

THE IGBO: EXCERPT FROM BOOK MANUSCRIPT *AFRICAN ETHNICITIES IN THE AMERICAS: RESTORING THE LINKS*. (Chapel Hill

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By GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL

It is a truism in the historical literature that Igbo, especially Igbo males, were not at all appreciated in the Americas, mainly because of their propensity to run away and/or commit suicide. Igbo were, indeed, sometimes described as “refuse slaves” who were purchased in high percentages in Virginia because the poverty of the slave owners left them no alternative.ⁱ ADD ref Donnan, Berlin, Chambers, Gomez, Walsh and others. But female Igbo were valued as more emotionally stable than the men, and hard workers. If we look closer at marketing patterns and other data, we see a strikingly different image of the Igbo in various regions of the Americas. In some places, they were especially prized. Colin Palmer’s study of the British asiento slave trade to the Spanish Colonies (17?-1739) (ADD correct dates) makes it clear that Spanish purchasers bought only prime Africans for whom they paid the highest prices. Palmer wrote:

“The Ibo . . . were considered tractable and hence were highly sought after by some of the slaveholders in the Americas.”ⁱⁱ

Moreau de St-Mery wrote that while some St. Domingue planters hesitated to buy Igbo slaves because of their suicidal tendencies, others preferred them because they were very attached to each other and “the newly arrived find help, care, and example from those who have come before

them.”ⁱⁱⁱ

When Igbo could not be bought to settle a new, upland plantation in Jamaica, the manager explained that he did not buy other slaves because the Ibo were “that will answer best there.”^{iv} In 1730, a Barbados merchant complained,

“There has not [been] a Cargo of Ebbo slaves sold here [for] a long time and many people are Enquirering for them.”^v

Daniel Littlefield presents convincing evidence that Igbo women were uniquely valued by British slave traders along the African coast.^{vi}

We must be cautious about relying heavily on anecdotal information disparaging the Igbo. Most evidence comes from surviving documents written by large planters. Planters operating small units might have been more positive but they rarely left documentation of their activities and opinions. We need more systematic evidence. Documents in Louisiana, for example, demonstrate lack of enthusiasm for Igbo slaves. They were underrepresented in Louisiana before 1790, although a high proportion of voyages from the Bight of Biafra/Coast of Calabar arrived in Jamaica and Cuba: both major Caribbean transshipment points for Africans brought to Louisiana during the Spanish period (1770-1803). As we have seen above, one slave sale document in Louisiana explained that the seller did not know the nation of this newly arrived African, but he guaranteed he was not an Igbo.^{vii} After the United States took over Louisiana in late 1803, it is evident that Africans from the Bight of Biafra were being smuggled into Louisiana in large

numbers. The Igbo became one of the five African ethnicities found most frequently in Louisiana documents after 1803. Between 1804 and 1820, Igbo began to appear in higher proportions among all Africans and became one of the five most frequent ethnicities encountered in documents. They were more heavily male than during the eighteenth century. Their mean age did not advance significantly over time, although the foreign maritime slave trade to Louisiana was illegal after 1803. An insignificant number of Igbo (a total of 9) were listed as children. Although some of these Igbo could have been transshipped from Charleston before 1808, only six documented and databased trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages arrived from the Bight of Biafra to United States Atlantic ports (all to Charleston) between 1803 and January 1, 1808 when the foreign slave trade to the United States became illegal. Igbo were obviously among ethnicities actively smuggled into Louisiana long after the foreign slave trade was outlawed.^{viii} They were smuggled into Cuba in large numbers as well. ADD sales docs from Bergad et al, new recaptives data from Eltis and Nwoji articles.

Was this relative and absolute growth of the Igbo population in Louisiana because those who purchased them had no choice? The Louisiana Slave Database allows us to see if buyers of enslaved Africans put their money where their mouth was. A mixed picture emerges. The table below compares price differentials by ethnicity and gender during the Spanish (1770-1803) and the early American periods in Louisiana (1804-1820).

