *La Fontaine*’s reason for presenting his epic collection. Looking at his path, we note that his life has been a slow crawl to find a path to justice. His only goal is to challenge one to know himself. In his brilliantly introspective preface, *La Fontaine* states:

“As such these fables are a tableau and with each of us finds ourselves depicted. what they represent to us is confirmed people of advanced age and their knowledge that use has given to them, and teach to children that which there must know. As the latter are newly come into this world, They do not know yet its inhabitants, they do not know themselves.”(9)

The characters in the Aesopian Prose beast fable features animals and fauna which surround us in our daily lives. *La Fontaine*, gravely aware of the vices of man, didactically documents in the fables his experiences in *17th century France* thanks to his desire to teach children the dangers of the outside world. ”Le Cochet, le chat et le souriceau” [VI, 5], features a little mouse who tells his mother of a cockerel who interrupted his conversation with a polite looking cat. The mother exclaims to her naïve child that he, in fact, owes his life to the cockerel, the interrupter, since it was actually the hypocritical cat that the little mouse should have feared. *La Fontaine* notes in his dedication to the Dauphin his motivations for writing such literature, “*Vous êtes en un age où l’amusement et les jeux sont permis aux Princes; mais en même temps vous devez donner quelques-unes de vos pensées à des réflexions sérieuses*”(33). *La Fontaine* follows the traditional dedication of the genre the “The Book of Princes” tracing back as far as *India* to *Pilpay* “the Sage Indian” who inspired many of the fables in *La
FONTAINE’s second collection in The underlying message to the young Dauphin: don’t grow up like your father, LOUIS XIV.

In his book, The Poet and the King, MARC FUMAROLI, a current member of the Académie Française, remains in the 17th century context by expanding upon the politics of the French Court system though a close look at LA FONTAINE and LOUIS XIV and. Even though FUMAROLI only includes the ‘poet’ and the ‘king’, Nicholas Foucquet, implied third link, complete this complicated triangle. Through the telling of this story, Fumaroli highlights the pressure under the king to rescue his country from its self-inflicted plague under Mazarin, as well as the unilateral decision taken by the king to ensure his success. Ralph Albanese, developing another perspective, places the reader in the educational system of the Third Republic from 1870-1940, FRANCE’s longest and most stable period in recent history. Albanese chronicles the study of LA FONTAINE from life to death, not of LA FONTAINE, but that of the French citizen quoting Nisard:

“LA FONTAINE is the milk of our first two years, the bread of the ripe man, and the last substantial delicacies of an old man.”

If LA FONTAINE was so important to the instruction of French, FRANCE, and its cultural values then one wonders at how those values from within the country may have been voluntarily or involuntarily transferred to other cultures. Albeit not his goals, ALBANESE chooses not to explore FRANCE as a country eager to imprint its image onto other continents as a colonial force. If FRANCE did indeed chose to promote itself, what definitions did she bring traveling the world? What were the undeniable cultural icons that she brought to the New World voyage either in popular culture or classical culture?
In other words, what were the ‘inside jokes’? One of these ‘jokes’ was the legacy of Jean de La Fontaine who as illustrated by Albanese represents an undeniable amount of Frenchness based on his presence in the education system, as well as what I experienced as a phantom-like presence in the lives of those raised in the French Republic of any historical time period.

The question not only lies in the commandeering of La Fontaine, but in his crossdressing to the literary canon, culture, and history to which he was introduced. Understanding a fable’s power and its effective crossdressing to global print cultures provides us with proof that while La Fontaine very often is very often evoked is neither its origin or end due to their inherent historical qualities of the rhetortical genre of Anonymous Aesopian Verse which make space and place for a dynamic form of national solidarity—one which is neither defined by space nor time or place nor race.

La Fontaine humbly acknowledges that the fables are not of his creation writing, “I thought it was necessary as a reward to cheer up the book more than had been done." (7). He continues self-effacingly to reference the Latin and Greek fabulists before him, “simplicity is beautiful in these great men; I, who do not have the perfection of languages as they had them, I will not then reach such a high point. « (9). Again, La Fontaine tries to know himself by acknowledging what his capabilities as a poet, although we must admit that he does not give himself much credit, which is a very important trope in the Aesopian preface by which an author will often explain that the
cross-dressed work at hand will never amount to the original version and that it is with
the greatest humility that the said work has been presented.

“Le Pouvoir des fables” [VIII, 1] tells the story of a political activist who sees his
country approaching a grave danger. In vain, he runs to the court to notify the citizenry,
but to no avail none are listening. He screams in a manner that would raise the dead, but
none listen to his story”.

Screaming in his patois

Book III: Fable 1. The Miller, his Son and the Ass

L' Ane, qui goûtait fort l' autre façon d' aller,

Se plaint en son patois. Le Meunier n' en a cure.

In order to begin to grasp the historic, contemporary, and disciplinary stakes and
global significance of tracing the foundation invention of this literary canon in literature,
history, musicology, and linguistics, it is important to first clearly underline the not so
much to define what a fable ‘is’, but rather to describe their use-value as appropriated by
the authors. In the following passage taken from ARISTOTLE'S, this straightforward
definition describes the rhetorical function of the fable—before the letter (i.e. its
(im)printing)—addressing its ‘suitability’ in the form of speech before popular
assemblies by political leaders:

“Fables are suitable for addresses to popular assemblies; and they have
one advantage -- they are comparatively easy to invent, whereas it is hard to find
parallels among actual past events. You will in fact frame them just as you
frame illustrative parallels: all you require is the power of thinking out your
analogy, a power developed by intellectual training. But while it is easier to
supply parallels by inventing fables, it is more valuable for the political speaker

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to supply them by quoting what has actually happened, since in most respects
the future will be like what the past has been.”

_Aesop_’s, the ‘grand homme’, phyrgian, whose_fables_ spread globally, is the
collection himself to the genre of the _beast fable_ astounding contribution the genre as
outlined in _Mary Allen Snodgrass’s Encyclopedia of the Fable_: writers in every
century have chosen to represent _Aesop_ in their own language within their cultural
context through _Aesop. La Fontaine_ recognises and follows the tradition not only by
including _The life of Aesop_ but also by the evocation of _Aesop_, an authority of wisdom.

In the _Oberlin College Charles Beebe Martin Classical Lectures_, entitled
“Aesopic Conversations Popular Tradition and Cultural Dialogue in Antiquity,” _Leslie
Kurke_, pronounces herself “agnostic to the existence of_Aesop_” while at the same time
“studying his life not through traditional ‘scholarly’ sources, but through the popular
narratives that circulated through out _8th-4th centuries B.C.E._ in _Ancient Greece._”

Upon discovery of the life of _Aesop_ in old texts, many young scholars criticized the
koiné, similar to _Vulgar Latin_, instead of analyzing the story, the heart – his life. In _Greek_
and by extension the term ‘koiné’ language means ‘common language’ referred to as a
‘dialect which has arisen as a result of contact between two or more mutually intelligible
varieties of the same language.’

Kurke:

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6 While an argument could be made of Creole as a similar phenomenon as Koiné, I am here more interested in provided a history
Background on the Life of *Aesop*

“But perhaps the greatest mystery of all is the status of the *Life* itself: how did I come to be a written text? And can we treat is as genuinely “popular”? Before *Vita G* appeared on the scene, much older scholarship on the *Life of Aesop* (especially German) regularly conceived the text.

*Kurke* builds her research on the charting on *non-canonical* texts such as *The Life of Aesop* in a series of sequences and episodes tracing the Life of Aesop juxtaposed to central texts of the *Greek canon* such as Plato and Herodotus. Snodgrass’s rendition starts with the *Egyptian Goddess, Isis*, “blessing him with a clear, sweet voice and an understanding of all birds and beasts” after being a deaf-mute slave (10). After this gift, he commits his first act of social activism by relaying the atrocities of the *slave plantation* to others; he was then sold immediately. In various sequences and episodes, *Aesop* travels to villages and large cities giving counsel by through the commanding of *beast fables* to *kings* and *local leaders*. *Aesop* meets his death at *Delphi*, in 564 B.C.E. enough at the sacred center of *Apollo* worship. After accusing the *High Order Delphian priests* of corruption, he is thrown off of a cliff because of blasphemy. *Aesop*’s life of *social activism* through the counter-narrative continuously commanding by many other’s appropriating *Aesopian Prose* particularly *La Fontaine* in his decision to crossdress and versify *Aesopian Prose* in *French*, in 1668 prior to the *French Academy*, at a time when *French* has not yet been standardized.

Purpose of the text

“Of course, post modernist literary theory world assert that all texts are seamed and riven with other voices, resistances, and inconsistencies, and that the notion of a pure, unproblematicized “hegemonic voice” is itself a fantasy. And
while I subside to that position, such critical orthodoxy should not blind us to the very real differences among different kinds of texts based on the materiality and ideology of their production, circulation, and reception. In their permeability and openness to this kind of ongoing conversation, the text of the Life of Aesop are nearly unique among the material we have preserved from the ancient world. Even if this is not about the status of the text, which is perceived as open, fluid, anybody’s property—authored by no one and so authored by each one who writes it down. Finally, I would link this openness and fluidity of the tradition to the purpose of the text rather than to a particular socioeconomic status of author/audience.”

The masked fables of Jean de La Fontaine, as inspired from Aesop, have traveled from 17th century France to the everyday French person because officials in education, government, and media felt that his works represented a common joke and inside history with the proper French embellishments that make him one of this most popular poets in France. The confirmation of this statement is found surely in the books that aim to de-mask his fables, but it is also found in the daily of the average French person today through countless cultural references that need not even be searched because of his full cultural integration. Knowing that the power of language and its teaching, we move on to see how his fables have been translated not only into other languages, but into nations which define themselves through language with an entirely new set of decorations or clothes.

Chapbook, bibliotheque bleue, volksbuch - Data

“We cannot simply transpose the model to the ancient world, since we have no print culture and no Bibliothèque Bleue; nonetheless one could posit similar ongoing interactions between versions of the Life of Aesop as transcriptions and transformations of (some) popular tales and oral versions. Thus we might imagine stories about Aesop continuing to circulate orally as “old wives’ tales” or popular tales told at festivals, while the written text in turn might even be read aloud in other public contexts where different social strata mixed (like Burke’s “tavern” or “marketplace”).

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In the context of the bamboo blue boat book, I seek to define the popular assemblies and identify the masked political speakers in the context he who were and where were these popular assemblies for addressing fables? This essay explores why LA FONTAINE, himself, may be considered FRANCE’s best maintained ‘inside joke’ thanks to his continued evocation in the French popular cultural imagination since the 17th century, a moment when a new FRANCE was being re-defined and re-discovered.

2.1.3 Abbe Gregoire : « On Literature of the Blacks »

“It is upsetting to find this same prejudice in a man whose name is only pronounced among us with only the most profound esteem, and a merited respect; It is Jefferson in his observations on Virginia (3). To layout out his opinion, need only suffice to restore the talent of two Negro writers; one would have to establish by reasoning and multiple facts, that, in the given circumstances, and the same for the Whites and the Blacks, the ladder could never rival the former.”

“He objects with Epictete, Terrence and Phaedrus who had been slaves, and to whom you could have joined Locman, Esope, Servius-Tullius; in this difficult, he responds are a petitions of principal, in saying that they were white.’(p. 37)

Part 2

“The Negro writer are in larger number than the mix-raced writers, and they have in general whom more zeal to avenger their African compatriots; we see the proofs in the articles….My researchers have began to carry myself to make known other Negros, some of whom have not written, but to whom the superiority of their talent and the spread of their knowledge have acquired the renown; in the number we will find only one or mixed race. Marcel, the director of the Imperial Printers, which gave to Caire an edition of Loqman (1), believes that this slave fabulist was Abyssinian or Ethiopian; consequently, he says, one of these big lipped and nappy headed Blacks, pulled from the interior of Africa; which, sold to the Hebrews, he guarded the troup in Palestine. The editor presumes that Esope, Αἴσωπος, Ethiopien, could be the same as Loqman (2); this conjecture is maybe too vague. Among the fables that we attribute to him,
the 17th and the 23rd concerning the Negroes; but the author, was he one? It is a problem.” (p. 191)

2.1.4 Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688-1804

Who are these commanders inventing, imprinting, circulating, and diffusing these freedom fables igniting a boom in the rates of creole literacy? for whom and in what conditions are these fables (im)printed?

Here, I propose to extend the work and approach of Srinivas Arahavanum in Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688-1804 "The trope of "Ethiop" or blackamoor as ‘incorrigible other’ goes back to 570 B.C. Later, Erasmus's Adagia proverbializes Aseop's fable: (the Ethiopian cannot be whitened). 7 (p. 3).

"Trope, Tropus, in rhetoric, a word or expression used in a different sense from what is properly signifies. Or, a word changed from its proper and natural signification to another, with some advantage. As, when we say an ass, for a foolish person, thunderbolt of war for a great captain; to wash the black-moor white, for a fruitless undertaking.

- Ephraim Chambers, Cyclopaedia, 1741" (p.1).

“Despite the fact that most linguistic change could be attributed to content and unmotivated shift sign changes certainly can also reflect individual or collective intentions. Intentionalist accounts of such change are one small part of all motivated change. I characterize motivated instances of such change within colonialist contexts as tropicalizations. By motivated, I would like to suggest a gamut of causal factors, including discursive, historical, and psychoanalytical determinations in addition to the conscious intentions of agents. Tropicalization means a tropological revision of discourse of colonial domination (something that can happen immediately and directly as well as retroactively and indirectly.)"

7
With in this new poetic is the employment and deployment of the notion of “tropicopolitan” from Srinivas Aravamudan’s tome, Tropicopolitans: colonialism and agency, 1688-1804, where tropicopolitan is defined as a “name for the colonized subject who exists both as fictive construct of colonial tropology and actual resident of tropical space, object of representations and agent of resistance.” He also defines the term “tropicalizations” as an “intentionalist” and “motivated” instance of “linguistic change” or “shift sign change”. The launching of this Canon is evidence both the bamboo blue boat book argues for a linguistic change whose agents are identified as tropicopolitan carry the post colonial and theoretical weight of their characteristic with regards to the impression of this vernacular literature as resistance. Aravamudan continues regarding literacy, and I follow his cue in my thesis where I also contend that “present[ing] literacy as a cultural evolution” can be problematic, and I instead try to adopt that “in an analysis of cultural and historical text, the postcolonial critic is inclined to find resistance through acts of reading, transculturation, and hybridity, as well as from those of separation, opposition, and rejection.” (p. 14). Therefore, on identity formation through literature, we have tropicopolitan who were formerly called “Creole”, and I deploy this term tropicopolitan as a theoretical framework for both the authors of Aesopian Prose as

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8 I also find useful his terms and “levantinization” helpful for understanding the circulation of the fables from the Indian Ocean.
well as for Aesopian prose in and of itself outside of Creole literature already present in the of “Dialectics of Resistance” already present in the original Greek prose.9

**Changing of Commanders:**

> “Tropicalization and transculturation suggest acts of cultural transformation, or "going native," in various colonial "contact zones...(...)...Signaling the tropologically provisional and the actually existing, and emphasizing the catachrestical structure of colonial representations, tropicopolitans function as residents of the tropics subjected to the politics of colonial tropology, who correspondingly seize agency through contesting language, space, and the language of space that typifies justifications of colonialism. (p.6)”

### 2.1.5 Kurke : Sage as Commander

I argue in my dissertation for a new approach to *The Bamboo* where the *commandeur* encompasses three historicized social figures: *military commander*, *slave driver* (The Code Noir), and *musical commander* as in the caller of the dance steps for contra-dance. In the voicing, the commander can … create new sonorities by drawing out long syllables, shortening short ones and eliding others. Using the whole range of his spoken voice, he creates a new prosody no longer speech, yet still nothing like veritable singing. He produces a kind of melo-rhythm only heard in the“[sic] with calls” of **Guadeloupe**.10 I aim to expand upon the current literary criticism and socio-historical context of *The Bamboo*. This open and dynamic approach surfaces archives relating to military history, sociology of the **Caribbean** and **Indian Ocean** plantation systems, as

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9This is chapter in, Crichlow and Northover, *Globalization and the Post-Creole Imagination : Notes on Fleeing the Plantation*.

10 This is not limited to “**Guadeloupe**”. Taken from CD jacket of Négoce et Signature.
well as an ethno-musicological index of popular songs of the period. I seek to set the *The Bamboo* in these contexts.

How is it that within only one century the first locally printed books in the complete set of Creole languages around the globe were defined by two underpinning and yet seemingly compulsory thematic convergences in their makeup: the historical and literary legacy of *Aesop’s fables* combined with the iconographic yet washed away spectre --17\(^{th}\) century French fabulist *Jean de La Fontaine*? Why the *fable*? Why *Jean de La Fontaine*? Is the invention, (im)printing, circulation, and reproduction of the fables an effect or cause of changing traditions archiving in a dynamic rate of change in the rising tides of global literacy and *creole consciousness*? What is the *nature* of *contact* of creole consciousness between these faraway islands and territories and their attributed *agents* (*authors, editors, printers*) via political leaders which binds, structures, and projects, what I refer to as a ‘confederated’ launcing of this *Bamboo Canon* of *bamboo blue boat* books, collection of fables in Creole into the *Republic of Letters* around the globe from the 19\(^{th}\) century to the breaking day of the 21\(^{st}\). What is the relationship between these *bamboo blue boat books*, its subsequent *Bamboo Canon* and their *commanding fabulistes*? Where have they been in the past? Where are they now in the present? Where will be in the future? With various *agents* named and unnamed, who can be held accountable initially for an evident collusion to spread not only the ‘idea of the fable,’ but also their *ingenius (re)inventions, indigenous (re)impressions, circumnavigatory (re)circulations*, and rhizomatic (re)productions in the name of the
government presses form dominated by French impression for te Frenc Federaion? Who are the agents, the group or groups of agents, or the collective of groups of agents who have signed off in pen and in print for the continued almost conspirational commandeering of both colonial presses and metropolitain presses in Western Europe for the sole unique purpose of inventing, imprinting, circulating, and dispersion of creole fables in the ancient genre of Aesopian discourse—commanding, as in the act of offering political advice in the trope of Aesop Prose through the creole presses as if by legislative law? With what particular archives can we pinpoint the paths, the projections, and the flights of these fugitive transoceanic bamboo blue boat books of fables in addition to their commanders or authors? Why LA FONTAINE? Why the fable? Might there be the existence of agents who remain masked regarding the nature of their labor in the global sprouting of this canon? If, so what did these agents have to mask? Why through the mask of the commander? What were the political stakes of a commander unveil him or herself a commander of creole fables? In what situation could one invent a bamboo blue boat book, but not have the capacity to imprint one by hand?

“Men of Samos, why do you mock, looking intently at me? You must not view the appearance, but consider the intelligence (…). For it is strange to censure a man’s mind because of the form of his imprint.”…

"Men of Samos, come to your own aid and deliberate on behalf of your own freedom. For this is a sign of the siege of the city and an omen that leads into slavery"
“I am not thereby claiming that Aesop represents the veiled fantasies of actual slaves in the ancient world (like Brer Rabbit for slaves in the antebellum South)—although it is possible that figure did serve this function in the strands of oral tradition largely unrecoverable to us.”

It is my contestation that any of these different appropriations have left their traces in the agents within the dialect formation of culture over centuries and a wide geographical area.”

2.1.6 The Creole Sage: Political Animals: Fables and the Scene of Advising

In Leslie Kurke’s *AESOPic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue, and the Invention of Greek Prose*

Explaining the Joke: A Road Map for Creole Classicists

The Creole Sage: Political Animals: Fables and the Scene of Advising

“Background on the Life of Aesop”, “purpose of the text”, 1st biography of a slave, “Cross-status identification of emancipation”, the “hidden transcript”, ‘folktale tricksters’

‘extended episodes’ + ‘sequences’ in Vitae of Commanders…

“AESOP proceeds to explain to them that, since the eagle is king of birds, the omen portends the imminent threat of a king who will nullify their city laws and attempt to enslave them (ch. 91).

1st Biography of Slave

“For in another way, the *Life of AESOP* is entirely unique. As Keith Hopkins observes, it is the only extended “biography of a slave to survive from the ancient world,” and as such is a mystery or paradox of another kind. We must assume that this comic or satirical text was read and enjoyed by slave owners in a slave society, who were solicited thereby to sympathize and identify with AESOP, the clever slave who consistently outwits and shows up his master
until he ultimately wins his freedom. How are we to make sense of this paradox? Or simply, why Aesop?"

Cross-status identification of emancipation

“Roman culture…” McCarthy says… “the clever slave is more prominent in Roman comedy’s “farcical ode,” which, in contrast to its “naturalistic mode,” engages in slapstick and play for its own sake, while its artificiality and world-turned-upside-down antics expose the arbitrariness of the existing order. The narrative of the Life of Aesop is certainly closer to the “farcical ode” in McCarthy’s account, and we might posit the same pleasures and gratifications for an audience of slave owners who feel themselves oppressed or subordinated in other ways within the social hierarchy.”

“Thus McCarthy’s notion of the possibility of cross-status identification is important and useful for our reading of Aesop… Roman stories…never get Freedom…

“In contrast, Aesop in the Life of Aesop works persistently and methodically to gain his freedom and ultimately succeeds, even against his master’s intention, by complex public manipulation.”

“It matters that Aesop’s struggle for freedom is a mainspring of the plot, and that he dramatically ascends the social scale and wins fantastic honors in exotic locals, for this suggests a different structure of identificatory effects and ideological work the character serves.”(p. 11).

Hidden Transcript

Folktale Tricksters

“enables the articulations in public of elements of what the political theorist James Scott calls the “hidden transcript,” the counterideology and worldview developed by the oppressed when they are offstage”—that is, free from the public world whose performances are largely scripted by the dominant. For Aesop tradition exhibits simultaneously two characteristic forms of “political disguise” Scott identifies as enabling the speaking of opposition or resistance from the hidden transcript in the public world: anonymity of the messenger and indirection or obliquity of the message. For the former, it is clear that any anecdotes and we might explain the anonymity of the written Life itself as a form of political disguise (rather than merely the accident of transmission). For the latter: the Life of Aesop itself articulates a theory of fable as an indirect or disguised message to the powerful, a theory we find paralleled in many other ancient characterizations of Aesopic discourse and known already, I will argue, to Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.E.”

Political Disguise
“The combination of these two characteristic forms of “political disguise” endows the Life and others AESOP traditions with a trademark duality: simultaneously parodic and ambiguous, verbally aggressive and flattering to the powerful. But this also account for AESOP as a kind of culture hero of the oppressed, and the Life as a how-to handbook for the successful manipulation of superiors.”

“The serviceability of this figure for all kinds of resistances within the tradition generated in turn repeated attempts to disarm and domesticate “AESOP,” especially within philosophical, rhetorical, and educational structures ranging from the 5th-century B.C.E. Sophists to PLUTARCH and the late Progymnasmata. We can detect the same pressure of domestication within some strands of the AESOP tradition itself, where (for example) different late, shortened versions of the Life as a tragic plot wherein AESOP is punished for hubris, or the justice of his death underwritten by the divine sanction of APOLLO.

On going conversations – Bamboo Canon Tradition

Jack… ‘restructing agents or sources from ideological positions or values deduced from our texts, insisting upon that fact that

“These ongoing conversations in the AESOP tradition that have seamed and marked the texts of the Lives of will be my topic. For the purpose of recovering such cultural dialogue, we must clearly acknowledge that by and large and object of reading and interpretation is not the text of the Life of AESOP, but the traditions that lie behind it—traditions variously instantiated in the manuscript versions, papyrus fragments, brief references in high literary texts, and other AESOPICA. This reading at one remove—for a penumbra of tradition through a patchwork of textual fragments—means that my interpretations will always be speculative and often sketchy or schematic. Still, it bears emphasizing that, insofar as I am reconstructing agents or sources from ideological positions or values deduced from our texts, I am engaging in precisely the same process that all historicizing readings do.”

‘Mobile’, ‘free-floating’, or dynamic figure

“Thus my topic is “AESOP” as a mobile, free-floating figure in ancient culture, that narrative of whose life, discourses, and death remained endlessly available and adaptable for all kinds of resistance, parody, and critique from below.

Whether AESOP “really existed” as a non-Greek slave on sixth-century Somas or not, we will probably never know. Indeed, I am agnostic on this point, and I would contend that it is irrelevant for the purpose of my argument. All we can is by the mid-fifth century BCE, to judge from visual evidence as well as
literacy references, *Aesop* and many of the traditions about him here already familiar in Athens) and probably elsewhere in the Greek world as well).  

And I emphasize that my topic is *Aesop* also in order to clarify what my topic is *not*. For fable is not coextensive with *Aesop*, nor the figure of *Aesop* with fable. As for fable: as the ancients themselves recognized, fables existed in the Greek tradition long before the lifetime of *Aesop*, occasionally narrated in the *Hesiod’s Works & Days* and proliferating in archaic iambic, especially in the poetry of *Archilochus*. As M.L. West has observed, it is in fact only in the course of the fifth century that we can chart the gradual attachment of fables to *Aesop*. Thus I will not be concerned with the prehistory of fable—whether the Greeks themselves were aware of that genealogy—although at times later, individual intercultural exchanges of fable and narrative will impinge on my topic. Nor will I be directly concerned with the early history of fable in Greek poetry, especially its proliferation in archaic iambic, although early instantiations of fable and allusions to fable in archaic Greek poetry will occasionally figure in my argument as significant comparanda. But mainly I will be concerned with fables only insofar as they figure in the traditions of the *Life* of are otherwise associated with *Aesop*.

Veiled form of political critique

*Negociants*

*Aesop and the Eagle*

![Eagle](figure13.png)

**Figure 13: Malfini**

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11 Malfini is *Creole* for Eagle or a recomposed word ‘finish badly.’
‘extended episodes’ + ‘sequences’ in Vitae of Commanders…stop start..Moment of becoming commander (inventing, imprinting, circulation, rediffusion) “AESOP proceeds to explain to them that, since the eagle is king of birds, the omen portends the imminent threat of a king who will nullify their city laws and attempt to enslave them (ch. 91).

2.1.6.1 Leslie Kurke and AESOPian PROSE: The Creole Sage

“AESOP becomes a full-fledged political advisor (Vitae G + W, chs. 87-97). For in this sequence, as in his successful encounter with the LYDIAN KING, AESOP plays the role of archaic sage, intervening with a public performance of wisdom to avert civic disaster. In order to identify archaic elements in this sequence may preserve, I will read it against several other moments in classical texts where a sage offers political counsel, interprets a divine sign, or deploys beast fable in the context of advising the demos on freedom and slavery.”

“The stage is set for AESOP’S performance when, with the entire Samian people gathered for an assembly in the theater, an eagle swoops down and carries off the public seal. With the priest and the bird diviners unable to interpret the ominous portent and the assembly about to dissolve, the eagle returns and drops the seal in the lap of the public slave (Vitae G + W, chs. 81-82). At this point, the crowd appeals for interpretation to the philosopher XANTHUS, who, as usual, fails utterly to solve the intellectual puzzle posed him. XANTHUS eventually persuaded the apparently reluctant AESOP to interpret the sign at a full assembly held the next day, but when the crowd catches sight of AESOP, they are so amused and appalled by his appearance that they refuse to believe him capable of sign interpretation. AESOP’S first speech, therefore,….. is an argument for not judging the quality of his words and intellect on the basis of external appearance. (p. 142)”

‘sequence’
‘episode’

“Denn AESOP ist ursprünglich in ?????, so wie er auch am Ende des VOLKSBUCHes erscheint.” (p. 142, n. 42)
“According to Vita G, ch. 81, the people are assembled for public elections; according to Vita W, ch. 81, it is the occasion of a public festival, including theatrical performances.” (p. 142, n. 42)

“Men of Samos, why do you mock, looking intently at me? You must not view the appearance, but consider the intelligence (...). For it is strange to censure a man’s mind because of the form of his imprint. For many, having the worst form, have sensible mind (greek). Let no man, then seeing the small size of a man, blame the things he does not see—the mind. For a doctor doesn’t give up hope by [just] looking at a sick man, but by feeling the pulse, he comes to know his strength. And if you disdain the jar without ever taking a taste from it, when will you know [the quality of the wine]? The Muse is judged in theaters, Cyris in bed; thus also intelligence in words....For just as I know how to speak, thus also I know how to be silent again. For the boundary of wisdom is to know the opportune moment.” (Vita G, ch. 88).

**AESOP’s Pulse**

“For a doctor doesn’t give up hope by [just] looking at a sick man, but by feeling the pulse, he comes to know his strength.” Here, I seek to ‘feel the pulse’ of this literature.

“Aesop proceeds to explain to them that, since the Eagle is King of birds, the omen portends the imminent threat of a King who will nullify their city laws and attempt to enslave them (ch. 91). “

**2.2 Section B of Chapter 1: John Jacob Thomas**

John Jacob Thomas: Creole Recitations:

"[the] editorial success shows that the creole fables corresponded, if not to a true social demand, of at least a certain expectation linked to the fact that, for the first time, a
language up until then oral was confronted with an ancient genre and made prestigious by the academic apparatus. But above all, for the 1st time, the creole universes saw themselves put on the stage by and for those who took part in it and defined the norms and the legitimacy, in a language produced by this universe. It is undeniable that the readers of the period, in the absence of recognizing themselves in the fables, found in them something which returned back to them and to their relationship to the world, to their way of saying the world; they read it as a strange familiarity either from the 'regardé' (in HÉRY), either from the 'regardant' (in CHRESTIEN) which lead JEAN-LOUIS JOUBERT to speak of "pleasurable connivances."

He later offers a very useful poetic note and concept of what he refers to as a ‘creole universe’ as well as on the type of relationship these writers had built with their readership: "the relationship to the creole universe that was theirs and that they[the readers] never finished by or dare to say, who have sung what, in the language of the epoch, they called without a doubt "the creole soul"(p.94)".

Color blind impressions?
"I isolate articles and words that contemporary readers would have linked to yesterday's explosion or last year’s ball, incidents perhaps never reported. It may be that in cases where I feel that in the letter to the editor with grammatical errors with clearly intended to elite leadership that the corresponding did not have a good command of the English language of those papers in the 1870s and 1880s understood the writers of such passages
to be a leak members of society who were deliberately using such discourse. "P. Xxi
"I assume that editor draws well-read and well-spoken readers attention to its
grammatical peculiarities, but the writer may very well be a gentleman a member of the
working class who is trying to form the role of a gentleman and a context known by the
readers of the newspaper."

2.2.1 GUADÉLOUPE Creoles Anonymous (1850)

Dakoe, the author of the Punch Marsh Letters, “The Pot of Clay and the Pot of
Iron”

In Guadeloupe, this day is currently referred to as the “Punch Marsh” because it
refers to the eventually burning of the Pirogue Plantation by dumping the rum into the
marsh and burning the plantation. I seek to analyze accounts and the aftermath of this
electoral battle as described and illustrated by “Dakoe” a a self described “cultivateur”.
According the Marie Galante tourist site, “dozens of Blacks were killed during these
déversements of rum and of sugar from the habitation Pirogue in the marsh close to what
is to what is today called in French the “Mare au punch” or the “The Punch Marsh” in
English.12 One month later in the print journal L’Avenir--the organ of the Bissette Party--
“Dakoe” who signs his name “cultivator, Basse-Terre (extra-muros)” writes an op-
editorial in “la langue des masses”—Guadeloupean Creole:

12 http://www.ot-mariegalante.com/histoire.htm
“Oh. Poor Master! Our country is spoiled! Old friends you had for a long time since you were a child, they turned their back on you, if you were going to see your neighbor, he would say you came to watch over him; my poor old godmother God used to know, yes what he used to do, when he pulls you! You who used to say, like our savoir Jesus Christ, like your neighbor, and then they say the country is famished; country famished!”

Afterwards, this initial letter created an entire array of public responses by readers of the journal. These letters recount in great detail not only history “from below”, but also a history in an “expression créole”—a language historically considered as from “down below”. I am most interested in these letters because one of the responders to Dakoe is Pingoue, who consoles Dakoe referencing the famous fable “The Iron Pot and the Clay Pot”:

“…everyone does not think in the same manner; for example, you like three colors; the other likes one only, the color red, the other likes the color white, the other, finally, likes the color black; all these tastes are capricious, they are in our ideas; but before all things one must be an honest man, like our neighbors, like ourselves, don’t search to make him say “tò13” don’t say big lies “qui ca poisse tombé” always on one another, and which finishes by smashing him like the Pot-a-Iron be crushing the Pot-a-Earth or Pot-a-Grease if you like it better. Yes, compè!... Lies are the biggest sin that we have before our Seigner J.-C.; he is in the state to bring our “prochain” the “potence ou ben” make him lose his future.”

“On June 17,1849, there appears the first number of the journal Le Progrès, the defense organ of the republican ideas, published in Point-à-Pitre, “coins des rues d’Arbaud et Des Jardins”, and had for the printer the citizen J.A. Semac./Le Progrès was the first republican organ of our colony; founded by Victor Schoelcher, he was coming

13 This is a formal form for “you” at this time period.
to combat the opinions spread out by *Le Journal Commercial* and *L’Avenir.*” It appears that even the Parisian journal, *Le Temps,* had gotten wind of Schoelcher’s journal: *The Progress.* According Lara, June 25, 1849: a “grave disorder took place on Marie-Galante, *marie* of Ferréol (commun *extra muros*), on the *habitation* Pirogue, the personal property of the mayor, then, the point of departure of the trouble of this little island.” Revealing that the mayor had major stakes in the outcome on the election, Lara further elucidate for us the stakes of literacy at the voting booth and the much needed mechanisms, i.e. “citoyen Germain”, who appears to have the capacity to decode the falsified document. It is through the vivid illustration of his arrest that we witness the historical price for literacy:

[“Certains d’entre eux, illettrés, et d’autant plus méfiant sur ces bulletins inconnus, attendirent l’arrivée du secrétaire du comité républicain, le citoyen Germain; celui-ci rendu auprès de ses amis, leur enleva et déchira les bulletins qui leurs avaient été donnés au nom de Bissette et de Richard, les remplaçant par ceux au nom de Schoelcher et de Perrinon./ Aussitot le maire ordonna l’arrestations de Germain./ Les électeur furieux demandèrent qu’il fut mis en liberte, le maire s’y refusa, et le fit conduire sous escorte au Grand-Bourg”]

[Certain among them, illiterate, and even more distrustful of these unknown bulletins, waited for the arrival of the secretary of the Republican Committee, the citizen Germain; this one here rendered next to his friends, lifted and tore a part the bulletins which had been given in the nae of Bissette and of Richard, replacing them by those in
the name of Schoelcher and of Perrinon. Soon, the mayor ordered the arrest of Germain. The furious electors demanded that he be put in freedom, the mayor refused, and had him driven under the escort to Grand-Bourg.

I seek to read through the relatively short publication cycle of the insular publication: The Future, The Progress, and the Commercial Journal all three representing the major literary organs in the French West Indies during the 1848 Revolution. Each journal, supporting its candidate, Bissette and Schoelcher, respectively, was distributed far and wide. I plan to closely follow the year of 1849 starting with Guadeloupean Historian Henri Bangou in his two volume collection on Guadeloupe in the 19th-century. The next primary document is a commentary, memoire of Orono Lara in La Guadeloupe dans l'histoire : La Guadeloupe Physique, Économique, Agricole, Commerciale, Financière, Politique Et Sociale, 1492-1900 where Lara provides the quotidian life of Guadeloupe during the election period citing publications (printing and distribution) of other journals such as Le Moniteur, Le Journal des Débats, Le Réforme, Le Courrier de la Martinique, Histoire et Géographie de Madagascar (1846) by Henri Deschamps, La Gazette Officielle, and Polémique Coloniale. I ask, is there any Creole pressed throughout these journals? What can these insular publications tell us about the political climate on numerous issues such as education, the abolition of slavery, and language? What are the other topics of news? In my archive, I have identified at least one series of epistolary exchanges in Guadeloupean Creole in Le Future, the organ of Bissette which where I have formally classified as The Punch Marsh Letters of 1849.
Nevertheless, it is on March 29, 1850 that the Commissary Abbema raided the press office of *The Progress* and on May 20, 1850, the three major journals, *Le Progrès, L’Avenir*, and *le Journal Commercial* were all suspended. I seek to understand the short evolution of these journals with the short rise and fall of their publication history seeking out more Creole letters or impressions.

This reference being the first and only reference that I have seen in Creole referencing a fable forces me to ask what does it mean to use a fable? Returning back to Annabel Patterson’s argument, what is the function of this fable in the particular context? How can we differentiate the Parable from Fable? Where did Pingoue find this fable? Did he read in French or in Creole? Are these two writers illiterate? Would Dakoe have understood this remark? Could either of them have read Marbot’s 1846 edition or even the 1949 edition of “Les Bambous”? Is the reference from La Fontaine or from Marbot? These are crucial questions because it is important to establish an understanding of literacy at this time. Can we find publications of La Fontaine from Caribbean Presses at the time? How to describe this wordplay from Progress to Pot-Grease then to Pot of Iron and Pot of Clay? This may indeed be the best joke in all of my creole archives because it hearkens back to the very idea of “Progress” as defined during the Enlightenment.

### 2.2.1.1 Punch Marsh Letters – 1849

Finally, with these tools, I would like to engage the work of Hazaël-who appears to actively eschew “any rapid or negative reconciliations which would lead to consider that grammar (morphology and/or syntax) of the Creole comes from *African*
Additionally, I am very interested in investigating certain assertions that she has made on Creole in various texts because I have located some inconsistencies in her record. In *Textes Anciens En Créole Français De La Caraïbe : Histoire Et Analyse*, she notes on the Punch Marsh Letters: (1) “This text written in an unalphabetized Creole... give us the idea of a political analysis, very rudimentary, and surely from its scribe”[“Ce texte écrit dans un créole *d’analphabète*, ... nous donne une idée de l’analyse politique, fort rudimentaire, bien sûr de son scripteur”]; (2) “You must taste the undeniable humor of the letter from Pingouè, very easy and popular humor, the naivety of the unalphabetized...[“Il faut goûter l’humour indéniable de cette lettre de Pingouè, humour très populaire et facile, la *naïveté* de l’analphabète...”]. On the other hand, Ellen Schnepel quotes a 1987 interview of Hazaël-Massieux, where she gives her rationale for alternative orthographies of Creole: “It is then always he who speaks or he who writes who accepts or rejects a proposed form by the lettered or the grammarian” [“C’est donc *toujours* celui qui parle ou celui qui écrit qui accepte ou rejette une forme proposée par le lettré ou le grammairien.”] Here, in the formulation of Degraff, I ask it is

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15 Ibid. p. 312.
16 The bold is in the text, Ellen M. Schnepel, "In Search of a National Identity Creole and Politics in Guadeloupe" (Helmut Buske, 2004). p. 113.
“scientifically and socially responsible” to call a mid-19th century writer illiterate in a language which still up to now has not had a universally accepted orthography? Here, I seek to have direct access to the archive in order not only to review the text, but also to see the layers of publication around it. What else is in the journal? What is the formatting? Are they normally editorials? What is the original typesetting? While both Mazama and DeGraff are not found in the bibliography of Hazaël-Massieux, it is because of this absence that I hope to use their work to evaluate Hazaël-Massieux’s claims on the Punch Marsh Letters, on Afro-Centrism, as well as on the la fable créole. Here, I seek to articulate how certain claims are made on subjects who speak and practice Creole.

2.2.1.1.1  XXXII. Le pot de terre et le pot de fer.

Yon jou té ni yon chaudié
Evec yon gros pott en té.
Yo té toujou bò fouyé
Dans la cuisine, bò difé.
Chaudiè la dit : "Camarade,
Assez chauffé difé, gade, Nous ka prend ici anique
Crabe, zéchauffi évec chique ;
Si nous té ka lé promenein,
Nous sré prend plaisir ti brin ;
Tout les dé, en-nous marron."
-- "Qui temps ?" -- "Demain."
-- "Eh ben ! bon !"
Lendemain, dans lariviè
Tout les dé rentré. Chaudiè
Coumencè ka congnein lautt,
Ba li coupd-coude ladans côte :
Pourmi coup, pott là félè;
Sougond coup, li déguiolé.
Li dit chaudié : "Camarade, :
Pou lamoude BOn Gué, prend gade."
Chaudiè la réponne : "Mon chè,
Pas faute moin ; c'est lariviè
If Benedict Anderson is right to identify the newspaper as central to the beginning of modern conceptions of citizenship because of how it facilitated the experience of the simultaneity or “meanwhileness,” of time, it is important to keep in mind that this medium did not embrace all of its readers in quite the same way.” (p.xxii)

Innis notes:

"Patois was the almost Universal language of the people and no one could get on without it; and it's a pity to think it is dying out. Jacob Thomas, a Government schoolmaster, years ago, made a grammar of the Patois, but there are very few copies of it extant now. At the time, I did not think it deserved the dignity of a grammar, as it was only bad French and bound to die out, of the younger generation were being educated in English, and my prediction has come true." P. Xx

REQUITATIONS:
“Recitations are a tedious business: don't recount the details of the plot, I tell my students. Yet I have a reproduced the narrative of Thomas and his contemporaries sometimes word for word, because I am precisely interested in their narratives.” (p. xxii-xxiii)

"These connections made and not made have the effect of making powerful, naturalize correspondences for readers. Is Thomas’s and other’s rhetorical negotiations that interest me here."

NOISE:

Is noisy whole day, Earl Lovelace paean to the restless energies of the lave tiles disposed, introduce, noise, another keyword. Kamau Brathwaite “shak-shak, shekesheke, wood block, gong gong, the cheng-cheng of the steel band, [the] decorative energy [investing] the nation performance, unnecessary but without which not enough," constitute the late-twentieth century celebration of the sounds that plague the respectable classes in the late nineteenth century Trinidad ( history of the voices, 301-2)

“Elites complain constantly about the noise that disturbed their sleep at night, and a significant range of ethnicities, occupations, and religions is obscured by the designation, as are the relationships that elites themselves have to "noisy" practices.”

Haiti p. 21 Mauritius

Noise includes drum dances;p.18.

Aesopian Anonymous
“Her Majesty’s Ethiopic Subjects”

London, Englishness, Pan-Africanism

“If the writer of the work referred to below did not, in a letter to the Secretary of the *Philological Society*, speak of himself as “born of African parents,” no one probably—not even a member of the Anthropological Society—would discover from an examination of it the colour of the pigment within his *rite musosum*, or be able to measure from it the greater proximity of the writer over the reader to the anthropoid apes. If we are not mistaken indeed, it is the first grammatical work composed by a person of pure negro descent, and has a certain historical value from this point of view. Otherwise, except so far as its subject-matter is concerned, it has nothing particularly remarkable about it.”

“We should invite the reader’s attention, “ begins the section on proverbs, “to the beautiful sayings which form the ornament of African discourse; but neither our space nor our present limited knowledge will allow our writing a formal dissertation on the subject. We trust, however, to be able to do at some future period” (120)

Smith adds:

“Even among the few [Creole Proverbs] we shall cite, there may…be some which are mere translations of French, English, Spanish originals…We have been much hampered in our choice by the ever-present consciousness of the extreme difficulty of fixing the birth-place of a saying, especially when we finds its parallel in so many different languages. Nevertheless, after deducting from our proverbs those of shoes foreign
extraction the acute reader is certain, enough will yet remain to prove that the Africans are not after all, the dolts and intellectual suckling’s that some would have the world believe them. [(120-21)

Fixing a Birthplace

Smith Adds:

“Underlining Thomas’s contention that Creole is not merely mispronounced French, the pure substance that remains after the “foreign extraction” has been weeded out will demonstrate the intellectual capacity of the race. “Mere translations” of originals” from elsewhere cannot suffice. By this reckoning, “French,” “Spanish,” “English,” and “African” are distinct, albeit parallel and overlapping; they are translatable into one another, for example. With the Grammar, Thomas “fixes” Creole as powerfully marked by and African provenance and significant and valuable because of this. “Fixing a birthplace” secures the place of “African” “originals,” repudiating those who would claim that only French, Spanish, and English qualify as original and worthy sources. “Fixing a birthplace” would also seem to leave little or no place for those words, proverbs, and concepts that are neither French, Spanish, English, nor African (Ameridian and East Indian, for instance) or are not clearly traceable to one recognizable source.”(p.101)

*John Jacob Thomas in Correspondence:*
“Through the methods here recall Thomas’s (laboring to overhear the speakers of Cedros), Thomas is perhaps more native informant than colleague of Bleek and company. His invitation to address the Philological Society represented his recognition by the metropole, his reward for attempting to use strategies of classification and containment on which they were experts.”(p. 102).

Bamboo Blue Boat Book as Cannon Fodder…

“In this sense his Creole Grammar assisted them to collect more efficiently. A announcement in the Trinidad Review of November 22nd, 1883, entitled “Creole and Creoloid Dialects” requested “written specimens” for a publication “dealing with Creole and Creoloid idioms” by Professor Hugo Schuchardt, of the Imperial Academy in Graz, Austria, and noted that “Mr. J.J. Thomas, whose service have been enlisted for that interesting work,” world act as a liaison for anyone wishing to send material to him. Both this announcement and the letter quoted at the beginning of this chapter noted that Schuchardt had become acquainted with the ‘Creole French” of Trinidad and other Caribbean territories through Thomas’s Grammar.” (p.103).

“According to Derek Bickerton:

“Although the languages he worked on range around the globe, Schuchardt never left Europe—all his information on range around the globe, Schuchardt never left Europe—all his information on pidgins and creole was derived either from the work of others or
from a voluminous correspondence he kept up with denizens of the tropics” (viii; see also Schuchardt, 90).

“Thomas was a “denizen of the tropics,” one of Schuchardt’s native informants doing the ground work that would then be theorized by scholars such as Schuchardt or the members of the Philological Society. On one level, then, the Creole Grammar was inseparable from the project of civilizing “native sounds” into intelligible discourses for the consumption of European scholars. Not unlike the genre that he challenged in Froudacity, grammars and travelogues alike functioned as guidebooks for travelers for those who, like Schuchardt, stayed at home. Such guides sought to being oral discourses into “harmonious compatibility” with written European languages, promising “the uncanny return to familiar surroundings” after the fear of the unknown represented by African and Creole languages (Woodward)” (p. 103).

In the 1870 Trubner piece we can see how the 1869 Creole Grammar is the Trinidadian component of a wide-ranging, regional project to Thomas that considers the relation of Trinidadian Creole not only to the Creole spoken in other territories with a history of francophone settlement but to that of Anglophone territory as well. Thomas’s inclusion in this periodical suggest the transatlantic character of metropolitan philological and intellectual discourses, which encompass “American and Oriental” (evidenced in the full title of the periodical, Trubner American and Oriental Literary Record).”(p. 105)
Recitation of the Bamboo Canon:

“Thomas excerpted essay concludes with a list of works published in Creole in Francophone territories, including two on Mauritius Creole. He notes that there are many amusing productions written on passing events, and for local circulation in the different West Indian Islands. A judicious collection of these, with proper editing, would not be labour thrown away.”

“They include a religious catechism, along with what he terms the “classic works of the Creole dialect: M. M. Marbot’s “travesties of La Fontaine’s Fables,” "Les Bambous" (Martinique, 1846) M. L’Herrisons’s (Haitian) "Poèmes créoles" and F. Chréstien’s "Les Essais d’un bobre africain" (Mauritius, 1831). Several of his examples come from Trinidad, including two religious texts by H.L. Jobity (a farewell to Archbishop anonymous satire of Governor Eliot in 1853, and “Maman moen vle mauer (other, I wish to marry), a very diverting song; in fact, a comic stands unapproachable among our native Trinidadians (MS, 1867).”

The Bamboo Canon Part II:

“Here are Thomas’s predecessor’s and contemporaries. Many are European or White Creole, and their texts are an indication of the occasions for publishing in Creole: a religious catechism, adaptations of La Fontaine, addresses to Catholics officials, and satires of British officials. Significantly, Thomas refers to the Haitian (and probably Black) writer François Romain L’Hérrisson, as well as to François Chréstien, the Mauritian writer of "Les Essais d’un bobre africain," written in the manner of La Fontaine."
The bobre provided the mournful string accompaniment in traditional Mauritian sega music. Either these two writers and texts were recognized in the francophone world as “classics” or Thomas was establishing them as such. The list not only gives us an idea of the text to which Thomas had access when he was writing his Creole Grammar but also indicates an audience whose authority to judge him he must have felt very keenly. Indeed, the spectator reviewer if Thomas’s Grammar notes Thomas’s ignorance of Marbot’s Les Bambous, published anonymously in Martinique, “but known, to be from the pen of a very able French official born in the island.” (p. 105-6)

“A review in the Anti-Slavery Reporter noted that the Grammar was “remarkable as a literary effort” because its author’s race showed the “natural capacity of the negro for purely intellectual pursuits” and because a “Self-educated man, deprived of book-help,” could not know what had been “already written upon the science of languages.” Creole was no patois, as Thomas claimed, since “any so-called patois traced to its origin, is the fountain head of the language of which it is alleged to be a variation of a corruption.” Rather, Trinidadian Creole was “an abvious corruption of two or more tongues.” Furthermore, Thomas failed to account for the fact that the “modern French” sanctioned by the French Academy was different from the “provincialisms” existing all over France. Thus, the examples of “’patois,’ or Creole tongue,” were “noting more when analyzed than corruptions of French or of Spanish” that Thomas was “elevating” to “a real language.”
Once upon a time, a hungry Big Bad Wolf approached an innocent lamb quenching his thirst at a stream. The wolf attempts to justify what right he has to devour the innocent creature. However, reasonable and articulate he might be, the lamb respectfully defends his right not to be eaten. Each time that wolf trumps him; the little guy makes an even stronger case for his freedom. After the third try, the wolf recognizes that he has no justifiable reason to devour the little lamb, so he gives up explaining and eats him anyway. Creole moral of the story: Before the chicken, the cockroach has no rights.

The evocation of absolute power resonates not only in these languages, but many others. Story telling and proverbs are tools to avoid being the lamb. They stem from powerful traditions that teach a lot by saying a little. “Wolf and the Lamb” can be told in various ways, but contextualizing the moral is key to understanding its message. The origins of these proverbs in their cultural context merit examination because they first expose the outsider to key values of that culture and secondly, help the insider gain insight and introspection about his/her own culture possibly taken for granted. The inherent history in the grammar of proverbs acknowledges the symbiotic relationship of language learning and culture.

Through what process does the proverbial Creole chicken translate to the proverbial French wolf or the Christian lamb to the Creole cockroach? What are the accessible ways in which the lessons of life can be transferred to all citizens in the nation
allowing them to conceptualize events not only on a global macrocosmic scale, but on a local microcosmic level as well? Both time and space have anachronistically translated these ideas in a way that is pertinent to their respective cultures. Human years cannot record the nearly geologic link between these two creatures, almost as far away from one another as Africa and the Americas.

The common history that forms the cultural identity allows that particular culture to represent both historical and personal events in a proverb. This idea is similar to the concept of an inside joke, where the two friends have shared histories that can be summed up in a key phrase that ignites hours of talking or pages of writing between the two friends. After the individual “inside jokes”, there exists on a larger level the city joke, the state joke, and then that of a nation. While the individual ‘inside joke’ represents a family history, the national joke represents a cultural history that has been systematically retained. How and why do generations pass them down? How do religious, national, and educational institutions support them? Who decides to pass these stories on, and for what purpose?

In returning to our proverbs, some of these morals are more deeply engrained than others. “Might makes right” in English has no particular cultural baggage or history that most Americans or English speaker can attribute it to. If we look at the Creole version, which translates as “Cockroach never right before the fowl”, there, begins to be more history behind the phrase. It refers to certain animals that may only exist in a particular place, and Lambert-Felix Prudent notes in Des Baragouins à la langue antillaise
that this phrase has cultural baggage with different spelling variants in the diverse 
languages spoken in the Caribbean (98). However, the French quote “La raison du plus 
fort” surfaces as France’s national ‘inside joke’ first collected, translated, versified, and 
published under the rule of Le Roi Soleil, in 1668 by Jean de La Fontaine. The story 
“Le Loup et l’agneau” [I, 10] finds itself in the cultural imagination of the French as one 
his best known fables.
2.3 Section C of Chapter 1: Creole Patois GPS via Kangourou

This following bibliography is constructed around the history of the publication of translations of the original *Les Fables Choisies* of Jean de *LA FONTAINE* (Section A). This bibliography includes *national, regional translations*, as well as *Creole language translations* whether the status of the creole be *regional or national* languages. The operations are *nationalisation, patoisissation, tropicalisation, and creolisation*. The 18th Century which features the first (first in BNF) translation of *LA FONTAINE* translated into German in 1713 by Balthasar Nickisch and ends with *Fables de LA FONTAINE, gravées en caracrères sténographiques* published in 1796. The primary part is centered on the publication status of *LA FONTAINE* in the first half of the 19th Century focusing on the official publications of translations. There is the first appearance of translations in *German* (1795-1802), *English* (1805, 1819), *Russian* (1809), *Portuguese* (1815), *Gascony* (1816), *Mauritian-Creole* (1822), *RÉUNION* a second English publication (1834), *Breton* (1836), *Martinician Creole* (1846), and *Basque* (1848). After the 1846 publication, we have a very different situation and time period (Section D): *patois limousin* (1849), *guadeoupean* (1850), *basque* (1852), *arabe vulgaire* (1854), *patoués pyrénéen* (1857), *provencaux* (1872), *Portuguese* (2nd edition, 1874), *provencaux* (1875), *German* (1877), *provencaux* (2nd edition in 1879), *castellano* (1883), *Spanish* (1884), 3rd Marinician Ediion ‘*patois-créole*’ (1885), *bigourdanos* (1886), *gascon* (1891), and *poitevin* (1893), *chaleroët* (1900), and *German, English* and *French* (a trilingual edition, 1901). The trails off ends with the *Japanese* and *Haitian* Creole publication of 1902,
which also marks the devastating volcanic in **Martinique** along with the final and last iteration in the **Seychelles** in 1918 by the 2\textsuperscript{nd} female fabulist.\textsuperscript{18}

Discovery?! Or new interpretation?!?

I propose a brand new theoretical term, *bamboo blue boat book*, as a totalizing term semiotically representing both the absolute autonomy and agency of the Creole language and its literary canon. This term *bamboo blue boat book* refers to and describes the first books imprinted in Creole in these locations which as if by hazard are 8 times of 9 *imprinted intitulado* with the name of the 17\textsuperscript{th} French poet, and well versed fabulist ‘**Jean de La Fontaine.**’ These *bamboo blue boat book* are also comprised of their subsequent editions whether they be published *intra* or *ex muros* to the location of the original impression. The object of study as a new formalized and fully composed literary canon in the set of Creole languages as a material print phenoma whose existence favorably changed the tides in the history of tropicopolitan literacy in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The *bamboo blue boat book* is a term sourced deep within the material history of this often referenced, yet not fully unknotted or unraveled literary canon. In its own idiom of creole, it is philologically linked in both *form* and *function* of its socio-historical continental counterparts well referenced in studies on material print culture from the Medieval period to early modern **Europe** whose national and historical examples include but are not

\textsuperscript{18} These are simply searches in the BNF online catalogue. There surely could be more editions than these listed here above.
limited to the *imprinting* of the phenomena known as the *chapbook* broadside ballad (Great Britain) the *livre bleu* (French), and the *volksbuch* (German).

**2.3.1 “The Kangourous of the Oval Table”**

*Juin 1782 au 29 Septembre suivant*, and is supposed to have been written by one of Suffren's officers named Jacques Jerome Antoine Trublet de Villejégu

Fig an opping from Mauius, Engand, France,

*Rose*

“With the *abolition* of the republican organization the attention of the inhabitants became diverted from politics to other subjects. There was a revival of interest in science and literature, but this time literature was in favor. Shortly before the coming of *Decaen* there had come into being a literary society of the epicurean type, whose members styled themselves *Kangourous*, which held its meetings at a place called *La Table Ovale*, imitated the famous *Modern Caveau* founded by *Crébillon, Gresset* and *Panard* in 1737, to which it eventually became affiliated in 1809 (3). Several poems of the ovalistes, who included the *intelligentsia* of *Isle de France*, have been collected by *Fromet de Rosnay* in his *Anthologie Mauricienne* (4), but very few of their original publication are available."(p. 91)

Reunion vs. Bourbon Island--->

Isle de France BEFORE Bourbon

Seat to Isle de France
He notes that the "the two colonies proceeded apace[?], but on different lines"
nothing that Bourbon was fertile and agricultural, but had not harbor. On the other hand,
"Isle de France was provided with two good harbors bec[oming] a trading centre--
eventually the main trading centre on the sea route to India." The French would hope to
use Mauritius was a naval base with the sole purpose of blockading the British passage to
India which play and important role when the British land and take over in 1809-1810.
Bourbon would stay French.

Toussaint divides that history under French rule in four period distinct periods:
(1) the arrival in 1721 with the founding of the French East India Company whose goals
he describes are with an "eye to immediate profits only". The second period begins with
the establishment of the French government with Mahé de Labourdonnais who sat from
1735 to 1746 who Toussaint describes as having "very little means." The third period
represents a shift in class when in 1767 the island becomes a registered as one of the
"crown colonies" and placed on the *comptoirs as colonies de peuplement*.

At the moment of the 1789 French Revolution the 'old Regime' in Ile de France"
was represented by the most enlightened settlers who, some time before the outbreak of
the Revolution, began to agitate for political liberties." It was in the Colonial Assemblies
that the "Republican ideas were at first well received, but when the Convention tried to
enforce the abolition of slavery a reaction set in and from 1796-1803 the island was
almost in a state of open rebellion against their mother country"(p. 8).
He notes like most historians of the period that most of the literature spoke of "privateering expeditions against British commerce in the Indian Ocean" (p. 8). One of the important dates in this revolutionary period is 1803 when the General Decaen came into power citing: "he solemnly promised to restore slavery and therefore met no opposition with full representation. He was known as the benevolent dictator. On printing he starts with this 2nd period with the character known as Pierre Poivre, the indendant of the island and "one of the most important benefits which the change of administration conferred upon the island." Toussaint describes him as official, unofficial, branch of human activity, historian, bibliographer, almanacs, two newspapers.... best in 18th century!"

ONE NEW PLANT -->

COMBINE

BOURBON -->

1792 -->

Colonial Assembly

1800-1804 --- broken

no printing --- as of publication of the book!

Through a material criticism Toussaint, particularizes the cases of Ile de France marking that it was a lay enterprise with the first in the area being that of Java noting that religious tracts, prayer books and parts of the bible are not devoid of interest for the student of bibliography, but for the historical student they have little significance." The
other factors include "personalities of the printers themselves." How could we discover
the personality of a printer of an island? What would the personality be?

Lambert....vs Bourbon

"intellectual class"

Auguste Toussaint then explains that while accounting for a history of the early
printing presses is justifiable, it is nevertheless a very "difficult" endeavor for two
reasons. He first explains that the naval and military history of the islands, of Isle de
France in particular, has attracted the attention of historians to the exclusion of less
spectacular aspects of their development." He resolves that most of the works available
on these islands, of Isle de France in Particular, has attracted the attention of historians to
the exclusion of less spectacular aspects of their development. Most of the works
available on these islands deal mainly with the part which they played in the Angle-
French struggle for supremacy in the Indian Ocean in the 18th century and have little to
say on their social and political development." The second reason, "is the problem of
procuring the necessary material which is scattered among many different repositories
and is often accessible or difficult to trace"(p. 9).

What is most useful about Toussaint’s Early Printing in the Mascarene Islands,
1767-1810 is that he provides not only the internal self generative print history of Ile de
France, but also the relational histories that this island has had outlining how military and
sociopolitical change influenced the mode of production, the mechanism of the
circulation of the print material, as well as the reception. Here, it is particularly useful to
add the notion of "editorial success" as used in Marimoutou's article on both Le Bobre and Les Esquisses africaines.

2.3.2 Propose Bamboo Blue Boat Books

While the articulation of these collections of ‘first creole books’--often called ‘ancient’ creole literature—as a literary canon is deftly supported by a waves of literary scholars, linguists, historians, librarians, archivist, museum curators, and especially auction houses as foundational to the development of literature in each of these locations. Proclamations Section?

I propose a brand new theoretical term, bamboo blue boat book, as a totalizing term semiotically representing both the absolute autonomy and agency of the Creole language and its literary canon. This term bamboo blue boat book refers to and describes the first books imprinted in Creole in these locations which as if by hazard are 8 times of 9 imprinted intitulo with the name of the 17th French poet, and well versed fabulist ‘JEAN DE LA FONTAINE.’ These bamboo blue boat book are also comprised of their subsequent editions whether they be published intra or ex muros to the location of the original impression. The object of study as a new formalized and fully composed literary canon in the set of Creole languages as a material print phenomena whose existence favorably changed the tides in the history of tropicopolitan literacy in the 19th century. The bamboo blue boat book is a term sourced deep within the material history of this often referenced, yet not fully unknotted or unraveled literary canon. In its own idiom of creole, it is philologically linked in both form and function of its socio-historical continental
counterparts well referenced in studies on material print culture from the Medieval period to early modern Europe whose national and historical examples include but are not limited to the imprinting of the phenomena known as the Chapbook broadside ballad (Great Britain) the livre bleu (French), and the Volksbuch (German).

2.3.3 Broadside Ballad

“The rapid expansion in the reading public had been created not only by increasing numbers involved in state-run education, but also Sunday schools run by religious organizations, adult education classes, Mechanics’ Institutes, mutual instruction groups and the like. But urbanization itself, in bombarding town-dwellers with print in the form of handbills, posters, broadsides, broadsheets, chapbooks and almanacs, in addition to newspapers and periodicals, played an enormous role in encouraging the general population to learn to read.

This increasing enthusiasm for reading, while generally accepted as a good thing, also brought with it concerns: 'A habit of reading [fiction] breeds a dislike for history, and all the substantial parts of knowledge; withdraws attention from nature, and truth; and fills the mind with extravagant thoughts, and too often with criminal propensities.'!

Religious organizations were against light reading, recommending, instead, the Bible and hymn or perhaps, Bunyan and a few other religious classics. The concern was that fantasy and impurity would lead the reader astray. Material written and designed for the entertainment of the general populace took several forms, and much of it did include stories of moral and physical weakness. Its appearance—hurried, cheaply produced and often slip-shod—did not help.

Broadsides were the traditional non-serious reading matter of the poor. In the mid-eighteenth century there was often no other form of cheap literature, especially in rural areas, other than these sheets pinned up in homes and taverns, (A broadside is printed on one side only, whereas a broadsheet covers both sides.) Broadsides could be any size and their subject matter was diverse, including popular ballads, satire, news, crime and war. They were also used for formal pronouncements of law and order, and as a medium for protest, political controversy and personal dispute.

These sheets were invariably illustrated with what were intended to be sensational images, often printed from crude woodcuts, and sold on the streets.

Ballad-sellers adapted their trade to the bustling city streets by dressing up and performing, perhaps in pairs, the music they were selling. Others hung
their sheets on railings, sold them on stalls or simply stood on the street corner with their sheets pinned to their clothing. However, crime—‘a stunning good murder’—was the bestseller. The popularity of broadsides waned as the cost of newspapers fell, while the rise of music halls after 1832 caused ballad sheets to give way to songbooks.

2.3.4 Creole Bluettes

Rare. Small spark.

In Fig. [In the field of the mind and feelings] This presents a strong character, lively and light, but passenger or superficial.

Lit. [Speaking of plays in verse, romantic works close to vaudevilles] Small very spiritual book and unpretentious; banter.

The bluettes or blues as commandeered into Creole stem from the tradition of sega and of In his book A History of French Song: Cabarets, Composer-Song-Writers and Interpreters PHILIPPE CHAUVEAU starts with a drawing of a voice box and defining national and eventually as transnation musical societies. The tradition of French popular song can be dated to the term vaudeville as far back as 1520 in Normandie with the terms Vaux (ou vauls) de Vire, Vaux de Villes, Vaudevilles:

1. “You people of the village,
2. Who like the French King,
3. Take everyone good luck,
4. To fight the English”19

Chauveau explains:

"In a stroke of good words in this poem so fertile, French, born evil, formed the vaudeville, pleasant, indiscreet, who led the singing, passed from mouth to mouth and increases in walking, the French freedom in his verse unfolds; This child wants to be born of the pleasure in the joy. "


Picture of a voice box,

“And the voice of the people, inspired, obstinée [stubborn, dogged, dedicated, persistent, pigheaded person], intermixes, first, to the themes linked to trades, to collective celebrations, to win and to libertinage. Work and pleasure. The serious will come much later. From this moment in the history of France, with a mathematical precision, can recount itself in songs.

Along the 16th and 15th centuries, the multitude of armed conflicts give to the masses many occasions to let themselves go in its brilliant form. If the 100 Years War, curiously is not sung, or seldom, the the epic of Jean of Arc gives birth to numerous airs, which boast, encourage, and incites enrollment. Even though the first victims of the events, the paysans and the artisans respond, fascinated by the étendards. The songs, airs, flatter, incenses and exalts the virtues of power and the defense of the territory.”

20 Ibid.
2.3.4.1 Du Caveau à La Révolution – nautical passport

« For people of wit, fine story tellers and poets, the customary habit, since way back when was taken up and consisted of reuniting, secretly, in one place, finally to surrender oneself too or engage too therein to intimate conversations sung aloud. In the straight line of what would lead to the cabaret spectacle to open up, under LOUIS XV, The first Caveau.(p. 36) "(p. 28).

"In 1729, three friends, dramatic authors licentious poets and poet songwriter, CHARLES-ALEXIS PIRON, playwright doubling as a composer of songs, CHARLES-FRANCOIS PANARD, also author and equally enamored of art and song ANTOINE GALLET, also author and equally enamored of art and song ANTOINE GALLET, merchant holding a wine shop on RUE DE LA GRANDE TRUANDERIE, created a kind of cenacle—both literary and gastronomic. One found oneself, first once monthly, in the back room of MR. GALLET, it is at this address, in fact, that the first born poet-songwriter society in history, revelatory of a new impetus: "It was almost to the street environment of TRUANDERIE in the second room, the dirty room, simply furnished with a huge table and seven to eight chairs a strong style prior to the Fronde, a monster buffet and trios of four prints depicting mythological unvarnished pranks BOUCHÉ[?] JACQUES tells us in his study entitled Gallet and the Cave published by DENTU in 1884."

2.3.4.2 MAURITIUS to PARIS - October 20th, 1809 – « from 4500 leagues »

This section described he meeting ‘affiliation’ of the Mauritian Oval Table with
the Caveau Society – Creole rites of Passage

The Sprouting of the 1st Modern Caveau "Happy Children of the Vaudeville ". Pitot and Mallac, ‘passport’: "But it would be tedious to go through all these approvals the provincial presidents.” However, the meeting of October 20th, 1809 deserves special mention. This, says the report of the Journal: “The reception of an ambassador from a Epicurean Corporation based 4,500 leagues from PARIS: the Caveau of the L'ISLE DE FRANCE. MR. PIERRE LARRÉ is indeed sent by MR. PITOT, Creole, President of the Oval Table of ISLE DE FRANCE, to request affiliation to the METROPOLE.

MR. LARRÉ is the carrier of a passport signed by the members of the Society, namely MISTERS COUDRAY, PITOT, LIGNEVILLE, MALLAC, TENAUD, COLIN, JOSSE, ARRIGHI, CATOIRE, BEAUSIRE, RUDELLE, BERNARD, MAZON DEVAU, CHOMEL, MAINGARD. This passport is dated November 16th, 1808, it is line to line and we will quote the beginning:

“We the undersigned, joyful authors Banquets of the Oval Table, Friends of pleasure without scandal And sincere admirers From these purposes, of these liquors whose, on the top of the Cancale, Balaine[?] each month feast on The most amiable singers, To all those whose souls shares A taste so strong and wise Salutations, good bad and beautiful humor! Considering that one of our brothers Will leave the enchanting asylum Where next to sincere friends He tasted happiness for a long time... Have this faithful friend Given this present passport... Etc.”

Besides the passport, PIERRE LARRÉ carries a few presents: coffe from MOCHA one hundred pounds (100lb) and twelve (12) bottles of liquors from the ISLES! The minutes of the meeting becomes lyrical” :
"In a climate where there is an eternal spring, in the homeland of PARNY, BERTIN (...) our order found worthy brothers (...) It is the Isle of FRANCE MR. LARRE, guest the Oval Table, pushed by a propitious wind, arrived on our shores, charged by his colleagues to offer the regenerators of Epicurisme a collection of nice songs and a supply of *liquors* from the ISLES and coffee from MOKA."

Of course, the affiliation poses no problems: "The Oval Table and the Rocher de Cancale forms no more than one family" and the record holder, echoing the signatures of the aforementioned passport, the twenty-one Parisian signatures: LAUJON, PIIS, GOUFFÉ JOUY, FRANCIS, PHILIPON MADELEINE, ANTIGNAC, MOREAU, SÉAUGIERS, DE ROUGEMONT, CHAZET, BRAZIER CHAPEL RENAND, SATROUVILLE, CLITIPHON, brewer, DUMINIL, BAILLEUL, SALVERTE AND DUPATY."21

2.3.4.3 Passeport

Devotion & Morality

History → True and Fabulous

Tragedy vs. Murderers, executions, judgments from *God*.

State & Times

Love (Pleasant)

Love (Unpleasant)

Marriage and Cuckoldry

Sea – Love, Gallantry, Actions

Drinking & Good Fellowship

Humor, Frolicks.
Figure 15: The Drunk(ard). Air: *The more the merrier*

**L’IVROGNE.**

**Air:** *Plus on est de fous, & a.*

Zanot toi fair’ moi trop misère  
Ton l’arack va rendé toi fou,  
Moi n’a plis connais ton manière  
A-v’la qui tous les soirs toi soul’?  
Moi vé-pas soufri d’avantaze  
A la fin moi va prend galant  
Et si toi n’a pas vini saze  
Moi fair’ toi coqu (bis) comment blanc. (ter.)

Figure 16: “Le Plus qu’on est fou” (La Clé du Caveau, 1811)

L’Ivrogne.  
Air: *Plus on est de fous, & a.*  

Zanot toi fair’moi trop misère  
Ton l’arack va rendé toi fou,  
Moi n’a plis connais ton manière  
A-v’la qui tous les soir toi soul?  
(Refrain)

The Drunkard.  
Air: “Plus on est de fous, & a.”  

Zanot you are doing to me much misery  
Your arrack will render you crazy,  
Me, I no longer know your ways  
Look which all night you are drunk?  
I don’t want to suffer anymore
Moi vé-pas souffri d’avantaze
A la fin moi va prend gallant
Et si toi n’a pas vini saze
Moi fair’ toi coqui (bis) comment blanc.
(ter.)

Moi lassé coudre ton cimize
Oui, ça trop fort en vérité
Dans bazard, dans camps, cot’l’églize,
Faut qui toi la guer’la zourné?
(Refrain)

Dir’ moi donc quand nous dans la ville
Si di-mond’ n’a pas va honté
Aulier toi sivre moi tranquile
Comment soldats toi balancé?
(Refrain)

Toi connais rien qui ;a-contine
Tout ton commissions toi manqué
Mais çimin cot’ moussié Périne
Ça zamais toi n’a blié
(Refrain)

Quand toi té boir comment baroque
Toi vini dormi côté moi,
Toi ronflé comment la-mizique
Est-ç’ qui toi pensé moi d-bois?
(Refrain)

In the end, I will take gallant
And if you don’t become sage
I will make of you a cuckold (bis) like white (ter).
I just sewed your shirt
Yes, its too much to tell the trust
In the bazaar, in the camps, next to the church,
????????????????????????
I don’t want to suffer any more, etc
Tell we when are in the city
If people are not ashamed
Instead you follow me tranquilly
Like soldiers you balance?
I don’t want to suffer anymore, etc.

When you drink like baroque
You come sleep next to me,
You snore like music

Do you think I am wood?
I don’t want to suffer anymore
At the end I will take gallant
And if you don’t become more sage
I will make of you a cuckold (bis) like white (ter).

2.3.5 CHAPBOOK as ‘first step’

“Closely related to the broadside was the CHAPBOOK. These were sheets folded into an eight-, sixteen- or, occasionally, thirty-two-page booklet, the finished item often being little more than 10-13 centimetres (4-5 inches) tall.”

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The type was worn and the woodcut illustration could be second-, third- or fourth-hand, in awful condition and even irrelevant in subject matter. Additional colours might be applied by hand. The compositor, using and reusing the often crude materials to hand, calculated his arrangement of type and image to attract the eye. It was important to distinguish the current issue from that of the previous week. *Chapbooks* were printed onto poor-quality paper, but nevertheless, being made from rag stock, were suitably robust. These little books were cheap (the word 'chap' is thought to derive from 'cheap'”) and sold unstitched and untrimmed, the idea being that readers would sew and cut the pages themselves.”

