

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. The habit of representing a landscape as either “blank,” wild, and potentially tamable or strange and unique also appealed to white writers who sought to reimagine towns, the countryside, and populations of their own or similar nations, whether in Europe or in the United States. A Frenchman who became an American citizen, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur left his readers in no doubt as to the focus of his *Letters from an American Farmer: Describing Certain Provincial Situations, Manners, and Customs, Not Generally Known; and Conveying Some Idea of the Late and Present Interior Circumstances of the British Colonies of North America* (1782). In 1791 Samuel Johnson described his perambulations in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775), while James Fenimore Cooper turned his eye to Europeans’ attitudes in *Notions of the Americans: Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor* (1828). Meanwhile, Frederick Law Olmsted offered social commentary in his *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller’s Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* (1861). Ironically, the trope of the alien Other was even applied to classed populations in a writer’s homeland, as was the case in William Booth’s *In Darkest England* (1890). In fact, the title of Booth’s book coincided with that of Henry Morton Stanley’s *In Darkest Africa*, published that same year. By collapsing “darkest Africa” with poverty-stricken Englanders, Booth championed the civilizing mission as the cure to all ills, and he employed the language of colonialism that was part and parcel of imperial travel writing to construct a particularly raced and classed sense of English identity. In this case, writing associated with the English traveler enabled a flexible worldview that buttressed a range of powerful interests behind late nineteenth-century British nation and empire building.

2. See especially Bassett, “Cartography”; Fabian, *Time*; Fabian, *Out of Our Minds*; Driver, *Geography Militant*.

3. Scholarship that does address Delany’s *Official Report* in detail includes Blackett, “Martin R. Delany,” as well as Blackett, *Beating against the Barriers*. Additionally, see J. T. Campbell, *Middle Passages*.

4. For a sampling of important work see Grewal, *Home*; Griffin and Fish, *Stranger*; Fish, *Black and White Women's Travel Narratives*; Totten, *African American Travel Narratives*.

5. Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction*, 3.

6. See, for example, Wong, *Neither Fugitive nor Free*. Scholarship that discusses the relationship between slave narratives and travel texts includes Murphy, "Olaudah Equiano"; Brawley, "Fugitive Nation"; Brawley, "Frederick Douglass' *My Bondage*"; Brusky, "Travels"; Chaney, "Traveling Harlem's Europe"; Kelleter, "Ethnic Self-Dramatization"; Lucasi, "William Wells Brown's Narrative"; Baraw, "William Wells Brown"; Bohls, *Slavery*. On the general topic of pre-Civil War travel in the United States by freeborn Black Americans, see Pryor, *Colored Travelers*.

7. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "travel," accessed June 7, 2021, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/o/oed/oed-idx?type=entry&byte=507106248>.

8. See Brusky, "Travels."

9. Craft and Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles*, 56–57.

10. For a specific focus on Ellen and her masquerade as an ailing white man, see Samuels, *Fantasies*.

11. Totten, *African American Travel Narratives*.

12. Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents*, 201.

13. See Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*, where the fifteen-year-old maid wins over her exploitative male employer by resisting his sexual entreaties until he finally realizes the value of her character and proposes with marriage.

14. For useful discussions of nineteenth-century European white women and travel, see Blunt, *Travel*; Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*; Russell, *Blessings*; Kelley, "Increasingly 'Imaginative Geographies'"; Dúnlaith Bird, *Travelling in Different Skins*; Loth, "Writing and Traveling."

15. For recent work on the slave Mary Prince and travel, see Bohls, *Slavery*; Simmons, "Beyond 'Authenticity.'"

16. Gordon-Reed, *Hemingses*, 239.

17. For a wonderful introduction to the narratives of Jarena Lee, Zilpha Elaw, and Julia Foote, see Andrews, *Sisters*; see also Smith, *Autobiography*.

18. For an excellent summary of the productive challenges posed by Africanists working on Black Atlantic cultures, see Mann, "Shifting Paradigms." In particular, Mann points out the goals of the Diaspora from the Nigerian Hinterland Project, whose organizers maintain that "persons born in Africa carried with them into slavery not only their cultures but also their history, and that if we understand the experience of slaves and the histories of the societies from which they came, then we will be able to trace these influences into the diaspora." Mann, "Shifting Paradigms," 5.

19. Proponents of this argument include Kopytoff, *Preface*; Matory, "English Professors"; Roberts, "Construction"; Piot, "Atlantic Aporias"; Joseph Harris, "Expanding the Scope"; Zeleza, "Rewriting the African Diaspora."

20. For a sampling of discussions treating Equiano's relationship to capitalism and imperialism, see Hinds, "Spirit"; Pudaloff, "No Change"; Field, "Excepting Himself." The triangle trade is a metaphor that vividly exemplifies the continuous circuits of trade in bodies and goods that linked European imperial designs, the Atlantic slave trade, and the

extraction of resources from American colonies. By the time the Atlantic slave trade had reached its height in the early eighteenth century, vessels from Europe filled with metal pots and pans, woven cloth, beads, and European weapons instantiated the first leg of the proverbial triangle as they plied the African west coast, trading inanimate objects for slaves. The next leg of the triangle was articulated by the Middle Passage, westward from Africa to the Americas, where slaves were sold off at various colonial ports from South America to as far north as British Canada. As they traveled from port to port, slave ship crews gradually replaced human cargo with the fruits of empire, including cotton, tobacco, furs, sugar, spices, hardwoods, rice, and other raw materials. The return to Europe of slave ships now carrying these goods completed the third and final leg of the triangle.

21. For the traditional argument that Equiano is the father of the American slave narrative, see Baker, "Figuration."

22. Lovejoy, "Construction," 8. For a summary of Caretta's argument, see his "Does Equiano Still Matter?"

23. See Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*.

24. Berlin, "From Creole to African." For an updated extension of Berlin's argument, see Law and Mann, "West Africa."

25. See, for example, Northrup, "Becoming African"; Matory, "English Professors"; Piot, "Atlantic Aporias"; Zeleza, "Rewriting the African Diaspora."

26. Northrup, "Becoming African"; see, more generally, Northrup, *Africa's Discovery*.

27. See Matory, "English Professors."

28. For useful discussions of krio identity in Sierra Leone, see Spitzer, *Lives In Between*, and, more recently, Cole, *Krio*.

29. Pratt argues that "contact zones" are "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today." Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

30. The British outlawed slavery in the nation in 1772 with the Somerset case, the Atlantic slave trade in 1807, and slavery in Canada and its West Indian colonies in 1832. Many northern American states outlawed slavery soon after the end of the war for independence. By 1808 the United States ended its participation in the trade, though slavery in the South continued until Abraham Lincoln's executive order (the Emancipation Proclamation) in 1863. Congress finally ratified the Thirteenth Amendment in 1864, ending involuntary servitude permanently (unless you were a prisoner). The Haitian slaves had revolted and freed themselves in 1791, while revolutionaries in France ended slavery in the nation's other West Indian colonies in 1794.