MEAN SALE PRICE OF FIVE MOST FREQUENT AFRICAN ETHNICITIES
IN LOUISIANA (AGE 15-35. Individuals only)

SPANISH
(1770-1803)

EARLY AMERICAN
(1804-1820)

	Male	Female	% of Male Price	Male	Female	% of Male Price	Total
Congo	544.16 n=188	452.11 n=84	83%	767.72 n=454	622.49 n=194	81%	920
Igbo	644.70 n=23	415.88 n=24	64%	682.15 n=47	604.66 n=29	97.5%	123
Mandingo	553.97 n=72	449.45 n=33	81%	712.72 n=72	532.14 n=43	75%	220
Mina	580.63 n=49	561.45 n=20	97%	873.88 n=32	699.82 n=28	80%	129
Wolof	605.85 n=71	642.82 n=22	106%	824.29 n=42	637.43 n=21	77%	156
						TOTAL	1548

ADD. Check these numbers.

Results for the Igbo are both surprising and anomalous. If Igbo men were despised and Igbo women prized, this is not reflected in prices during the Spanish period in Louisiana when the mean price of Igbo men was highest among the five most frequent ethnicities. The price of Igbo women was only 64% of the price of Igbo men: by far the greatest gap between male and female prices for any of these five ethnicities. But these patterns were entirely reversed during the Early American period as Louisiana quickly shifted from a “society with slaves” to a “slave plantation society” as Ira Berlin phrased it. ADD ref. The mean price of Igbo men fell to last place. The mean price of Igbo women rose to 97.5% of that of Igbo men: by far the smallest gap

between male and female prices within the same ethnicity during the Early American period. This narrowing gap between male and female prices of Igbo is even more surprising because the gender price gap increased sharply among all slaves sold.

ALL INDIVIDUALS AGE 15-35 SOLD INDEPENDENTLY OF PROBATE

LOUISIANA 1770-1820. TOTAL RECORDS 16,924

	Mean Price Males	Mean Price Females	% of Male Price
Spanish Period 1770-1803	605.91 n=3043	541 n=1998	89%
American Period 1804-1820	827.40 n=6457	662.11 n=5426	80%

This anomalous price trend among enslaved Igbo has several possible explanations. Igbo perhaps did not adjust to working in large slave gangs growing sugar or cotton. According to Michael Mullin, Carolina slave owners considered Igbo unsuitable for rice production.^{ix} This could explain why they were not appreciated in Carolina where rice was the major export crop and more appreciated in Virginia where tobacco reigned. ADD cite Kulikoff. During the early American period in Louisiana (1804-1820), sugar and cotton displaced the varied indigo, rice, tobacco, corn, cattle, leather, naval stores and timber production of the Spanish period. The narrowing gap between male and female prices of Igbo in Louisiana might also have stemmed from the slave owners' growing acquaintance with their strengths and weaknesses, at least from the point of view of the masters. Igbo women were among the two African ethnicities whose women had the highest proportion of surviving children. They mated widely outside the Igbo group. The other ethnicity with high reproductive results were the Wolof. During the Spanish period, the mean price of Wolof women was higher than that of Wolof men. But their

relative mean price dropped during the American period along with that of all slave women except for the Igbo. Maninga (Mandingo) women demonstrated relatively low reproductive results. Between the Spanish and the Early American periods, Mandingo women dropped from third place to last place in mean price of women among the five most frequent ethnicities. Although Congo women were numerous despite high male ratios, their reproductive rate was substantially lower than that calculated for women of any other African ethnicity, possibly because of a high abortion rate among them. (ADD cite Vansina) The price gap between Congo men and women diminished slightly between the Spanish and the early American periods.^x