“For many customers, a *chapbook* represented a first serious step into the world of literature. Content tended to be popular fiction, often romance containing religious overtones, with titles such as Seven Champions of Christendom. But they also carried a mixture of anecdotes, verses, riddles, puzzles and jokes. *Chapbooks* continued to be published well into the nineteenth century, although they evolved into children's booklets, which, in turn, gave way to the popular penny magazines, American booksellers and printers often imported English *chapbooks* for distribution or reproduction. However, local printers, notably in New York and Philadelphia, later began producing uniquely American versions, frequently based on ‘frontier adventure' tales.”

Penny Magazine

“Of equal importance in bringing regular reading matter to the general public was the penny magazine, which originated in the United States in the 1820’s. The concept was copied in England and then the rest of Europe. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded in 1826, began publication of the Penny Cyclopaedia in 1833, selling 75,000 copies in weekly instalments of one penny. The German Pfln1l1g- Magazin began in 1833 and reached roo.coo subscribers. Its editor, the Swiss-born J. J. Weber (1803-80), would continue this success with the Leipziger Iiustrirte Zeuung, modelled on The Illustrated London News.”

### 2.3.5.1 Bodleian Library @ University of Oxford, England

The term *chapbook* or *cheapbook* and the *broadside ballad* in Great Britain where they were named due to their economic description as *cēap* (barter, business, dealing) because of their low cost and ‘ballad’ due to the accompanying imprinted or stamped sheet music in the form of *broadside ballads*. Among the largest collections of these *chapbooks* and *broadside ballads* are those housed at the Bodleian Library in
their Rare Books collections at the University of Oxford as well as at the English Broadside Ballad Archive in the Early-Modern Center at the University of California of Santa Barbara. In Oxford, the Bodelian Library now brags, as recently as October 27th, 2015 an “outstanding collection of 1.3 million maps and half a million printed music scores” of items such as the actual conducting score of George Frideric Handel’s (1685-1759) Messiah (1741), collections of ‘11th century Winchester melodies’, up to ‘contempory pop songs.’ Additionally, there is the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, based at the English Folk Song and Dance Society headquartered at the Cecil Sharp House in London which maintains, “the Roud Broadside Index of references to songs which appeared on broadside, CHAPBOOKs, songsters, and other cheap print publications, up to about 1920.” The Oxford Collection “holds nearly 30,000 songs, many of them unique survivals, printed from the 16th to the 20th centuries where the ballads are ‘updated’ and ‘linked’ to other sources. In Santa Barbara, their archive provides “full-text transcriptions, as well as images and catalogue records, of over 4,000 ballads.” The Bodleian Collection describes the CHAPBOOKs and broadside ballads as being “printed cheaply on oneside of sheet of paper from the earliest days of printing, contain song-lyrics, tunes and woodcut illustrations.” These contents according to their project description “bears news, prophecies, histories, moral advice, religious warnings, political arguments, satire, comedy and bawdy tales”. What is significant about the Bodleian’s collection is that while the primary origin of their collections are generally based upon English language text as well as text printed in Great Britain (or maybe even
Western Europe), they hold in their collection three original editions of creole fables whose origins lie in the Indian Ocean in Mauritian: Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (1831, 1869) as well as Album tropical, où Recueil de pieces inédites et autres du porte-feuille, faisant suite au Bobre Africain/[Tropical Album, or Collection of unedited pieces and others from the wallet, followed by the African Berimbau] (1838) formally owned and containing ‘unedited’ handwritten text from the Mauritian, François Christien-Desnoyers author of the 1st bamboo blue boat book commandeered in Mauritius, seemingly from his ‘wallet’ or even ‘portfolio’ due to the recognition of the archiving of the song and dance forms of these monumental publications imprinted in Mauritian.

2.3.5.2 Eagle and the Creole Sage Political Animals:

![Figure 17: Malfini](image)

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22 Malfini is Creole for Eagle or a recomposed word ‘finish badly.’
In religion, magic, and astrology, the *malfini* is associated with “John the Evangelist” with ‘possible attributes’ being the ‘book,’ cauldron or chalice along with snake, eagle, palm and a scroll. In the themes on plants, animals, landscapes, and the weather, the *malfini* either stationary or in motion and is often associated with a heraldry animals and predatory bird either with or without *prey* in its talons. It is often characterized by large wing with a head bowing down as if peering down for a dive or with head straight erect up in pride.
It is on **9 Avenue Matignon**, in the 8th **arrondissement** in **Paris, France** at the Christie’s Auction House, there were not one, but two **bamboo blue boat book** were up for auction with an estimated auction price set between $3,724-$2,348, but which eventually sold for $3,173. The 1st book is described as having a ‘small thumbnail woodcut on the title page’ with a few ‘small spots on the first pages’ also noting that the paper is ‘browned’. ‘Both the modern canvas and the original cover has been preserved except for the stained blanket’.

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While there are certainly copies of *The Bamboo* in **France**, there are various copies of these rare editions scattered around the United States of America such as at *Princeton University Library’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections* under the *Kenneth McKenzie Fable Collection* (ExF). *Princeton University* describes the collection as having “specific references to the fables of *Aesop* and *La Fontaine*” and that there is much “unprocessed” material. Other editions of *The Bamboo* can be found at the *University of Texas at Austin* (1869) under the *Special Collections of Edward Alexander Parsons*. The *original* and subsequent editions are *rare manuscript collections* at the *Newberry Library* in **Chicago, Illinois** (1869), *Tulane University* (1869), *John Hopkins University*, in **Baltimore, Maryland** (1869), *Rutgers University*, in **New Brunswick, New Jersey** (1869), *Northwestern University* in **Evanston, Illinois** (1931), the *Beinecke Library* at *Yale University* in **New Haven, Connecticut** (1931) as well as at the *University of Florida’s Latin American Collection*. 
Blue Books- Sociology of Literature

In the France, the is phenomena is known under the auspices of the blue book or le livre bleu, in French, whose home or place of deposition is described as the blue library or the bibliothèque bleu. The name bamboo blue boat book stems from their mode of production being that the covers were often made with recycled paper formally used to carry sugar bread which had traditionally been made of blue paper. The ‘blue’ in bamboo blue boat book, evokes the materiality of the blue book as well as its it is cultural use value as a tool of literacy for ‘urban’ societies. In the case of the livre bleu or the blue book in France, it has been commented that:

“[t]his literature, urban and local start, was then popularized by peddlers and therefore extended to other urban areas (Rouen, Angers) and imitated. While remaining cautious, Roger Chartier considers that it constituted one of the main sources of culture of the masses in France; others, like Carlo Ginzburg, insist on our ignorance of receiving these texts modes; However, historians agree on the importance - hardly measurable - oral culture: the illiterate were content to appreciate the engravings, when there were, but most of the time they could have access to the text when collective readings. However, a mixed clientele appropriates these books, and for almost two centuries.”

“This is not only true of novels about early life and development ('Bildungsromane n'). From this point view the novel is the real successor to the fable”

“The systematic collecting of such 'little in sights', as Winckelmann called them elsewhere, as the basis of fresh formulations of ancient knowledge during the 18th and 19th centuries, from cookery to water resources to veterinary science. As the numberof

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readers grew, so access to specific experience was increasingly had through the pages of books. The novel provided the bourgeoisie with a substitute, on a different level, for initiation rites, that is for access to real experience altogether. And indeed it was thanks to such works of imagination that the conjectural model' in this period had a new and unexpected success.(22)”

atlas of novel
sociology of literature – roman noir. Sherlock holmes Signs

While the CHAPBOOK collections crossed with the genre of the Ballads in ENGLAND only contain materials from the canon from the island of Mauritius, we trace the flight and dispersal of these books to metropolitain audiences interested in rare books as defined by each of these catalogues and collections. However, it is the third and most enigmatic of these bamboo blue boat book, The Bamboo: Fables of JEAN DE LA FONTAINE Travestied in Creole Patois by and Old Commander (1846, 1969, 1885, 1931, 1876, 2002) published in MARTINIQUE which is not shared by any other canon and unique only to MARTINIQUE: (1) the absence of authorship; (2) an attribution to a certain “BOURDILLON”--someone other than the currently accepted author, FRANÇOIS ACHILLE MARBOT, whose attribution is the first and only to be posthumous. While the collections of creole fables has not been formally decribed as being a blue book or apart of the blue library, it is in 1866 and in 1867 that this enigmatic title and book takes rhizome/root and eventually makes way in 1872—after MARBOT’s posthumous attribution in the Les Bambous (1869)—that we continue to see a sustained well archived interest in these
collection in spite of the major caveat of lack of formal authorship. We can then follow the first descriptions and understandings of these works by metropolitain book collectors. In a formal standpoint, we will see how *The Bamboo* is anonymous and how this anonymity played a large factor in its bibliographic popularity even more so than even the fact of it being printed in Creole.

2.3.5.3 Going Once, Twice, Bamboo for Sale on January 5th, 1866 @ 7:30

![Figure 19: At 7:30pm on January 5th, 1866, there was public auction of *Les Bambous* (1846)](1866_c19)

**CATALOGUE DE LIVRES ANCIENS**

**PRINCIPALMENT SUR**

LA BIBLIORAPHE & L'HISTOIRE LITTERAIRE
De la France, de l'Angleterre, de l'Allemagne, de l'Italie, de l'Espagne etc.

RÉIMPRESSIONS A PETIT NOMBRE

SUR PAPIER DE ROULARD, PAPIER DE CRINE, ETC., ETC.

Publications françaises faites à l'étranger, etc.

PROVENANT DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE DE M. D. L.***

Donne la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu le vendredi 5 janvier 1866 et jours suivants, à 7 heures et demie du soir

RUE DES BONS-ENFANTS, 28, MAISON SILVESTRE

SALON NO 1 (AU PRIX) Par le ministère de M. J. BOULLAND, commissaire-préfet

Assisté de M. A. CLAUDIN, libraire-agent et photographe, 3, rue Gautheaud.

*Figure 19: At 7:30pm on January 5th, 1866, there was public auction of *Les Bambous* (1846)*

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On January 5th, 1866 at 7:30pm, on the Rue des Bons Enfants [the Good Children Street] at the Maison Silvestre, it was a minister J. Boulland as well as a book seller expert and paleographer by the name of M. A. Claudin both hosted an auction featuring (per title) ‘ancient books principally on the bibliography and literary history from France, from England, from Germany etc.’ with ‘reimpression in little number’ while even making more precise the materiality of the books being printing on ‘paper from Holland, paper from China, etc., etc’. Here the ‘etc’ can be filled in as ‘Martinique’. The catalogue also includes ‘French publications done abroad seemingly all coming from an anonymous book seller who goes by the name of M. D. D. L***. While there are various editions of Jean de Li Fontaine’s fables in this ‘catalogue’, there is also a singulary collection of the Martinician bamboo blue boat book from Martinique. An envoy "for M. A. F. Bourdillon on behalf of his affectionate father," makes it known the name of the author. Already with in 20 years, The Bamboo (1846) as arrived in France under the auspices of a paleographer as and book seller who recognized its great value classifying as ‘ancient’ even through the are nearly 20 years of age.
2.3.5.4 American Bamboo in Paris: Bibliotheca Americana

Figure 20: Bibliotheca Americana: Reasoned Catalogue of a Very Precious Collection of Modern and Ancient Books on America and on the Philippines²⁷

Just one year later in 1867, **CHARLES LECLERC** publishes the *Bibliotheca Americana* (1867) qualifying his catalogue (in the title) as a ‘reasoned catalogue of a very precious collection of ancient and modern books on AMERICA, and the PHILIPPINES, classified in alphabetical order by the names of the author’ whereby one can purchase their very own copy of *The Bamboo* (1846) accompanied by the same note

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in addition to a note: “curious translation and almost unknown in France. This exemplary has belonged to the son of the translator, as such, and the identical following note written at the bottom of the title. (For Mr. J: Bourdillon on behalf of his affectionate father. Saint-Pierre, December 15th, 1846)”

What is central to take from the appearance in this collection is that within 1846, The Bamboo arrives in France in a highly valued collection of a new genre of literature labeled as Americana whose meaning either as a suffix or as a noun ana is a Latin ending that one adds to certain proper nouns to indicate a collection of detached thoughts, of good words, of anecdotes that are attributed to these characters.” Americana…”

a. Les Bambous (1869)
   i. Preface
   ii. Footnote

28 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
The last catalogue of the 19th century to have featured *The Bamboo* (184) was printed in **PARIS, FRANCE** in 1872 under the title *Dictionary of anonymous works followed by the second editions of supercheries unveiled with a general table of real names of anonymous writers and pseudonyms cited in the two works* (1872). Published by the former librarian of **NAPOLEAN I** whereby, the 1846 edition of *Les Bambous* is attested in being apart of what we can call the “Emperors New Books.”

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“Bambous (les). Fables de LA FONTAINE, travesties en patois créole, par un vieux commandeur (BOURDILLON). FORT-ROYALE, MARTINIQUE, 1846 IN-8, II-140P.”

Who is Barbier? (Notice Biographique, iii-xx)

Louis Barbier, oldest son

2.3.5.5.1 Nature and object of this Dictionary

“Perhaps he who believes to escape with the greatest ease from this method to literary satire, who spares voluntarily anonymous writings, because it is always the person and not the work who is the target of its traits.”

“We call a work anonymous the one which on whose coverpage is not named (1): sometimes the name of the author is found either on the bottom of a dedicatory-epistle, either in a preface, either in the approbation of the censor, either in the corpus of the accorded privilege for the impression, either following the same privilege. We can therefore then distinguish different species of anonymous works; but the use is to bring them all to one place, and to rely on the coverpage in order to determine it.”

“A pseudonymous work is one whose coverpage contains a name which is not that of its author. There are also different species of pseudonymous work. The writer who puts on the cover page of the work that they publish the name of another famous author, must pass rather as clumsly imitators rather than imposters. Many works of the last kind have appeared in the middle of the last century. (…). Those who put their names on works that they name not done are plagerists. There exist also many works which in place of the name of the authors, only contain appellative-- relating to or giving of a name like doctor, mother or sir. (1). 1808-1835”

p.xxix, n. 1

vs “we don’t know the name of the author”

“It seemed to us a good thing to return back on this exclusion of a large number of amaturs and of redactors of catalogues who are continuing to see as anonymous the works whose title don’t carry the name of the author.”

“It is these appellatives, which, considered by Quérard as supercheries, have formed the large part of augmentations of the 2nd edition.”

2.3.5.5.2 Of an amateur, a commandeur, of a montagnard

“This denomination of anonymous and pseudonymous applies to authors as to editors, to works as to translations.
“The reputation of a translation sufficed enough often to inspire in us the interest in favor of the translated work, because, in all times, men of genius have seen the transmission of the beauties of one language in another, as one of the best ways to perfect their taste and their style. Among the translations that we have, many enjoy a meritorious reputation; the translation form therefore an important branch of our literature.”

“The number of editors having multiplied in the last two centuries, I though that the literary history would have collected their names, as much as we owe among them curious informations (notices) on the authors that they have put to light. Often they have also added to the merit of the work that they have launched to the public.”

“The name of an author, and the recommendations of his friends, contribute often, at least for the moment, to the success of a work. The experience proves however, above all since the impression has multiplied infinitely the number of books, that the good works, decorated with the name of their authors, fall into oblivion. An anonymous work is much more exposed to this fatal destiny; if it obtains success, it owes it to a very real merit: it is said ingeniously by M. de la Lande. The odor of the violette which raises up from the bosom of the grass.”

“One cannot deny that some good writers have not deigned to put their name on the fruits of their waking hours, and many distinguished scholars, that we still have the happiness to possess, have had appear almost all of their works under the veil of the anonymous; also, it would seem easy to me to prove that in all the libraries composed with useful works, there exists in them, a third without the indication of authors, translators or editors. The knowledges that we could have in in any case concerning the bibliographies still remain imperfect, if we do not seek to unveil these anonymous [works]. It follows from there that a work where these names would be revealed with accuracy, could become a custom as much as the historical dictionaries; unfortunately, we have neglected this genre of research during this last century.”

2.3.5.3 Methods that I followed in the redaction of this dictionary

“The first consists of following scrupulously the first words of each title; the second in choosing the principal word of the title, that is to say the one which does the best in know the subject of the work.”

“I always cited the place where the book was printed, or the name of the library, the date of impression, the number of volumes and their format…”

“The reunion of these elements is necessary to have known a work, especially if it is anonymous. The bibliographers who in omitting several, resemble the mathematians who, in their treaties on algebra, give the statement of many problems without adding to it the result of their solutions. A vaguely indicated title is in effect a true problem to resolve.”
“As soon as there exist an anonymous edition of a work, it is reason enough to have known the name of the author to those who posses it…”
The first time that I came to the BNF this edition was in very good condition. The tinting of the pages appears to be green. There are small brown marks on the edition. There are no holes, tears, rips or scratches on the BNF edition. However, what the library staff had not noticed was the fact that their rare book had been missing four pages. I notified la president de salle de lecture to notify her of the fact.

We then looked to the digital version online and noticed that their scanned edition on the gallica.fr website was also missing the pages in question. This fact told us at least that the pages had been missing prior to the digitization of the artifact. There are also two stamps of acquisition on in the book. The first stamp is a bit clearer than the second stamp. I gave the number of acquisition to the president de salle. The illustration of the stamp can be indexed to a book of icons of acquisition stamps since the inception of the catalogue. Since the stamps changed over time to represent the current state they are each unique and can be dated. In the case of this 2nd edition of The Essays of an African Bobre (1831), the president de salle researched the number and the stamps. It appears that the BNF acquired this particular edition between January 1st, 1898 and January 3rd, 1899 according to their records.
What is less clear is if the pages were missing upon acquisition. The pages missing are 11, 12, 13, and 14. The works in part are "Le Jaloux." There are just 15 verse. The works missing at least by the order of the 3rd edition is see pages 4-7 for missing verses: "Le Créole Philosophe" and "Le Grillot et la Fourmi." At the end, what is left in part are the lines of "La Danse et le Marriage." At the point, we went to the digital version to see if it also had the missing pages. I gave the number of acquisition to the president de salle. She looked the number and said that she could see what she could do. She flipped through the book and saw a stamp. The stamp or the number allowed her to look at an index of stamps. It is between: 4/01/1898  3/01/1899

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32 The pages missing are 11, 12, 13, and 14. The works in part are "Le Jaloux." There are just 15 verse. The works missing (at least by the order of the 3rd edition is see pages 4-7 for missing verses: "Le Créole Philosophe" and "Le Grillot et la Fourmi." At the end, what is left in part are the lines of "La Danse et le Marriage." At the point, we went to the digital version to see if it also had the missing pages. I gave the number of acquisition to the president de salle. She looked the number and said that she could see what she could do. She flipped through the book and saw a stamp. The stamp or the number allowed her to look at an index of stamps. It is between: 4/01/1898  3/01/1899. Chrestien, *Les Essais D'un Bobre Africain : Augmentée De Près Du Double Et Dédiee À Madame Borel Jeune.*
2.3.5.8 bibliograp maritnique

"Marbot, François Achille.-- Les Bambous, Fables de la Fontaine traveties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur.

1ère édition lithographiée, Fort-Royal Martinique.

2ème édition Ruelle et Armand, Fort-Royal Martinique 1846, in 8, B.N 8 Ye 453, 140 140 p.

3ème édition, Nevers et Fort-de-France, F. Thomas, in 8 1868, B.N. Ye 452.

4ème édition (pousse) Aix en Provence, imp. A. Maccaire 1885, in-12 134 p.

Extrait des Bambous (prime du journal la Paix)

Deslandes 1917, in-12.

Thomas J.- The theory and practice of creole grammar.

Port of Spain 1869, in -8."

P.113

de Saint-Quentin.--Introduction à l'histoire de Cayenne, suivie d'un recueil de contes, fables, chanson en créole, avec traduction en regard et précédée d'une étude sur la grammaire créole. Antibe 1872F, in-16.

p. 113.


159
Recueil de chanson bissettistes pour le temps de Noël, par Lavallée. St-Pierre Martinique. imp de Carle, s.d., in -8 pièce. B.N. * V pièce 491

p. 113

Recueil de ving-sinq chanson politique en français, et de huit poésies. S.l.n.d. in- *

B.N. B V 458.

(Plusieurs de ces chanson ont rapport à Schoelcher et aux Schloelcheriens savoir, la première aux Enterrés; la 3ème les Calebassier; la quatrième, Chant Perrinon Schoelcherien; la dixième, Cohortation au départ; la seizième, Mort de Schoelcher; la dix-neuvième, Papa Bissette; la vingtième, Réponse aux Bissettiens; la vingt-sinquième, Les Schoelcheriens).

Recueil de neuf chanons créoles, la plupart publiées à la Martinique sur des personnages politiques de cette colonie.

S.l.n.d. in-4 B.N. * V 459

Recueil de cinquante cantiques populaires pour le temps de Noël. Fort-de-France, imprimerie du journal de Bloc, 57 rue Schoelcher, 1908.

(Cantique assez réalistes que les jeunes mulatresses chantent me soir dans les campagnes tout le mois d deecembre.

2.3.5.9 Collection of Dr. Marcell Chatillon—Antillana

“MARCEL CHATILLON (1925-2003) was born in LYON on November 23rd, 1925 and deceased in ABYMES, GUADELOUPE on March 20th, 2003, installed himself in FRENCH GUIANA in 1953 when he started his career as surgeon at the hospital of

160
CAYENNE, FRENCH GUIANA. In 1955, he reinstalled himself in MARIE-GALANTE, then in 1957 becomes surgeon in POINT-À-PITRE, GUADELOUPE and stayed there until 1983. Over fifty years he collected paintings, prints, manuscripts and printed books about the ANTILLES and the French in AMERICA. In 1998, the Mazarine organized a large exhibition around his collection and in 2002 DR. CHATILLON decided to bequeath his Antillean Library to the (1) Mazarine; the paintings and most important illustrated documents were given to the (2) Musée d'Aquitaine and the archives, to the (3) Archives départementales de la Gironde.

"Images de la Révolution aux ANTILLES (Archives départementales de la GUADELOUPE, 1989)

En Creole dans le texte (1996)

De la decouverte à l’émancipation: three centuries and a half of Antillean history through the collection of Dr. Chatillon and from the Mazarine Library. From November 2nd, 1998-January 20th 1999 (1998)

FIRST Creole text…in Latin

The collection contains about 20 manuscript references and nearly 2,000 printed books of which 500 are valuable old books and the rest form a remarkable reference library on the history of the CARIBBEAN in general and the ANTILLES archipelago in particular.

Outstanding items are: a manuscript, perhaps autograph, and two copies of each of the two editions of Histoire générale des ANTILLES by Father Du Tertre (the first belonged to FATHER BRETON, the second was dedicated to ACHILLE DE HARLAY); PIERRE LOUYS' copy of Zombi du Grand Pérou by CORNEILLE-BLESEBOIS; the only known example of the Lettres de Madame P. née C (CAP-FRANÇAIS, 1782), an exotic pastiche of Les Liaisons
dangerous; many historical and iconographic documents such as the Jamaican collection of character sketches by Belisario, with five original drawings; and rare editions of the Code Noir and a remarkable collection of books printed in the Antilles. Another remarkable aspect of the collection is the archives of the Société des Amis des Noirs, the first French society working for the abolition of slavery (1788–1799). This set of reports, correspondence and, most importantly, the minutes of the society's deliberations, was acquired by Dr. Chatillon in 1982.

When Dr Chatillon's Antillean library joined the Mazarine Library, in 2003, one manuscript was missing. It was an inquiry into the native people of the Antilles by a trader named Caille de Castres, and was dated 1694: De Wilde ou Les sauvages caribes insullaires d'Amerique. Histoire nouvelle (online description: Ms. Ant. 14). This manuscript, which was in the collection just before the death of Marcel Chatillon, has still not been located.

Joining an already large collection of social and political history, the work of botanists and travellers' accounts in the Americas, the Chatillon bequest, since supplemented by Jean-Claude Nardin's donation, has made the Mazarine a privileged place for research on the Antilles.”

Exploitation of text

La Bibliothèque Mazarin – La Collection Marcel Chatillon - introuvable

From the preface by Henri Bangou:

« Of course, we already know, for Guadeloupe, written in Creole Baudot of the mid-nineteenth century, attesting a high level of elaboration that characterized this language.»

From the préface by Marcel Chatillon:

“But it was in the nineteenth century that the settlers will try to publish works in creole especially the Island of Mauritius. Two big names in Martinique and Guadeloupe: Marbot and Baudot.

Which presented here four editions published Marbot year nineteenth century including a photocopy of the first so far to find.

Baudot should expect 1902 to be published but regained his manuscripts to the Municipal Library of Lyon. It was he who wrote the first song sung in Creole and Thérèse Fondoc, adapted version of Devin Village by J.J. Rousseau (another adaptation of the late eighteenth in Saint Domingue could not be found.)

Chaudenson – Gives a reading in Les Creole Français—of the title of the book in Latin!

Chaudenson – Critique of Confiant---Latin…no knowing apparently that the book had originally been published in Latin.

Aesop Ideologies – Les Fables Creoles, Des Fables Creole

“The Father Pelleprat, great predicateur in Paris and a man of great culture, had first redacted his relation on the islands of the Americas in latin, this is why we find his reflexions on the language of nègres in latin and the first examples of this creole language given in latin (pages 35 and 36).” Pelleprat (1609-1667) S.J. Pierre Pelleprat.

35 Marcel Chatillon, ibid., p. 8.
« De insulis America » 1653 44 pages second publication of the same book in French

Pierre Pelleprat, S. J. - French

Relation des Missions des PP. de la compagnie de Jésus dans les iles et dans la terre ferme de l'Amérique méridionale. Published in Paris at the publishing house Chez Sébastien Cramoisy in 1655. We can find on pages 52, 53, 54 a description of the way in which the nègres, newly arrived speak French. “Two texts from the 17th century from Pelleprat and Mongin are particularly precious for observation the formation of a langage nègre” (let’s underline this curiosity: the manuscript of Pelleprat, first known texts on creole, is redacted in latin !).” From École Sainte-Geneviève Library in Paris, France the Official Bibliographic entry is Narratio missionum PP. Societatis Jesu in insulis americae et in America meridionali dated in 1655 with 44 folios. The book is so old and yet new in that two pages 13-14 and 14-15 have still never been cut not to mention a binding error of the notebook whereby the first part occupies the folios 1-13 and 36-44, the 2nd part is in 15-35 half bounded in the color of red bean flour in the section Ant Ms 12. The copy at the Madeleine Library contains is an original edition formerly belonging to the author cited by the script of another handscript :’ab anno 1655 a P. Petro Pelleprat. « Il s'agit de la rédaction originale, autographe ou copié sur l'autographe avec des corrections manuscrites de l'auteur, de la Relation des missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les iles et dans la terre ferme de l'Amerique meridionale... par le P. Pierre Pelleprat... A Paris chez Sebastien Cramoisy & Gabriel Cramoisy... MDCLV. » There is no other title page the first folio has « Prima pars : De insulis americae », the folio 15 :
Pars secunda narrationis missionum PP. Societatis : In America meridionali. The book’s provenance according to former back binding of the book as from « Antilles Guyane 2 » dated 1901 from the Library of the Saint-Geneviève School Appartenait en 1901 arrived in the Madeleine collection on March 22nd, 2011 under the number 185861D. Access to the library are conditional upon contact with the library. Since it can also be found on microfilm.

De Creolibus non est Disputandum

« Parmi les premiers chroniqueurs, on a souvent cité le Père Pelleprat donnant les premières caractéristiques de ce « jargon de la française » en latin ! Dans une passage célèbre, il précise quelle est cette façon de parler vulgaire » :

« […] Longum esset genuina eos lingua instrueri solusque possetfoeliciter qui omnium imbutus esst facultate linguarum ; quare non eos ante ediscimus quam Gallice laqui adductos ; quam citissime autem ediscunt ut cogitata mentis enunciare facile possint et dominis explicare, a quibus omnino pendent ; ad vulgarem loquendi modum, nostrum conforamus. Saepius utentur infinitifis verbis Ego orare Deum, Ego ire ad Ecclesiam ; Ego non coledere, hoc est, Deum oravi; in Ecclesiam ivi, Edo non comedi; addito vero future praeteritive temporis adverbio; dicunt; Cras ego comedere, heri orare Deum, id est; Cras comedam, Heri Deum oravi, atque ita de reliquis. Hac loquendi ratione utimur cum eos primo instituimus… » (Hazaël-Massieux, p. 23, n. 19 cf Pelleprat, Pierre. Relation des Missions des PP. de la compagnie de Jesus dans les iles et dans la terre ferme de l’Amérique méridionale, 1655.)

Chaudenson – Les Creole Français

“The indications are fairly fragmentary but they find themselves confirmed by other accounts which are almost contemporary. That of Père Pelleprat first in his Relation des mission des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Isles et dans la terre ferme de l’Amérique méridionale (Paris, 1655). The account of P. Pelleprat exactly contemporaneous as that of P. du Tertre...”
(1654) is more precious by its linguistic and sociolinguistic precisions that he brings; he gives in particular informations on the on the “language of the Negros” which appears different from the “baragouin” of the Caribs: “The Negros” that one transports to the Islands are from diverse nations of Africa, from ANgolo, from Cape Verde, from Guinée and from other lands neighboring the seas. On counts in the Islands up to 13 nations of these infidels all of whom speak different languages without understanding the savage slaves [from the ‘solid ground’], the furthest islands from the coasts of America, and which are also some very diverse nations. It would be an infinite labor to enterprise in instructing them in a language that is natural to them. One must have a gift of languages in order to succeed. (p. 13)"

Chaudenson – Des Fables Créoles

"R. Confiand is clearly seized by the love of the classical languages that do not make it. Not knowing that "di" (diglotte) is a Greek prefixe it forges a "uniglotte" (we logically expect "monoglot"); he even risks the bold expression « uniglotte » (page 140)! Again pedantry is doubled with ignorance; R. Confiand says "aura" (masculine!); wanting to talk of the "right of the soil", it is the scientist unwittingly evoking the "sunshine law" (he writes "jus solis" on page 29, when the "right of soil" is jus soli). He who gives to supporter of "socio-genesis" speaks of "societies which have been created almost in vitro (page 50) which is absurd contrary and above all he does not know what this transparent yet seamless expression means. The reference to the Latin title of the book from Pelleprat Insulis America is surely wrong (page 257) because it is not clear what it would mean in Latin; as there is nothing in the literature (as usual), we can identify the error safely. "(" Proceedings of the Thesis Raphael Confiand "in Des Creole fables Creole studies: culture, language, society, p. 171).37

2.3.6 Martinique 38

Barbier39Proto-Bambous?

1844• 26 - Francois Achille MARBOT- Soirees Coloniales Ou Fables De LaFontaine

Expliquees Par Un Vieux Negre

Premiere edition, lithographie aujourd'hui rarissime. Reproduction des premieres pages
en photocopies.

Bibliography of Martinique40

Cited in Hoffman41

Lithographie42

2.3.7 Patterson Research: unfruitful

Chatillon Archive

Paris: NO

Bordeaux: NO

1846-1885-1869

- 28 – LaVollée, [Pierre] Chanson Bissettists pour le Temp de Noel. Saint-Pierre de la
Martinique, Imprimerie de Carles (1849) (21 pages)

Chanson en créole sur des airs de Noël français à la gloire de Bissette.

Guadeloupe

Baudot

• 29 - ANONYME

Bellaire : Dans sons chanson « Voici le jour de gloire »

167
Pointe-a-Pitre, imprimerie de Bellefontaine. Chanson celebrant la victoire de Bissette et Pecoul sur Schoelcher, Papy et Perrinon aux elections legislatives de juin 1849.

2.3.7.1.1 5 items of BAUDOT in the Chatillon Collection

#30

DAKOÉ

Lettre en créole, daté de BASSE-TERRE, le 18 janvier 1850
Journal « L’avenir de la Pointe à Pitre »
En 1850 parut dans ce journal une série de lettres en créole par une soi disant cultivateur et qui dénoncent les mensonges des partisans de Schoelcher. Ces lettres ont pour auteur soit Paul BAUDOT, soit l’historien Auguste Lacour. »43 (p. 17).

#36 Paul BAUDOT

RAPPORT DE FONDOC SUR LE CHOLERA EN NOVEMBRE ET DECEMBRE 1865 A LA BASSE TERRE

Photocopie d’un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de la ville de Lyon avec un dessin.
Dans le fonds Lacasagne à Lyon se trouvent des manuscrits de BAUDOT collectés par le Dr Corre, lors de son séjour en GUADELOUPE vers 1880, certains comme celui-ci restés encore inédits. »44 (p.19).

#51 – Jules Ballet

LA GUADELOUPE : ENSEIGNEMENTS SUR L’HISTOIRE, LA FAUNE, LA FLORE

BASSE-TERRE 1902
Tome troisième – pp. 78/110
Considérations sur le créole suivies de proverbes, contes et d’une partie de l’oeuvre de BAUDOT. » (p. 22).

#53 – BAUDOT

ŒUVRES CREOLES

Poésies, fables, théâtres, contes

44 Ibid., p. 19.
Basse-Terre, imprimerie du Gouvernement – 1923
165 pp.
1ère édition imprimée des œuvres de Baudot. C’est là seule où se trouve reproduite la pièce « Le Songe d’Athalie ». 45 (p.22).

#55 – Paul Baudot

ŒUVRES CREOLES

Traduction et préface de M. Maurice Martin – 2nd édition
Imprimerie Officielle, Basse-Terre – 1935

pp. 230 »46 (p.22)

Mauritius

21 • F. Chrestien

Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain

Seconde édition, augmentée de pres du double. Ile Maurice, imprimerie G. Deroulede et Cie - MDCCCXXXI Il s'agit de la deuxierne edition, la premiere rarissime a figure dans l'exposition sur Lafontaine (B.B. 1995).

• 22 • Catechisme Creole

Pas de titre, pas de nom d'imprimeur 7 pages In8 Un autre exemplaire lui aussi sans frontispice se trouve au British Museum. Il s'agit d'un catechisme imprime al'Ile Maurice, probablement de la premiere partie du XIXe steele.

46 Ibid.
2.3.7.2 De la découverte à l’émancipation: three centuries and a half of Antillean history through the collection of Dr. Chatillon and from the Mazarine Library. From November 2nd, 1998-January 20th 1999 (1998)

BARBIER\footnote{Chatillon, Nardin, and Bibliothèque, De La Découverte À L’émancipation : Trois Siècles Et Demi D'histoire Antillaise À Travers Les Collections Du Dr. Chatillon Et De La Bibliothèque Mazarine : Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2 Novembre 1998-29 Janvier 1999.}

Original edition of the first important text in creole to appear in MARTINIQUE.

The name of the author does not figure on this edition, that Barbier attributed to Bourdillon; but the two following editions of this book has succes, appearing in 1870 in Nevers et en 1885 to Aix-en-Provence, are due to the chanoin/[canon] E. MARBOT, general vicar of the bishop of Nevers then of the bishop of Aix, son of FRANÇOIS-Achille MARBOT (1817-1866)." (p. 104)

2.3.7.2.1 Regard sur les ANTILLES: collection Marcel Chatillon (1999)


Time Line of Chatillon
2.3.8 This Crisis of the Volksbuchen Kreolischen

Aesop-Kurke

“Denn Aesop ist ursprünglich in, so wie er auch am Ende des Volksbuches erscheint.” (p. 142, n. 42).

Schuchardt

Lastly, there is the Volksbuch from Germanophone Literature, whose very meaning as ‘folk’ confirms audience of the genre of this historical and foundational seemingly ancient print culture the means and ways of a book or a collection of books defining a nation whereby the term ‘volks’ in German refers to the ‘folk’ or ‘of the nation’, ‘or of the people’ and eventimes ‘race’ suggesting as set of newer transpositions such as the ‘creole Volksbuch’ as in creole book ‘of the creole nation’ or of the ‘creole people’ or even sort of book of ‘creole folk’ even ‘creole race’.

In the German language canon,

Declaring the volksbuch ‘in crisis’, John van Cleve argues that while the ‘word’ volkbuch is still used as a genre designation, “‘Volksbuch’” is still used as a genre designation in studies of literature from the Age of Luther” and that “it was coined by a Romantic poet/scholar to meet the needs of a nascent discipline.” Cleve’s ultimate contrition with the term volksbuch is that, ’[s]ince then, Germanics has used and abused

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the term in so many ways that any meaning it once had has been completely compromised, admitting nevertheless that ‘[f]ormalist analyses that attempt to redefine the "Volksbuch" as a kind of proto-novel have produced a wealth of terminology.” Contents on the other hand that

However, the student of literary sociology who finds the concept "Roman" anachronistic when used before the 17th century has been trapped in a terminological cul-de-sac. Accordingly, Görres’ example is followed, and a new term is offered to meet the needs of a maturing, methodologically pluralistic discipline.”(Abstract)

“The terms Volksbuch and Chapbook imply two strikingly different perceptions of 19th century perceptions of late medieval literature. The presence of “Buch” and “book” indicates a shared appreciation of the importance of the new printing and binding technology. The very identity of the literature in question is provided in part by those technological developments. However, while the word “Volk-” partakes of Romantic myth-making and irrationalism, the etymological root “Chap-” completes the identification of the Chapbook by making it an article of trade. Both components of the English word speak to developments that signal the beginning of post-medieval “literary life.” More recent institutions such as the learned societies, reading societies, lending libraries, and publishers who specialize in literature, the middle-class profession “Writer,” literary periodicals, literary criticism—all of these institutions are based on the assumption of a continuous supply of literature made available by the retail
market. In the sixteenth century, literature for sale to the public at large was a novum.”49
(p. 212)

Nevertheless, whether they be labelled the cheapbooks from the British, the folk’s or nation’s books for the Germans, or as blue books for the French, these materials are often described as lacking a ‘formal library’ or even rather crudly described as ‘bumfodder’ in some cases. In their materiality they are often described as originating as pamphlets which were ‘small,’ ‘cheaply made,’ ‘paper covered,’ ‘booklets,’ ‘single sheets,’ usually with ‘crude woodcut’ illustration, portraits, or iconography which may or may not relate to the text and frequenl alluded to as ephemera’ in the sense of feverish for a day. The materials printed in France, Germany, and England provide French, German, British and by extention I argue, creole ‘ephemera’ included but was not limited to popular folk literature, almanacs, children’s literature, folktales, and nursery rhymes. The musical impression, the broadside ballads have been most useful for studies of popular music, music history, printing history, social history and art history.

Furthermore, it been argued that these ephemera [CHAPBOOK, blue book, and VOLKSBUCH] served to raise the literacy rates as “many working people were readers, if not writers and pre-industrialist working patterns provided periods during which they could read. CHAPBOOKs were undoubtedly used for reading to family groups or groups

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in alehouses” in addition to being “important medium for dissemination of popular
literature to common people especially in rural areas.”

2.3.8.1 Austria

2.3.8.2 Germany

“Since the 1960s linguists have had an increasing interest in Creoles, not least because these languages provide speech data of great value especially for research on language typology, universals and the transition from orality to literacy. The series Kreolische Bibliothek/[Creole Library], founded in 1981 by ANNIGET BOLLÉE, opens up those languages for linguistic research by publishing text editions, grammars and dictionaries.”

“Creoles are in the areas where they are spoken, not the only language rather, they are always in a situation of diglossia or multilingualism and usually have the status of a dominant, often even an endangered language. Grammars, dictionaries, text editions and sociolinguistic studies contribute with to add value to their status and to prepare the ground for their use as a written language in public life and in education.”

Seychellois : Enregistrements, Transcriptions Et Trad (Hamburg: H. Buske, 2001); Schnepel, "In Search of a National Identity Creole and Politics in Guadeloupe."

2.3.9 French National Museums

Quai Branly

Reunion

2.3.9.1 Portrait young #2

Figure w: Portrait Du Poète HÉRY - "Jeune", 41 x 33 x 1,6 cm, 737 g

Young$^{51}$

$^{51}$ Anonymous, Portrait Du Poète Héry - "Jeune", 41 x 33 x 1,6 cm, 737 g.
2.3.9.2 Portrait #1 old

Figure 22: “Portrait bust, right profile. Belongs to the series "Album of the Reunion Island." Louis Emile Héry, born in 1802 in France, arrives to the Reunion Island in 1820.”
Figure 23: Quai Branly Edition of “Album de l’île de La Réunion” (1882) donated by Joseph Rivière
At the Quai Branly Museum, Culture : Groupes nationaux / Français Toponyme(s) :
Afrique / Afrique orientale / REUNION, Lithographe : Antoine LOUIS Roussin (1819 - 1894), Donateur : Joseph Rivière, Précédente collection : Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie - Fonds historique, Date(s) : 1882, Matériaux et Techniques :
Lithographie, Dimensions : 31,9 x 24,7 x 0,1 cm, 16 g H. 154 x L. 112

Hery

"Portrait bust, right profile. Belongs to the series "Album of the Reunion Island."

Louis Héry Emile, born in 1802 in France, arrives at the Reunion Island in 1820 to assist the management of plantations belonging to his cousins. This company does not crown success and Héry fast becomes a high school teacher from Saint-Denis, before founding his own school. Alongside his teaching activity, he published several books in Creole, mostly fables, and ensures a better understanding. He died in 1856, having received in 1844 the French rhetoric of the pulpit."

Fables

52 Portrait Du Poète Héry : "Assis Dans Un Fauteuil" - "Vieux", Portrait du poète assis dans un fauteuil de couleur rouge, vêtu d'une veste sombre ouverte sur sa chemise à plastron, la tête tournée vers la gauche, les mains posées sur les cuisses. 41 x 33 x 1,6 cm.
Dedication to “son of Louis Héry”

Biographical Notice by Jacob Corde moy54

Fables: “Cailles et ses Petits”55

Who is Jacob Corde moy in Roussin?

Bénédic t Jacob de Cordemoy, Secretary General of the Direction of the Interior.56

Bénédic t Jacob de Cordemoy, Camille Engineer, General Counselor of Saint-Pierre.


55 Legion of Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Benedict (1848, Saint-Benoit, Réunion)," (Vincennes; Paris: Base Léonore, 1848).
2.3.10 The Sitar of Captain Commander, Louis Freycinet @ the Quai Branly Museum

Figure 24: Sesandu/ Sesando/ Sasando or Cithare tubular from ASIA, South East ASIA, Indonesia, Little Islands of Sonde, Nusa, TIMOR, KupanReginald Pattersonautog (city). Donated by Jeanne Cuisinier, formally in the Musée de l’Homme (Ethnomusicologie). Made with leaf (palm) and metal and branch (bamboo). 72 x 78 x 40 c, 1473 g. not exposed (Courtesy of Musée du Quai Branly—Jacques Chirac).

The BAMBOO, forming the tube, is mounted by (48) forty-eight metal strings supported by bridges. The palm leaf serves as resonator (Lontar species); L = 60 cm BAMBOO rod - Ho - surrounded by 48 strings or tali(Ind.) Tuned by metal keys and held apart by small bamboo bridges and the instrument is set in a very large sound box made of a single palm leaf borassus flabellifer - lontar (Ind.) – soundboard or haik - BAMBOO is the hô species (local language - tali - strings) (INDIA) Wire (besi) - small bridge ade from the horn of the senda (local language) – sandalwood or tjendana (INDIA) - or mahogany kaju merah (INDIA) ai naa (local language); The - (48) forty-eight strings are called: Ngun (local language); Dimensions: height of the branch BAMBOO - 60 cm.

Sesandu / Sesando / Sasando / Sesando, zither-on-pipe, whose strings, metal today, were once made by strips of bark, spare BAMBOO which served as a
centerpiece. The instrument in its primitive state, is reported to the TIMOR ISLAND in the Discovery Travel to Southern Territories during the 1800s, in 1801 by L. PÉRON and FREYCINET. They say that “to give the instrument a little less dull timbre, is hung by four or five links in the interior of a large fan palm leaf, folded in a manner quite similar to that buckets to carry water”

Bamboo Sagaie of FREYCINET

2.3.11 Quai Branly Collection: Objects & Icons

2.3.11.1 Instrument

Figure 25: Bobre. Bowl Zither / Zither / cordophone / Musical Instrument

Common name: Bobre

No inventory: 71.1882.10.21

Type:
bowl zither / zither / cordophone / musical instrument

Place name (s):
Zanzibar / Pwani / Tanzania / Eastern Africa / Africa

Person (s) / institution (s):
Donor: GEORGE RÉVOIL

Previous collection: Museum of Man (Ethnomusicology)

Materials and techniques: Wood, cucurbit, vegetable fiber

Overall dimensions: (height x width x depth, weight): 18.5 x 51.5 x 29 cm, 426 g

2.3.11.2 Painting of ‘dance’: ‘Le Shega, danse des Noirs’

No inventory: 75.4986

Type: PP018374

Place name(s): Réunion / Eastern Africa / Africa

Iconographic Themes: Esclavage

Graphic Procedures: Estampe / Procédés graphiques

People / Institutions:

Painter: Adolphe d'Hastrel de Rivedoux

Lithographer: Adolphe Bayot

Printer: Rose-Joseph Lemercier

Preceeding Collection: National Museum of African and Oceanic art - Historical Fund

Former Collection: Retrospective section - Permanent Museum of colonies

Date(s): Middle of the 19th century

Subjects: Slavery

Matériaux et Techniques: Stamp

Dimensions: 27,2 x 41,5 x 0,1 cm, 77 g

In the countryside, in a clear space in front of a wooden house, a sugar mill and a water pipe arriving on stilts above a wheel, men and women slaves dancing. Two riders, wearing big hats, observe from the left. On a hill overlooking the scene, silhouettes busy agrarian work. In front of the main building, on the right, a niche, a wife and children. Under the title down "Paris, at the Author, 8 rue de Rivoli" The Sega (or Shega) is a dance that is found on many Indian Ocean islands: there are differences, especially at the pace - influenced by the instruments used. While the exact origins of this music and the dance are unknown, there is no doubt that this is a kind of music of exile, born with the arrival of African slaves. From the late 18th century travelers speak of "singing and dancing of the slaves"; Bernardin de Saint-Pierre evokes as sweet harmony with love themes. The Sega is done through several instruments, including the maravane (sort of box containing rocks or metal balls), the ravane (drum carved from guava wood and covered with goat skin), triangle, the bobre (piece of wood laid by two ropes and connected with a calabash).
Figure 26: Painting of ‘dance’ : ‘The Shega, the Dance of the Blacks’

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2.3.12 Australia National Museum


Figure 27: Business News Western Australia: Australia’s largest independantly owned digital news service

Three times in 2003 and one more article three years later in 2006, The ran a set of article regarding a highly publicized and attended international auction hosted, yet again, by Christie’s Auction House. In his electronically published article, "Piece of History Stays at Home," February, 25th, 2003, Gary Kleyn of Business News Western Australia reports from London, England of an auction gone awry the moment that the Brett Mattes the Western Australia State Library custodian and North West Shelf marketing director of Broken Hill Proprietary Billiton, ‘an Anglo-Australian multinational mining, metals and petroleum company headquartered in Melbourne, Australia and the world's largest mining company measured by 2013 revenues and Australia’s largest company,’ was ‘unwittingly’ out-bid by ‘Perth businessman and avid art and map collector’ Kerry Stokes, who on September 26th, 2002 paid $1.5
million dollars for the night’s “main” or “real” “prize”—an 1801 map of the Swan River. “Not too many were smiling” continuing with ‘everyone was down in the dumps’ at this auction due the fact that Louis Henri de Saulces de Freycinet’s map of the Swan River almost ended up in the hands of this private collector instead of Western Australia National Library. On this day, the first map of the Swan River was ‘almost lost—or so it seemed.” However, it seems that ‘half an hour later’ this sadness apparently turned into ‘cork popping’ and ‘flowing champagne’ shortly after the Perth businessman from Perth had learned of his counter bidding against the custodians of the map, he called the BHP-Billiton and ‘the historical map was effectively handed over to the State Library’ to secure their ownership of the document within ‘ten days gathering $1.2 millions from the Perth business community. One Western Australian miner donated $500,000, while the 2nd largest contribution of $150,000 came from Peter Woods, owner of niche education publisher R.I.C. Publications and the Woodside Valley Estate near the Margaret River. The State Government also registered its support for the project with a $150,000 donation.94 95

94 “R.I.C. Publications® publishes an extensive range covering a large part of the teaching curriculum for Australia, including: Mathematics, English, Science, Art and Craft and Humanities and Social Sciences. We also publish an extensive range of Australian Curriculum products. Our learning resources are available in a range of different styles, including teacher resources, blackline masters, student workbooks, boxed sets, software, posters, stickers and more. We pride ourselves on the consistent high-quality and relevance of our resources, and strive to provide innovative and exciting products for teachers to utilise.”“About R.I.C. Publications®,” R.I.C. Publications, http://www.ricgroup.com.au/about-us/.

State Library project leader Patrick Moore said securing that level of support at such short notice was astounding.

“When we said to people we wanted to buy the pieces at the auction it sort of sold itself,” he said.

Mr Moore said many companies could see the benefits to be had in helping ensure the maps and drawings remained in WA.

“Really, no-one had a feel for how much the stuff would sell for. We didn’t expect so much interest,” he said.

Those gathered in the BHP-Billiton room were giving instructions to Perth book seller Robert Muir, who was bidding on behalf of the custodians in London.

“It was all a bit tense there for a while. It was done on the run,” Mr Mattes said.

The custodians is a group of people initially set up in late 1998 to establish the Save Our Century Fund. Its purpose is to assist the State Library Service in collecting, organising and preserving WA’s history.

Freycinet – Our French Collection will be on display at the library for three weeks.96

2.3.12.2 "Accuracy Forgotten When Remembering the Past." August 28th, 2003


2.3.12.3 "Coastal Centre Has Prosperous Past." June 21st, 2005


98 Joseph Poprzeczny, "Coastal Centre Has Prosperous Past," ibid.
2.3.12.4 "Not for Profit: Making the French Connection." September 26th, 2006


Figure 28: “Not for Profit Making the French Connection” with Henri DE FREYCI NET.

2.3.13 Canberra Times (5)

The Canberra Times
INDEPENDENT. ALWAYS.

Figure 29


Figure 30: “Imagine, not Aussies but Napoleons.” (Canberra Times, December, 8th, 2007)

“History would treat his legacy unkindly, his name commonly overlooked among the great explorers of the Australian continent.

But the first man to publish a map of the complete Australian coastline wasn't British or even Dutch it was French cartographer Louis de Freycinet. His ancestor, Henry de Freycinet, inspected antique maps of Australia at the National Library yesterday and said they served as a reminder of how different the country might have ended up.

100 Jonathan Dart, "Imagine, Not Aussies but Napoleons," Canberra Times (Australia), December 8th 2007.
For one thing, Louis de Freycinet had insisted that a French colony be established in the western half of the continent, near modern-day Perth. If that had happened, Henry de Freycinet said that even the name "Australia" might have given way to his ancestor's preferable title, Terre Napoleon - or Napoleon's land.

"It's very emotional for me to come here because of my ancestor's connection with Australia," he said.

"It's always very thrilling to think that Australia, or at least Western Australia, could have been French ..." Louis de Freycinet pipped British explorer Matthew Flinders with the publication of his maps, Voyage de Decouvertes aux Terres Australes, in 1811.

The pair actually met at Encounter Bay in South Australia while circumnavigating the continent and swapped notes and partially completed maps. Flinders was later arrested after landing on Mauritius, unaware of the escalating war with Napoleon in Europe. But Flinders would have the last laugh. The eventual defeat of the French army at Waterloo and resulting political instability in France meant that de Freycinet's advice to establish an Australian colony went ignored.

International Federation of Hydrographic Societies chairman Paul Hornsby said that it was important to remember the contribution of all great explorers who helped discover Australia, not just the British.

Both he and Australasian Hydrographic Society patron, Vice-Admiral Chris Ritchie, met with Henry de Freycinet yesterday.

For Mr de Freycinet, it was an emotional moment to see his name honoured in his ancestor's famous maps. It's just a shame that modern maps of Australia are labelled somewhat differently.

"For me, it's an honour to think of the work that my ancestors did," he said."

2.3.13.2 2008 - "Demarcation Lines." Canberra Times, Mar. 22 2008.102

2.3.13.3 2009 - Fuller, Peter. "French and Briton, the Best of Enemies in the Antipodes." Canberra Times, 2 May 2009.103

2.3.13.4 2011 - "Family Line Passes on Freycinet's Legacy." Canberra Times, 2011.104

“Family line passes on Freycinet's legacy

LONG LINEAGE:
HENRY DE FREYCINET, descendant of French cartographer LOUIS DE FREYCINET, with GOVERNOR-GENERAL QUENTIN BRYCE and the 1811 map.

Photo: GRAHAM TIDY By Sally Pryor Cultural Institutions Reporter

Certain duties come with being the last in the line of an eminent French family and for HENRY DE FREYCINET, one of those duties involved a meeting with the Governor-General of AUSTRALIA yesterday.

MR DE FREYCINET is the great-great nephew of French explorer LOUIS DE FREYCINET, who 200 years ago this year was the first to produce a full map of AUSTRALIA.

Although English explorer MATTHEW FLINDERS was the first to circumnavigate AUSTRALIA and map the country's coastline, his version was not published until three years after the FREYCINET version, because he was imprisoned in MAURITIUS for six years.

The Freycinet map was originally published in PARIS as part of a multi-volume account of the famous Baudin Expedition from 1801 to 1804.

To mark the map's 200th anniversary, the AUSTRALIA on the Map division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society is holding a symposium at the National Library on Sunday. Chair RUPERT GERRITSEN said the FREYCINET name should be familiar to many Australians, as it is recognised in 13 geographical names across the country, including CAPE FREYCINET in WESTERN AUSTRALIA, and Freycinet National Park in TASMANIA. But MR DE FREYCINET, the great-great grandson of LOUIS DE FREYCINET's brother HENRI, who was also on the Baudin Expedition, said he had little background in hydrography or cartography. He spent six years in the navy and was now studying international business and Japanese.

103 Peter Fuller, "French and Briton, the Best of Enemies in the Antipodes," ibid., 2 May 2009.
He travelled from \textit{France} to speak at \textit{Sunday}'s symposium on his family's history, arriving early in \textit{Canberra} yesterday to present a copy of the \textit{Freycinet} map to Governor-General \textit{Quentin Bryce}.

He said that his duty as the last \textit{male descendant} of the famous \textit{explorer} was to look after the \textit{family archives}.

"There was a very thin sort of family line, and now it's down to me it's very daunting," he said.

The free symposium is at the \textit{National Library} on \textit{Sunday} from \textit{11am-4.30pm}."

Now to a love story that has captivated historians for generations. It involves a young French woman who defied naval law by stowing away on a ship bound for Western Australia[WA]. She didn't want to be separated from her explorer husband who is responsible for much of the WA coast having French names. Today, private collectors compete for the last remaining artefacts of the historic voyage. But few people can claim to have a direct link to the famous couple.

Rebecca Boteler caught up with one of the last remaining descendants of Rose and Louis de Freycinet.

**Rebecca Boteler:** It's a celebration of the lives and loves of the French explorers who put W-A on the map. And the star guest of the evening is this young Frenchman.

**Henry de Freycinet:** So I hope and I'm pretty sure that you will enjoy the exhibition. *Henry de Freycinet* has come to WA to open an exhibition dedicated to his ancestors, being held at Fremantle Maritime Museum. He is the only male living descendant of Rose and Louis de Freycinet.

**Henry de Freycinet:** You find yourself with a kind of pressure meaning that you have to look after the family, look after the family tradition.

**Rebecca Boteler:** It's a story that has captivated historians for generations, not least one of the museum's curators.

**Michael McCarthy,** Museum Curator: *De Freycinet'S* beautiful chart is what starts him off on this glorious career, and actually leads to the greatest maritime love story in my opinion.

**Rebecca Boteler:** In 1817 Louis-Claude De Saulces de Freycinet couldn't bear to be parted from his new bride Rose, so he did the unthinkable. He defied naval law by stowing her aboard his ship bound for Australia.

**Michael McCarthy:** He gets married, decides to risk everything, to take his wife, lovely young wife, very intelligent, very perceptive young woman, not an aristocrat. To do that was an extraordinary thing to do.

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105 "W[Estern]-a[Ustralia]'S Maritime Love Story."
**Rebecca Boteler:** The story is documented through *letters* sent from *Rose de Freycinet* to her sister.

**Michael McCarthy:** *Rose* is talking from the first time ever on a global voyage from a woman's perspective. *Educated, literate.* It's just so *rich.* You get all sorts of asides and ideas and so on from her. You just weren't getting that in the men's accounts.

**Rebecca Boteler:** *Rose* was soon discovered on the ship as it continued its journey.

**Michael McCarthy:** On his voyage with *Rose* is here, going up to *Timor* then all the way back, *Hawaii,* into *Botany Bay.* And gloriously their first day in *Botany Bay Rose* says we were robbed, our linen was stolen. What else would you expect on a place like this?

**Rebecca Boteler:** Because of the *secrecy* surrounding *Rose's* presence on the ship she's not shown in any of the official paintings of the voyage. But the ship's artist *Arago* hinted at her presence.

**Michael McCarthy:** Her tent's almost always there: we see it in the *Falklands,* we see it at *Shark Bay,* that's the link. That's the clue that *Rose* was always there.

**Rebecca Boteler:** But the *de Freycinet* history is far more than just a love story. It's believed the first complete map of *Australia* resulted from the voyage.

**Michael McCarthy:** The whole place is covered with French names...

**Rebecca Boteler:** In 1820 *tragedy* struck: *De Freycinet's* ship the Uranie hit a reef in the *Falklands* and sunk. Several expeditions over the years failed to find the wreck until a team from *Fremantle* lead by *Curator Michael McCarthy* went looking for it in 2001. They used drawings and paintings from the time to guide them to the *wreck.* On the last day of their search the rain was found.

**Michael McCarthy:** We wanted to recover nothing but just document so others could go later and decide what to do.

**Rebecca Boteler:** The loss of his ship was not the only *tragedy* of *Louis Claude de Freycinet's* life.

**Michael McCarthy:** He contracts cholera, in 1834. She nurses him through it. He recovers and she dies of the disease. Only 30-35 years old. He is absolutely devastated. And he lives for another 10 years, a shell of a man
apparently.

**Rebecca Boteler**: The love story of Rose and Louis has also captured the imagination of Perth businessman Peter Woods who has competed with other collectors for many of these sought after artefacts. It was his fascination with the de Freycinet family that led him to Henry, who has followed in his ancestors' footsteps with a career in the French navy.

**Peter Woods, Collector**: He sent an email to the Central Office in Canberra they rang me and said, "Do you know Henry Freycinet?" I said, "No, but I'd like to meet him."

**Rebecca Boteler**: Henry de Freycinet admits it was strange at first to share his family's history with others but he now wants as many West Australians as possible to understand the French connection to the WA coast.

**Henry de Freycinet**: I much prefer having them here sitting in my book case, back at home, back in France.

**Rebecca Carmody**: That's Stateline for this week. We'll return next Friday. Until then, goodnight.
2.3.14 Shipwreck Sleuths - France, Faulklands, Australia

In 2008, a set of maritime archeologists from Australia travelled to the encampment where Freycinet, Rose, and crew were shipwrecked while sailing from along the Southern Hemisphere on February 14th, 1819 past the southern tip of South American at the Faulkland Islands known for having one of the most dynamic tidal waves in the world due to the encounters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Michael McCarthy along with a set of colleagues traveled to this distance region to working on a project called “Uranie Expedition Location” for the Western Australia Shipwreck Galleries at the Museum of Western Australia, a project also funded by maritime institution in the Faulkland Islands. In research essay written by M. McCarthy called "ROSE and LOUIS DE
FREYCINET in the Uranie an Illustrated Research Essay for the WA Museum’s Journeys of Enlightenment Exhibition," published by the Department of Maritime Archaeology at the Western Australia Museum in 2008, we follow a team of maritime archeologists who, through an innovative and strategic concordance of perspectives from the various illustrated drafts made on site by Freycinet’s artists and draftsmen while shipwrecked in the Falkland Islands in 1820, were able to locate the ground zero of the shipwreck discovering what they indeed believe to be nearly 200 year old remnants of Freycinet ship which would later be displayed in a gallery called the Treasures from the Deep.

“It occurred to me that the siting of the wreck in his painting would also be accurate, so I suggested to MAC that, using two hand-held radios, I could stand at PELLION’S point’ and direct the dive-boat to that point where, in his painting, he depicted the wreck. ....we acted out this little charade, and ...Bingo, there it was, shrouded in kelp, but parts of the keel and ribs clearly visible ! Previous parties searching for the wreck had failed to appreciate the detail and accuracy displayed by expedition artists.”

2.3.15 Western Australian National Library – Rose’s Journal

"Lovestruck Stowaway Rose De Freycinet Erased from History."

Power, Julie. "Lovestruck Stowaway Rose De Freycinet Erased from History."

*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2015.\(^{107}\)

Figure 32: “A Mourning Husband’s Hand”: Rose Freycinet’s journals and husband manuscript on display at the State Library of NSW. (The Sydney Morning Herald: Photo: Edwin Pickles)

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3 Martinique: The Bamboo as Crossroads of the Chantefable

"General Bonaparte, who knew my mother asked me very politely news, affectionately complimented me for having so young, adopted the profession of arms, and gently took me by the ear, which was always the caress most flattering him to do the people he was satisfied, he said, turning to my father: "there will one day be a second General Marbot." This horoscope was true; I had not then in the hope, however, I was quite proud of these words: you have so little pride for a child!"

My dissertation proposes an analysis of both the material and literary content of a fable collection first published as The Bamboo: Fables of LaFontaine [sic] translated in Patois Creole by an Old Commander (Les Bambous: Fables de LaFontaine [sic] travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur).2 This collection has been attributed to a Martinican born former Treasurer commissary and ordonnateur on Réunion Island—François-Achille Marbot (1817-1866). The Bamboo was first printed in 1846 in Fort-Royal and distributed to the bookstore of Frederic Thomas during the royalist regime under King Louis Philippe. The fifty fables syncretized philologically in a “patois-créole” the courtesan life and politics of the French royal court with that of

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1}}}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{2}}}\] In this prospectus, I will refer to the work as The Bamboo. As Defined by Oxford English Dictionary: “Origin: mid 17th century: French, literally ‘rough speech’, perhaps from Old French pastier ‘treat roughly’, from patte ‘paw’.”; This will require more research. The original word for “translated” is “travesties”. Here are period use definitions: For travestied see, “1656 BLOUNT Glossogr., Travested, disguised or shifted in apparel; And metaphorically it may be applied to any thing that is translated out of one language into another.” See, http://dictionary.oed.com/; Recognizing Saint Lucia as a creole speaking island, here is a second ideological use of travestied from an 1844 period use in a commentary of H.H. Breen in his work St. Lucia. Historical, Statistical and Descriptive on page 184 (all italics mine): “The Negro language is a jargon formed from the French and composed of words or rather sounds adapted to the organs of speech in the black population. As a patois it is even more unintelligible than that spoken by the Negroes in the English Colonies...It is short, the French language, stripped of its manly and dignified ornaments and travestied for the accommodation of children and toothless old women. I regret to add that it has now almost entirely superseded the use of the beautiful French language even in some of the highest circles of the colonial society,” Carrington, St. Lucian Creole: A Descriptive Analysis of Its Phonology and Morpho-Syntax, p. 3.
the lakou — a central space of public meeting and encounters of the New World political economy of the slave plantation.³ An elusive “commander” described as having an “identité occultée”/[occulted identity] voices the prologue.⁴ rologue:

“La Cigale et la Fourmi”:

“Yon cigale y té tini, /qui toujour té ka chanté”[I, v.1, MARBOT, 1846],

“Le Corbeau et le Renard”:

“Compè Còbeau té vòlò / yon bel gros fromage tête-mô” [II, v.1-2, MARBOT, 1846]

and even

“Le loup et le chien”:

“Yon loup qui té tini / ani / la peau / évec zo” [V, v.1-4, MARBOT, 1846].⁵

“Cholera”

At the end of the monograph there are nine pages of notes in French where the author notes “one calls chantrelle a woman who does the job of singing in the bamboulas where, as one knows, one dances to the songs accompanied by the tam-tam.

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³ A non-restrictive definition for “courtesan” is taken from Trésors de la langue française: “Personne qui est attachée à la cour, au service d'un roi ou d'un prince/[A person who is attached to the court, at the service of a king or of a prince].” Here are some non-restrictive definitions: “1. Yard, backyard, courtyard 2. Patio 3. Compound of residencies, small group of huts occupied by members of extended family 4. Community, area, small hamlet unto itself with adjacent cemetery, etc.” Albert Valdman et al., Haitian Creole-English Bilingual Dictionary (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, Creole Institute, 2007).

⁴ I refer to two definitions for the verb “occult” from Oxford English Dictionary: (1) cut off from view by interposing something; (2) Astronomy (of a celestial body) conceal (an apparently smaller body) from view by passing or being in front of it. See section 3.1.4.: “Du vieux commandeur,” Bernabé, La Fable Créole, p. 71.

Chantrelle Saint Lucia\textsuperscript{6} dances such bèlè, the caleinda, the guiouba, the cosaque, and the beguine.\textsuperscript{7} The notes are followed by four entries of erratum: two errors in accents, one in punctuation and one incorrect impression of a word. Finally, a \textit{table of contents} lists the titles of the fables in \textit{French}.

\subsection*{3.1.1 \textquote{Go dance the Bamboula !}}

\textquote{The \textit{Fort-Royal} savanna is also the prettiest and saddest walk of \textit{Martinique}. Vainly tamarind and hourglass cover of impenetrable shadow went his side; vainly the breeze from the sea brings to it at certain times delicious freshness under the burning sky of the \textit{Antilles}; we are meeting during the day, as disaffected \textit{soldiers} of the garrison, and some \textit{foreign ships} of the harbor who seek in these shady alleys shelter against the much too ardent rays sun. The inhabitants of the city rarely walk, and, at an hour later in the evening, it becomes completely deserted. The houses, surrounded seem uninhabited, and if, further, some children cry disorder was silent, so sometimes you could not see spending a \textit{Negress} talking aloud to unseen beings, it feels like a dead city. Then p\textit{quand} any human noise ceased, nature rises in the silence of the night, its harmonious and poetic voice. A soft breeze, the scent of charged oragner, shuddered in the foliage; sea caresses the roller which borders the promenade and overlooking the waves sound, insect myriads who wake up at night to sing, greet their cries acute moon and stars, like birds the rising \textit{sun}.}

The evening of \textit{January 1, 1838}, \textit{Fort-Royal} the \textit{savanna}, so sad usual, was full of movement, light and noise day. A population, out of all these house the day before seemed deserted in crowds thronged the aisles. A great event tore the city to its usual sluggishness! To mark the first day of the year, the black slaves received from their \textit{masters} the \textit{supreme} favor of a \textit{Bamboula} to dance on the \textit{savannah}. The city woke up to \textit{Bamboula} magical name. As \textit{Sesame} mysterious \textit{Arabian Night}, he opened the doors of every house that still were closed as heir graves.

Now, it was curious to see this crowd the face of all \textit{colors}, the vivid and varied costumes, lighted lanterns hung from trees and aloe supported by black torches placed in a circle around \textit{dancing}. The \textit{white, black} and all \textit{shades} I will not undertake the enumerate, took their share of the feast, the one as actors, others as spectators.

\textsuperscript{7} All italics in the original. For more see Marbot, \textit{Les Bambous : Fables De Lafontaine[Sic] Travesties En Patois Créole Par Un Vieux Commandeur}, p. 127-35.
The holding of the men was the least remarkable. Many wore the jacket, white trousers and big Panama straw hat, a suit so elegant simplicity in the easy Creole class. The largest number were dressed in the European fashion; but except for a few young people recently arrived from France, those were still in their clothing that something of disparate contrasted in the most picturesque and most buffonish way with their exaggerated pretensions to elegance. The huge white collar sawing the ear, and the sub-foot post until mid-leg, seemed very in favor among some of these gentlemen.

The custom of women could be divided into two classes, that of the Creoles, Mulattoes and one black. Which is more graceful? One can hardly pronounce, for all, are admirably argued that they carry. But, what is the positivity? Well, it's a clever instinct of coquetry determined the choice of the costume of the last class.

The Creoles were the least numerous to savannah; yet some had wished to enjoy a show that is becoming increasingly rare and had decided to leave for only an hour their contemplative idleness. Only two things can apérer on them this prodigy: dance or a black revolt. They were fortunately the least terrible of these two scourges attracted them to the savanna. They walk slowly around the dance in the arms of their brothers or their husbands, and seemed to have kept a radius of their hot sun. a view so pale and looked in their bright dresses, it was as white and beautiful flowers drooping in the heat of the day, and just revive the cool of the night.

Most were dressed in white gowns or robes trimmed with rich lace and tight at the waist; precious fantasies, I have come to appreciate and which I cannot describe, lifted up probably the garment so simple in appearance. What was most shocking was the freshness toilet and good taste of their lighter shades. Almost all strollers have the bare shoulders, and crepe de chine scarf or other, who was careful to veil them, brought out their miraculous whiteness in its bright color.

The Mulattos and Blacks wore the same form of dress; they differed from each other only by the variety, the quality of the fabric and the profusion of ornaments.

This suit, he admitted, is more picturesque. Nobody knows better how to bring out the color of their adjustment to their physionomy. This long robe, it falls on the side and one end of which they pass their belt, drape them like antique statues. As for hairdo, they have a simple madras striped in bright colors; but with what grace it rises slightly strangled to mileux, forgetting behind the ear of one of his spikes slice beautifully on the neck. This madras, slightly bent over the right eyebrow, discovers, on the left, a band of black wavy hair, glazed, with blue reflections, which are lost behind the ear, where they comb spirals of ebony which scatter over their shoulder like golden heaven sunset!

What flexibility in their elegant casualness! What grace in all their movement who are not imprisoned in this whale bone bodice invented by a blind and fatal coquetry!

Certainly, women of color.--I just mentioned and I speak here one who, by a long series of generations, have retained their original a slight orange tint -
colors women to Anille, queens of beauty. But unfortunately! This royalty is their fatal! That look of pépris leurvoir I saw one day on one of those women who advanced, pain unspeakable and more beautiful with an Eastern perished in his gaudy dress like rainbow sky! She raised her dark eyes to the Creole group pointed at her, her slave girl; and long sweet and sad eyes, the big lashes veiled reproach, seemed to say, as the bride of the Song of hymn: "O daughter of Jerusalem not take care of me that I am brown, the sun looked at me ^ 1! "

This prejudice is so deeply rooted, that all the good qualities of the heart, all these gifts of a rich and compassionate nature that distinguish a high degree women of color, have been able to defeat him. Who would teach them, these women, for revenge as

1 ^ A clever political friendship do not honor me, and that for this reason, I do not want to report to the vengeance of the beautiful Creole, wrote recently in a book whose maritime France gave numerous excerpts:

"White women are so feared the rivalry of women of color, they have pushed hard and did push by white men, generality that this breed. The white men, the generality of this race. Men of color will then consist of black leaders. in the struggle, they were the ingelligence, blacks were up. so it's made the revolution in SAINT-DOMINIQUE, and all those that have taken place. --This opinion is, at home, the result of observation as impartial. " humiliation, that large meintres these dessinateurs intelligent of all creation, almost toujour donned their virgins that adorable color of ripe fruit, this all full of melancholy tone and afterglow of the fall?

When the mulatto in every sense of the word, those whose face now the distinctive character of the African race: flat nose, thick lips, curly hair and a fake black, I'm among the Europeans unlikely to appreciate their kind of beauty. I better understand the figure of the black woman in the white handkerchief she has with infinite art.

Women of color were a large number of gold necklaces, garnet, Jain or a soft stone, and during the quelques'unes of ears so heavy, that they tear the flesh as n'st- it not uncommon to renconrtrer women who have the ear lobe pierced with holes.

That's what spectators thronged the heart savan on January 1st, 1838. I did fail to mention that there had been children everywhere, children of any age, of any sex, you all colors, black, yellow, red, doves, olive; the one ragged, others completely naked, ugly hopeless brats screaming, screeching, singing all the times, bumping all walkers, rolling from almost under the feet of a dancer, tumbling, and wallowing in the grass like a slug after rain.

The dancers were divided into seven groups: each group had particulier orchestra that consists of some Blacks crouched near their tamtams, kind of small barrels covered with a very strong skin; some mth were riding on this fund they hit the skin with repeated blows with their hands wide open. Many black women waved rattles species filled with pieces of metal sound, and some were moving castanets. Ds dancing around, a large number of black supporters of aloe wood torches whose red glow contributed not a little to give this scene the strangest character.
The dancer was coifed in gold or silver cardboard, surrounded by peacock feathers. A blouse kind sleeveless, belted at the waist, a roughly brocaded cloth of silver and loaded with ornaments Biarre, completed this pretty costume similar to that of the wild carnival in France.