After the Haitian Revolution, most of Spain's colonies in Central America and South America won their independence, whereupon they all abolished slavery by the 1830s. The importation of slaves to colonial Cuba ended officially in 1820, but lack of enforcement meant that kidnapped Africans were still being brought to the island until 1867. Likewise, Brazil still imported slaves, even though the trade was officially banned in 1831. Brazilian slavery did not come to an end until 1888.

31. The topic of African American responses to empire, especially though not exclusively in the context of diaspora, has generated a growing body of scholarship, including

Sanneh, *Abolitionists Abroad*; Gruesser, *Empire*; Von Eschen, *Race*; Edwards, *Practice*; Stephens, *Black Empire*; Gaines, *American Africans*. This topic intersects as well as with the well-established push among many Americanists to rethink US culture and history in light of westward expansion and foreign policy, signaled in the early 1990s by Amy Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures*; Amy Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity.”

32. Studies that use the nineteenth century as a backstory toward the twentieth-century flowering of a radical position include books as varied as Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* and Von Eschen’s *Race*. Roderick Ferguson offers some interesting challenges to the way African Americanists have constructed and framed the historical narrative of their subject. See Roderick Ferguson, “Lateral Moves”; Roderick Ferguson, *Reorder*. See especially Goyal, “We Need New Diasporas”; Goyal, *Runaway Genres*.

33. See, for example, studies that trace West African travel back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Law and Mann, “West Africa”; Berlin, “From Creole to African”; Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*.

34. For Christianized West Africans as diary writers, see Karin Barber, *Africa’s Hidden Histories*.

1. MARY SEACOLE’S WEST INDIAN HOSPITALITY

An earlier version of chapter 1 appeared as “Traveling with Her Mother’s Tastes: The Negotiation of Gender, Race, and Location in *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*,” *Signs* 26, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 949–81.

1. In the autobiography, Seacole styles herself a “Creole,” and she also embraces her mulatto identity. As Kamau Brathwaite argues, *Creole* is a term that had and still retains a variety of meanings across time and space. For the children of white settlers, it was a specific reference to birth outside of England in the British West Indian colonies. Was Seacole appropriating the term to align herself with Afro-Jamaicans and against Africans? Throughout this chapter, I use the term *colored* or *mixed race* to refer to West Indian-born individuals such as Seacole who were a product of Black-white sexual relations, in line with Caribbean scholars who employ the same term. See Brathwaite, *Development*; Heuman, *Between Black and White*; Beckles, “On the Backs”; Cox, *Free Coloreds*; Sio, “Marginality.” For possible shifts in the meaning of *colored* to *brown*, see most recently Edmondson, “Most Intensely Jamaican.” For a discussion of the US context, see Horton, *Free People*.

2. There have been a number of scholarly biographical essays covering Seacole, such as the introductions by Alexander and Dewjee and by Salih to Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures*. Seacole’s reputation is currently enjoying a strong revival, sparking Jane Robinson’s popular 2004 biography *Mary Seacole: The Most Famous Black Woman of the Victorian Age*. Though Robinson’s research is thorough, she avoids anything even mildly controversial. In addition to Robinson, see Anionwu, *Short History*. Anionwu is a highly distinguished nurse, public health professor, and community health advocate who has tirelessly championed for full recognition of Seacole’s achievements.

3. Alexander, “Let It Lie,” 49n.

4. Jamaica Information Service, "Mary Seacole."
5. For a report on the installation of the statue, see BBC News, "Mary Seacole Statue." In 2004, well before the statue, Seacole was voted the most famous black Briton of all time. See Fernando, *Mary Seacole*; Matthew Taylor, "Nurse." For a summary of complaints about Seacole, see Gander, "Mary Seacole Statue."
6. For an example of the racist sensationalizing of Seacole's skin color and origins, see McDonald, "Lessons."
7. See, for example, Frazier, "Two Nurses." For an example of the ways Seacole's name is becoming more well known in nursing circles across the world, see Sleeth, "Mary Seacole." For a popular recognition of the role of Caribbean nurses, see BBC, *Black Nurses*. See also Godfrey, "Jamaican."
8. Continual scholarly interest in Seacole's *Wonderful Adventures* has resulted in many fine studies: Paquet, "Enigma"; McKenna, "'Fancies'"; Amy Robinson, "Authority"; Judd, *Beside Seductions*; Hawthorne, "Self-Writing"; Baggett, "Caught between Home"; Paravisini-Gebert, "Mrs. Seacole's *Wonderful Adventures*"; Frederick, "Creole Performance"; Fish, *Black and White Women's Travel Narratives*; Fluhr, "Their Calling Me 'Mother'"; Rupprecht, "*Wonderful Adventures*"; Poon, "Comic Acts"; Chancy, "Subjectivity"; Damian, "Novel Speculation."
9. See Mary Prince [and Pringle], *History*; Moira Ferguson, *Hart Sisters*; Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart*; Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents*; Lee, *Life and Religious Experience*; Nancy Prince, *Narrative*.
10. Paquet, "Enigma," 651.
11. Faith Smith, "Coming Home," 906.
12. Gikandi, *Maps*, 124.
13. As Kathleen Wilson has convincingly argued, "Within imperial and colonial settings . . . historical actors were defined in multiple ways; and different genders, classes, ethnicities and races all participated, albeit in varied and unequal measure, in the creation of their history." Wilson, *Island Race*, 15.
14. See Senior, "Panama Railway"; Daley, "Watermelon Riot"; Bushnell, *Making*; Safford and Palacios, *Columbia*; Newton, *Silver Men*.
15. See Lalumia, "Realism"; Poovey, *Uneven Developments*; Dereli, "Gender Issues"; Small, *Florence Nightingale*; Royle, *Crimea*.
16. See Clifford, "Traveling Cultures"; Grewal, *Home*; Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*.
17. Beckles, *Centering Woman*, 191–92.
18. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 168; Dereli, "Gender Issues," 65.
19. For important context on the intersection of gender and class with respect to the recruitment of Nightingale's Crimean nurses, see Rupprecht, "*Wonderful Adventures*."
20. Beckles, "On the Backs," 179.
21. Alexander and Dewjee, introduction, 28.
22. Soyer, *Soyer's Culinary Campaign*, 231, 435.
23. Soyer, *Soyer's Culinary Campaign*, 436, 269. See also Fluhr, "Loss Made Literal," 135, 125. In her family correspondence, Nightingale confirmed Soyer's identification of Sally as Seacole's daughter, claiming that she was fathered illegitimately by one Colonel

Bunbury. With no solid evidence for or against a union between Seacole and Bunbury, the truth behind Sally's parentage is, as they say, lost to history. See Jane Robinson, *Mary Seacole*, 155.