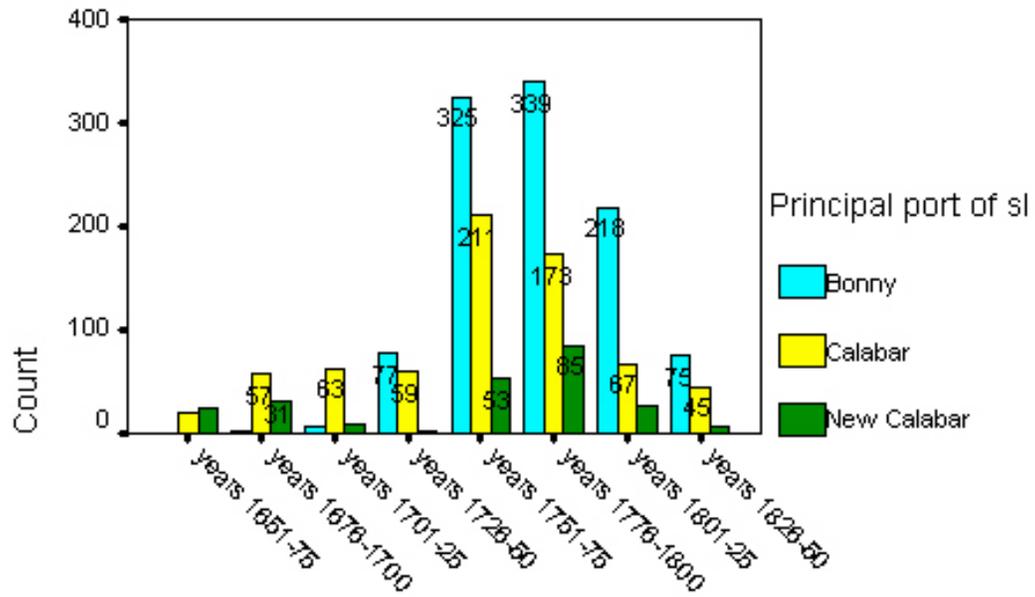
These price trends in Louisiana generally point toward a substantial value placed upon the reproductive powers of enslaved women. The price of women plummeted after age 35 while the price of men remained stable until age 40. In regions like the Chesapeake, where natural reproduction of the slave population was a high priority, the Igbo were probably not “refuse” slaves but were preferred. Because of the independent position and stance of Igbo women in Africa, their willingness to bear and raise children, their identification with small, local places and their attachment to the land where their first child was born, they were well equipped to establish new communities on small estates where clearcut hierarchical structures were initially weak or absent. (ADD fn Chambers, Gomez) African Americans are likely to be descended directly from African women via the female line because they have many more white male than white female ancestors. In the

United States, our African mothers were reasonably likely to be Igbo or Wolof: a thesis which can eventually be tested through DNA studies.]

The study of ethnicities exported from the Bight of Biafra/Coast of Calabar poses its own special problems. It seems clear that the vast majority of Africans exported from this coast during the eighteenth century were Igbo. They were clustered in places where they were probably preferred. Some of the Africans exported from the Bight of Biafra/Calabar Coast were Ijo, Ibibio, Moko, and Bioko, the latter natives of the Island of Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea.^{xi} It is very difficult to determine the approximate percent of Igbo exported from the Calabar Coast by studying trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages alone. Various ethnicities were exported from the same ports and their proportions changed over time. Those exported from Bonny were most likely to be Igbo. Bonny emerged as the major port of provenance throughout the eighteenth century. For the entire trans-Atlantic slave trade, 40.5% (n=1,046) voyages recorded in the TASTDB came from Bonny; 27.0% (n=697) voyages from Calabar; and 9.2% (n=238) came from New Calabar. These data are likely to be reasonably complete and accurate since they were mainly British voyages which are centrally documented and carefully studied. The chart below indicates that voyages from Bonny were most heavily clustered between 1726 and 1820.