The dress of the dancers were unremarkable. In Bamboula, the best role belongs to the dancer: he sings at any header Baroque words; he continually hits his elbows on his hips and chest, stomach and thighs with the hand. In time animated dance month, he suddenly terrible good, then falls to the ground bent double; sometimes he fell trembling and eggrayé and in advance, affecting the craziest joy; it turns on itself, cabriole, alternately hitting the shoulder with the head, and enhances its role in making the wheel and walking on his hands, as our kids, of France pursuing a post-chaise.

The dancer waving a white veil she rises progressively approach his rider; she settles not on his own, and advance recile with him; then, at an agreed time, the black Veronica wipes the sweat that trickles freely hard face of his partner.

However the Bamboula is animated by degrees, the jolt become more frequent, the singing throng livelier, brighter; far more precipitous, more furubonde; musicians are agitated and contribute with all their power to give more training to dance; old and black vixens shaking rattles, remembering doubt this happy time when they not also had the great festivals pounce on the savannah, burst into shouts of weird joy, sing AEC fury, advancing the upper body toward the dancers, excite the gesture and bow to terr, always screaming and giving their rattles and bells rotational movement more energetic. the tom-toms of drummer exalt and rush the measure, magnetic enthusiasm of the players going in a circle around them. Men, women and children, who earlier sang in a monotonous rhythm like a chant, shout strange things, everyone improvises his Cantata, regardless of the air: all shout and scream at once.

Often then the fury of the dance is gaining some spectator jumping, without vis-à-vis, for personal satisfaction. Children form special Bamboulas near orchestras; black torchbearers dancing with their porches, which the wind tears the black puffs of smoke and showers of sparks. It's a rage, delirium: it looks like a people possessed. Efin arms musicians tire, the throat is exhausted, his legs are unsteady, and bamboula turns off suddenly, but to rekindle angrier after a few minutes of rest.

The Bamboula seemed to me the most violent gymnastics exercise imaginable; and must be firmly tempered and hardened to be able to indulge for a few minutes, this delightful entertainment. Only I would understand better use in Lapland than in the 30-degree heat of the Caribbean.

Who it is, this scene noisy at this time of night, without a country on whose soil I set foot the day before; this infernal clamor; this infernal music; this frenetic and dirty dancing; these characters with oddly colorful costumes give even more fantastic with red and flickering torches which the wind scattered the
flames and smoke, gave me better than all descriptions an idea of what should be the terrible Sabbath nights chaired by SATAN on the magic mountain of HARTZ!

R. Max Radiguet
3.1.2 Prologue of a Commander

I argue in my dissertation for a new approach to *The Bamboo* where the *commandeur* encompasses three historicized social figures: *military commander, slave driver*, and *commander* as in the caller of the dance steps for contra-dance. In the voicing, the commander can … create new sonorities by drawing out long syllables, shortening short ones and eliding others. Using the whole range of his spoken voice, he creates a new prosody no longer speech, yet still nothing like veritable singing. He produces a kind of melo-rhythm only heard “with calls” of *Guadeloupe.*

I aim to expand upon the current literary criticism and socio-historical context of *The Bamboo.* This open and dynamic approach surfaces archives relating to military *history, sociology* of the *Caribbean* and *Indian Ocean* plantation systems, as well as an ethno-musicological index of popular songs of the period. I seek to set the *The Bamboo* in these contexts.

1. *Zott toutt, nèg maite moin, semblé :*
2. *Moin ni conte pou moin conté*
3. *Ba zott. Faut couté yo bien ,*
4. *Si zott vlé sauvé chagrin. *
5. *Ça moin ka dit zott couté*
6. *C’est bagage faite pou béké.*
7. *Nhomme qui, les-autt-fois, fè ça*
8. *Pas té yon péché couquia*
9. *Ni yon mangé macriau ,*
10. *C’était yon nhomme com i faut*
11. *Yo té crié LAFONTAINE.*
12. *Ça fè moin même prend lapeine ,*
13. *Com, grace à DIE ! moin save li ,*

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8 This is not limited to “*Guadeloupe*”. Taken from CD jacket of *Négoce et Signature.*
14. Vini oti zott pou dit
15. Tout ça moin trouvé ladans
16. Pou empéché zott méchans.
17. Si dans khè zott ça rété
18. Zott pas ka lé si mauvais :
19. Boué tația, marron dans bois ,
20. Fè sòcié évec quinbois ,
21. Empouésennin béf békè ,
22. Mangé tè, fè toutt métié
23. Toutt mauvais nèg tini soin
24. Fè, pou baille maîte yo tintoin.
25. Zott va voué, tout clé com jou
26. Moune malhéré tout-patout ,
27. Comben zott doué prend patience ;
28. Piss dans Guinein com en FRANCE
29. Toutt chritien, yo ka souffri
30. Com si yo té race maudit !
31. Pouloss si zott voué békè
32. Ka souffri en FRANCE, jigé
33. Si nèg doué, lassous la tè,
34. Mimiré à cause malhé !

35. Nèg, békè, toutt doué souffri ;
36. Dans joupa com dans soucri
37. Chaquin doué, à cause BON DIE ,
38. Prend toutt à la volonté.
39. C’est moyen pou nous rendi
40. Quand nous mò dans PARADIS.
3.1.3 List of primary source documentation:

3.1.3.1 Almanachs

“Almanacs developed from the medieval calendar, which comprised ecclesiastical and astronomical information. It was during the seventeenth century that almanacs became widely associated with prophecy, with William Lilly's Merlinus Anglicus Junior in 1644 and the success of this publication became the model for numerous rivals. However, some almanacs carried no prophecies at all and contained only verse or short stories, or were a focus for ideological debate. There was little physical standardization: some were sold as broadsides, others were books, often small and sometimes designed with the additional function of being a dairy.

They were commonly syndicated, bound by printers who added regional news of markets, auctions, and other parochial activities and advertisements so that locally modified almanacs could be sold at public events.

Most religious denominations had their own almanacs, as did various politically inspired organizations. It was the ideology of such organizations that gave the almanac its distinctive, alternative aura, that the natural balance of the planet and its constituent forces might, in some way, be irreparably damaged by the Industrial Revolution's newfound 'unnatural' power sources. Connections were made between steam and electric, and warnings of apocalyptic catastrophe.”

Working conditions in factories and on the huge building projects - especially the digging of runnels for steam trains were commonly compared to biblical descriptions of hell.” There was a very real sense that humanity might be overreaching itself and heading for indefinable disaster. Perhaps because of this sense of trepidation for the future, there was also a fascination with the past, especially allthings medieval and mythical. The political and social ramifications of the burgeoning Industrial Revolution would remain a source of both celebration and revolt throughout the nineteenth century.”

The appearance of these almanacs was distinctive. While the imagery was often sensationalist, the small, tightly set text commonly used a mix of biblical and scientific references. A regular feature was the use of tables and other diagrams. From the earliest examples, these featured predictions of celestial activity related to information concerning high and low tides, sun rise and set, weather and seasonal forecasts, etc. Always printed letterpress, following issues were able to reuse the same tables, with required amendments quickly made by the compositor. The originality and effectiveness of their design, to say nothing of the technical achievement, are often remarkable. These tables would later be adapted to convey information for railway transport schedules.”

Figure 33: Cover page from Les Bambous : Fables De Lafontaine[Sic] travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur (1846)

The « original edition »⁹ of « Les Bambous »[« the original edition »] features both paratext and illustration on the cover of the pages. The title appears to be in

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⁹Parts of my analysis here more exacting than Jardels, however, this is taken from his online article here he speaks of “Une énigme à résoudre” or “La couverture de l’ouvrage original retouchée”; “Le texte original rectifié”; etc…” Jean-
standard French given the syntax and presence of the article. While there certainly exists various editions of Les Bambous, the 1st edition (1846) has no introduction and is so paratextually weak to such an extent that François-Achille Marbot’s in reality is only an attributed author to the text in question. Instead of his name, the author, presumably Marbot, only leaves the very ambiguous pseudonym of commandeur. According to its very cover, it was printed during the July Orleans Monarchy (1830-1848) under the July Monarchy period due to the press location at Fort-Royal-Martinique rather than Fort-de-France. The corresponding date, on the bottom--« 1846 »--is consistent with the ever changing metropolitan battles between the « royalist » and the « republicans ». It was printed in 1846 by « E. Ruelle » and « Ch. Arnaud » who appear to be the « Printer of the Government »[Imprimeur du Gouvernement]. On the distribution, the cover indicates that Les Bambous can be found at a « depot »[dépôt] « chez Frédéric Thomas » at the « bookstore »[librarie] on « Saint-Denis Street » [rue St Denis]. There is one epigraph citing Jean de La Fontaine,

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10 What is interesting here is that certain electronic databases have completely effaced Marbot from the ‘author’ and instead have the v’ieux commandeur” listed in the place of the author.
which reads in French: “On ne considère en FRANCE que ce qui plait [sic]…….”/ [We only consider in FRANCE that which pleases…….”11

3.1.4.1 Illustration

The illustration features what appears to be a wood-pressed engraving with two figures in the foreground with a mass of figures to the left. Jardel, the only researcher to give such a detailed description of the illustration, writes:

“This design raises some questions. It is a black slave and a white master, apparently hidden behind a mound in the hills of MARTINIQUE. They try to escape while in the distance comes a troop of armed soldiers. Le Blanc is dressed, shod and the Hat, while the Le Noir half-dressed and barefoot, which is the sign of his servile condition. It seems to exist between these two characters a certain complicity that might lead away the forces of the colonial order and beyond, METROPOLITAN. However, we note in the drawing, gestures and postures of the two characters. The master behind the left arm in the direction opposite to that of soldiers, while the black slave remained seated, his right-arm to the troop. He hesitates to follow his master. Why this representation? What may be its symbolic?”12

12 Jardel, "Notes Et Remarques Complémentaires Sur "Les Fables Créoles" De F.A. MARBOT : Un Texte Rectifié Et Une Énigme À Résoudre".
Figure 34: Cover-page. Close-up of what appears to be ‘voltigeurs’, ‘a beke,’ and a ‘neg’ found on the 1st edition of The Bamboo (1846) attributed to Francois-Achille Marbot.
3.1.5 2\textsuperscript{nd} Edition (1869)

Figure 35: Cover page from Les Bambous : Fables De Lafontaine\[Sic\] travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur (1869)

Twenty-six years following the first edition, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition is published in 1869. In this edition as well as the subsequent ones, what is most unclear is the identity of the editors (1869, 1885, 1831, and 1976) who altered and or translated \textit{Marbot}'s original text, a habit appearing to be thematic throughout the history of its publication. Typically,
the differences in publication include, typographical errors in accentuation, orthography, and punctuation. In fact, while these differences may seem mundane, they are indeed of the utmost importance because misplaced period/colon/comma can create inaccuracies given the complex syntactical breaks of French-Creole Languages. Accuracy is essential to avoiding mis-interpretations of the text with much at stake. Furthermore, Jardel speaks of “modified rhymes” as well as “contresens” in translations in certain bilingual editions with Creole and French Language.

3.1.5.1 ‘the rights of friendship’ necrologie to REUNION ISLAND

Surprisingly, MARBOT’s is not readily identified or featured as the author of the work, Les Bambous, but rather he is only mentioned in the footnote of the second paragraph in a reference to the Moniteur de la Réunion of November 3rd, 1866 publishing ‘Nécrologie de M. MARBOT, Commissaire de la marine, ordonnateur’.

It appears that ‘a little circle of friends’ could have collected this edition in order to honor the life of FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE who had died on October 31st, 1866 in SAINT-DENIS on Réunion Island.

Here, reads the introduction to the 2nd edition:

“These fables were printed in Martinique, for the first time in 1846. They had been composed, some few years before, in order to recreate a small circle of friends; but

13 Thomy Lahuppe, "Necrologie De Marbot," Moniteur de la Réunion, Nov. 3rd 1866.
these here, with all the amiable requirements to which friendship gives an indisputable right, in asking for the publication. He had to cede to their instances, and the success of **BAMBOUS** was much better than the author had lest pretended.

For a long time a new edition was reclaimed. The author thought to re-see his work; but the high administrative function that he filled during the last years of his life, to **GUADÉLOUPE**, and **RÉUNION**, did not leave him the time to realize this intention. Today, we give following his project in publishing again these **BAMBOUS** that the public opinion has declared worthy of surviving their author.

This edition differs little from the preceding, because we have only found incomplete notes. We are happy nevertheless to respond to the desire that our compatriots have expressed to us; and we will have arrived at our goal if these fables can contribute again to maintain in our dear **ANTILLES** the amiable and frank gaiety, which is of good tradition chez the Creole. The author did not have another thought, and he said is very often in an inedited poetry.”
3.1.6 3rd Edition (1885)

Figure 36: Cover page from Les Bambous: Fables de LA FONTAINE travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur (1885)

Finally, it is only in 1885, the third edition, that we find the earliest biographical account on FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE can be found in a notice entitled ‘Sur M. FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE MARBOT, Commissary of the Navy’ written by LOUIS Jaham-Desrivaux in the 4th edition of Les Bambous (1885) published at Makaire bookstore in AIX-EN-PROVENCE, FRANCE. The “Makaire Edition” has one of the most remarkable covers in
the series of editions. It reads, diagonally, in large bamboo font “Les Bambous”.
Horizontaly, it reads: “Fables de / LA FONTAINE / Travesties en patois creole / par / un
vieux / commandeur / [icon] AIX-EN-PROVENCE / A. Makaire, Imprimeur / Rue Thiers,
2”. In the upper right hand reads “4th pousse”/ [4th Growth] signifying metaphorically on
the anatomical structural representation of bamboo in relationship to the stamp of the
editor reads “Ni Peur ni rancune.” This edition marks the second time a creole historical
fable was printed in the metropolitan soil. Lastly in the 5th edition of Les Bambous
(1931), we see that unlike the previous editions this edition clearly attempts to sell not
only MARBOT’s fables, but also MARBOT by way of republishing the entire notice from
the 1931 edition as advertised: Edition revue et augmenté d'une notice littéraire et d'une
traduction française.
Hoffman 15

3.1.6.1 Avant-Propos 16

This clump of bamboos is in its fourth growth.

When these whatnots were printed in 1846, they were not exactly their
first essay. A first edition, very modestly lithographed was already in the hands
of the author’s friends and getting the best success of crazy laughter: it was a
scoop, a real treat. The new edition, which appeared in Nevers in 1869 was
therefore in reality the third. The one we give today may not be the last. We
desire that at least very cordially, because it is wishing that our compatriots keep
the good humor and frank laughter that are of good tradition in the Creole
society.

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, May 29th, 1885.

15 Hoffmann, "La Fontaine En Créole(S) - Problemes D'idéologie."
1.1.1 A JOURNEY THROUGH THE SECRET LIFE OF LOUIS Jaham Desrivaux – biographer, in-law, provisory mayor of François-Achille Marbot

The name of the author of Les Bambous has never been, in Martinique, a mystery to anyone. By assigning to an old commander these picturesque tales of the fabulist, Mr. Marbot simply wanted to keep the local color. He had no intention of hiding under the very thin veil of false modesty. It was no more the etiquette of administrative convenience, which stopped him: he could not at this time support the number of his stripes, and he also had too much sense to believe in the incompatibility of good humor with the serious obligation of life.

“Everyone knows that François Marbot is the author of The Bamboo.” Read the first line in the first autobiography of a work which formally anonymous. This rather ironic and unveiling, unmasking, or outing is very odd because it would surely be a permissible phrase had the author been included in the text, but again, his name simply put is not there. Who is this Louis Jaham-Desrivaux and what right might he have had to post-humously out François-Achille Marbot as a fabulist of The Bamboo: Fables of La Fontaine travestied in Creole Patois by an Old Commander. What is the nature is his connection to François-Achille Marbot?

While my interest in an author of a biographical notice will archive empirically his identity, I am more interested in measuring what he is capable of commanding in both his private and public life pertaining to imprinting, to circulating, and to diffusing of any

17 Formerly called commander on plantations, whoever was responsible to oversee and direct the Negro [nègres] workers.
material from the *Bamboo Canon*. The 1st *biographical notice* published in an edition of the *bamboo blue boat book* from *Martinique* on *François-Achille Marbot*, was written by who appears to be a very intimate contact, *Louis-Jaham-Desrivaux*. In fact, in order to ascertain the *nature* of their relationship, it was necessary to employ a diverse array of investigative methodologies and archives: colonial *almanachs*, colonial *newspaper journals*, and genealogical family charts and trees.

Louis Gaston Achille Jaham-Desrivaux (August 21st, 1853, Fort-de-France, Martinique-November 28th, 1928, Paris, France), 1st Class Military Supe- Intendant, in service in Cherbourg (53275). He was night Knight of the Legion of Honor, Camp Jacobe, Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe. He received as Medal from Tonkin in the Foreign Service as Officer of the Dragon of l’Annam, Officer of the Royal Order from Cambodge, as well as an Officer of Academy where he served as Commissary Adjoint, July 11th 1896:

“Many will probably remember that the society of that time was driven by an inexplicable craze for the names from antiquity. *Paris* has always set the tone for fashion; and this one, like the others, quickly crossed the *Ocean*. *François Marbot* had this fashionable adoption of the name *Achille*, although the official declaration of his birth had only attributed to him the one of his baptism. *Achille* won out by overriding *François* in colloquial usage. But let us hasten to say that the memory of the boiling hero of Homer had no influence on this climate of occasion. The *Holy Paradise* remained the only model as he alone was the patron. Frankly, was the sweetness of *François* not worth more than the wrath of *Achille*?

The first, concerns the circulation of the *colonial almanachs* imprinted on the *island* showing us the network of administrators including *François-Achille Marbot’s* biographer, *Louis Jaham-Desrivaux* as well as other members of the
JAHAM-DESRIVAUX family. In the Almanach de la Martinique (1840), under the Interior Direction there is listed a VICTOR JAHAM-DESRIVAUX (commis expédition) and LOUIS JAHAM-DESRIVAUX (commis) concurrently while FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE MARBOT served as 2nd Class Sous-Commissary. In the Almanac of 1845, a “JAHAM-DESRIVAUX (LOUIS)” is listed as sous-chief of the Central Office in the Office of Direction housed in the Interior Direction while FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE MARBOT worked under the ordonnateur in the Commissary Corps as a 1st Class Commis. In 1846, LOUIS JAHAM-DESRIVAUX is listed sous-chief and 1st Class Commis in FORT-ROYAL/FORT-DE-FRANCE, MARTINIQUE, while FRANÇOIS-ACHILLE MARBOT worked as Principal Commis still under the ordonnateur.18

While one may imagine the Almanach to be nearly accurate and precise, it is precisely because of this annual feature that they may not or rather do no capture the real dynamic change or even full frame of the governmentality they are printed annually, they do not account for any administrative provisory appointments or vacancies. In this light, as we move further through the 2nd can be found in the Journal of Martinique, a bi-weekly colonial journal printed in FORT-DE-FRANCE, MARTINIQUE which which we learn that LOUIS-JAHAM DESRIVAUX also held the position as the Provisory Mayor of

**Fort-de-France** during the first universal suffrage election held in the *French Republic*. 19

Furthermore, there is additional proof of a connection given that a signature of a ‘**Jaham-Desrivaux**’ can be found on one of the versions of the 1885 edition housed at the *National Library of France*.

In a *footnote*, the writer, speaking for a larger ‘we’ explains:

“[w]e are only reproducing a little notice that was addressed to some friends at the moment of the death of *Mr. Marbot*. We complete it only through personal memories and by documents that are provided to use by the journals of this same epoch and the religious almanac of *Bourbon Island*.”

Interior Direction (1840)

M. Frémy, Director of the Interior Administration

Bureau de la Direction.

Jaham Desrivaux (Victor), ‘commis expédition’

Domaine et contributions directes.

“The City Hall of **Fort-de-France**.

Elections to the National Assembly

*Martinique*.

*Commune de Fort-de-France*.

Official Notice:

The certificate from the *Commissary General* from last July 25th was filed, on *Wednesday, August 9th* this present *month*, the convocation of the *electoral assemblies* of the *colony*, to the effect of proceeding, by the only scrutiny of this, to the *election of (3) three representatives titularies* and of the *(2) two suppliant representatives* to the *National Assembly*.

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These representatives can be chosen among the electors aged 25, with any condition of 'cens ni di domicile.'

The electors of Fort-de-France are expressly invited to take part in the election of the representatives of the people, as it is their right and their duty, and to come to pull out from City Hall the cards which give access to the heart of the collège.

The electoral college will meet at City Hall.

The scrutiny will open at seven o'clock precisely in the morning.

A Fort-de-France, August 1st, 1848.

The Provisory Mayor, Louis J. Desrivaux.”

3.1.6.2 Biographical Notice on François Achille Marbot: Vita A

The name of the author of Les Bambous has never been, in Martinique, a mystery to anyone. By assigning to an old commander20 these picturesque tales of the fabulist, Mr. Marbot simply wanted to keep the local color. He had no intention of hiding under the very thin veil of false modesty. It was no more the etiquette of administrative convenience, which stopped him: he could not at this time support the number of his stripes, and he also had too much sense to believe in the incompatibility of good humor with the serious obligation of life.

This last reflection will be itself our excuses vis-à-vis of those who will be surprised to see figured, headlining an elegant banter, this notice an existence more serious. We respond to the desire of our friends, fixing thereby the memories, which are so dear to us. And since the flowers do not spoil a tomb, we do not have to detach from it those that poetry made blossom under the spiritual pen of a child of the tropics.

Mr. François Marbot, deceased in 1866, Navy Commissioner and Ordonnateur of Réunion, was born in Martinique.

His father, Pierre Marbot, who belonged to the same Marine Corps, had settled in this colony at the beginning of the century. He was a Breton. To serve France in her overseas possessions, he had left Lorient, his home town, and was torn from the embraces of a large family, descended from the blessed union of Jean-François Marbot with Perrine de Kerbara.

20 Formerly called commander on plantations, whoever was responsible to oversee and direct the Negro [nègres] workers.
–Far from his own, he could not long endure the rigors of isolation. God had predestined him a virtuous wife in the person of Anne-Marie Aubert, Sieur d’Aubert des Barbeaux and Dlle d’Albuquerque. It is from this marriage that Francis Marbot was born at Fort-Royal on May 29, 1817.

Many will probably remember that the society of that time was driven by an inexplicable craze for the names from antiquity. Paris has always set the tone for fashion; and this one, like the others, quickly crossed the Ocean. François Marbot had this fashionable adoption of the name Achille, although the official declaration of his birth had only attributed to him the one of his baptism. Achille won out by overriding François in colloquial usage. But let us hasten to say that the memory of the boiling hero of Homer had no influence on this climate of occasion. The Holy Paradise remained the only model as he alone was the patron. Frankly, was the sweetness of François not worth more than the wrath of Achille?

Above all, the child was so raised so Christianly. And very early on he received solid principles whose good effects we will later see. This was the capital work of his parents, powerfully aided in this task by the venerable grandmother, Madame D’Aubert, whose memory has long remained lively in Fort-Royal, where she was known and appreciated by all.

This education was the best part that François-Achille collected the care that surrounded his childhood; his instruction was far from being as complete. In these times, in our distant colonies, the choice of an establishment of secondary instruction was not cumbersome; there were none. One had to send the child to study in France; it was a very big deal. The expense was considerable; and separation was harder, because communications with the mother country were slow and very irregular. Already the Marbot Family had overcome its difficulties, in favor of two of its sons (one died while still young, the other became a medical doctor and surgeon of the Navy). François-Achille, who was the fourth of five (5) children, had to resign himself to limit his desires to local resources which did led him very far away!

–This detail is not without interest because it will augment the merit of he who will only appear a better son of his own works.

It is in these conditions that the Marine Administrators received him in 1829, as a Temporary Clerk. He was only twelve (12) years old.

He sat in the offices of his father. And therefore he contracted the habit that he kept for his entire life, to use his leisure to give to his spirit the culture that circumstances had denied hi at his young age. Also he arrived in this way not to remain a stranger neither to science, nor to linguistics nor the difficulties of philosophy or even theology.

–It seems that this indication is enough to praise the same respect and his power and the strength of will.
Much of his career was spent in Martinique. He did not move from there until 1854, except for two years of embarkation on La Toulonnaise, which belonged also to the station in the Caribbean. He travelled all over as such, almost always appointed on merit to almost all grades of his Corps: Administrative Clerk in 1838; Navy Clerk in 1840; Principal Clerk in 1838; Navy Clerk in 1840; Principal Clerk, December 6th, 1845; Deputy Clerk December 23rd, 1847; Adjoint Deputy Commissioner on March 31st, 1853.

Senior Officer for barely a year, he was called in 1854 to serve in Guadeloupe. During the four (4) years of his first stay in Basse-Terre, he filled in some time for the interim functions of the Colonial Controller.

Appointed holder of the charge in French Guiana, in 1858, he returns to the same title as in Guadeloupe in the month of October of the same year. And in this new five-year stay in Basse-Terre he was many times the interim Ordonnateur. Guadeloupe has not forgotten him.

He was Commissioner of the Navy since February 11th, 1860, when a decree of December 23rd, 1863 called to the high office of Ordonnateur of Réunion Island.

Upon arriving at his new home, he began as Interim Governor of the colony. And it is only by handing the reins of power to Mr. Dupré, he took the second rank of which he was the title holder.

It is at this place where death came to surprise him. He was at his post. And 49 years of age, there were 37 years of loyal service to his country.

This too short career has been so fulfilled that the Administration of the Navy was able to regard his end a deplorable loss, and witness the legitimate regrets by voices of his first leaders, as by the votes of his most humble of officers.

Among those who knew him closely, or who have grown up under the benevolent aegis, there are very few, we believe, who have not seen Mr. Marbot an intelligent and upright model administrator.

The taste of the study, wonderfully supported by what we call the taste of the job, had quickly developed his native qualities; and its merits were early noticed by the Colonial Government. Such general or senior officers today would tell how, at a word from the Ordonnateur Officer, he improvised after a few minutes of reflection, a speech besides a graveside of a colleague, recently arrived from France and little known. They recalled the services that the special abilities, which allowed him to give back to the finances of the country. They also explain why more than once the Governor of Martinique called to his hotel or at Bellevue; and they say the author of such and such precise and conclusive reports, quickly prepared and sent to the Ministry. The Minister of Marine of that time ignored the dot. And had the age of thirty, before being Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Marbot was a Knight of the Legion of Honor.
Endowed with a mind as just as clairvoyant, Mr. Marbot possessed an unusual degree theadministrative sense. There was not a single question of his skills that he did not know in depth. If evidence was needed, we have only to mention a certain manuscript entitled: Studies on the Administration of the Navy, studies that many of our current administrators could appreciate and where several have drawn sound and lucid teachings for their preparations for the Commissioner’s competition. Erudite and professionalism in theory, it was no less remarkable in the business practice. Martinique, French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Réunion have seen it in the works; and everywhere this same testimony was rendered to him. Also no one could wonder if he attained it, still young, the Navy Commissioner rank.

If there was in him something superior to his intelligence, it was his heart. It is that this heart, in fact, was of a remarkable delicacy. Here, was the secret of the union of one (1).

This work has especially the merit of having been made for a period when it had no similarity. So much change arose since then, that the printing of these studies would not be right any more to be. We content ourselves with giving an overview of the contents of chapter’s firmness without steepness and of a kindness without weakness. Character always upright and always frank, Mr. Marbot energetically held on to the principles of his administration; but he knew how to do it with a kindness and a condescension which never failed to reconcile all of his spirits. This ability in the so difficult art of commanding, he had learnt it by beginning to obeying himself. A single feature of his life can give an idea.

One Sunday he was then still deputy Commissioner after having accomplished his religious duties, he was still in the church, scantily dressed, when a new Governor entered it with his top military staff for the Military Mass. Barely arrived, the Governor perceives him, and imagining think him [Marbot] in his suite, he sent an orderly officer ordered him three days off for having accompanied him scantily dressed.

The excuse would be easy; Mr. Marbot does not even think about it. He leaves his place and immediately goes to take his decrees. This order and its execution were so quickly were noticed. Explanations were given to the Governor, who hastened to summon Mr. Marbot and highly commend the deference that he had shown.

Knowing as such to respect authority, is it not to learn to represent it fittingly?

The fact that we have just read unveils the most beautiful side of this existence. If Mr. Marbot had been in the church when the Governor came there, it was that it was his thanksgiving, for he had to approach the Saint table.

This administrator so smart and of such a high merit was the most devout Christian. He was a man of a strong and lively faith, a faith that dominated all of his actions and all of his affections. He paints himself in these written lines to one of those whom he he loved most on earth:
"Know that I would rather learn your death than your infidelity to 
**God**, to his **Christ** and to his **Church.**"

--But with such an ardent faith he could make his gentle piety at all. His 
devotion was as simple as solid and frank, unaffected as without constraint.

He had a predilection for the book *The Imitation of Jesus Christ* ; and he faithfully recited the rosary.

That others, he said one day, laugh at these exercises of devotion! I would certainly never impose them on them. For me, am found well to me there. No - Only I do not believe to waste time that they take from me; but I declare that they taught me to fulfill with more accuracy all my other public and private obligations."

It is because indeed the holy practices of the religion, and more particularly the **Saint Eucharist**, which he received frequently, maintained in him this sweetness and this **benevolence**, which everybody recognized in him.

They especially gave him the virtues of the domestic home because there was for him the best enjoyment of this world. And if we excepted enjoyment which he knew how to find in the study and the reading of chosen books, even in some compositions full of eloquence and spirit, which gave place to *Les Bambous* in **Martinique**, we can assert that he never looked for other recreations than that from this interior, full of charms, where reigned the most narrow union and the most indissoluble affectation.

*God* had chosen him a partner deserving of his noble heart. In 1842, he had married **Miss Caroline Labatut**, of a family from **Provence** established in **Martinique**. The blessing of the patriarchs had fertilized this union. Fifteen (15) children had successively smiled to these Christian parents. And although the sky had harvested some angels there, offshoots sung by **Prophet-King** had remained rather numerous around the paternal table, so that the multiplication of the enjoyment of each compensated widely still the multiplicity of the concerns.

When after a day of labor Mr. **Marbot** allowed himself be surrounded by his crown of children, his friends knew him truly happy! Family, it was the happiness of its life! And of all those who were connected to him by blood, there is none who was not able to experiment to where his dedication could go.

Let us add finally that the supreme rule of all its life was an unwavering trust in **God** and a perfect submission in the divine will. In his last sickness he repeated to **Mrs. Marbot**:

"Our treasures, it is the **Providence**. Up until now, she did not allow us to miss anything. I have the sweet trust in it, it will preserve me all the time that I shall be necessary for you."

--Wrote it still some time before the death:
"We often speak about France. We hope to see her again in a few.....There maybe there beautiful dreams there. It is only up to God to realize them."

These dreams, he did not enter the adorable intentions of divine Providence to realize them! The works of a laborious career had quickly ruined Mr. Marbot's health. We saw him weaken day by day. And in spite of the devoted care of which it was the object, in spite of the rest and the good air which Bourbon offered to him in its heights of Salazie, he was soon at his last hour there.

Nothing is as edifying as the last ones moments which he spent on this earth. The day before his death, he told the priest of Saint Henri who assisted him:

"Sir Priest, I am going to die?

—Your life and mine, answered the priest, are in the hands of God.

—If I ask this question, he added, it is not that I am afraid of death. I have never spent one day without asking his advice. I am ready to leave my family in the hands of it very Saint Virgin and of the Saint-Joseph. My wife and my children will lose nothing there."

He received last rites in feeling of the deepest devotion. His lips were still moving. We saw that he united with the prayers of the priest and of the audience. Finally, after having stayed some time without responding to the questions, which we asked him, he seemed to leave from his slumber, with an accentuated voice, which surprised everybody, he said:

"I believe all that the Church believes, I condemn all that it condemns, I like all that she likes, I hope for all for that she hopes for."

—These were his last words. He slowly freed his soul to God, on Wednesday, October 31st, 1866, at ten o'clock of the morning.

—He was only forty nine (49) years old!

The news of this death caused a lively emotion in Saint-Denis and had a painful echo in the whole entire colony. The esteem and the affection of all were then translated in a way that was hardly ambiguous. To say it, we don’t believe to be able to do any better than to reproduce the written page, under the blows of this emotion, in the Moniteur de la Réunion (No du 3 novembre 1866):

"Almost at the same moment when we echoed, in our last number, bad news which had arrived from Salazie, with regard to the Mr. Marbot's alarming state, this honorable and estimated state employee expired, in spite of the devoted care of science, in spite of soft and affectionate care of his deserving wife run up to his bedside, in spite, finally, of the blazing wishes that his parents
that his friends, the populations itself, saddened with such a huge misfortune, made for preservation of the days of this distinguished member of the administration, from this exemplary father, from this excellent citizen.

Although expected, the news of the death of Mr. Ordonnateur caused in our city a painful surprise, which will have been felt in the whole entire colony.

"It is because Mr. Marbot had, in his short stay among us, acquired more than a title in our respectful sympathy. Need we remind that by approaching our riverbanks he had the honor to hold the reins of our government and need we remind that, although for not much duration, his wise and paternal administration, will deserve to have a place in our modest history?

By descending from the first rank where the retirement of the preceding chief of the colony had called him, to occupy the functions of Ordonnateur at Réunion Island mister Mr. Marbot knew, in this still elevated post, how to continue to serve countries with the devotion that we could expect of one of children of a French colony such as ours. In the councils of the government, he always carried the tribute of a vast and robust intelligence, of rare administrative aptitudes, varied knowledge and especially an unfailing uprightness.

Mr. Marbot's funeral was a triumph for his memory and proved that, in the country, we are neither indifferent for the true merit, nor thankless for services provided.

Deceased in Hell-Bourg on Wednesday morning, Mr. Marbot was embalmed and transported in Saint-Denis. His burial took place this morning with all the pomp and circumstance and all the solemnity that the character and rank of which the deceased where made.

The convoy left the hotel of the Ordonnateur, Paris Street at precisely seven o'clock, a half-battalion of marines, commanded by Mr. Colonel Duchesne, formed the double hedge. All the civil and military officers of the order composed, around the float, an imposing procession, to which had joined big one parts of the population.

The corners of the pall were carried by Misters the Interior Director, the Colonial Controller, the Mayor of Saint-Denis, the General Prosecutor, the President of the Imperial Court and Edouard Bailly, Deputy Police Superintendent of the Navy.

Mgr. Bishop of Saint-Denis had wanted to give to the deceased a token of his high respect by presiding over the funeral ceremony. One Numerous clergy hurried up around His Greatness.

At the head of the convoy the military brass band executed somber airs suited to the circumstance.
This apparatus at the same time religious and military had a striking brightness.

All along the rue de PARIS and all around the church, the crowd was compact. The cathedral was full as in the days of the great religious holiday.

The service for the dead was celebrated with great pomp and heard with a pious contemplation. Mr. Governor and his family attended it.

The procession then went to the cemetery with the same ceremonial. Mgr. Bishop, assisted by several priests, accompanied him on foot and said the last prayers on the edge of the grave.

At the instant of the separation, M. CHARLES GAUDIN DE LAGRANDE, Director of the Interior, one of the friends and the former collaborators of Mr. MARBOT, addressed, in front of his colleagues and in front of all the moved audience, one of these touching farewells, which have the privilege of ripping away tears from the most indifferent of people. We reproduce these beautiful and noble words, the accent of which will remain in the memory of all those who heard them.

During the burial of Mr. Marbot, all the ships on the natural harbor and the mast of the port had their flags at half-mast. It was the last returned tribute to the one who had been the chief of the service of the Navy.

MR. MARBOT, Navy Commissioner, Ordonnateur of Réunion Island had entered very-young into an administrative career. Endowed with a brilliant intelligence and guided by a serious vocation, the brilliant Creole of Martinique quickly covered all the hierarchical levels of Commissionership and arrived, at an exceptional age, at one of the first ranks of the Corp to which he belonged.

The officer’s Rosette of the Legion of Honor, which decorated his breast, gave evidence that he deserved his high position.

Mr. Marbot was not only a émissent[?] administrator. In his leisure, rare but fertile, he cultivated muses, and he bequeaths to his homelands some Creole verses (among other ones imitations of the fables of La Fontaine) which obtained in his lifetime a legitimate success and which will certainly survive him.

Mr. Marbot was young still, because he was only forty-nine (49) years old. His fellow countrymen, his numerous friends will regret the fatal spell which removed him, in the middle of the self-fulfillment of his virility and his talent.

--THOMY LAHUPPE."

Let us quote now the words that Mr. the Director of the Interior pronounced on this tomb so prematurely opened:
"Sirs,

The Christian who has just left this world asks the friends who accompany his mortal remains in his last resting place, not praises but prayers, because the most humanely purest life is it not only for God's court?

Yet, Men and Women, you all know it, Marbot was a true and devout Christian; and I shall not belie the faith of all his life, by coming to make here on his grave the eulogy nevertheless so deserved of his rare talents and of his touching virtues. But I believe to be, at this moment, the organ of the general sentiment, by telling you the sharp and profound regret that his premature end caused us. I also need to send an expression of public sympathy to the interested family, which he leaves before him; to this family the enjoyment of which it was, alas! And the support, and which, we can say it, would have lost everything in losing it, if God's kindness did not still hold in reserve, for his children, the second paternity of his Providence. We join ourselves to all, that Providence knows it well, to its inexpressible pain. It is since the fatal news arrived, the object of the universal concern.

Everybody speaks about it, and speaks about it with the most moving of accents. Certainly, if the thought of the interest, which they inspire, can be a soothing for the bleeding wound, these poor broken hearts, they must be consoled a little bit. Never has the interest been more complete and more sincere.

“Farwell! Marbot, farewell, my camrade and my friend! We are of those who know that they must find themselves one day! But while waiting for this supreme meeting, that it is given to your soul to know that your memory will remain alive among us, and that it will plane as a guardian shadow over the beloved beings that you bequeathed to our affections and to our care!”

We stop this short note on the very touching words which we have just read, and where the note of the heart dominates so well. It would please us to add nothing more which could disturb the touching vibrations, responding with such soundness to the character of he all of whose ambition all of which was to be faithful to God and to his country, to his family and to his friends.”
3.1.7 4th Edition (1931)

Figure 37: Cover page with bamboo framing Les Bambous: Fables de La Fontaine travesties en patois martiniquais (1831) with ‘un vieux commandeur” paratextually replacing the author.

The Cover Page
What is interesting here is that certain electronic databases have completely effaced *Marbot* from the ‘author’ and instead have the vieux commandeur’ listed in the place of the author.

This fact of erratum is present at the first stanza of the fables as illustrated by Jardel’s *comparison* of only the first six verses of the *prologue* with the 1931 and 1976 editions:

2. Moin ni conte pou moin conté
3. Ba zott. Faut couté yo bien,
4. Si zott vlé sauvé chagrin.
5. Ca moins ka dit zott couté..
6. C’est bagage faite pou béké.”

On constate que, dans l’édition bilingue de 1931, *Louis* Jaham-Desrivaux les a traduit ainsi:

1. “Vous tous, nègres mes maîtres, assemblez-vous.
2. Quant à moi, j’ai un conte pour conter
3. A votre adresse. Il faut l’écouter bien
4. Si vous voulez vous sauver du chagrin.
5. Ce que je vous dis d’écouter
6. C’est un bagage fait pour béké.

Dans celle de 1976, Michel Thaly s’écarte de la traduction précédente et propose 21:

1. “Vous tous, esclaves de mon maître, assemblés,
2. J’ai à vous raconter des contes.
3. Faites silence, il faut bien m’écouter
4. Si vous voulez chasser le chagrin.
5. Ce sont des contes fait[sic] pour les blancs.”

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21 This is the first and only edition that I have (the one with the incorrect translations). François-Achille *Marbot* and Jean de La Fontaine, *Les Bambous : Fables De La Fontaine Travesties En Patois Créole Par Un Vieux Commandeur*, trans. Michel Thaly, "Casterman" ed. (Belgium: Flammarion: Casterman, 1976).
3.1.8 5th edition (1976) - Belgium

Figure 38: Cover page of “Casterman edition” Les Bambous : Fables De Lafontaine[Sic] travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur (1976)

“Casterman is a member of the Flammarion Group. We specialize in CHILDREN'S BOOKS (fiction & non-fiction) for age groups 0 to 16. We are also a leading publisher for COMICS and GRAPHIC NOVELS for juniors and for Adults.”
3.1.9 Preface

3.1.9.1 Daniel Thaly, writer 22

3.1.9.2 Bibliography on Thaly 23

p. 112

Daniel Thaly (8 works)


---.Chansons lointaines (poésie).

Le Divan, Revue 12ème année, No 66 juillet-aout. Paris,

---.Nostalgies Françaises (1908-1913).

Pares, Editions de la Phalange 1915, in-12 164 p.


22 Daniel Thaly, Lucioles Et Cantharides (PARIs: P. Ollendorf, 1900); "Contribution À L'étude Du Processus Histologique Des Orchites Suppurées (Abcës Multiples Du Testicule ‡ La Suite De Cathêtèrisme)" (1905); La Clarté Du Sud : Poèmes (Toulouse: Sté Provinciale d'Édition?, 1905); ... Chansons De Mer Et D'autre Mer (PARIs: Éditions de La Phalange, 1911); Le Jardin Des Tropiques : Poèmes, 1897-1907 (PARIs: éd. du Beffroi, 1911); Nostalgies Françaises, 1908-1913 (PARIs: Éditions de la Phalange, 1913); L'île Et Le Voyage: Petite Odyssée D'un Poète Lointain (PARIs: Le Divan, 1923); Chants De L'atlantique: Suivis De "Sous Le Ciel Des Antilles" (PARIs: Garnier, 1928); Héliotrope, Ou, Les Amants Inconnus (PARIs: Le Divan, 1932); Daniel Thaly and Auguste Joyau, eds., Poèmes Choisis (Belgium: Casterman, 1976).

--- *Luciole et Cantharides*. Paris, Ollendorf 1908


--- *Chanson de Mer et d'Outre-Mer*.


--- *L'Ile et le Voyage, Petite Odyssée d'un poète pointain.*

*Paris, Librairie du Divan 1923, in-12.*

Figure 39: Ibis Rouge Edition with modern orthography by CONFIANT. Most current edition (2002)

The Ibis Rouge Company was founded January 1, 1995 and has been a Member of the National Union of Publishing and the International Bureau of the French edition since 1996 with nearly 400 books published by 243 authors. The rate of growth of Ibis Rouge is rather astonishing given that in 1995 they published only 2 books, 11 the following year, 33 in 2000, and 30 to 40 since 2001 with ‘over 600 manuscripts received
per year, almost two a day. The website provides a very fascinating biography of the
owner of the Ibis Rouge: 24

“Arriving in FRENCH GUIANA now more than twenty years, JEAN-
LOUIS MALHERBE, Engineer of Graphic Arts, was a keen observer of the
cultural life of the department. It is clear its deep dismay at the almost complete
lack of publications in the form of books in FRENCH GUIANA.

Impassioned by the book "object" that we like to have in hand, smelling
the paper and printing ink, for the books for "fun", books for " crucible of
knowledge " he decided in 1995 to serve to the Guianese, initially, and
CARIBBEAN thereafter, a real publishing house, in full conformity with the
ethics of the profession.

Ibis Rouge Editions is a literary publishing house which offers to
readers quality works dealing with the specific reality of the AMAZON, the
CARIBBEAN and the INDIAN OCEAN. It also aims to provide authors on site the
same benefits as the metropolitan publishing houses.

The editorial funds of Ibis Rouge Editions has a multitude of genres
(essays, general literature, youth, fine books, etc.) all of which revolves around
the Creole cultural space, historical and social. In 2012, the house will turn

24 Raphaël Confiant, Dictionnaire Des Titim Et Sirandanes : Devinettes Et Jeux De Mots Du Monde Créole
(Martinique: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1998); "Espace Créole, Espaces Francophones, " Earlier Title: Espace créole (1999);
Jik Dèyè Do Bondyé : Istwè-Kout, 2e. éd. ed. (Petit-Bourg: Ibis rouge, 2000); Jacques Coursil, La Fonction Muette Du
Langage : Essai De Linguistique Générale Contemporaine (Petit-Bourg, Guadeloupe: Ibis rouge, 2000); ibid.; David
Damoison and Raphaël Confiant, Le Galion : Canne, Douleur Séculaire Ô Tendresse (Petit-Bourg, Goudaloupe: Ibis
rouge, 2000); Bernabé, La Fable Créole; La Graphie Créole, Guides Du Capes De Créole (Petit-Bourg, Guadeloupe;
[S.l.]: Ibis rouge ; Presses universitaires créoles/GEREC-F, 2001); Raphaël Confiant, La Version Créole, ed. Presses
universitaires créoles/GEREC-F, Guides C.A.P.E.S. Créole (Petit-Bourg: Ibis rouge, 2001); Dictionnaire Des
Néologismes Créoles (Petit-Bourg, Guadeloupe: Ibis rouge : Presses universitaires créoles/GEREC-F, 2001); Konsit
Toutwonlaté Asou Kréol Nan Péyti Sèsel (Oktob 1999), Textes, Etudes Et Documents ; No. 9 (Petit-Bourg: Ibis rouge :
GEREC-F/Presses universitaires créoles, 2001); La Version Créole, Guides Du Capes De Créole (Petit-Bourg: Ibis
rouge, 2001); Marie-Rose Lafleur, Pa Ban Gaz! = Ne Me Cherche Pas! : Kréyôl-La, Jan Lajennès Ka Palé-Y : Le
Créole Tel Que Le Parlent Les Jeunes (Guadeloupe: Ibis rouge, 2001); ibid.; Delphine Perret, La Créolité : Espace De
Création (Martinique: Ibis rouge éditions, 2001); Raphaël Confiant, Mémé an Fonsséyé, Ou, Les Quatre-Vingt Dix
Pouvoirs Des Morts, ed. Presses universitaires créoles/GEREC-F, Guides Du C.A.P.E.S. Créole (Martinique: Ibis
rouge, 2002); Jacques Coursil, "L'eloge De La Muette," in Espaces Créoles Et Francophones : Langues, Sociétés,
Communication, ed. Université des Antilles et de la Guiane. (Groupe d'études et de recherches en espaces créolophone
et francophone) (Matoury: Ibis Rouge, 2002); Bernard-Marie Koltès and J. M. G. Le Clézio, Tabataba (Guadeloupe:
Ibis rouge éditions, 2002); Jean de La Fontaine, Mont-Rosier Dejean, and Robert Domoineau, Fab Lafontèn (Petit-
Bourg: Ibis rouge, 2002); François Marbot, Les Bambous Fables De La Fontaine Travesties En Patois Créole Par Un
Vieux Commandeur, Guides Capes Créole (Petit-Bourg: Ibis rouge, 2002); François-Achille Marbot, Raphaël Confiant,
and Jean de La Fontaine, Les Bambous : Fables De La Fontaine Travesties En Patois Créole Par Un Vieux
Commandeur, ed. Raphaël Confiant, "C.A.P.E.S." ed., Guides C.A.P.E.S. Créole (Petit-Bourg: Ibis Rouge, 2002);
Université des Antilles et de la Guiane. GEREC-F. Groupe d'études et de recherches en espaces créolophone
et francophone, Espace Créole, Espaces Francophones, No. 11 : Revue Du Gerec-F; A L'arpenteur Inspiré : Mélanges
Offerts À Jean Bernabé, (Matoury: Ibis rouge, 2006); Raphaël Confiant, Dictionnaire Créole Martiniquais-Français
(Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge Editions, 2007); ibid.; David Mérour, ed. Contes De Tortues Des Mers Du Monde, La
Compagnie Zoukouyanyan (Matoury; Guyane: Ibis Rouge Editions, 2009).
more and more towards the *humanities* and collection on overseas spaces, recognized worldwide.”
3.2 Modern Secondary Sources on Les Bambous

3.2.1 Creolistes on Les Bambous – METATEXT

3.2.1.1 Jardel and the Great Creole ‘Enigma’

“Certainly one must pay attention to the chronology, “Let’s return to the second theme which mobilises most of the researchers, and on which the examinators could be tempted to interrogate the candidate: the problematic of inspiration, of the copying or of imitation. Let’s try to make short work of it.

Let’s try to make short work of it.

“which impluses with Chrétien in 1820[sic], Héry in 1828 and Marbot in 1844, a certain order of apparent priority. It is probable (but nowhere attested) that the books circulated from one island to the other, and one can conjecture that the idea of transposing La Fontaine in creole follows the chronology of the publications. From there to conclude that we have proceeded from here to there via imitations…Let’s remind ourselves however that everyone has in the background La Fontaine (and for the most eruditious Phédre and Aesop), all considered as belonging to a universal knowledge, one would say today to the public domain.”

Secondly, Jardel’s two most recent “notices” explain: “the name of the author of The Bamboo never had been, in Martinique, a mystery for anyone.” In spite of Marbot’s overwhelming popularity, there still appears to be major breaks and historical oversights in the publication of this work, calling out for the investigation of the first documented “lost edition” of 1849, as well as for a detailed study of the “epistolary
relationship” between François Marbot and his publishers. In my own research, I have identified a paucity of primary source documentation on the life of François-Achille Marbot linking him textually to his collection of fables. Jean-Pierre JarDEL calls for an archival search and critical reassessment of the printing history of The Bamboo. I argue that the genealogical record of the Marbot family requires a more rigid study given the previously ignored existence of an esteemed military family of Marbot—all of whom were colonial officials travelling and working for the French Republic throughout the 19th Century. The patriarch’s surname can be found engraved on the Arch of Triumph on the Elysian Fields in Paris, France.

3.2.2 CONFIANT AND THE DOMESTICATION OF THE COMMANDER

Langue (Lang)
Palé fiansé pa di espri.
(Martinique et Haïti : Parler le français ne veut pas dire qu’on est intelligent.)
Maîtriser une langue n’est pas gage de savoir.
Martinician and Haitian Proverb

Jean Bernabe notes in his edition the entire canon that “to better review the history of the Creole fable genre and its circulation, it is important to analyze the preceding fables printed in the Indian Ocean: on Mauritius and Réunion Island.” In this program, defined as the first books printed in Creole, these bamboo

blue boat books from all locations are indeed center of the entire curriculum of Creole studies of grammatical form for all students and researchers. According Raphael Confiant, “[t]he fables are the only literary genre in which an uninterrupted tradition of writing in creole has succeeded in constituting itself from the beginning of the 19th century to our days.” Confiant’s work is in important reference having published the 6th edition of the Bambous to which added various creole orthographie along with a French translation. This 6th edition was published in Martinique under the institution of the I.U.F.M. in Martinique, French West Indies where the examination known at the C.A.P.E.S Creole was established. The institution has published a number of other pedagogical work geared towards this examination under the editions known as Ibis Rouge. Nevertheless, there was been strong critique of Raphael's Confiant's scholarship at large, but more specifically, on his critique on the Martinician collection of fables. Raphaël Confiant who in the most recent edition of Les Bambous (2002) recounts a disarticulated or knotted canon of fables and fabulists reciting from the beginning the imagined connection and communications between the attributed authors in the name of ‘founding fathers’ characterizing the connections as imitations: “[i]n fact, the founding father, the Maurician François Chrestien [Desnoyers], is imitated by the Martinician François Achille Marbot which is imitated in turn by the Réunion nais Louis Émile Héry, at the moment of the 2nd edition of his book, before having been taken for model by the Haitian Georges Sylvain in (1901) and the Seychellois Rodolphe Young (around 1920).” Here, he fills in the rest of the connections citing
JEAN-PIERRE JARDEL (1885:215) who notes the use of ‘certain words’ and ‘spellings’
through a philologically based reading and correlation of the bamboo blue boat books not
citing actually sources, but rather the passive “they”:

"They say that therefore in some of the common fables published by
the two authors - F. CHRESTIEN and F.A. MARBOT -, this former was inspired
at the same time by LA FONTAINE and of the two Maurician texts in his work of
the creation and of transcription. It seems also that the use of certain words by
MARBOT and of their spelling could have been determined consciously by the
reading of the texts of CHRESTIEN. It is probably the same for L. HERY, who
seems to have been inspired, in his 2nd edition, by the fables of MARBOT [...] the
imitations of HERY or of MARBOT [...] put [...] in evidence two facts of different
nature. On one hand, they prove or they remind that there was between the
different colonies, even as far (off) as MARTINIQUE and RÉUNION ISLAND, a
circulation of men at the level of administrators, negociants, and servicemen [...] On the other hand, when it is about L. HERY composing his texts, he had as his
disposition, to help his inspiration of several works: that of LA FONTAINE and
those of F. CHRESTIEN and of MARBOT. It was the same case for MARBOT.
(Jardel 1985:215)" (p.11, CONFIANT).28

FRENCH GUIANA

“In this context appears an extraordinary work, under the pen of an
illustrious unknown, ALFRED PAREPOU. This work is entitled Atipa. Sub-titled,
Roman Guyanais, it is entirely redacted in Creole!

It is the first book worthy of this name written in this idiome, and
without the traditional translation on the opposite page. Up until now, most of
the writing in langue créole was scattered text, dispersed in gazettes or
assembled in thin leaflet”

28 Confiant's work is in important reference having published the 6th edition of the Bambous to which to added various
creole orthographie along with a French translation. This 6th edition was published in Martinique under the institution
of the I.U.F.M. in Martinique, French West Indies where the examination known at the C.A.P.E.S Creole was
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the editions known as Ibis Rouge. Nevertheless, there was been strong critique of Raphael's Confiant's scholarship at
large, but more specifically, on his critique on the Martinician collection of fables. The most substantial of the critiques
can be found in an article written by Robert Chaudenson. Robert Chaudenson, "Compte Rendu De La Thèse De
Raphael Confiant: Analyse Des Significations Attachees Aux Aspects Littéraires, Linguistiques Et Socio-Historique De
L'écrit Creolophone De 1750 À 1995 Aux Petites Antilles, En Guyane Et En Haïti, Presses Du Septentrion, 1999,," in
Études Créoles: Culture, Langue, Société, Des Fables Créoles, ed. Carpanin Jean-Claude Marinoutou, Études Créoles
“From the beginning of the book, the author, Alfred Parépou, unusual behavior engages the dialogue with the reader who he defines very clearly: he who is first Guyanese at the exclusion of all others; and he shouts it out: “Mon chè compatriote yè la...” (Mon cher compatriote...). In the development of this preface, we can see that, for Parépou, this reader is not supposed to understand French. A paradoxical position because we do not see how some one who was not alphabetized would be up to the task to decode a text written in Creole. (p.100-1)”
3.2.2.1 Hazael Massieux Bamboozled by Paul Baudot

This is the first translation of the initial letter as written in Guadeloupe. It is Christine Hazael-Massieux who is accredited with being the first researcher to publish this entire set of letters in her book Textes Ancien en créole français de la Caraïbe : Histoire et analyse. Unfortunately, Hazael-Massieux’s transcriptions contain a significant number of typographical errors when compared to the copies of the microfilm in Aix-en-Provence, Paris, and Guadeloupe. It appears that the microfilm is the only public document available.²⁹

In addition to the transcriptions, Hazael-Massieux includes a critical and analyses using these letters as data in order to supports certain claims about the evolution and state of Guadeloupian Creole at the moment of publications. IN PACE: The number of errors span from two to twenty-eight errors per editorial letter. The average number of mistakes per letter is 13. The transcription mistakes vary in their gravity. There are errors in omitted or added accents, misspellings in words, omission of entire words, addition of extra letters, and significant omissions of mechanical punctuation marks including questions marks and exclamation points.

Finally, I am greatly influenced by the deep archival work of Christine Hazael-Massieux who announces her own methodologies as both “historic and philologic” through her own contextualization of The Bamboo within an archive of

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²⁹ Paul (a.k.a Dakoe) Baudot, "'Punch Marsh Letters'," L'Avenir de la Guadeloupe 1849.
veritably ancient 18th and 19th century Creole language print matter—most of which is located in AIX-EN-PROVENCE. Additional primary source documents that I would like to review in the archives are nine Creole revolutionary proclamations in “formal and juridical creole” from (1793-1802) and a particular series of the Guadeloupean Creole letters insularly printed in the island political journals known as L’Avenir and Le Progrès (1849-1952) after the infamous 1849 electoral riots between the supporters of Bissette and Schoelcher and on the island of Marie-Galante. The newspapers, housed in collections in both metropolitan France and in the archives and libraries of the French Caribbean, sometimes contained poems, and songs, as well as other short bits of Creole-language writing whose production and publication can help me better situate Marbot’s work in a network of French-Caribbean press. Here, I seek to index and historicize a selection of songs: Les Chansons Bissettistes pour le temps de Noël published in 1849 written Pierre Lavollé indexing their respective melodies with their popular French melodic counterparts.

On Marbot, Hazaël-Massieux analyzes selected fables acknowledging that he has “considerable posterity” and that his work is a “remarkable adaptation” of the fables of both Jean de La Fontaine and of Florian. On his life, Hazaël-Massieux adds that

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31 See Chapter V, ibid., p. 185-220. The first and the second document can be found at the “Centre d’Accueil et de Recherches des Archives Nationales, série D/XXV, D/XXV/39 et D/XXV/40.” Ibid., p. 188, n. 418. In “Papiers Victor Schoelcher” (NAF 19434, 10435 at the BNF) one can find both of these journals. For more, see ibid., p. 300.
32 Ibid., p. 276-99.
33 Ibid., p. 259.

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François-Achille Marbot never travelled to France and notes the composition of his domestic household without providing primary source documentary evidence.\textsuperscript{34} Specifically speaking, Hazael-Massieux’s methods and detailed notes allow for an advanced philological interpretation of the rhetoric and discourse. These various approaches offer more insight to printing habits of this historical period.

\textsuperscript{34} She states: “Sa famille n’avait pas le moyen de l’envoyer faire des études…quatrième d’une famille de cinq enfants,” For more see, ibid., p. 261, n. 564.
3.3 A Journey through the Secret Lives of Commanders on the Move

Biography/Necrology of François-Achille Marbot

Jardel’s two most recent “notices” explain: “the name of the author of The Bamboo never had been, in Martinique, a mystery for anyone.” In spite of Marbot’s overwhelming popularity, there still appears to be major breaks and historical oversights in the publication of this work, calling out for the investigation of the first documented “lost edition” of 1849, as well as for a detailed study of the “epistolary relationship” between F. Marbot and his publishers. In my own research, I have identified a paucity of primary source documentation on the life of François-Achille Marbot linking him textually to his collection of fables. Jardel calls for an archival search and critical reassessment of the printing history of The Bamboo, and thereby the Bamboo Canon. The most recent and authoritative information on François-Achille Marbot (1817-1866) can be found in a hypertextual notice, Notice sur M. François-Achille Marbot: commissaire de la Marine, Ordonnateur de la Réunion published on the Frenc database Leonore which house the archives of the Legion of Honor in the French Republic. This information is simply a synthesis of the notice written in French in which the authors remind the reader of the space and place of it’s origin in relationship to the subject at

http://s169033694.onlinehome.fr/2009/04/24/francois-marbot-commissaire-de-la-marine-ordonnateur-de-la-reunion-18171866/

For more see, Jardel, "Notes Et Remarques Complémentaires Sur "Les Fables Créoles" De F.A. Marbot : Un Texte Rectifié Et Une Énigme À Résoudre". ; Potomitan and Jaham-Derivaux, "Notice Sur M. François-Achille Marbot : Commissaire De La Marine, Ordonnateur De La Réunion".
hand—François Marbot. The notice is presented in two discursive levels: one, the plain biography of Marbot, mixed with a second discourse of the nous as in “we”, “us”, which can possibly be read as a positioning of Marbot as a Nationalist Martinican writer explaining that “in Martinique” Marbot “was never a mystery”. In this Marbot Vita A, we are provided with an intimate account of the life of François-Achille Marbot which could never be found in any public archive. The Marbot’s family itinerary, history, educational history, his multiple vocations, publications, and numerous accomplishments and awards such as Knight of the Legion of Honor in 1847 exactly one year prior to the definitive abolition of slavery in the the French Republic in 1848.

François-Achille Marbot (1817-1866) a.k.a. “Achille”, Commissary of the Marine and Ordonnateur of Réunion Island, was born in Martinique on May 29th, 1817 in Fort-Royal, Martinique to Pierre Marbot, son of Jean-François Marbot and Perrine de Kerbara. In 1829, at the age of 12, he becomes Commis temporaire appointed by l’Administration de la Marine. In 1838, at the age of 21, he was appointed Commis d’administration. In 1840, he was Commis de Marine. It was in 1842 that he married Mlle Caroline Labatut with whom he had 15 children. It is on December 6, 1845, that he is given the title Commis Principal. At this moment, in 1846, there appears the first edition of “Les Bambous”. On December 23, 1847, he is appointed Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D’Honneur. On May 31st, 1853, he becomes Commissaire-Adjoint, and in he is asked in 1854 to serve in Guadeloupe where he eventually becomes the Contrôler Colonial. In 1858, he is sent to French
GUIANA, and later that year in October he returns to GUadeloupe. He starts a new post as Commissaire de la Marine on February 11th, 1860. On December 23rd, 1863 he is called by décret to be Ordonnateur de La Réunion, “and it is only by the reins of power to Mr Dupré, he took second rank which it held et ce n’est qu’en remitting le rênes du pouvoir à M. Dupré, qu’il prit au second rang la place dont il était titulaire.” It is three years later, rather mysteriously, on Wednesday, October 31st, 1866 at 10:00am that François-Achille Marbot dies at his post, is embalmed and transported to Saint-Denis: “That is where death came to surprise him. He was at his post...on 49 years of age, he counted 37 years of them of good and local services rendered to his country.”

The Marbot Family or one branch of the family name one which requires much detailed research for the moment because the name marks at least three generals in France in only 50 years in addition to the various other administrative positions both civil and military held in France as well as a in the Caribbean.

... “J'engage le colonel Marbot à continuer à écrire pour la défense de la gloire des armées françaises et à en confondre les calomniateurs et les apostats. (Testament de Napoléon.)”

37 Alfred de Marbot (1812-1865), French painter; Antoine Adolphe Marcelin Marbot (1781-1844), French general; Charles Rémy Paul Marbot (1847-1912), Commissioner in the French navy; Jean Antoine Marbot (1754-1800), French general and politician; Jean Baptiste Antoine Marcellin de Marbot (1782-1854), French general; Louis Marie Joseph Marbot (1878-1931), French engineer, developer of the Syrian railway network and Pierre Jean Marbot (1783-1840), French navy officer.”
It is not François-Achille Marbot, but rather a Marcellin Marbot who was in fact a Baron-General and right hand man to Napoleon Bonapart Premier Consul of France.

“So I have witnessed many events, I have seen many successes, and since you’ve all for such wanted a long time that I write my memoirs, walking abreast my life story and that of the memorable events that I attended, I yield to your instances.”

“TO MY WIFE AND MY TWO SON.

“My dear wife, my dear children, I attended, though still very young, the great and terrible Revolution of 1789. I lived under the Convention and the Directory. I saw the Empire. I took part in the gigantic wars and I was nearly crushed by his fall. I have often approached the Emperor Napoleon. I served in the headquarters of five of its most famous marshals, Bernadotte, Augereau, Murat, Lannes and Masséna. I knew all the important figures of that time. I suffered exile in 1815. I had the honor of seeing very often King Louis-Philippe, when he was still only Duke of Orleans, and after 1830, I was twelve years aide of his august son, the Crown Prince, the new Duke of Orleans. Finally, since a fatal event has delighted the prince to love the French, I am attached to the person of his august son, Count of Paris.”

“General Bonaparte and my father, having come into the living room, mutually presented the members of their suites. General Lannes and Murat were old acquaintances for my father, who received them with great kindness. It was quite cold with General Berthier, however, he had once seen at Versailles, where my father was a bodyguard and Berthier engineer. General Bonaparte, who knew my mother asked me very politely news, affectionately complimented me for having so young, adopted the profession of arms, and gently took me by the ear, which was always the caress most flattering him to do the people he was satisfied, he said, turning to my father: "there will one day be a second General Marbot." This horoscope was true; I had not then in the hope, however, I was quite proud of these words: you have so little pride for a child!

After the visit, my father did not let sweat anything that was said between him and General Bonaparte; but I learned later that Bonaparte, leaving positively penetrate its projects, sought by the most skillful coaxing to get my father in his party, but that he had consistently avoided the issue.”

“The Marbot family originated from the province of Quercy, near what is now the department of Corréze in south-western France. It is of noble origin, although its members do not precede their names with any title. The Marbot family became
influential at the beginning of the 17th century, becoming allied to and joining in the
society of several of the more important families of the QUERCY province. Its members
engaged in activities related to commerce and law, which brought them considerable
wealth, allowing them to acquire property and live from the income of their estates…As
from the 18th century, many members of the MARBOT family began to play an active role
in the military, giving FRANCE numerous generals and naval officers. Others became
closely linked to the colonial expansion of FRANCE, where they held various
administrative positions until the gradual decline of the French empire, towards the
beginning of the 20th century.” \(^{38}\)

_François-Achille Marbot (1817-1866);_ Ordinance Officer

1. _Jean Antoine Marbot (1754-1800),_ French general and politician, 3rd
cousin of a grandparent
2. _Antoine Adolphe Marcelin Marbot (1781-1844),_ French general, 4th
cousin of a parent,
3. _Jean Baptiste Antoine Marcellin de Marbot (1782-1854),_ French
general, 4th cousin of a parent
4. _Pierre Jean Marbot (1783-1840),_ French navy officer, father
5. _Alfred de Marbot (1812-1865),_ French painter, 5th cousin
6. _Charles Remy Paul Marbot (1847-1912),_ Commissioner in the French
navy, son
7. _Louis Marie Joseph Marbot (1878-1931),_ French engineer, developer of
the railway network in SYRIA.

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\(^{38}\) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marbot_family
3.3.1 Military Number

The most accessible primary source documentation on François Marbot is a 14 page document file found through a database of the Legion of Honor. The cover page shows that his number in the order is #76877. It lists the name as François Marbot in the quality or grade as a Naval Commissary and Ordonnateur of Réunion Island indicating his birthday at May 29th, 1817 and birthplace as “Fort-Royal.”
(Martinique). The body paragraph inscription reads that he “was named Officer of the Legion of Honor by the decree of October 23rd, 1869 rendered on the report of S. Exc. Minister of the Navy to take the rank from [?].” The number of departure of the certificate is 40042, followed by the dates October 31st, 1866 and February, 1867. The 2nd unsigned (by Marbot) primary source is titled Dossier and lists his date of birth as May 29th, 1817 qualifying him as a Commis from the Navy of Martinique of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honor. The Dossier includes the same number and as well as the date April 28th, 1847 as the date marking his ascent to the grade of Chevalier and is followed by five critical documents which will be presented in this biography: (a) certificate of individuality, (b) birth certificate (excerpt), (c) oath, (d) brevet, and a (e) state of [military] services. Each of these documents attests the critical injunctions in the life of François Marbot’s permitting us to trace his steps and his quite possibly his influence across the world.

The circulation history of these primary sources are worth a very close investigation to better illustrate the mechanisms, checks and balances that were used to identify subjects during the span of the 19th century. The first document attesting the birth of François Achille Marbot is not necessarily a birth certificate but rather a multilayered (palimpsestes) copy certified by the Colonial Controller from the Extrait des Registres/[Excerpts from the Registers] from the City Hall of the commune of Fort-Royal in Martinique. The Excerpt attests the existence of an original birth certificate at the City Hall in the Commune in Fort-Royal. On a letterhead from
FORT-ROYAL, the EXCERPT contains six distinct dates seeking approval and authenticity on the desks of administrators in various imperial institutions (??????) in at least four geographical locations (FORT-ROYAL, PARIS, and GADELOUPE AND DEPENDENCIES). The six dates as well as the verifications illustrate the level of administrative scrutiny regarding the verification of MARBOT’s civil status. The dates are Saturday, July 5th and May 29th of 1817; October 14th and October 19th of 1841 with actual signatures and stamps; a signature from Paris on January 29th, 1842. The last date June 13th, 1867 marks the date the current document entered into the office of the Grand Chancellery of the Legion of Honor. For legalization, there is the attestation of 8 signatures (four at register and four moving through chains of verification) but only one real actual signature, that of the Colonial Controller. One can assume that it is only this person who (1) either has the right to produce an original birth certificate or at least he is the only person who can approve of a copy. FRANÇOIS MARBOT eventually becomes a Colonial Controller.

The first date and time, Saturday, July 5th, 1817 at ten in the morning at the City Hall in the Commune of FORT-ROYAL, marks the moment that PIERRE JEAN MARBOT, Commis Principal to the Navy, arrives at the City Hall before M. JEAN [PRIERE?]

PIERRON, Chevalier of the Royal Order of the Regime of Honor and Officer of the Civil State of the parish of FORT-ROYAL to declare a somewhat recent birth by his wife MARIE-MADELEINE D’AUBERT of a child – a full 47 days and 10 hours prior to their appearance before M. PIERRON. This date and time is midnight on May 19th, 1817 when
François Marbot was born. The Extract further indicates that the signatures of the father, Pierre Marbot and witnesses, Bideaux, Church [?] and Pierron have all signed the original swearing that they were present when Pierre Marbot declared the birth of his son at the City Hall. It is unclear if they witnessed the actual birth or if they were only present for the declaration. The entire declaration in the Excerpt ‘Birth of François Marbot’ dated June 13th, 1866 from the Office of the Grand Chancellery of the Legion of Honor with a red stamp certifying its authenticity reads:

Year one-thousand eight hundred seventeen and Saturday, fifth day of July at ten o’clock in the morning, before us, Jean [Preire?] Pierron, Chevalier of the Royal Order of the Regime of Honor, Officer of the Civil State of the Parish of Fort Royal, the island of Martinique, has appeared the Mister Pierre Jean Marbot, thirty-five years of age, Commis principal of the Navy domiciled in the quarters of Fort-Royal, who presented to us a child of the masculine sex, who told to use to have been born the twenty-ninth of May at midnight, declaring he and his wife Marie Madeleine d’Aubert, his wife, thirty-two years of age and to whom he has declared to want to give the first names of François.

The said presentation and declaration done in presence of M. François Louis [Church?], 45 years of age, Commissary of the Navy and M. Claude Bideaux, 35 years old, and Store Guardian of the Navy, the one and the other living in Fort-Royal, both of whom have signed with the father and presented to us the birth certificate reading done.39

Later some 24 years, 3 months, 9 days later, there was a need to return to the original birth certificate, (re)create a copy and have it (re)certified. To begin this administrative process, the Excerpt (the new legal birth certificate) was first collected and signed on October 14th, 1841 by Gayot, Adjoint of the Navy and Delegate Officer of

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the Civil State of the commune of Fort-Royal. Then, it is M. Gayot’s signature which is seen for legalization by M. Pellisson, 1st Lieutenant Court Judge in Fort-Royal after which P M. Pellisson signature is seen for legalization in Fort-Royal on October 19th, 1841 by Governor Du Val d’Ailly, the Counter-Admiral Governor of Martinique. Finally, the signature the Governor is seen for the legalization on January 29th, 1842 by Chauchefort[?] the Secretary Minister of the State and of the Navy and of the Colonies. The only signature present on the document reads ‘pour conforme copie’ by the Colonial Controller p.i., (1942). Finally, the stamp on the Excerpt reads ‘Guadeloupe et Dépendances: Contrôle Coloniale.” The process from the desk of the Mayor of Fort-de-France and on to be legalized by the Colonial Controller took 3 months, 15 days.

What happened in François Marbot’s life aged 24 years, 8 months and 15 days creating this transoceanic paper trial? In terms of documentation and primary source material there is little information attested on the actual life of François-Achille Marbot between his birth May 19th, 1817 and November 2nd, 1828, which marks his entry date as Surnumeraire in the Navy Adminstration for 4 months and 29 days according to the State of Military Services, discussed further down below.

A natural gesture would be to investigate the paratext in the various editions, but the only full and authored biographical account of François-Achille can be found in the 4th edition of Les Bambous (1885) published at the Makaire bookstore in Aix-en-Provence in south-western France near the city of Bordeaux.
It is this notice written by a Louis Jham-Desrivaux, which has served as an accurate account of François-Achille Marbot. It may be helpful here to summarize paratextual information in the preceding three editions to understand the function of Louis Jham-Desrivaux’s notice in the 1885 edition as well as in the 1831 edition. Here, who is this editor and what is its relationship to Marbot? This requires a review of the 1846, 1869.

3.3.2 Etats des Services – Guadeloupe and Reunion Island

Attached to the file provided by the Legion of Honor is the State of Services, a large gridded document, which certifies François-Achille’s as well as his 31 years, 9 months, and 2 days of effective service to the Navy from November 2nd, 1828 to March 31st, 1829. Stamped on April 1st, 1866 in Saint-Denis, Réunion Island and signed by François-Achille in his function as Ordonnateur, by the Commissary of the Reviews, and ‘seen’ and ‘verified’ by the Colonial Controller, the State of Services affirms his birth and provides the designations of the grades (i.e. Commis or 1st Class Commissary) fulfilled and obtained as well as the designation of the corps (i.e. Commissariat of the Navy, Administration of the Navy) in which that particular grade was served. It includes the dates during which each grade (1st Class, 2nd Class), employment or decoration (Chevalier, Officier, Commandant) was accorded.