24. Josephs, "Mary Seacole," 50–51.

25. Bush, "White Ladies," 258. Beckles offers a similar assessment of life during slavery: "Black women, whether slave or free, were generally not as successful in extricating socio-economic benefits from propertied white males as were coloured women. Data for Bridgetown [Barbados] suggest that whereas black women remained in the 'small-time' fringes of this illicit social culture, large numbers of coloured women successfully fashioned their socio-ideological vision around the need to entertain white males, in return for social and material betterment. As free persons, coloured women's opportunities were severely limited, so this realization encouraged them to adopt a professional attitude towards the sex industry that brought them into intimate contact with propertied white males." Beckles, *Centering Women*, 32. See also Kerr, "Victims or Strategists?"; Welch, "Unhappy and Afflicted Women?"

26. For the full story of Pringle-Polgreen, see Handler, "Joseph Rachell"; Candlin and Pybus, *Enterprising Women*. For an important new reading of Rachel Pringle-Polgreen, see Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*.

27. Kerr, "Victims or Strategists?," 198, 202.

28. Kerr, "Victims or Strategists?," 201.

29. Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures*, ed. Alexander and Dewjee, 56. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the 1857 autobiography are to this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text.

30. Small, *Florence Nightingale*, 17.

31. "Our Very Own Vivandière," 221. As Nicole Fluhr points out, the text accompanying the *Punch* illustration seems to be drawn from a letter written by Seacole. However, despite the magazine's support for Seacole, the illustration is parody. See Fluhr, "Their Calling Me 'Mother.'"

32. Gikandi, *Maps*, 140.

33. Hawthorne, "Self-Writing," 314.

34. See, for instance, Russell, *Blessings*; Mills, *Discourses*; Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*.

35. Rosemary George, *Politics*, 186.

36. Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart*, 10. For a related argument in the US context, see Amy Kaplan's classic essay "Manifest Domesticity."

37. Paquet, "Enigma," 659.

38. Senior, "Panama Railway"; Newton, *Silver Men*.

39. Mills, *Discourses*, 96–97.

40. Mills, *Discourses*, 96–97.

41. Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class*, 222–23.

42. See especially Damian, "Novel Speculation."

43. We might think here of Homi Bhabha's well-known theorization of the subversive nature of what he calls colonial mimicry. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry."

44. Paquet, "Enigma," 652.

45. Carlyle, *Occasional Discourse*, 4.

46. Schuler, "Alas, Alas, Poor Kongo," 44.
47. Conniff, *Panama*, 20.
48. Garnet and Delany, of course, were among those African American leaders who also agitated at various times for Black immigration to Africa. For a standard history of African American nationalist and Black separatist movements in the nineteenth century, see Moses, *Golden Age*.
49. Bushnell, *Making*, 106–8.
50. Senior, "Panama Railway," 76; see also Daley, "Watermelon Riot."
51. Lalumia, "Realism," 26.
52. Blackwood, *Narrative*, 262–63.
53. Bamfield, *On the Strength*. According to Bamfield, on average in the Crimea there were six soldiers' wives to every one hundred men. These women were allowed to travel "on the strength" of their regiments, providing services to the soldiers such as cooking, cleaning, mending, and nursing.
54. Indeed, as Paravisini-Gebert argues, "Seacole . . . cleverly weaves Nightingale into her text, creating a mirror image that in many ways subverts Nightingale and allows Seacole, if not to displace Nightingale . . . at least to share her Crimean space." Paravisini-Gebert, "Mrs. Seacole's *Wonderful Adventures*," 77.
55. Kerr, "Victims or Strategists?," 201.
56. Dereli, "Gender Issues," 71.
57. Blackwood, *Narrative*, 56–57.
58. Goodman, *Fields*, 200.
59. Tisdall, *Mrs. Duberly's Campaigns*, 129, 144.
60. Hodge, "Little Hodge," 110.
61. For more information on Fenton's photographic tour of the front, see Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton*.
62. Faith Smith, "Coming Home," 905; Alexander and Dewjee, introduction, 38.
63. Damian, "Novel Speculation," 17, 23; Jane Robinson, *Mary Seacole*.

2. HOME AND BELONGING FOR NANCY PRINCE

An earlier version of this chapter appeared as "Nancy Prince and the Politics of Mobility, Home, and Diasporic (Mis)Identification," *American Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (March 2001): 32–69.

1. For the story of Prince's Smith Court activity, see Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 222; Barthelemy, introduction, 38.
2. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *History*, 384. For brief but useful references to Prince's life in Boston, see also Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*.
3. Prince is comparable to other free Black American women in this period. For example, Mary Ann Shadd Cary immigrated to the Black Canadian town of Buxton, where she was the first Black woman in North America to publish a newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*. According to Carla Peterson, Cary set out to "penetrate the male public sphere of the black press and convention movement" (Peterson, "Doers," 99). As biographer Jane Rhodes demonstrates, though Cary was a deeply committed activist in the service of

Black community development, she was also critical of the shortcomings of those communities, which resulted in some uneasy alliances with men and women in her circle. See Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary*. Prince was similarly committed but also similarly critical of those reformers (Black and white) with whom she labored, and therefore her relationships with other activists were frequently tense.

4. See Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart*.

5. Holly, *Vindication*, 3.

6. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. In their work, Peterson and Cheryl Fish have both stressed the multiple identities of mobility that inhere uneasily within Prince's autobiography: that of privileged tourist, disparaged second-class black traveler, missionary, and expatriate. See Fish, *Black and White Women's Travel Narratives*.

7. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*, 18. For discussions of women and the politics of travel writing, see Grewal, *Home*; Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*; Chaudhuri and Strobel, *Western Women*; Mills, *Discourses*.

8. Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 582. According to Kaplan, "understanding the imperial reach of domesticity and its relation to the foreign should help re-map the critical terrain upon which women's domestic fiction has been constructed" (600). Kaplan makes clear that she is referring to domesticity as constructed in white middle-class female culture.

9. Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 582.

10. Afro-Europe, of course, provides the perfect example of African diaspora subjects outside of slavery. See, for example, Campt, *Other Germans*; Jacqueline Brown, *Dropping Anchor*.

11. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity," 233.

12. Nancy Prince, *Black Woman's Odyssey*, 3. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the 1853 *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince* are to this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text.

13. For a study of early Native-Black relations, see Jack Forbes, *Africans*. For groundbreaking recent work on the same topic, see Miles, *Ties That Bind*; Miles, *House on Diamond Hill*.

14. For a discussion of the social conditions for Black migratory labor, see Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 3–49.

15. Blakely, *Russia*.

16. Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, 188, 196. See also Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 165.

17. Peterson, "Doers," 94.

18. Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 2.

19. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 55–56.

20. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 73.