Bight of Biafra

Voyages from Major Ports



YEAR25

The ethnic designation Calabar is uncertain. It probably refers to Africans shipped from two slave trading posts, Old Calabar and New Calabar. Or it could mean the Calabar Coast which could include Bonny, the major port exporting mainly Igbo Africans. Calabar could also have been an ethnicity designation. Oldendorp reported that Calabar referred to a self-identified ethnicity closely related to the Igbo and speaking essentially the same language. (see p. ADD below, place it here) But these people were perhaps Igbo unfamiliar with that designation. In Louisiana as well as elsewhere, the Ibibio/Moko were heavily male, in contrast to the Igbo who were about half female. In much of Spanish America, the designation Karabali was quite common and it most likely derived from Calabar. The denomination Karabali used in Cuba could have meant slaves exported from either Old or New Calabar or the Coast of Calabar and might have included the Ibibio/Moko, speakers of a northwestern Bantu languages as well as the Igbo. Africans listed as Karabali were 27% of Africans sold in Cuba between 1790 and 1880. (ADD ref Bergad and Iglesias) The published information about the ethnicity designations of Africans sold in Cuba does not indicate changes over time. ADD get database from Fe Iglesias? The published trans-Atlantic slave trade documents relating to voyages entering Cuba is not entirely satisfactory, especially after 1820. (ADD check date when the trans-Atlantic slave trade to Cuba was outlawed.) However, the Eltis-Nwokoji ADD SP? gives us a breakdown of self-identified ethnicities among Africans

freed from ships captured from voyages seized by British and other patrols.

(ADD Contract Hugo, check their published articles.)

Around 1850, Sigismund W. Koelle, a minister and linguist, interviewed several recaptives who had been landed in Freetown, Sierra Leone, by British anti-slave trade patrols during the 1820s and 1830s.

Although Koelle described them as Ibo he wrote:

. . . in speaking to some of them respecting this name, I learned that they never had heard of it before coming to Sierra Leone [and knew] only the names of their respective districts or countries.

. . . certain natives who have come from the Bight are called Ibos. In speaking to some of them respecting this name, I learned that they never had heard it till they came to Sierra Leone. In their own country they seem to have lost their general national name, like the Akus [Nago/Lukumi/Yoruba], and know only the names of their respective districts or countries. I have retained this name for the language, of which

I produce specimens, as it is spoken
in five of the said districts or
countries.^{xii}

From this one, ambiguous, very late quote, extraordinarily transcendent conclusions have been drawn about all Africans throughout the Americas: for example, that all Africans were so isolated and immobilized that they were unaware that there were other Africans who were different from themselves, and therefore, terms for African ethnicities appearing in American documents arose, not in Africa, but in the Americas after they were first exposed to Africans unlike themselves. Even if this was true for some or even all of the Igbo, it certainly cannot be generalized. Some of these generalizations are based upon very thin evidence indeed. Transcendent conclusions have been drawn from Sigismund W. Koelle's statements about the Igbo in Sierra Leone. Koelle expressed his reservations about the reliability of his informants, pointing out that he interviewed them in English during the early 1850s. Most of them had been recaptured by British anti-slave trade ships and brought to Sierra Leone decades before. Among the five Igbo he interviewed, four had been in Sierra Leone for 30 years, one for 24 years, and one for 11 years after he was kidnapped from his home at age three. Koelle wrote that the Igbo he interviewed had "lost their national name" implying that they previously had one. Maybe they called themselves something else. Maybe they did not fully understand their interrogators, or their interrogators did not understand them. Those who left as adults had

arrived 20 or 30 years earlier. Perhaps they could not remember too well. A word is an imperfect representation of reality. Regardless of what word they did or did not use to identify themselves in the past, it did not preclude them from considering themselves an internally related group different from others in their homelands.[xiii](#)