The State of Military Service attests to two grades served by Marbot: the grade of Knight of the Legion of Honor by the Royal Ordinance of April 28th, 1847 and the grade of Officer of the Legion of Honor, by an Imperial Decree, on December 23rd, 1865.
The date of the upgrading is important insofar as it being after the publication of the Bambous (1846), but still before the definitive abolition of slavery in April 27th, 1848.

For Marbot became a Knight exactly one year prior to the definitive abolition of slavery.

The chart includes a rubric for the military campaigns—whether during times of war or of peace. More importantly, the State of Services indicates the location of François-Achille in the space Place or Ship. The information provides certified and accurate data not only on the geographical locations, but also on the bâtiment (i.e. Goëlette la Toulonnaise, Vapeur Madinina, Vapeur le ?ocye, Vapeur le Tonnerre, Transport la ??????, Vapeur le Cacique, Paquebot la Floride, and Paqbots des ?????).

It is very difficult to say exactly what happens in the life of Marbot from his birth until 1829 when upon entry at the age of

He not nly enters into the Navy but also embarks upon his first documented military compages. From ???? To ????. Upon his return to the island of Martinique he retuned WHILE HE I ONE FIRST TWO MONTHS 29 days LATER FRECINET ARRIVES IN Martinique WITH HIS WIFE (an who knows who else), BUT FRECINET IS SURELY THE MOST FAMOUS NAME IN France in 1828. All of the accounts NOT of Rose, but rather the scientific accounts...COULD THEY HAVE MET AT SEA ? 7 months, 12 days on the island...he then go on to → somewhere else…
The life of *Marbot* stops HERE for the moment. Birth to 1829-66. This beginning period appears to be the most important. Caribbean. The world of *Marbot*: PLACE THIS HISTORY ASPECT RIGHT HERE. Carribean.
3.3.3 A Time-Line Journey Through the Secret Lives of Commanders
Letter to Clémentine, July 29th, 1828 to Cayenne.

“8. To Madame de Freycinet to Cayenne, French Guiana from Château de Ver on July 29th, 1828

"Louis has sent his brother Charles the book, which he has requested, in a box which left with yours; he Louis will also write a letter which will travel in the Indian ship leaving port in two weeks' time. He joins me in wishing both of you well and in sending you our love.

Yours ever, Rose"(182)

“Your dear child sends a thousands hugs and kisses and the three of us send our love to dear little Charles. The present Governor of Martinique has been recalled and everyone is high society is saying that Henri [your husband] is going to replace him. However, Louis has not heard anything on the subject at the Ministry of the Navy. Please give our regards to your kind Commissioner; we hope that meeting his old acquaintances once more won't make him forget his new ones

[Laage 240-34]". 40

Curating Maps

“Maps name things; naming an object is a short-cut to power over it. Australia was the last continent discovered by Europeans; named and re-named long before it was settled, when white explorers finally arrived they faced


a mammoth task.

Applying their knowledge of map-making techniques to this new world was crucial to surviving the often harsh climes.”

So it is amazing, really, that although our nation's collection of more than 600,000 maps has been growing in the care of the National Library of Australia since 1901, there have only been four curators of maps.”

The Book of Freycinet - The Delivery to Cayenne- Lot Description
“Louis-Claude De Saulces De Freycinet
Paris: 1825. Engraved title with integral vignette, 112
engraved maps, plans, views and plates (comprising 12 maps
or plans, one double-page, one folding, both of these with
routes marked in colour by hand; 100 views, portraits and
plates, 41 hand-coloured or printed in colour and finished by
hand after Freycinet, J. Arago, A. Pellion and others,
by Desaulx, E. Aubert, Chaselet and others, extra-
illustrated with a loosely inserted original wrapper from the
parts issue. (Small tears to outer blank margins.) Atlas
binding: uncut and unbound as issued within contemporary
portfolio constructed of card covers, covered with grey/green
sugar paper taken from some original wrappers for the parts
issue, blue cloth ties (worn).

Provenance: inscription on label on inserted original
wrapper: ‘Livraison de p. à 16. inclus. planches N.B. Les
livraisons de 1. à 8. inclus. ont été envoyées à
Cayenne’[/Delivery of p. 16 included plates N.B. The
delivery of 1. To 8. Included were sent to Cayenne’] in
Louis de Freycinet’s hand.”42

| November 2nd, 1828 | Becomes Surnuméraire of the Administration de la
| March 31st, 1829 | Marine for 4 months, 29 days.

Services effectués avant l’âge de 16 ans (pour

42 Christie’s, "Sale 6694 Lot 20: Louis-Claude De Saulces De Freycinet (1779-1842), "Voyage Autour Du Monde...
Mémoire),

Service in the colonies in times of peace.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Became Commis temporaire appointed by l’Administration de la Marine</td>
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<tr>
<th>April 1, 1829</th>
<th>Ecrivain for Administration de la Marine for 4 years, one month, and 28 days</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 29th, 1829</td>
<td>Arrival of the Contre-Amiral baron Desaules DE FREYCINET, Gouverneur</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 28th, 1833</td>
<td>7 months, 12 days excluding the end date</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 29th, 1833-August 24th, 1840</td>
<td>Commis d’administration, Goëlette la toulonnaise, 2 years, 5 months, 4 days. Compagnes, The duration of the campagnes at sea during times of peace.</td>
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<th>1940--September 10th, 1840</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1840</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Commis de Marine</td>
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<tr>
<td>The <em>Almanach</em> (1840) is the earliest printed material. The archives lost a large amount of data. See Tomich.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissariat of the <em>Navy</em>, of War and of Finances. (1840)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Guillet (<em>Louis</em>-Laurent-Auguste) 2nd Class Naval Commissary, Ordonnateur of <em>Martinique</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Carbonel, 2nd class commissary, colonial inspector.</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Le Roy d’Herval Desgranges, 2nd Class Commissary 1st Class Sous-Commissaries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Class Sous-Commissaries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. Desfontaines, <em>Marbot</em>, Puisaye, in none activity in <em>France</em>, Joret, Principal Commis 1st Class Commis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of the Commissariat. (1840)*45</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fort-Royal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary of the Ordonnateur</td>
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<td>Work and Approvisionnments</td>
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<td>General Magasin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonds, Armements et Classes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*44 Almanach De La Martinique, Pour L’année Bissextile 1840* (Fort-Royal (Fort-de-France), Martinique: Thoubeau, Imprimeur du gouvernement, 1840), p. 61.

“Hôpitaux: M. Marbot, 2nd class sous-commissary, chief

SAINT-PIERRE

TRINITÉ

MARIN

M. Davy, writer, charged with service.

Interior Direction (1840)

M. Frémy, Director of the Interior Administration

Bureau de la Direction.

Jaham Desrivaux (Victor), ‘commis expédition’

Unce of Son in in aw

Domaine et contributions directes.

FORT-ROYAL

Jaham-Desrivaux (Louis), commis. 

Hopitaux (1840)

M. Lemaire, entrepreneur general.

“The colony possesses four Hospitals, forming together an effective of 560 beds, 400 of which are in iron, reparted as such: FORT-ROYAL (300), SAINT-PIERRE (200), Trinité (30), and Marin (30) equaling 560 beds.”

Public Instruction des jeunes demoiselles e la colonie, (1840). Here I can refer to the Sweet liberty : the final days of slavery in Martinique, 

Mad. Javouhey

Professeurs des Arts d’agrément.

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46 Jaham-Desrivaux, "Les Bambous."; "Les Bambous."
47 Government, Almanach De La Martinique, Pour L’année Bissextile 1840.
Mad Emile, soeur de Saint Joseph

MM Mignard, la musique et le piano.

M……., la danse.

Mutual Teaching

**Fort-Royal**
**Saint-Pierre**
Maisons particulières pregnant Pensionnaires.

**Fort-Royal**
Mlles Bissette, rue Sainte-Catherine.

**Saint-Pierre**
Primary Schools.

**Fort-Royal**
**Saint-Pierre**

Frères instituteurs de Ploërmel.\"By the decision of M. the Governor, on the date of February 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1840, M. Aubery-Armand was named Inspector of Schools and of Public Instruction.\"

Clergy of the Island of **Martinique**

Abby CASTELLI is the canon of honor from Ajaccio, the apostolic préfet.

Vice-Préfet

L’abbé Jacquier, secretary of the apostolic prefecture.

Curés et Vicaires in the Colony (24)

Parishes in the Country

Abbé Goux, cure in both Carbet and Prêcheur. 49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>August 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1840 – September 10\textsuperscript{th}, 1840</th>
<th>Writer for the Marine Commissary, for sixteen days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 11\textsuperscript{th}, 1840</td>
<td>2nd Class Commis, ‘‘, for 2 years, 6 months and 17 days.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49
FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE: Excerpt signed by Bideaux, Church, Marbot, and Pierron at the register. Collected by the Adjoint to the Marine, delegate officer of the civil state of the commune of FORT-ROYAL. Signed by Gayot.

Excerpt “seen for legalisation of the signature of M. Du Val d’Ailly, Governor of MARTINIQUE, the Minister, Secretary of the State of the Navy of of the Colonies, Paris, by the delegation of the Minister. Le secretary General of the Minister of the Navy, Signed: Chauchessat(?). With a stamp from the Controleur Coloniale

Married to Mlle Caroline Labatut with whom he would eventually have 15 children

Il était sous-commissaire de la Marine, quand, au cours d’un congé, il mourut à Paris, le 25 décembre 1840.50

While 2nd Class Commis, ‘’, for 2 years, 6 months and 17 days

FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE: the most definitive document confirming the civil status of Francois-Achille’s is not a proper birth certificate, but rather an excerpt from the Registry located at the city-hall in the Commune of FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE.


FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE: the most definitive document confirming the civil status of Francois-Achille’s is not a proper birth certificate, but rather an excerpt from the Registry located at the city-hall in the Commune of FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE.

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51 Marbot, "Extrait Des Registres De L'etat-Civil De La Commune Du Fort-Royal, Île Martinique."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 19th, 1841</td>
<td>While 2nd Class Commis, for 2 years, 6 months and 17 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 27th, 1843</td>
<td>« Le lieutenant de Juge, Signé : Pellisson. Vu pour légalisation de la signature de M. Pellisson, Lieutenant de juge au tribunal de 1er _______ du FORT-ROYAL, MARTINIQUE, appasée ci-dessus. »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 28th, 1843</td>
<td>FORT-ROYAL, le dix neuf octobre 1841.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 10th, 1845</td>
<td>le C. Amiral, Gouverneur, Signé : Du ________________. » 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 5th, 1845</td>
<td>1st Class Commis, for 2 years 8 months, and 8 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10th, 1845</td>
<td>Arrêté from the Governor carrying the affranchissement of 24 slaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 10th, 1845</td>
<td>WE GOVERNOR of MARTINIQUE, Seen the royal ordinance, on July 12th, 1832; Seen the declarations done in conformity of this ordinance; Considering that all the formalities required the ordinance precited have been accomplished; On the proposition of the General Procurer , And of the advice of the private council. HAVE ARRÊTÉ et ARRÉtons that which follows: Art. 1er Are declared definitively free and will be inscribed in this quality on the registers of the civil state of the communes of SAINT-PIERRE, from the North (secion of Basse-Point) and of François, the individus whose names follow: 513 Zulma, mulatress créole, 29 yeras of age, born in this colonies and living in Lamentin, slave; par dame Aubert née lespiney, propriétaire, domiciled in this commune (Zulma Zemble) 2. Ampliation of the present arrette will be delivered by excerpt to the affranchised and the named. 3. The General Procuror is charged with the...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52 Ibid.
execution of the present arrete, which will be registered under the registers of the civil-state of the communes of **Saint-Pierre**, of the North (section of Basse-Point) and of **Francois**, and everywhere where the need will be, in inserted to the Bulletin and to the Journal officiels of the colony.

Completed in **Fort-Royal**, September 6, 1845.
The Governor, A. Mathieu.

By the Governor:
The General Procuror, MOREL

**February, 1845**

**December 5th, 1845**

1st Class Commis, for 2 years 8 months, and 8 days.

"Le goût de l'étude, merveilleusement soutenu par ce que nous appellerons le goût du métier, avait promptement développé ses qualités natives; et ses mérites avaient été de bonne heure remarqués par le Gouvernement colonial. Tels officiers généraux ou supérieurs d'aujourd'hui raconteraient comment, sur un mot de l'Ordonnateur, il improvisait, après quelques minutes de réflexion, un discours au bord de la tombe d'un collègue, récemment arrivé de **France** et peu connu. Ils rappelleraient les services que des aptitudes spéciales lui permirent de rendre aux finances du pays. Ils expliqueraient aussi pourquoi plus d'une fois le gouverneur de la **Martinique** l'appelait à son hôtel ou à «Bellevue»; et ils diraient l'auteur de tels et tels rapports précis et concluants, rapidement élaborés et adressés au Ministère. Le Ministre de la Marine de cette époque ne l'ignora point. Et avant l'âge de trente ans, avant d'être sous commissaire, **M. Marbot** était Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur."

**Almanac of Martinique** (1845): Administration de la Marine

Guerre et Finances under M. Pageot Desnoutières, 2nd Class Naval Commissary, ordonnateur.

"The administration of the Navy, of war and of the treasury; the superior direction of the work of the fortification, of those of the civil ships and military ships and

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53 This notice can be found online or in this Notice by Jaham-Desrivaux Potomitan and Jaham-Derivaux, "Notice Sur M. François-Achille Marbot : Commissaire De La Marine, Ordonnateur De La Réunion"; Jaham-Desrivaux, "Les Bambous."
hydraulic work, the general accounting for all the services, the ordinances of dispenses etc. etc."

Commissary Corps
2nd Class Commissary
1st Class Sous-Commissary
2nd Class Sous-Commissary
Principal Commis (8)
1st Class Commis (6)

**MARBOT**
2nd Class Commis

Division of Service, by Bureau

**FORT-ROYAL and SAINT-PIERRE**

Rougemont, commis de 2nd class. (same as 1846).

Journals. Arming [sic] and maritime registrations.
Hospitals. Works and supply. General store. Funds.

“Fond. **M. MARBOT**, 1st class commis, provisory chief: “The accounting in deniers; the centralization of the receipts and dispenses of all the services; the formation of budgets and annual accounts; the repartition of the credits, the holding of the running accounts; the verification of the accounting of the colonial treasury.”

Treasury M. Ch. LIOT, treasurer of the colony, treasurer of the invalids of the Navy, registrar of the people of the sea and the prises, treasurer of the communes, resident of FORT-ROYAL, absent.

Second in Command - **M. MARBOT**, Navy commis, provisory charged with the service of the treasury.

Control Colonial

“The control of all the parts of the administrative service of the colony, the chantiers and workshops, and cash registers, the general accounting, etc. The conservation of archives, the pursuit against the debtors of the government; the reception of the cautionnemens[sic] etc etc.”

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55 Ibid., p. 61.
56 Ibid., p. 66.
Interior Direction\textsuperscript{57}

Under Officer M. Fremy, Interior Director

Office of Direction

Office of contributions and of domains

Central Office

MM. Besson (Joseph-Olivier), chief

Jaham-Desrivaux (\textit{Louis}), sous-chef

\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
\textbf{February 26th, 1845.} \\ December 5\textsuperscript{th}, 1845 \\
\hline
While 1\textsuperscript{st} Class Commis, for 2 years 8 months, and 8 days. \\

Decision.\textsuperscript{58}

\textbf{FORT-ROYAL, February 26th, 1845.}

\textit{WE GOVERNOR OF MARTINQUE,}

Seen the particular instructions of Mr. Inspector General of Finances, in mission, emanating from the Ministries of the Navy and of the Colonies and of Finances;

Seen the report of this high functionary, by which it has us known, that using the powers that have been conferred to him, he pronounced the suspension of M. Liot (\textit{Charles}), in his quality of Treasurer of \textit{Martinique} and of all the other accounting function belonging to the public services which find themselves adorned, while awaiting the ulterior orders of Sirs the Ministers of the Navy and of the Colonies and of Finances;

Wanting to be able to at the execution of the service during the suspension of the holder from the employment of Treasurer of \textit{Martinique},

\textbf{HAVE DEICED AND DECIDE that which follows:}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58} A Mathieu, "Décision : Fort-Royal, February 28th, 1845," \textit{Journal Officielle de la Martinique (1818)}, March 1st 1845.
Ar. 1er. Mr. **Marbot (François)**, 1st class commis of the Navy, is designated to manage the service of the treasury for the duration of the pronounced suspension against M. Liot (**Charles**), title holder of Treasurer, while waiting for ulterior instructions from the Ministers of the Navy and of the Colonies and of Finances.

2. **Mr. Marbot** will for the duration of his management enjoy the two-thirds of the treatment attributed to the functions of the Treasurer and of the totality of the service expenses, such that the remises forestalled by the rules.

3. The Ordonnateur is charged with the execution of the present decision, which will be published, recorded everywhere where need will be and inserted in the Bulletin officiel of the colony.

Completed in **Fort-Royal**, *February 28th, 1845.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>February 28th, 1845</th>
<th>While 1st Class Commis, for 2 years 8 months, and 8 days.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 5th, 1845</td>
<td>“Decision” Published in <em>Journal Officiel de la Martinique</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6th, 1845</td>
<td>Principal Commis, for 2 years, 17 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td><em>Almanac (1846)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Almanac de la Martinique</em> (1846):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administration de la Marine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guerre et Finances under <strong>M. Pageot Desnoutieres</strong>, 2nd Class Naval Commissary, ordonnateur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The administration of the Navy, of war and of the treasury; the superior direction of the work of the fortification, of those of the civil ships and military ships and hydraulic work, the general accounting for all the services, the ordinances of dispenses.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commissary Corps

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59 The version from 1854 as “…des depenses, etc etc,” Government, *Almanach De La Martinique Pour L’année Commune 1846* (Fort-Royal (Fort-de-France), Martinique: Imprimeur du gouvernement, 1846), p. 62.
2nd Class Commissary  
1st Class Sous-Commissary  
2nd Class Sous Commissary  
Principal Commis

Of Six people there is *Marbot*. And also “Breton, en congé”  
1st Class Commis  
2nd Commis  
Division of Service by Office in **Fort-Royal**

This is the *Secretary* of the *Ordonnateur*. This person is *M.R. Lucien de Rougemont*, 2nd class chief. Here we see the role of the *Ordonnateur*, “the general correspondence concerning the service of the *Ordonnateur*, the preparation of the recording of the *service orders*, *nominations, promotions and congés*.”^60

“Treasury. M.”

Ch. Liot, treasurer of the colony, treasurer of the invalids of the *Navy*, cash registrar of the people of the sea and des prises, treasurer of the communs, residing in **Fort-Royal**, absent.”^61

HE IS ABSENT THEREFORE *Marbot* logically must assume this role. *Marbot* is principal commis, His role is listed as “*M. Marbot, principal Navy commis, and provisionary charge of the service of the treasurer.*”

**François**-Achille then commands

**MM. Ferdinand Casadavant**, cash registerer. And “**Bonvoisin**, chief accountant. Two other divisions are Préposés du Trésorier and *Precepteurs of the Domaine* located in three primary regions in **Martinique**: Saint-Pierre, Saint Trinité, and **Marin**.

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^60 Ibid., p. 69.  
^61 Italics mine, ibid.
Interior Direction is under another officer is who is also en congé, M. FREMY, Commanding Officer.

“The Direction of the Interior comprises the culte, the commerce, the bridge and chaussée, the direction and indirect contributions, the confection of the electoral list, the municipal administration, the regime of noirs, the culture, the fabrication of the parishes, the civil hospitals, public instruction, the use of the press, the police, the censuses, the domains, the wrecks et escheats, etc.”

What is the regime des noirs?

“Central Office of the contentieux and of the communes.”

Section of the contentieux.

“Section of the Central Office”,

MM. JAHAM DESRIVAUX (LOUIS) 1st class commis, sous chef.

LESTRADE (LE BALTAZAR), auxiliary commis

CLABAC, temporary writer

There is NOT only ONE Jaham Desrivaux, but there are actually THREE. The other two are Victor and Eloi

- Controleur des contributions;Ecrivain de la marine à la Direction de l’Intérieur

2nd class commis and writer both of whom work in the Office of Contributions and of the Domaines.

Colonial Plant Garden

“The Colonial Plant Garden established in SAINT-PIERRE in February 1803 on the CORINTHE HABITATION, said the Poirier [Pear Tree], prior dependent of the convent of the USULINES LADIES. The gardener-botanist, M. CHARLES Bibrillet, directed this garden. The goal of this establishment is the naturalist, to MARTINIQUE, the plants of

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62 “Interior Direction” ibid., p. 71.
the East Indies, and principally the spiceries; the provide to the plant gardens of the Metropole those which can be missing; to resemble them, following a botanical system, the indigenous plants, and to form a depot of medical plants for the use of the poor.

This garden has greatly enriched by the paternal cares of the government, and the reciprocal reports between M. Castelnaud’Auros and M. Anderson, the Director of the superb garden in Saint-Vincent; since 1816 until our days, the Island of Bourbon and of Cayenne have not ceased in alimenting it and enriching it with many precious plants."^{63}

Medical Emulation Society (in Saint-Pierre):

“This institution is created to the imitation of the medical societies in Paris and the large cities in France; its goal is to contribute to the progress of medicine and of the sciences to which they are immediately attaching.” Started on 1821 under the Lieutenant-General Count Donzelot, it became the a “center of Réunion which offer[ed] to its members the advantage and the occasion the open the discussion on the different subject of medical practice and of public health; to signal, at their invasion, the illnesses as well as local epidemics, to clarify and to cement with liaisons of esteem and of friendship a useful establishment to the arts that they profess, and interest above all for the Antilles.

It is formed by MM. the Doctors, the surgeons and pharmacologists from every island, who desire to be members, in virtue of their titles. The number of the titular members and correspondences is not yet determined.

The society has meetings every 1st and 15th of each month, in one of the apartments of the hospital, on the 1st floor; they given on these days free consultations.”

Public Instruction

Frères de La Doctrine Chrétienne : 16 ‘frères’
Etablissement central du Morne-Vanier., Ecole du Fort-Royal (frère Gerard, en conge), Saint-Pierre (Fort, Mouillage), Trinite, and Marin.

Soeurs de la Doctrine Chrétienne

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^{63} Ibid., p. 92.
Four ‘sœurs’

Des Jeunes Demoiselles de la Colonie, established in Saint-Pierre, directed by the religious dames of the congregation of Saint-Joseph, under the protection and the authority of the government.

Professeurs des Art d’agreements.

Music and piano by MM Mignard

Mutual Teaching, Insitution Saint Maire founded by Pères de la Famille in Saint-Pierre, authorized by the decision of the Governor, on council, on February 20th, 1844. It is directed by Abbé Fontaine.

Particular Houses
Mlle Bissette, rue Ste-Catherine
Primary School

Police⁶⁴: “The police is made in the cities and in the outskirts by the Commissioners having under their orders adjudicates, sergeants and police guards./In the communes, by the city hall having their orders from the country guards./The gendarmerie and four brigades of mountain hunters are employed for the maintenance of public tranquility and for the repression du…[sic?]”

Fort-Royal 4 +20 guards

Saint-Pierre 2+ No names for sergeants: “The brigade is composed of 18 police guards; their casernes is in the locale giving on the sale de Spectacle. The police adjudicates received at any hour, the declarations of marronnage d’esclaves, on the registers held for this effect.

MM. the polices commissaries have in their attributions the maintenance of the order and of the public tranquility, as well as the inspection of the canots de poste, lighting (civil) and le pavé de la ville. We can address to them all complaints verbally or written; their offices are open from eight o’clock in the morning up until four in the evening.

“Police Chains was established in Saint-Pierre

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⁶⁴ This can be found on both editions. Almanach De La Martinique Pour L’année Commune 1845, p. 86. Almanach De La Martinique Pour L’année Commune 1846, p. 102-04.
and in **Fort-Royal [Fort-de-France]**, by an ordinance from June 30, 1809. “The slaves attached to these chains, for marronage or my form of correction, are employed to the cleaning of the streets, the quais, and to other work of public utility.”

Surnumaires.
MM. Crosnier, Joyau, receveur p.i. à la Trinité. Lapeyre. [ill] au Marin. Fléming, receveur p.i. du 1st office of **Fort-Royal**.

Clergé de l’île **Martinique**

Préfecture Apostolique.
NO préfet.
Yes vice-préfet. **Jacquier**.
NO secrétaire de la préfecture apostolique.

Curés et Vicaires dans la Colonies.
**Fort-Royal**
**Saint-Pierre**
*Parish of Fort.*
*Parish of Mouillage.*
Parishes of the Country (27)
**Case-Pilote**
**Carbet**
*Abbe Goux*, curé.
**Precheur**
**Grand’Anse**

Judiciary Order
**M. de Vaulx**, General Procurer of the King.
President → **M. Morel**

Interpreters of Foreign Languages

**MM. Gayot**, for English and Spanish languages,
**Fort-Royal**

**Georges Cottrell**, for English and Spanish languages, and for those of the **North**, in **Saint-Pierre**.

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65 *Almanach De La Martinique Pour L'année Commune 1846*, p. 107.
66 *Almanach De La Martinique Pour L'année Commune 1845*, p. 101.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bourdor, for English, in Marin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Les Pes</strong>, in Trinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel Debien. See chapter “Les Cadres du Travail au jardin”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Guadeloupe**

Abolition of Slavery 1848

Signatures

Napoleon Dictionary on the ‘other’ **Marbot**.

| 1846 First Edition : “LES BAMBOUS. / Fables de La Fontaine./ Travesties en patois créole./ par un vieux commandeur. / On ne considère en France que ce qui plaît[sic]……. – La Fontaine / Fort-Royal-Martinique / E.Ruelle & Ch.Arnaud, Imprimeurs de Gouverneurs / Dépôt : /Chez Frédéric THOMAS, Libraire, rue St. – Denis / 1846” |
| Januar y 6th, 1847 Partie Officielle: Adimnistration de la Justice. |
| Royal Court of **Martinique**. |
| Chamber of Correctional Police |
| Session from January 16th, 1847 |
| Affranchissement de Droit. |
| Deuxième Publication |
| Rachat Amaibles. |
| 2nd publication |
| 4 people from, three communes |
| Signed by Maires |

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69 This can be found also in the January 13th, 1847 edition as well. Marie Madeleine (a.k.a. 'dame veuve Marbot') D'Aubert, "Demandes D'affranchissement.," *Journal Officiel de la Martinique (1818)*, January 13th 1847; "Demandes D'affranchissement.," *Journal Officiel de la Martinique (1818)*, January 6th 1847.
Demandes d'Affranchissement.
Deuxième Publication

Nota: the first names and patronymic names which must be given to the affranchised, conformal to the royal ordinance of April 29th, 1838, ?????, for each individual, at the end of each declaration. Twelve total 11(#1703-1713) from FORT-ROYAL and one person from Saint-Esprit.

"1704 Frédéric, capre de 57 ans, cultivateur, né et demeurant an FORT-ROYAL, esclave de dame veune MARBOT, propriétaire au même lieu; recensé no. 209, registre E (Frédéric Bidon)\textsuperscript{70}

--negre domestique, capre cultivateur, negresse cook, capresse journalière, mulatresse servant, nègre baker, capress 9 BY WAY of mother Romaine recensed n. 251, capress cook, mulatresse servant, 10 years old n. 65 registre C; son of LOUIS Thounin, figuring on n. 1692, omitted from the declaration of August 5th, 1846; August 14\textsuperscript{th}, from a succession.

Adjoint du Maire, L. Gayot.

410 ALix, capresse 32, seamstress.

Adjoint du maire, Lava-Monelice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1847</td>
<td>\textit{Marbot} was made a Chevalier\textsuperscript{71}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16\textsuperscript{th}, 1847</td>
<td>November 16th, 1847\textsuperscript{72} PLUS 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The public is prewarned that up until a new warning to the contrary, the emission of trades from the Treasury is completely suspended.

All demands which would go by the \textit{Ordonnateur} before reprise of emission of the trades are officially announced will be considered invalid.

\textit{Fort-Royal}, November 16th, 1847.

\textsuperscript{70} "Demandes D'affranchissement. "; "Demandes D'affranchissement."

\textsuperscript{71} Legion of Honor, "Dossier : "François-Achille Marbot (1817-)."

\textsuperscript{72} François-Achille Marbot, "Avis Officiel," \textit{Journal Officiel de la Martinique (1818)}, November 20th 1847.
The Chief of the central accounting funds, *Marbot*.

Seen by the *Ordonnateur* of the colony:

**E. Pageot-Desoutières.** 17-20-24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 23rd, 1847</td>
<td>2nd Class Sous-Commissary, for 1 year, 6 months, 8 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30th, 1849</td>
<td>Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D’Honneur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where is the attestation of the fact?* (Jardel and Etats des Services).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where is the attestation of the fact?* (Jardel and Etats des Services).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ordinance of the King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrying the nomination in the corps of the commissariat of the Navy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Colonial Service.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Paris</strong>, December 23rd, 1847.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Louis-Philippe, King of the French,</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Given at the palace of **Tuileries, December 23rd, 1847.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Signed <strong>Louis-Philippe.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

73 This is attested by two sources, for more see Honor, "Dossier : "François-Achille Marbot (1817-)."; Louis-Philippe D'Orléans and Duc de Montebello, "Partie Officielle: Ordonnace Du Roi," *Journal Officiel de la Martinique (1818)*, March 1st, 1848 1848.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>February, 1848</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By the King:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Pair de France, Minister Secretary of State to the Department of the Navy and of the Colonies,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signed Duc de Montebello.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>February, 1848</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>While 2nd Sous-Commissaire and Chevalier de la Légion D’Honneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration de la Justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Court of Martinique,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session from the month of February 1848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. By the contradictory arrestation from the 21st[?], Saint-Prix, 55 years of age, cook, born in la Rivière-Pilote, living in Saint-Esprit, slave of sieur Capoul, declared guilty of theft qualified to the prejudice of a person in free condition, was condemned to ten years of police chaines.

2. Felix Adrien, 34 ans, tailleur, Lamentin free, guilty of voluntarily assault done to a slave and have occasionned an incapacity of personal work for more than 20 days, but with attenuating circumstances was condemned to one was of imprisonnement at [his] cost.

3. Charles, Hercule said Gros-Dubois, ouvrier-chaufournier, Léonce, cultivator. Theft of to a person of "free condition" KNOW 6 years of police chains, 1 years of same, and 6 months.

4. Antoine, 25, nègre de gros-bois, 6 years.

"For judgment delivered on (date), (name), aged (age), (occupation), born in (town), living in (town), slave of Mr. (surname) convicted of robbery committed against a person freeborn, was sentenced to (number) police chain of years."

Affranchissement de Droit.

---

74 Administration, "Crininel Court of Martinique: Session from the Month of February 1848," ibid., March 1st.
**Troisième Publication.**

Commune Se **SAINT-PIERRE.**

Rachat Amiables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>February 16th, 1848</strong></td>
<td>While 2nd Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Event → Feb, 16th, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Report → <em>February 22nd</em>, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Publication → March 1st, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“<em>February</em> 16th, 1848, there was pulled from the sea, around the grand-anse of Carbet, by the named Jos the slave of Madame widow Rozan, and Ruffin, esclave of M. Pulcher Edouard, living in the berg of Carbet, one WOOD PIECE of MAHAGANT, measuring about 4 meters. This piece was disposed at the place of sieur Lacaillerie, commis at the police of Carbet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In case of non-reclamation of this épave, the administration will take such disposition that of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SAINT-PIERRE, February 22nd, 1848.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Chief of the maritime service,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DES FONTAINES.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vu: Le commissaire-Ordonnateur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Pageot-Desnouières.” 75 23-23-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>March 1st, 1848</strong></td>
<td>While 2nd Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ordinance of the King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrying the nomination in the corps of the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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75 Desfontaines, "Partie Officielle: Avis Du Chef Des Services Marytimes," ibid.
commissariat of the Navy. (Colonial Service.)

Paris, December 23rd, 1847.

LOUIS-Philippe, King of the French,
“All those present and to come, Salutations.
See our ordinance on the date of this day carrying reorganization of the corps of the commissariat of the Navy:

On the report of our Minister Secretary of State at the department of the Navy and of the colonies,

We have ordained and ordain what which follows:

First Article.

Are named in this corps of the commissariat of the Navy, know:

Nine individual to the grade of Adjoint Commissary of the Navy from Bourbon (2), French Guiana (1), Guadeloupe (2), Martinique (3), Oceania (1)

Thirty-two to the grade of sous-commissary of the Navy from Bourbon (4), French Guiana (3), Guadeloupe (6), India (2), Martinique (8), Mayotte et dépendances (1), Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (1), Senegal (7)

Au grade d'aide-commissaire of the Navy.

Art. 2. The 1st Class Sous-Commissaries and [sic] the principaux affected to colonial service, named by the present ordinance to the grade of adjoint commissary and of sous-commissary, conserving the appointments in which they take pleasure up until that passage to the 1st class of their new grade.

Art. 3. Our Minister Secretary of State at the Department of the Navy and of the Colonies is charged with the execution of these present ordinance.

Given at the palace of Tuileries, December 23rd, 1847.

Signed LOUIS-Philippe.

By the King:

Le Pair de France, Minister Secretary of State to the Department of the Navy and of the Colonies,
Signed Duc de Montebello.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1st, 1848</td>
<td>While 2nd Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Officielle Part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>FORT-ROYAL</strong>, the 1st of March 1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>MARTINIQUE</strong> <strong>GUADALOUPE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Esclaves détenues à la Geole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a <strong>FORT-ROYAL.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Marie <em>LOUIS</em>, négresse créole, age at about 25 years old, about one meter in size, 600 mill., ordinary forehead, oval face, large flat nose, average mouth, with the upper lip 'retroussée'; wearing at the time of her arrest a white cotton shirt, a skirt of fautas, with blue square; headdress a hankerchief of fautas, with red carreaux (madras?); arrested in Sainte-Marie, by the gendarmerie in a state of marronnage; she says to belong to the sieur Glaude Galestot, proprietor at Sainte-Luce. 26-1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>A SAINT-PIERRE-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Laurent <em>LOUISy</em>, se disant à Mme Jean-Bart, de Ste. -Marie, arrested marron at Deux-Choux, by the hunters, size of one meter, 454 millimeters, mulâtre, 26 years of age, wearing plue pants and a white shirt. 25-26-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 24th, 1848</td>
<td>(see) publication of August 1st, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Concerning Elections to the National Assembly”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 25th, 1848</td>
<td>See Desrivaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1st, 1848</td>
<td>While 2nd Sous-Commissaire and elected as Chevalier de la Légion D'Honneur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The City Hall of **Fort-de-France**.\(^{76}\)

Elections to the National Assembly

**Martinique.**

Commune de **Fort-de-France**.

Avis Officiel.

The certificate from the Commissary General from last July 25th was fixed, on Wednesday, August 9th this present month, the convocation of the electoral assemblies of the colony, to the effect of proceeding, by the only scrutiny of this, to the election of three representatives titularies and of the two suppliant representatives to the National Assembly.

These representatives can be chosen among the electors aged 25, with any condition of 'cens ni di domicile.'

The electors of **Fort-de-France** are expressly invited to take part in the election of the representatives of the people, as it is their right and their duty, and to come to pull out from City Hall the cards which give access to the heart of the collège.

The electoral college will meet at City Hall.

The scrutiny will open at seven o'clock precisely in the morning.

**Fort-de-France**, August 1st, 1848.

The provisory Mayor, **Louis J. Desrivaux**.\(^{77}\)

---

August 1848 2nd, 1848  

“**ARRÊTE**:  

**ART. 1er.** Les démissions des citoyens À. Pécule, Gayot et Krausse, maire et adjoints provisoires de la commune de **Fort-de-France**, sont acceptées.

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 2nd, 1848</td>
<td>2. Le citoyen Desrivaux (Louis [Ramond]), sous-chef de bureau a la direction de l'intérieur, est nommé maire provisoire de ladite commune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fait à Fort-de-France, le 31 juillet 1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.-F. PERRINON.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Par le Commissaire-Général:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Directeur provisoire de l'intérieur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11ème Néris. 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 5th, 1848</td>
<td>“AVIS OFFICIEL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformément à la décision du citoyen Commissioner General of the Republic, rendered July 24th, on the report of the Ordonnateur and the conclusion of the Inspector of Finances in mission in the colonies regies by the law of June 25th, 1841, the public is warned that the Trades on the public treasury in Paris, will be delivered, to the open office, and without other preliminary formality, to all persons who will present themselves to the cash register of the Treasury of Fort-de-France, July 28th, 1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Navy Sous-Commissary, Chief of the accounting of the funds,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARBOT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vu: L'ordonnateur p.i., 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 5th, 1848</td>
<td>“AVIS OFFICIEL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Publication of Desrivaux, MARBOT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformément à la décision du citoyen Commissioner General of the Republic, rendered July 24th,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

on the report of the Ordonnateur and the conclusion of the Inspector of Finances in mission in the colonies regies by the law of June 25th, 1841, the public is warned that the Trades on the public treasury in Paris, will be delivered, to the open office, and without other preliminary formality, to all persons who will present themselves to the cash register of the Treasury of *Fort-de-France*, July 28th, 1848.

The *Navy* Sous-Commissary, Chief of the accounting of the funds,

*MARBOT.*

Vu: L'Ordonnateur p.i.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1848</th>
<th>Abolition of Slavery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 1st, 1849- July 31st, 1850</td>
<td>2nd Class Sous-Commissary, en congé sans solde, pour Mémoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1st, 1850- March 30th, 1853</td>
<td>2nd Class Sous-Commissary, Commissariat of the Marine, Commisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 31st, 1853</td>
<td>Commissaire-Adjoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March, 31st, 1853- March, 13th, 1854</td>
<td>1st Class-Adjoint Commissary, ‘‘, 11 months, 13 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 14th, 1854- March 14th, 1854</td>
<td>Vapeur Madinina: 1st Class-Adjoint Commissary, ‘‘, 1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15th, 1854- January 19th, 1855</td>
<td>Sails to Guadeloupe on the Vapeur Madinina. 1st Class-Adjoint Commissary, ‘‘, 10 months, 5 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20th, 1855-May 4th, 1858</td>
<td>Guadeloupe: 1st Class Adjoint Commissary, 3 years, 3 months, 15 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5th, 1858- May 5th, 1858</td>
<td>Vapeur ?ocyte: 1st Class-Adjoint Commissary, 1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6th, 1858- May 13th, 1858</td>
<td>Vapeur Tonnerre: 1st Class-Adjoint Commissary, 8 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| May 14\(^{th}\), 1858 - October 26\(^{th}\), 1858 | FRENCH GUIANA: 1\(^{st}\) Class-Adjoint Commissary, 5 months, 13 days.  
(Jardel as well) |
| October 27\(^{th}\), 1858 - November 12\(^{th}\), 1858 | Transport ??????: 1\(^{st}\) Class-Adjoint Commissary, 16 days. |
| November 13\(^{th}\), 1858 - 1859 | GUADELOUPE: 1\(^{st}\) Class-Adjoint Commissary, 1 year, 2 months, 28 days.  
Annuaire de la GUADELOUPE (1859) |
Governor. Ordonnateur. Le Commandant of the Naval forces. The Director of Artillery. The Director du genie  
Milices. Arrondissement de la Guadeloue, first division. The urban division of BASSE-TERRE. |
|                    | M. BAUDOT, Paul, battalion chief, principal division chief, October 5\(^{th}\), 1852; de meme quarter commandant, May 4\(^{th}\), 1846.\(^{82}\) |
|                    | Who is Paul BAUDOT?  
Etat Major, 1\(^{st}\) Company of Firefighters, 2\(^{nd}\) Company of firefighters, Hunters by Horse (12 men). He is also a Chevalier.\(^{83}\) |

\(^{83}\) Ibid., p. 153.
Administration of the Navy

**M. Marbot**, adjoint-commissary of the Navy,
Ordonnateur p.i.: The Ordonnateur is charged, under the orders of the Governor, of the administration of the Navy, of war and of the Tresory; of the direction of the works of all nature payable on the budget of the state, of the special accounting of the inscribed dispenses to the same budget, and of the general surveillance of the accounting of the other services.  

Lavollé, private council.

Pensionnat at Saint Joseph

“MARBOT (Edmée), idem (bourse entière)”

Chronology of the Ordonnators and the Chiefs of administrations who have followed since 1792.

4th Period: 1792

5th Period: 1792-1803

6th Period: 1805-1810

7th Period: 1814-1815

1815, August, 10th, Prise de l’île

8th Period: 1816-1847

9th Period: 1848-1859

Topographical Description

February 11th, 1860-
September, 25, 1861

(1860)

Guadeloupe: 2nd Class Commissary, 1 year, 7 months, 15 days. (yes, with Jardel)

Annuaire de la Guadeloupe (1860)

Annuaire de la Guadeloupe (1860)
M. Frebault (C.-V., Commandant-Officer, colonel of the artillery of the Navy, Governor.

M. Bontemps, Officer, General Commissary of the Navy, Ordonnateur

**M. Marbot**, Commissary of the Marine, Colonial Controller. Marbot would now serve on the Private Council in his official title as “le Contrôleur colonial”.

There is also a name Lavollé, which continues to show up in the paratext.

“Nota: The composition of the Private Council admits only two private titular counselors, suppliants, or honoraries./ In the ordinary affaires of the administration, the Private Council deliberates in virtue of the attribution which are conferred to it par the royal ordinance of February 9th, 1827, constitutive of the government of the French colonies./When the Private Counsil constitutes itself in council of contentieux administrative or in commission of appel, the magistrates are ajoined to it, and the Colonial Controler [i.e. Marbot] fills the function of the public minister. The mode…”

Milices. **Baudot** (1859-1860)

Au pensionnat of Saint Joseph.

**Marbot** (Edmée), de la **Basse-Terre**, idem (entire scholarship).88

Notary in **Basse-Terre** (7)

**Baudot** is the only Chevalier.

Contrôle Colonial89

**M. Marbot**, commissary of the marine, Contrôleur colonial.

**Basse-Terre**

---

89 Ibid., p. 165.
Aide-commissaire  
Navy commis  
Writer of the Navy  
Point-à-Pitre  
1st class commissary, préposé au contrôle

Alpha List\textsuperscript{90}  
Officers  
Bontemps, general commissary of the Navy  
Chevaliers  

**BAUDOT**  

**MARBOT**  

Lavollé (private counselor)  

Sénatus-Consulte, which rules the constitution of the colonies of **MARTINIQUE**, of **GUADÉLOUPE** and of **RÉUNION**.

First Title, dispositions applicable to all of the colonies. The 1st article states, “Slavery can never be reestablished in the French colonies.”

2nd Title: Dispositions applicable to the colonies of **MARTINIQUE**, of **GUADÉLOUPE** and of **RÉUNION**.

Seventeen Article (17)

“3rd Title: The other French Colonies. Art. 18: The colonies aside from **MARTINIQUE**, **GUADÉLOUPE**, and **RÉUNION** will be run by decrees from the Emperor, until it has been statued in the favor by a sénatus-consulte.”

“4th Title. General Dispositions. Art. 19: The laws, ordinances, decrees and rules in vigor in the colonies continue to receive their execution, in all that is not contrary to the present sénatus-consulte. Done at the palace of the Senate, April 7th, 1854.”

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid., p. 166-69.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>September 26th, 1861-1862</th>
<th><strong>GUadeloupe</strong>: 1st Class Commissary, 2 years, 4 months, 7 days.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annuaire de la <strong>GUadeloupe</strong> (1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Annuaire de la <strong>GUadeloupe</strong> (1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>February 2nd, 1864</em></td>
<td><strong>Governement of GUadeloupe</strong> and Dependances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. le Général Frebault (C.-V.) Commandant-Officer, Governor (en congé).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>M. MARBOT</strong>, commissary of the <em>Navy</em>, Ordonnateur p i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lavollée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The general council was instituted by the sénatus-consulte from May 3rd, 1854. Its attributions are ruled by the article 13 of the act. It was organized by the imperial decree from July 26th, 1954, promulgated in the colony on August 28th following. It is composed of 24 member’s, 12 of which are nominations of the Governor and 12 by the election of the municipal councils. The president, the vice-president and the two secretaries are named for each session by the Governor, and choose among the members of the council.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BAUDOT</strong>, Paul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administration of the <em>Navy</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MM. Bontemps, general commissary of the <em>Navy</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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91 Ibid., p. 181-85.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid., p. 69.
ordonnateur (en congé).

MARBOT, commissary of the Navy, Contrôleur colonial, Ordonnateur p. i.

Au pensionnat de SAINT-JOSEPH.95

MARBOT (Edmée), de la BASSE-Terre, bourse entière.

“Controle Colonial. M. MARBOT, commissary of the Navy. Contrôleur colonial, filling by interim the function of the Ordonnateur.”96 There are the same positions working under him.

Alphabetique97

Commandeurs: Frebault, general of the Navy artillery, Governor

Officiers: Bontemps, general commissary of the Navy.

Chevalier BAUDOT
MARBOT

LAVOLLE, private counselor

Annuaire de la GUADELOUPE et Dépendances pour 1864

Milices

BAUDOT98

MARBOT’s Signature & Minutes of Private Council (1826-1947)

Repertory of the Private Council99

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95 Ibid., p. 105.
96 Ibid., p. 175.
97 Ibid., p. 176-78.
5 K 71 (October, 6th, 1858 – December, 14th, 1858) to 5 K 86 (December, 31st, 1863 - July 19th, 1864). There are 15 large bounded manuscripts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 3rd, 1864-FEBRUARY 3rd, 1864</td>
<td>Vapeur le Cacique: 1st Class Commissary, 1 day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4th, 1864-APRIL 24th, 1864</td>
<td>MARTINIQUE: 1st Class Commissary, 2 months, 21 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25th, 1864-MAY 10th, 1864</td>
<td>Paquebot la Floride, 1st Class Commissary, 16 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 11th, 1864-SEPTEMBER 8th, 1864</td>
<td>‘En FRANCE’, 1st Class Commissary, 3 months, 28 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 9th, 1864-NOVEMBER 3rd, 1864</td>
<td>Paquebot des ????????: 1st Class Commissary, 1 month, 25 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 4th, 1864-MARCH 31st, 1866</td>
<td>RÉUNION ISLAND: 1st Class Commissary, 1 year, 4 months, 27 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854 (Jardel)</td>
<td>Asked to serve in GUADELOUPE became Contrôleur Colonial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 11th, 1860</td>
<td>Serves as Commissaire de la Marine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Annuaire de la GUADELOUPE (1862)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| December 23rd, 1863 | Called by décret to be Ordonnateur de La REUNION.

"et ce n’est qu’en remettant le rênes du pouvoir à M. Dupré, qu’il prit au second rand la place dont il était titulaire."

1864 | Annuaire de la GUADELOUPE (1864)

Annuaire de la GUADELOUPE et Dépendances pour 1864 (année bissextile)(1864)

Milices

BAUDOT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 23rd, 1865</td>
<td>Governor of Réunion Island receives letter from L.E. Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor regarding François-Achille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 30th, 1866</td>
<td>Saint-Denis, Réunion Island: François-Achille’s State of Services ‘seen’ by François-Achille, as Ordonnateur, and ‘seen’ and ‘verified’ by the Colonial Controller. The signatures certify “the present state of services dressed after the indicated credentials from another part, and which were represented to us as 31 years, 9 months, and 2 days of effective services.” The document is sent to the Commissaire aux Revues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1st, 1866</td>
<td>Saint-Denis, Réunion Island: François-Achille receives signs the Receipt of Decoration from the Grand Chancellery of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor, The Administrative Division, 1st Office. He signs: “I, the undersigned, recognize having received the decoration of the Officer of the Legion of Honor which was sent to me by the L.E. The Grand Chancellor.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 4th, 1866</td>
<td>Réunion Island: “The from the Grand Chancellory of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor, Administrative Division, 1st Office. Membre du Conseil d’administration of ________ military intendant or the Commissaire of the Navy. Quality or grade of the convened and his residence of there is place. Add the name exactly or inexacty; following that there is where there is not perfect identity between the nomination certificate and the birth certificate. Write the surname and first names very legibly. In the case where there would be great differences...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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between the surnames and the first names carried on the nomination certificate and those of the birth certificate, the Certifier will have to indicate the causes and demand at the need d’acter ou de documenter pouvans to explicate these differences.

Signature of the Certifier and of the Members of the Council of Administration.

Signature of the Convened.

[Signature of François-Achille Marbot: “J. Marbot”.

Certificate of Individuality serving for the inscription of the members of the Legion of Honor on the Matricules of the Order.

Today, April 4th, 1866, before you, we, (1) Commissary to ??????? at ?????? Réunion Island as called for Mr. (2) Marbot, François Commissaire of the Navy, at Réunion Island resident in Saint-Denis, named Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor on December, 23rd, 1865, We certify that it was (3) exactly designated on his Officer nomination certificate, his surname and first names having to be, according to his birth certificate, written on the Matricules de l’Ordre such as follows:

(4) Name: Marbot, (François)

First names: François

With the support of the present certificate was produced:

The nomination certificate carrying the number 76877, which after the completed verification, was rendered to the holder;

The birth certificate was transmitted to the Grand Chancellery with commentaries of the Certificate of Individuality established to serve for the inscription of M. Marbot on the registers ??????? as Knight.

The Military Service Records. These last pieces, paraphrased by Us having to be sent, in the briefest delay to the Grand Chancellery. (5)

In faith with which we have dressed the present certificate that the Convened as signed with Us
Done in Saint-Denis, the day, the month, and the year as above

Certified veritable by Us

Noon, April 4th, 1866

"Essential Warning is that the "present document must be filled, signed by the delegate and by the recipient, and sent immediately to the Grand Chancellor, the inscription of the new post-holder on the registers of the Order ne devant avoir lien qu'après l'accomplissement de cette formalité."

Signed by François-Achille as 'recipient' and by the Delegate [illegible]

On April 4th, 1866, at noon, the time of the parade, we, the Governor of Réunion Island, in virtue of the letter from L.E. the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, on January 30th, 1866 and from the letter from ______ of the Marine from February 12th ______ after having had taken the arms to the rowed troops in battle

Have had placed at the center M. Marbot, Francois, Commissaire of the Navy, Ordonnateur to Réunion Island, named Officier of the Impérial Order of the Legion of Honor to which we have remitted his title of nomination.

We have read to M. Marbot, François the formula of the oath, as such conceived: I swear fidelity to the Emperor, his decoration, on pronouncing the formula of the following reception: --"After your oath, and by virtue of the powers invested in me, we make you Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor."

Having then dressed the current certificate, which, after have been signed by the recipient and by us, was immediately transmitted to _____ (?) E. Grand Chancellor.

Made and sealed in Saint-Denis, the days, months, and the year from above [April 4th, 1866]."

10:00 a.m., Wednesday, October 31st, 1866

Achille dies at his post, embalmed and transported to Saint-Denis.

“This is where death came the surprises. He was at his post. And 49 years of age, there were 37 of dedicated service to his country.”
November 3rd, 1866

RÉUNION ISLAND

Almanacs
Annuaries
Journal
Proces-Verbal etc.
Necrology - Moniteur de la RÉUNION 103

The Monitor of RÉUNION (Number from November 3rd, 1866):

“Almost at the same moment that we were echoing, in our last number, of the bad news which had arrived from Salazie, relatively to the alarming state of M. Marbot, this honorary and esteemed functionary was expiring, in spite the devoted cares of science, in spite of the tender and affectionate solicitude of his dignified wife having run to his bedside, in spite of the ardent wishes that his parents, that his friends, that the population itself, afflicted by such a huge misfortune, did for the conservation of the days of this distinguished member of the administration, of the exemplary father, of this excellent citizen.

As well as expected, the news of the death of M. Ordonnateur has caused in our city a painful surprise, which will have been felt in the entire colony.

“It is that M. Marbot had in his short stay here among us, acquired more than one title to our respectful sympathy. Should I remind us that in arriving to our rivers he had the honor of holding the reins of our government and that, though in a short duration, his sage and paternal administration, will deserve having a place in our modest histoire?

Coming from the first rank from where retirement had called him, to occupy the functions of Ordonnateur in RÉUNION, M. Marbot knew, in this elevated position, to continue to serve the countries with the devotion that one could expect from one of the children of a French colony such as ours. In the council of the government, he always brought his tribute of a vast and solid intelligence, of rare administrative aptitudes, of varied knowledge[s] and above all

103 Lahuppe, "Necrologie De Marbot."
a rectitude at all ordeals.

The funeral services of *M. Marbot* were a triumph for his memory and have proven that, in the country, one is neither indifferent for true merit, neither ungracious for rendered services.

Deceased in **Hell-Bourg** Wednesday morning, *M. Marbot* was embalmed and transported to **Saint-Denis**. His funeral took place this morning with all of the pomp and all of the solemnity that the character and the rank of the deceased [*M. Marbot*] implicated.

The convoy departed, at seven o'clock precisely, from the hotel de l’Ordonnateur, **Paris Street**. A demi-battalion of marine infantry, *commanded by M. Colonel Duchisne*, formed the double hedge. All the officers from the civil and military orders composed, around the chariot, an imposing cortege, to which had joined a large part of the population.

The corners of the pall were carried by MM. The Interior Director, the Colonial Comptroller, the Procureur general, the President of the Imperial Court and Edouard Bailly, Adjoint commissary of the Navy.

Mgr Bishop of **Saint-Denis** had wanted to give to the deceased a testimony of high esteem by presiding over the sepulchral ceremony. Numerous clergy hurried around His Greatness.

At the top of the convoy the military fanfare executed somber airs appropriate for the circumstance.

This thing at the same time religious and military was a seizing sight.

All along the street of **Paris** and at the perimeters of the church, the crowd was compact. The cathedral was full like during the days of the big parties of religion.

The service of the dead was celebrated in big pomp and heard with pious contemplation. M. The Governor and his family were in attendance it.

The cortege then directed itself towards the cemetery with the same ceremonial. Mgr the Bishop, assisted by several priests, accompanied it[the cortege] on foot and said on the side of the tomb the last prayers.
At the moment of separation, **M. Charles Gaudin de Lagrande**, Interior Director, one of the friends and former collaborators of **M. Marbot**, addressed, before his colleagues and before all the moved audience, one of those touching goodbyes which have the privilege of pulling out tears out from the most indifferent. We reproduce these beautiful and noble words, whose accent will rest in the memory of those who heard them.

During the funeral of **M. Marbot**, all of the ships in the harbor and the port mast had their flags rolled up and lowered. It was the last homage rendered to he who had been the chief of the service of the *Navy*.

**M. Marbot**, *Navy commissary*, Ordonnateur in *Réunion*, had entered very young in the administrative career. Endowed with a brilliant intelligence and guided by a serious vocation, the brilliant creole of *Martinique* covered all the hierarchical echelons of the commissary and arrived, at an exceptional age, to one of the premier grades of the Corps to which he belonged. The rosette of the Officer of the *Legion of Honor*, which decorated his chest, attested that he was worthy of his high position.

**M. Marbot** was not only an administrator [émissent]. In his leisure, rare but fecund, he cultivated muses and he bequeathed to his Fatherland some creole verses (between others an imitation of the fables of *La Fontaine*) which have obtained during his life a legitimate success and which will certainly survive him.

**M. Marbot** was still young, because he was only 49 years old. His compatriots, his numerous friends will deplore the fatal ending which took him away, in the middle of the flourishing of his virility and of his talent.

---Thomy Lahuppe."

Let’s cite now the words that *M. Interior Director* pronounced on this tomb so prematurely opened:

Misters,

The Christian who just quit this world asks to the friends who accompany his mortal remains to his last home, no praises, but prayers, because life humanly the most pure [l’est-Il jamais au tribunal de Dieu?]

[Or], Misters, you know it all, **Marbot** was a veritable and fervent Christian; and I will not deny the faith
of all his life, in coming to sing here on his tomb praises
though if merited by his rare talents and his touching virtues.

[But I think to be in this moment the organs of the
general sentiment, in telling you the quick and deep regret
that causes for all his premature end.]

I also need to address a witness of public sympathy
to the interesting family that he leaves behind; to this family
of which he was the joy, alas! and the support, and who, you
can say it, would have lost all in losing it, if the goodness of
God was not held on reserve, for his children, the second
paternity of his Providence. We associate (reflexive), may she
know well, to her inexplicable pain. It is since the fatal news
had arrived, the object of university preoccupation. Everyone
speaks of it, and speak of it with the most emotive accents.
Certainly, if the though of interest that they inspire can be a
softening for the bloody wound of these poor broken hearts,
they must be consoled a little. Never was an interest more
complete and more sincere.

Adieu! Marbot, adieu, my comrade and my friend!
We are of those who know that must find each other one day!
But in waiting this supreme Réunion, may it be given to
your soul to know that your memory will stay living among
us, and that it will plane like a protective shadow on the
dearest being that you bequeathed to our affections and to our
solicitudes!104

3.3.4 Conclusion of Section Martinique and Guadeloupe

Martinique is the 3rd and Guadeloupe is the 4th the neighbor however the
Rest of the Geographical Publication History. The three initial publications of The
Bamboo occurred between 1846-1869. After the 1846 publication, François-Achille
Marbot worked in Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and Réunion

104 Ibid.
ISLAND during his relatively short career as a colonial official. This rare collection has undergone at least eight distinct re-editions (including bilingual), re-prints, re-publications, translations, and literary analysis ranging from the French CARIBBEAN, The INDIAN OCEAN, PARIS, AIX-EN-PROVENCE, BELGIUM, FRENCH GUIANA, GERMANY, and AUSTRIA by numerous historical figures in French CARIBBEAN History, Francophone Literature, and Creole Linguistic Anthropology. While the second edition from 1849 has been lost, the 1869 third edition memorializes MARBOT’s death on RÉUNION ISLAND in 1866 as noted by the Moniteur de la RÉUNION.

Over the course of my research, I have had the opportunity to review a history of Creole print materials primarily through the detailed transcriptions and editions of several creole archivists, comprised of their reported archives of scarce 18th and 19th century ‘ancient’ documents in both the INDIAN OCEAN as well as in the CARIBBEAN OCEAN. These archives include snippets of government and administrative document, 105

105 While there are certainly copies of The Bamboo in FRANCE, there are various copies of these rare editions scattered around the United States such as at Princeton University Library’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections under the Kenneth McKenzie Fable Collection (ExF). Princeton describes the collection as having “specific references to the fables of Aesop and La Fontaine” and that there is much “unprocessed” material. For more information see, Princeton, "Kenneth McKenzie Fable Collection, 1898-1949: Finding Aid," Princeton University, http://diglib.princeton.edu/ead/getEad?eadid=C0494&kw=; ibid. Other editions of The Bamboo can be found at the University of Texas at Austin (1869 edition) under the Special Collections of Edward Alexander Parsons. The original and subsequent editions are rare manuscript collections at the Newberry Library in Chicago (1869 edition), Tulane University (1869 edition), John Hopkins (1869 edition), Rutgers University (1869 edition), Northwestern (1931 edition), the Beinecke (1931 edition) as well as at the University of Florida’s Latin American Collection.

106 Notably, there is a facsimile of the decree in Creole proclaiming the abolition of slavery in Mauritius Island in the first half of the nineteenth-century. For references in the Indian Ocean on Creolization in the Indian Ocean see, Robert Furlong and Vicram Ramharai, Panorama De La Littérature Mauricienne : La Production Créolophone, Volume 1, Des Origins À L’indépendence, ? vols., vol. 1, Collection Timam : Textes Inconnues Et Méconnues D’auteurs
letters, journals, songs, judicial accounts, and various other printed materials. This background and orientation reading has provided me with the necessary tools to build a unique political, economic, and socio-linguistic analysis of the circulation and significance of the collection Marbot’s Creole fables with a deeper understanding of its role in the foundations of a Global Creole diaspora literary canon. As a result, my project offers a specific archive to those who have expressed scholarly interest in the circulation of print culture between the Indian and Caribbean Oceans. My research will span the period beginning with the 1804 Haitian Revolution continuing throughout 19th Century Caribbean abolitionary history ending in 1902 the year representing both the devastating eruption of Mount Pelé in Martinique as well as the year of the publication of the last and final creole fable completing the chart is Georges Sylvain publication Krik? Krak!. I intend my work to be useful to scholars of Creole socio-linguistic theory, post-colonial literary theory, sociology of literature, and popular literacy movements.

4 Réunion Island – “African Sketches: Creole Fables and Exploration in the Interior of Bourbon Island”

4.1 Tomb of Francois Achille Marbot in Reunion Island

4.1.1 Moniteur de la Réunion

4.2 Rabbit and hare - Race

« Li Lievre Ensemb’ Man-torti »

2 Lahuppe, "Necrologie De Marbot."

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525
Ein zour maman Torti demande à Lièvre’ faraud,
Pour z’aut’ parier ein cours’ ça qu’arriva’ ra plis tôt.
Lièvr’ commenç’ moque à li. – « Comment, mon gros commère,
« Vous’ mazin’ tout di bon va quitte a moi derrière !
« Mais vous la dépass’ fou ! … Vout’ n’ât’ vous va hallé,
« Comm’ carrett’ di bon Géni’ dans n’cimn’ di brilé.
Torti la r’poud : « Assez ‘stin’ pas moi d’avantage,
« Gros pied di bois là-bas va serve à nous bittaze.
« Lièvre y révir ! Arranz’ vous, pis q’vous y vé bitté,
« Tant mié pour moi… Bien sir, pis q’vous y s’ra dégoté.
L’a partis, man-torti hall’ son gros carapace
Et li lièvre en misoul ffai’ à li la grimace.
« Hall’ li dit, gros commèr, hall’ tout ton l’emplacement
« Comme’ milets embourbés quand la rivièr’ descend ;
« Moi va març’ à mon ais’ ; quand qu’il trouve ein z’herbaze
Li mord’ ein pé didans comme’ pour fait badinaze.
Temps en temps sis son fess’ li debout en fiçant
Comme’ pour dire : « Man-torti, ah bon dié qu’vous l’est lent !
Pour moque encor’ plis fort li dit dans n’son langaze :
« Gros commèr, moi n’a l’temps nettoyer mon visaze. »
Avec son patt’ di d’vant li gratter son miseau,
Comm’ si va fair’ son bard’, ou comme ein vié zacquot.
Enfin pour mié fait voir tout son vantard cataque,
Li l’allonz’ tout son long dans n’mitant la fataque.
Li guett’ torti marçer qui débatt’ et qui soué,
Tout comm’ ein gros soufflèr sis les récifs écroué.
Enfin l’i r’gard’ di côté di bittaze …
Li voit torti bien proç qui hallait son couraze.
« Allons, l’est temps ! » Li dit. Li la prend son z’élân,
Li court comment cabri qui sauv’ Villiers Adams.
Mais li n’en a beau fair, l’a s’trouv’ bien camiciètte,
Quand qu’li voit qu’man-torti la touc’ la born’ son patte.
Qui çà qu’Lièvr’ ? – Z’écoliers ça qui gaspill’ z’aut’temps.
Moi raziss’ çà tout li z’enfans collèze,
N’en a qu’la têt légèr comment bouçon di lièze.
Comm’ z’aut’ n’en a bon têt’ z’aut’ y fait z’aut’ vanard,
Au z’é z’aut y mett’ vit’, y mett’ au travail tard.
Mais laquell va gaigner ? Tout mavouz’ sans cervelle,
Ç’à mêm’va gaign’ couronn’ ? N’a point, va gagn’ miguèlé
Z’écoliers raisonab’ çà qu’blancs y nomm’ piecèrs,

3 This text can be found in, Chaudenson, Textes Créoles Anciens : La Réunion Et L’île Maurice : Comparaison Et Essai D’analyse, p. 43; The text can also be found in,Héry, Marimoutou, and Capucine, Fonder Une Littérature.
Va racler tout li prix… Couraze aux travaillèrs.

**comet of 1882**

“M. L. P. Adam offers to the society of Sciences and Arts a *grande carte* of which he is author on the *Ouragans des deux hemispheres*. He receives the thanks from the society.

A dialogue establishes itself between M. Aug. Vinson and M. L. P. The first desires to know if, at the approach of a cyclone, the state of the atmosphere would still permit [us] to correspond with *MAURITIUS* by optical signals; the second responds by observations whose conclusion is that of the note that he published on the subject in October 1882. This conclusion is that *it is almost certain that; in ordinary circumstances; the signals produced with the aid of a petroleum lamp, with a flat wick, seen from a tranche, placed in the hearth of one of the big telescopical apparatus of Colonel Mangin; would be perceived from one island to another; which would permit, often 24 to 36 hours in advance the arrival on *MAURITIUS* of a cyclone; to telegraph the approach the RÉUNION*.”

(p.12-13)

### 4.3 Carpanin Marimoutou - Mauritius (1822) and Réunion Island (1826):

"In an article from 1884, the Austrian linguist declares:

‘Among the Creole idioms, those of French origins occupy clearly the first rank under the literary angle; they alone seem apt to the creation which admits as such the European taste. I do not think there, of course, of burlesque poetry. It is as such that it is not surprising that in this domain equally, blanches and even people born in EUROPE, showed themselves active and that two among them had brough the palm, the commissary of the Navy, *MARBOT* (died on RÉUNION ISLAND in 1866) in the creole from MARTINIQUE and the professor *LOUIS HÉRY* (né en Bretagne in 1808 and died in RÉUNION ISLAND in 1856) on the Creole from RÉUNION ISLAND. As almost all the creole poets F. *CHRESTIEN* from MAURITIUS, *LHÉRISSON* from HAITI, FONDIC (in reality BAUDOT) from GUADELOUPE etc., the two writers cited previously thied themselves at fables and have imitated particularly the master *LA FONTAINE*.”

*Carpanin Marimoutou*, describing the inevitable fact of the textual origins of the formation of the creole language literary canon, commences in his article “François Chrestien et Louis Héry: Deux pratiques des fables dans l'Océan Indien au début du
XIXème siècle”: “[t]he birth of the written literature in the creole language, in all the creole spaces, are done by proxy of the re-writings of *fables*, essentially of *La Fontaine*, but not uniquely, because *Horace* will be put to the contribution, the same for *Florian* whether they be the legendary or mythological narrative monologues of the Greek Antiquity.”

MARIMOUTOU along with *Elen Capucine* are both responsible for the latest edition of *Louis Héry’s* *Esquisses africaines: Fables créoles et explorations dans l’intérieur de l’île Bourbon* (1828, 1856, 1883, 2003) the first publication printed in **Réunion Island** and second publication in creole of an adaptation of *Jean de La Fontaine*’s fables. *Esquisses Africaines* is preceded by *François Chrestien*’s *Le Bobre* (1822, 1831, 1869, 1998) and followed by *François Marbot*’s *Les Bambous* (1846, 1849[?], 1869, 1885, 1831, 1976, 2002). MARIMOUTOU and CAPUCINE place HÉRY’s work publication as an integral part of the island’s “literary foundation” as argued in title of the edition *Fonder une littérature* (2003), a title acknowledging the capital importance of HÉRY’s imprint in relationship to literary history.

It is, however, in the comparative article “*François Chretien et Louis Héry: deux pratiques des fables dans l’océan Indien* au début du 19th siècle,” where

4 There is much information in this article on Louis Héry-the author of the fables in Réunion Island. The bulk of this will be for the section on his work. It is however impossible to separate the comparisons in the reception of both of these work. I have used the a current edition of "The Cernéen" that has been reedited." It is also possible to refer to Marimmoutous reference, Notice sur Louis Héry par le Dr Jacob de Cordemoy, in Antoine Roussin, Album de la Réunion, vol. III, paris, 1883, p. 115-123.Carpinan Marimoutou, "Francois Chretien Et Louis Héry: Deux Pratiques Des Fables Dans L'océan Indien Au Début Du Xixème Siècle," *Etudes créoles / 27* (2004); Cordemoy, "Notice Sur Héry."

Marimoutou presents a few sources of bio-bibliographical information on both of the authors followed by a comparative critique of the production and of the reception of the two collections from the Mascarenes: Réunion Island and Mauritius. He concludes his article by acknowledging the differences between Chréstien’s Les Essais d’un bobre Africain (1822) and Héry’s Les Esquisses Africaines (1826) and by resolving, still, that “the matrix is essentially the fable – finally less creolized than tropicolized –, which explains…the importance of the morale and of the sententious tone while with Héry [;] the morale is accessory: it is the pleasure of telling and retelling, to make people speak, who carry it.”

Here, it is important to review this comparative approach from the beginning. While there exists modern approaches predating this publication it is also one of the few to present both of these authors as a complete set. Speaking not on the reception of the Le Bobre Africain (1822, 1831, 1869, and 1998) and Louis Héry’s Esquisses Africaines Fables créoles et Explorations dans l'intérieur de l'île Bourbon (1826) but rather on what he refers to as their “editorial success” the primary interest in my investigation:

Citing an Louis Héry’s obituary written by Jacob de Cordemoy in a local journal The Cernéen and republished in l’Album de la Réunion: "que la reception ait été enthousiaste," it is enough to beware, to read the article that he describes work as the ‘picturesque history of our island’ and raves at the 'existence of such marvels.’ The

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biographer continues, "and if we start to know and to appreciate a bit the superb nature of our fatherland, if we ignore no longer from which profusion of natural riches she [island] is endowed, isn't it thanks to the efforts of Mr. Héry, thanks to his enchanting tableaux and of the most warm shade, that often he traced some of those for us.\(^7\) (p. 94-95)."

**Marimoutou** notes: "We see how therefore how, from a certain manner, these creole fabulists had, through their texts, created with their readers, by wrong or by right, a space of connivance and of complicity, done with reminiscences, with squints and blinks of eyes."\(^8\) **Marimoutou** presents a contrastive approach looking at the work as a “labor of transposition or of the re-writing of fables in, to use his terms, two distinct creole universes at the beginning of the 19\(^{th}\) century.” Nevertheless, what is clear in his comparative approach is that, “above all” there is the importance of understanding the weight of the narratives, the themes, the social discourses, and ideological debates as able to explain “not only the differences of the representations of the creole universes and their *mise-en-scène*, but also the differences of the enunciative modalities, in particular in the inter-discursive and hypertextual treatment. One could with one – *Louis Héry* – a writing of the fable departing from the practices of the creole conte, and with the other – *Chrestien* – an adaptation of the French fable for a franco-creole public; on one hand a work of *créolisation*, and on the other hand and on the other the procedures of

\(^{7}\) Ibid., p. 94.

\(^{8}\) Ibid.
tropicalization.” For MARIMOUTOU, Chrestien leans on the franco-créole public for the fable and as for HÉRY it is the conte in creole.⁹

What is most interesting about MARIMOUTOU’s approach in his article on both MAURITIUS and RÉUNION ISLAND is his attention not reception theory, but rather to the notion of this apparent ‘editorial success’? How might we find a way to measure or to gauge the editorial success of both of these works in what he refers to as a ‘créole universe’? Or even what are these multiple universes? How far might these universes expand in the minds and or, to take the term of the terms of one of their biographers, these ‘créole souls’, which have been vectors of communication and of language, change through the re-transcription and re-composition of such ‘ancient’ according the MARIMOUTOU. What is the significance of charting, chronicling, and canonizing the editorial success of only the 1st edition of Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (1822)?

Is there a tried and true method to commanding these fables aver space and over time as scanning the skies to charting the ocean navigating the spatial and nautical universes where each créole CHAPBOOK in this Bamboo Canon serves as if a blinking star requiring in a constellation of CHAPBOOK whose ancient créole history has already been writ and illustrated? history required requiring

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⁹ Ibid., p. 97.
What is the fundamental difference between the literary tropes of creolization and tropicalization, in regard to fables in a creole or even a tropicopolitan poetics and prose?\(^\text{10}\)

4.3.1 Louis Héry

The second collection of creole fables before The Bamboo is Louis Héry’s *Esquisses africaines: Fables créoles et explorations dans l’intérieur de l’île Bourbon* (1828, 1849, 1856, 1883), printed in Reunion Island, is also part of the island’s “literary foundation” as argued by Carpanin Marimoutou and Elen Capucine in Fonder une littérature.\(^\text{11}\) In another article, Marimoutou acknowledges the differences between Chréstien and Héry resolving still that “the matrix is essentially the fable – finally less creolized than tropicolized –, which explains...the importance of the morale and of the sententious tone while with Héry [;] the morale is accessory: it is the pleasure of telling and retelling, to make people speak, who carry it.”\(^\text{12}\) What is the fundamental difference between the literary tropes of creolization and tropicalization, in regard to fables in a creole or even a tropicopolitan poetics and prose?\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^\text{10}\) Italic mine.

\(^\text{11}\) Héry, Marimoutou, and Capucine, *Fonder Une Littérature*.