21. For a different reading of maternity in Prince's narrative, see Fish, *Black and White Women's Travel Narratives*.

22. Buzard, "Continent," 32.

23. For example, while slavery did not become a consistent feature of Russian life and culture, Black servants were considered important "embellishments" for the aristocracy and royal families. In recognition of Blacks' peripheral status as exotic curiosities in Rus-

sia, Prince never describes herself as merging with the Russian community she inhabits, a community that in terms of religion, language, race, and culture she would have no doubt found alien. For a general account of the Black presence in Russia, see Blakely, *Russia*.

24. Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 81–82.

25. Hansen, “Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.” According to Hansen, the BFASS was a radical feminist organization of white and Black “elite” women reformers. The Black women of the BFASS—such as Susan Paul, the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Paul Sr.—may have “represented the upper echelons of Boston’s black community,” but they were certainly not as wealthy as the white female members of Boston’s Brahmin class. In a Black Boston community composed of runaway slaves, domestic workers, and tradespeople, Prince undoubtedly achieved a particular kind of community leadership consistent with the transformative role she occupied in Russia, and the story of her routing of a slave catcher in Smith Court (which is mentioned nowhere in the text by Prince herself) would support this view. See also Horton and Horton, *Black Bostonians*, 65.

26. Frances Foster, *Written by Herself*, 85.

27. Andrews, *Sisters*, 9. For a discussion of Stewart, see Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart*, 3–27; Romero, *Home Fronts*.

28. See Midgley, “Can Women Be Missionaries?”

29. See, for instance, Peterson, “Doers,” 97.

30. For an extremely useful reading of Jamaica as one of a number of failed “utopias” in *Life and Travels*, see Amber Foster, “Nancy Prince’s Utopias.”

31. Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet*, 21.

32. For a discussion of Garnet’s time in Jamaica, see, for example, Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet*. For more about Ward, see Watson, *Caribbean Culture*, chap. 3; Kerr-Ritchie, “Samuel Ward.” For more about Webb, see Gardner, “Gentleman.”

33. Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet*, 22.

34. For information on the long history of Black Americans working in overseas missions, see Martin, “Spelman’s Emma B. Delany”; Sylvia Jacobs, *Black Americans*; Sylvia Jacobs “Give a Thought to Africa”; Sylvia Jacobs, “African-American Women Missionaries”; Wills and Newman, *Black Apostles*. In 1824, Prince’s minister, Thomas Paul Sr., served as a missionary to Haiti, and Henry Highland Garnet served as a missionary to Jamaica during the 1860s. See Paul, “Letter,” 57–59; Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet*. For information on Ingraham, see Clifton Johnson, “American Missionary Association.”

35. Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 67. See also Welter, “She Hath Done.”

36. Clifton Johnson, “American Missionary Association,” 61–62. See also DeBoer, *Be Jubilant My Feet*. The Oberlin Congregationalist missionaries found no relief until 1847, when their missions fell under the jurisdiction of the American Missionary Association. See the Jamaican Mission, microfilm reels 1–6, American Missionary Association Archives.

37. See Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 81–82.

38. See Amber Foster, “Nancy Prince’s Utopias.”

39. Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*; Curtin, *Two Jamaicas*, 37–38.

40. See “Quarterly Record of the Missions in Connection to the United Secession Church for January 1844,” papers of the American Missionary Association, microfilm reel 1.

41. Nancy Prince, *West Indies*, 14–15.

42. As the few post-1840 documentary traces of Nancy Prince demonstrate, a return to a New England Black community automatically registers the old tensions. Indeed, in a letter appearing after her first return from Jamaica in the September 17, 1841, issue of William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator*, Prince describes her maltreatment on board the steamboat *Massachusetts* traveling from New York to Providence not only by the ship’s white captain but also by two Black female chambermaids. Furious over the whole event, but even more so because of her betrayal at the hands of Black women, Prince writes to “caution . . . colored people to beware of that boat,” but also “to show the recreant conduct of the colored girls, who deserve exposure for pursuing such a course.” In a letter appearing in the May 25, 1843, issue of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Prince outlines to those who had contributed funds to the founding of the Jamaican orphanage how the whole venture in Jamaica had finally failed, leaving her in financial distress. Her description of the Black Jamaicans in this letter is curiously less ambiguous and ambivalent than would later be the case in *Life and Travels*. In the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* letter, Prince suggests that Jamaican ex-slaves “are not the idle people some represent them to be. Most of them have bought land, and built homes. They raise all kinds of vegetables, and many of them cultivate sugar cane and coffee for themselves. They have no need to let themselves on the plantations. They are extremely kind to each other, and have shown an excellent capacity to take care of themselves.” While she was unwavering in her support for Black emancipation, in many respects Prince clearly revised this view in the autobiographical remembering of her last trip to Jamaica.

43. Peterson, “*Doers*,” 97.

44. Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, 37.

45. See Mavis Campbell, *Maroons*; Carey Robinson, *Fighting Maroons*.

46. Price, *Maroon Societies*, 22; Heuman, “*Killing Time*.” Nevertheless, as historian Michael Mullin hastens to add, “a variety of types of sources support the recognition by contemporaries, officials, and ordinary people, that treaty provisions notwithstanding, Maroons were not reliable allies; that they were not the slaves’ police; and most important, when the chips were down and war against the whites was raised, they were joined by significant numbers of plantation slaves.” Mullin, *Africa in America*, 293.

47. Bethel, *Roots*, 105; Mavis Campbell, *Back to Africa*, xi–xii.

48. Amber Foster, “Nancy Prince’s Utopias,” 344.

3. THE REPATRIATION OF SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER

1. Although capture by the Royal Navy was the first step toward freedom, there was a dark side to the entire enterprise. As John McCoubrey reminds us, British Navy captains could receive their prize money only if slavers were captured in open sea, prompting some officers to chase their intended targets beyond the port before taking them into custody. However, according to McCoubrey, “when pursued, slavers often cast

their human cargo overboard to lighten their ships for greater speed.” See McCoubrey, “Turner’s Slave Ship,” 325.

Additionally, Crowther notes in his slave narrative that when he and his fellow slaves were put under the care of CMS missionaries, many read the requirement that they leave the mission settlement in order to testify against the captain and crew of their slave ship as a secret plot to re-enslave them. According to Crowther, “as time passed away, and our consent could not be got, we were compelled to go [to the Court of Mixed Commission] by being whipped.” See Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, 384. For comparison’s to “liberated” slaves taken by US naval ships to Liberia, see Fett, “Middle Passages.”

2. The rest of the plaque reads “Erected AC MDCCCXVIII by Lieut. Col. McCarthy, Gov.”

3. Ryan, “Very Extensive System.”

4. On the resistance of free Black migrants to white control in the colony, see Pybus, “Less Favorable Specimen.”

5. Spitzer, *Lives*, 56.

6. Spitzer, *Lives*, 56.

7. On the labeling of ex-slaves in Sierra Leone, see Fyfe, *History*, 114–15. Kopytoff’s *Preface* provides a complete history of the migration, but extensive discussions are also to be found in Fyfe, *History*; Ajayi, *Christian Missions*; Ayandele, *Missionary Impact*.

