

## Notes

### Prologue

1. For examples of this scholarship see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (New York, 1973); Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1: *Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, 1986); Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1986); Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988).

2. On Atlantic creoles see Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 53 (1996), quotation on p. 254.

3. Few topics in the study of the slave trade have provoked more debate than the numbers of slaves transported from Africa. The debate began with Philip D. Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave*

*Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969). For a brief summary of the debate and the most current estimates see David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58 (Jan. 2001), 17-46.

4. Vincent Carretta, "Oludah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity," *Slavery and Abolition*, 20 (Dec. 1999), 96-105; S. E. Ogude, "Facts into Fiction: Equiano's Narrative Reconsidered," *Research in African Literatures*, 13 (Spring 1982), 31-43.

1. "A Very Bloody Transaction"

1. A letter from Grandy King George to Ambrose Lace, a slave trader from Bristol, provides an example of the rich array of luxury goods the slave traders of Old Calabar purchased with their profits. The details of the king's dress have been derived from this letter and from descriptions of the ceremonial canoes and costumes of later Old Calabar rulers. See Grandy King George to Ambrose Lace (undated), reproduced in Gomer Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers and Letters of Marque with an Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade* (New York, 1966), 545-546.

2. On literacy among the Old Calabar elite, see Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, eds., "Letters of the Old Calabar Slave Trade, 1760-1789," in Vincent Carretta, ed., *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic* (Louisville, 2001), 89-115.

3. John Ashley Hall's testimony in Shelia Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 72, "George III, Minutes of Evidence in the Slave Trade, 1790," Part 2 (Washington, D.C., 1975), 537.

4. The principal towns were close to one another, but distinct. Creek Town, built on the edge of a creek that links the Cross and Calabar rivers, was about twelve miles from Duke Town. Old Town was some three and a half miles above Duke Town. There is disagreement over the dates of the founding of the towns. For example, Ekei Essien Oku and Efiang U. Aye, Old Calabar historians, give the date for the founding of Duke Town as ca. 1650 and note that Creek Town, Duke Town, and New Town appear in John Barbot's journal (Barbot, a French resident of England working for the French Royal African Company, made voyages to Africa in 1678 and 1682). The historian David Northrup accepts this seventeenth-century date. See Northrup, *Trade without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford, 1978), 38. The historians Paul Lovejoy and David Richardson believe that Duke Town was not founded until the eighteenth century, while Eyo Okon Akak proposes even earlier dates than any of the others. See Ekei Essien Oku, *The Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar (1785-1925)* (Calabar, Nigeria, 1989), 13-14, 25, and Efiang U. Aye, *Old Calabar through the Centuries* (Calabar, Nigeria, 1967), 2-3, 31-41. Lovejoy and Richardson, "Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade," *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 337, 340-341; Eyo Okon Akak, *Efiks of Old Calabar*, vol. 1: *Origin and History* (Calabar, Nigeria, 1982), 45-46; John Barbot, "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea," in Thomas Astley and John Churchill, eds., *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1732). See also Monday Efiang Noah, *Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans, 1800-1885* (Calabar, Nigeria, 1980), 2-18, 48-66; D. Simmons, "An Ethnographic Sketch of the Efik People," in Daryll Forde, ed., *Efik Traders of Old Calabar* (London, 1956), 3-4.

5. Hall's testimony, 557.

6. Northrup, *Trade without Rulers*, 88. Lovejoy and Richardson, "Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History," 340-341; Oku, *The Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar*, 192-196; Nwanna Nzewunwa, "Pre-colonial Nigeria: East of the Niger," in Richard Olaniyan, ed., *Nigerian History and Culture* (Essex, Eng., 1985), 30-31.

7. Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers*, 533-535, 534-535. Berry made sixteen recorded voyages to the Bight of Biafra and brought over 4,300 slaves on board his ships. On this voyage he sailed on the *Dalrymple*. See David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert D. Klein, et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999), Analysis, Summary (Any CAPTAIN = Berry). The term "palaver" is derived from the Portuguese "palavra" meaning word and was used in Old Calabar's trade language to describe a discussion, debate, or conference. As this letter suggests, English captains adopted it as well.

8. James Morley's testimony in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 73, 163. Morley reported that this event occurred in 1763 or 1764, when he was on board the *Amelia*. Captain James Briggs was there in 1764 on the *Sandwich*. See Eltis et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, Unique Identity Numbers 17538 and 91062. Parker's testimony, 133.

9. Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers*, 535.