\(^\text{13}\) Italic mine.
4.3.2 1828

4.3.3 1849

2nd Edition

Second edition, was largely augmented, in 1849,
the five text in 1828 are taken
WITH MODIFICATION NUMEROUS (Chaudenson looks at the details)

pRose - in French

Esquisses africaines. Fables créoles et explorations dans l'intérieur de l'île

Bourbon, Saint-Denis, 117 pages.

2nd EDITION:

AFRICAINS ! ! !

like Bobre Africain

'echo' title

4.3.4 1856

--> Nouvelles esquisse africaines (1856) and finally

4.3.5 1883

______________________________

14
Figure 42: Esquisses Africaines: Fables Créoles et Explorations Dans l’intérieur de l’île BOURBON, by M. LOUIS HERY high school professor.

First edition to ulterior variations.

a. 17 stylistics, b. 16 graphic, c. 11 phonetic, and d. 17 morpho-syntactic.

a. author corrections...

"la pudeur"

Zisqu’à li qui (cul) Zisqu’à li dos
Paille en qui (paille-en-cul) Zalbatros

b."l'a té" vs. "l'était"- "vs. "tais"-> lthe effort to integrate the creole graphic code to that of french than the vocalic variations a/e.

Esquisses Africaines: Fables Créoles et Exploration dans l'intérieur de l'île

BOURBON pas M.L. HERY Professeur au Lycée with the typography et lithography done by J. Rigal et Cie at, 56, passage du Caire, 56in 1883. The dedication reads :

D. de Heaulme, Réunion, 1905

Nota: One part of this work was for the first time publised in 1849 in SAINT-DENIS (Ile de la Réunion). The other part appears in 1856. this new edition comprises all of the works reunited with a division in two parts: 1st part, the Fables ; 2nd part, the Récits et Description in prose.

A Monsieur Émile Hery son, in St-Denis (Réunion)

Mon cher Ami,

“Vous ne me désapprouverez pas non plus d'avoir complété l'édition par une note sur le créole de la Réunion, publié par M. le docteur Hugo Schuchardt, professeur à l'Université de Gratz en Styrie (Autriche). Vous y verrez en quel estime sont tenues dans le monde savant les travaux de Mr. Hery”

C. Cerisier

Paris, May 19th, 1883
4.3.6 A Contrastive Analysis of Reunion and Isle de France Creole
French: Two Typologically Diverse Languages, Chris Corne

"The data available to me on early states of MC and RC are incomplete and they alone cannot provide an answer. Nevertheless, they provide some interesting information." (p. 64)

"The 1856 text by Louis Héry (pp. 1150-51) contains a number of rather non-RC oddities, but offers sixteen examples of FVT for twenty verb occurrences (in the three contexts). Héry's work is criticized by Volcy Focard (1884:1998-210, 228-30) on the grounds that Héry was a European, that he had learned RC as an adult, and that in any case his works in RC were for him but "un pur passe temps." Focard follows this criticism with a detailed illustration in support of his contention that these works do not represent "true" RC. While it is possible that it simply did not occur to Focard that RC might have changed in the intervening thirty or so years, I am inclined to trust his judgment. In every case where he explicitly claims to be representing "real" RC, his language is entirely consistent with modern basilectal usage (and with the ca. 1715/1722 fragment). N2. In turn, this suggests that RC, in at least one of its varieties (see below), has remained remarkably stable over a long period of time." (p. 65)
4.4 Hugo

4.4.1 Seance of May 11th 1883 (p. 15-18)

Presidence of M. Le Siner

A letter of M. Thomy Lahuppe, dated from Chaudoc, from February 27th, 1883, which addresses his regrets to the society that he was obliged to quit, but with which he would be happy to conserve relations, if it wanted to accord to him the title of a member in correspondence.

M. Raoul Mahé (Seychelles)

A letter from M. Hugo Schuchardt, dated from Graz (Austria) from March, 1883, which thanks the society for having discerned to him the title of member in correspondence. This letter is accompanied by an extract from the revue la Romania that this professor addresses to the Société and which is intitled : Sur le créole de la Réunion.

Bordeaux,

de Madame Hubert Delisle Founding Member of the Society

Hugo

4.4.2 On the Creole of Réunion (1882) (p.1-6)

4.4.3 Further Remarks on Réunionais (1885) (p.15-17)

Bibliography On “Arm Chair” Linguist

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17 Markey, Hugo Schuchardt: The Ethnography of Variation, Selected Writings of Pidgins and Creoles; Gilbert, "Hugo Schuchardt and the Atlantic Creoles: A Newly Discovered Manuscript "One the Negro English of West Africa"; Graz, "Professor Dr. Hugo Schuchardt'sche Malvinenstiftung"; Gordon, Creolizing Political Theory: Reading Rousseau through Frantz Fanon; Prudent, "L’émersion D’une littérature créole aux Antilles et en Guyane."; Vinesh Y. Hookoomsing, "Langue Créole, Littérature Nationale Et Mauricianisme Populaire," ibid. (1981/1984); Graz, "Professor Dr. Hugo Schuchardt'sche Malvinenstiftung".
“Les difficiles débuts des études créoles en FRANCE (1870-1920)” (1984)\(^\text{18}\)

“Hugo Schuchardt and the Atlantic Creoles: a Newly Discovered Manuscript

"One the Negro English of West Africa” (1985)\(^\text{19}\)

Schuchardt *according to Guadeloupe*\(^\text{20}\)

Schuchardt *according to Réunion*\(^\text{21}\)

Société des Arts et des Sciences\(^\text{22}\)

Schuchardt *according to Marimoutou*\(^\text{23}\)

Schuchardt *according to Degraff*\(^\text{24}\)

Epistology of the first créoliste\(^\text{25}\)


\(^\text{19}\) Gilbert, "Hugo Schuchardt and the Atlantic Creoles: A Newly Discovered Manuscript "One the Negro English of West Africa”.


\(^\text{21}\) "Esta edicion de la correspondencia de Rufino Jose Cuervo can Hugo Schuchardt constituye el segundo tomo del Archivo Epistolario Colombiano, coleccion que el instituto Caro y Cuervo inició en 1965 can La publicacion del Epistolario de Rufino Jose Cuervo y Emilio Teza, edicion, introducción y notes de Ana Hauser y Jorge Paramo Pomareda. De este modo se continua una traca de valor fundamental para el estudia de la persona y fa obra de nuestro ilustre filologo, de sus corresponsales y de su época;" Hugo Ernst Mario Schuchardt, "On the Creole of Réunion (1882)," in *The Ethnography of Variation Selected Writings on Pidgins and Creoles*, ed. T. L. Markey (Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1979), p. v.


\(^\text{23}\) This paragraph explaining the ‘Bamboo Canon’ was first cited in Marimoutou’s, *Fonder une littérature* without any documentation. Evnetually, the preface from this work was essentially lifted ‘ad verbum’ in Marimoutou’s preface to *Des Fables créoles*. This time however without the reputed citation by Dr. Hugo Schuchardt. At this stage, all of my research up until now to find these words has remained unfruitful in spite of the rather composite and thorough multilingual bibliography of Europe reputed first ‘créoliste’, Héry, Marimoutou, and Capucine, *Fonder Une Littérature*; Marimoutou, "Presentation: Des Fables Créoles."

\(^\text{24}\) DeGraff, "Against Creole Exceptionalism."
4.4.4 Schuchardt Letter to Réunion from Grat, March 4th, 1883:

“Mr. Champon; having not come; the reading that he had announced could not have happened. At the prayer of Mr. the President, M. Dubuisson then gives the reading of the extract sent by M. H. Schuchardt on the Créole de la Réunion: the society decides that this extract will be reproduced in its bulletin.(p.16-17)

Gratz, March 4th, 1883

Mister President of the Society of Sciences and Arts of Réunion Island.

Mister,

I accuse the reception of this letter by which you announce to me that the Society of Sciences and Arts has deemed to discern to me the title of corresponding members. This is an honor that I accept with the most sincere recognition and of which I seek to make myself less indignant than I am at the moment. I beg of you, Monsieur President, to make yourself, before your honorable brothers; the interpreter of me sentiment.

It is true that I occupy myself with studying the harmonious and interesting dialect from your island, born from the contact of two absolutely different races. In creole literature I believe to recognize two phases rather well marked. The one where the genie africain dominates in all its spontaneity; that of contes, of proverbs; of sirandanes; of dance tunes. This production is very important from and ethnographic and philologic standpoint, they deserve to be recollected and published; on the other hand; they do not possess almost any esthetic value. But the l’esprit français has not disdained to make itself child; for revest the forms of this infantile idiom and you have seen the blossoming/hatching of songs and fables of a charming naivety.”

Seance of June, 1883

25 Hugo Ernst Mario Schuchardt and Rufino José Cuervo, Epistolario De Rufino José Cuervo Y Hugo Schuchardt, Archivo Epistolar Colombiano ; II (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1968).
4.4.5 RÉUNION Printing

Roussin Publication Antoiné ROUSSIN, high-school drawing professor.

Roussin

“Antoine Louis Roussin was born March 3, 1819 in Avignon in a family of bakers. He engages young in the Navy, and leaves with his regiment to Reunion Island. Once released from the army in 1843, he remains on site and some time later wife Marie Louise Petit. Roussin became interested in lithography and published his first works in 1846 in a book called Memories of Ile Bourbon. This work will be reissued after the revolution of 1848 under the title Memories of Reunion Island. A publication succeeded the Album of La Réunion, a work that shows life on the island, the diversity of its people, its landscape and that of reflecting the economic development of the island to this period. At this publisher activity are added those teaching and multidisciplinary artist: Roussin ensures 1855-1888 drawing while at the Saint-Denis high school; he realizes the other graphic works and paintings, photographs ... Roussin part in many exhibitions, receiving various awards, collects the recognition of the Society of Sciences and Arts, began printing and publishes several newspapers and magazines including the Réunion Courier, the Bulletin of the Society of Arts and Sciences ... He leaves at his death September 18th,

28 Ibid.
1894 a rich and varied work, a true *panorama* of life in Reunion during the second half of the 19th century.”

4.4.6 Biography on HÉRY

a. New Family Tree

"Among the men who must naturally figure in this collection, Mr. HÉRY is incontestably in one of the first places. Passionate *tourist*, tireless *voyager*, original and enthusiastic *narrator*, exalted *admirer*, Mr. HÉRY is from now on the *vassal* of all that nature has accumulated, picturesque and grandiose riches in *BOURBON*, and his periodical ascensions on the summit of our mountains will remain for a long time proverbial.

How many of us never suspected without a doubt still the existence of so many marvels, if it were not to try to take pleasure—I would say almost bluntly obliged—to describe them, as he knew how to do; how many of us would have never seen the sublime spectacles reversed for those who haunt the steep peaks or our *morne*, if his stories and his example—or himself very often—did not lead there them and his followers!

It is a fact of observations that people who show themselves to be the most curious and the most avid of seeing out of there homes, are sometimes of an incredible indifference for beautiful things which contain their own country. I knew a Parisian woman from *FAUBOURG SAINT-HONORÉ* who had travelled a lot and qui… *vox Faucibus hoeret*⁴¹…did not know about *NOTRE-DAME*. Here is our own history, to us only a strange apathy has been left so long just a few steps from so many splendors not enough careful to contemplate them; and if we started to know and to appreciate somewhat the superb nature of our *patrice*, if we no longer completely ignore with which profusion of naturel riches it is endowed, is it not thanks in part to the efforts of Mr. HÉRY, thanks to his enchanting tableaus and even more hot in color, that so often he traced in us?

That is not all: these alpine villas, Fresh plantations, flowered, healthy to the highest degree under our sun, that I benevolent mode has multiplied on the hills which circle *SAINT-DENIS*, does not one have to recall that the taste did not develop there until following the colonization of *BRÛLÉ* in *SAINT-DENIS*, from this *BRÛLÉ* who had invented, as *A. KARR* invented *ETRETAT*?

We can therefore say highly: none other more lively than Mr. HÉRY has felt the majesty and the greatness of our sites, none have known how to

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30. Legion of Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Camille (1840, Saint-André, Réunion)," (Vincennes; Paris: Base Léonore, 1840).
31. Latin: “voice stuck in throat”
provide a more striking homage to this incomparable island whose countryside, according to voyagers who have most travelled the world, equaling or surpassing in beauty all those who make the glory of the most privileged counties under this report; none has given a more sincere expression, more spontaneous, a more convincing accent to his admiration, and because the form of his writing is unfortunately not without reproach, it was necessary to provide first of all full and entire justice to the sentiment raised and poetic which animates them and to be grateful to the tourist of moving language, impassioned which inspired in him the contemplation of our beautiful country.

Mr. Héry was born in Redon (Ile-et-Vilaine). He came to Bourbon Island around 1820, and established himself next to two old cousin, nieces of Dugay-Trouin, put him in charge him with directing a property and a sugar factory that she had in the mountains in Saint-Denis. But things did not go according to his desires, and Mr. Héry, still young then, entered as Professor in the high school. However, regretting in embracing this new career of not being Bachelor-ès-lettre, he resolved to become it, and left courageously for the conquest of his diploma; after two years passed in Sainte-Anne-d’Auray, he returned armed with his triumphant parchment and returned to the High School. But it was at a time when the professors to the service of the colonial government were in the same regiment as the military-servicemen to that of Austria or of Turkey; peace was more than delicate, and when it had become way beyond apocalyptic, Mr. Héry, in the company of several of his colleagues, had to say his farewells to this worm-eaten administration, bringing back for the prize of his services of one year—and for all chances—a old black women and a sick Black man.

It is then that he founded in Saint-Suzanne a School, which he would later transfer to Saint-André, and whence so many of the young people spread over in the most diverse positions, took away with the first elements of Instruction, the durable germinations/sprouts from this respectful and filial affection that all those who were his student have always conserved for Mr. Héry.

However the best days were lifted for the High School, and in 1844, Mr. Héry, decided to quit his tiresome position, assiged with thousands of worries, as country school-instructor to return for a third time to this High School, where for a long time he had for himself marked so honorably his place. He occupied the Chair of French Rhetoric up until October, 1856, the epoch when was carried always brusquely by a violent hemoptysis.

That which was Mr. Héry as a professor, none of his colleagues, and above all none of his students could forget it.

Without profound knowledge, we can say it, having never wanted to descend down to the arid details, to the fastidious difficulties, to the severe exegesis in any branch of human sciences—which is unpleasant to its nature—Mr. Héry knew nevertheless how to be of the services to several generations of students, who bustled around his chair. It is that few men in our country who possessed a more varied instruction, few who assimilated as easily a sufficient
tincture in all things, many fewer above all who ad been endowed with an equal
degree of this original and sympathetic parole which forced in spite of
itself/himself the audience to attention, transmitting from the professor to the
student without difficulty, without fatigue, a clear notion and unobstructed with
subtleties.

Just so many times have we seen him pass from his Chair of Rhetoric
into that of Mathematics or of English to supplement an absent colleague; to tell
the truth, it was not quite methodical science, sure of itself; but on the other
hand, what a profit for the student! Thanks to the amicable affection beforehand,
which was acquired by the professor, everything that he taught was retained
without an effort.

Since his youth, MR. HÉRY trained himself in several literary genres.
He had started—where they say all things finish—by songs; he composed also
comical scenes that he liked to débiter himself, settling furthermore with a great
will.

He never missed the occasion to rhyme a epithelium, and he would
have, for nothing in the world,...have a bad time without singing at the couples
dessert some improvised couplets with a rare facility.

Another genre in which he hardly lost the occasion to train himself, it is
funeral oration, and there are sometimes come across some accents full of
grander and elevation, I would only like to cite for example the short farewell
that he addressed in 1842 to NICOLE DE LA SERVE. But all of his productions
have gone one with the snow of yesteryear; that which composes today his
literary baggage is contained in two little brochures that he entitled: ESQUISSE
AFFRICAINES [sic]. In there, is reunited the relations, published progressively in
the journals, of his numerous voyages into the interior, plus a certain number of
fables of LA FONTAINE translated by him in patois créole; some of these
descriptions figure equally in the older brothers of this album.

It is maybe his journey to the mountain of SAINT-DENIS which birthed
in MR. HÉRY his passion for alpine excursions; because since this period
without another goal and without another desire than that of seeing and
admiring, not even having ….the powerful interest found there by the botanist,
or the geologist. MR. HÉRY started his very tiresome courses, often perilous,
which each year since, it started to take on our mountains. But for him, the
rigors, the hardships, the danger added to the charm of the voyage; it seems that
these very emotions, it seems that these very emotions were just as much an
imperious need of his nature, as the poetic emotion itself born from the beauty
of the spectacles that he was going to contemplate.

He gives the idea somewhere himself of an idea of excessive frugality
that was imperative in his excursions, and confesses naively his preference for
the contrarities and disagreements that curse the other voyagers.

"What is it that is necessary for the tourist?" he said. "His legs, some
rice, some sandals of goni". And much further: is there some path bristled with
pointed rocks, tangled with inextricable vines, leading to a very harsh peak, abutting to some breathtaking precipice [?]. That there is his business, be sure that he will take it. The steep ramparts bristled with bumps to prick the soles of his feet as if he were dancing on the pits of peaches: good, he said, it is starting to get good. Is he pierced by torrential rain [?]; his joy is augmented. Is he harpooned by a few dozen hooks from the branch of the crocs de chien? He stumps around with ease. Has he the distinguished jubilation of losing himself in the lavas of the scorched lands, to succumb there to one of these burning thirsts which pulls out ones tongue? His euphoria will be complete". After this vow stripped of artifice I reckon no one would want to refuse his entire consent to which he has the care to add later not without reasons: " In the matters of happiness, everyone measures it on their own terms".

As for the relations that he has left from his voyages, we have appreciated just now the nature of the services that they [relations] have provided; we thought that the poetic and rousing breath reigning in his stories had contributed in awakening in us here the dormant admiration; but we believe it to be suitable not to try to formulate a more complete judgment on his work. Mr. Héry, in effect, who has written some beautiful pages, who has expressed in a charming way some beautiful thoughts did not always know, unfortunately, how maintain himself in the limits of irreproachable taste; he fell often in trivialities, in eccentricity; on top of the untimely abuse of these farmer-esque expressions, in the way of George Sand in his novels in berrichon; the partiality of comparing all that he has seen to objects that he has never seen, and that he did not know any more than his reader; the habit of measuring everything that he sees with the eye, of counting all the same, often rendered the reading of his writings tiresome. I like therefore best not to insist on the defective sides of his work in order to arrive at his Creole fables, some of which, let's say it hardly, are for us masterpieces, and do not cede much, in naturel and in naïveté, to the text even of Jean de La Fontaine.

Mr. Héry has appropriated for himself with an astonishing facility bizarre turns of phrases, naive expression, full of picturesque and absurd expressions in this impossible idiom, and more what one can call his genius, if a such a baragouin could have a genius. It is with this same singular aptitude that he had been able to imbibe so completely the morays of the vieux nègre of the olden days to become a remarkable virtuoso on the Bobre and a emeritus storyteller in Creole, of the histories of the past times of the Mascarenes.

It is regrettable only that these fables were not written in a sole dialect; but at the same time in the style of the cafre, of the malgache, of the noir créole and of the petit blanc, styles which differ notably to the ear of a child of the soil, and whose mixing rather harms the unity. But were you able to read them, you Creole, without a smile of sweet satisfaction, without being charmed of their spiritual naïveté, by their grace from their naturalness?

Permit me to cite one of them here—the shortest; I reestablished here the pronunciation such at it is understood around us.

(Last paragraph un-readable).
4.4.7 Bulletin de la Société des sciences et arts de l'Ile de la Réunion (1884)

The Bulletin of the Society of Science and Arts of the Island of Mauritius had 5 titular members:

1. **VOLCY FOCARD**, Chief Court Clerk Court of Appeals.
3. **JACOB DE CORDEMOY, CAMILLE**, Engineer, General Counselor of Saint-Pierre.
4. **ROUSSIN, ANTOINE**, High-School Drawing Professor.
5. **VINSON, AUGUSTE**, Medical Doctor.

As well as 5 member by correspondence or Creole Penpals:

1. **MM. HUGO, SCHUCHARDT**, Professor at the University of Graz, Austria
2. **JACOB DE CORDEMOY, EUGÈNE**, Medical Doctor, in Saint Benoit.
4. **LAHUPPE; THOMY**, Presiding-judge of the Court of Chaudoc, Cochichine.

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33 Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Benedict (1848, Saint-Benoit, Réunion)."
34 "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Camille (1840, Saint-André, Réunion)."
35 Roussin, Album De L'Ile De La Réunion: Recueil De Dessins Par A. Roussin, Accompagné D'un Texte Historique Et Descriptif Par Une Société De Savants Et De Gens De Lettres.
36 Legion of Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Philippe Eugène (1835, Saint-André, Réunion)," (Archives nationales; site de Paris: Base Léonore, 1835).
*CORDEMOY* Family (*CORDEMOY*’s in the Science and Arts Society)(3) \(^{39}\)

Titular Members

*Jacob de CORDEMOY, Bénédicte*, secretary general of the Direction of the Interior.

(1848-)

*Jacob de CORDEMOY, Camille*, engineer, general counselor of *SAINT-PIERRE*.

Members by correspondence

*Jacob de CORDEMOY, Eugène*, medical doctor, in Saint Benoit.

\(^{39}\) , (!!! INVALID CITATION !!!) Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Philippe Hubert (1806, Port-Napoléon, Réunion)", "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Benedict (1848, Saint-Benoit, Réunion)", "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Camille (1840, Saint-André, Réunion)", "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Philippe Hubert Eugène (1866, Saint-Benoit, Réunion)", (Archives nationales ; site de PARIS: Base Léonore, 1866); "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Philippe Eugène (1835, Saint-André, Réunion)").
4.4.8 Nomination of Austria Professor: Seance from February 16th, 1883

4.4.8.1 Means and methods of communication ‘optical communication’ between Reunion Island and Mauritius Seance from February 16th, 1883 (9-14, p.11)

“M. le President, turning towards M. L. P. Adam; the author of the project of a system of optical communications to establish between Mauritius and Réunion, thanks him for having well wanted to honor our Réunion with his presence; he felicitated him with his perseverance in pursuing the goal that he wanted to attain, to the great profit of the two sister islands whose relations would become more sturdy by their celerity and their frequency, in the ways of optical telegraphy; he expressed the wise that he tentative be promptly crowned with success.” (p.10)

“M. L. P. Adam responds that it is he who must find himself and who finds himself particularly honored to be admitted into the bosom of the society; that it is true that he has enterprised a proper work to render the biggest services to our islands, but that he will merit the felicitations of M. the President and those of his brothers, only when he will have lead this work to a good end. I hope that this will be soon, he said.” (p.10).

"M. August Vinson, in the name of the Doctor Hugo Schuchardt, professor at the University of Gratz (Austria), thanks the society for his nomination of the member in correspondence; he declares that the Doctor H. Schuchardt promised him the parcel of a work on the patois creoles of our archipelago." (p. 11)

4.4.8.2 comet of 1882

“M. L. P. Adam offers to the Society of Sciences and Arts a grande carte of which he is author on the Ouragans des deux hemispheres. He receives the thanks from the society.

A dialogue establishes itself between M. Aug. Vinson and M. L. P. The first desires to know if, at the approach of a cyclone, the state of the atmosphere would still permit [us] to correspond with Mauritius by optical signals; the second responds by observations whose conclusion is that of the note that he published on the subject in October 1882. This conclusion is that it is almost certain that: in ordinary circumstances; the signals produced with the aid of a petroleum lamp, with a flat wick, seen from a tranche, placed in the hearth of one of the big telescopic apparatus of Colonel Mangin; would be perceived from one island to another; whilch would permit, often 24 to 36 hours in advance the arrival on Mauritius of a cyclone; to telegraph the approach the Réunion.” (p.12-13) Seance of May 11th 1883 (p. 15-18)
Presidence of M. Le Siner

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A letter of M. Thomy Lahuppe, dated from Chaudoc, from February 27th, 1883, which addresses his regrets to the society that he was obliged to quit, but with which he would be happy to conserve relations, if it[the society] wanted to accord to him the title of a member in correspondence.

Mister Raoul Mahé (Seychelles)

A letter from M Hugo Schuchardt, dated from Gratz (Austria) from March 1883, which thanks the society for having discerned to him the title of member in correspondence. This letter is accompanied by an extract from the revue la Romania that this professor addresses to the Société and which is intitled : Sur le créole de la Réunion.

Bordeaux,

de Madame Hubert Delisle Founding Member of the Society

4.4.9 Schuchardt Letter to Réunion from Gratz, March 4th, 1883:

“Mr. Champon; having not come; the reading that he had announced could not have happened. At the prayer of Mr. the President, M. Dubuissou then gives the reading of the extract sent by M. H. Schuchardt on the Créole de la Réunion: this society decides that this extract will be reproduced in its bulletin. (p.16-17) Here is Schuchardt’s initial epistle from Austria: Gratz, March 4th, 1883

Mister President of the Society of Sciences and Arts of the Réunion Island

Mister,

I accuse the reception of this letter by which you announce to me that the Society of Sciences and Arts as deemed to discern to me the title of corresponding members. This is an honor that I accept with the most sincere
It is true that I occupy myself with studying the harmonious and interesting dialect from your island, born from the contact of two absolutely different races. In creole literature I believe to recognize two phases rather well marked. The one where the genie africain dominates in all its spontaneity; that of contes, of proverbs; of sirandanes; of airs de danse. This production are very important from and ethnographic and philologic standpoint, they deserve to be recollected and published; on the other hand; they do not possess almost any esthetic value. But the l’esprit français has not disdained to make itself child; for revest the forms of this infantile idiom and you have seen the blossoming/hatching of songs and fables of a charming naivety.”

Séance of June, 1883

**Figure 43:**

a. Album de la Réunion

i. Hery - Biography

1. Cordemoy

### 4.4.9.1 Cordemoy & Hery

a. Family through Marriage

i. Légion of Honor

ii. Geneanet.com

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40 Roussin, Album De L’ile De La Réunion : Recueil De Dessins Par A. Roussin, Accompagné D’un Texte Historique Et Descriptif Par Une Société De Savants Et De Gens De Lettres.
41 Cordemoy, "Notice Sur Héry."
42 Legion of Honor, "Dossier: Jacob De Cordemoy, Louis Philippe Hubert (1806, Port-Napoléon, Réunion)," (Vincennes; Paris: Base Léonore, 1806).
43 "Geneanet.Org : Build Your Family Tree, Share Your Family History and Improve Your Genealogy Research."
4.4.9.2 Corde moy & Chrestien

b. Geneanet\textsuperscript{44}

4.4.9.3 Corde moy & Héry & Chrestien\textsuperscript{45}

c. New Family Tree\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Patterson, Familyecho Creole Families.

\textsuperscript{46} Patterson, Familyecho Creole Families.
Mauritius the Star of Colonial Printing: Tuning the African Berimbau from ‘Great Down Under’

François Chrestien Desnoyer’s (1767-1846) The Essays of an African Berimbau an African Berinbau: Small Collection of Poetry, composed of chosen songs, corrected, and of a few Fables translated of LaFontaine[sic] in Creole; followed by melancholic meditations by an amateur (1822, 1831, 1869, 1998) 1st published in 1822 contains (17) seventeen fables and versified poetry whose. This 1st bamboo blue boat book has tunes to popular songs printed below each Creole title of new poetry all of which can be found in the 19th century French popular song tune book called La Clé du Caveau publish in 1811 in Paris, France a data base or index of melodies. The Essays of an African Berimbau (1831) contains fables in both French and Creole. There are also historical ballads of the Battle of Waterloo and the later fall of Napoleon’s Army in 1815.

It is also important to note that in 1847 Mauritius became the fifth location in the world to produce postal stamps, demonstrating its unique networks within the global economy. While here that fact that Mauritius represents a space within a Creole framework, there is still something to be said regarding the fact of the particularity that Mauritius has a special place in the world outside of creolity having commanded from so far away from big countries in the world a postal system which rivals all of the locations in the world except for four (List these four). Jean-Georges Prosper recognizes that Le Bobre Africain is the first collection of creole fables (i.e. Creole chapbook, bamboo blue book) placing it within the national material and cultural
‘patrimony’ of Mauritius given that it “projects also the African image of the slave colony.”

Prosper then asserts that predecessors in the Indian Ocean Diaspora represent a “créolie”, a term unique to “Mauritius, Rodrigues, Seychelles, Comores, Madagascar… etc”. Prosper makes note just in passing of the royal prince from Madagascar, Prince Ratsitatania, son of king of Madagascar, King Radama. It was in 1822 that this Malagasy Prince went into exile around 1820 [1822] and was henceforth sentenced to death for having supposedly incited a slave invasion following French defeat in 1810.

Furthermore, there is a commune on the island of Mauritius called Bambous. Could this city have been the inspiration for Marbot’s title? Could this fate of Prince Ratsitatan in Bambous, Mauritius in 1822 be related to or linked to as if by rhizome to Fort-de-France to the Did François-Achille know about this location?

1 “When Britain captured the Mascarenes in 1810, it renamed ile de France as Mauritius, Ile Bonaparte reverted again to ile Bourbon until 1848, and there after la Réunion.” For more on this moment in 1848 see, Larson, *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora*, p. xvi. ; See also Prosper, “La Place De Maurice Dans La Créolie De L’océan Indien,” 84-85.


3 For precise global location see, http://maps.google.com/maps?q=bambous&hl=en&ie=UTF8&hq=&hnear=Bambous,+Black+River,+Mauritius&ll=-20.277656,57.356873&spn=0.597713,0.666046&z=10.
Given the unique history of this island, it will be important to understand the economic relationship that Mauritius uniquely cultivated given that it was one of the earliest poles for official communication and postal services. Could Marbot have gotten mail from Mauritius while living in Martinique? Where else could Le Bobre Africain have been delivered? Was there a copy sent to Martinique?

As for François Chrestien, on can read in The Cernéen from May 7th, 1846, these revealing lines on his funeral:

"A numerous crowd paid their last dues to our old friend M. François Chrestien, who had succumbed yesterday's eve to a slow and painful illness. He was arriving in his 80th years, and until the moment when he was afflicted by this bad(ness) from which he died, he had conserved this freshness of imaginations of this vivacity of sentiment which attracted to him all the sympathies of the youth and which gave so much charm to the conversation."

The creole poetry of M. Chrestien which is not only appreciated by us, but those who were welcomed with pleasure and read with a lot of interest by the French literary hacks, Charles Nodier, among others, would suffice to guarantee on our behalf a durable memory, if his amiable and precious qualities did not assure it to him (p. 95)."

From Volsey Delafaye

1. "Oh never did you say in speaking of Mauritius,
2. That she was for the bard a poor wet-nurse,
3. That her nipple was with out virility sap,
4. And turning your forehead from the kisses of your mother,
5. Never you implored the breast of the stranger,
6. As having only, alas an inspiring milk. [...]"

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There are four major historical works related to directly to a general, historical, and dynamic account of Mauritius at the times of the publications of Le Bobre Africain (1822, 1833, 1869, 1998). These works serve not as the bases of my account of Le Bobre, but rather should be seen as the historical undergirding rather than the commencement of the account of Le Bobre. From the perspective of this this canon formation a creoliste from the perspective of creolistics, what we hope to find is the text outside of the fables. Any information found in these works pertaining or even not pertaining to creole as language must be noted. In addition, the unique contributions in terms of account of abolition and accounts of freedom have been supported and then radicalized the same theories and research methodologies in current 20th century historiographical criticism in the Caribbean. While some of the modes may certainly be similar, the case in point is that Mauritius does indeed have a history and one that his rightfully earned of the most unique particularizations.

5.1.1 Emancipation History of Mauritius – “Homeostasis”

The first work is the monumental tome written by Richard Allen entitled Slaves, freedmen, and indentured laborers in colonial Mauritius. Here, Allen is one who clearly states the larger disciplinary and methodological issues in his comparative analysis of Mauritian society pre and post abolition in relationship to the often studies Caribbean plantation system. He is concerned with the history of the system of slavery in Mauritius, the abolition of the system, the emancipation of said slaves as well as their status as “freedmen” and “freedwomen.” In this account, Allen looks are the
moment past the generalized teleological time marker generally defined as the ‘moment’ of abolition. His account of the modalities of the acquisition of civil rights, land and property, and economic sovereignty of the island itself renders a more nuanced vision of the role of social and civil status concerning race, gender, and class. Because he is trying to understand how the island of Mauritius created its own homeostasis after various economic change, Allen’s historical time period is fairly vast from 1721 French colonization until the middle of the 1930’s.6

5.1.2 Maritime and Navigational History of the Indian Ocean

The second work aiding to contextualize the printing and the contextualization of Le Bobre in terms of Mauritius and the larger economy is Michael Pearson’s The Indian Ocean. The work looks at the history of navigation in the ocean as a region. Here, Michael Pearson presents the ‘ocean’ as a phenomenon because of the fact that the Indian Ocean is the biggest Ocean on the globe and because working in oceans produced a difference set of concerns for researchers.7

5.1.3 Literary and Cultural

The third work is Megan Vaughan’s Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius where in her search for primary sources documents in the Archives National and the Congregations of the mission in Paris, the Archives

d’Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence, the National Archives and the Mahatma Gandhi Institute in Mauritius of Mauritius she “traces the history of immigration to the island & the complex creole society that developed from the mixing of European, African & Indian peoples.” She is noted for “[c]ombining archival research with an engaging literary style, Vaughan juxtaposes extensive analysis of court records with examinations of the logs of slave ships and of colonial correspondence and travel accounts.” He reviewer adds that the “result is a close reading of life on the island, power relations, colonialism, and the process of cultural creolization” and continues saying that “Vaughan brings to light complexities of language, sexuality, and reproduction as well as the impact of the French Revolution.”8

5.1.4 Historical Linguistics – Prince Ratsitatania

While the former books evaluation Creole as the socio-cultural phenomenon, it is the 2009 publication of Pierre Martin Larson’s Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora that offers a very clear incision into even the even the most radical and revisionist of historiographical and archival methodologies in utilized in the Indian Ocean by the lens Language and culture of the islands in the Indian Ocean. Through excavation of the epistolary writings between a Malagasy missionary and her Queen written in Malagasy Creole, Larson’s close readings of these personal letters offer great insight into the ways in with people communicated in the vaste

and dynamic multilingual space he describes for the reader. These letters presented in their original form offer traces of empire history, national allegiances, and most importantly language change. Here, while Larson’s primary source documentation is not the variety of French Creole from Mauritius what is most useful his is use and contextualization of communications and network. One of his principle arguments is that the Creole dialects and Malagasy language history of these islands in Indian Ocean are effectively considered an important part of the Western Indian Ocean or Eastern African African diaspora.

5.2 History in Creole – Ratsitatane

L'Affaire Ratsitatane: la révolte des esclaves dans les Mascareignes (1977)

These next references are rare and few collection of history written in Mauritian Creole by Issa Asgarally


Ratsitatane (1980)


5.2.1 Socio-Linguistics the full publications of Le Bobre

Robert Chaudenson

Robert Furlong and Vicram Ramharai


Philip Baker and Guillaume Fon Sing

5.2.2 L’Affaire Ratsitatane: la révolte des esclaves dans les Mascareignes (1977)\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{9} Issa Asgarally, \textit{L’affaire Ratsitatane: La Révolte Des Esclaves Dans Les Mascareignes} (Sainte-Clotilde: Goutte d'eau dans la mer, 1977), `.`
5.2.3 L’Affaire Ratsitatane: la révolte des esclaves dans les Mascareignes (1977)

“ISSA ASGARALLY is not the product of French culture. We can affirm that it is not even a product of western culture. He is before all a Mauritian, born in PORT-LOUIS, on the neighborhood of Ward IV where he would meet everyday all the communities and all the religions. His language of the university is English, his language of culture is French, and his language of all of the days is Creole. It is this multiple identity which constitutes the originality of his thought. Feed by the classical humanities of the Occident, and of the dialectic of a great many contemporaries, EDWARD SAID, MICHEL SERRES, AMIN MAALOUF, UMBERTO ECO or SANJAY SUBRAHMANIAN, ISSA ASGARALLY uses these formative elements to remelt them in the melting pot of the intercultural, and to, he says, “Deconstruct the colonial narratives which pit people and cultures against one another”. He brings to light another vigorous interpretation, free from the received ideas and from the a prioris of history.”

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5.2.4 *Ratsitatane : épisode historique de Maurice* (1980)\textsuperscript{11}


\textit{Issa Asgarally} is not the product of French culture. We can affirm that it is not even a product of Occidental culture. He is before all a Mauritian,

\textsuperscript{11} Azize Asgarally, *Ratsitatane* (Rose-Hill, Mauritius: Ioyster Publishings, 1980).
born in PORT-LOUIS, on the neighborhood of WARD IV where he would meet everyday all of the communities and all the religions. His language of the university is English, his language of culture is French, and his language of all of the days is Creole. It is this multiple identity which constitutes the originality of his thought. Feed by the classical humanities of the Occident, and of the dialectic of a great many contemporaries, EDWARD SAID, MICHEL SERRES, AMIN MAALOUF, UMBERTO ECO or SANJAY SUBRAHMANIAN, ISSA ASGARALLY uses these formative elements to remelt them in the melting pot of the intercultural, and to, he says, “Deconstruct the colonial narratives which pit people and cultures against one another”. He brings to light another vigorous interpretation, free from the received ideas and free from the a priori of history.”

12 Issa Asgarally, L'interculturel Ou La Guerre, Préface De J.M.G. Le Clézio (Port Louis, Mauritius: Presses du M.S.M., 2005).
Figure 46: Cover page depicting Malagasy *PRINCE RATSITATANE* in *Ratsitatane* (1980) by Azize (Issa) Asgarally printing in Rose-Hill, Mauritius\(^\text{13}\)


Figure 47: Cover page of Lucien Brey’s *Ratsitatane : épisode historique de Maurice* (2005) featuring a blood stained machete on a tree stump symbolizing the beheading of the Malagasy commander prince.

### 5.2.5 Ratsitatania in Flight\(^\text{14}\)

“Ratsitatane”

\(^{13}\) Asgarally, *Ratsitatane*.
This year of 1822 there were many slave revolts, and the marrons were in the mountains. The slaves were revolting in Villebague, because the manager Dufour had had some men whipped to death. And Lubin my husband inebriated himself with tafia each night and beat me, he hated me because I refuse myself to him, and when I was expecting a child I had gone to see a sorcerer who made me eat dirt mixed with plants to abort. Everywhere the slaves were mistreated and died of hunger, and a régisseur named Cadou had beat a young boy of twelve years of age, and for that many more of the Blacks had escaped and had rejoined the marrons at the mountain. The night, one saw the fires, and one heard well the war cries in the mountains, or rather the slaves who spread out in one field to another in barking like dogs. One day, a slave named Violette, who protected me against Lubin, said to me: a man, a son of the great chief of the Grand-Terre, has escaped from prison and he went to the mountain. He told me the name of this man, Ratsitatane, and his name resonated, like a drum of war. With him it has an army, the slaves of Villebague, of Grande Rosalie, Belle Vue, of l’Embarras in Creve-Coeur, they are up there in the mountain, they will descend and liberate all the Blacks. Each night the fires sparkled, and they changed places and no one knew where they were. But Violette told me what Ratsitatane had said, when he had escaped from prison: come with me, and I will free you. And Violette told me the names of those who were with Ratsitatane: Le Veille, Tupile, Nelson, Kotovo, and still others. And Violette told me that he was going to rejoin them, and he asked me to come with him.

So on night, returning from the cutting [of the cane], I prepared a meal for Lubin, I put in his soup an herb that inebriate and, as he snores in his bed, I made a packet of my habits and the provision of manioc-cake that I had kept since the days between the rocks sheltered from the rats, and I took the road of the mountain, towards the summit which is dark and up like a wall below Minissy. I ran without stopping myself through the field, right up until I got to the pebbles of the mountain, and I had my feet in blood. It started raining, and I ascended the streambed towards the clouds, so that the dogs of the militants did follow the trace of my blood. For two days I hid myself in the forest, and I was sheltered in a cave. I hope that Violette would find me, but I did not see anyone. I slept in the day, and at night I search for the odor of the fires of the marrons. I remember that my father Askari, and my uncle Mjomba who hunted lions with his sagaie [bamboo lance]. I remember also that my mother Malaike knew how to hunt. She was with in in the forest, it was she who watched over me at the entrance of the cave while I was sleeping. One sole time I heard the barking of dogs, and I started to tremble because the militants killed all of the marrons that they found, cur their hand to receive a prime. But the dogs followed the trace of the wild pigs and left on the other side.

I was on the mountain that they call the Window, I was so high that I could distinctly see the lights from the port each night. On the 3rd day, I had finished my provisions of manioc-cakes and I gnawed at the roots. I was so weak and I thought that I was going to die, but death seemed better than returning in the hut of Lubin. And the 4th night, as I was close to the current to drink, all of a sudden the forest opened itself and I saw the Blacks around me. I believed that they wanted to kill me and I cried out of fear. But hey did not do
me any bad. To the contrary, they carried me up until the clearing where I saw my friend Violette. Next to him there was a very tall man, dressed in a red cover, and I knew that he was the son of the great chief of Grande-Terre, the one which they call Ratsitatane and who had said that he would liberate all of the Blacks and bring us back to our country. I am Kiambé. I am not Balkis. I have become that which I was, a long time ago, when the thieves of children came in my village and killed my father. My father is the warrior Askari with the long sagaie, my mother is Malika, I have in the mouth the taste of the ball of manioc that she was giving me, in telling me some very sweet words, kidege kisuri, beautiful bird, ua mangu, my flower, names just like sugar. It is he, it is Ratsitatane who returned that back to me. The forest of the Longue Mountain has become my true house. No more of other exist, neither the Misissy house nor his gardens, neither the room of Madeemoiselle Alix, where she dressed me with children's dresses. Neither the Lubin's hut the pallet where the lie the bedbugs, and wall of branches where the scorpions live. Everything has become so far, differs, since I have with Ratsitatane and the marrons of the mountain, and that I see the plantations over there, all before in the valleys. Each day we walk in the forest, we are going from hiding place to hiding place, we reclose the entry to the caves with branches of thorns. Léveillé, Tupile, Nelson, Kotovo, they are in my family, and Violette is my friend.

Ratsitatane is our friend. He is big and strong, he wears on his chest a necklace of black wood and of obsidian. When I had been driven before him, the first day, I trembled, I was necked? Because of the buses, which had ripped apart my dress and my feet, were in blood. He spoke to me sweetly in his language, he posed his hand on my head and I felt I heat enter in me. The Blacks have fabricated for me a stretcher in branches and leaves, and they carried me all the day up until the spring of a river. It is Violette who took care of me. There were there other women, and they washed me, they took care of my wounds, and they gave cooked roots to eat from the ashes, wild guavas, and I drank water from the spring in gourd.

At the marron camp, there were a lot of people, women, children, and each day new slaves arrived. At night, they lite fires in the neighboring mountain, to trick the militiamen and make them think that we were numerous. The Whites from the Port saw all these fires sparkling and thought that the army of Ratsitatane was very powerful, that soon it would descend upon the city and it would burn all the houses, and it would get rid of all of the country. Each night the temper raised, certain escaped slaves carried arms, firearms, some butcher sabers, and other came with provisions and with tafia and, when they had drunken, the men danced in pushing out cries, as if before leaving for war.

But, Ratsitatane did not want to launch an attack. It stayed apart, it seemed reflect. One night, I went to bring him some palm wine to bring and, as I was cold, he covered me with his red wool coat and, since I was still trembling, he spoke to be very sweetly in his language, and I felt his warmth enter into me and it is then that he became my husband. He called me by my name, Kiambé, and I called him Moumé, Moumé yangu, ô my husband.
It was the first time that I had truly had a husband, because prior to the men had always forced me and beat me, like the slaves from Mwarabu of Kilwa, or like Lubin de Minissy. And the following days, I walked with Ratsitatane up until the mountain of the Window, from where on saw the sea well. Ratsitatane looked at the sea without moving, as if he was already in thought on the boat, which would return us back towards Grande-Terre, and I thought that if he returned to live in his palace next to the King Radama, I could stay with him, and for the first time since I had left my village I had the desire to laugh and to sing, I felt free and I wanted to live and each night I slept with my master in his hiding, sheltered under his coat, so that he could give me his warm

We were numerous and I thought that we were invincible, that no longer would I be a slave in the homes of these white foreigners.

One morning, there came a Black named Laïzaf, and I had no faith trust in this man. Since I served some manioc, I poured the ashes on the food to warn Ratsitatane that this man was a trader but whispered on the ash without understanding. Because I had heard talk about this Laïzaf, and I knew that he had helped the marron hunters to gain money.

This day here, I little before noon, Laïzaf had moved further away to fire his fire arm, en saying that it was a signal to guide the fugitives on the mountain, but that an accord that he had passed with Orieux and Lescalier, the chief of the militia. In secret, he had attached the white clothes to the trees, self-proclaimed as guiding the marrons to Ratsitatane, but in reality it was a signal to the hunters of the marrons to indicate to them where our king was hiding himself. Then Ratsitatane fled with a few men, and I went with them up until the Longue Mountain. Ratsitatane was saying that he wanted to regroup all the marrons to set up a big battle against the army, and that we would end up the victors and free. One of the priest of Grand-Terre who was present with Ratsitatane sacrificed a goat and made the blood run on the earth, and he said that the Gods of the mountain would soon send to us big cloud to hide us from the eyes of the Whites, and that following would appear a huge wind which would chase away the soldiers, and we could then mount the boats and return home. Then the priest drew on the ground a star that they called Vintana, and he said to Ratsitatane that we were protected by the Mandrava, which destroys, and the Manitsaka, which crushes. So Ratsitatane shared in two his magic necklace, and he have me the half of it, with shells and black wood, so that I had protection from God and from Grand-Terre.

He did this, and he was sad, because he knew that he had been betrayed by Laïzaf, and that the English soldiers were in the process of ascending through the forest to surprise from behind. He placed his hand on my head a last time, to give me his heat, and he departed by the other side of the mountain, from the side of Mont Ory, towards the Moka and Minissy River. He entered in the forest with a certain few of his men, Léveillé, Nelson, Kotovoli, and some others wui [?] remained faithful to him. And me I remained in my cave behind the door of thorns, and all that I kept of Ratsitatane, is his necklace, and the big coat in which we had slept all these nights. It is there that the soldiers of General Darling and the militiamen of Orieux and Lescalier, guided by Laïzaf, found me two days later, when I was ready to die.
The report of **William Stone**, Principle Clerk, under the commandment of **Captain Rossi**, on the events, which produced themselves in **Mauritius** on February 20th, 1822 during the capture of the rebel **Ratsitatane**.

Since the news of the evasion of the named **Ratsitatane** was known, Black Madagascan prisoner to the central fortress of Port-Louis, the orders of the **Major General Ralph Darling**, as well those from the Governor of this colony, **His Excellency Robert Townsend Farquhar**, were that he needed to be found at any cost, and all rebellion of the fugitive slaves had to be punished severely, so to avoid all risks of revolution such as the one whose victims were formerly colonists from Saint-Domingue. Because each inhabitant of the Port, as well as the adjacent districts of Pamplemousses, from Moka and of Plaines Wilhelms, were under the threat of an attack of the marrons. The **Governor** ordered that a large number of troops be mobilized, from the 56th regiment under the orders of **Major Darling** and of the **Lieutenant Colonel Dumaresq**, as well as the Volunteers of the 82nd regiment of the **Prince of Galles**, under the order of Lieutenant **General Pigot**, and commanded militia by MM. **Orieux** and **Lescalier**. And they started in route towards **Le Pouce** finally cutting the route of Port to the rebels. The peace officers of the Colonial Militia of **Baron d’University** was equally mobilized given the dead or alive capture of **Ratsitatane**, and I received orders to join them because I had approached **Ratsitatane** in the prison and was able even to recognized him in the case that it would have tried to flee.

During two days for the companies have camped out at the foothills to study the position of the rebels, then on the third day, a little before 4 o’clock in the afternoon we ascended the course of the Lataniers River up until the mountain. This night, we observed the fires on the **Window Mountain**, and other fired on the tents (?) of Pouce and of Poeter both. We feared then that the number of revolts was considerable. **General Darling** sends a part of the effectives to the north, to command the route of the **Longue Mountain** in the side of **Echelle**. The colonial militia and the men of Orieux camped at the foot of a boulder in Escargot, at the spring of the Pouce stream. And February 20th in the morning, during an extreme heat, I walked with the detachment of 56th commanded by the **Quartier-Master Nesbitt**, on the Pouce Mountain. In this space there was no longer any path, and we had to climb the rocks using our hands and feet like monkeys. Finally, a little before noon, we heard the shots, and we recognized the signal that the Black **Laizaf** gave us to indicate the position of **Ratsitatane**. He had suspended lines to the bushes to show to us the passage. We arrived up high in the mountain towards two o’clock, and the boulders were already spread out with bodies, those that the hunters of the marrons had killed to earn their compensation. When the battle occupied the summit of the mountain, the rebels surrendered one after another, because they were hungry and no longer had anything to eat, and seemed very afraid. But to our big surprise we captured forty odd men, who told us they belonged to the domain of **Villebague**. We knew that one part of the revolted had fled towards Moka, with the principle agitator being **Ratsitatane** and his lieutenants. The captives have descended towards the Port attached with chains attached to their necks. The orders were to capture at all costs **Ratsitatane**; I accompanied the battalion of the **Quarter-
MASTER NESBITT towards the valleys, to rejoin the militiamen d’ORIEUX who were already in MOKA. As for LAIZAF, the orders were that he was arrested without being put on the chain, and directed to the PORT.

The night of this same day, a bit before 6 o’clock, the hunters of d’ORIEUX found RATSITATANE and three of his accomplices hidden in the bottom of a ravine of the CASCADERS RIVER not far from MINISSY.

When I arrived at the ravine, RATSITATANE was attached to a tree his legs in blood because the hunters had hit him with blows from a stone. The only reason for which the hunters had pared him was because of the compensation of $1,000.00 that the GOVERNOR had promised for his capture, because he wanted the rebel to be judged publically as an example. For the capture of the lieutenants of RATSITATANE, the prime was $250.00.

He recognized RATSITATANE without any pain despite the challenges of the past days fleeing in the mountain, he did not hold himself in the humiliated posture of the fugitive slaves, but he was upright proudly and his face carried the pride of a man who never ceased being free.

We requisitioned buggies from the house of MINISSY, and the same night, late in the night, we put the rebels in the prison where they had to wait to be judged. I add that the next day, towards noon, the hunters of the d’ORIEUX brigade stopped two slaves, one aged of about 40 years and was named VIOLETTE, the other a woman aged of about 25 years, hidden in a cavern of the POUCHE MOUNTAIN. Interrogated by myself, the woman was called BALKIS, & belonged to the house of MINISSY, & and to be the wife of RATSITATANE. But judging her bad state of health and presently in spite of all the signs dementia, I decided not to send her to prison, but to the hospital of Blacks of PORT LOUIS, charged to the surgeon HASKINS, so that she would be infirmed there. As for the Black VIOLETTE, he was condemned to the prison.
5.2.6 MAURITIUS: “the star” of colonial printing

"The Mascarene Archipelago, situated in the South Indian Ocean, within the Tropic of Capricorn, included three islands: MAURITIUS, formerly called ISLE DE FRANCE, RÉUNION, formerly called BOURBON ISLAND, and RODRIGUES. In size RÉUNION is the largest, but the most important from the historical point of view is MAURITIUS, while RODRIGUES, the smallest of the three, is also the least important, its history being not distinct from that of MAURITIUS, of which is has always been a dependency…It started with Pedro Mascarenhas in 16th century."

“Diego Pedro Mascarenhas (1470 – 16 June 1555) was a Portuguese explorer and colonial administrator. He was the first European to discover the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean in 1512. He also encountered the Indian Ocean island of MAURITIUS in 1512, although he may not have been the first Portuguese explorer to do so; earlier expeditions by Diogo Dias [or Gomes] and Afonso de Albuquerque along with Diogo Fernandes Pereira may have encountered the islands. In 1528 explorer Diogo Rodrigues (after whom the island of Rodrigues is named) named the islands of Réunion, Mauritius, and Rodrigues the Mascarene Islands, after Mascarenhas.”

The 18th century marked the beginning of ‘European settlement”. The Dutch tried twice in 1638 and in 1710. The French settled in 1721 the Réunion Governor, Mahé de Labourdonnais as Governor in 1735. Réunion had been a French settlement since 1654” (p.7).
In spite of the apparent proximity between the two islands, *Toussaint* notes the major underlying differences.

**Réunion vs. Bourbon Island--->**

**Isle de France BEFORE Bourbon**

Seat to *Isle de France*

He notes that the "the two colonies proceeded apace[?], but on different lines" nothing that *Bourbon* was fertile and agricultural, but had not harbor. On the other hand, "*Isle de France* was provided with two good harbors bec[oming] a trading centre--eventually the main trading centre on the sea route to *India*." The French would hope to use *Mauritius* was a naval base with the sole purpose of blockading the British passage to *India* which play and important role when the British land and take over in 1809-1810. *Bourbon* would stay French.

*Toussaint* divides that history under French rule in four period distinct periods:

1. the arrival in 1721 with the founding of the *French East India Company* whose goals he describes are with an "eye to immediate profits only". The second period begins with the establishment of the French government with *Mahé de Labourdonnais* who sat from 1735 to 1746 who *Toussaint* describes as having "very little means." The third period represents a shift in class when in 1767 the island becomes a registered as one of the "crown colonies" and placed on the *comptoirs* as *colonies de peuplement*.

At the moment of the 1789 French Revolution the old Regime in *Ile de France*" was represented by the most enlightened settlers who, some time before the
outbreak of the Revolution, began to agitate for political liberties." It was in the Colonial Assemblies that the "Republican ideas were at first well received, but when the Convention tried to enforce the abolition of slavery a reaction set in and from 1796-1803 the island was almost in a state of open rebellion against their mother country"(p. 8).

He notes like most historians of the period that most of the literature spoke of "privateering expeditions against British commerce in the Indian Ocean"(p.8). One of the important dates in this revolutionary period is 1803 when the General Decaen came into power citing: "he solemnly promised to restore slavery and therefore met no opposition with full representation. He was known as the benevolent dictator. On printing he starts with this 2nd period with the character known as Pierre Poivre, the intendant of the island and "one of the most important benefits which the change of administration conferred upon the island." Toussaint describes him as official, unofficial, branch of human activity, historian, bibliographer, almanacs, two newspapers....best in 18th century !"

ONE NEW PLANT -->

COMBINE

BOURBON -->

1792 -->

Colonial Assembly

1800-1804 --- broken

no printing --- as of publication of the book!
Through a material criticism Toussaint, particularizes the cases of Île de France marking that it was a lay enterprise with the first in the area being that of Java noting that religious tracts, prayer books and parts of the bible are not devoid of interest for the student of bibliography, but for the historical student they have little significance."

The other factors include "personalities of the printers themselves." How could we discover the personality of a printer of an island? What would the personality be?

Auguste Toussaint then explains that while accounting for a history of the early printing presses is justifiable, it is nevertheless a very "difficult" endeavor for two reasons. He first explains that the naval and military history of the islands, of Île de France in particular, has attracted the attention of historians to the exclusion of less spectacular aspects of their development." He resolves that most of the works available on these islands, of Île de France in particular, has attracted the attention of historians to the exclusion of less spectacular aspects of their development. Most of the works available on these islands deal mainly with the part which they played in the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in the Indian Ocean in the 18th century and have little to say on their social and political development." The second reason, "is the problem of procuring the necessary material which is scattered among many different repositories and is often accessible or difficult to trace"(p. 9).

“The first important fact to be noted about printing in the Mascarene Islands is that it was entirely a lay enterprise with limited objects. As a matter of fact, Île de France was the second land of the Indian Ocean where printing was distinct from missionary activities, the first one being Java, in the Dutch East Indies. This influenced the character of the output, which shows a much greater variety than that of other countries where printing was introduced at an earlier date. Religious tracts, prayer books

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and parts of the Bible are not devoid of interest for the student of bibliography, but for the historical student they have little significance. Had the products of the early presses of the Mascarene Islands been limited to these types of publications they would, indeed, have been hardly worth studying from the historical point of view" (p. 9).

What is most useful about Toussaint’s Early Printing in the Mascarene Islands, 1767-1810 is that he provides not only the internal self-generative print history of Ile de France, but also the relational histories that this island has had outlining how military and sociopolitical change influenced the mode of production, the mechanism of the circulation of the print material, as well as the reception.

5.3 Francois Chrestien auto ethnography

Prologue

preface

“A Reminiscence”

“A Day In Moka”

Here, it is particularly useful to add the notion of "editorial success" as used in Marimoutou’s article on both Le Bobre africain and Les Esquisses africaines.

5.3.1.1 Signature of Judge Jean Nicholas CHRÉSTIEN-Désnoyers

Figure 49: 4th Edition: image of signature, “Signature of Jean Nicholas Christien-Désnoyers—Archives nationales de Maurice, 1782, KA 79D, Fol. 4, V°.”
5.3.2 1822: 1st edition - Original cover page

Figure 50: 1st Edition facsimile of surviving cover page currently lost: Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain: Petit recueil de poésies, composées de chansons choisies et corrigées, et de quelques Fables traduites de Lafontaine[sic] en créole; suivies de méditations mélancoliques par un Amateur (1822)\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{16} Chrestien, Benoit, and La Fontaine, François Chrestien (1767-1846) Dans Les Essais D'un Bobre Africain, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{17} Furlong and Ramharai, Panorama De La Littérature Mauricienne: La Production Créolophone, Volume 1, Des Origins À L'indépendence, 1.
5.3.2.1 1st Preface: The Anonymous Ambitions of the African Berimbau Player

The only remains of the first publication of *Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain* is the cover page of the 1822 edition. The 1st edition title page has 11 lines of text with a stamped engraving covering half of the page. The largest print in the text ‘essai’. The next apparent text line is *Bobre Africain*, which is only longer than it is larger in font.\(^\text{18}\)

Below lies the first authorial preface in the bamboo blue book canon. It is in the preface that read the authors intentions. In 1975, VINESH HOOKOOMSING and PETER STEIN from the Université de Provence in AIX-EN-PROVENCE found in the Carnegie Library a copy of the first and original 1822 edition. It was ‘flaking’ with major ‘insect damage’ and ‘large holes.” It is thanks to Furlong and Ramharai that we have an image of the first edition of The Trials of and African Berimbau:

"It is very difficult to write Creole; especially in order to preserve the pronunciation, which makes a part of the credit, and to bend it the rules of poetry; I appeal to all of those who have tried, especially in the so pleasant translator of *Puss-in-Boots* to whom I owe the best fits of laughter I have ever experienced.

*My country* where one can count so many charming *women*, so many worthy *wives* and *mothers* tender and respectable; where among *men*, and thanks, in large part, to a worthy *institution* in any *government* that protected it and encouraged it, it would show itself commendable at the *Bar*, the *Navy*, *Agriculture and Arts*, where, in the dawn of the young and spiritual G ... we can already recognize an amiable poet [sic].

*My country*, I say, has not yet produced a grammarian for its *patois*; for this simple and naive idiom; in which we said and our *first* feelings and our *first* needs and whose expression bring these attaching memories back to which we

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seem to regress in life and to conjure up a moment of this inflexible sand which rules over our fugitive years.

So, I had to create a kind of spelling and writing in the genre of Vade; but to get closer to that of French pronunciation. [...] 

It remains for me to intercede for some inevitable poetic license in disette where I threw in feminine rhymes in Creole; and sway the much too severe censor who would want to see, perhaps, a bit of futility and presumption, and in the genre that I have adopted and the bluettes in general, I dare offer to the public; I wrote some, I admit, with this weakness that one has for one's country and with the desire to accentuate its patois dialect which is not without charms. In the others, I followed the course of my imagination: my purpose is fulfilled if I find in it truth and feeling, yet it is perhaps much to ambitious for a single player of the Bobre?

Since we have moved backwards in regression in our thext from Martinique (1846) to Reunion Island (1826) and then to Mauritius (1822), it is important to note that this is the 1st authorial preface here presented in this archive, but we also see that while it is indeed the first and only up until Trinidad (1869) by pasasing, again Martinique (1846) as well as Guadeloupe (1860). In my reading, because I recognized a global circulation, I present the continued publication of the bamboo blue boat book to be a set of palimpsests, then this is the preface which could indeed be implied in every commanding or commandeering of any subsequent bamboo blue boat book.

Let’s take a closer look at this remarkable preface to understand the author’s paratext as well as what Richard Watt’s refers to as the ‘packaging’ of colonial and or post-colonial text. Clearly, Chrestien has racked his brain attempting to create an orthography of Creole in Mauritius. The reader is invited to appreciate the difficulty of his scientific task at hand stating: “It is very difficult to write Creole”. What is significant to
my reading of his preface is that there is nothing here extraordinary about Creole. This
difficult can be attributed to the fact that most likely his only point of reference was the
systems of French orthography. The pathos of nationalism and patriotism resounds clear
and strong as evident by his two declaration of “my country” and “my country” not
referring of course to a new British Colonialization, but rather as a sort of ode to a former
time under French rule. This first ‘my country’ to the image of the women both young
and old both married and unmarried on this island. He seems to speak against a narrative
of women being raised on an island with any rules of respectability. More importantly, it
seems that his book could also be a gesture to the women on the island who then will be
responsible for raising the children from this country.

The 2nd utterance of ‘my nation’ is even more fascinating because he explains that
his ‘nation’ has not yet produced a grammarian for this patois’ implying that it is not so
much for the grammarian to be generate from nothing but that the nation must be actively
involved in the production of his own grammarian. His choice of words here regarding
production equating a grammar to rumo, spices or any other product which results in a
exchangeable commodity. Here the commodity that the island should resource and
produce is then a grammar from a grammarian.

The second part of this phrase “this patois” sets Mauritian Creole in parallax to
the patois language which were thriving in the French countryside.

Louis Héry never employs the parallel of patois in his text, but obviously as we
move forward to Martinique he cannot help by note the ‘patois-créole’ in the title itself
being the only *bamboo blue boat book* in the nine islands and territory imprint the term ‘patois’ directly in the title. At this stage, after framing ‘creole’ via ‘patois’ he further intimates to the popular assemembles in which we said and our *first* feelings and our *first* needs and whose expression bring these attaching memories back to which we seem to regress in life and to conjure up a moment of this inflexible sand which rules over our *fugitive* years.
In 1831, **François Chrystien-Desnoyers** provides us with the first
dedication-epistle. In French the term *dedicace* is is related to the verb dédier [to
dedicate] “dédicacer” [to inscribe] with two symbolic practices “offering the work as a

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token of esteem to a person, a real or ideal group, or some other type of entity” or in addressing in the form of epistles, certain odes, certain hymes, elegies, and other poems of amorous lyricism”, this could also be in the form of a dedicatory epistle such as the one found in Virgile travesty. Genette reminds us that “LA FONTAINE, as everyone known, dedicated the 1st collection of his Fables to MGR. LE DAUPHIN, the 2nd collection to MME DE MONTESPAN, and the 12th book to the DUKE OF BURGUNDY.” Citing that he “not presenting that as a statistic” is humorous but significant because the dedication usually. Genette enquires: “Where does one dedicate? Since the end of the sixteenth century, the canonical site of the dedication has obviously been at the head of the book and today, more precisely, on the first righthand page after the title page. But as we have seen, during the classical period a first mention of the dedicatee was readily accommodated on the title page itself, to be deducted, as it were, from the epistle that generally followed. Written on August 15th, 1831 in the second edition of The Trials of and African Berimbau, the author François Chrétien-Desnoyers inscribed a touching dedication in his 2nd work to a certain set of long and perhaps forever lost friends, Madame Borel, the young, and to her husband, presumably M. Borel, from whom, he laments, he has been ‘separated…by the immensity of the seas and probabaly forever.” Chrestien appears to dedicate his work to a couple that is very far away from him referring to his ‘creole poems’ in a ‘naïve patois’ they all can remember from the ‘1st few years of life”: “Separated from you by the immensity of the seas and probably for ever, but penetrate trademarks of goodness and kindness that unfortunately in
times past, I constantly found from you than from your dear husband,
my good old friend is under your auspices I dared to appear this second edition
of my creole poems. May I, as well, by the naive patois of our happy climes,
remember in your memory the first few years of life a sweet and exciting a time
that pure smile that heart right, if volontier, the memory of the country; may I
especially this feeble tribute prove the unalterable sense of respect for
attachment with which I am,

MADAME,

Your most obedient and very affectionate servant and friend,

F. CHRESTIEN.

PORT-LOUIS, MAURITIUS ISLAND
August 15th, 1831”

‘a notable mauricien, in love with his native land in the management in which he
is invested, "French" patriot, opposed to the English colonialisation. In the preface to his
edition of the The Trials of an African Berimbau (1822), NORBERT BENOIT signals that
he was mayor of his NEIGHBORHOOD. Civil Commissary of the Police in FLACQ
likely a Free-Mason, President of the Administration Assembly, Vice-President of the
Directory in 1793. Notice on FRANÇOIS CHRESTIEN:

In his preface to the 4th and lastest edition with French translations is the piece
entitled To present a player of the Bobre:

Born November 9th, 1767, in PORT-LOUIS, chef-lieu of the ISLAND
OF FRANCE today MAURITIUS, JEAN FRANÇOIS CHRESTIEN, son of JEAN
NICOLAS CHRESTIEN-DESNOYERS and of MARIE FRANÇOISE BIGAIGNON, was
baptized November 1?th in the SAINT-LOUIS church, in PORT-LOUIS. He had
as godfather JOSEPH MERVEN, port captain, and for Godmother ANNE
FRANÇOISE LEHARD?? the wife of PIERRE BIGAIGNON.

JEAN NICHOLAS CHRESTIEN-DESNOYER was originally from METZ,
PARISH OF SAINT-GORGNON, in MOSELLE, FRANCE. He arrived on the island
towards 1765 to occupy the position as chief of the customs of the Compagnie
des Indes, and married his MARIE FRANÇOISE BIAIGNON on November 25th,
1766 in SAINT-FRANÇOIS, in PAMPLEMOUSSES. On August 30th, 1782, he was
named greffier of the royal jurisdiction. On December 13th, 1793, he became clerk conservator of the mortages and deeds (citation #1).

**Jean François Chrestien** was not an only child. His brother, **Adolphe Maximilien**, born on January 26th, 1782, and baptised on February, had for Godfather le haut, colonel de cavalerie, et major général fe l'armée de l'Ide, represented by Félix Edouard, brother of Jean François, and for Godmother Anne Thérèse Françoise, his sister.

Following a request on the date of January 23rd, 1791, Jean Nicolas Chrestien-Desnoyers had received in concession a habitation of one hundred eight arpents in Praslin, the islands of the Seychelles, in the said place of Baie-Sainte-Anne, that his ??? had sold Joseph Grucht Vaulbert father. The State had ratified the transaction on February 25th, 1796. (citation #2). Jean Nicolas Chrestien-Desnoyser does not seem however to have render himself to the Seychelles for the mise en valeur of this property. He dies on August 14th, 1799, in Port-Louis, at 66 years of age. (citation #3)

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5.3.2.2 BNF Edition: Hypertext vs. material – illustration and date of acquisition

The first time that I came to the BNF this edition was in very good condition. The tinting of the pages appears to be green. There are small brown marks on the edition. There are no holes, tears, rips or scratches on the BNF edition. However, what the library staff had not noticed was the fact that their rare book had been missing four pages. I notified la president de salle de lecture to notify her of the fact. We then looked to the version online and noticed that their scanned edition on the gallica.fr website was also missing the pages in questions. This fact told us at least that the pages had been missing prior to the digitization of the artifact. There are also two stamps of acquisition on in the book. The first stamp is a bit clearer than the second stamp. I gave the number of acquisition to the president de salle. The illustration of the stamp can be indexed to a book of icons of acquisition stamps since the inception of the catalogue. Since the stamps
changed over time to represent the current state they are each unique and can be dated. In the case of this 2nd edition of *Le Bobre* (1831), the president de salle researched the number and the stamps. It appears that the BNF acquired this particular edition between January 1st, 1898 and January 3rd, 1899. What is less clear is if the pages were missing upon acquisition.20

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20 The pages missing are 11, 12, 13, and 14. The works in part are "Le Jaloux." There are just 15 verse. The works missing (at least by the order of the 3rd edition is see pages 4-7 for missing verses: "Le Créole Philosophe" and "Le Crillot et la Fourmi." At the end, what is left in part are the lines of "La Danse et le Mariage." At the point, we went to the digital version to see if it also had the missing pages. I gave the number of acquisition to the president de salle. She looked the number and said that she could see what she could do. She flipped through the book and saw a stamp. the stamp or the number allowed her to look at an index of stamps. It is between: 4/01/1898 3/01/1899.Ibid.
Figure 53: 'habitation'
‘a notable mauricien, in love with his native land in the management in which he
is invested, "French" patriot, opposed to the English colonialisation. In the preface to his
edition of the The Trials of an African Berimbau (1822), Norbert Benoit signals that
he was mayor of his neighborhood. Civil Commissary of the Police in Flacq
likely a Free-Mason, President of the Administration Assembly, Vice-President of the
Directory in 1793. Notice on François Chrestien:

In his preface to the 4th and lastest edition with French translations is the piece
entitled To present a player of the Bobre:

Born November 9th, 1767, in Port-Louis, chef-lieu of the Island of France today Mauritius, Jean François Chrestien, son of Jean
Nicolas Chrestien-Desnoyers and of Marie François Bigaignon, was
baptized November 1?th in the Saint-Louis church, in Port-Louis. He had
as godfather Joseph Merven, port captain, and for Godmother Anne
Françoise Lehard?? the wife of Pierre Bigaignon.

1 Malfini is Creole for Eagle or a recomposed word ‘finish badly.’
Jean Nicholas Chrестиен-Денозе was originally from Metz, Parish of Saint-Gorgon, in Moselle, France. He arrived on the island towards 1765 to occupy the position as chief of the customs of the Compagnie des Indes, and married his Marie Françoise Bigaignon on November 25th, 1766 in Saint-François, in Pamplemousses. On August 30th, 1782, he was named greffier of the royal jurisdiction. On December 13th, 1793, he became clerk conservator of the mortages and deeds (citation #1).

Jean François Chrестиен was not an only child. His brother, Adolphe Maximilien, born on January 26th, 1782, and baptised on February, had for Godfather le haut, colonel de cavalerie, et major général fe l'armée de l'Ide, represented by Félix Edouard, brother of Jean François, and for Godmother Anne Thérèse Françoise, his sister.

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5.4 Francois Chrестиен auto ethnography vs nostalgia

“A Reminiscence”

“A Day In Moka”

“François Chrестиен: Album tropical ou Receuil de pieces inédites & autres du porte-feuille de (l’auteur): Ile Maurice Imprimérie du Cernéen. Incomplet quant à certains poesies en langue française celles en patois creole sont completes + (faisant suite au Bobre Africain.)” Marimoutou notes that "he is fully inscribed in the system of power in the colony, on connivence with the social and cultural practices in his milieu."

“Among the false cover-pages with which certain works are decorated, there are some which standout by the clumsiness of their inventors. For example, he who had announced in 1751, under the title of “Berlin, le Portefeuille de Mmme de T***”, published by M. de V***, thought possible that this volume would have a huge flow, with the aid of the lite veil with which the author and the editor would seem o cover. But it was not necessary to open it to be duped by its title. It is without a doubt what happened to the book-keeper
Nyon Sr., who announced as such in the second part of the catalogue of the books of the Duc de la Vallière, no 13385: “le Portefeuille de Mme de T*** (de Tengin), published by M. de V***de Voltaire). I looked through the volume; it is nothing else but a collection of poetry or of mixed pieces of prose and of vers, by different authors, published in Paris, in 1715 under this title “Portefeuille de Mme***”: Almost all the pieces that he enclosed were reimprinted in the same “Amusement du coeur et de l’esprit”, by Etienne-André Philippe.”

5.4.1.1 Une Réminiscence (Janvier 1833)

Reminiscence violin

“... It was a Sunday, a day the old times so attractive to me; a day of rest and enjoyment where the heart, then, full of pure joys of adolescence, open to all impressions of life, happy with the freshness of the breezes of the perfume of the flowers, of the morning salute, I was going the countryside under the hospitable roof of friendship to spend a delightful day shared between the bath to the river, hunting, good food, rest in the grove, and nighttime ... Ah! Often at night would extend well into the night! Violin, ravanne time passes, some silvery voices of young Creole slaves, invited to the pleasure of the dance so seductive and so beloved when the example of our good ancestors, we jumped rhythmically in all the intoxication a wild gaiety instead of ... but blame no one; let us just sigh at old memories .... She was there to double my delight!: pretty as the eye who lifts her wet head after the storm, slender and flexible like a baguette and tuberose, friendly like the smile of a mother, her soft gazes darting through her long eyelashes seemed to be the amorous ray that perceived, first, the foliage on pure flower of the field; the flattering tone of her voice was always a caressing word, a gracious phrase to express yourself and I loved her! .... Alas! As we do not fall in love at the age of sixty! –This time my itinerary was changed, a slight indisposition had alarmed her mother who came to the city to consult the physician's art and the morning walk had been ordered; I knew, and at dawn I was at this CHAMPS-DE-MARS in this, is much further stretched in the plain; young trees displayed their virginal freshness, spread the sweet smell of the flowers in houpes and projected their green stems and fragrant, instead of those silent stripped trunk debris, which now seem fences scattered a few old boxes for discontinued! I waited ... ... Quietly occupied by the warbling of amorous dove, or varied song of the Cape canary animating so gaily mobile vault which stood on my head; I waited ....... Intoxicated with his memory; sometimes burning with impatience, accusing his laziness; sometimes comes to this dreamy melancholy or with leads us so much charm that feeling of love in his first invasion; when readings or coarse and treacherous examples not yet altered its purity and modesty and gentle; when dangerous jokes of a corrupt or brutal world council vice have not yet profaned innocence varnish that puts a delight to every emotion of life!