The designation Igbo was recognized by Africans as well as by Europeans long before the mid-nineteenth century, including in the book published by Alonso de Sandoval in 1627. Sandoval was a Jesuit missionary working in Cartagena de Indias (now in Colombia), the major port of entry for all Africans brought into Spanish America. Many of these Africans arrived moribund. Sandoval's main concern was to communicate with them so he could save their souls by quickly instructing them in the Catholic faith and properly baptizing them before they died. This was, of course, why he focused heavily on language and relied on enslaved Africans as interpreters. Sandoval did not discuss either numbers or percentages of African ethnicities arriving in Cartagena de Indias. Some of Sandoval's information about Africa and African ethnicities was obtained from reports and studies, mainly of Portuguese and Spanish missionaries stationed in Africa. He does not always make it clear which Africans he encountered in Cartagena and which Africans he obtained information about from other sources. Although the vast majority of ethnicities he discussed were probably brought to the Americas, some of them may never have been brought at all. In any case, Sandoval obviously wrote well before any significant number of African slaves arrived anywhere

on the British mainland.^{xiv} C. G. A. Oldendorp, a Moravian missionary who worked in the Danish West Indies in 1767 and 1768 interviewed five slaves who described themselves as members of the Kalabari nation. They reported that they lived far up the Calabar River and said that the Igbo were a very populous people who were their “neighbors and friends who share the same language with them.” Oldendorp also interviewed an African in Pennsylvania who described himself as an Igbo.^{xv} Nevertheless, transcendent conclusions have been drawn that the Igbo identified only with their regions or villages and had no broader identity before they were brought to the Americas where the Igbo ethnicity designation arose. This shaky conclusion is then extrapolated to Africans throughout the Americas at all times and places.

ADD refs.

The Igbo were perhaps more isolated than other Africans. But this impression might be a European reaction to the fact that they were confined to the coast until the mid-nineteenth century. Ancient trade routes proliferated in this region long before the Atlantic slave trade began. (ADD cite da Costa y Silva) Interviews of Igbo at Freetown during the nineteenth century indicate that the production of slaves there involved a high level of kidnapping of individuals, condemnation of “criminals” to slavery, and the sale of family members into the slave trade rather than through buying captives from formal warfare.^{xvi} But the likelihood that Africans were isolated and immobilized throughout regions where the trans-Atlantic slave trade was active is very slim indeed. Extensive trade networks over land, sea, and riverways, mutual

conquest and empire building had long exposed Africans to many peoples besides their own. Warfare, capture, and displacement of populations because of flight and famines were endemic to the process of producing slaves

Except for newspapers advertisements and jailhouse records describing runaway slaves which often do not reflect the composition of the slave population, African ethnicity information in English language documents generated in the Americas during the eighteenth century is sparse. Documents in English cannot illuminate the proportions of Igbo exported from the Bight of Biafra during this time period. Evidently, English language documents generated in Africa, Atlantic slave trade documents, and other major sources translated into English do not help much either. David Northrup wrote:

There is no direct evidence of the origins of the slaves shipped from Old Calabar before the late eighteenth century. . . . There is little direct evidence of the origins of slaves, but it is possible to calculate the relative percentage of speakers of the major languages in the catchment basins of the region's major slaving ports and to adjust these purely topographical calculations with information about population densities and slaving operations.^{xvii}

By crossing the Atlantic, we can do better than that. Descriptions of Africans in documents generated in the Americas indicate a heavy Igbo majority among Africans from the Bight of Biafra during the eighteenth century and to a lesser extent during the nineteenth century as well. Chambers, Gomez, and Walsh, writing about the African population on the British mainland during the eighteenth century, claimed that the vast majority of Africans arriving in the North American mainland from the Bight of Biafra were Igbo. The highest estimate of Igbo or Igbo-speaking slaves was published by Chambers who claimed that they were “likely or at least possible” to be 80% of Africans arriving from the Bight of Biafra, although except for the eighteenth century he has recently revised this estimate slightly downwards.^{xviii}