10. The details of the massacre have been reconstructed from the following sources: George Millar's testimony in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 73, 385-387; Captain John Ashley Hall's testimony in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 515-517, 528-529, 537-538, 556-557, 559; Captain Ambrose Lace's testimony, in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 633-636; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, 2

vois. (1808; rpt. London, 1968), vol. 1, 305-310; Ancona Robin John to Charles Wesley, Aug. 17, 1774, in Charles Wesley Papers, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Eng.; *Arminian Magazine*, 6 (Feb. 1783), 98-99; *ibid.*, (March 1783), 151; Public Record Office (henceforth PRO), KB 1/19/3, Mich. 1773, affidavit of William Floyd, Sept. 30, 1773. Ancona Robin John and Little Ephraim Robin John were able to give the names of either the ships or their captains and ports of origin in 1774. Using their information and the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, one can identify all the ships and captains and confirm their presence in Old Calabar in 1767 (see Unique Identity Numbers 17671, 17668, 17679, 17643, 91376, 77918, 91239). The database reveals that all the captains had traded at Old Calabar for some time, some as long as twenty years. The English captains were almost certainly well known to one another. Parke and Lace, for instance, were partners on several voyages to Old Calabar before and after the massacre. See Eltis et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, Unique Identity Numbers 91573, 91574, 91575, 91576, 91594, 91595.

11. Hall's testimony in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 537.

12. Forde, ed., *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*, 68-69.

13. PRO, KB 1/19/3, Mich. 1773, affidavit of William Floyd, Sept. 30, 1773.

14. Ancona Robin John to Charles Wesley, Aug. 17, 1774, in the Charles Wesley Papers, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Eng.; *Arminian Magazine*, Feb. 1783, 98-99, March 1783, 151; Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, vol. 1, 305-310; Daryll Forde, ed., *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*, 68-69 (final quotation on p. 69); Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 73, 385-386.

15. Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 515-517, 557.

16. Orrock Robin John to Marchant [Thomas] Jones, (undated, 1767?), King George to Marchant [Thomas] Jones (undated, 1767?), and Lace to Thomas Jones, Nov. 11, 1773, quoted in Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Letters of the Old Calabar Slave Trade, 1760-1789," 102 (first quotation), 103, 104, 108 (second quotation).

17. Colley quoted in Noah, *Old Calabar*, 19; Grandy King George to Mr. Ambrose Lace and Company (Jan. 13, 1773), quoted in Lovejoy and Richardson, "Letters of the Old Calabar Slave Trade," 104-105.

18. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, 1975), 41; Eltis et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, Analysis, Summary (Any CAPTAIN = Lace, Any OWNER = Lace). On sharks see P. E. H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678-1712*, 2 vols. (London, 1992), vol. 2, 732.

19. Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 633-635.

20. Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers*, 541-542.

21. The acts are quoted in Ruth Paley, "After Somerset: Mansfield, Slavery and the Law in England, 1772-1830" (forthcoming). For additional information on the parliamentary hearings see Chapter 6.

22. Hall's testimony in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 72, 556.

## 2. "Nothing But Sivelsety and Fare Trade"

1. Grandy King George (to Ambrose Lace, undated, 1773?), reproduced in Lovejoy and Richardson, "Letters of the Old

Calabar Slave Trade," 106. The best overview of the slave trade in southeastern Nigeria remains Northrup, *Trade without Rulers*. On civility see David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Behaviors in British America* (Chapel Hill, 1997).

2. On Efik adaptability and the rapid changes that accompanied the rise of the slave trade see E. O. Erim, "Cross-Cultural Contacts between the Efik and the Upper-Cross River Peoples, 1600-1900 A.D.," in S. O. Jaja, E. O. Erim, and Bassey W. Andah, eds., *Old Calabar Revisited* (Enugu, Nigeria, 1990), 172; Noah, *Old Calabar*, 26-27; A. J. H. Latham, *Old Calabar, 1600-1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* (Oxford, 1973), 13.

3. The Bight of Biafra, on the eastern bay of the Gulf of Guinea, extends approximately from the Niger River delta in southern Nigeria to northern Gabon. Old Calabar should not be confused with New Calabar or Elem Kalabari, another important slave port located north of Old Calabar in the Niger Delta.

4. Simmons, "Ethnographic Sketch," 3; Aye, *Old Calabar*, 23-24.

5. Hair, Jones, and Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea*, vol. 2, 672, 677 (first quotation), 678, 701; G. I. Jones, "The Political Organization of Old Calabar," in Forde, ed., *Efik Traders*, 116-135; Nzewunwa, "Pre-colonial Nigeria," 31-32; Kannan K. Nair, *The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in Southeastern Nigeria* (Athens, Ohio, 1975), 19-29.

6. Hair, Jones, and Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea*, vol. 2, 549. On different means of enslavement see Northrup, *Trade without Rulers*, 65-80; Hope Masterson Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa* (n.p., 1970), xxi, 315-319; Simmons, "Ethnographic Sketch," 7; Forde, ed., *Efik Traders*, 75, 134-135; Aye, *Old Calabar*, 88, 93-96; Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999), 106-107, 117 (second quotation); George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecol-*