—Finally screw it came slowly, leaning on the arm of her mother.

—Que voluptuous grace, what charm in his works! ... Ah! I can still see; Gods, separating me from her took pity on me; its image, its features, da step, everything is still there to rekindle the spark that remains of my life and rekindle some pure sensations to the fund of a heart placed by years!
—A canezou, white as alabaster its beautiful arms, clasped her waist and drawing; gracefully on her head in pretty pleated paliacat holding her beautiful hair with two strong locks fell in ebony spirals on her neck; a large silk handkerchief, black with pink stripes, preserved the moisture in the morning; she passed away from me, but my eyes never left her, saw fall from the small bouquet of jasmine…”.
5.4.1.2 Une Journée à Moka (en 1831)(p. 47) – The Judge’s Blues

It is in his small work “A Day in Moka”

Invocation

« I recognized the hill where the first hare had fallen under my verses, and I still saw good M. DESVAUX with his uniform of the militia, his military ponytail his powdered, posing, while laughing, on my young forehead, the crown of triumph;

Pure intoxication of heart,
Heavenly flame of life,
Dellirium of honor.
O holy love of the fatherland "

The sacred cradle of my good mother,
Rustic fields where my ancestors lived,
Supercilious pose severe Monts
Consider my eyes Only with respect;

Smell of the sweet and light breeze which carries all the way to me the fragrance of flowers,

Hail to you! ... And from my dreamy verses
I return among you to form my simple tribute;

Do not push it away! ... The roses of springtime

My memories find here the happy image
Erase with me the ravages of time;
The pleasures of yesteryear occupy my inebriation,

Create for me a few flattering dreams
Amid worries whose arrow wounds me.
Happiness only nests amoung errors.

I softly whispered this Creole invocation, both palpitating at the same time from pleasure and from fatigue while climbing this rugged slope of the Montagne Ory to go to Moka, theater of my childhood, and years of the pure pleasures of fifteen years of age!

—Already I felt this coolness neighborhood whose influence revived me; already I was breathing this vague and wild smell of the savannahs that I knew so well…… Assailed only by friendly memories ! Each point on the road, every rock, every house, bringing back the image of some scenes of my youth:

—Here I saw this SOUILLAC BRIDGE, already hit with an air of dilapidation; I could see scattered trees at its edges, remains of a small piece of wood where I had fled the pursuit of a furious bull; further raising above here where the ruins of the beautiful DESVAUX dark and vast orchards that once
surrounded it; I recognized the hill where the first hare had fallen under my verses and I still saw good M. DESVAUX with his uniform of the militia, military ponytail his powdered hair, posing, while laughing, on my young forehead, crown of triumph; further still stood the ancient stone house of Tribard floor with his Roman and gray rocks, which seemed a witness of the passed times and whose appearance once, as close to the home of my family and of in term of my trip, made my heart beat so when I went on Saturdays, hugging my loving mother and eating my Big Mama’s good venison stews; positively I was going back to the terrain in past-times belonging to my parents; I was about to breathe yet again this atmosphere of family whose pure emanations opened my soul to so many pleasures and joys passed without re-tour.

—I hoped still find some box, some clues I could have so religiously touched! Alas ... ! everything was destroyed.

—The Factories of unnecessary and expensive luxury had replaced the long and sturdy house in the Bigaignon Forest which had defied so many storms and whose simple and modest room, regularly rubbed with fragrant herbs each morning, dressed its white curtains and its noisy bird cages, had so often sounded bursts of our good laugh villagers! ... I was looking in vain for the Rose-lined canal that fed the square pool that had been forsaken me where I grew carnations for my mother’s garden hut where I would secretly eat the large lemons and chilli they would only allow for which we do allow me a moderate use; the commander’s hut before which on Saturday evenings there formed the animated dancing of the Blacks of the habitation;

—I could no longer find anything ! nothing but my heart to regret ... I was sad and thoughtful!; I hurried to dine in order to explore the upper part of the neighborhood and see again the small temple where every Sunday, in past times, we saw the arrival of lines of young ladies adorned their single white canezoux, their modest straw hats, flowers brilliant with them and with which it competed fraicheur.

—The space I traveled to arrive there seemed very deserted and rather monotonous. It was not smiling this way and facilitated by chant of the bazardeurs would supply the city, by palanquins, traveler pedestrians, heavy handcarts, laden with wood or charcoal on their way or port; I met barely three or four slaves two of whom greeted me in the name of master. I had no need to look to know that they were old?

—A few beautiful homes and beautiful gardens fears built at great expense and seemingly abandoned, replaced these vast and commodious cottages of the old times where fun, comfort and hospitality breathed on the open face of the settlers and where the alien ever met a frank and cordial welcome; these huts of old age when I had so many times is part of the electrical panel and picked chaste kisses on innocent and rosy cheeks, soft as the down of a swan ... All was changed! ...outside of... my memory and my sensitivity.

At last I came to the Church; it was the same site, the same ship that a protective hand had restored: I was seeing again the esplanade in front of the door where the palanquin used to be deposited, where the groomers came to seize the horse of the squire, where we met one another with so much pleasure,
and where parts of the rest of the day were complotted; I pictured the solemnity of times when the temple, adorned with bouquets, yet all attentive assistants, echoed the touching voice of Pastor recommending to Christians « love and purity »

—Who, both the organ and the venerable example of sublime religion, called the blessings of heaven to the faithful flock entrusted to his care…..What charm in so simple memories!

—Why should we fetch array in those happy times that seem to come back ? –All was gloomy and silent around me, it was starting getting late, I also wanted to visit the cemetery; though I had many motives to distance myself from any image of death? ... But one attraction, that I could not overcome, was still dragging, last perhaps among the ashes of some friends forever at laid at rest. I could see the names of my of those who I knew; more than one sigh greeted the tombstone that covered for eternity, the victim of an inflexible law. I sat, pensive, on a grave, my head resting on my hand, a few tears escaped in bitter tribute to the memory of the dead .... Hélas! Had I had so much to regret?

—A Moment the moon cast its melancholic rays and dubious light on the little mound of the trenches; the slight evening breeze rustled the leaves of the trees which surrounded the enclosure and those that a few pious hands had planted there.

—This situation, the solitude, the silence of the night, the aerial sighs of the branches gently agitated, seemed to create a mournful concert of plaintive accents....I fell asleep likely:

—A dream, a vision, an illusion without a doubt ? took possession of my senses; over fifty years of my life vanished in an instant.

—I was at one of these parties campaigns once so common: after dinner was going to the Moka River at the house of M. Pradier: the bath house, fishing for shrimp, the indispensable carri, greens with' fatback, but the large dish of cooked crepes, oval stone table, long and moaning arrows banbou, the clear air and escaping simmering in a thousand cascades ... All was there, existing and buzzing around me; family, neighbors completed this animated picture of the most natural gaiety and most frank. Suddenly, as if under a fairy’s wand, everything was dissappearing; the stone table remains alone and was changing into a sepulcher; a shadow rises silently, large, majestic and still showing this poise of grace that I have missed the point; a soft, caressing voice whose accent still seems to vibrate on my heart, calling me by name? .... I shuddered absorbed in a magical influence which created a thousand emotions of fun and fright :

« François, this voice said to me, why these tears ? Your career is advanced, from here on out all you need it a little bit of courage; push away any useless regrets and know always how to respect the will of Heaven, do not feel
sorry so bitterly for those who have finished the arduous voyage of life, and make yourself worthy by completing your duty, come join in the asylum of peace! ...... It was my mother!

![Figure 55: 3rd Edition of “Trials”](image)

5.4.1.3 1869: 3rd edition Material and Hypertext

Material – PARIS, FRANCE

Hypertext – Bodelian Library, UK; Google Books

Library Cover Page

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3 Chrestien and La Fontaine, Les Essais D’un Bobre Africain.

4 Chrestien and La Fontaine, Les Essais D’un Bobre Africain.
Figure 56: 3rd Edition: *Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain* (1869) with edited title “en patois mauricien” possible by a previously owner\(^5\)

Copper Cover Page
Figure 57: 3rd Edition: *Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain* (1869). Inside 2nd cover page
Figure 59: (same as Fig. 5)
Inscription by unknown owner:

I. When was the 1st edition of African Berimbau, by Francois Chrestien. All my research to find this edition were unsuccessful. -


--. It contains 27 poems in Mauritian patois & 19 pieces into French; the whole is preceded by the dedication.-

--. The 3rd edition. (It;) to 23p (illegible) will reference the poems in Creole Patois, a less "Animals Sick of the Plague: free translation of La Fontaine (p.53), reproduced in following this 3rd edition.

--that lacunae does not seem to me to come from the negligence of the publisher who believed suitable not to follow the order in which these poems were published during the lifetime of the author, in the 2nd edition.-

IV. -- Chrestien, Francois, born in Isle de France died in this island, Port Louis, 5 May 5th, 1846 aged [sic] 80 years. --After Civil Commissioner in Flacy it exercised during the last…[?]…de interpreter of Creole patois before the Court of Appeal of Mauritius.-

V. Vessel Captain Louis Freycinet during a departure cancellation in Mauritius, collected by Francois Chrestien a sample of his Creole fables, published one of them, "The Hare & the Tortoise," in Volume I of the relation of his Voyage Around the World 1817-1818-1819-1820 – in Paris, 1827 - Vol 2; in 4o. The author, he says, tried with ??? success “on numerous other pieces of the same genre that ????, I….(?)...Power.”
Robert Chaudenson is one of the world’s renowned Creole Linguistic theorist. I presume this after having seen his name in many of the founding books on Creole

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7 Chrestien, "F. Chrestien (1820) : Les Essai D'un Bobre Africain."
Linguistic Theory. Its being published by Agence Intergouvernemental de la Francophonie and Institute de la Francophonie indicates that governmental institutions have finally began to acknowledge Creole Linguistics. La Créolization is strict linguistic theory giving a multi-layered definition of ‘Creolizition’ and setting forth to proof it.

Chaudenson writes on Sociolinguistics in Creole dialects, French History; Creole dialects, French Social aspects French-speaking countries; French language Dialects French-speaking countries; French language Social aspects French-speaking countries; in addition to Grammar, Comparative and general Phonology Case studies.

He defines Creole as the following:

“Les créoles français, nés de la colonisation des XVIIe et XVIe siècle, résultent, dans le contexte socio-historique de la plantation esclavagiste alimentée en main-d’œuvre par des populations immigrées linguistiquement hétérogènes, de l’appropriation non guidee de variétés approximatives d’un français déjà koinèisé Durant la phase anterieure de société d’habitation. La créolisation est donc, en fait, un phénomène exceptionnel dans la mesure où dans des conditions socio-historique et sociolinguistiques spécifiques (Plantations à mains-d’oeuvre immigrées) ont été mis ne oeuvre, hors de toute contrainte socio-culturelle et de toute pression mnrmative, des processus linguistiques (essentiellement l’autorégulation et les strategies d’appropriation), qui se manifestent dans bien d’autres circonstances, à d’autres degrées, pour les langues en cause, et, et l’accurence, pour le français” (448).8

"Here is a book feed with fecund contridiction, carrier of burning questionnings, charged with grave expectations. For the first time of our hisoiry, 40 or so creole voices originally from the two Oceans have assembled in writing to manifest to the unioning.”

Coordonnateur :
Felix Lambert Prudent
Lanbè Félis PRIDAN

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9
Caraïbe – Océan Indien

Avec la collaboration :

For Haiti, from : Maximilien LAROUCHE

For Mauritius, from : Vinesh HOOKOOMSING

For Reunion, from Robert Gauvin

For the Seychelles, from Danielle D’OFFAY and Guy LIONNET

Edition Caribéennes

Agence de Coopération Culturelle et TechniqueSection I

1. la genese

2. La formation de oralite

a. Hé Mérilo, chant de chatou (Guadeloupe)

3. Les deux formes de la créolité dans la literature créole initiale.

"Dès le XVIII siècle quelques “grands blancs”[sic, with quotation marks] s’attèlent à la tâche delicate d’écrire des chansons creoles. Les plus célèbres sont Duvivier de la Mahautière, conseiller à la cour de Port-au-Prince qui donne en 1757 Lisette quitté la plain, et le Gouverneur de la Guadeloupe Bouillé qui, en 1769, aurait écrit Adieu foulards, adieu madras. De ces deux textes originaux, on apprend fort peu sur le projet littéraire des Béké, sinon qu’ils observant les nègres à travers leurs prismes idéologiques minorants, et que l’amour esclave représente pour eux un
motif émouvant de création artistique. Autre dit, lorsqu’on condescend à écrire en créole, il vaut mieux se limiter à des sujets mièvres et de peu d’envergure, puisque de toutes façons, le veritable public concerné n’est pas apte à déchiffrer un message complexe !” 10

19th century

“In the beginning of the 19th century, Creole is used for writings of military origins (declarations of good intentions of different “agents of the Directory” and other colonial emissaries who have for their names Sonthonax, Lecler, Burnel, Bonaparte, etc.). These are some texts with a heavy and pompous phraseology, which guard the imprint from the original French, translated hastily by not very competent secretaries. The religious writing on the other hand (Catéchism haitien towards 1828 and Catéchism de l’abbé Goux in Martinique towards 1842) show a better knowledge of the language my missionaries, who will be for that matter responsible for the first Creole grammars.” 11

“The reading of these four works reveal a double conception of creolité for these writers: with Marbot and Baudot, respectively fonctionnaire colonial and notaire béké, the Creole text must amuse, make gay, and defend a conservative ideology, and above all it rests on an anterior French plinth. It is a creolité of the transposition of fables, poèmes, operettas, a literature of copy and of reproduction of imported models, a Creolité of doubling. The morals and animal recitations « détourné » from the first meaning that Aesop or La Fontaine recognized. The nègres are always presented as infantile or primative archetypes ; the text in the end never reach a real autonomy, it is always destined to be read à la haute voix.” 12

« Kréyól langaj bèlté, langaj lakonésans,
Langaj vase-douvan.
Fonmifól pa fól pyës… sé présé i présé !

“Dépi tchèk lanné, dives kalté moun rantré pi pwofon andidan mès lékriti kréyéol la. Apré konférans, apré menteng, apré kont, apré chanté, poézi, téyat, yo vini twouvé yo té bouzwen matché an pawòl natif natal pou y té rété, pou’y té dire, pou lodyans pran-tan’y miziré bélte langaj la. Sé dé-la sè grangerk tala mété kó-yo ka ékri an kréyól. Yo envanté anmizi anmizi an system lékriti kabalistic, yo cache monté an istil partikilyé, yo mare ren yo pou tchenbé réd. Liv tala sè rézilta an gran goumen pou rasanblé pawòl ki soti dépi Giyàn, Sent-Lisi, Matimik, Donnik, Gwadloup, Ayiti, Moris, La Réyinyon, ek Lê Séchèl, pou tout moun pé sa è an grenn koko zyé yo ki mannyè lajénès jòdijou ka balansè kilti épi lang kréyól pou sové namm tout pép kréyól.”

"Listwa liv tala té ké réd pou rakonté. Réd épi byen long ! Nou zap ran bon fè anba tout kalte défikilte, rita lapòs, sousi pou jwenn misyé entèl oben man bagay, traka lajan pou pibljyé…Men listwa liv tala sè listwa an sèl kamaradri dépí Lamèrik jik Loséyan Endyen adan an sèl lidé défann bann zil kréyól nou an, è pa lèsé pèsonn pile pyè nou ankó. Pyès menm !

"Lèspswa liv tala sè envité lasistans vini tann yonn dé lèl t-pawòl, vini gadé yonn dé téks, vini dékouvé bélte langaj nou an, grandè laonéans kréyól la, lépéssé divini nou an.”

Kréyól palé kréyól tandé

Kréyól matche kréyól chalviré.

"Fonmi fól pa fól pyès, sé présé i présé"
(The ant is hardly crazy, it is presses she is pressed)
(“Don't take the hurriedness of the crazy-ant for any folly”)

Figure 62: Cover page of Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (1998) with illustration of the ‘bobre’

“The (Africain) Bobre Player” by Paul Gaverni Essays beyond essays
Figure 63: "Le Joueur du Bobre". Paul Gavarni. Musée du Quai Branly

Description: A young man in a white jacket carries in his hands a Bobre, head turned to the left. Behind him tangled vegetation of low height. The Bobre is an instrument of Malagasy origin. It is an arc having a timber is "pan maron" or "zavoca Maron" and the cord fiber choca or brake cable (Danyel Waro). A gourd as a sounding board slides on the rope. This chord is beaten by a bamboo stick ("batavek"). The interpreter shakes a rattle ("kaskavel" or "Kavia") which is a vacoa purse filled cascavelle seeds in the hand holding the stick. This instrument is present in Africa and in the Indian Ocean. In Rodrigues, it is called "bon", to "bonm" Seychelles, Mauritius "bomb" (disappeared in the 19th century). All bobres consists of three parts: the bobre itself, baguette, or the cascavelle or the cascavielle. The bobre found in Brazil under the name berimbau is a musical bow made of wood from the "pomme marron" tree of counsel or brown fir, formerly stretched nylon or small steel cable. The sound box connected to the bow and the string is made of a gourd, which is away or close up in terms of compression on the stomach depending

13 Paul Gavarni, Bobre De L’île Maurice, 1840. 27.8 x 22.1 x 0.1 cm, 12 g. Rose-Joseph Lemercier; J Armelhault and E. Bocher, L’oeuvre De Gavarni: Lithographies Originales Et Essais D’eau-Forte Et De Procédés Nouveaux, Catalogue Raisonné (Paris, France: Librairie des Bibliophiles, Rue Saint-Honoré, 338, 1873).
the sound you want to obtain. Sound may be varied by moving the index between the arc and the chord. The striking chord with a fairly thin bamboo stick, and the "cascavelle" small bag in vacoas (filled with seeds) with a handle is held in the same hand as the wand. The same bobre, if it has a unique and beautiful sound is still a monochord instrument, is for starting the songs, and is quickly covered by other louder instruments.

Down "Office 97 Rue Richelieu" - Printed by Lemercier Up "or comic Musicians picturesque No. 2"

Marimoutou notes that "he is fully inscribed in the system of power in the colony, on connivence with the social and cultural practices in his milieu."

5.4.4.1 Signature of Jean Nicholas Chrestien Désnoyers

![Signature Image]

Signature de Jean Nicolas Chrestien-Desnoyers - Archives nationales de Maurice, 1782, KA 79D, Fol. 4, V°.

Figure 64: 4th Edition: image of signature, “Signature of Jean Nicholas Chrestien Désnoyers—Archives nationales de Maurice, 1782, KA 79D, Fol. 4, V°”

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14 Chrestien, Benoit, and La Fontaine, François Chrestien (1767-1846) Dans Les Essais D'un Bobre Africain, p. 20.
15
5.4.5 The making of Mauritian Creole: “La Concordance” (2007)

The next publication to feature a full print of The Trial of an African Bobre is written in English and published by Phillip Baker and Guillaume Fonsing in 2007 under Chrestien, "F. Chrestien (1820) : Les Essai D’un Bobre Africain.”

Figure 65: The Making of Mauritian Creole: Diachronic Analyses from ancient texts

The next publication to feature a full print of The Trial of an African Bobre is written in English and published by Phillip Baker and Guillaume Fonsing in 2007 under

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16 Chrestien, "F. Chrestien (1820) : Les Essai D’un Bobre Africain.”
The most important offering of this text concerns a new scientific method for organizing creole documents, a *concordance*; the most up to date constellation, some of which is based on earlier publication, of *ancient creole texts* predating the 1822 publication of *François Chrestien Desnoyers The Trials of an African Berimbau* (1822). From the 18th century, we are introduced not to books, but rather a set of 9 archives of creole language dug out in administrative documents labeled as: *affairs, letters, sentences, interrogatories*. As for the 19th century, Baker and Fonsing transcribe the creole from the publications from the aforementioned court proceeding of the Malagasy Prince Ratsitane.

; Louis Freycinet’s publication and review of “The Rabbit and the Tortoise” discovered in Mauritius during an extended stay in [DATE] during his scientific expedition to complete his mapping the coast line of Australia in 1818 and subsequently published in his final narrative account 1826 in his *Voyage Autour du Monde* (1818/1826), five famous citations of Creole by French writer and artist left for sick in Mauritius, Milbert (1811), and finally the first and most infamous “I’m not ya Daddy” by Creole Thomi Pitot (18??).

Finally, Baker and Fonsing offer anew and extended critique on the music by way of the most famous or well known song in Chrestien’s work.

The 1st edition of the *Trials of the African Berimbau* (1822) cited is sighting at the Carnegie Library in Curepoint, Mauritius, of two professors of Creole, Vinesh Hookoomsing and Peter Stein , from the Université de Provence in Aix-en-Provence. They note that the edition, ‘flaking’ with ‘insect damage’ due to ‘large holes’ it had been
placed in the collection without and index card! Published some years later after Robert Chaudenson’s previously cited work above from 1981 the authors of *The Making of Mauritian Creole* presents a discovery of 20 or so *ancient creole texts* from Mauritius dating from the 18th century up until the late 19th century not published in Chaudenson’s edition on the texts from both Mauritius and Reunion Island. It appears that there have been at least two times when their research had been lost to natural disasters citing a huge amount of lost work due to the 2004 Tsumani in Sri Lanka.

“Chrestien has been described as an administrator and interprète auprès du Tribunal pour le patois mauricien (Sauzier [n d] cited by Hookoomsing 1879).

Benoit (1998) was able to find a copy of this extremely rare edition, thanks to which one learns that, immediately below the title of this publication are the words:

Definiteness and Specificity in Mauritian Croele: a syntactic and semantic overview

Ena et gagne: à propos de la genese de l’expression e l’existence et de la possession propriété en créole mauricien.

Verb marquers

External

“comparative typology”

“La concordance” ! ! ! ! →Data analysis

Dates Socio-linguistic history of Mauritius and its Creole (to 1968)

Case Study
Analyses of “Letter to the Colonial Officer of the conditions of emancipated negroes in the Mauritius.

"17.

1822a Ratsitatane's Trial

"At the request of the then ruler of Madagascar, the British agreed to have the troublesome Prince Ratsitatane sent to Mauritius and be imprisoned there. Ratsitatane managed to escape from prison and is alleged to then have met up with a group of maroons with whom he planned to carry out a series of attacks on whites and their property, but accounts of this vary considerably only the few example in Mauritian Creole which follow."

February 26th, 1822

Anglais monte français restez. Dimain nous voulez la Guerre avec zotres pour Touyé vous. f 94

Sur quoi Brutus lui avait dit Si pas qui ça betise là et s'est en allé.

Le nommé Brutus a passé devant leur boutique et leur a dit en passant, vous en savez pas vous autres que ça prince malgache au bagne fini sorti là haut montagne pour faire la Guerre sans dire si c'était aux blancs ou aux noirs [F.170].

Lui a demandé “Hé bien qui ci ça et lui a dit c'est ça le roi malgache qui fini aller là haut montagne qui z'autres guetter ; que Jupiter a repété qui bétise ça est ça est ce qui quoi capable quitter mon maître pour ça le roi malgache là" [F.175]

February 27th, 1822

Lui Lapaix était marron bon à vini [f. 210].

A répondu Si vous peur laisse moo faire tout seule, moi capable avec Tonnerre [f. 218].

The proceedings also included early attestations of two Mauritian Creole words: simbou [F.223] (‘roll of cloth put on the head to support a heavy object’) and langouty [F.352] (Colonial Office, CO167/64, Extracts from Trial of Ratsitatane)."
Milbert
Freycinet
Music

“The bobre africain refers to a single-string musical instrument re-created by the African slave ad, mytenumically, to the player, in this case the amateur poet and his MC rendering of French songs and fables. Chrestien's Essais is the first attempt at literary composition in MC, so the instrument as to be tuned, the audience prepared and the work dedicated to and blessed by friends, well-wishers and esteemed personalities.”

“Another lyric from this publication is Le Pauvre Diable, probably Chrestien's best known lyric. However, the somewhat distorted version of this which appears, without acknowledgement, in Dumas's George (1843) is probably even better known. The two versions are printed side-by-side below. The main reason for doing this is that Dumas is a wellknown author whose books are reprinted from time to time. As a consequence, this lyric is frequently "discovered" and taken to be a genuine example of MC. The reasons why this is a distorted version of Chrestien's original are interesting.”

“It has long been recognised that Dumas could only be, at most, part author of this book. The main reasons for this are (a) the descriptions of the mountains and the flora of Mauritius are so detailed and accurate that only someone who had spent a considerable amount of time in Mauritius could have written them; and (b) that the names of many of the characters in the book are the names of real people, French and British, who lived in that island in the first decade of British rule (from 1812). The chief Mauritian "suspect" (57) as co author or sole author is Félicien Mallefille who left Mauritius as a boy in 1822 and is known to have been friendly with Dumas in Paris in about 1840 (as indicated in the introduction to the 1974 edition of this book) but his (so-) authorship has never been confirmed.”

“Nevertheless, this provides two very important pieces of supporting evidence which are not widely known. Chrestien (1822) was the first popular publication in MC aimed at the eliterate general public and much have made quite an impact, being republished twice. It is thus not unlikely that Mallefille would have known some of its songs when he left in 1822. The differences (in bold typeface) between the Chrestien original and the Dumas version set out below are all consistent with someone attempting the recall the lyrics of a song they had heard as a child in a language they had had little opportunity to use for about 20 years (with the exception of one obvious typographical error: maigache for 'malgache').”
“The other evidence comes from the plot of the second half of the book which is in most respects the story of the Malagasy prince Ratsitatane. He was imprisoned in Mauritius in about 1821 at the request of the then Malagasy ruler who suspected that the prince was planning to overthrow him. In Mauritius, Ratsitatane bribed the prison guard of maroons and became their leader. He is then alleged to have planned a serious of attacks on white-owned property, stealing guns and food (but information about this varies considerably). He was eventually caught and brought to trial. Some court records survive and include a few slaves responses in MC. The whole Ratsitatane affair was undoubtedly the biggest news story in the Mauritius of 1822 and turned the prince into a folk hero as is still the case today. This seems to have been the inspiration for the second half of the plot of the “Dumas” book, except that it is Georges who escapes from prison and goes on to lead the marron attacks against the whites. A boy who left Mauritius in 1822 would not forget the details of the most exciting event of that year. It thus seems certain that Mallefille made, at the very least, a major contribution to "Dumas"s Georges.”
5.4.6 Panorama de la Littérature Mauricienne: La Production Créolophone (2007)\textsuperscript{17}

Figure 66: Panorama de la Littérature Mauricienne: La Production Créolophone (2007)

“1807-16 --> wrong....The witnessing of Freycinet” -->

"Le Témoignage de Freycinet" (p. 79-86).

François Péron & Louis-Claude de Freycinet, Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes, 1807-1816.

Source: édition originale

"Mauritius is situated there fore in the peleton of the head of the literary creativity in Creole. It is certain, besides, that the work circulated because of the literate colonist of

\textsuperscript{17} Furlong and Ramharai, Panorama De La Littérature Mauricienne : La Production Créolophone, Volume 1, Des Origins À L'indépendance, 1.
the francophone islands of the Indian Ocean and of the Antilles maintained a this period epistolary relationships followed between the islands or with France. François Chrestien himself addresses it to some friends and 'connaissances'."

- The imaginary dialog Thomi C Pitot Mauritian Creole with a slave (1805)
- The first catechism in Mauritian Creole 1828
- The full text never re-edited since 1835 by the proclamation of the abolition of slavery in Mauritius in Mauritian Creole
- All proverbs, sirandanes, expressions identified by Baissac (1880) and Decotter Nemours (1920)
- Mauritian proverbs published with those of the West Indies from Louisiana by Lafcadio Hearn in 1885
- The unpublished letters of Anderson pastor and his Mauritian Creole translations of the Gospels (1883 - 1900)
- Zan Zozeph unpublished poem in Mauritian Creole Léoville Man (1917)
- The etymological sheets Savinien Mérédac the Rise
- The catechism in Mauritian Creole Father Dussercle for Ilois (1939)
- Full list of works in Mauritian Creole origins to 2005

For the first time the entire production Mauritius and Mauritian Creole is collected in one volume for the period from the origins to independence in 1968.

This essential part of the Mauritian literary heritage was until the time confined to library shelves except for rare expensive editions still available. It became urgent to share with the greatest number: the general public, researchers, teachers, students, ...

Under the pens of François Chrestien (1822), Pierre Lolliot (1850), Henry Charles Descroizilles (1867), Charles Baissac (1880), Decotter Nemours (1920), Philegène Soulsobon temps (1925), Savinien Mérédac 1930-1940), Xavier Le judge Segrais (1939, 52, 76), production Mauritian Creole speaking is offered here in all its forms as sacred as profane.

Another emergency necessitated this volume devoted to créolophone production: the state of fragile original documents because of the passage of time, the tropical climate, the humidity and the inevitable manipulations. The documents have been reproduced with the greatest fidelity up to meet what could be considered faults or uncorrected shells. Similarly, the original spellings
have been retained as they are evidence of the evolution of Creole spelling through time.

Finally, production Mauritian Creole speaking is part of a global cultural production: remember what was happening at the same time in Mauritius and in the world in time charts with seemed necessary, as systematically as possible, mention of the literary productions in Creole Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion. References to facts of history and civilization complement this anchorage in the world.

1805: Dialogue imaginaire pour une réfutation tardive

C. Thomi Pitot, Réponse au voyage à l’île de France de Bernandin de Saint-Pierre

Imaginary dialogue with a black from Mozambique

1822 : Bobre africain (1822, 1831, 1869, 1838)

SONGS

1. 1757: Lisette quitté la plaine (Duvivier de la Mahautière, Haiti)

2. 1769: Adieu foulards, adieux madras (Bouille, Guadeloupe)

3. Idylles et chansons, ou essai de poésies créoles (anonyme habitant, Philadelphie)
5.4.7 Le Bobre Africain translated into RÉUNION Creole (2011)\textsuperscript{18}

Figure 67: Le Bobre Africain followed by ‘Lo Bob Afrikin’ (translation-adaptation in RÉUNION nias Creole : Daniel Honoré)(2011)

\textsuperscript{18} François Chrestien and Daniel Honoré, \textit{Le Bobre Africain} (Sainte-Clotilde (Réunion): Surya Èd., 2011).
5.4.8 Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (2012)

Figure 68: Nabu Press. French Quarter, CHARLESTON, South Carolina
Figure 69: Nabu Press. French Quarter, Charleston, South Carolina

Book history Africa
5.4.10 Creole FREYGINET: CONCLUSION

Textes Créoles Anciens : La Réunion Et L’île Maurice : Comapraison Et Essai D’analyse (1981)


Isle De France Creole : Affinities and Origins (1982)


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19 Chaudenson, Textes Créoles Anciens : La Réunion Et L’île Maurice : Comparaison Et Essai D’analyse.
21 Kihm, "Les Difficiles Débuts Des Études Créoles En France (1870-1920)."
Panorama De La Littérature Mauricienne : La Production Créolophone, Volume 1, Des Origins À L'indépendence (2007)


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5.5 **Commander on the Move:** LOUIS CLAUDE DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET (August 7th, 1779 – August 18th, 1841): Voyage Autour du Monde: Mascarenes, May 5th, 1818 - August 2nd

Figure 70: Christie’s Sale 6694 Lot 20 - Cover Page of *Voyage Autour du monde* (1825)²⁴

Hand of *FREYCINET*: Le Conte vs. the Fable Review of “Le Chasseur” & “Le Lièvre et la Tortue” Quai Branly.

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"Independently from French, which forms the base of the language in L’ILE-DE-FRANCE, a sort of patois was invented by the noirs, who, not being able to bend themselves to our syntax, pronounce our difficult words, and grasp the proper value of some of our expressions, have travestied them in their manner. Little by little usage made law; and maybe it would not be without interest today to examine the rules of this langue créole, which is not unknotted [dénuée] of charms.”

“In the hope of freeing myself one day to this study, I had reunited a considerable quantity of materials that I had destined to be mis en œuvre in the part of this Voyage which has langues as its object; but that part, which was not the least painful of in our work, finding itself already abundantly full, I was forced to abandon my first design. I could not believe however needing to deprive the reader of a small number of at least of échantillons of this curious idiome, of which there exists many varieties.”

One conceives in effect that each of the races of the noirs, which exists in the colony, must have had to alter French in a particular way, and that this new language must have had to regularize or conserve it original rudesse, according to the ideas and the degree of culture of spirit of those who speak it. One distinguishes therefore the créole mozambique from that of the noirs indiens, malais, and malgaches, and even more so of the créole used, by taste and by habit, among the mulatres and the rich people of the island. I will give an example of those of these dialects, which differ the most between them: these are the créole malgache and the créole of the EUROPEans, if I could express myself as such.

The first piece was communicated to me by M. BENONI MICHEL: I tried to make it intelligible to the reader through a very literal translation, to which I joined a few explicative notes; I regret not having been able to make disappear certain shocking expressions; but they hold absolutely to this genre.”

"This little conte makes known the nature of the ideas, the rudesse of language, and the manner of raconter of the noirs de pioche mozambiques. The following piece, of a facture more polite, in s style more relevé, is also bonnement the imitation libre of one of the fables of LA FONTAINE. The author, M. FRANÇOIS CHRÉSTIEN, s’est essayé with the same success on many of other works of the same genre, where, while conserving the naïvely of the original, he knew to express it under a form as agreeable as it is new.”

"After such a try, it is permissible to conceive of a possibility of reproducing in créole a large number of works from our literature. I can cite several others of them from the same author, and it is regrettable that I see myself forced to suppress them here."
Figure 71: Portrait of Sébastien Leroy, Portrait of Louis Claude De Saulces De Freycinet, Ca. 1812, 1812. 1 print : engraving, plate mark 10.1 x 8 cm., on sheet 17 x 13.1 cm. Roy del & sculp.
“Ultima perscrutans ignota que littora mundi, quam cernis placid facien, Dux, gessit eamdem/ Last searches and unknown shores of the world, you see, calmly deal, Duke, has done the same”

Figure 72: Personal Inscription from hypertext of the 3rd edition of Les Essais d’un Bobre Africain (1869)26

“L’auteur [Chrestien], dit-il[Freyinet], s’est essayé [italics mine] avec le même succès sur plusieurs autres morceaux du même genre,”

[OUT] “où, tout en conservant la naïveté de l’original, il a su l’exprimer sous une forme aussi agréable que nouvelle.”

“qu’à regret que je me vois force de les supprimer ici.”

26 Chrestien and La Fontaine, Les Essais D’un Bobre Africain. inscription.
5.5.2 Voyage Autour du Monde Remarques sur l'Iles-de-FRANCE
MAURITIUS: May 5th, 1818 - July 16th, sail August 2nd, 1818 p. 364-433

“MM. LOUIS C. DE SAULCÉS DE FREYCINET, frigate captain, chevalier of Saint-Louis and of the Legion of Honor, correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France and member of several other savant societies; commandant of the expedition. Promoted to the grade of vessel captain by the King, December 30th, 1820, and named officer of the Legion of Honor, August 19th, 1824.”

“M. DE FREYCINET having been admitted, at the return of the voyage, in particular audience in the cabinet of the King, His Majesty deigned to tell him: "You entered here frigate captain, and you will leave from here vessel captain: but hardly thank me; rather tell me what Jean-Bart responded to LOUIS XIV, who had just named him squadron chief: Sir, you have done well." 28

Election to the Academy of Sciences

“For his work in the field of cartography and his experiments on magnetism, LOUIS DE SAULCÉS DE FREYCINET was elected to the Academy of Science in January in 1826. He later joined the Council of Works in 1830 and become one of the founders of the Geographical Society in PARIS.” 29


Letters from a ‘Commander’:

“However, to this day, I have not interrupted work on the composition of the narrative; I press on with a constancy which I believe deserves a better recompense, but work with a heavy heart and with a feeling of disgust which you would deem quite justified if you considered the large number of obstacles which I have had to overcome. (9)

5.5.2.1 Mauritius: May 5th, 1818 - July 16th, sail August 2nd, 1818

September 1817, Leaves Toulon

October 11th, arrive in Gilbratarar

14th leave for Teneriffe stays 22-28

December 6th, put anchor in Rio de Janeiro TWO MONTHS

March 7th- April th, 1818

"Cette même considération donnera aussi de l'intérêt aux observation de l'île - de-France, où l'Uranie aborda le 5th of May, 1818, and she did not leave until July 16th. After having sojour'd much little time on Bourbon Island, M. de Freycinet made sail August 2nd, for the Bay of Chien-Marins, that he had already visted in his first voyage with the Captain Baudin."

Reasons for scientific voyage at listed in the chapter titles along with the conclusions, illustrations, and the various other scientists reporting on the ship.

September 13th, 1820 Three years and almost two months, about 23600 leagues, from 25 au degree: Pendulum, Magnetism, Geography, Hydrography, Meteorology, Natural History - Zoology, Entomology, Botany, Historical relations of the voyage, Drawings,
Conclusions. **Humboldt, Cuvier, Desfontaines, Gay-Lussac, Biot, de Rosell, Thenard; Arago, and Rapporteur.**

5.5.3 **Concording with Freycinet (Comprehensive)**

5.5.3.1 1849

5.5.3.2 Galapagos

5.5.4 20th Century

5.5.4.1 1901 - Almanach (1901)30

1829. 20 June...Le contre-amiral baron Desaules de Freycinet, gouverneur.

1830. 1er February..

Or 7 months, 12 days excluding the end date p. 6-78

5.5.4.2 1901 - Essai (1901)31

p. 659-661

XII. Decaen, Péron, et Flinders (p. 659-661)

XIII Entrevue de René Decaen Avec l'Empereur. (p.661-663)

Extrait de la lettre de René, Dacaen à son frère, 19 fructidor an XIII (September 6th, 1805)

XIV. Decaen et l'empereur.

isle de France, le 4 aout 1806

A Sa majesté l'Emmereur des Français

**Freycinet**, Pitot, Mallac, Del?, Flinders

---


« Quoi qu'il en soit es mobiles de Decaen que je ne uis apprécier, puis qu'il ne nous les a pas fait connaître, sa conduite fit séverement jugée en Angleterre; s'il fait en croire un colon, les officiers généraux anglais refusèrent pour cette raison l'invitation du capitaine général après la capitulation. Decaen d'ailleurs mit un certain entêtement à garder partie des papier de Flinders qu'il avait conservés; il fallut les lui réclamer en 1813. S conduite fit même supposer qu'il n'avait retenu Flinders que pour favoriser Péron, on a accusé ce saant de plagiat; il aurait copié les cartes et les plans de Flinders: l'un ayan exploré l'australie de l'Est à l'Ouest, l'autre d'Ouest en Est à la même époque. Freycinet, dans la préface de l'oeuvre de Péron, le Voyage aux Terre Australes; protest avec indignation contre cette accusation; il remarque que si Péron n'a pas tout d'abord donné aux poins de la Terre Australe qu'il avait exploré les mêmes noms que leur avait donnés Flinders, c'est qu'il ne pouvait les connaître, l'ouvrage anglais ayant paru après la première édition de l'ouvrage français. »
Figure 73: Cover Page of *Voyage Autour du monde* (1825)

Christies-Autour du Monde

Autour du Monde - “Rabbit and the Hare”

2.1.1.1 *Morale to the “Le Lièvre et la Tortue” by CHRESTIEN*

7. Lièvre à la fin guetté (11)

---

8. Li voir torti dans bitte (12).
9. Li voulé galoppé (13) bien vite, 
10. Mais son nation li trop tourdi (14), 
11. Et li té perdé (15) son pari.

2.1.1.1.2 Here is what FREYCINET says...
5.5.5 Specific Picture at change- French Exploration Expedition

2nd book Autour du monde – Paratext just reading book by cover…

Articles?

1st Book (creole retrograde) – Les Terres Australes

Names of Officers, Aspirans, and Artistes embarqués for the expedition of the Discovery of the Terres Australes.

* We have preceded the names of the persons who, by reason of health or by other motives, did NOT go all the way to the Terres australes, and who stayed in Ile de France since the beginning of the campaign.

The Géographe
departed LE HAVRE on October 19th, 1800 and returned to LORIENT on March 25th, 1804. Of the thirty-one (31) people who departed there were five (5) who died along the way and nine (9) who were left behind in L'ÎLE DE FRANCE.

@ BAUDIN, RENÉ MAUGÉ Zoologist, STANISLAS LEVILLAIN, Zoologist—died in SEA December 29, 1801, LOUIS DEPUCH, mineralogist, Chief Gardener, TIMOR, October 21st, 1801, garcon-gardener, died at SEA, November, 1801.

NICOLAS BAUDIN, Vessel Captain, Commandant of the Expedition, died in L'ÎLE DE FRANCE, on September, 16th, 1803

Debarks on TIMOR, November 2nd, 1801

3.* April 25th, 1801

4.* id
5. Henri de Saulces de Freycinet. Boat Ensign; made Provisory Vessel Captain, on October, 20th, 1801; confirmed in the grade [?] March 5th, 1803.

6.*

7. !

Officier de Sante

8.

Naturaliste

Departure du Havre, October 19th, 1800.

Return June 7th, 1803.

1. Emmanuel Hamelin: Fregate Captain; commandant of the corvette,

2. left in île de France

3. Pierre Milius--Fremicinet

4. Louis De Sa de Freycinet: Ship Ensign; made provisionary Vessel Lieutenant in Timor, on October, 1801; confirmed on this grade on March 5th, 1803; named commandant of the goelette Le Casuarina, in Port Jackson, September 23rd, 1802. Since the disarmament of this batiment in Île de France, passed on the Géographe on August 29th, 1803.

#. A bord de la goelette le Casuarina

Armed at the Port Jackson, September 23rd, 1802.

Disarmed in L’Île de France, August 29th, 1803.

1. Louis Desaulses de Freycinet. Vessel Lieutenant, commandant of the goelette.
2. *Brevedent* du bocage

3. *Joseph Ransonnet*, from *Timor* replacing *M. Brevedent*, May 10th, 1803
5.5.6 **FREYCINET** Writings---the cahier/syllabaire d’un commandeur-
Auto-ethno--appropriation

5.5.7 Faujas (1820)\(^{34}\)

*DE FREYCINET, LOUIS-HENRI* de Saulses de

*Essay On The Life And Opinions The Books Of Bartholomew Faujas From St.*

*Backgrounds Administrateur Du Jardin Du Roi, From Geology Professor at the Museum Of Natural History, Member Of Diverse Scholars companies; Performers Knight and De La Legion D'honneur. Valence FRANCE: Jacques printing Montal, King's Printer, 1820.*

5.5.7.1 Main Point

5.5.7.2 *habitus* Bordieu

deteminter par leur ‘habitus’\(^{35}\)

Where is *ROSE*’s Journal? What can a reading of her journal offers in terms of a new creole narrative?

- space of writing
- space of reading
- The Nautical Journal: Definition of literary genres with it’s own specific paratext.

Research Questions?
- Who writes? Who reads? Who about?
- What is a ‘nautical journal’?
- Where written? Where read? Where published? Where distributed?
- When written? When read? When published? When distributed?
- Why written? Why read?

In terms of *ROSE*, the questions are many:

After reading this narrative, we can see why *ROSE*’s Journal might have caused substantial controversy within the context of French National Scientific Expeditions.

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Contact zone

Anti-conquest

Auto-ethnography

5.5.7.3 Conclusion (p. 51)

"By the first decades of the nineteenth century, discussions of how to allocate suffrage focused on scientific capacity, among other attributes such as wealth, that, far from being universal, were specific to those individuals who, in the government’s view, merited full citizenship. Evidence of scientific abilities such as membership in a learned society testified to an individual’s suitability for political responsibilities such as participation in a jury or voting. Just as the French Navy concluded that ships full of philosophical discoverers were illusory—or at least un-desirable—the French state retreated from revolutionary ideals about universal rationality and democratic citizenship." (p. 51).

"Their ambitions were encyclopedic, ranging from practical desires to discover, transfer, and cultivate useful species to more amorphous aspirations to identify humans in a state of nature. These voyages were revolutionary ventures, however, and confidence in the limitless capabilities of regenerated Frenchmen inspired both their conception and their conduct." (p. 51).

"The experience of French science in the Pacific—both the early enthusiasm for discovery and the later jealousies and jockeying for precedence—reveals the adjustments demanded by a Revolution that claimed science as part of its project of national regeneration." (p. 52).

5.5.7.4 French Science between Monarchy and Revolution

"The Muséum and French science had already enjoyed tremendous success “thanks to our victorious armies and the enlightened protection of the government”; a voyage around the world (as the Baudin expedition was originally conceived) would be a suitable next venture.21 As Baudin asked the scientists of the Institut National, “Think of how glorious it would be for the Nation and the Institut to add to all of the trophies that surround us a voyage undertaken for the increase of human knowledge in the midst of a war whose like has never been seen in the annals of history.” (p. 38).37

36 Carol E. Harrison, "Projections of the Revolutionary Nation: French Expeditions in the Pacific, 1791–1803."
37 Ibid., p. 38.
5.5.7.5 Britain and France in the Pacific

"By contrast, France in the same period sent expedition of sailors and scientists who understood that their collective purpose was discovery and that each individual on board possessed the ability to analyze and understand nature. The scientific aims of the voyage were encyclopedic; Frenchmen aspired to know all there was to know about the Pacific. This breadth of ambition made it possible for men of d'Entrecasteaux's and Baudin expeditions to conceive of themselves as citizen-scientists; they could all be "philosophical travelers," participating in the creation of French knowledge in the Pacific." (p. 41).38

5.5.7.6 Philosophical Navigators: The Culture of Science on French Ships

'measuring, sketching, calculating, and recording data" (p. 41).39

Baudin 1/3 of men had journals...d'Entrecasteaux 21(p. 41-42)40

"From the most literate savage to the seaman with dubious penmanship and worse spelling, men on board obviously felt that they had cause to keep a regular record of their activities" (p. 42).41

"As Lieutenant Jacques de Saint-Cricq observed in October 1801, "a nautical journal is . . . the most boring thing in the world to read or to write" since it just repeated the details officially recorded in the ship’s log. Instead, he proposed to offer “a purely narrative account of [his] voyage,” with began with a description of the “pleasant accord between the Naturalists and [the officers],”36 who were delighted to find how much they had in common. Saint-Cricq, like many of his shipmates, constructed his journal to address a putative reader and proposed to offer that reader an interpretation of Pacific discovery, not merely raw data” (p. 42).42

"pursuit of their own scientific interests alongside their official duties"(p. 42).43

the chaplain--- "Pierre Gicquel, who sailed on both expeditions, took a particular interest in language and compiled comparative vocabularies of the peoples with whom the expedition came into contact.38 Gicquel’s job certainly did not involve linguistic research, but he was obviously fascinated with the problem of communication with the natives of the South Pacific Islands that the d’Entrecasteaux expedition visited"(p. 42).44
"Gicquel notes, AN Marine 5 JJ 1 no10, reel G 24,649, NLA d’Entrecasteaux; and journal AN Marine 5 JJ 6, reel G 24,657, NLA d’Entrecasteaux. Gicquel’s stay with the Baudin expedition was brief; he hated the commander and arranged to leave at Mauritius on the voyage out” (p. 42, n. 38).

5.5.7.7 Louis Freycinet Journal:

"54 Louis Freycinet journal, 23–24 Thermidor year 11, AN Marine 5 JJ 49, reel 16, NLA Baudin." (p. 47, n. 54).

5.5.7.8 Science vs Crew

"Léon Brèvedant, helmsman on Baudin’s ship the Naturaliste, offers in spite of himself particularly compelling evidence of the pervasive culture of record keeping on board ship. Brèvedant’s journal regularly parodies naturalists’ accounts of the voyage. Thus on one shore excursion he notes that he observed rocks and a lot of trees, “which I won’t describe because I don’t know anything about them.” He began one entry: “To my readers. I have as much right as anyone else to bore you, but I’m not going to take advantage of it, instead I’ll leave that to the botanists and the others.” For Brèvedant, “savant” was a common and extremely flexible term of abuse, which he also applied to naval officers whom he disliked.

Thus Lieutenant Freycinet was one of those men “who thinks he’s a savant because he has a job that he doesn’t know how to do and who prefers to let an injustice stand rather than to retract an order often delivered without paying attention.” Brèvedant did not like scientists, by which he seems to have meant most men in a position to give him orders—science, for Brèvedant, was what distinguished the higher ranks from the lower. He clearly thought that the trappings of science surrounding him—meticulous descriptions of perfectly ordinary rocks and trees—were ridiculous. Even the disaffected Brèvedant kept a journal, however, with his disdain manifesting itself as satire rather than a simple rejection of the expedition’s scientific culture." (p. 43)

"disciplinary tool"

French vs. British

Navy vs. civilian

"Given that French ambitions in the Pacific were encyclopedic—no realm of knowledge was outside of the mandate of France’s explorers—there were many opportunities for debates between branches of science and their practitioners." (p. 44)

---

episodes- shark
5.5.7.9 Baudin-CARIBBEAN

"BAUDIN had already made significant botanical contributions to French national glory, JUSSIEU explained to the minister for the Navy in his letter recommending Baudin for command of the Pacific expedition; until Baudin’s “campaign” in the CARIBBEAN, French national collections of tropical plants had been decidedly inferior.” (p. 44).46

Navy vs. science vs. nation pride

AUSTRIAN enemies...

"In theory, the aims of these French expedition had no boundaries; they aspired to total knowledge of the Pacific and to that end staffed the voyages with representatives of every branch of science.” (p. 45).

5.5.7.10 Dissemination and dissent: Publications and Collections, Journals

authored by the Captain "narrative of the expedition and account of the research that took place on board." (p. 46). 'single, authoritative statement of national achievement' (p. 46).

D’ENTRECasteaux and BAUDIN both DEAD--> who will take their pen...?

Who took their places as captains of the boat... where did this event actually happen... MAURITIUS...

"Journals, such an important part of life to so many on board, not surprisingly became a locus of conflict. LOUIS VENTENAT, the chaplain-naturalist on D’ENTRECasteaux’s Recherche, evidently planned to publish his journal, and his text includes a preface in which he debates with himself whether the state had “the right to take from individuals the fruits of their work.” He concluded that he could “in good conscience publish his research,” which he had conducted “to enrich his fellow citizens with the discoveries made during a long and painful voyage.”52 He did his best to hang on to his journal, but his commanding officer eventually located it; it is in the National Archives with others of the expedition."48

5.5.7.10.1 Hyacinthe de Bougainville, midshipman

“The journal of HYACINTHE DE BOUGAINVILLE, midshipman on the Baudin Expedition, remained in his possession at the end of the voyage and only later joined the collection in the National Archives. The fact that he was the son of the famous Pacific explorer LOUIS-ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE (who by
1800 had become a member of the Institut National committee that recommended in favor of Baudin’s expedition) almost certainly meant that the young officer’s privacy received greater consideration than that of his colleagues.”

5.5.7.10.2 FRANÇOIS-Michel Ronsard, office

“HYACINTHE’S colleague, FRANÇOIS-MICHEL RONSARD, also an officer on the Géographe, conducted an extended battle with BAUDIN over RONSARD’s journal. RONSARD insisted on a receipt for his journal, which BAUDIN refused to provide. The two disliked each other and were bound to disagree over something, but it is nonetheless significant that their enmity focused on a journal. BAUDIN, refusing to acknowledge any transfer of property, denied RONSARD a receipt and insisted that a notation in the logbook to the effect that every man had handed over his papers should suffice.”

5.5.7.10.3 LOUIS FREYCINET, officer

“LOUIS FREYCINET, like RONSARD, handed over his journal during the final stay in DUTCH TIMOR, but he made a point of sealing it, adding a note to that effect to BAUDIN’s order. FREYCINET and RONSARD both used their journals to nurse their grievances, many of them against their captain, and they undoubtedly did not want BAUDIN to read them.”

5.5.7.10.4 Brèvedant

The disaffected BRÈVEDANT took more resolute steps to keep his journal private. The fragment that exists informs the reader defiantly that he tossed most of it overboard at ÎLE DE FRANCE, precisely the moment when he should have handed it over to form part of the official record." (p. 47)

5.5.7.10.5 Stanislas Vevillain, shell collector

10 boxes of shells
2 boxes of birds
1 box mineral samples
Auctioned UPON DEATH...BUT WHOSE PROPERTY?
VI. LOUIS LESCHENAULT, botanist
34 mammals,
bords
714 insects
900 Javanese pants
200 seeds

49 50 51 52
reptiles preserved in alcohol
SELL NONONO...ALREADY stipend.....

1793-1802
Much change in France...while the expedition was at sea.,
Cartographic Work:

"71 Péron enlisted Lieutenant Louis Freycinet to assemble the expedition’s cartographic work in a second volume, which Freycinet completed and published in 1816 after Péron’s early death." (p. 50, n. 71).
5.5.8 Notice on Louis-Claude de Saulces Freycinet (1777-1840)\textsuperscript{54}

Freycinet (Louis-Claude de Saulces de), brother of the precedent, was also born to Montélimar, on August 7th, 1779. As we have just seen him, Henri's note is communal to that his brother Louis, during the first twelve (12) years of their career: serving constantly seem, in the same expeditions, and often on the same ship there; promoted to the same ranks the same day, always by collective appointments, both brothers, till the end of 1805, appear as a single personality. But, from this period, they part from one another, to only see one another rarely.

— Louis, as we said it, had left the sea to reestablish his health, altered by the rigors of travel. As soon as he was in a state to put himself back to work, the government called him to the depot of maps and plans of the Navy, and placed him in charge of the geographical part of this journey to the Terres Australes in which he and his brother had had a such great part. The naturalist Péron, who had begun the writing of this large work, having died in 1810, in the middle of his task, Louis de Freycinet was in charge of continuing it alone, and he had the glory to end it in 1816. Appointed well early after commander of a scientific expedition around the world, he embarked to Toulon on the Uranie, 17 seven. 1817, having chosen for himself his staff, and having settled carefully all the details of the journey. He was back in France only three years later, on May 13\textsuperscript{th}, 1820. The Uranie had shipwrecked in the northern parts of the Falkland Islands; but the rich collections that it carried were able to be saved, and transported on a boat built with its fragments, then on an Anglo-American sloop to which they gave the name of la Physicienne. Louis XVIII wanted to receive our traveler in private audience, and in leaving to him, these graceful words: "You entered here as a frégate captain, you will leave from here vessel captain. But do not thank me; say to me rather what Jean-Bart said to Louis XIV, who had just named him leader of squadron: "Majesty, you did well."

As from the return of the la Physicienne in France, Louis de Freycinet stopped all active service in the Navy to dedicate himself exclusively to the writing of his last journey, the publication of which had been confided to him by the government from 1821. Unfortunately the death came to reach him before he had been able to put the finishing touches to this immense work, so fertile in precious discoveries for zoology, linguistics, ethnography, botany, physics and hydrography. Afflicted by an aneurysm the heart, he succumbed in his house of Freycinet, near Montélimar, on August 18th, 1842 (1).

He was a member of the Academy of Science (1826), the large number of learned societies of France and the foreigner, and one of founders of that of geography.

\textsuperscript{54}
–The **King** had given him the cross of Saint-**Louis** in 1814, and that of officer of the **Legion of Honor** in 1824. He became then a **commander** of this order in 1832.

   1) He had married, on June 6th, 1814, **Rose-Marie Pinon**, born in **St-Julien-de-Sault (Yonne)**, September 29th, 1794. This woman, as remarkable in her spirit as in her heart did not want to separate herself from her **husband** at the time of the departure of the **Uranie**. Having got into the ship under **men's wear**, she shared with courage all of the dangers of the expedition. Her travelling companions named “**Rose**” an island the discovery of which we made, and **Pinon** a new species of dove.

- She died from the **cholera** on May 7th, 1832, by looking after her **husband**, who was also afflicted by it.

**Bio-Bibliography.**


II. Voyage encore les notices indiquées à la fin de l'art, précédent.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.**


5.5.8.1 “The Hunter” [Le Chasseur]: Setting the precedence…the first commanding

Conte en Langage Créole de l'Ile-de-FRANCE.

"Acoute zaut' (1) mo parlé ! Enne zour ça nous té (2) la saisse cerf Grand-Revière"(407).

"Ecoutez, vous autres, moi va parler. Un jour, comme cela, nous sommes allés à la chasse du cerf à la Grand-Rivière" (407).

"Listen you (others) I speak ! One day ça we were hunting Grand-Rivière deer." (407).

notes (41)

5- in French

39- in 'language créole de l'île-de-FRANCE". 407.

1.Zaut', for "vous autres, or les autres. Zaut' signifies also sometimes eux.

2. Té, été, our avons été

3. Di-bois pour du bois. "Ordinarily blacks join our article to the noun, and only make one single word; one sees this in frequent example in this work: like la-ravine; le bras, for bras; la-case, for case, aison, li-pied, pied"(p.407-408, n. 3).

408.

1.Marron promptly means savage. One gives here this name to the nègres esclaves qui save themselves from their master's house to go live in the woods.

Couri, courir, partir, se sauver.

10. Papa. We don't have the equivalent of this créole word, which means mister, of an inferior class; in the same case that we would say mon garçon/my boy. The name given by a black to another is always a sign of respect; it is the same case for the work maman for women

409.

camaron, sorte de crustacé
ninque dé, rien que deux ?
Parenthesis (10)231

1. pavê (au chemin)

2. (sort of tree)

646
3. (sign d'un prompt départ, course rapide)

bruit des pas précipités, imitation du bruit que fait une personne qui
marche sur des feuilles sèches, imitation du bruit que fait la ligne quand on la
jette in the water.
5.5.9 The Rabbit and the Tortoise the first creole fugitive fable from Mauritius to Martinique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1822</th>
<th>1822\textsuperscript{55}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A turtle with this Hare wanted to bet</td>
<td>1. Ein’ Torti (3) avec lièvre été voulé (4) parié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. One day would will gallop better</td>
<td>2. Ein’ Torti (3) avec lièvre été voulé (4) parié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To arriver straight to the to the banana tree:</td>
<td>3. Ein zour qui mié galoppé(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. “All is well, maman turtle, you have too much money,</td>
<td>4. Pour arrive drette (6) ein li-pié banane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. “Your spirit is marooning in the middle of the savanna.</td>
<td>5. “Tout d’bon, maman (7) torti, vous y en a trop l’arzent (8),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Said the hare to the turtle who listens to him tranquilly</td>
<td>7. “Avec moi là vous ’lite (10) à présent!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Don’t be afraid my friend;</td>
<td>8. Dir’ lièvre avec (11) torti qui coute li tranquille (12).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Turtle responded to him,</td>
<td>9. “N’a pa pèr, mon zami (13);”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. You, the one blancs call agile people,</td>
<td>10. Torti répond’ li,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. “I carry my house, and it is strong mon li-pié;</td>
<td>11. “Vous, ça qui blancs appell’ di-monde azile (14),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. But, its equal, I will wager,</td>
<td>12. “Moi porte mon la-case, et li réd’ mon li-pié (1);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. I know how I am doing to do:</td>
<td>13. “Mais c’est égal, moi va parié,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Measure your path; to each his l’esprit.</td>
<td>14. “Moi connois comment moi va faire:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. When measuring is finished ; and there t[ic?=li] parted,</td>
<td>15. “Mésuré vous cimin; chaqu’ein son l’esprit (2).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Little Papa Hare cried out to him :</td>
<td>16. Quand fini mesuré, à v’là li té (3) parti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“My commère</td>
<td>17. P’tit papa lièvr’ crié li: “Mon commère,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bring the gazette, prend gard’,/ not to bore yourself!</td>
<td>18. “Emmen’ (4) la gazett’, prend gard’ vous ennuyé !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. When you find gallant, does not need to talk;</td>
<td>19. “Quand même’ couroupas (5), vous p’tit frère (6),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Even the slug your little brother</td>
<td>20. “Passé vous à côté,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Or else I will win.</td>
<td>22. Et p’tit papa lièvre amisé(7),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. And the little papa hare amused himself,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Broke through flowers \textit{pross’} the river,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. In the fresh herbs he ran and jumped,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. And the turtle always marched on.
26. The hare at the end was laying in wait
27. He saw the turtle at the bait
28. He wanted to gallop very quickly
29. But his nation, it was much to ditzy,
30. And he lost his bet.

23. Cassé bouquet (8) pross’ (9) la rivière,
24. Dans l’herbe frais (10) roulé, sauté,
25. Et torti là touzour marcé.
26. Lièvre à la fin guetté (11)
27. Li voir torti dans bitte (12).
28. Li voulé galoppé (13) bien vite,
29. Mais son nation li trop tourdi (14),
30. Et li té perdé (15) son pari.

5.5.9.1 “Escale” in BOURBON Island – until August 2nd, 1818

"Cette même considération donnera aussi de l'intérêt aux observation de L'ILE-DE-FRANCE, où l’Uranie embarked on May 5th, 1818, and she did not leave until July, 16th. After having sojourned much little time on BOURBON ISLAND, M. de FREYCINET made sail August 2nd, for the BAY OF CHIEN-MARINS, that he had already visited in his first voyage with the CAPTAIN BAUDIN."
« Cite FREYCINET on langauges »56
5.5.10 **Voyages autour du Monde (1849)**

26. "Le lièvre à la fin regarde
27. et voit la tortue au but;
28. il veut galoper bien vite
29. mais sa nation (son espèce) est trop étourdie
30. et son pari a été perdu."


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5.5.10.1 Le Lièvre et la Tortue French Translation by Norbert Benoit (1998) 58

1. Une Tortue voulait parier avec un Lièvre
2. Un jour qui des deux courrait le mieux
3. Pour arriver tout droit jusqu'à un bananier.
...
28. Le Lièvre à la fin regarde,
29. Il voit la Tortue au but.
30. Il veut courir très vite,
31. Mais son espèce est trop étourdie,
32. Et il perdit son pari.


5.5.11 Freycinet Writings---the cahier/syllabaire d’un commandeur- Auto-ethno--appropriation

5.5.11.1 Faujas (1820)59

DE FREYCISET, LOUIS-HENRI de Saulses de

Essay On The Life And Opinions The Books Of Bartholomew Faujas From St.

Backgrounds Administrateur Du Jardin Du Roi, From Geology Profèessor at the Museum Of Natural History, Member Of Diverse Scholars companies; Performers Knight and De La Legion D'honneur. Valence FRANCE: Jacques printing Montal, King's Printer, 1820.

5.5.11.2 Main Point

"5. Mémoire on silkworms. This thesis will be given to the public by the author of the Essay on the life, opinions and work of BARTHOLOMEW FAUJAS.

Note. BARTHÉLEMY FAUJAS had consecrated numerous observations comments and had done a special study of silkworms. Convinced that the theory of air and heat formed the main branch of the 'education' of these insects had

58 Chrestien, Benoit, and La Fontaine, François Chrestien (1767-1846) Dans Les Essais D’un Bobre Africain.
wanted to make a specific treaty firmly anchored on a scholarly theory to be put the reach of agricultural owners, and applied to well directed practice. This theory of air and heat, so important to the existence of silkworms, is praiseworthy and contains principles of great merit.

But in the practical care, Barthélemy Faujas would be helped by the fruits of the enlightened experience crowned with success.

He glanced around himself and he doubted to have solved this problem, in turning to someone who for thirty years practices the subtle education of silkworms with continued success; he enlisted Madame Freycinet née Armand and said laughingly, "A matron who formed the heart and mind of four sons, distinguished in the higher sciences, must be unique to provide the best practical method in an object of Agricultural Economics she studied with discernment. " (p. 56)

5.5.11.3 Historique

Bartholomew Faujas well convinced that the earth was successively shaped by subterranean fires and by the action of the seas mostly clung to recognize the diluvian effects; wonderful effects, like anything from of the hands of nature, this so great and so sublime nature in all of its operations. (p. 6)

« This digression is intended to prove that high science allows itself to be inspected by human weakness, and also to prove that Bartholomew Faujas through sustained attention and happily organized ingenuity, found and described the authentic evidence of revolutions and back shortly effects of the root causes, he was able to add more or less ancient theories of less imperfect designs. »

5.5.11.4 Maximes

5.5.11.5 Dernière Promanade Géologique (Tirée des notes laisées par ce savant)

géologie

Mongolfier

M. Deleuze. Fossils, rocks, stones, lava, volcanos, etc. elephants, rhinoceros

Last statement- scientific investigation--rate of change

5.5.11.6 Discours Inédit

First Paragraph: p. 33
5.5.12 Shegas de(s) *Freycinet(s)*?: *Freycinet’s* 60:

5.5.12.1 Chéga de Magasin-Bon-Gout ; Air Mozambique.

Chéga de Magasin-bon-gout; air mozambique.

Allegretto : “Métronome quarter note = 126

Figure 74: 1st Chéga: “Chéga de Magasin-Bon-Gout ; Air Mozambique. Allegretto. Métronome quarter note = 126”

5.5.12.2 Chéga de Maman Jeanne ; Air Mozambique.

Chéga de Maman Jeanne ; Air Mozambique.

Allegretto : Métronome, quarter note = 132

Figure 75: Chéga de Maman Jeanne ; Air Mozambique. Allegretto : Métronome, quarter note = 132

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61
5.5.12.3 Autre Chéga Mozambique.

*Autre Chéga Mozambique*

*Allegretto : Métronome, quarter = 132*

Figure 76: Autre Chéga Mozambique. Allegretto: Métronome, quarter = 132
5.5.12.4 Quatrième Chéga Mozambique.

Quatrième Chéga Mozambique.

Allegretto : Métronome, quarter note = 132

Figure 77: Quatrième Chéga Mozambique. Allegretto : Métronome, quarter note = 13
5.5.12.5 Cari Lalo ; Air Malgache

*Cari Lalo ; Air Malgache*

*Allegretto : Métronome, quarter note = 138*

Figure 78: Cari Lalo ; Air Malgache Allegretto: Métronome, quarter note = 138
5.5.13 Milbert Left for Sick in Mauritius (1811)

Figure 79: Milbert, Bobre !

5.5.14 Préface

Where is Milbert?

"M. Goodman reveals this hypothesis, the confort by the references to the witnessing of Milbert qui evokes the presence of “a few inhabitants from the Guiné Coast and some Wolofs, naturals from the occidental coast of Africa.”(p. 45,

________________________

“Curieusement, the author of this hypothesis have only evoked the case of
Mauritius, which permits at times to carry difference between Mauritian and Reunion
Creole to the

Only fully cited in

Cited in

“left for sick” in Mauritius

"Accustomed from childhood at the sight of varied attractions of the
southern of France and mountains separating Spain, I have often contemplated
nature in its most opposite of aspects. Small excursions in the Pyrenees gave
birth in me the taste of the trips; but the state of my fortune did not allow me to
indulge this passion thoughtlessly, I thought early to acquire knowledge which
might render me independent, and get me some of existence moens in all the
places that my curiosity could me go. / I left my paternal house ... "(p. v).

Paris, Professor of Drawing

Paris, England, France, Interior Minister from Rhone, Geneva
and to Lyon...

“Until then my desires were not satisfied, and I was watching my races
in the interior of France and England—even my trip to such tests, when all
of a sudden appeared an opportunity for me desired for so long -time to a real
trip. The First Consul had ordered an expedition of discovery—southern
lands; I was chosen to be part ...”(p. vii).

Listes sources « Pitot »

“M. LeJuge, inspector de la marine, et MM. C.G. Barrillon, Janvier,
Monneron, Piston et Tomi-Pitot, distinguished merchants, provided me with
important notes on trade and products of this island.” (p. ix).

"Mr. The Judge, Navy inspector, and Messrs. CG Barrillon, January,
Monneron, Piston and Tomi Pitot, distinguished merchants, provided me with
important notes on trade and the products of this island. "(P. Ix).

Freycinet:
I directed my steps towards the cazerns, and crossing the bridge of Moka, where begins the large street with this name: it prolongs through the entire camp of the noirs libres (1) See the map of the port (by Freycinet); the majority of their cases is built upon the revers of the Morne de la Découverte. All of this quarter…” (p. ?)

Last Words:

"Brave habitants! you would not disclaim the good opinion we have of you in the mother-country. Happier than Canadians, you do not stop being our compatriot, and if your isolm of the metropolis still extended a few years, your fidelity, dedication, deserve being admired our enemies; you could be conquered without fussiez why subjugated; your hearts would remain French, in your country can one day you attach the destinies of the great Empire" (p. xiii).

Historical Note:

"Since I wrote the preface, Ile-de-France succumbed: the enemy occupies it, but she did not stop for it to be among the proprieties of the Empire: peace we will make the possession; and my work, although composed in other circumstances, will be no less interesting for my readers" (p. xiii-xiv).


1st:
“Çà petit di monde là n’a pas voule pale pour na pas travailler” (p. 240-241).

2nd:
“Monsié, pas di tout, répondit-il; mi venir voir femme à moi”. "Je compris dès lors, ajoute Milbert, le motif qui l’avait fait obiér avec tant d’empressement aux orders de ses maîtres” (p. 271).

3rd:
"J’ai plus d’une fois entendu, dans le port, mes negres appeler nos matelots ca li nègre blanc. Témoins des coups de corde, de cale et autres

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Voyage Pittoresque À L’île-De-France, Au Cap De Bonne-Espérance Et À L’île De Ténériffe, Avec Un Atlas (Tome Premier), 3 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: A. Nepveu, 1812), Vol I, p. 240-41, 71, 74; Vol II, p. 71, 180-81; These can also be found in the section 'Premiers Traces' which covers the 19th century in this very important anthology. I will return to this book in the literary review of "Le Bobre Africain." For more see, Furlong and Ramharai, Panorama De La Littérature Mauricienne : La Production Créolophone, Volume 1, Des Origins À L'indépendence, 1, p. 33-34.
punition qu’on inflige à ces hommes (...) ils croient que ce sont des blancs d’une espèce distincte” (p. 274).

4th:
“J’avais perdu de vue mes compagnons, je lui [un noir] demandais des indication à ce sujet, en l’appelant papa (c’est le nom que l’on donne généralement aux noirs exclaves, de même qu’on appelle maman les nègresses privées de leur liberté: “Moussé, répondit-il, mo n’est pas papa; moi libre comme vous-même, comme moussé tel et tel” et il me nomma les plus riches habitants du canton” (p. 71).

5th:
Jacques Gérard Milbert, Voyage pittoresque à l’Isle de FRANCE, 1812

5.5.14.2 Bambous

"Among the trees that decorated these sites, I admired the slender stalks of BAMBOO, this gigantic reed which human industry has a great advantage; the settlers of the island of ILE-DE-FRANCE to employ any kind of uses. With its hollow stems they form conduits to direct the water used for watering the land. They use it without stop in carrying the curves or palanquins. With the filaments of the same plant, they make pretty baskets. Finally this vegetable is very useful for residential fences, and even fences around the corner. (Vol. I, p. 248)

This tree usually grows to thirty (30) or forty (40) feet, and sometimes up to fifty (50) and sixty (60) feet. It comes from the same stock a multitude of jets; its stem is hollow, very hard and shiny on the outside, as if it were covered with the most beautiful paint: so is it strong without breaking it supports tremendous burdens. It ensures that two (2) pieces of BAMBOO ten (10) feet long and three (3) inches in diameter, can support a whopping fifteen hundred (1500) pounds. (Vol. I, p. 248)

"However we must admit that ILE-DE-FRANCE and India, it does not draw nearly so much [from BAMBOO] as does CHINA, an advantageous part of the BAMBOO. A missionary observes that mining this vast empire are less valuable to him that this plant, and it pulls in substantial revenue” (Vol. I, p. 248-9) 64.

« There needs to be, says a traveler (1), a volume to detail the different uses to which the Chinese employ the beautiful reed species of BAMBOO called; their chairs, their tables, their screens, their beds and many other furniture is entirely made with hollow stems. A few of these furnitures reunite utility with elegance. Aboard the ships, one makes use of bamboo to make spars, sails, cables, and tows for caulking .... The young shoots are good to eat, and with their fiber candle wicks are made.....Finally acerated and reduced to paste, it is converted into paper. »

64
Barrow, John. (Vol. I, p. 249, Milbert)

Le palmier s’élève encore plus que le bambou, il surpasse en hauteur les plus grands arbres.