If we restrict ourselves to the eighteenth century, the most important time period for the United States, Chambers’ 80% estimate for Igbo among Africans exported from the Bight of Biafra is very close to correct. We do not have valid, direct evidence from the British mainland colonies and states because of the scant attention paid to African ethnicities in English language documents. But we can extrapolate from eighteenth century French documents. Unlike documents in English, French documents, especially notarial documents from St. Domingue, Guadeloupe, and Louisiana, are especially rich and detailed about African ethnicities. Lists of slaves in French language notarial documents list the Northwest Bantu language speakers including the Ibibio and the Moko as well as the Igbo in some detail over

time. In Louisiana the more vague designation Calabar is listed as well. This evidence does not support the possibility that Northwest Bantu language speakers of Efik dialects, the Ibibio, Moko, and Ijo were significant in the Americas during the eighteenth century. They establish that the overwhelming majority of Africans from the Bight of Biafra recorded over time in surviving and studied American notarial documents during the eighteenth century were listed as Igbo, even if we make the unlikely assumption that all Africans listed as Calabar were not Igbo.

Unlike evidence from the African side, these American data collected from notarial documents allow for calculations of ethnic designations recorded over time and place and by gender, as well as much other information about them. For eighteenth century St. Domingue/Haiti, David Geggus studied nearly 400 probate inventories in documents dating between 1721-97 listing over 13,300 Africans. He found that the Igbo were 90.7% (n=1,129) of Africans from the Bight of Biafra. There were very few, if any, Africans listed as Calabar on Geggus' sample.^{xix} For Guadeloupe, Nicole Vanony-Frisch studied and databased all extant, legible probate inventories listing slaves dating between 1770 and 1789. She found that fully 37% of all Africans of identified ethnicities were listed as Igbo (n=248). There were no Calabar listed in her sample. In probate inventories in Louisiana between 1770 and 1789, Africans listed as Igbo were 78.6% (n=81) of all identified Africans from the Bight of Biafra. Louisiana probate documents show that the Northwest Bantu language speakers, Ibibio and Moko, had a very high

percentage of males: 88.9%. Africans listed as Calabar on Louisiana estate inventories between 1770 and 1789 were 84.6% (n=11) male and 15.4% (n=2) female. (One male listed as Ekoi and another listed as Bioko were excluded from these calculations). Although numbers for all non-Igbo were very small, those listed as Calabar were probably unlikely to be Igbo at this place and time.

As we have seen, the evidence from the American side of the Atlantic indicates that the proportion of Igbo exported from the Bight of Biafra during the eighteenth century was very high: at least as high as what Chambers, Gomez, and Walsh stated or assumed, even if we draw the very unlikely conclusion that none of the Africans recorded as Calabar in American documents were Igbo. The Ibibio and Moko, the only other numerically significant Africans from the Bight of Biafra found thus far in American documents, were overwhelmingly male, at least during the eighteenth century. Louisiana documents show that the Igbo had a slight majority of females among them until 1790, and thereafter a slight majority of males.

LOUISIANA

Africans from the Bight of Biafra on Probated Estates 1770-89

	Igbo	Ibibio & Moko	Calabar	ALL
Male	34 (42%)	8 (89%)	11 (85%)	
Female	47 (58%)	1 (11%)	2 (15%)	
Total	81 (79%)	9 (9%)	13 (13%)	103 (100%)

Calculated from Hall, *The Louisiana Slave Database 1719-1820* (Baton Rouge, 2000).

GUADELOUPE

Africans from the Bight of Biafra on Probated Estates 1770-89

	Igbo	Moko
Male	116 (47%)	40 (63%)
Female	132 (53%)	24 (37%)
TOTAL	248 (81.6%)	64 (14%)

Calculated from Nicole Vanony-Frisch, *Les esclaves de la Guadeloupe a la fin de l'ancien régime* (Guadeloupe: *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe*, Nos. 63-64, 1985).

ST. DOMINGUE

Africans from the Bight of Biafra on Probated Estates 1721-97

	Igbo	Ibibio/Bibi	Moko /Others	ALL
Male	556 (49%)	54 (65%)		610
Female	573 (51%)	29 (35%)		602
Total	1129 (90.7%)	83 (6.6%)	33 (2.7%)	1245 100%

Calculated from David Geggus, "Sex Ratio, Age and Ethnicity in the Atlantic Slave

Trade: Data from French Shipping and Plantation Records," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 30 (1989), pp. 23-44.