8. Though the term *Saro* quickly came into widespread use, reactions to the immigrants varied from place to place. According to Kopytoff, “Lagos itself was the port from which many of them had been shipped as slaves. Indigenous Lagosians were virtually unrepresented among the Sierra Leonians, and since the primary economic activity in the town was still the slave trade, the emigrants found hostility there.” On the other hand, “they were well received in Abeokuta, the new Egba town which had drawn together refugees from the entire countryside.” Kopytoff, *Preface*, 268; see also 86–87, 130.

9. Basch, Schiller, and Blanc, *Nations Unbound*, 269; Jacqueline Brown, “Black Liverpool,” 292.

10. Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity,” 224.

11. On retentions and the “memory” of Africa in the New World, see, for example, Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past*; Mintz and Price, *Birth*; Robert Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*; Holloway, *Africanisms*; Gwendolyn Hall, *Africans*; Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; Warner-Lewis, *Central Africa*. For important studies of the politics of transnationality and racial identity among peoples of African descent in the Americas, see Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner*; Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship*; Carr, *Black Nationalism*; Nuñez, *Cannibal Democracy*. For an earlier history of African diaspora studies as a field, see Shepperson, “African Diaspora”; Patterson and Kelley, “Unfinished Migrations”; Edwards, “Uses of *Diaspora*.” For examples of scholarship that documents African, Caribbean, and African American alliances in the early moments of Pan-Africanism, see Lemelle and Kelley, *Imagining Home*; Von Eschen, *Race*; Edwards, *Practice*.

12. Piot, “Atlantic Aporias,” 156, 159. See also, for example, Matory, “English Professors.”

13. Roberts, "Construction," 182, 188; emphasis added. Alpers calls for a complete decentering of the Atlantic basin as the focus of diaspora studies, so that more scholarly attention might be given to slavery and Black dispersal from the east coast of Africa, throughout the Indian Ocean basin, and even as far as Iraq and India. See Alpers, "Defining the African Diaspora"; Alpers, "Recollecting Africa," 86, 84. See also Joseph Harris, "Expanding the Scope." More recently, from a literary point of view, Goyal sounds a similar call, not so much to expand the study of slavery beyond the Atlantic world but to acknowledge the multiple forms of migration that have made the African diaspora a global phenomenon, especially for twenty-first-century writers. See Goyal, "We Need New Diasporas"; Goyal, *Runaway Genres*.

For an excellent summary of the challenges posed by Africanists working on Black Atlantic cultures, see Mann, "Shifting Paradigms." In particular, Mann points out the goals of the diaspora from the Nigerian Hinterland Project, whose organizers maintain that "persons born in Africa carried with them into slavery not only their cultures but also their history, and that if we understand the experience of slaves and the histories of the societies from which they came, then we will be able to trace these influences into the diaspora." Mann, "Shifting Paradigms," 5. Thus, instead of focusing solely upon the cultural aftermath of the Middle Passage once slaves reached the Americas, many Africanists argue that the study of dispersal can really be achieved only by taking a closer look at Africa itself.

14. Piot, "Atlantic Aporias," 156.

15. See, for instance, Peters, "Exile"; Clifford, "Diasporas."

16. See Lorenzo Turner, "Some Contacts"; Lindsay, "'To Return to the Bosom'"; Law and Mann, "West Africa"; Matory, "English Professors"; Blyden, *West Indians*; Mann and Bay, *Rethinking the African Diaspora*.

17. There has been little discussion of this migration of nineteenth-century Jamaicans to Ghana. For some information, see Jon Miller, *Social Control*, 116, 121, 122–24.

18. See, for instance, Clegg, *Price*; Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation*, chap. 2. On the health impact of emigration to Liberia for US Blacks, see McDaniel, *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*.

19. Peters, "Exile," 20. On the history and complex politics of early "return" movements from the Americas to Africa, see Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*; Stein, *World*; Thomas, *Rise to Be a People*; Sundiata, *Brothers*. Two illuminating discussions of Black heritage tours taken by affluent African Americans and Afro-Europeans who want to "return" to the scene of African slavery are Bruner, "Tourism," and Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*. On diasporic community building, gender, and Black nationalism, see Bair, "Pan-Africanism"; Dorsey, *Reforming Men*, chap. 5; Ula Taylor, *Veiled Garvey*; McPherson, "Colonial Matriarchs."

20. Gaines, "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology"; Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*; Gaines, *American Africans*; Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation*; Commander, *Afro-Atlantic Flight*.

21. A number of historians and anthropologists have stressed that the nineteenth-century Brazilian repatriation had a transformative effect upon West African populations, especially in what is now Nigeria. See, for example, Matory, "English Professors"; Mann and Bay, *Rethinking the African Diaspora*; Law and Mann, "West Africa."

22. Piot, "Atlantic Aporias," 156.
23. A number of the rescued slaves were themselves Muslim. See Cole, "Liberated Slaves."
24. See Kopytoff, *Preface*; Lynn, "Technology." As both Kopytoff and Lynn argue, after the 1860s Saro merchants would face stiff competition from European commercial houses that felt the wealth of West Africa should be managed by whites.
25. Matory, "English Professors," 96–97, 85.
26. Mann, "Shifting Paradigms," 5.
27. See Karin Barber, "Introduction." For two scholars of postcolonial literature who have addressed West African colonial culture and writing of this period, see Gikandi, "Embarrassment"; Olakunle George, "'Native' Missionary." To properly describe a nineteenth-century literary history of the Saro, one would have to think of Sierra Leone as a whole, since even writing generated by those who did not "return" to the Niger Valley would fall under the category of a literature of repatriation. One might also include the prose of other diasporic Blacks in Sierra Leone, some of whom hailed from the West Indies, Canada, the United States, and Britain, and a few of whom joined the Saro migration, albeit for a variety of different reasons. Using this framework, one could (as David Northrup has argued) include the numerous oral slave narratives recorded as contextualizing material in missionary language studies, such as Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, and first-person slave narratives, such as Wright, "Life." For a biography based on "autobiographical conversion statements," see Samuel Johnson, *History*. On Koelle's text, see Northrup, *Africa's Discovery*, chap. 2.
28. For a reading that treats Samuel Ajayi Crowther's nineteenth-century mission writings as literature, see Olakunle George, "'Native' Missionary."
29. For more on Crowther and Wright, see Spitzer, *Lives*.
30. Sanneh, *Abolitionists*, 148. There is no truly comprehensive biography of Samuel Crowther. Students of mission and West African history have generally consulted Page, *Black Bishop*, which served as the official CMS biography. Crowther is also featured in the official CMS institutional history; see Stock, "History." A useful account of Crowther's career as a bishop can also be found in Yates, *Venn*. See also Ajayi, *Christian Mission*; Ajayi, *Patriot*.
31. See Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, 149.
32. An early and important articulation of these ideas in the European colonization of the Americas can be found in Kolodny, *Lay of the Land*. See also Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*.
33. Cornwall and Lindisfarne, *Dislocating Masculinity*; Lindsay and Miescher, *Men and Masculinities*; Lindsay, *Working with Gender*; Miescher, *Making Men*.
34. See, for instance, Dixon-Fyle and Cole, *New Perspectives*; Cole, *Krio*.
35. Fyfe, *History*, 85.
36. On West Indian migration to Sierra Leone, see Blyden, *West Indians*.
37. Kopytoff, *Preface*, 86.
38. Kolapo, "CMS Missionaries," 89, 95.
39. Walls, "Africa," 160–64.
40. Yates, *Venn*, 147.