The palm rises even more than the bamboo surpasses the largest trees in height.

"After having crossed several paths or trails heading to the neighborhoods of Moka, Pamplemousses, Plaines and St. Pierre, we arrive at the edge of a brook shaded by bamboo, and I shall call it the River of Lovers (1). # 16. "(P. 256).

"Massive trees presented to my eyes and the mimosa and its elegant flowers, some bamboo with flexible and slender stalk, a lemon tree, a tamarind tree, of rouailles, jamroses and jam malacs" (Vol. I, p. 275).

"Of these amounts, like saplings in the middle of a thicket, beautiful bamboo. These trees, such as willows or poplars in our climate seem to mark the destination over the streams. Though then made very dry, this small river, despite the lack of distance from its source, provided a fairly large volume of water to feed the cascades "(Vol. I, p. 282).

“Before leaving, they made the distribution of luggage, which was singularly lightened; they gave the black smoking tobacco; they made cigarettes or cigars, in mixing it with leaves, and adjusting in the middle a little bamboo torch” (Vol. I, p. 312).

“We separated, well satisfied with one another. The remains of our deer, black worn by bamboo were sent as a present from several neighbors, and I returned with my host at his home. I was very happy with this tour; I took a general idea of the country and saw items that until then I did not know me. I spent several days in this hospitable house; and I busied myself to put order in my drawings. "(Vol. I, p.322).”

Peak of Mount Bamboo. 20 15 9 from Paris Longitude east of Paris 55 22 46.


Bambou Mountain (Vol. I, p. 355)
"The **bamboo** (*Arundo bamboos, La bambusa indica*, wild) has by far the appearance of willow *Europe*; beautiful **bamboo** *shoots* intended to carry the *palanquins* are sought; they sell in *India* up to (100) one hundred pagodas. There are, I believe, *L’Île de France* only (1) one species of **bamboo**; the Chinese know more; they are thorny "(p. 115).

322 above the sea..

**Montagnes du Bambou** (Vol. I, p. 382).

“…black wood, mango, of *bamboos* and beautiful raffia or sago palm trees. (p. 4)"

"...coves less considerable, such as that…(...), the Bamboo…(…)"

(p.36)

### 5.5.14.3 Free negroes and Bamboo

"*Chinese* furniture is generally common to *L’Île de France*. I saw seats, dressers, tables, etc., made in *China*, with **bamboo**, either with cardboard pate that the Chinese know how to make the same **reed**; these objects are a fairly cheap (Vol. I, p.192)

"The *Negroes* in the country eat their food in a piece of hollow **bamboo**; they exhibit a very high heat that partially destroyed, but do not burn completely. This vase is resistant to fire, as long as it contains water "(p. 193).

"The Negroes in liberty; and who grow on the slopes of mountains wretched dwellings, like to keep multiple uses of their homeland. **Bamboo**, one of the most valuable vegetable production that nature has bestowed the equatorial regions, is used to build their **case**; of you is covered with **palm leaf**; the side walls are made of **bamboo** racks, whose gaps are filled with foam and leaves of **ferns** "(p. 194).

"Some of these **bamboos** are (6) six to (7) seven feet in length; Negroes adroitly pierce the nodes that are close partitions at intervals, and then use this long cylinder to fetch **water** from neighboring **wells**. The **fish** that comes from dwelling to be sold at the **bazaar** in the **city**, ships suspend long stems of the same **reed** "(p. 194).

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70 Ibid.
5.5.14.4 “The whites call *Malagasy Harp*”

“They make themselves a musical instrument, about which I will try to give an idea. The body of the instrument is a big *bamboo* length of (2) two feet; they pierce the node that forms a partition in the middle, so as to have a hollow *cylinder* in its entire length. They remove with extreme address, the *epidermis* of the *reed* son delis that have less of a line *width*. Instead of where they extract the *filaments* form a gutter, which they cant[?] the angles and unequal divisions around the cylinder, in order to obtain different shades of the range; these ropes are removed only to both ends, and held on salient beads like those of *French reed*. To make them *sound*, it raises them like *chords* of our *instruments*, with small high *trestles* two or three lines. So it is a kind of *cylindrical violin*, whose *strings* are made of the same material as the *soundboard*. To play, they rely on one of their hip, obliquely supporting it with the hand; they hit the strings with a long, pointed stick, and rotate the cylinder in order to browse the different notes. The whites call *Malagasy Harp* (Vol. II, p. 166-167).

"These men sometimes bring their wives with them. Thereof are a multitude of large rings of copper or silver; some have up to three on each wrist. (Vol. II, p. 167).”

71 Ibid., p. 167.
5.5.14.5 Dancing at Pamplemousse Cathedral

"... Those jokers that run our fairgrounds. This is simply a tense metal wire on a long stick with a gourd that is the easel board; the musician strikes the string with a very hard wood stick, or a small iron rod. This sharp grating sound mark the pace, and they like a lot; Assistants also beat the measure clapping their hands and uttering cries of joy. »\(^73\)

« The dancers hit violently with the heel against the ground, with their fist against their hips; they approach one another, bump into one another, recule while twirling, and agitating their body in a very lubricious way. Often they sing in their parties the praises of their master and of his family, above all when one


\(^{73}\) Voyage Pittoresque À L'île-de-France, Au Cap De Bonne-Espérance Et À L'île De Ténériffe, Avec Un Atlas (Tome Second), 2.
has the generosity to have distributed to them a little glass of *arak*” (Vol. II, p. 185).

“*Madécasses…*plus graves ; they sing with the method of accompanying oneself with the hard, whose description I have given above” (Vol. II, p. 185).

5.5.14.6 “Burlesque scenes”

"All these *burlesque scenes* end with drink *arrack* . ( n.1)

"Some actors adorn their legs with *bells*, or small pieces of wood and tubes of *bamboo*; they wave, jumping and having a lot of fun this noise (n. 2).

"Their *instrument* is a *drum* made with a hollowed tree *trunk* or an old *barrel* which they tend with *goat skin*. They hold the *drum* between their legs, and beat it with their fists. Some musicians have quite a *violin* like *instrument* ...

"... After the church of that name, which is high with *bamboo* avenues, in the middle of a great plain; and further from a *forest* that extends to the ends of the *island* (p.57).”

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74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., p. 185.
76 Ibid., p. 57.
5.5.14.7 Violin and Rosin

« The COLOPHONY TREE (COLOPHANIA ou BURSERA) renders a resinines sap; it is one of the biggest trees of the ISLAND. Everyone knows the use of COLOPHONY. The famous TARTINI prepared himself his own, and assured that this art was half, at least, of the science of a good VIOLIN. There are two varieties of the COLOPHONY TREE, the white and the red ones."(p. 125)

" ... VIOLIN ; orange timber; lemon wood; houndstooth, shrub; lily asphodel, white and crimson flowers; Lily of MADAGASCAR; the marsania or tung; the panone, fragrant flower onions; tit-sai, big tree China the twelve or thirteen species of anis; indogofère the dogbane; climbing dogbane, emetic plant used the same doses as ipecacuanha; pigeon ... "(Vol. II, p. 147).

5.5.15 Marrons

5.5.15.1 First Sighting

"After going crossed a few low mounds, we arrived on a wet floor, where one of the men noticed footprints. Our Negroes thought it was the traces of some Black marrons. Which confirmed this conjecture, it was the sight of
broken branches, extinguished fire, and remains of the bones of goats in the middle of thick woods. We leaned an attentive ear to recognize if some noise did not detect a retreat ... "(p. 312-3)  

5.5.15.2 2nd Section

"The Black marrons cause much disorder in these woods, even in homes that are nearby. It is often necessary to employ against them means of repression whose necessity can only be excused rigor.

"When you are informed that a band of deserter negros met in the woods or in the hills, they are made to give chase by other armed negros. These are battered as if they were to discover the game. Sometimes we have to kill them with gunshots. It is true that theft and pillage these wretches have often joined the murder and fire. / The knowledge that Black marrons have resort offers impunity of some of their shipments. We saw train donkeys or horses, and devour them in the woods.

"Despite their apparent stupidity, these fugitives imagine all sorts of tricks to escape their pursuers. When will marauding, they are careful to rub the body with lots of coconut oil: they surprised her and arrested, their bodies are so slippery they escape easily from the hands of those who believe the hold. They cut the horses for the same purpose. When you see a house on a negro get rid of her hair, it's a pretty sure sign that he is meditating some plan of escape; then monitors closely (Vol. II, p. 178).

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78 Sesandu/Sesando/Sasando
Sasandu, 2012. Feuille (palmier) métal, tige (bambou), 72 x 78 x 40 cm, 1473 g. Donated by Jeanne Cuisinier.
"I observed that the nappy hairs of 'negros' are not as short as it may seem. The buckles are so tight that one would think them covered with a woolen skull cap; but when one unrolls them [buckles], they sometimes find themselves having two feet on length, and are composed of hair of an extreme finesse."

[Milbert, J. B. (1766-1840), Voyage Pittoresque à l'Île de France, au cap de Bonne-Ésérance et à l'île de Ténériffe, 1812, p. 178].

"The same negros, to introduce over the walls and palisades, a very ingenious way. The top of the walls is bristling with cautery or pieces of broken bottles; but they bring with them several bags of vacoi. (This is a species of palm tree whose leaves are used to make bags for packaging coffee.) They ask these thick mats on the threatening points, and the safe franchisenent.

"The house-masters are forced to maintain in their being very large dogs, let loose at night to guard. This remedy does not fail to have its

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79 Cite the Christie’s and cite Quai Branly catalogue
drawbacks: the dogs bark at the slightest noise, and make continual screaming so that it is hard to fall asleep, if we are not used to.

"The marauders have intelligences among the Negroes lived, especially among women with whom they have a business gallantry. They know everything that is happening, and are educated, the favorable moment for their businesses. When brown Negroes are numerous, the alarm spread in the colony, and everyone gets a state of defense."

5.5.17 Le dessinateur, le commandeur et le bouton d’or dans l’**** du petit capor

"I had during my stay in the Ile -de-France, bought a negro Capor. He was very young: I was very happy to look after his education and train his character. I treated him well, and did not let the miss or clothing or food. He followed me almost everywhere, and I made sure he frequented its lowest possible comrades. When he could not be with me, I put him in the care of older blacks who had the confidence of the house.

"This child was good and a sweet character; I am convinced that he had an attachment to me, and he has retained. Despite all my efforts, I could not destroy the penchant he had for larceny. Nothing surpassed the tricks he imagined ever, if not the impudence of his lies to justify.

"I had one day to spend the evening in a house in the neighborhood; finding me late for dress, I do not have time to squeeze machine that I was leaving. The next day wanting to put another shirt, I asked the little black gold button on my collar. This one looked around the machine, into the slots of flooring of my room and into the drawers of my dresser. I observed that the button must necessarily remained at my shirt, or that he had found on the floor; He testified that no one had entered the house, that no one but him could have that object. He protested his innocence, and continued his research in showing the biggest surprise of their uselessness.

"Losing patience, I sent for the black commander of the house and ordered him to search the little thief. We visited one after the other all the loops of her hair frizzy without discovering anything; then undid his loincloth, tape machine they pass around his waist; we had no more success. It only remained to visit the anus ... in which the button is finally found.

"Would it be believed that this child, without being disconcerted, gave, air the best faith in the world that pitiful excuse Ah! I see my future as li li that; when you master Zote chimise, if you left chair; asise disi me, stirred like that disi chair button in my li li veni that.

When you have removed your shirt, you I’ve left on the chair; I sat on it, and have stirred as the chair; the button came ...... where you found it. "

I could not help laughing at this strange imposture; but I made him administer a small correction. The severity of morals did not prevent him from making it back to other times. "(Vol II, p.179-181)
I made an ample harvest of beautiful insects: they fluttered in numerous bands around plants and suck nectar from flowers. Butterflies bloomed in the heat of the sun floury their wings. I found a few spiders bamboo clumps of enormous size. A small Bengali had taken in their treacherous webs; I hastened to save him from achieving these hidieux insects. "(Vol II, p. 63-64)
5.5.18 The Journal of Polynesian Society (7 articles, 1940-1997)


Freycinet (6 pp. 315-316; 5, pl. 81) has described and illustrated two types of stone houses reconstructed from information furnished him at Guam in 1819. However, since Freycinet visited Guam 150 years after the advent of the missionaries, it is unlikely that correct information concerning technical details was available. In one type, labelled the house of a powerful chief, a gabled roof which somewhat resembles that of a modern Chamorro dwelling-house described below, is supported by ten capped stone pillars of the type found at Taga, Tinian; in the other, labelled an ordinary house, a similar type of roof is supported by eight uncapped stone pillars." (p. 461).

The principal criticism of Freycinet's reconstruction is that they do not check with the historical sources quoted above. Moreover, although uprights without associated caps are seen in Guam today, whether or not they were originally capless is highly questionable. ...the piles serve to raise the floor off the ground, not to support the roof as shown by Freycinet." (p. 462).

Atlas
Voyage

5.5.18.2 195981 - Lessa, William A. "Divining from Knots in the Carolines." The Journal of the Polynesian Society 68, no. 3 (1959): 188-204.

"Otto van Kotzebue, (8) the great Russian explorer, describes the mechanism of knot divination as practised in the Woleai area in the early part of the last century, and his French contemporary, Louis de Freycinet, (9) tells of seeing Carolinians on Guam practise the art before sailing. (p. 189)"


(p. 189, n. 9).


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81 William A. Lessa, "Divining from Knots in the Carolines," ibid.68, no. 3 (1959).
Upon Liholiho's accession, the tight control of state affairs built up by Kamehameha I was relaxed. Boki's Governorship reflected and accelerated this change. When the French navigator Louis de Freycinet visited Honolulu early in the new regime, he found the port a slack town and the Governor a most un-Hayter-like figure, an Ignoble Savage: big, extremely fat, with horrible ulcerated legs, a kind of "inert mass" scarcely capable of moving itself about. Boki, complained Freycinet, would not leave his holiday games even to order firewood brought to the Uranie. (6) Freycinet 1839: II, 545-548.

The sharp-tongued ship's artist Jacques Arago described Boki as a chronic gambler, drunk from morning to night, the tool of American merchants who plied him with wine and gave the other chiefs hatchets and muskets, and were thus free to trade on their own with the commoners. (Arago 1823: II, 124-125) (p. 67).

"Boki continued to be a regular churchgoer for some months. he had been baptised by a Catholic priest abroad Freycinet's Uranie at Honolulu in 1819, and had attended communion with the Anglican officers of the Blonde on his way home from England in 1825. (Chamberlain Journal: 22/5/1825; ABCFM Letters: Hiran Bingham and others to Jeremiah Evarts, 6/6/1825." (p. 72).

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1819

Kamehameha dies May 8th, 1819
Son: Liholiho (II)
kapu system - sitting with women

'abolished the ancient religious system'
'final act in a linked series of revolutionary changes'
2 decades
women in government
end monopoly of his father of sandalwood
'ai noa' free eating
November
December

One source of information for many of the events of the year has been the account of Louis de Freycinet who was on a scientific expedition for the French Government when Hawai'i Island was sighted on August 5th. His ships visited several villages on that island and August 30th. His description of Hawai'i was published as part of the work, Voyage autour du monde...exécuté[sic] sur les corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818 et 1820...Historique (Paris, 1839).

During his visit Freycinet was primarily concerned with provisioning his ships. Because of his position as a French naval officier and the armament of his vessels, Freycinet was willingly drawn into the politics of the Kingdom. He wrote of his interviews with Hawaiian chiefs, the King and resident foreigners. He assured Liholiho that he would place his warships in support of the monarchy and he encouraged the King to inform the chiefs of his decision. His actions helped give Kamehameha dynasty secure control of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

Department of Anthropology of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum has published an English translation and the editor have produced an excellent work. Ella L. Wiswell has kept the translation faithful to the original and has created a readable text. Marion Kelly has provided notes and comments, a glossary of Hawaiian words and names, and charts of the genealogies of some prominent Hawaiian families made by member's of Freycinet's expedition. The remaining charts and drawings have been selected for their relevance to material in the text and the notes.

Three points must be noted about the work. First, both the value and the limitation of Freycinet's observation must be emphasised. When he describes

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his own actions and quotes from the writings of other members of the expedition, his work has the immediacy and accuracy of original accounts. It is important to know that he as his crew thought and saw and did. Freycinet, however, did not publish his Hawaiian material until 1839. He was obviously influenced by other works published about Hawai‘i in the interval, and in his own account quoted at length from the works of writers who visited Hawai‘i in the 1820's. The editor has noted this in the introduction and the notes. The careful reader, then, is able to distinguish when Freycinet depended on his own experience and when he acquired ideas which he has adopted as his own.

A second point concerns the editing. While the editor has incorporated important information about individuals and clarified some of the author's statements about such matters as house building and fishing, she has also included long and repetitious explanations about individuals. Some notes are so long that they become minor essays or biographies which relate either too much or not enough. A few statements such as Rives was undoubtedly instrument" express the editor's opinion without being supported by the text or note. In the genealogical charts, the editor has introduced the terms "Senior Line" and "Junior Line". This identification of genealogies is a new one and oversimplifies the Hawaiian system of tracing chiefly ranks.

Finally, a word about the edition. It is a good functional production; the type is clear and readable and the charts and drawings are sharply reproduced. There are minor errors (such as references to material on page 44 which appears on page 48) and some typographical errors (the ship Eleanor is rendered as Eleanor). These occur often enough to be mildly irritating.

Ultimately, however, it must be noted that the translation and publication of Freycinet's material, the explanatory notes, the glossary and the genealogical charts provide the interested reader with a wealth of information on Hawai‘i in 1819 in one convenient work. (p. 397-8).


battle, dangerous or sacred situations.

"In August, 1819, Liholiho's Queen Kam Malu presented Freycinet (1978:28) with "a small feather cape". " (p. 270)

"Freycinet (1978:85) offers the clearest statement that women made baskets as well a mats, although he is specifically referring to baskets of ki (Cordyline terminalis) leaves. " (p. 272).

Freycinet (1978:85), who was in Hawai‘i in 1819, before the abolition of the kapu system, offers the clearest statement by an early visitor that women made the feather cloaks and helmets: " In producing the feather cloaks and helmets warn by the chiefs at special ceremonies, it is again women who demonstrate their industrious skill". (p. 273).

"By the 1820's feathered garments were scarce (FREYCINET 1978:28), and as KAEPLE (1985) argues, their significance to Hawaiians had altered; in 1819 the chiefs wore Western military and formal dress as well as feather cloaks to mark their high status (FREYCINET 1978:14). In 1825, DAMPIER (1971:47) wrote that the chiefs had forsaken the feather cloaks and helmets for European dress: "they however form a very excellent article of traffic and the Islanders can hardly be induced to part with them, except at a high price" (cf. Byron 1826: 137). (p. 276).

Conclusion:

"Two early ethnohistorical sources (KING and FREYCINET) and one reliable turn-of-the-century (BRIGHAM) state that women made the feather cloaks. Although the issue remains open to debate, there is no contemporary evidence that women were categorically barred from contact with their article. " (p. 277)

'Ie'ie (FREYCINETia arborea), a woody vice, was used for numerous cordage purposes (Kamakau 1964: 144). (p. 278, n. 4).


"We shall see in the sections following that all these years, back to VANCOUVER and before, the classical Makahiki was going on. Shortly before the abolition of the traditional religion in 1819, FREYCINET again referred to the festival, and in well-known terms: the 23-day procession of the God, the Kali 7 ritual, the royal feeding of the God (h?naip?), etc. (FREYCINET 1978:73). What FREYCINET adds to the discussion is the precise story of there turning LONO, here told of one of COOK’S predecessors in that capacity, LONO-I-KA-MAKAHIKI (LONO-of-the-Makahiki), an ancient KING of HAWAI'I who departed the Islands promising to return (cf. Sahlins 1985b). So, when COOK appeared, he was taken as this LONO, who is the God of the Makahiki (FREYCINET 1978:73 ).

Incidentally, FREYCINET’s major European informants go back a long way in the Islands: JOHN YOUNG to 1790 and DON FRANCISCO DE PAULA MARIN to 1793 or 1794."

The feather-covered wickerwork basket described by ELLIS is a classic k?ai, a sinnet coffin housing the deified bones of a sacred chief (Buck 1957:575-6). One such k?ai in the collections of the Bishop Museum is LONO-I-KA-MAKAHIKI, the ancient Hawaiian ali'i who was a predecessor of COOK in the capacity of LONO. Indeed, in FREYCINET's version, COOK was this LONO. Before 1830, the k?ai in question is thought to have rested in the Hale O KEAWE (House of Keawe) at HONAUNAU, not far from KEALAKEKUA, along with other sacred chiefly remains (Buck 1957:574). I go..."
into all this because S. Kamakau says that the image of Lono-ka-makahiki was one of the Gods introduced into the Makahiki procession by Kamahameha. Given the talk in the historical records about Cook's bones being carried about, could it be that the k'ai in the drawer of the Bishop Museum is Cook cum Lono of the Makahiki?

The same can be said of the Golovnin (1979:53-4) and descriptions of this An in the Freycinet (1979:72-3) reports period.


"Looking elsewhere for accounts that might corroborate Ellis's claims that infanticide was prevalent in Hawai'i usually leads back to Ellis. For example, Charles Stewart, a missionary who lived in Hawai'i from 1823 to 1825 purported to "have the clearest proof" that "two-thirds of the infants born perish by the hands of their parents" (Steward 1970: 251, emphasis in the original), but he did not state the nature of this proof, and throughout his work he referred to Ellis's Narrative. Similarly, Louis Freycinet, who visited Hawai'i in 1819, also appears to corroborate much of Ellis's higher estimate of Hawaiian infanticide, but he prefaced his discussion of Hawaiian infanticide with the statement "Mr. Ellis, who gives us these details" (Freycinet 1978: 67). In sum, there is no corroborative evidence for Ellis's claims that two-thirds of the Hawaiian children were victims of infanticide; Ellis's principal informants were ali'i nui who attributed the practice of infanticide to maka'ainana (commoners); and Ellis's published journals of 1825 and 1842 are contradicted by his parliamentary testimony of 1836." (p. 74)."


2.1.2 Miscellaneous Articles (4) (Section C)


Search for Lapérouse and contemporay voyages
1807-1808 - Etrecasteaux, Antoine Raymond Joseph de Bruni
1807-1816 Peron and Freycinet
1814 Flinders
1823 Freycinet
1824 Freycinet


#45. Freycinet...’Note sure le créole, avec deux specimens,’ p/ 406-413: "le Chasseur, conte en langage créole de l'île-de-France, communicated by Benoni Michel, and 'Le Lièvre et la Tortue, fable traduite en créole' by F. Chrestien, with explanatory notes. The first specimens of Mascarenes Créole to come to general notice." (p. 303).


The First digs in Dampier (Western Australia) and their place in the Australian ensemble

1628- G.-F. De Witt
abel Tasman 1644
English
boucanneer William Dampier August 1699
P.-P. King, February 1818
Nicolas Baudin (1801) and Louis de Freycinet (1801, 1818)

"These sailors were the first foreigner to enter into contact with the local Aborigenies. Their journaux de bord are sometimes émaillés de récits et détails notés sur le vif dont la somme fournit un aperçu fascinant bien que commaire sur la culture aborigène traditionnelle qui, à l'écart de toute influence extérieur, s'était développée pendant des millénaires en ce territoire perdu des Terres Australes."


Drawing on the literature of networks and marginality, this paper explores the social history of the small trading Port of Com[?] on the

northeast coast of Timor. Corn’s [?] marginality, as I define it, is constituted as a remote outpost of inter-island and trans-local trade networks of the Indonesian archipelago, and reproduced in its contemporary isolation from centres of economic power and processes of the global market. The paper draws on narrative traditions and documentary evidence to chart Corn’s fluctuating historical fortunes and contemporary cultural practices. In the fragile post-independence environment of Timor Leste, the resident population of Corn is once again looking towards a creative engagement with external others in the hope of renewed prosperity.

3 "Greatly enhanced by an ordinance of 3 October 1703, which permitted voyages to Timor and Makassar specifically to obtain slaves under license from the Governor-General (of the Dutch East Indies Company [VOC]) (Fox 1983: 259). See also De Freycinet’s comments on slavery in Timor in the early decades of the nineteenth century (1827: 694, 708)." (p. 1129)
5.6 A Journey though the Secret Life of the Commandeuse travestie commandeuse travestie (1794-1832)


5.6.1 Les Femmes et le Secret93 - Traduction libre de LA FONTAINE

1. Quand vous y-en-a qu’çoze pour cacié,
2. N’a pas besoin parlé vous-femme!
3. Comm’ça, donc, zaut’tout sél qui son la bouss’ gratté !
4. Mais moi connais beaucoup moussié
5. Qui, pour ça, fair’ comment madame.
6. Ein’ blan qui moi sis-pas qui nation son ‘esprit,
7. Ein’ zour, à soir, dans son li-li-

8. Étè voulé connais sis-pas son femm’ Nicole
9. Étè capable arête son parole;
10. Ah ! grand ban Dié moi va mort, licrié,
11. Moi grand ’malad’. mon ventre trop mordé
12. Ayo !...mais qui ci-ça !... moi môm’ n’a pas va croire
13. V’là-là, pourtant et ça n’a pas z’histoire !
14. Ein’ di-zèf, tout de bon, sorti dans mon lé-cor !
15. Ein’ di-nèf !...ça aussi trop fort:
16. N’a pas besoin parlé..vous tendé mon zamie,
17. Zautres va dir’ moi poule et ça fair’ moi fcé.
18. Ça femme’ là tout bas li pené:
19. “Quand li té coq peut-être été vaut mié?”
20. Lendemain, à s’t’à-la, petit zour li partie
21. Li fouillé son commer’ zisqué dans son Godon,
23. “Mon mari fair’ di zèf….gros comment zïromon !
24. “Mais quand zaut’ connais ça moi va souffri misère
25. “Et bien sîr moi gagné batte,
26. “Ainsi fair’ moi plaisir.. n’a pas besoin parlé?”
27. Mais ça qui là qui son la-langu’ boursé,
28. Pour galoppé, son la-zamb’ li légère;
29. Sitôt l’autre parti li cerçé son commère
30. Pour cause, vous connais, comer’ n’a pas manqué.
31. Et ça fois-là di-zèfs fini monté!
32. Pauvre blanc-là été ponder au moins trente,
33. L’autre commer’, dans son cause,
34. Eté parlé y-en-a cinquante,
35. Et quand tous zaut’ la bouss’ fini mède là-dans
36. A soir ça di-zèfs-là fini vini dés-cents.”

Realms and Islands: The World Voyage of Rose de Freycinet in the Corvette Uranie, 1817-1820, from her Journal and Letters and the Reports of Louis de Saulces de Freycinet, capitaine de corvette94

5.6.1.1 Portraits

*Rose* Marie Pinon, later *de Freycinet, Paris*, 1812, aged 17.

From an engraving from the original in the possession of Baron

*Claude de Freycinet.*

5.6.1.2 Couplets for Rose:

The following: *Couplets addressed to Madame Rose de Freycinet during her relache in Mauritius in June 1818.* The couplets are sung to the air of "Charme de lament, etc." The following is the first couplet:

**La Ville du Cap**

gna pas au milieu de tout ce luxe et chacun parut con

eure de se retirer arriva.

s créoles, amis de la poésie et spirituels pour la plu

se réunion sous le nom de la Table Ovale. On m'avait va

leurs saillies et surtout leur heureuse facilité pour comp

ansonnettes. A un des dîners de M. Smith, où se trouvi

ns d'entre eux, on parla de chansons nouvelles à la fi

bon beau-frère, dont la voix est charmante, fut prié de

ûtre quelques-unes de ses compositions. Il n'avait rie

lu génie créole, mais il nous chanta un rondeau avec b

êt et d'esprit. J'eus beau solliciter moi-même les membre

; personne ne trouva rien qui fût digne de la Parisi

*Louis* de Saulces *de Freycinet*

*From an engraving from the original in the possession of Baron Claude de Freycinet*

*Freycinet*

"M. de Freycinet having been admitted, at the return of the voyage,

in particular audience in the cabinet of the King, His Majesty deigned to tell him: "You entered here frigate captain, and you will leave from here vessel

captain: but hardly thank me; rather tell me what Jean-Bart responded to Louis

XIV, who had just named him squadron chief: *Sir, you have done well.*"

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95 This typography for the "couplettes" has never been reproduced in this format in the following editions or

commentaries on Rose's letters, *Journal De Madame Rose De Saulces De Freycinet*, p. 33.

96 Freycinet, *Voyage Autour Du Monde, Entrepris Par Ordre Du Roi, Sous Le Ministère Et Conformément Aux

Instructions De S. Exc. M. Le Vicomte Du Bouchage Secrétaire D'Etat Au Département De La Marine, Exécuté Sur Les
5.6.2 Introduction – Paratext of Rose’s ‘nautical journal’


Limousin

Société de Géographie de France

And

Académie de la Marine

1926

500 @300 FR 15 luxury @1000 Francs.

informative introduction my "Baron de Freycinet" helped by Uncle Charles de Freycinet

black out October 23rd, 1818 - November 18th, 1819.

Introduction to Rose TWO Citations:

“hardship”

“society”

Corvettes De L.M. L'uranie Et La Physicienne, Pendant Les Années 1817, 1818, 1819 Et 1829, Publiées Sous Les Auspices De S. E. M. Le Comte Corbière, Secrétaire D'état De L'intérieur Pour La Partie Historique Et Les Sciences Naturelles Et De S.E.M Le Comte Chabrol De Crouzol, Secrétaire D'état De La Marine Et Des Colonies, Pour La Partie Nautique, 1.
"Not wanting to be parted for a number of years, ROSE and her husband conspired for her to stow away. Each day during the voyage of the Uranie around the world (1817-20), ROSE wrote a series of intimate letters which took the form of a diary addressed to her friend CAROLINE, Baronne de Nanteuil, née BARILLON."

“This diary was handed over to CAROLINE upon ROSE's return to FRANCE in 1820 and was to remain in the archives of the NANTEUIL family until 1910, when CAROLINE's grand-to, the Baronne de Rotour, passed it on to HENRI DE FREYCYNET (born 1857), the grandfather of the present Baron, and ROSE DE FREYCYNET'S great nephew."

“For my part, I have just suffered a great hardship during which, I must admit, I have shown signs of weakness and acted in a feeble manner. Some financial set backs deprived my mother of all she owned and ‘forced her to urge my sister to accept an offer made to her by the nice MADAME DE BARILLON to travel to live in FRANCE and take up a position as private tutor to the children of a respectable and wealthy family. But it was even more terrible for me when the ship, which transported her, dropped anchor, without my knowledge, in PORT LOUIS just 24 hours after our departure! What a painful and distressing circumstance! However, I am a little reassured as to the fate of my Sister, since I have friends in MAURITIUS who will make her welcomed and will ensure that the family with whom she is to stay, will treat her with all the consideration and respect which her position demands. (Laage)"

5.6.3 Becoming a FREYCYNET; while becoming Créole

5.6.3.1 ROSE DE FREYCYNET, nee Pinon (1794-1832) and Family

“ROSE MARIE PINON was born on 29 September 1794 in the PARISH OF ST JULIEN-DU-SAULT, in the diocese of YONNE. She came from modest middle-class background, her mother, MADAME [JEANNE?] PINON, being a teacher in charge of a boarding school for young ladies. Some information can be gleaned from a lengthy correspondence comprising 26 letters between MME PINON and RUCH AMBOINE CUCURRON, ABBE SICARD (1742-1822), who in 1803 was inspector of schools for the deaf in the PARIS district and became director of an institute for the deaf on 3 January 1807. In 1808 the ABBE was promoted to the post of Director of the Institut de Bienfaisance. This correspondence, which indicates a strong bond of friendship between ROSE’s mother and ABBE SICARD over many years, is to be found in the Archives de Laage (hereafter Laage), now in the care of the present BARON DE FREYCYNET who resides near BORDEAUX. In 1802 the PINON family lived at 95 RUE D'ENFER near the PLACE ST MICHEL, and it is clear, from a letter addressed
by Abbé Sicard to Mme Pinon on 17 November 1802, that Rose's father was still alive at the time. However, in a subsequent letter dated 23 September 1803, Abbé Sicard thanked Mme Pinon for spectacles which he described as 'a relic of your dear husband'. This would tend to indicate that M. Pinon had by then passed away."

The same Abbé Sicard, writing on 23 November 1803 to Mme Pinon, who resided at the time at Rue de Seves, praised her highly for the efficient manner in which she ran the institute for young demoiselles: 'How fortunate for those children to be entrusted to the best of mothers, to the most zealous of teachers, to one who possesses to an eminent degree, not only the most complete education, but also the rare talent of communicating this knowledge.' It was indeed the good Abbé who had encouraged Mme Pinon to open such an establishment and had lent her 500 Francs in August 1803 for that purpose, although he was quick to ask for a reimbursement one month later. The Abbé had met Mme Pinon at Versailles and had become her mentor and her financier in this bold undertaking for a lady of modest means.

Thus, young Rose Pinon would have grown up in a refined and fairly scholarly atmosphere, receiving the best possible education along with 40 other young Parisian references in her journal figures as Chateaubriand Saint-Pierre are probably girls. The numerous to such French literary and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre due to the classical training which was the order of the day in her mother's institution. Often she alludes to a thinker whose work she had studied with Mme Pinon, or she quotes a saying or axiom which she had learnt from the headmistress. We know that in 1808 the Pinon family lived 'opposite the Incurables, Rue de Seves' in the Faubourg Saint-Germain district. Rose was the eldest child in the family and, after the death of her father, she must have shouldered a heavy burden of responsibility. Hence her constant preoccupation with the health and well-being of the mater familias throughout her journal. Her only brother was taken prisoner at Wilna in August 1814 and appears to have died shortly thereafter.' Her younger sister, Stephanie, travelled to Mauritius in the vessel La Caroline, which left Le Havre on 4 April 1818, to be a governess with a French family. The ship docked in Port Louis on 17 July 1818, a day after the departure of the Uranie, which distressed Rose greatly."

From Réunion Island, in a letter of 25 July 1818, she confessed to her brother-in-law Henri de Freycinet:

"For my part, I have just suffered a great hardship during which, I must admit, I have shown signs of weakness and acted in a feeble manner. Some financial setbacks deprived my mother of all she owned and forced her to urge my sister to accept an offer made to her by the nice Madame de Berilion to travel to lie de France and take up a position a: private tutor to the children of a respectable and wealthy family. But it was even more terrible for me when the ship, which transported her, dropped anchor, without my knowledge, in Port Louis just 24 hours after our departure! What a painful and distressing circumstance! However, I am a little reassured as to the fate of my Sister, since I have friends in Mauritius who will make her welcomed and will ensure that
the family with whom she is to stay, will treat her with all the consideration and respect which her position demands. (Laage)

5.6.3.2 Stéphanie Pinon (sister of Rose)

“Stéphanie Pinon returned to France in 1825, and three later she married M. Maillard, a civil servant, who soon after repudiated her and returned to a life of debauchery"(p.xii).

5.6.3.3 Louis mother to Rose:

“For the last five months we have entertained here our charming daughter-in-law who is very dear to me, for she displays qualities which make her both likable and admirable. In addition to this, she has received the best possible education and has a charming face’ (Laage 177C). Rose de Freycinet was to remain devoted to the Freycinet clan all her life, writing to them, from all corners of the globe more regularly during the voyage than did Louis himself. She also maintained a loving relationship with Henri and his wife until her death in 1832”(p. xiii).

5.6.3.4 The Freycinet family

“Rose Marie Pinon never forgot that her husband came from an illustrious French family, which included both politicians and naval officers. The de Saulses [de Saulces] family can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century, 1293, and came originally from Bordeaux. In 1623 Jacques de Saulses was ’Procureur’ [Chief Justice] of the king at Valence and bought the domain of Freycinet in Mirmande in the Département de Drôme, hence the name de Saulses [Saulces] de Freycinet. His son, René, was Lord of Mirmande and died in 1699. Their direct descendant Louis de Saulces de Freycinet (1751-1827)”(p. xiii).

5.6.4 Louis-Henri Freycinet from Courage

“His eldest son, Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet, born at Montélimar on December 31st, 1777, had an illustrious career in the French Navy, from the moment he enlisted with his brother Louis-Claude in 1794. After serving on several ships in wartime from 1795 to 1800, he volunteered to sail in the Géographe under Baudin on her[sic] voyage around the world from 1800 to 1804. In the course of the circumnavigation, Henri de Freycinet was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant de vaisseau [Lieutenant] in 1803.” (5)

“Put in command of his own ships upon his return to France, he took part on the Voltigeur in a sea battle on March 26th, 1806 off the coast of Santo Domingo and lost his right arm. A portrait, now at the home of the Baron de Freycinet, shows Henri looking very distinguished in his naval uniform
without his arm. Named Frigate Captain in 1808, he continued to common several ships, the Elisa (1808), the Régulus (1812), the Patriote (1813-14), until he gained promotion to the rank of Capitaine de vaisseau [Captain] in July 1818. Henri de Freycinet was destined to a brilliant career as an administrator, first as Governor of Bourbon Island from September 1820 onwards and then on to French Guiana (January 1826). Made a Baron in October 1827 and Admiral the following year, he took up the post of Governor of Martinique in December 1828 and was highly respected by the locals. He ended his career as Maritime Prefect of Rochefort from May 1834 until his death on March 21st, 1840. He married Jeanne Clémentine Bézar (1795-1876), a native of Rochefort, and had three children, Henri (1816-19), Charles (1828-81) and Lodoix (1820-77), who was in Rose's care from 1828 to 1830 and is the subject of many letters to Clémentine (6)."101 (p. xiv)

5.6.4.1 MISTAKE

"Louis-Claude de Freycinet’s other brothers deserve but a brief mention."102 (xiv)

5.6.5 André Charles (1783-1823)

"André Charles (1783-1823) is referred to by Rose in Chapter 3 on Mauritius. As indicated in the journal, he left the island shortly after the arrival of the Uranie and proceeded to Calcutta where he married a local, thereby causing a certain amount of distress to his parents. He appears to have been well liked by the Mauritians and by Rose herself."103 (p. xiv)

5.6.6 Frédéric-Casimir (1787-1862)

"Little is known about Louis' younger brother, Frédéric-Casimir (1787-1862), except that he was a keen botanist and married Nancy Malet in 1816. From their union was born yet another outstanding administrator Charles de Saulces de Freycinet (1828-1923), Louis-Claude’s nephew, who was elected Senator from 1876 until 1920 and served as Minister for Public Works (1877-79), and as President of the National Council for several terms (1879, 1882, 1886, 1890-92). Moreover, he became Minister for War (1888-93, 1899-99) and Minister of State during World War I (1915-16). He assisted in the preparation of Rose’s manuscript for publication shortly before his death in 1923."104

5.6.7 Louis-Claude de Freycinet (1779-1842)

"Of all the sons of Louis de Freycinet senior, Rose’s husband, Louis-Claude de Freycinet (1779-1842), was arguably the finest navigator. Like his brother Henri, he was made Commander of the Legion of Honour in
1825 for his considerable achievements during the voyage of the Uranie. He too had volunteered to join Baudin; having embarked in the Naturaliste, commander Hamelin, Louis was put in charge of the Casuarina in September, 1802 when it was purchased as a substitute for the former, which was sent back to France from the New South Wales……1803 the Casuarina stayed in Mauritius the Géographe commanded by Henri. Employed mainly in cartographic work between 1804 and 1807, Louis completed the official version of the voyage of Baudin following the death of Péron and was promoted to the rank of Frigate Captain in July 1811. Then at his instigation came the expedition around the world in the Uranie (1817-20), described in detail by Rose in her journal. The publication of the official version of the voyage and the atlas preoccupied Louis-(Claude) de Freycinet from 1824 until 1839. That the Ministry of the Interior's attitude vexed and irked him as apparent from his correspondence, published by his friend Fr Grille; in a letter of September 23rd, 1823, he waxed indignant.108
5.6.8 ROSE in Maritius May 6th- July 16th, 1818 (p. 51-70)

5.6.8.1 ROSE At the Oval Table: The Oval Society and on the Freycinet meeting with an named 'European creole': in Ile de France

5.6.8.2 Basset cites ROSE on society

“here is the version by ROSE” who says of her own voyage to be “glad to avail ourselves of the privilege of the traveller”:

"what is called society is everywhere, as here, a mixture of people who are likeable with some who are not, of sensible people and silly; but here there are circumstances that necessarily increase the diversity of behaviour. Before the place passed under the rule of the English as a result of the war, the populations were chiefly French. Of these first inhabitants, some were born in FRANCE and brought here long ago by their parents, others have settled here during and after our revolution--first reason of disunion, for unhappily wherever one finds French people nowadays there are many opposing points of view. In the middle of that the others by business interests. Individuals of the two nations can respect each other, but are entirely unalike; however, marriages between French and English families occur fairly often. From so many diverse elements there results a social whole, very little in harmony fundamentally but linked by love of pleasure and given the appearance of concord by good manners...I will not describe to you all the troubles of the colony, of which there are not a few; as strangers, we can avoid taking sides and look without discrimination on both Guelfes and Gibbelines: we are glad to avail ourselves of the privilege of the traveller" (p. 55-56:Basset).

5.6.8.3 Pictures

1. Lord CHARLES Somerset.

2. Matthew Flinders


4. CHARLES THORIN PITOT DE LA BEAUJARDIÈRE, 1779-1821, leading citizen of Isle de France.

5. Lithography portrait by DUREAU, Dictionary of Mauritian Biography, Archives, PORT LOUIS.


107 Ibid.
6. Embellishment from *Louis de Freycinet's map* of **New Holland**, 1808

7. *Voyages des Découvertes aux Terres Australes, Atlas*. Baudin's Géographe and the *Naturaliste* are seen with the schooner *Casuarina* off **Western Australians's Southwest coast**.

5.6.8.4 Commandant les Commandeurs commandant les commandements: ‘newly-composed songs’ à la Table Ovale: **Mauritius**, July??, 1818

1. **Rose Freycinet**

2. **Louis Freycinet**

3. André **Charles Freycinet** (1783-1823), **Mauritius**, departs shortly after arrival of Uranie

4. Judge, living in **Mauritius**

5. ‘**Charles**…he could not remember anything creole by heart…”, visiting?

6. **European** Creole, Living in **Mauritius**

7. ‘Some engineer,’ local in **Mauritius** ➔ Creole Poetry

8. Pitot, President of Oval Table

9. Food

‘newly-composed songs’

rondeau

verses

Basset writes:

"On **Charles**'s last day in **Port Louis** a dinner-party much more to her liking was arranged by the **Judge** and some members of the literary society called the **Oval Table**. During the meal this company of **European creole** wits and lovers of poetry talked of some newly-composed local songs, and **Charles**, who, said **Rose**,}
"has a charming voice, was begged to let us hear one of them; he could not remember anything creole by heart, but he sang us a rondeau with much taste and elegance… The creoles write witty verses but none of them showed Charles's savoir faire that day. I myself begged some of these gentlemen in vain--nobody could remember anything worthy of la Parisienne.

Her neighbor at table, an engineer officer

'who said to me with much emphasis that he had the honour to be an honorary member of the Oval Table, without waiting to be asked for some product of his muse of the ivory tower assured me that the night before he had offered his confrères a little piece altogether remarkable for its delicacy and novelty: he at once began to recite this master piece to me, announcing that it was on Thought. He murmured a few rods between his teeth, words that I could not understand; he struck his forehead with his hand, raised his eyes to the heavens as if to read there his marvel which perhaps had taken refuge above when it escaped from his head. But all his efforts were in vain: he began, and began again, the same verse twenty times without once being able to finish it. In the end, raging against his useless memory, he assured me that the piece was altogether charming and that he was mortified not to be able to let me judge of it.'
Basset continues:

"Another of her hosts, M. Thomey[?] Pitot, the President of the Oval Table, promised to send her some verses worthy of both herself and the reputed creole talent for such things. Accordingly, in a few days there arrived a sheet of paper inscribed with four couplets addressed to Mme Rose de Freycinet and to be sung to the air of Lover's Charm--Charme de l'Amant. The first couplet apostrophized her thus:

Charming example to wives,
Full of frolic and laughter, What! because of a too-faithful love
You desert Paris!
Helen, Phaedra and other beautiful women
Have braved the seas like you,
But of them history does not tell
That it was to follow a husband.

"In the other three couplets Pitot sings of the Temple of Love--and Rose; of the blossoms scatters by the Goddess Flora--and that matches flower, Rose; of the fortunate position of Louis, watching the changing stars of both hemispheres--and, always besides him, unchanging, the Guiding Star, Rose. 'I make no comment on these verses,' said Rose, copying them carefully for Caroline; 'there they are, you can judge for yourself.'

5.6.8.6 Rose on Pitot

Also, cited in Louis Freycinet’s work see above. Here is Rose’s account:

“Their author, the Paris-educated Thomey Pitot, was far from being merely the flattering rhymester he might seem; he was a man of strength as well as grace. It was his sense of justice, as well as kindness, that had led him to befriend, an enemy subject, during those long years of detention that Flinders suffered by order of General Decaen…”

Here, Rose meets Thomi Pitot, the President of the Oval Table, who, as Basset states, “promised to send her some verses worthy of both herself and the reputed creole talent for such things.”

5.6.8.7 Rose on Creoles:

"Up until now the government has not looked with much favour on this class, for although these women and their children are born free and therefore have the same rights as the whites, they nevertheless are registered with the
blacks and have no association whatever with the whites. Not one of them is admitted to society and in church they sit in a specially indicated place!"

5.6.8.8 Interaction with blacks:

"We had been given a rendez-vous with the others of the party ... I had tried to shorten our visit with the private intention of arriving at the meeting-place long enough before the others to give my poor blacks time to rest"(p. 65).

"I am assured that the blacks are generally more gently treated in this colony than in any other; and I have heard it argued by some Europeans that most of the peasants of our country are less happy than the slaves of Iles de FRANCE; what is certain is that the slaves work less, because of the large number employed on any one task, or in service. The climate, you will say is hotter, but as they are accustomed to it they suffer from it much less"(p. 65).

5.6.8.9 The last part before leaving:

"After drinking the health of the kings of FRANCE and ENGLAND, the princes and princesses, the English and French navies, and uttered the houras that always finish such big dinners, we withdrew to the salon and left those who wished to drink themselves under the table. Soon afterwards we went to take the air on the bridge, where the band played pretty contre-danses. I forgot to tell you that it played fanfares whenever anyone of importance came on board, and did not omit to do so for us as the party was given in our honour. The bridge was lit by torches, and everyone chose his partner end continued until midnight hopping about in the English style"(p. 69).

ROSE in Ile BOURBON 19 July - 2 August 1818\textsuperscript{108}

5.6.9 ROSE in BOURBON Island VIII (p. 71-81)

5.6.9.1 ‘Free Schools’

"In the course of their promenades they visited two free schools established by the government for mulattos, one for girls and one for boys, and conducted on the educational principles of the English Quaker, Joseph Lancaster. 'The good Sisters of Charity' had great success with their girls, so quick to learn that ROSE saw some of only seven years who could read and write after only three months' tuition: the boys, on the other hand, 'taught by some ignorant Brothers who did not really follow the Lancaster methods,' had less success."

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p. 71-81.
5.6.9.2 random note on Lancaster in Indian Ocean:

"In 1814, three of the African youths who had been placed in the Borough Road institution by the African Society were sent to Sierra Leone, including a George Fox, who successfully ran a monitorial school of 200 African children, after the death of the missionary. Thomas Jenkins, a former slave from Jamaica, attended the Borough Road School for a brief period before going out to Mauritius to take charge of a government school for African children. He went on to Sierra Leone where he started a private school."

"http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/Docklands/Whats-on/Galleries/LSS/Map/Resistance/People/116.htm"

5.6.10 Conclusions on Rose’s Journal – ‘singing brother Charles’

5.6.11 Epilogue After the Voyage: Ennui, Illness, and Isolation

5.6.11.1 Rose’s P.S. in her letter in the Epilogue – “Louis has sent his brother the book,…”

In the epilogue “After the Voyage: Ennui, Illness, and Isolation” in A Woman of Courage edited by editor provides 10 also the first publication of Rose’s letter upon her return to France after her long voyage. Rivière adds that the “letters are intimate and candid concessions to her sister-in-law Clémentine de Freycinet, Henri de Freycinet’s wife and that it is through a reading of these letter that “we witness her stoicism, already apparent in her journal, in the face of increasing solitude and intense pain from a stomach ailment.” Commenting on her own constant references to being childless, the editor ultimately concludes that “[s]he never recovered from the physical demands of the voyage upon which she embarked out of devotion for her
husband, *Louis Claude de Freycinet*, the captain of the *Uranie.*" (Freycinet 1996) (R. M. P. d. Freycinet)\(^{109}\)

In the selection of *Rose de Freycinet’s* 10 letters in the *epilogue* Rivière from *August 3\(^{rd}\), 1823 - May 26\(^{th}\), 1830*. She writes at least 5 letters to *Madame de Freycinet* [Caroline, her sister-in-law] from *Paris* to *Saint-Denis, Bourbon Island* as well as one letter to *Cayenne* to both *Madame la Baronne de Freycinet* [mother-in-law] and to *Baroness de Freycinet*[?] from *Paris* and *Rochefort* respectively.

\(^{109}\) Rivière adds,”[t]hese hitherto unpublished letters are to be found in manuscript form in the Laage Archives, now near Bordeaux at the home of the present Baron Henri de Freycinet.” On his own edition he later adds : "The translation closely follows Rose's original letters, even as far as the punctuation is concerned. Whenever a word or expression has proved impossible to decipher, [?] has been placed in the translation." de Freycinet, *A Woman of Courage : The Journal of Rose De Freycinet on Her Voyage around the World, 1817-1820*, p. xiii.
5.6.11.2 1. To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Saint-Denis on Bourbon Island from Paris, August 5th, 1823.

The first letter speaks of a ‘portrait’ sent from grandfather Freycinet to Rose and of a ‘kind’ Mr. Allegre who is able to deliver it by way of the frigate of a Mr. de Villory. Rose then affirms that Henri’s ‘instructions’ will be ‘carried out’. At the end of the letter Rose speaks of her health and her longing a Réunion with her distant family describing this state as “vegetating.” Here, we note that Rose’s letter is addressed to Clémentine and directed as well to Henri from Rose as well as from Louis:

“Please allow me to express once more my genuine affection for you and my never-ending friendship.”

“I send you a few words today, my dear Clémentine, to accompany both a letter from my father-in-law and the portrait of our darling little Louis which your father had dispatched to us to have a copy made for grandfather Freycinet.

... A friend of M. Allegre who sails on the frigate of M. de Villory has been kind enough to take charge of it.”

... “We think that Henri will have realized the urgency of replying at once and that he will have sent us the instructions which he wishes to see carried out.”

... “As for us, our health is quite good; we long only for the happiness of being reunited with you, since to live so far from all the members of one's family is to vegetate. Louis joins me in sending his love to Henri and to you. Please allow me to express once more my genuine affection for you and my never-ending friendship.”

5.6.11.3 To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Saint-Denis on Bourbon Island from Paris, November 20th, 1824

In speculating on the lack of communication from her sister-in-law, Rose from Paris speculates the cause to be due to her sister’s voyage between Réunion Island to Mauritius as well as on the dynamic relational and material circulation between these
spaces. *Rose* describes her own self-defined “anxiety” at the possibility of her sister-in-law being “perhaps taken ill among strangers!”

What is important is not that *Clémentine* may or may not be sick, but rather that *Rose*’s testifies in her letters the rhythms of the ships complaining that “*several ship have arrived since her* [Caroline’s] *return*” making lack of communication due to the ships an impossible reason. What this letters brings our attention is not so much ‘anxiety’ and as much there is the expectation of a ‘written word” from her sister who “*had promised to write...for seven months...and not even a word from her!*”

However, it appears that within two months there was ample time to return a letter to her sister which had been received. Here, *Rose* attests to the fact that “*...for Louis has received a number of letters from which in Mauritius where were written after my sister’s return to the island!*”

However, amidst *Rose*’s logic and understandings of transoceanic circulations, which is rightly based on her own experience at sea as well as on her present reality receiving communication from *Mauritius*, is the revelation of the semi-regular rhythms of everyday maritime life. Her letters reveals, sounds, and narrates the nearly electric wirings of a very relational and dynamic network. It is the intimacy of this microscopic narrative which possible reveals *Rose* as a principle agent and vector of the circulation of *Creole* text from *Mauritius* to *Cayenne, Réunion*, and *Martinique* experiencing the world vicariously through her home familial networks overseas: “[if]t is not for lack of ships,” *Rose* decries, “many of which have arrived since then, for
"LOUIS has received a number of letters from which in MAURITIUS which were written after my sister's return to the island!" Below is the excerpt from ROSE’s letter:

"Alas, I see that her state of health is such that a three-month journey is perhaps going to be beyond her endurance! My apprehensions are based on the state she was in when she arrived in BOURBON after a journey of only a few hours! I am also inclined to think that she was ill on her return to MAURITIUS, for not even you have received news from her since May 18th! Surely several ships have arrived since her return. Moreover, she had promised to write to me as soon as she got back to MAURITIUS, and she has been there now for seven months, and not a word from her! It is not for lack of ships, many of which have arrived since then, for LOUIS has received a number of letters from which in MAURITIUS, which were written after my sister's return to the island! Imagine my anxiety when I think that she has perhaps been taken ill among strangers! How distressing it must have been for her when she had just been treated so lovingly by you! In spite of a number of possible explanations, I cannot accept the fact that, being back in MAURITIUS for two months, my sister would not write to me if she were in good health!"

5.6.11.4 To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Saint-Denis on BOURBON Island from PARIS, April 5th, 1825

In the third letter ROSE’s admits that her “letters always begin with laments.” It appears that there was the possibility of Martial, a relative, serving on a state ship bound for BOURBON Island, however ROSE laments that it “unfortunate that Martial [had] been chosen to serve in a ship bound for Levant station.” Here ROSE ‘laments’ because relished in the possibility of both Martial and CLÉMENTINE “meet[ing] after so many years of separation.” However, her ROSE’s motivation for writing appears to reside in the fact that we [presumably she and LOUIS] received real news is that ROSE reports that she received new from him in Smyrna – a region in modern day Turkey. Lastly, the letters also announces the sending of ‘shawls’:

"It is very painful for me and…to see that my letters always begin with laments."

"It is most unfortunate that Martial has been chosen to serve in a ship bound for the Levant station, whilst there are several state ships leaving for BOURBON Island; it would have been so pleasant for you both to meet after so many years of separation. In the last few days, we have received a letter from him from Smyrna written at the end of December;"(174).
5.6.11.5 4. To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Saint-Denis on Bourbon Island from Paris, June 18th, 1826.

Here, through a Mister Gucit, Rose send to Clémentine a small box with toys for the young Charles to use during his crossing to be entertained. While still not pressing to hard on or links or being a burden Rose’s hope that this burden could “at least amuse” Charles for at least quarter of an hour of entertainment “deem[ing] [her]self happy. Here, we note that the objet in question is to entertainment for the crossing:

I have entrusted to Mr Gucit, my dear Clémentine, a small box containing some toys for our dear little Charles, I thought that during the crossing, this may serve to entertain him; Stéphanie who knows his taste has helped me choose, but I had to be content with a few items in order not to burden Mr Gucit; please excuse me, therefore, if I send such trifles from so far away, but if this can amuse your child for a quarter of an hour, I shall deem myself happy. Louis and I send you and Henri all our love.

Yours ever,

Rose de Freycinet

5.6.11.6 5. To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Saint-Denis on Bourbon Island from Paris, June 20th, 1827.

The 5th letter regards the delivery of a very important letter of Charles’ regarding the fact that of the plans to “send dear little Louis” her nephew, the son of Charles and of Clémentine. Here, Rose assures her sister-in-law that she is fit and able to properly educate and raised the ‘dear child’ and even “take him out for a breathe of fresh air until [they] leave for the country” which is projected for July 4th for the grandfather and July 12th for Rose.Attached to the letter to Rose is a ‘dispatched’ letter to Charles.
5.6.11.7 6. To Madame de Freycinet to the city of Cayenne in the colony of French Guiana, from Paris, May 29th, 1828.

Here, Rose announced how she missed the ship for this letter because her contact, again, M. Millot, was unable to tell her in time. She intimated the details of a wedding and having to possibly house her sister and her brother-in-law in their Paris apartment while in transition: “My apartment was not large enough to be shared by two couples and the bedroom which my sister occupied has become our bedroom.” While the larger space has actually become Louis ‘second study’.

5.6.11.8 7. To Madame la Baronne de Freycinet to Cayenne in the colony of French Guiana from Paris, June 9th, 1828

The Superior of the Sisters of St Joseph, who is going to Cayenne, has offered to be Rose’s courier delivering “a small box and a parcel containing shoes for little Charles.” She then explains that “she thinks that M. Millot will already be near” Clémentine by the reception of the actual letter in Rose’s hand to be sent. Rose then takes a very interesting narrative turn wishing for Millot to be not only a courier, but also a rapporteur: “I also wish that M Millot would tell you that…”

Louis. This letter writing is the only way to communicate the information for the whole family to be up to date with one another. Logistics of the child and transportation etc.

Rose then announces her own movements to the castle of Vice-Admiral de Ferrière near Chartres. She then notes the unpredictability of the ships from the Indian Ocean. There is always await of news and a response to the former letters which have
been sent. There is always the need to confirm the last letter written was indeed the last letter received.

Embroidered dress fiasco…

5.6.11.9 8. To Madame de Freycinet to Cayenne, French Guiana from Château de Ver on July 29th, 1828.

“Your boxes and your orders have left, my dear friend, but I have delayed them because of that I told you through M. Millot.”

Rose explains that Charles’ orders had been done which is then followed by a very long and extensive conversation about fashion and design. Here, Rose’s displays a wealth of knowledge on the markets of jewelry, fabrics, and even large silver dining sets. Rose then excuses calling young Louis “deformed” due to a small incident normal of young toddlers. Rose then explains her that she has finally arrived at Château de Ver owned by Le Compte de Ferrière.

At some time before July 29th, 1828, at the end of the letter Rose notifies Clementine of some very important news: “Louis has sent his brother the book, which he has requested, in a box which left with yours.” Here, we see that Rose mailed two boxes, which are scheduled to arrive to Cayenne by the middle of August. What is this “the book” “requested” by Charles and referenced in the letter dated on July 29th, 2012:

"Louis has sent his brother [Charles] the book, which he has requested, in a box which left with yours; he [Louis] will also write a letter which will travel in the Indian ship leaving port in two weeks' time. He joins me in wishing both of you well and in sending you our love.

Yours ever,

Rose (182)
While some of the letters contain a cited P.S. or post-scriptum, it is after the main body of the of very long letter that Rose’s adds a little bit of extra news. It is possible that Rose had already written the main body of the letter, and upon hearing this new information may have been obliged to include the message in the end. Here Rose, warns Clémentine that the “present Governor of Martinique [had] been recalled” and that “everyone in high society is saying that Henri [was] going to replace him.” What is even more interesting is that at the end Rose’s adds that while “everyone in high society is saying that Henri [was] going to replace him,” Louis [her husband] “has not heard anything on the subject at the Ministry of the Navy.” Rose then “gives [her] regards to your kind Commissioner” who is presumably Charles.¹

"Your dear child sends a thousands hugs and kisses and the three of us send our love to dear little Charles. The present Governor of Martinique has been recalled and everyone is high society is saying that Henri [your husband] is going to replace him. However, Louis has not heard anything on the subject at the Ministry of the Navy. Please give our regards to your kind Commissioner; we hope that meeting his old acquaintances once more won't make him forget his new ones [Laage 240-34].

5.6.11.10 9. To Madame de Freycinet in Cayenne in the colony of French Guiana from Paris [June 1828?]

"De Guéridon must have written to you about it in detail. M. Brou has not yet left Toulon, because his ship is not yet left Toulon, because his ship is not ready, I think, and the detour which he is making to Senegal will prevent him from arriving with your replacement before the month of May. All this postpones your return by quite a bit, but we hope that, as you are allowed (or so Louis was told at the Ministry) to take your holidays after a few days' stay in Martinique, we shall be able to see each other this summer in France; we await impatiently your decision in this respect. Your silver service is ready and we wait for your instructions as to whether we should send it to you in Martinique or not. If you are to stay there only a few days, it might not be

¹ Ibid., p. 182.
worth out while sending it out to you, but on the other hand, maybe you would like to have it for the first dinner party which you plan to give in honor of your arrival. Please let us know your decision; we shall follow your instructions to the letter… Recently, a young man, to whom LOUIS has given a letter of recommendation for HENRI, left for MARTINIQUE; he is an interesting young man in his own right but he is also the nephew of one of our childhood friends, Mme Fessart. We would be grateful if you could make him feel welcome; he is going to the West Indies to recover funds for a PARIS bank; his name is M. Alphonse Blaison.”

5.6.11.11 10. To Baroness DE FREYCINET in Rochefort, May 26th, 1830

“You will find in the small box which I am sending you, dear sister, the two hairpins which Devillère has made for you. I have decided not to wait for the departure of the other box, since I think that you are in urgent need of this.”

Your anxiety has been prolonged because Sadness
“I hope that our little ones will sometimes think of us. Please give them a hug for us, as well as to their father to who, we send out love and best regards. LOUIS joins me in sending you his love and the assurances of our devotion and friendship.”

5.6.12 Conclusion for ROSE FREYCINET

ROSE DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET, born PINON, died in PARIS on May 7th, 1832 while nursing her sick husband who was struck down by cholera during the epidemic of 1832. She was first buried in PARIS, but her remains were transferred to the de SAULCES cemetery on September 19th, 1849. LOUIS-CLAUDE DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET died at the age of 63 on August 19th, 1842. ROSE was 37 when she died. The voyage had finally taken its tragic toll (p. 185).
5.7 LOUIS-HENRI DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET (November 31st, 1777, à Montélimar (Drôme), Capitain de de Vaisseau, Commandant and Administrator at BOURBON, Governor of FRENCH GUIANA and MARTINIQUE²

Figure 85: LOUIS-HENRI DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET (November 31st, 1777, à Montélimar (Drôme), Capitain de de Vaisseau, Commandant and Administrator at BOURBON Island

5.7.1 Commander commander?

"On CHARLES'S last day in PORT LOUIS a dinner-party much more to her liking was arranged by the JUDGE and some members of the literary society called the Oval Table. During the meal this company of EUROPEan creole wits and lovers of poetry talked of some newly-composed local songs, and CHARLES, who, said ROSE,

"has a charming voice, was begged to let us hear one of them; he could not remember anything creole by heart, but he sang us a rondeau with much taste and elegance… The creoles write witty verses but none of them showed CHARLES'S savoir faire that day. I myself begged some of these gentlemen in vain--nobody could remember anything worthy of la Parisienne.

²Legion of Honor, "Dossier: De Saulces De Freycinet, Louis-Henri Freycinet (1777-, Montélimar, Drôme)," in La Légion d'Honneur (Archives nationales ; site de PARIS: Base Léonore, 1777).
5.7.2 The *FREYCINET* Family

Figure 86: *FREYCINET* Family Tree
5.7.2.1 www.Geneanet.org

5.7.2.2 Organizational Software

5.7.2.3 Military Service Records

2.1.3 Boats from Musée de la Marine 5

5.7.2.4 Voltigeur (FREYCINET, shiwreck, captured) (2014f)6

5.7.2.5 Elisa (FREYCINET, shipwreck, captured)7

5.7.2.6 Uranie

5.7.3 La Légion d'Honneur8

5.7.3.1 Google Earth Outline:

Using as background the public military service records from the Legion of Honor, I developed a set of infographics, which, at a quick glance allows the reader to see the grades and honors of the agent as well as a graphic depiction of the boats.

The above informational graphic provides movements of Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces de Freycinet (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes. At a quick glance, a reader can see the three medals awarded from the Legion of Honor:

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3 "Geneanet.Org : Build Your Family Tree, Share Your Family History and Improve Your Genealogy Research."
4 Patterson, Familyecho Creole Families.
6 ""L'eliza"," in Boats, ed. Musée de la Marine (PARIS: Musée de la Marine, 2014).
Officer, Knight, and Commander. The boats in the lower right hand corner are archived illustrations of the boats on which he was expedited on the various military campaigns.

This visualization path traces his Mediterranean Campaign as a 3rd Class Marine on the boats: L’HEUREUX, LE FORMIDABLE, LA RÉVOLUTION, L’INDOMPTABLE, and LA BICHE. It then follows his Caribbean Campaign – British Navy vs. French Navy on the LE PHAETON from ANVERS to his infamous skirmish with the British Navy in PUERTO-RICO and on the ‘seas of SAINT-DOMINGUE’ where he lost his right arm – almost fatally injured. He was then taken as prisoner of war by the British Navy to the island of JAMAICA where he was held for several days only to be return back to FRANCE on an American vessel.

It features a letter from his younger brother LOUIS CLAUDE DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET to brother LOUIS-HENRI dated October 30th, 1806. While this letter was indeed expedited in EUROPE, the letter now is currently held in the National Library of Western AUSTRALIA, in AUSTRALIA. In this letter, his brother reports that the highest navy officials testify to the fact that while in the seas of SAINT-DOMINGUE “he fought like a God”.

Following the Caribbean Campaign, LOUIS-HENRI then commanded the ELISA with one arm for a very brief skirmish in the ENGLISH CHANNEL shortly after returning back to metropolitan FRANCE only to be caught again and returned as a prisoner of war.

In a non-official voyage, he finds himself in MAURITIUS at the same time that his brother LOUIS-CLAUDE and sister-in-law, ROSE FREYCINET embark there in May, 1818.
He then goes on to serve as Governor of **Reunion Island** where with his wife **Clementine** he becomes parents to a ‘Creole’.

He then serves in **French Guiana** as Governor where he receives one of the first copies of his brother book *Le Voyage Autour du Monde* (1825) with the first Creole fables “The Rabbit and the Hare”. Afterwards, he goes on to **Martinique** to serve as governor where he meets a very young **François-Achille Marbot**, writer for the French Navy in 1826.

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**Figure 87:** Baron de Louis-Henri de Saulces *de Freycinet* (1777 - 1840): Vessel Captain, Commander, Administrator, and Governor of Reunion Island, French Guiana, and Martinique who lost his arm in 1806 under the command of Victor Hughes

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Arming, *Le Havre, “Géographe”, corvette AUSTRALIAN LANDS* PACIFIC OCEAN
Archipelago of Asia

Indies

Anvers on the Brick Le Phaëton,
Sailing from Anvers to Holland on “Voltigeur”, January, 1805
Command of the Meuse River Station, in Hellevoet-Sluys
Appareillé, October, 1805
Coasts of England
Coast of Scotland
North of the Orcades/Orkney Island
Cross Occidental Coast of Ireland
Acores
Surinam
Trinidad
Barbados
Antilles

Seas of Saint-Domingue
Combat with English brick, « The Render/Reindeer »
Combat with English fregate, « The Pique » and with schooner
INJURY to leg and loss right arm.
Prisoner of War, Le Havre, June 12th, 1806
Arming, frigate « Elisa »

Havre, « The Amazon », frigate, November, 1810
English ENCOUNTER, Port of La Hougue [Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue], beaches, on Elisa
Three days of bombing
December 22nd, 1810 [Court Procedures]
War Council, La Hogue, January 22nd, 1811, « honorably acquitting »

Freycinet

Harbor, Aix, ”Escadre”

5.7.3.2 Departement de Rochefort.


5.7.3.3 Grades.

1. Aspirant of 3rd class… from January 27th, 1794.
2. Aspirant de 2eme class…from January 31st, 1795.
3. Enseigne de Vaisseau…July 13th, 1797.
4. Lieutenant e Vaisseau provisoire …October 20th, 1801.
5. Lieutenant de vaisseau confirmé March 5th, 1803.
6. Capitaine de frégate...July 12th, 1808.
7. Capitaine de vaisseau...July 10th, 1816.

5.7.3.4 Emplois Particulier et Récompenses.

2. Commandé les trois batiment suivants, savoir: la Goëlette La Biche, le Brick le Phaëton (ayan le Brick le Voltigeur sous ses ordres), la frégate l'Elisa.
3. Membre de la légion d'honneur, le mars 1808.
4. Officer de l'order ROyal de la légion honneur, le 18 aout 1814.
5. Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de Sr. LOUIS, le 23 septembre 1814.

Commandé dans Mr le Compte de Colbert, la compagnie provisoire des gardes du pavillon de S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Angoulême, lors de son passage à Rocheford au mois de juillet 1814.

5.7.3.5 Observations.

1. Il compte en campagne extraordinaire le voyage de découvertes aux terres australes, à bord de la corvette Le Géographe.
2. Il s'est trouvé à trois combats généraux, et à cinq combats particuliers, dont il en a livré quatre comme commandant.
3. Il a reçu deux blessures outre la perte de son bras droit.

5.7.3.6 One Armed Commander:

Done at LE HAVRE the arming of the corvette de GÉOGRAPE.

The Expedition of the Discovery of AUSTRALIAN LANDS, PACIFIC OCEAN, the large archipelago of ASIA, the sea of the Indies (see the redaction of this voyage published successively in 1807, 1815 and 1816, by MISTERS PÉRON and LOUIS FREYCINET.) The Expedition had safe conduct of each of the principle maritime powers of EUROPE.

Done at the port of d’ANVERS the arming of the Brick Le Phaëton, and filled by the order of MISTER THE COMMISSARY GENERAL MALHOETS, the functions of chief of the movements of the PORT.

Navigation in the L’ESCAUT. Having had under the order The Brick the VOLTIGEUR and all the ships of the flotilla armed in ANVERS. In the 1st days of January, 1805, set sail for HOLLAND with LE VOLTIGEUR. Took the commandment of the station of the MEUSE[river] in HELLEVOET-SLUYS.
Appareillé in the courant of October, 1805, with Le Voltigeur [en sous ordre?]. Crossed on the coasts of England and Scotland. Passed in the North of the Orkney Islands. Crossed on the occidental coast of Ireland, on the Acores, to the winds of Surinam, Trinidad, Barbados. Navigation to the Antilles and the sea of Saint-Domingue. Very long combat with the English Brick the Render. Long and unremitting combat with the English Fregate the Pique and a war schooner. Succumbed to the superiority of the forces. Received a deep injury to the leg and another to the right shoulder; had the right arm carried away.

Exchanged as prisoner of war on June 12th, 1806. Long convalescence. Done at the port of Le Havre. Done at the port of Le Havre the arming of the frigate the Elisa.

En appareillage at the port of Le Havre. November 1810 set sail with the Frigate the Amazon, being under the orders of the Captain of this ship. Encountered the English division. Relache/went in to the Port of La Hogue [Saint-Vaast-La-Hougue] gust of wind; beaches the Elisa. Combat in this State with the enemy division. The Elisa blocked by superior forces rearms under the fire of their batteries, which are bombarding it for three consecutive days. 2nd combat with the floating batteries The Elisa after a first tentative of escaping prepares again by a tems/tenus forced in the night of December 22nd obliged to sail close to the coast very closely a mistake of the pilots lead to the its loss on a bed or rocks. (see in this regard the judgment of the counsel of war held in La Hogue on January 22nd, 1811 which honorably acquits the Captain of the Elisa.)

On the harbor of the island of Aix with the Escadre in the continuous presence of the English forces very often under veil/sail, frequent movements of war.

Same apostil as the preceding one

At the Department of Rochefort

5.7.4 Notice on Baron Louis-Henri de Saulces Freycinet (1777-1840)

Freycinet (Louis-Henri Saulces, Baron) was born in Montélimar on December 31st, 1777. His father, distinguished agronomist, had him raised under his eyes. The young Freycinet did excellent studies; he acquired a perfect knowledge of English and Latin, languages that he cultivated.

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2
all his life; but he devoted himself in a more particular way to two sciences towards which a deep tendency lead him, natural history and geography. Buffon became his favorite author. His brother born after, Louis, raised with him, shared the same studies and the same tastes. Both soon manifested a vocation decided for the Navy, and their father, ceding in to their governing authorities, drove them in Toulon, where they embarked on the vessel the l’Heureux, as aspirants of 3rd class, on January 27th, 1794. They took part, in this quality, in the successes obtained by our sailors in the Mediterranean Sea. Appointed, during the campaign, as aspirants of 2nd class, temporarily of 1st class, the Secretary of the Navy, Truguet, at the start of the school year of is him in Toulon, instead of confirming them in this last rank, conferred them higher one, that of ensign. They refused, modesty then without example, by asserting (by deriving profit from) their youth and their still imperfect instruction; but the successor of Truguet, Pélée, appreciating their merit, determined them to accept (on July 22nd, 1797).