Data in both Africa and the Americas indicate a substantially higher proportion of Northwest Bantu language group speakers exported to the Americas from the Bight of Biafra/Calabar Coast during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the Igbo remained a substantial majority. It is clearest on the American side in slave registration lists created in the British West Indies in preparation for general emancipation. Among the five islands listing African ethnicity information in these lists, four were former French colonies and the fifth, Trinidad, had been settled largely from Martinique by French Creole speaking masters and slaves. These nineteenth century British registration lists reflect varying percentages of Igbo in British West Indian islands ranging from a low of 51.8% for Trinidad and a high of 72.4% for St. Kitts. The Igbo were a total of 57.9% of Africans from the Bight of Biafra on all of these lists. ADD n=

Africans Ethnicities from the Bight of Biafra/Calabar Coast on British West Indies

Registration Lists, 1813-1827

	Igbo	Moko	Ibibio	Other	Total
Trinidad 1813	2863 (51.8%)	2240 (40.6%)	371 (6.7%)	21 (.04%)	5520
St. Lucia 1815	894 (71.5%)	291 (23.3%)	59 (4.8%)	6 (.5%)	1250
St. Kitts 1817	440 (72.4%)	164 (27.0%)		4 (.05%)	608
Berbice 1819	111 (61.0%)	64 (35.2%)		7 (3.8%)	182
Anguilla 1827	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)			6
Total	4312 (57.9%)	2529 (33.4%)	371 (5.0%)	38 (.005%)	7566

Calculated from B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-*

1834 (Baltimore, 1984), Tables S3.1 through S3.5.

Africans described in these British lists were later arrivals than Africans recorded in probate documents. When the masters died, the mean age of slaves was substantially higher than in other types of documents. In Louisiana, data from sales documents recording Africans arriving during a comparable period (1790-1820) contrasts with the data from Trinidad but is close to the data from St. Kitts. The proportion of Igbo in these Louisiana documents dropped very slightly from the earlier, probate lists: from about 78.6% to 75%. But the sex ratio among slaves listed as Calabar closely tracked the sex ratio among Igbo, which probably makes this slight drop more apparent than real. The “Calabar” sold after 1789 had a lower percentage of males (48.8%) than the Igbo (54.6%) while the Northwest Bantu speakers (Ibibio and Moko) continued to have a very high percentage of males (81.5%). It is very likely that at least some of these Africans sold as Calabar in Louisiana were indeed Igbo. If we add some of the Calabar to the Igbo, it brings the Igbo to over 80% of Africans from the Bight of Biafra sold in Louisiana between 1790 and 1820.

Africans From Bight of Biafra/Coast of Calabar Sold Independently of Probate.

Louisiana 1790-1820

	Males	Females	Total	% of Total
Igbo	112 (55%)	93 (45%)	205	75%
Ibibio/Moko	22 (82%)	5 (19%)	27	10%
Calabar	20 (48.9%)	21 (51%)	41	15%
TOTAL	154 (56%)	119 (44%)	273	100%

Calculated from Hall, *Louisiana Slave Database*.

Looking at the African side, the 1848 Census of Freetown, Sierra Leone reflects the African ethnicities of captives brought in by the British anti-slave trade patrols. Among those who arrived from the Bight of Biafra, (excluding the 657 Hausa from the totals) we arrive at 60.9% (n=1,231) Igbo, 15.8% (n=319) Efik and 23.3% (n=470) Moko.^{xx} This census shows a large majority of Igbo, although a substantial drop in percent compared to the eighteenth century. (ADD Ugo/Eltis recent articles about ethnicity among captives.) In sum, the evidence presented here indicates a drop in the proportion of Igbo exported during the nineteenth century and a rise in the proportion of males among them. Nevertheless, the Igbo continued to be a substantial majority of enslaved Africans shipped from the Bight of Biafra/Calabar Coast.