41. Peel does not indicate whether white missionaries used genres in the same way.
42. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised the Day," 591–92. See also Peel, "Problems and Opportunities."
43. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised," 587, 595. See also Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation*; Peel, *Religious Encounter*.
44. Irvine, "Genres," 81n57.
45. Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, 6–7.
46. "Meeting," *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 63–64.
47. My thanks to Jennifer Wenzel for pressing me to develop my reading along these lines.
48. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised the Day," 597.
49. Crowther, journal entry for August 21, in extracts for July 27 to Sept. 25, 1846, CA 2 M 1, Church Missionary Society Archive.
50. Vance, *Sinews*, 3, 7. For a discussion of gender and religious activism among British mission society members in the nineteenth century, see Thorne, *Congregational Missions*.
51. Given Judith Irvine's observation that the missionary journal was not the place for articulating strong emotions, it is notable as well that Crowther uses a narrative form devised for relating mission business to dramatize what must have been an incredibly personal experience. When the same incident is reported by Crowther's white colleague the Reverend Henry Townsend, the event is relegated to the level of a postscript. In his letter to Henry Venn, Townsend barely mentions Crowther but spends a great deal of time on Afala: "The mother was almost overcome with surprise and joy; and as soon as she could recollect herself she blessed the English repeatedly, in the name of God, and poured out her thanks to me and Mrs. Townsend as their representatives." For Townsend, the reunion demonstrates "how powerful a means is now put into [the Parent Committee's] hands for the spread of the gospel in this part, when they know how many a lone mother's heart is gladdened by the return of the lost ones." Using the same zealous but formulaic phrasing that characterizes Crowther's account, Townsend operates on a much more pragmatic level, driven by the need to convince the Parent Committee that the mission is heading for success. See Henry Townsend to Henry Venn, August 18, 1846, CA 3 M 1, Church Missionary Society Archive.
52. Crowther, journal entry for August 21, 1846, CA 2 M 1, Church Missionary Society Archive.
53. Crowther, journal entry for August 21, 1846, CA 2 M 1, Church Missionary Society Archive.
54. Yates, *Venn*, 146.
55. Jon Miller, *Social Control*, chap. 2; on the CMS in particular, see 42, 195n44.
56. According to Miller, the seminary students from Basel were even more extreme than the CMS in their desire to control both the actions and the minds of their missionaries.
57. Heanley, *Memoir*, 299.
58. See C. P. Williams, "'Not Quite Gentlemen'"; Jenkins, "Church Missionary Society"; Zemka, "Holy Books"; Johnston, *Missionary Writing*; Jon Miller, *Social Control*; Predelli and Miller, "Piety and Patriarchy," 37–38

59. As Predelli and Miller demonstrate in their essay “Piety and Patriarchy,” marriage between whites and Blacks—whether Africans or Blacks who had emigrated from the Americas—was not unheard of. An early Basel-trained CMS missionary, the Reverend Gustavus Nylander, married an African American woman when he arrived in West Africa. One of his two mixed-race daughters married Frederick Schön, the Basel-trained missionary who accompanied Crowther on the 1841 expedition. Also, the CMS archive contains accounts of white male agents dismissed or disgraced because of sexual relations with African women.

60. Charles Haensel to CMS clerical secretary Edward Bickersteth, February 12, 1828, CA 10 108, Church Missionary Society Archive.

61. Homi Bhabha’s formulation of colonial mimicry comes to mind, of course, where the native’s seemingly obedient reproduction of the colonizer’s ways and values provides a haunting dissonance. However, even as African CMS missionaries seemed to be a threat to their white colleagues, there would probably have been internal stresses among the former, as well, based on status. In his discussion of the liberated African turned Wesleyan minister the Reverend Joseph May, Leo Spitzer notes that after the death of his white missionary mentors in 1831, the young May approached Samuel Crowther, now a liberated African with some standing in his community, requesting to be part of the household as a servant and “ward.” This was a common enough relationship in the colony, thought to encourage more extensive acculturation for the newcomers. However, according to Spitzer’s biographical discussion of May, Crowther was “concerned with the advancement of his own career, [and] showed no interest in helping the young man.” Accordingly, May “left Crowther’s household and proceeded to Freetown on his own to seek work and establish new connections.” It was in Freetown that May discovered the Methodists, to whom he later transferred his religious allegiances. See Spitzer, *Lives*, 61–64.

62. It was under Haensel that the young Samuel was first introduced to the politics of journal writing as a form of autobiography. As one of Haensel’s pupils, he was required to write daily about his activities in boarding school, in the third person no less, while also referencing the minister as “master.” (And as an analogue to the CMS Parent Committee’s scrutiny of the missionary’s journals, Haensel made it his business to inspect and then sign off on each of Crowther’s entries.) All Crowther’s literary juvenilia are housed in the Church Missionary Society Archive, but a sample of his childhood journals can be found in Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, 138–40.

63. Fabian, *Language*, 27. See also his later study, *Out of Our Minds*.

64. For a modern account of the expedition, see Temperley, *White Dreams*.

65. Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, 275. Subsequent references to the expedition journals are cited parenthetically in the text.

66. Indeed, since Landon died mysteriously—some felt that she had been murdered by the unloving Maclean, others that she had died by suicide to escape being trapped in Africa, still others that she may have been poisoned by Maclean’s African lover—her demise glamorized her lately tarnished life and initiated a sustained surge of interest in her work. See Stephenson, *Letitia Landon*.

67. The official expedition account (Allen and Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition*) also ponders the grave markers, though the focus is on Landon, the Victorian poet, not Quaque.

68. See Priestly, “Philip Quaque.”

69. Crowther to secretaries, November 2, 1841, in Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, 350.

70. In their appended letters to the journals, both Crowther and Schön stress the importance of Christian missionaries learning the language. This was more easily said than done, since white missionaries were often drawn from the working and lower middle classes and lacked the necessary linguistic education. See Zemka, “Holy Books”; Moira Ferguson, “Hannah Kilham.”