At that time, they were a part of the squadron, which sailed in Brest, mounted up successively the Revolution, the Dix-Aout, The Indomitable and the Biche, and distinguished themselves by their bravery in diverse fights delivered to the English. Returned on the ground, both brothers devoted hard to the study of the higher mathematics and, having obtained to go to Paris, they had as a teacher, the scholar Fourier. In the month of August, 1800, they were appointed to be a members of a scientific expedition in the Terres Australes, whose main goal was the recognition of the southwest coast from that region New Holland, then, almost unknown. They embarked, in Havre, on the Géographe and the Naturaliste commanded by Captain Baudin. Twenty four (24) scholars, chosen by the Institute, accompanied the expedition: they found in Misters of Freycinet two co-operator full of zeal and knowledge, and well over the rank that they occupied in the enterprise. The ships returned to France only on March 25th, 1804, after an absence of 41 months. During this navigation, so painful for the explorers as fruitful for the science, both brothers, besides the works, which rendered names their inseparable from the beautiful discoveries that were then made, frequently had to perform the functions of commander. Upon their arrival, they learnt that they had been confirmed in the rank of vessel lieutenants by a collective decision going back to March 5th, 1803.

In April 1804, commanding of the brick the Phaeton was entrusted to Henri, and that of the Acrobat to Louis, who soon had to return to land to look after his seriously compromised health (1805). Henri, who had from then on 2 brigs under his orders, captured several English ships on the coast of Ireland, went to Cayenne, and from there in the Antilles. In these last parts, he had frequent skirmishes with the vessels from Great Britain, against which he fought often successfully, although very inferior in forces. Attacked by some big ships, near Puerto Rico, and, eventhough in the impossibility to resist with advantage, he bravely accepted the fight, and supported the honor of the French flag. After a murderous collision, after his brigs had been riddled, his crews decimated and himself, already dangerously hurt dangerously in a previous combat, had his right hand taken, he had to give in to superior forces and surrender himself: It was March 26th, 1806. The English, full of admiration for
his courage, left him his sword. Driven to JAMAICA, where he was showered with respects, he did not delay being exchanged, crossed over then to SANTO-DOMINGO, and brought in to FRANCE November 28th, 1807.

Appointed commander on July 12th, 1808, he took the command of Elisa, and left, with a flotilla, for a new cruise. This time yet again, it was unfortunate: could it have been any other way in these disastrous times for our marine, where they few ships which remained were were plunged, lost sentinels, in the middle of the innumerable vessels with which ENGLAND covered seas? After several fights, where he displayed a rare fearlessness, he saw the Elisa beached between the TATIHOU ISLAND and the LA POINT DE RÉVILLE, overwhelmed and burned by the enemy. In his return to FRANCE, he commanded successively the Régulus and the Patriot, and fulfilled other diverse functions.

On July 10th, 1816, he was made Captain, Major General of the PORT OF ROCHEFORT on September 20th, of same the year, and commanding the pupils of the Navy on January 5th, 1818. In August, 1820, the KING named him a Governor of BOURBON [Island]. He occupied this important post for six (6) years and knew how to make numerous friends there; when he left the colony, the colonists made him present of a beautiful service of set of silverware where were engraved its weapons with this inscription:

“To HENRI DE FREYCINET, the grateful Island of BOURBON.

He then passed on to the government of the FRENCH GUIANA, where he arrived on February 14th, 1827. The next year November 26th, CHARLES X conferred to him the title of Baron, named him a Commodore, and a Governor of MARTINIQUE; but for reasons of health returned himself in FRANCE in March, 1830, and obliged to give his resignation in the following month of August. In July, 1832, he was Major-General of the PORT OF TOULON, then Port Admiral on an interim basis on January 1st, 1834. Finally, on May 15th of the same year, he was appointed Port Admiral of ROCHEFORT, the city where he had married MADEMOISELLE CLÉMENTINE BÉRARD, in the first years of the Restoration, and towards whom he attracted the affections of the family. He died in this port, and in the exercise of his duties, March 21st, 1840, leaving two sons today naval officers HENRI DE FREYCINET was a member of the la Société de Géographie since March 26th, 1830, and the academy or regional education authority of ROCHEFORT, to the which he read several important reports/mémoires. We found in his papers notes and the remarkable works on navigation. He was a commander of the Legion of Honor.

—Administrator of high capacity, HENRI DE FREYCINET has rendered huge services to the country.

He completely justified VICTOR HUGHES’s prediction, Governor of the FRENCH GUIANA, which, in 1806, wrote to the Secretary:
“It is an officer who has one day to honor the Navy, by his talents, his courage and his dedication.”

Bio-Bibliography.


— III. LOUIS HENRI Desaulces FREYCIINET, par M. Dezos de la Roquette. (Impr. Pion, 1856), in-8°, 8 pp. (Tirage à part du T. xv de la Biogr. Univ. de Michaud.)
5.7.5 Straight Outta Haiti – National Library of Canberra, Australia

Figure 88

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Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet, "Louis Claude De Saulces De Freycinet to His Brother Henri De Saulces De Freycinet, October 30th, 1806," in Documents relating to Louis and Rose de Freycinet, 1802-1927 [manuscript], ed. National Library of Australia (Canberra, Australia: MS 10124, 1806).
help her to bear such a great unhappiness. Come back then, my dear Freycinet, come back to alleviate the pains that we all feel... if only you could come back entirely recovered, as we so strongly desire. Having been instructed that you will make your return to France on an American boat, and presuming that you will land either at Bordeaux or at Nantes, I have decided to leave a copy of my letter for you at both of these ports. Casimir, who is with me, has also written to you, my father and mother will do as much, after they have received my advice. So, my good friend, having arrived back in France you will receive our words of friendship. I imagine that you will present yourself immediately to the Minister of the Navy, I desire with all my heart that the moment of our Réunion is not too far away. Upon learning the details of your combat, I sought information from our friends St. Cricq, Ransonnet, Elie, Cantour, Charles, Gilbert, etc. I could only obtain exact news from the first of these, and it is not without great satisfaction that I see him come back safe and sound from the great battle he endured. As for the others of our good friends, no-one has been able to tell me anything certain, I only learnt that some of them had been with you at Santo Domingo. I pray that my wishes have been granted and that the people I love are happily waved from the perils, which surrounded them.

Since I left Holland, my dear Freycinet, I have not budged from Paris. I was ill for some time and was visited by my father. As soon as I was convalescing, the minister of the Navy requested that I cooperate in the writing of the naval and geographic section of the voyage of discovery. I received an extremely flattering letter. The persons nominated to work with me on the book were Messieurs de Rosset, Beauteens-Beaupré and Panat, secretary to the Minister, although so far Boullanger and I have done all the work and it appears that the Minister’s intention is for me to be solely responsible for the book. I have almost finished writing the text of my voyage, which will form a volume in 4 chapters. I am working now on my maps. I plan to have an atlas with 23 figures of which 19 will be maps. I must start to have them engraved next month.

I must now talk to you of Péron, my dear Freycinet; always superior in his work and in his thoughts, always dear to his friends by the purity of his heart, he is aware of most that has happened to you. He was visibly shocked on learning that you had been wounded, and took pleasure in hearing more than once that you manifested a heroic resistance. Boullanger, Bailly, Milbert and other old comrades, have all shown a lively interest in your situation. Returning to Péron. Required as he was, and as you were aware before your departure, with recoding the historical part of his voyage, he has already made significant progress. The engravers and printers are under his control. In 5 or 6 months we will have in our hands “the relations (?) (2 volumes in 4 chapters plus an atlas of 50 plates some time after “The History and Observations on those People Visited during the Voyage” (one volume in 4 chapters plus atlas) will appear “Meteorological Observations” (one volume in 4 chapters) and finally, “Natural History” which will complement his enormous task and will be published and delivered in folio form. This last work will be a long-term effort. There we are dear Freycinet and this is where we are up to with our work on our expedition.
Another thing, the name of our infamous commander will not appear in the work. His memory and his name will never corrupt this glorious work which was achieved in spite of him and his perversity which surfaced at every step. The titles of the various volumes covering the expedition will be published successively but will all conform as follows:

Voyage of Discovery to the Austral Lands, Executed by Order of Napoleon the First in the corvettes Le Géographe, Le Naturaliste and the schooner Le Casuarina during the years... etc. Each volume will then be differentiated by specific title—Anthropology, Navigation, Geography, Meteorological Observations, and Natural History and by this means the work will indeed form a complete corpus that may be united or separated according to the wishes of the means at their disposal of these buyers. Péron, by his devoted activity, by his enormous effort, which he has made known, has been able to highlight an expedition which has gained a bad reputation. His courage and learning throughout the voyage has enormously contributed to the importance and wider significance of the discoveries that were obtained. Today, eager as we are to honor that which he and his colleagues have achieved, we owe him a great debt in making us aware of and saving from loss and destruction enormous amount of material.

As I mentioned above, our dear Casimir is with me at present. He has some to spend some time in Paris, to study subjects, which are difficult or impossible to follow in the provinces. He has already followed an excellent course in chemistry, one in physics and another in botany; lately he is occupied with mathematics. These studies have already filled his head with new ideas, which in reality are no more than new shoots which must be cultivated, but which will mature on reflection and benefit from other serious work and help him to make a successful career in the theatre or where-so-ever he chooses.

I will now finish my letter, my dear friend, I will write again soon as I know your port of debarkment. Send me, my dear friend, your latest news speedily and I pray that you will satisfy my impatience. Do not forget to give me all the details of your painful but glorious expedition. Goodbye my dear brother, and receive my most ardent wishes for your happiness. You know what I place you hold in my heart. I will hold you dear all your life.

L. Freycinet

Embrace St. Cricq for me and those of our other friends who were with you. Send me news of them.
5.7.5.1 Insert Freycinet letter

5.7.6 Les Bambous Concorded

5.7.6.1 The Bamboo du commandeur

Quai Branly – Bamboo

Quai Branly *Rose* Freycinet

5.7.6.2 Bambous-Bobre

Plants, instruments,

5.7.6.3 Fables/songs

5.7.6.4 *La Fontaine, Aesop, Berenger, Caveau*

5.7.6.5 Travestie

Literary and physical process of changing clothes must be understood to capture the origins of the literary work *Rose* Freycinet

5.7.6.6 Patois

The patois in all inclusive of all regional languages in *France*. But, there is also a difficult problem regarding the grammatical use of patois and of Creole because it is unclear which

Chien creole

Chochon creole

Patois creole
It is actually first in patois...however the patois is qualified here with creole.

Creole technically in the title is only a descriptive adjective of what would have been commonly known as a patois.

5.7.6.7 Créole

Or patois-creole where the two words are both nouns.

5.7.6.8 Vieux

Negre – lost copy

5.7.6.9 Commandeur –

Marbot & Freycinet

Captain, Music, Anti or pro Napoleon (slave driver)

Freycinet ⇒ No arm

2.1.4 Author of Les Bambous?

5.7.6.10 No arm

5.7.6.11 François Achille Marbot
5.7.7 Quai Branly Collection: Objects & Icons

5.7.7.1 Instrument

Figure 89: Bobre. Bowl Zither / Zither / cordophone / Musical Instrument

Common name: Bobre

No inventory: 71.1882.10.21

Type: bowl zither / zither / cordophone / musical instrument

Place name (s): Zanzibar / Pwani / Tanzania / Eastern Africa / Africa

Person (s) / institution (s):

Donor: GEORGE RÉVOIL

Previous collection: Museum of Man (Ethnomusicology)

Materials and techniques: Wood, cucurbit, vegetable fiber

Overall dimensions: (height x width x depth, weight): 18.5 x 51.5 x 29 cm, 426 g
5.7.7.2 Painting of ‘dance’: ‘Le Shega, danse des Noirs’

1 Rivedoux and Bayot, *Le Shega, Danse Des Noirs*. 
No inventory: 75.4986

Type: PP018374

Place name(s): Réunion / Eastern Africa / Africa

Iconographic Themes: Esclavage

Graphic Procedures: Estampe / Procédés graphiques

People / Institutions:

Painter: Adolphe d'Hastrel de Rivedoux

Lithographer: Adolphe Bayot

Printer: Rose-Joseph Lemerrier

Preceding Collection: National Museum of African and Oceanic art - Historical Fund

Former Collection: Retrospective section - Permanent Museum of colonies

Date(s): Middle of the 19th century

Subjects: Slavery

Matériaux et Techniques: Stamp

Dimensions: 27,2 x 41,5 x 0,1 cm, 77 g

In the countryside, in a clear space in front of a wooden house, a sugar mill and a water pipe arriving on stilts above a wheel, men and women slaves dancing. Two riders, wearing big hats, observe from the left. On a hill overlooking the scene, silhouettes busy agrarian work. In front of the main building, on the right, a niche, a wife and children. Under the title down "PARIS, at the Author, 8 RUE DE RIVOLI" The Sega (or Shega) is a dance that is found on many Indian Ocean islands: there are differences, especially at the pace - influenced by the instruments used. While the exact origins of this music and the dance are unknown, there is no doubt that this is a kind of music of exile, born with the arrival of African slaves. From the late 18th century travelers speak of "singing and dancing of the slaves"; Bernardin de Saint-Pierre evokes as sweet harmony with love themes. The Sega is done through several instruments, including the Maravane (sort of box containing rocks or metal balls), the Ravane (Drum carved from guava wood and covered with goat skin), Triangle, the Bobre (piece of wood laid by two ropes and connected with a calabash).
Figure 90: Painting of ‘dance’ : ‘The Shega, the Dance of the Blacks’\textsuperscript{1}
Appendix A: The Gazette of Guadeloupe

Administration of Justice

Royal Court of Guadeloupe

Correctional Police

Presided by M.A. de LaCarrière

Audience of December 28th, 1841.

Vaultier de Moyen Court, the Accused, excessive punishment and inhumane treatment

Vaultier de Moyen Court, accused of an offence which only amounts to penalty of a fine, to the terms of the ancient edits, takes his place at the bench of the lawyers, next to M. Dain, his defender. Almost all of the members of the colonial council reunited in Basse-Terre had a meeting in the… of the Court, where M. le Président had the take their seats.

It results in the arrest of the court of criminal appeal [la chambre d’accusation] that Charles Eugène Vaultier de Moyencourt, 28 years old, owner in the commune of Petit Canal, is accused;

Noel, about 60 years old

1—for having detained for several months the slave Noel, about 60 years old, afflicted by an illness preexisting his detention, in locking him in a dungeon from which he would not have left until 1839 to enter into the hospital where he died about one month afterwards;

Joachim, 55 years old

2—for having, since the beginning of May up until the end of July, 1841, had incarcerated the slave Joachim, 55 years old, in this same dungeon infected with filth that one never took the care to have removed;

Jean-Baptiste, 13 years old

3—Finally, for having detained for several months the slave Jean-Baptiste, 13 years old, in an open stable where he would have been attached to a mill cylinder by an iron chain

1 Administration de la Justice, "Cour Royale De La Guadeloupe," La Gazette de la Guadeloupe 1842
WEIGHING EIGHT (8) KILOGRAMS, WHICH CAUSED ATROPHY OF THE TWO LEGS OF THIS YOUNG NEGRO / [NÈGRE].

JUDGEMENT


State of JEAN-BAPTISTE: Deposition of DOCTOR THÉVENOT, AUGUST 2ND, 1841

State of JEAN-BAPTIST from the form of the doctor :

« In a fine [PROCÈS-VERBAL] dated AUGUST 2ND, 1841, DOCTOR THÉVENOT establishes that the health of JOACHIM did not seem to have suffered from the detention that he underwent. As for the Young slave JEAN-BAPTISTE, il constate :

(1) That the restraint in IRON that he had for SEVERAL MONTHS at the bottom of his right leg NEITHER hurt NOR deformed this leg nor rendered it the subject LIMP.

(2) That there is truthfully atrophy of the member, but existing also from the opposite side;

(3) That the sequestration of JEAN-BAPTISTE for SEVEN MONTHS in a stable where he was in irons was able to determine that the stomach ache that he pretends to have had since the commencement of his detention;

(4) That nevertheless Afro-French / NOIRS contract this sickness in other conditions other than thoses where the CHILD was found.

From the rest, the DOCTOR, all while saying it is the place to depose JEAN-BAPTISTE, at the HOSPITAL to be treated there, recognizes that the HYGIENIC CARE in a PURE AIR would better SUIT him than any MEDICINE, and that a good number of CHILDREN of 13 YEARS OF AGE placed in better conditions are not more developed than the young subject submitted to his examination.

Ba zot, fô koute yo byen,
Si zot vlê sauve chagrin

State of JEAN-BAPTISTE: Deposition of DOCTOR AMIE, AUGUST 27TH, 1841

“The 27TH of the same month, JEAN-BAPTISTE was visited again by the DOCTOR AMIE, charged with resolving several question posed by the INSTRUCTOR MAGISTRATES.

There results from his report:

1° that the stable in which he incarcerated JEAN-BAPTISTE by it construction and its exposition could not be insalubrious; that the ammonium that was freeing itself from the ?iants of the animals is favorable to health.
2° That the STOMACH ACHE in the case of les Negros/[Nègres] is a very common sickness from originating from a gastric irritation passed to a chronic state, and that in the case of the YOUNG SUBJECT THIS AFFLICTION SEEMED ANCIENT.

3° That he did not think that his DETENTION in a vast and AERATED locale where LIGHT penetrates like (at) the stable of LUBETH’S PLANTATION, with the faculty of locomotion a healthy and abundant diet could bring about this SICKNESS.

4° And that finally, a part from this light stomach ache, the health of the child appeared quite well.

Deposition, Description of the Dungeon, CLERK
On the request of the DEFENDER the CLERK will give a reading of the descriptive procès-verbal from the dungeon of LUBETH’S plantation:
CLERK: “This DUNGEON, it is masonry in the form of a family tomb, it is closed by a double door in wood of at least ONE INCH in thickness. The wall IS TWO (2) FEET in thickness between these TWO (2) DOORS. The day and the air seem to penetrate in it difficulty by the buildings of these TWO (2) DOORS which do not HERMETICALLY close, it is true : on the NORTH SIDE one remarks a conduit of AIR obliquely administered in a wall having THREE (3) INCHES in WIDTH an ONE (1) FOOT in HEIGHT. Another conduit of the same DIMENSION exists on the WEST in a hallway where can be found a kitchen furnace/stove. This DUNGEON is SIX (6) FEET also in CONIC HEIGHT. The ground is in masonry to a HEIGHT of about TWO (2) FEET from the ground.”

Deposition of JOACHIM, the MULE KEEPER, cross examination by M. DAIN, Lawyer of the ACCUSED
The first witness is introduced in the praetorium: it is JOACHIM’s, the KEEPER OF MULES, which the INSTRUCTOR MAGISTRATES have found on JULY 22ND in the DUNGEON of LUBETH’S PLANTATION during their TRANSPORTATION of the DEFENDANT.

VAULTIER had lost several MULETS, when Noël, my BROTHER, found himself GUARDIAN: he was ARRESTED and PLACED in the DUNGEON. He stayed there for a long time and he departed from there to go die a little time afterwards at the HOSPITAL. I only know that by hearsay/ [FR:oui-dire]; because I was EN MARRONNAGE. Towards the MONTH of last JANUARY, VAULTIER had still some losses while guarding the MULETS which were confided to me. FEARING TO BE BEATEN, I LEFT MARRON [JE SUIS PARTI MARRON]. I was ARRESTED at he beginning of the MONTH of MAY by the ÉCONOME, LARROCHE, and DEPOSITED at the ORDER of MY MASTER in the DUNGEON of the PLANTATION until the arrival of the MAGISTRATES. Every NIGHT, they brought me FLOUR and SALT-FIST in sufficient quantity to make TWO (2) MEALS each day; they did not given me but a BOTTLE of WATER : I DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH OF IT, BUT I WAS AFRAID TO ASK FOR MORE OF IT.”

Bwè tafia, maron dans bwa.
D. Did you ever leave the dungeon?

R. No. I asked Louisonne, the nurse, for a vase to satisfy my needs, she responded that had none. I was obliged to deposit my garbage in the corner of the dungeon, and since they did not take care to have it removed, there wafted an infectious odor that prevented me from eating.

The general lawyer: It was noticed by a process-verbal erected at the moment of Joachim’s exit from the dungeon, that it had not been cleaned for about one month.

Deposition of Jean-Baptiste said Parole

Jean-Baptiste said Parole, 13 years of age, valet de charriere, slave of the defendant. This child appears well however. At the demand of several of M.M. the counselors he has them look at his legs which had not conserved any trace of the restraints to which they were subjected.

Jean-Baptiste said Parole: I was attached in the stable of the plantation to a mill cylinder, with an iron chain of 6 feet in length: it was linked to my right foot in the way of a horseshoe. I minced straw that I was giving to eat to the horses: I do not know how much time I stayed there. My master had already put me a first time in chains.

D. Why did your master enchain you?

Jean-Baptiste dit Parole: Because I had saved myself.

D: Why did you save yourself?

Jean-Baptiste a.k.a Parole: Because the master Cabrouétier was hitting me and because I had also been beaten on the orders of my master.

D. Did it not occur to you to smash in [break in?] the case à Nègres for having committed thefts?

Jean-Baptiste said Parole: I pushed one time the door of the hut of Clérine, which was dismantled, and I took some flour and morue.

D. Did you have the stomach ache when you had been put in chains?

Jean-Baptiste said Parole: No, it was during my detention in the stable that this sickness had occurred to me.

D. What did they give you to eat?

Jean-Baptiste said Parole: I was fed from the table of my master.

D. Could you walk when they had your leave from the stable?
JEAN-BAPTISTE said PAROLE: I was walking difficultly; my legs were numb.

Deposition of VICTOIRE, HOUSE CLEANER, SLAVE of Vaul-tier de Moyencourt

VICTOIRE, HOUSE CLEANER, SLAVE of the DEFENDANT;

VICTOIRE: I cannot give any information on NOEL, I was not yet on the plantation when he died at the HOSPITAL. JOACHIM was put in the DUNGEON, because VAULTIER had lost some MULES. I was going [that] very NIGHT with M. LAROCHE, the ECONOME to bring him something to EAT. JOACHIM never complained about never having enough water: several times I found water remaining in the bottle that I have given to him the eve.

D. Where did JOACHIM do his needs?
VICTOIRE: I don’t know.

D. How many mulets were dead on the plantation when JOACHIM was incarcerated?
VICTOIRE: I don’t know.

Interpelled by M. PRESIDENT JOACHIM declares that there had only been one single death.

D.: VICTOIRE, what do you know regarding JEAN-BAPTISTE said PAROLE?
VICTOIRE: JEAN-BAPTISTE was put in chains because he was stealing the cleaning out everyone.[?]

D. Wasn’t he enchained multiple times?
VICTOIRE: Yes: he has always broken his chain. One day, having escaped, he grabbed everything that he could find in the kitchen; at other times he broke [defoncer] into houses to pillage them.

D. Is is while he was detained that JEAN-BAPTISTE was afflicted with a stomach ache?
VICTOIRE: I don’t know.

THE DEFENDER: It is certain that this enfant was afflicted with this trouble/[mal] when he was put in chains.

THE LAWYER OF THE KING: Vous n’en êtes alors que plus coupable.

LE DEFENDER: The fact acquired, I will pull from it a consequence all opposed.

Deposition of PHILIPPE said PETIT-FRÈRE, son of JOACHIM, SLAVE of VAULTIER DE MOYENCOURT

PHILIPPE said PETIT-FRÈRE, son of JOACHIM, SLAVE of the DEFENDANT;
PHILIPPE said PETIT-FRÈRE: NOEL was put in the dungeon at the commencement of the harvest and left from there before the end. Entered in the hospital he dies there one month afterwards. He was sick and suffered for a long time from a little cough.

THE LAWYER OF THE KING: Before the judge of instruction the same witness declared that the detention of NOEL in the dungeon had lasted eight to 10 months.

D. What do you know relatively à JOACHIM and à JEAN-BAPTISTE said PAROLE he was first beaten because of his numerous thefts: this punishment not having any effect, it was on different reprises being out in chains. But he always managed to escape: in the last place, he was chained in the stable.

D. Was he sick when he was placed in the stable?

R. He was VALIANT when it entered and PUNY when he left from there.

LOUISONNE, NURSE, SLAVE of the DEFENDANT
LOUISONNE, NURSE, SLAVE of the DEFENDANT.

LOUISONNE: NOEL left marron because of the losses that they made on the plantation. When he was ARRESTED, M. VALUTIER had him put in the DUNGEON. He was sick before having entered there and he was already bloated when he was driven to the HOSPITAL, where it stayed about THREE (3) MONTHS. VAULTIER always went to see him EVERYDAY during the time of his DETENTION in the DUNGEON.

Deposition of CHARLES LAROCHE, ÉCONOME of LUBETH'S PLANTATION
CHARLES LAROCHE, ÉCONOME of LUBETH'S PLANTATION.

CHARLES LAROCHE: I know nothing relative to NOEL. I was not yet on LUBETH’s plantation when he died. As for JOACHIM, he was incarcerated because he was long suspected of empoisoning the livestock. Five or six mulets had just died, when JOACHIM “partit marron”. All leads to believe that the death of these animals ne devait pas/ should not have been attributed only to the evil spell. A beautiful, fat mule alive and kicking was all of a sudden effected with a shaking and would almost instantaneously. I was going every night myself to have something given to eat to the prisoner.

D. Did he ever complain about the GARBAGE which lay in his DUNGEON?

CHARLES LAROCHE:

“NEVER:
in the first times that I had taken care to clean the dungeon. But during the less days of his DETENTION I rendered myself GUILTY OF A NEGLIGENCE in this regard:

I affirm that VAULTIER had recommended to me to give to this man all the cares which his position includes; he would not be responsible of the fault that I COMMITTED. From the rest if JOACHIM had let escape the lightest complaint, I would hasten myself to make it right[droit]. It is as such that at his first demand I rushed myself to procure a board for him so he could sip/…….

D. Cependant JOACHIM pretend avoir demandé un vase à LOUISONNE vous avez dû en avoir connaissance?

CHARLES LAROCHE: Non, elle ne m’en a rien dit.

M. le Président recalls the witness LOUISONNE. D. While JOACHIM found himself in the dungeons did he not ask you for a vase to satisfy his needs?

CHARLES LAROCHE: Yes, I responded to him that there was none.

The witness continuing his disposition provided a few references on the bad antecedents of JEAN-BAPTISTE.

He declares that this young slave already had a stomach-ache when he was chained to the stable, and that his illness did not worsen during his detention.

Deposition of M. GENERAL FAUJAS DE ST-FOND, MAYOR OF THE COMMUNE OF PETIT-CANAL

M. GENERAL FAUJAS DE ST-FOND, MAYOR OF THE COMMUNE OF PETIT-CANAL, CITED AS WITNESS AT THE REQUEST OF THE ACCUSED/DEFENDANT;

M. GENERAL FAUJAS DE ST-FOND: I feel a bit of embarrassment to give a deposition in an affair which concerns one of my administrates who I have always recognized sheltered from all kinds of rapprochements. His administration, I must say it, has always been wise and enlightened, friend of order and of labor. VAULTIER DE MOYENCOURT has been, as HABITANT, hit with woes and with losses that he has taken with courage, that he has with prudence.

In the beginning of this year, EIGHTEEN OR TWENTY SLAVES left his workshop to free themselves to marronage; at the same time on of his essential buildings of his plantation becomes the prey of flames. M. DE MOYENCOURT wrote to me to give me the knowledge of these grave disorders. In the impossibility, where I was to go have arrested the guilty, I addressed myself to M. LE GOUVERNEUR to update him of what was happening in my commune and ask him for help. M. LE PROCUREUR GENERAL who faisait alors sa toutteuer se . sur l’plantation Lubeth. VAULTIER l’information de la rebellion in which several of his slaves had admitted their guilt, testified to him particularly his worries concerning the nègre JOACHIM who was just arrested and made him know that the desire that he had to ask for the exportation of this
slave. **M. le Procureur General** responded that he would make his report to **M. the Governor**: but that in the meantime he committed **Vautrier** not to rid himself of the right that he had in his quality of *master*, to detain his slave. **M. Vautrier** reassured by these words wrote to me to inform me that he would have the slave *Joachim* detained in the dungeon of his plantation until the decision of M. the Governor. At this juncture of criminal pursuits were directed against **Vautrier de Moyencourt**. For myself I have only had in these circumstances one reproach to make to **Vautrier**, it is for having saying as such abdicated his right of master, when the law was giving him *toute justice* on his slaves.

**M. le Président:** I must react to these last words which ???? a huge error: the law has never conferred *toute justice* to the master over his slaves.

**M. Général Faujas:** I have maybe badly explained myself; in all of these cases I desire to not be misunderstood. I meant that **Vautrier** did not need to address himself to all of the authorities of the colonies, and that his authority of master was enough for him to bring back order on his plantation.

**Deposition of Charles, Tonnelier, the Slave of the Defendant**

**Charles**, **Tonnelier**, the *slave* of the **Defendant**;

**Charles**: I heard that *Noel*, before dying, had sworn to **Vautrier** that he had hurt the animals of the plantation in making them take harmful materials. When *Noel* was transferred from the dungeon to the hospital, my master also sent me son to find the doctor to give him care.

The **Defendant** gives up on having several witnesses that he had seated to propose bad ???? and the vicious habits of the young slave, *Jean-Baptiste* dit *Parole*.

The **Defendant** presents to the Court a few explanations in the interest of his cause: he speaks at length about *Noel*, *Joachim*, et *Jean-Baptiste*;

He enters into all of the details of the facts which ?????. The explanations which served as a basis for the defense will find their place in the analysis of the speech for the defense by **M. Dain**.

**The King's Attorney General and the Public Ministry**

**Le Président**: The floor is to **M. l’avocat general**.

This affair, he says, in starting, is one of those which have afflicted all enlightened men, all honest hearts, all sincere friends of the country; in effect, who has not been profoundly moved by these numerous abuses signaled to the public ministry of this moderating power that the law has put in the hands of the master in his interest as in that of the slave, in the interest of the public thing? Who was not painfully be afflicted in thinking of the sad echo that there must be in the Metropolis these deplorable ??? committed by men forgetful of all the laws of humanity and even of ? ? ? de laquelle ils possedent des esclaves ? It is
at the ??? where the defenders of the country plea before his judge for an integrity of its institutions and supported that slavery was the only possible social organization in the colonies assuring labor for the masters just as the well-being for the slave, that a few lost men were coming ?????? un éclatant démenti by the most insensible acts.

Ah ! don’t accuse la mere Patrie who is seeking to prevent the fatal consequences of the arbitrariness! Don’t accuse the wise ordonnateurs who have come to protect the weak against the strong and remind yourselves for the future that, in the a crisis where one acts, each one of your faults is an argument against you, each one of your errors is a stone that you remove from the foundations of your colonial structure.

Far from myself however the thought of wanting to pretend that in a blind injustice one has pondered asking to get even with everyone on the crimes of a few: certainly not. But the nature of the facts about which we wanted to speak to you is such that it was becoming impossible to the legislator to have not preoccupied himself with it by that only when they have produced themselves. Whatever it may be, that it be permitted ourselves by ourselves, the organ of the country, to push back up against these dreadful doctrines of solidarity that the defense has at times come to profess before us, that it be permitted for us to brand them in the name of the colonial society that we represent, that it be permitted for us to tell you: everywhere where there are men there are crimes and offences; in all organized society there are the good and bad.

SO, WHAT!

HIT THE BAD WHEN IT FALLS UNDER YOUR HAND AND THAT THE LAW ARMED YOU WITH THE RIGHT TO PUNISH: AND FAR FROM REACHING COLONIAL SOCIETY ENTIRELY, YOU HAVE DONE BONNE JUSTICE OF THESE EXCEPTIONAL ACTS WHICH ARE TRULY TROUBLING TO OUR SOCIAL ORDER.

Here the prosecution analyzes all the charges resulting from the debates with regard to Noël and to Joachim, discuss the testimonies of witnesses and tries to establish them as constitutive of the offence.

THE PROSECUTION: Well, he says, by ending this part of the indictment, the treatments which you made undergo to these two men:

THEY WERE POISONERS, SAY YOURSELVES!

AH!

SIRS,

it is true that the malefic have ruined many plantations, that the poisonings destroyed many herds,

have it known well many workshops,

it is necessary to say it also because
it is true, of empty terrors, disastrous concerns did well of the evil.

There are inhabitants who do not believe in the **EPIZOOTIC DISEASE**!

**FOR THEM,**

**AN OX FALLS WHILE AT WORK,**

**HE DIES POISONED!**

**A MULE IS FOUND DEAD IN THEM, IT IS AFFLICTED NOT THE MALEFIC!**

From there rigors [?], often inequitable punishments, from there, on plantations, inevitable disorders.

**BUT, SAY YOURSELVES, CHRISTMAS HIMSELF, BEFORE HIS DEATH, CONFESSION ALL OF HIS CRIMES.**

Were these crimes thus a matter of your jurisdiction?

They did not belong to the judicial authority or at least to the high authority of the country. You declined these jurisdictions; you delivered the culprit to your own disciplinary justice.

But was it permitted for you to cast this sick man in a narrow and wet prison and of not one make take out(bring out, take out, bring out) that to prepare for him a [death] shroud?

in your hospital?

**THE LAW CONDEMNNS AND STRIKES, BUT IT DOES NOT LET DIE …**

As for **JOACHIM**, he was also suspected of poisoning; you addressed **MR. GOVERNOR**, you asked for his export. You were authorized, say yourselves, to serve you as the prison of your plantation while waiting for the outcome of your initiatives, I admit it because I do not dispute you a right of detention.

But did you did wear out it in careful and careful master/teacher of his or her slave?

Far from there.

You imposed him, not a guilty negligence, one of his punishment which it was given to no legislation to plan.

You abandoned this man living in a prison infected by filth for which none the Blacks has an aversion [native?].
You delivered him(it) in of disgusting exhalations which could compromise his(her,its) health.

Is it there, I ask to you for it, the legal exercise of your disciplinary rights?

However the bursar Laroche tried to assume(accept) on him all the responsibility of the offence …

It is easy to blame when we are not on them [?] the accused.

**SO THE GENEROUS EFFORTS OF THE WITNESS WILL NOT JUSTIFY**

**VAULTIER DE MOYENCOURT**

**LAROCHE** was only the executive of the works of **VAULTIER**.

When **VAULTIER** orders his bursar to make weed one [left?] of sticks or to make plough one part of earth, him(it) himself(itsel) are not going to watch the work which he ordered?

Would the life of a man thus be less precious to him than some foots of canes or some knocks of plow?

**THE PROSECUTING ATTORNEY** passes to the 5th chief of prevention on whom he insists strongly resting on the report drawn up by **DOCTOR THÉVENOD** as magistrate instructors had just put an end to the detention whereas the report of **DOCTOR AMIE** was drafted only one month later, when **JEAN-BAPTISTE** had already taken advantage of all the good care which had been lavished upon him at the **HOSPITAL OF POINT-À-PITRE**.

**THE PROSECUTING ATTORNEY** You speak, he says, depraved habits of this **YOUNG SLAVE**. The debates established that he(it) used(wore out) his(its) freedom of actions(shares) only to deliver him(it) to any sort(species) of robberies. We would not know how to deny that positions of the Defending(Forbidding) towards this child was difficult;

But can we go as far as acquitting all the acts which committed an inhabitant with the aim of curbing the disorders of his SLAVES?

**OBVIOUSLY NO**.

If the organization of slavery in the colonies insures the **COLONIST** the labor, the well-being, the wealth, it also leads, we know it, to big embarrassments. It is to those who benefit from **THE SLAVERY** to undergo the inconveniences.

But was not there thus for you in way(means) to escape any responsibility?

This child, could he have been delivered to the courts?
Substituted for the impotence of the domestic power, no louvaient they by virtue of a text written in our Codes to Order his detention in the house of correction?

You were afraid of abdicating your claimed abuse Rights of the Master because there is, here, an unfortunate trend of ceaselessly putting disciplinary power above of the Law:

*It is an abuse which has to disappear from our customs…*

You will not pass up saying that we are attacking your institutions, that we are trying to destroy your domestic legislature, the basis of the colonial system, and this counterpart, we are only returning you to the execution of the Law such as it was made, such as it went out of hands of the Legislature of 1685.

Consult the Ancient Edicts whence you draw your title of master and you will convince yourselves that they did not deprive of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts the crimes and the offences of the Slave, did not submit only to the domestic power of the inhabitant, as regards to these daily breaches in the current discipline of a plantation.

The Organ of the Public Minister enters here into questions of the law raised by the trial, questions already plead before the Court, already resolved by several of these arrested; he explains as such in resuming this discussion; we have often said that the possession of man by man in colonial societies offered maybe less afflicting results than the exploitation of man by man in European societies.

**Jus utendi et abutendi**

This may be true under certain relationships; but it must convene at least that this possession is of a nature such that the religious legislator from 1685, in consecrating such a right has never intended to accord at the same time the *Jus utendi et abutendi*.

Since then, the abuse of the right of detention, even though never expressly foreseen, must enter into the previsions of the law, as does the abuse of the whip, as does the abuse of all the disciplinary ways authorized. Henceforth, since you have already decided it, all the texts from the former ordinances that have had passed before your eyes must not be considered as limitative in their enunciations: they are not limitative by that only that it was impossible for the royal authority to foresee and to enumerate all of the guilty acts to which the abuse of disciplinary power could have reached.

May the defense recognize therefore with us that all domestic punishments that he inflicts upon his slave, the master is a matter for a jurisdiction superior to his own; that it [defense] recognize finally that in similar material the judges are the juries, appreciative of fact and of is morality, pulling back on the conscience a verdict of acquittal or of guilt.
The Public Ministry seeks in adjourning if the Court must apply the penalty provisioned by the former edits of that carried in the ordinance of September 16th, 1841 recently promoted in the colony, in virtue of the exception to the principle of non-retroactivity which permits to apply the lightest law even when it is posterior to the fact, objet of prevention. It concluded with two thousand (2,000) francs of fine against the defendant, in the terms of the ancient edits.

The President: M. Dain you have the floor.

M. Dain: It is and distressing spectacle, Sirs, to witness the ruin of a country that we are demolishing piece by piece; it is a distressing spectacle to see fall one by one these strong institutions erected by such a powerful hand that they still resist against all of the shakings that they have undergone for the past few years.

Leave for us our old ordinances in all of their integrity or erase them definitively from our codes:

Let us live or kill us in one sole blow: but in Heaven’s sake do not come with some interpretations more or less subtle to rip each day a page from our colonial charter and leave it shreds at the breath of the parties who are stirring around you.

Before starting with the trial I shall reproduce before you the exception of incompetence that I have already had the occasion to submit to you. No, Sirs, you are not the judge of Sir Vautier de Moyencourt: it is not up to the correctional jurisdiction to appreciate the imputed crime to the defendant, if there is a crime.

The Sire Vautier de Moyencourt is not the man from the Charter of 1814 nor of the Charter of 1830. For him there had not been a revolution of 89. His King, he is Louis XIV, his minister, Colbert, his law, it is that of 1685. It is under the empire of this law that he was born, that he has lived, that he possesses; it is with this law that that he must be judged.

Did he not admit guilt for the barbaric and inhumane treatment with regards to his slaves it is extraordinary that we must proceed against him?

Did he not admit guilty of mutilation, of torture with regards to these same slaves, must it be noted as infamous?

Are you therefore an extraordinary jurisdiction?

Have you received the right to note a citizen as infamous?

Vautier de Moyencourt, you know it, is not warned for having exerted an excessive punishment vis-à-vis his slaves Noël, Joachim et Jean-Baptiste. He detained them for a time more or less long: this detention can be constituted as torture, I admit it, an inhumane and barbaric treatment, I want
it[to admit it] well; but it is not in confusing the facts that which do not resemble
one another, in denaturing texts which impede that you would arrive to apply to
Vaultier de Moyencourt the required penalty by the Public Ministry,
a penalty done only for he who had his slave given more than 29 blows
with the whip….

**The Law is inflexible!**

**Your Competence is flagrant!**

However to plea for all ends I shall enter into the facts of the trial and I
will not have to make any great effort to wash the honor of my client of the
stain that they have wanted to print upon him.

And first, as for Noel, we must separate this chief of prevention on
whom the Public Ministry has believed to have so strongly pressured. All of
the slaves have declared to you that Noel had been put in the dungeon and
had died at the hospital at the beginning of the 1838 harvest; the pursuits
only started at the end of July 1841, there is prescription.

**The General Lawyer:** The witnesses have well pretended that the
fact had happened at the beginning of a harvest, but they did not say if it was the
one of 1838 or of 1839.

**The Defendant:** Vaultier told you that the death of Noel went
back four years.

**The General Lawyer:** It is true, but we had to think that it was an
inaccuracy escaped by the emotion of the defendant; (missing one top line) had been put in the dungeon at the end of 1838. By bringing this
declaration together with that of the witnesses we remain convinced that the
facts happened in 1839.

**The Defendant:** It is before the judge of instruction that the
inaccuracy was committed par Vaultier de Moyencourt.

**The General Lawyer:** This point is of the utmost importance. We
ask M. President de [?] to bring back the debates on the date of the
offence; we want only the truth.

Lively explanations are exchanged between the defense and the
Public Minister.

**M. President:** The slaves could not and were not able to tell us
anything on fixing the date of the death of Noel, Greffier, give a reading
of the process-verbal addressed before the judge of instruction on the
date of July, 21st.

“That which concerns Noel, said the magistrate instructor, Vaultier
de Moyencourt justified to us that he was at the [population] count of 1839
it was inscribed as dead at the age of 56.”
M. President: **M. DAIN** continue your defence.

Sirs, the reading of this piece....
1 Appendix B Epistolography

1.1 Sch. 31: Graz, 4 de Junio (1)

Sr. D Rufino José Cuervo,

Mi distinguido amigo,

"Fuera de eso, estaba esperando que pudiese enviarle mi tratado sobre el criollo de Annobon (3), en que ocasión le hubiera escrito algunos renglones. Mas como no han llegado aún los ejemplares y después de mañana saldré para Bolonia, será para más tarde.

Tutus suus

HUGO SCHUCHARDT

(3) Kreolische Studien VII. Uber as Negerportugiesische von Annobon, en Sitzungberichte der Wiener Akademie 116, I, 1886, págs. 193-226;

"En cuanto a a terminología de los colorados hay más confusión que antes no creía. Littré p. ex. da esta definición de cuarteron: provenant de l'union d'un blanc avec une mulâtresse.

¿Cuando tendré el gusto de un aprieto de manos? ¿No dejará París durante todo el otoño?

German: "Crioulo ist nur bezüglich der Herkunft seiner Endung dunkel".

"Crioulo is dark only to the origin of its ending".

1.1.1 1. Graz, February 19th, 1882

Sr. D. José Rufino Cuervo,

En primer lugar incúéntrase a la largo de la costa septentrional un Frances degenerado semejante al de Haití, Guadalupe, la Martinica, la Guayana etc. (Li blanc pas bien en paradis, si li pas aimer bananas). No sé si el término de papiamento connota este idioma o 2) una depravación de la lengua castellana cual usa en Curaçao y las adyacentes partes de Venezuela.(4)

3) Por fin he leído que en la provincia de Barbacoas, particularmente en la valle del Patía los negros se sirven de un español estropeado en un modo muy característico. (5)

"Ocupado en el estudio de todos dialectos creolos del mundo de base latina o germánica, no debo, por supuesto dejar a parte los de Colombia. Pero no desearía solamente algunas noticias generales (histórico-estadísticas), lo que mas me importa, es de obtener especímenes de estos dialectos corruptos (canto-cuentos-proverbios-enigmas-fragmentos de conversaciones). Pues bien? pudiera V. que probablemente © no está familiarizado con ellos, indicarme algunas
personas capaces y serviciales en la provincia que no se rehusarán de suministrarme una u otra cosita de provecho para mi intento, o tendría amigos de confianza bastante para inducirles a que me ayudasen un poquito en mis trabajos? Agradecería infinitamente tales servicios y estaría dispuestos a retribuirles en cualquier modo.”

“Veo bien que mi solicitación es impertinentísima, por más que la salpimiente o cobradora; pero muchas veces, a menos de renunciar a lo que legítimamente anhelamos, tenemos que salirnos del camino real de los miramientos.”

“Con que haga V. esfuerzos para perdonarme este atentado hecho en castellano mucho menos que castizo y disponga como de un verdadero amigo de s. s. s. q. s. m. b.”

Dr. Hugo Schuchardt

Catedrático en la universidad de Graz (AUSTRIA)

Sch. 2: Graz, 15 de julio de 1882

Sr. D. Rufino José Cuervo,

Ku Sr. mio y colega distinguido,

No parece sino que es una superstición de todos los extranjeros que se hable un la costa septentrional de la América del Sur parte el papiamento curazoleño, parte el cerollo francés de las Antillas. Ha pocos días, CHARLES Leland (7) me manifestó la misma opinión. Le acuerdo que un viajador cita estas palabras que oyé en Cartagena: Li blanc pas bien en paradis, si li pas aimer bananas, añadiendo que los negros de por allí suelen usar un francés de tal hechura (8). Mas todos los cónsules de Columbia y Venezuela a quienes recurrí, me respondieron negativamente sobre este asunto.

Deliera tener vergüenza de escribir en español tan poco castizo a quien penetró y con admirábil (a) claridad expuso las finezas más recónditas del hermoso idioma. Pero le diré con franqueza que obligado a servirme en mu correspondencia de media codeca de lenguajes, mas y más me entero de la imposibilidad de conservar en todos una cierta facilidad y ? Un tiempo me expresaba bastante bien en italiano, aquí la irrupción del español tuve consecuencias al parecer irreparables. Ahora el portugués y el español en mí se hacen guerra de hermanos enemigos. U ! cuánto tiempo precioso malgastamos empeñándonos en escribir un idioma extranjero ! Así es que renuncio a esta vanagloria u suplico que me concedan indulgencia.

Sin más por hoy; sepa V. como de veras le luire s. s. y amigo affmo.

C.1

Senor Doctor D. Hugo Schuchardt,

"aunque con algún retardo, porque habiéndome visto precisado a mudar de casa, no sabían a donde dirigírmela."
Bis dat qui cito dat (1)... "a saber las modificaciones que ha padecido la lengua castellana en América y ASIA (4)?..."? Hay otras publicaciones en español de color americano? Tengo poesías en puerto-requeño (en cubana nada), conozco, por supuesto, el artículo de Maspero sobre el español de Buenos Ayres (8). Acaba de darme apuntes sobre el de Nicaragua un amigo que vino de allí. En fin poseo bastantes datos sobre el español de cocina que están hablando los tagalos y otros indios de Filipinas. ¿Cómo es explica que les indios de América no chapurreen de una manera parecida el hermoso idioma de Cervantes?"

"Perdone que tan mal vestidas (estoy escribiendo prisa)…. (44-46)"

Quisiera dedicar una monografía al examen del desarrollo de la lengua española fuera de Europa, pero solo considerado desde un punto de vista muy general, por así decir, antropologográfica. La cuestión principal sería: ¿Por qué causas la lengua castellana durante cuatro siglos y en condiciones tan diferentes de las de la madre patria se ha modificado ahí en grado tan mínimo? (4). Tal vez en la republica Dominicana haya un español un poco más adulterado; mas faltanme las pruebas. Sobre muchos puntos relativos a este asunto me atreviera a interrogar a V si no anduviese tan de prisa. P. ej. ¿no se encuentra con los indios americanos en ninguna parte un español de cocina, como en Filipinas con los tagalos etc. ? (5) y porqué no? Por desgracia no conozco la literatura americana moderna lo bastante para verificar si en ella se halla un color americano, como había un Africitas en la literatura latina. Siempre me ha admirado que en los antiguos españoles la natura tropical (?) o trópica?) haya hecho tan poca mella, y eso no sólo en cuanto al estilo, mas también a los géneros literarios. ¿Por qué no nació en el siglo XVI una pastoral, un idilio tropical, un Pablo y Virginia? (6). (-48).

"novela pastoral-tropical FRANCESa"

--Detrás de tales proyectos bien determinados hay en sombre u lejos (7) una vaga idea de cómo pudieran estrecharse los vehículos intelectuales entre la América del Sur y Europa. A quella mira esta como los hombres adultos miramos a una muchacha guapa que todavía se viste de corto, mas vendrá un día que, reina de los saros, apenas hará caso de los pobres viejecitos.-Una importunación más: estoy ocupado en reunir los pasajes de las comedias españolas, antiguas y modernas, en que se encuentre un español (o portugués)
chapurrado por negros. ¿Segíerele su memoria talvez los títulos de algunas de tales comedias? (8).

   Vale. Totus vester
   Hugo Schuchardt
   ! Escrito en volandas!
   (p. 49).

1.1.4 Sch 6: Graz, 22 de Febrero ' 83

Sr. D. R. J. Cuervo

Muy Sr. mio y distinguido amigo.

"Quédame usa pregunta más: ¿ Como en condiciones aparentemente mucho menos favorables, sobre todo con el comercio tan intensivo sustenido con nuestro continente se desarrolló un americanismo muy determinado en la literatura y el lenguje de la América inglesa? (3)(p. 50)

   Existe en PARIS o en Madrid una librería con especialidad de libros americanos? Doy caza a poesías (u otras publicaciones) de color local y estilo popular. Z. Rodriguez citas de Ascásubi (9) Fajardo (10), Arona (11), Felipe Pardo (12), etc. que me dan gana de conocer las composiciones enteras?
   Totus
   Totisimus
   Hugo Schuchardt"

1.2 Society of Sciences: Letters “Sur le Créole de la REUNION ”

1.2.1 Sch.8: Graz 5 de Abril de 1883

Sr. D. Rufino José Cuervo,

Muy Sr. mio y respetado amigo:

Nápoles
Folklore frexnense

2o
"Arreglando, antes de partirme, la correspondencia y libros que se refieren a mis estudios ultramarinos (5), no encontré aquella obrita de poesías colombianas con que V. se dignó regalarme (6), lo que sobremanner me desolá. Se habrá traspapelado; mas es casi el mismo como si anduviera perdida. Había empezada a tomar algunos apuntes; pero no bastarán."

"Por lo demás no espere V. versó muy pronto resultados del cuidado que decido al español americano. Tengo que buscar todavía otros materiales.

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Acabo de recibir interesantes comunicaciones de Cuba, entre otras una sobre los ñáñigos (7) que se sirvan en ocasiones de un idioma particular, aun no sé si de irigen africana o de composición germanesca. Son negros carabalíes; esta gran región de África. Creía conocer un poquito la etnografía de África; mas hasta ahora no he acertado a averiguar donde está aquella gran región (8).

Soy de corazón

su ofmo (bottom dot) y att (o bottom dot) s. s.

q. s. m. B

Hugo Schuchardt

"El Negro o Negra de esta gran región de Africa [...]. ) (p. 55)

E. Prichardo, Diccionario provincial de voces cubanas, 1836, 1849, 1861/2, 1862, 1875, 1953

Brinkmanniana

1.2.2 Sch. 9: Graz 21 de Lulio de 1883

Sr. D. Rufino José Cuervo,

Muy Sr. mio y respetado amigo:

Con su sin igual amabilidad me dispensará de haberle devuelto uno de los ejemplares del librito de Obeso (1) sin expresarle en el mismo tiempo las debidas gracias.

Leí con muchísimo gusto sus doctos artículos en la Romania y especialmente aquel sobre libroican (2) Yo también me había declarado adversario de la explicación Brinkmanniana (3) (Herrig's Achiv, 1871, p. 348)(4) (en otro artículo sobre las metáforas amorosas (5) apuente los mismos errores que V. en la obra de Br. ) (6), mas tampoco supiera aceptar la que de Littré: "--quand le jour est si sombre qu'on ne saurait distinguer un chien d'avec un loup" (7). Sería una braquilogia extremada. Comparé la expresión alemán nicht Fisch noch Fleisch ( ni uno ni otro). Al día mismo representa el perro, a la noche el lobo. Porque según aquella explicación, deliéramos admirar que entre chein et loup fuera el crepúsculo en vez de significar la noche en que por cierto la distinción entre los dos animales se hace con dificultad.

Siento mucho que hasta ahora después de recibir de V. tantos y tan agradables y preciosos incentivos no haya publicado todavía nada sobre sujetos españoles. Al menos número 4 de mis Estudios criollos tratará del español de cocina de Manila (8).

Tarasp Switzerland
1.2.2.1 NOTE 3

Freidrich, filólogo alemán (no se trata de Bernhard ten Brink como dice una nota en Cartas). Esta explicación brinkmanniana aparece recogida por Cuervo en su artículo sobre Lubricán (cfr. nota anterior). Cfr. ibid.: "[...] Brinkmann [...] acude para el esclarecimiento de la locución cuestionada, a la contraposición natural entre el perro y el lobo, el guardián y el enemigo de las ovejas, y supone que el modismo alude a que perro y lobo se dividen el día; el uno domina durante la luz e el otro durante la oscuridad, y ambos vienen a tomarse como representantes de sus respectivos dominios; conforme a lo cual entre chien et loup es lo mismo que entre la luz y las tinieblas. Por ingeniosa que aparezca esta explicación, no puede menos de calificarse de en extremo improbable".

1.2.2.2 NOTE 4

La revista es Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen une Literaturen, editor Ludwig Herrig; el artículo de Schuchardt--que falta en su --? Druckschriften -- se encuentra tampoco en el lugar citando por Schuchardt. Sin embargo, véase Sch. 13, nota 6: Ich hatte in Herrigs Archiv 1870 oder 71 die Redensart entre chien et loup. [...] auf Ähnlichkeit zwischen Wolf und Hund zurückgeführt [...]". El artículo debe, pues, estar en la revista del año 1870 que desgraciadamente no hemos podido consultar.

1.2.3 C. 4: París 22 julio

Muy respetado amigo-- Oportunamente recibí, junto con el cuadernito de Obeso (2), los interesantísimos artículos de V. sobre dialectos criollos (3). Los he leído con el particular gusto y aprovechamiento que me acarrea cuanto sale de la docta pluma de V. --Reciba V. mis sinceros agradecimientos. ? Cuándo nos dará V. todos los estudios de esta especie en un cuerpo de doctrina?

Consérvese V. bueno y no olvide que soy de V. con todas veras apasionado y admirador q. s. m. b.

R. J. Cuervo

1.2.4 C.5: París 24 de Julio de 1883

Señor D. Hugo Schuchardt,

Metáforas amorosas me han picado cacamente la curiosidad.

"En castellano también usamos la expresión "Ni es carne ni pescado" (8), pero para explicar que alguna persona es totalmente inútil o insulsa: neque prodest, neque obest, dice la Academia(9). Otra expresión por el estilo es "Entre merced y señoría", con que se significa que na cosa es mediana, ni sobresaliente ni despreciable. Oponiéndose en estas frases dos extremos, como la carne y el pescado de abstinencia, el titulado y el no tal entre gente linajuda, se significa lo vago, indeciso o insubstancial de los puntos intermedios. Entre lobo y perro ofrece un contraste semejante, y el entre, precisando el espacio que separa esos
términos como campo de las medias tintas, denota bien algo dudosa o indefinido; pero ¿por qué la expresión significa el crepúsculo??? No será porque la indecisión entre esos animales, la obliteración de sus lineamientos distintivos no sucede sino con la poca luz del amanecer y el anochecer? Los dos crepuscúlitos son la ocasión de este contraste, como el día de abstinencia lo es del que se face entre la carne y el pescado fuera de esos casos la distinción entre los dos extremos se viene de suyo a los ojos, y el contraste es inne[ce]sario. En suma, ??no podría decirse que entre chien et loup es, en cuanto a a forma, en cuanto al procedimiento mental, análogo a las frases citadas, y que su apropiación al crepuscúlo depende de una asociación naturalísima entre el momento en que se confunden el día y a noche (dos extremos!) y el momento en que no se distinguen el perro y el lobo?" 

Comendador Griego (1553) 

Hernán Núñez de Guzman

Crepusculum: "Crepusculum dicitur, in quo dubitatur, an lupus, an canis sit. --Crepusculum, Hisp dicitur Entre lubrican, o entre dos luzes" (12).

República Dominicana

1.2.5 C.7

Same

1.2.6 C.8 (p.65-66)

"Excusado es decir a V. que no ha hecho V. más que excitar en mayor grado mi curiosidad de ver tratado con tan luminoso acierto, de manera tan estrictamente científica el lenguaje americano. Sé que en los estudios de V. tendré mucho, mucho que aprender. ?? Ha logrado conseguir V. algo americano en que el español se haya modificado al estilo de Filipinas?"

1.2.7 C.9

"Colección de Cuentos no tengo noticia de que se haya publicado alguna en Colombia. Un amigo mío tiene recogidos los cantarcillos y retahílas de juegos infantiles, y otro tiene una gran colección de refranes, que o no ha encontrado en colecciones españolas o corren con alguna variación."

"Otro Amigo--> cantos populares. Por lo que he alcanzado a comprender, en todo esto no hay, poco más o menos, sino variantes de la español; pero para el Folklore todo es importante (6)."

1.2.7.1 Note 6.

Pedro Fermín Cevallos le escribe a Cuervo, en mayo de 1886 […] "Con esta misma fecha contesto al Sr. Schuchardt, ofreciéndole enviar los dichos, refranes, cuentos, etc., que me pide, así como se publique ir el Sor. Juan Léon Mera su "Colección de poesías populares", que tiene ya concluida. Este mismo
Sor. me dice que le escribirá i remitirá un ejemplar de dicha colección, i ojalé que ella satisfaga los deseos del profesor de Graz". (p. 69, n.6)

1.2.8 Sch. 11

Folk-lore

1.2.9 Sch. 13: Graz 13 de Julio 1884

Sr. D. Rufino José Cuervo.

Muy distinguido y querido amigo

Hace semanas o más bien meses que estoy con poca salud e incapaz de trabajo así que todas mis empresas padecen un atraso lamentable. Eso le digo a V. para que me perdone de no haberle escrito en los últimos tiempos y publicado aquel artículo que le prometí (1).

1.2.9.1 (P.S.)

Le mando dos cositos mías, sobre una colección de maracaiberismos (4) y la Fauna popular de Rolland (5), en cuya ocasión toco aquel entre chien et loup. (6)

Le he preguntado ya por D. Jesus Sanchez, Glosario de Voces Castellallas derivadas del Idioma Nahuatl? (7).

1.2.9.2 Note 5.

Rolland, Faune Populaire de la FRANCE, I-VI, en Lb 5 (1884), cols. 281-284; cfr. Verz. núm. 156.

1.2.9.3 Note 6.

"Anmerkungsweise folgendes. Ich hatte in Herrigs Archiv 1870 oder 71 die Redensart entre chien et loup gegen Littre und Brinkmann auf die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Wolf und Hund zurückgeführt und mit der Wendung "nicht Fisch, nicht Fleisch" verglichen. Auch meinem verehrten Freunde Cuervo gegenüber, her Romania XII, 111 f. darüber gesprochen hatte, habe ich aufrecht gehalten, dass die Dämmerung als Mittelding gefasst wird, nicht das in her Dämmerung Erblickte. Nun finde ich bei Rolland das Sprichwort n'être ni chien ni loup = Redensart muss sehr alt sein, da sie sich nicht nur auf der Pyrenäen-halbinsel und in Frankreich, sondern auch in Italien findet. Ein lat. intra canem et lupum in gleichem Sinne habe ich zwar nicht entdecken können, aber doch ein anderes Sprichwort, welches wenigstens zeigt, dass man die Namen dieser Thiere gern gegensätzlich verband, nämlich das von Horaz angeführte: hac urget lupus, hac canis". Néanse cartas núm. 9 de Schuchardt y núm. 5 de Cuervo. --Diez años más tarde, Schuchardt "Entre chien et loup. Obwohl über die eigenliche Bedeutung dieser Redensart wohl haum mehr ein Zweifel besteht (vgl. Cuervo Rom. XII, 111 f.), so will ich doch darauf hindeuten dass man zufolge Graf Landberg (Etudes sur les dialects de l'Arabie

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méridionale I. Hadramoût, S. 375) in ganz Arabien die Morgendämmerung (Yabšeh) als die Zeit bezeichnet wo "der Weg für dich sichtbar ist und du den Hund vom Wolf unterscheiden kannst." Vielleicht haben die Romanen die Redensart in früher Zeit aus dem Morgenland bekommen; im Arabischen auserhaib der Halbinsel kann ich sie nicht nachweisen".

"Note manner following. I had the phrase entre chien et loup returned to Herrigs Archives 1870 or 71 against Littre and Brinkmann on the resemblance between wolves and dogs, and with the phrase " neither fish nor vergliechen flesh. " Even my esteemed friends Cuervo opposite, forth Romania XII, 111 f had talked about it, I’ve held upright, that the dawn will be taken as being a mixture, the night in her twilight saw. Rolland Now I find in the saying n’être ni chien loup = phrase must be very old be, as it is found not only on the Pyrenean peninsula and in France but also in Italy. a Latin intra canem et lupum in the same sense, although I have can not discover yet another proverb which shows at least that you like opposites combined the names of these animals, that is relied on by Horace : hac urget lupus, hac canis". Néanse cartas núm. 9 de Schuchardt y núm. 5 de Cuervo. - ( Cf. Cuervo Rome XII, 111 f ) Diez años más tarde, Schuchardt " Entre chien et loup Although on the eigenliche significance of this phrase probably more HAUM a doubt, yet will I that you indicate Count According to Landsberg ( Études sur les dialects de l' Arabe méridionale I. Hadramout, p 375 ) in the whole of Arabia the dawn ( Yabšeh ) referred to as the time when " the path is visible to you and you can distinguish the dog from the wolf. " Maybe have the novels get the phrase in early times from the East, the Arabian Peninsula auserhaib I can not prove it."

H. Schuchardt

1.2.10 Sch. 15 (p. 86-87): Graz 30 de Octubre (1)

"Todo el verano pasé en un analfabetismo completo, así en Graz como en los baños de Villach (3). A mediados de Agosto vuelto a Graz, me hallé un poquito mejor; pero todavía sin poder estudiar mucho."

1.2.11 C. 12

1.2.11.1 (P.S.)

"Ah…me olvidaba ¡vale poco! no se afane V. por los libros; aun no sé lo que valen. Si llegaren los otros, lo juntaremos todo(3). Mientras tanto duerma V. tranquilo y sin temor de que se le presente un alguacil con sus ministriles para el arreglo de cuentas.

Vale"

1.2.12 C. 13 (p. 89-90)

Muy querido y respetado amigo:
"Gallocha: lo deriva Covarrubias (1611) (3) " a Gallis porque los FRANCeses, especialmente los que habitan en los alpes los usan, y los Gascones O Gavachos que hazen las palerias y vienen á España, usan de estos calzados". -Lo usa Marmol, Descripción general de Africa (4), lib. 4, cap. 22 (1573). Si no me engano, está en el Vocabulario de Nebrixa (5): gallocha = gallica; galochas = Galopodium.-- Hazola no lo he visto antes de Oudin, Tesero de las dos lenguas españoles y FRANCESa (mihi 1625) (6); Galoches = Galochas, halozas, canços.(p. 89)

1.2.13  C. 21: París 14 de Febrero de 1886

Señor Dr. D. Hugo Schuchardt.

Venerado y querido amigo:

"Hé leído con el mayor interés la noticia de V. sobre el Gombo Zhèbes (1) que V. ha tenido la fineza de enviarme, y por la cual le quedo agradecidísimo."

"Una de las muchas cosas que tengo que preguntar a V. el día que mi buena suerte me conceda conversar con V. es el cómo hace V. para saber tobo lo que se publica sobre cada cosa, no sólo en libros sino en periódicos de provincia o de pueblo, siempre con noticias trasnochadas."

"Consérvese V. bien y cuente con este su admirador y amigo tan sincero y afectuoso como inútil."

1.2.14  C. 26: París 18 Mayo de 1886

Señor Dr. Hugo Schuchardt.

Venerado u querido amigo:

Hoy me ha llegado el Glosario de voces castellanas derivados del idioma Nahuatl (1), y tengo el gusto de enviárselo. No sé si tendrá alguna utilidad; pero fuere lo que fuere, satisfará V. su curiosidad.

Señor D. Rufino José Cuervo.

Venerado y querido amigo mio:

Es simpre la misma causa (y ahora fuera de ésta el urgente trabajo de correcciones de una colección de folletines que de aquí a poco haré mandar a V.) que me estorba en el cumplimiento de mis deberes.

Mucho le agradezco el envío del Glosario de Sánchez (2), que aun no he tenido vagar de examinar. as por cierto se lo volveré dentro de algunas semanas si no necesita de el antes.

En cuanto a Calderon (3) y los dramáticos españoles en general (del siglo de oro), confieso sin sonrojarme que por cuantas comedias de estos haya
leído, no hay otro autor en idioma meolatino en que encuentre tatas dificultades como en ellas. Estoy leyendo la Dama Duende con algunos estudiantes; pero suantas veces tengo que decir: Señores, este pasaje no está claro. ¿Tendrá V. la paciencia de leer algunas dudas mías y tado el poco seso que tenía? ed. de Hartzenbusch 167 y las moras no mancharán porque dicen los poetas que con arrope de mora se escribió aquella tragedia(4).

El primer verso se entiende bien, se refiere a la historia de Piramo y Tisbe; pero ¿qué es aquella tragedia? La comedia de Niño Rosete (5) no puede ser si Barrera (6) tiene razon de calificarla de burlesca.--¿Quienes son los poetas Arrope de moras; esta frase encuentro en El parecido en la corte de Moreto (7); parece significar algo finísimo, un non plus ultra.

Pues sin ser los dos torneos

Hoy a los dos nos sustenta

¿Se dice sustentar torneos en el sentido de apadrinar torneos?

167b la docta academia que pintó al galardon--no sé que se deba entener por ella.
168c Don Quijote de la legua.

¿Es como nosotros denimos D. Q. in folio (eso es de a folio)? (8). Don Quijote de la legua, lo leo en La ocasión hace al ladrón de Moreto, parce mihi de la legua en El escondido y la tapada...).

1.2.15 C.29: París 6 de Junio de 1886

3 rue Meissonier
Señor Dr. Hugo Schuchardt
Venerado y querido amigo

"Dama Duende, p. 167a (2). Creo que en los verbos que siguen a "Y las moras no mancharán" no hay nueva alusión; yo los interpretaría así: Porque dicen los poetas (ovidio(3), Góngora, que hizo un romance que metió gran ruido(4), etc.) que la memoria e aquí suceso trágico quedó escrita con arrope de moras (jarabe muy conocido, hecho con zumo de éstas y llamado así por parecerse al arrope de vino); como si se dijera: la tinta fue el zumo de moras. No sé si me engaña, pero en estos chistes, más bien que alusiones precisas hay confusión de especies, para producir agudezas o retruécanos con metáforas exageradas."

1.2.16 C. 30 (p. 130-131): París 30 Junio de 1886

3, rue Meissonier
Señor Dr. Hugo Schuchardt.

Venerado u querido amigo:
"Ya de hojeado
Romanisches und Keltisches (2), y he visto que contiene muchas cosas que a primera vista no más me interesan sobremanera: me propongo estudiarlo de cabo a cabo, y desde ahora doy a V. las gracias por todo el provecho que he de sacar de opúsculos tan atractivos." (p. 130).

R.J. Cuervo

Vale

12.17 C. 31: París 12 de Julio de 1886

3 rue Reissoier
Señor Dr. H. Schuchhardt.

Venerado u querido amigo:

"V. es tan incansable en producir obras llenas de siencicomo en ser afectuoso con sus amigos. Le doy las más espresicas gracias por las Adiciones al Eslovón-alemán y Eslovón-italiano (1), dignas de este obra justamente laureada(2)."

12.18 C. 35: París 18 de Junio (1)

3 rue Meissonier

Mi respetado y bondadoso amigo:

Para contestar a la tarjeta en que V. me anunció su viaje para el Mediodía de Francia (2), aguardaba poder decir a V. que había llegado el Diccionario de Peruanismos (3).

"Veo con gran satisfacción que V. trabaja la sección Créole para el Grundriss de Gröber (4). Tengo ansiedad de verla; sé que habrá en lo que V. haga mucho que aprender."

"Yo saldré de París por un mes y medio a fines de Julio o principios de Agosto. Aun so sé para dónde. ¿Cuándo, poco más o menos, piensa V. pasar por París."

R.J. Cuervo

12.19 Sch. 27

Mon très-honoré ami.

Tout d'abord je vous demande pardon si je vous écris en français (c'est pour la première fois je crois); j'ai grande hâte, je ne voudrais vous faire pas attendre un jour de plus la réponse que je vous dois depuis si longtemps(1). Mes lettres ne m'ont pas suivi, parce que pendant longtemps j'ai été très vagabond, et je ne fais que arriver, après une absence de six mois.

Vous ne cessez pas de me confondre. Si je nous ai parlé une fois du Dictionnaire des Pérouanisms, c'était si je ne me trompe pas, pour savoir votre
avis sur cet ouvrage, à coup sûr ce n'était pas pour vous engager à le le régaler (2). Je vous suis déjà trop obligé pour me l'avoir faire venir; ayez donc la bonté de me dire combien vous avez déboursé.

Moi, je suis tout à fait le contraire de vous; je ne m'occupe pas d'œuvres de surérogation, je ne remplis pas même mes engagements les plus solennels. Je n'ai pas fait mon travail sur le créole pour Gröber (3); je l'avais presque fini quand j'entrais dans une de mes périodes neuroasthéniques pqr trop fréquentes; je me trouvais encore très-mal en partant vers la fin du mois de mars. Maintenant il sera trop tard—la partie du Grundriss ou mon travail devait se trouver, est déjà imprimée; ma santé continue à être journalière; et pour les Basques je me suis fourré tant de Vascuenc dans la tête qu'il faut qu'il s'évapore un peu avant que je puisse penser à m'occuper d'autre idiomes. J'ai recueilli assez de matériaux, j'ai même ébauché déjà dans mon esprit les chapitres principaux, mais j'hes crains bien que ce livre sur le basque ne reste qu'une chimère (4).

Je suis un vrai Donquichotte; je cours le monde j'apprends assez de choses curieuses, et je ne sais faire rien de tout cela.

H. Schuchardt.

J'ai été à Paris le 29 aout, et à EMS le 29 septembre; je ne vous aurais donc pas trouvé dans ces deux endroits.

1.2.20 C. 37: París 7 de Sbre (1) de 1887

3 rue Meissonier

"Mucho me ha contrariado el que no salga el trabajo de Vd. sobre el Créole en el Grundrisse de Gröber. Ya yo me lisonjeaba pensando cuánto aprendería en él."

Cfr. Sch. 27, El Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, 1888, de Gustav Gröber, se publicó sin la contribución de Schuchardt sobre las lenguas criollas."

1.2.21 Sch. 29

Montreau (1) pension

Visinand, 3 de Abril de 1888

Sr. D. R. J. Cuervo

"transmutación del sonido"

1.2.22 Sch. 31: Graz, 4 de Junio (1)

Sr. D Rufino José Cuervo,
Mi distinguido amigo,

"Fuera de eso, estaba esperando que pudiese enviárle mi tratado sobre el criollo de Annobon (3), en que ocasión le hubiera escrito algunos renglones. Mas como no han llegado aún los ejemplares y después de mañana saldré para Bolonia, será para más tarde.

Totus suus

HUGO SCHUCHARDT


"En cuanto a la terminología de los colorados hay más confusión que antes no creía. Littré p. ex. da esta definición de cuarteron: provenant de l'union d'un blanc avec une mulâtresse.

¿Cuando tendré el gusto de un aprieto de manos? ¿No dejará París durante todo el otoño?

German: "Crioulo ist nur bezüglich der Herkunft seiner Endung dunkel".---

"Crioulo is dark only to the origin of its ending.
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Biography

Reginald Dewight Patterson was born in Frankfurt, Germany, on August 6th, 1982. He has received a Ph.D. in 2016 and an M.A. in 2010 from the Department of Romance Studies at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. He also attended Oberlin College and Conservatory where he received a B.A. in French and Francophone Studies as well as a B.M. in Viola Performance. Patterson has one published book review: “Soaring on Regenerated Wings in Myriam Chancy’s “The Loneliness of Angels. He also has one critical musical viola and violin performance: “Violin Hero or the Knights Blues: The Life of Chevalier de Saint-Georges” has presented on critical musical performance. Patterson received 1st place laureate prize Dissertation Fellowship at the Quai Branly Museum-Jacques Chirac as well an Artist in Residency at the Cite Internationale des Arts in Paris, France; Summer and academic year Travel and Research Grants from the Duke Department of Romance Studies and the Andrew Mellon Foundation in addition to their Pre-Doctoral Fellowship. For Creole Language Studies, Patterson received both a summer and yearlong grant from the Federal Foreign Language Area Studies from the Center of Latin American Studies at Duke University. Patterson is a member of the Duke Society of Duke Fellows, Mellon-Mays Fellow, College Language Association, Modern Language Association, and Contacte Recherches Caraibes, For music, Patterson received the Aleane Webb Grant. Bipartisan Bill MS SC599: “Recognize Louisville resident Reginald "Reggie" Patterson as top recipient of prestigious French Graduate Writing Fellowship” passed by Mississippi Senate and House of Representatives and signed by the Governor, March 21st, 2014.