This analysis demonstrates the value of combining the study of data from trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages with descriptions of African ethnicities in documents in various times and places in the Americas. It establishes the value of databasing both types of information to allow for refined studies over time and place. The result is more subtlety and refinement of the questions which can be asked and reasonably confidently answered, thereby linking Africans in Africa with Africans in the Americas.

ⁱFor a review of the literature citing negative perceptions about the Igbo, see Michael Gomez, "A Quality of Anguish: The Igbo Response to Enslavement in the Americas," in Paul Lovejoy and David Trotman, editors, *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the*

American Diaspora (London and New York: Continuum Press, forthcoming December 2002);

Douglas B. Chambers, "Source Material for Studying Igbo in the Diaspora: Problems and Possibilities," in Robin Law, ed., *Source Material for Studying the Slave Trade and the African Diaspora: Papers from a Conference of the Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, April, 1996, Occasional Paper Number 5, December, 1997*; Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 79-80.

ⁱⁱ Colin Palmer, *Human Cagoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 29.

ⁱⁱⁱ Hall, *Social Control*, 20-21.

^{iv} Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean 1736-1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 26.

^v Cites in Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 20.

^{vi} Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 72-3.

vii. *Vente d'esclave, Monsanto à LeDoux, May, 1787, #1571, Original Acts Pointe Coupée Parish, New Roads, Louisiana.*

^{viii} Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *In Search of the Invisible Senegambians: the Louisiana Slave Database 1719-1820*, in *Saint-Louis et l'Esclavage, Actes du symposium international sur la traite négrière à Saint-Louis du Sénégal et dans son arrière-pays*, Saint-Louis, 18, 19 et

20 décembre 1998, Djibril Samb Editor, IFAN (Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noir, Dakar, Senegal) , Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, Initiations et Etudes Africaines N° 39, February, 2001, 237-64.

^{ix} Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean 1736-1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 23.

^x Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "African Women in French and Spanish Louisiana," in Catherine Clinton and Michelle Gillespie, *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

^{xi} ADD ref. Northrup article.

^{xii} Reverend Sigismund Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, ed. P.E.H. Hair (1854; Graz Austria, 1963 edition), 7-8, cited in Douglas B. Chambers, " 'My Own nation,' : Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora," *Slavery and Abolition*, 18, 1 (1997), 72-97; David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe 1450-1850*, (New York & Oxford, 2002), 131;

^{xiii} Sigismund Wilhelm Keolle, *Polyglotta Africana*, P. E. H. Hair and David Dalby, ed. (1963, Graz, Austria, 1963 [1854]), 7, 8.

^{xiv} This documentation can be found in the original 1627 and 1647 editions of the Sandoval book and the facsimile publication of the 1627 edition, Alonso de Sandoval, *De Instauranda Aethiopum Saalute: el mundo de la esclavitud negra en America*, (Bogota, 1956).

^{xv}Soi-Daniel W. Brown, "From the Tongues of Africa: a Partial translation of Oldendorp's Interviews," in *Plantation Society*, II, 1 (April 1983), 37-61, p.49-50.

^{xvi} David Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers* (Oxford, 1978), 79-80.

^{xvii} David Northrup, "Igbo and Myth Igbo: Culture and Ethnicity in the Atlantic World, 1600-1850," *Slavery and Abolition*, Vo. 21, No. 3, December, 2000.

^{xviii} Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks. The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, 1998); Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove. The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville, 1997); Douglas B. Chambers, "'My own nation': Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora," *Slavery and Abolition*, (18, no. 1, 1977, 72-97); Douglas B. Chambers, "The significance of Igbo in the Bight of Biafra Slave Trade: A Rejoinder to Northrup's 'Myth Igbo,' " *Slavery and Abolition*, in press.

^{xix} Communication from David Geggus, September, 2002.

^{xx} Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census* (Madison, 1969), Table 71, 245.