71. Birtwhistle, *Thomas Birch Freeman*.

72. For Jones’s biography, see Hanciles, “Reverend Edward Jones.”

73. See Northrup, “Becoming African.”

4. MARTIN R. DELANY AND ROBERT CAMPBELL IN WEST AFRICA

1. Felix, “Slave Petition.”

2. “Bestes, Peter.”

3. Stiles and Hopkins, “To the Public.”

4. For standard accounts of Cuffee’s biography and the events leading up to his 1815 journey to Sierra Leone, see Sheldon Harris, “American’s Impressions.” Though the American Colonization Society is often cited as the main organization, several states including Virginia, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Pennsylvania set up their own local colonization societies. Classic studies of the ACS, Black repatriation activism, and the creation of Liberia include Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*; Floyd Miller, *Search*; Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*; Dorsey, *Reforming Men*; Clegg, *Price of Liberty*; Tyler-McGraw, *African Republic*.

5. See Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*.

6. See especially Fairhead et al., *African-American Exploration*.

7. In 1858, the ex-slave minister and abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet established another ACS in New York—the Black-led African Civilization Society—to offer what Ousmane K. Power-Greene has recently called “a broader race redemption mission” dedicated to Black American resettlement in the same territory. Garnet’s organization envisioned educated Black settlers spread across Nigeria, fighting the slave trade by bringing the message of Christianity and civilization. To address the practical problem of replacing revenue earned by slaves with revenue earned by an alternate commodity, Garnet and like-minded Black abolitionists argued for the establishment of widespread cotton production in West Africa: as with many reformers in Britain and the United States, Garnet believed that such production among Africans currently reliant on the slave trade would foster legitimate trade with textile producers in Europe and the American North. Additionally, this shift from the African export of people to the African export of cotton might have the potential to render slavery in the American South obsolete. With these goals in mind, Garnet sought to ally his society with like-minded philanthropists, such as Britain’s Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and even with the infamous American Colonization Society. Given the distaste of American abolitionists for the white ACS, this latter connection alone earned Garnet a number of critics, including Delany—which was ironic, since both men envisioned the same plan for a Nigerian settlement of Black Americans. See Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide*, 158.

8. Delany, *Official Report*, 39 (hereafter cited parenthetically in the text as OR).
9. See especially Blackett, “Martin R. Delany”; Blackett, *Beating against the Barriers*; Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*.
10. See, for instance, the work of Blackett.
11. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Craciun, “What Is an Explorer?”; Cavell, “Making Books.”
12. Levine, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass*, 14.
13. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.
14. Craciun, “What Is an Explorer?,” 30.
15. See Driver, *Geography Militant*, 104–8. Reade’s map proffered the continent’s history through the archives of white male exploration narratives, the contribution of Samuel Ajayi Crowther to the 1841 Niger expedition notwithstanding.
16. Driver, *Geography Militant*, 104.
17. See Craciun, “What Is an Explorer?”
18. See Blackett, “Martin R. Delany.”
19. Robert Campbell, *Pilgrimage*, 248–49 (hereafter cited parenthetically in the text as P). Clearly, neither Delany nor Campbell understood West African concepts of land tenure, where the individual’s access to land was based on the size of their household. Additionally, the concept of selling or possessing land did not translate across the cultural divide. In the minds of West Africans, since land was not a portable commodity, it could not be owned.
20. [Knight], *New Republic*, 66–67.
21. Randall Miller, “Dear Master,” 75.
22. Working for the Maryland State Colonization Society in the capacity of governor of Maryland-in-Africa, the Jamaican John Brown Russwurm recognized that while both sides had been aggressive, the indigenous populations had legitimate complaints against the settlers. Unfortunately he had little success mediating between the two sides. He died in 1851. For a full discussion of Russwurm’s efforts, see Winston James, *Struggles*.
23. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 321.
24. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 323–324.
25. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 321, 323, 322.
26. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 320. In *Black Empire*, Michelle Ann Stephens makes similar arguments about later figures such as Marcus Garvey, Claude McKay, and C. L. R. James.
27. For the story of Buxton, Ontario, see Hepburn, *Crossing the Border*.
28. Rusert, “Delany’s Comet,” 805. Also see Rusert, *Fugitive Science*.
29. See Marsters, introduction, 1–3, 16–17.
30. Kark, “Contribution.” For a broader discussion of the same phenomenon, see Jones and Voigt, “Just a First Sketchy Makeshift.”
31. Cary, *Plea for Emigration*, ii.
32. Delany, introduction, 85–86.
33. David Anderson, “Dying of Nostalgia,” 250.
34. Though spelled differently, the ship was of course named for the Mende. Cinque, the leader of the *Amistad* shipboard revolt, was reportedly Mende. For a detailed reading of the *Amistad* revolt, see Sale, *Slumbering Volcano*.

35. See Biobaku, “Madame Tinubu.”
36. Campbell obviously visited Lagos before Britain claimed the city state as a crown colony in March of 1862.
37. See Blyden, *West Indians*.
38. Monk, *Dr. Livingstone’s Cambridge Lectures*, 31.
39. Monk, *Dr. Livingstone’s Cambridge Lectures*, 38–39.
40. African Civilization Society, *Constitution*, 8.
41. African Civilization Society, *Constitution*, 34.
42. Venn, “West Africa,” 394.
43. Always looking for ways to scandalize Victorian sensibilities, Burton, among other things, created the infamous Cannibal Club in 1863, composed of England’s elite white male professionals, writers, and politicians. Though members were sworn to secrecy about club proceedings, Burton was hardly upset about the circulating rumor that as president he began each meeting by parading about the room with a mace fashioned to represent “an African head gnawing on a thighbone.” See Kennedy, *Highly Civilized Man*, 168.
44. Richard Burton, *Abeokuta*, 1:85, 79–80.
45. Richard Burton, *Abeokuta*, 1:97–98.
46. Richard Burton, *Abeokuta*, 1:ix.
47. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 363.
48. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 374.
49. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 374.
50. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 375.
51. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 373.
52. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 373.
53. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 374.
54. Roy, “Oriental Exhibits,” 197.

5. SARAH FORBES BONETTA AND TRAVEL AS SOCIAL CAPITAL

1. Karin Barber, “Introduction,” 3.
2. Karin Barber, “Introduction,” 8.
3. Karin Barber, “Introduction,” 3.
4. See Myers, *At Her Majesty’s Request*, a young adult biography of Bonetta that has done a great deal to enable her rediscovery.
5. Bonetta’s marriage to Davies produced four children—Victoria, Alice, Arthur, and Stella—though Alice died before her second birthday. An obituary appeared in the Yoruba-language newspaper edited by Henry Townsend, *Iwe Irohin*, on November 3, 1866. The notice reads: “Died at Lagos, on 3rd October, 18[6]6 aged one year and seven months, Alice Adelaide Ester Henrietha, infant daughter of Mrs. & Mrs. JPL Davies. *Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.*” I am deeply grateful to Josiah Olubowale for finding the death notice and translating it into English for me.
6. Dandeson Coates to James Schön, December 3, 1840, CA 1 L 3, Church Missionary Society Archive.

7. Buxton, *African Slave Trade*, 376.
8. Henry Townsend to Henry Venn, February 28, 1860, CA 2 O 85, Church Missionary Society Archive.
9. For a detailed discussion of the nineteenth-century recruitment and training of Protestant missionaries, see Jon Miller, *Social Control*.
10. Julia Sass to Henry Venn, December 18, 1856, Sass to Venn, July 14, 1868, Sass to Venn, June 7, 1856, Sass to Venn, May 13, 1859, CA 1 M 15, Church Missionary Society Archive.
11. Julia Sass to Henry Venn, May 13, 1859, CA 1 M 15, Church Missionary Society Archive.
12. "Female Education in Lagos."
13. "Our Miniature Handel Festival"; emphasis added;
14. "Entertainment."
15. Frederick Forbes, *Dahomey*, 1:207.
16. Perhaps Forbes or the Reverend Owen Emeric Vidal, who baptized her at Badagry, came up with the idea of the biblical Sarah. As Abraham's wife, Sarah was the recipient of God's grace with the birth of Isaac. Additionally, in Hebrew, *Sarah* roughly translates as *princess* or *queen*.
17. Anim-Addo, "Queen Victoria's Black 'Daughter,'" 13.
18. See McCoubrey, "Turner's Slave Ship."
19. Elebute, *Life*, 238 n24.
20. Charles Beaumont Phipps to Henry Venn, January 25, 1851, PP Vic A38a, Royal Archives.
21. See, for example, the itemized list dated November 17, 1852, PP 2 1 3000, Royal Archives.
22. Henry Venn to Charles Beaumont Phipps, January 7, 1853, PP 2 1 3000, Royal Archives.
23. Henry Venn to Charles Beaumont Phipps, January 7, 1853, PP 2 1 3000, Royal Archives.
24. See Jon Miller, *Social Control*. Missionaries were in fact reprimanded for not being detailed enough in their reports. For examples of what happened when missionaries held back information or simply lied, see especially Zemka, "Holy Books."
25. Julia Sass to Henry Venn, June 7, 1852, CA 1 M 15, Church Missionary Society Archive, emphasis added.
26. Charles Beaumont Phipps to James Davies, July 10, 1862, Myers Collection.
27. This is the same James Frederick Schön who supervised the young Samuel Ajayi Crowther on the 1841 Niger Expedition (see chapter 3).
28. Sarah Bonetta to Catherine Schön, May 9, 1861, Myers Collection.
29. Sarah Bonetta to Catherine Schön, May 16, 1861, Myers Collection.
30. Mann, *Slavery*, 5; see also chapter 3 for its specific relevance to Lagos at the time Bonetta arrived in 1862. Additionally, see Lynn, *Commerce*.
31. *Anglo-African*, October 3, 1863.
32. Mann, *Marrying Well*, 58.
33. While this arrangement was standard, some elite women developed their own businesses or worked with their husbands to maintain and then expand their income, such

that they were able to control their own funds. See Chuku, “Petty Traders.” Though the women profiled by Chuku were not from Lagos, they were Western-educated Christians presumably bound by the Victorian idea that men controlled money and commerce, while women stayed at home. However, they redefined their Christian womanhood to include commercial enterprises which they ran and controlled with or without their husbands.

34. Adolphus Mann to Henry Venn, September 6, 1865, CA 2 O 66, Church Missionary Society Archive.

35. Sarah Forbes Bonetta travel diary, July–September, 1867, Coker Papers, Nigerian National Archives (hereafter cited as SFB Diary); Myers, *At Her Majesty’s Request*, 125–27.

36. For a useful discussion of the mundane in everyday diary entries, see Sinor, *Extraordinary Work*.

37. SFB Diary, July 23, 1867.

38. SFB Diary, July 24, 1867.

39. SFB Diary, July 31, 1867.

40. SFB Diary, August 7, 1867. Bonetta refers to the Schön residence variously as “Palm House” and “Palm Hall.”

41. SFB Diary, August 13, 1867.

42. SFB Diary, August 14–15, 1867.

43. SFB Diary, August 19, 1867.

44. SFB Diary, September 3, 1867.

45. James Davies to Sarah Bonetta, November 28, 1875, Coker Papers.

46. Elebute, *Life*, 143–52.

47. Elebute, *Life*, 165–66.

48. James Davies to Sarah Bonetta, December 6, 1875, Coker Papers.

49. SFB Diary, September 4, 1867.

50. Myers, *At Her Majesty’s Request*, 126–27.

51. J. A. Maser to Charles Foresythe, May 30, 1873, CA 2 O 11, Church Missionary Society Archive.

52. J. A. Maser to the CMS Lagos Finance Committee, October 29, 1873, CA 2 O 11, Church Missionary Society Archive.

53. Charles Foresythe to J. A. Maser, September 29, 1873, CA 2 O 11, Church Missionary Society Archive.

54. Sarah Bonetta to Edward Hutchinson, August 7, 1873, CA 2 M 7, Church Missionary Society Archive.

55. Sarah Bonetta to Henry Wright, August 14, 1873, CA 2 M 7, Church Missionary Society Archive.

56. Sarah Bonetta to Henry Wright, August 14, 1873, CA 2 M 7, Church Missionary Society Archive.

57. Edward Hutchinson to James Davies, October 3, 1873, CA 2 L 4, Church Missionary Society Archive. Regardless of Hutchinson’s quasisupportive comments, as the 1870s progressed, CMS officials—beginning with Hutchinson and Wright—worked consistently to undermine African Christian authority throughout British West Africa, and by the end of the nineteenth century, white ministers held an almost complete monopoly over local native churches.

58. This is most likely the William Reid connected to the Palace Hotel later in the nineteenth century. If so, the Royal Edinburgh Hotel was the forerunner of the today's luxurious Reid's Palace Hotel in Funchal.

59. Myers, *At Her Majesty's Request*, 134-135.

60. Sarah Bonetta to James Davies, May 13, 1880, Coker Papers.

61. George Heyward to H. F. Ponsonby, August 31, 1880, PP Vic 1882 12279, Royal Archives.

62. Harriet Phipps to Henry Ponsonby, November 18, 1880, PP 3 7 3a, Royal Archives. The queen also covered the unpaid tuition for Bonetta's daughter Victoria and the bills for her remaining years of education, while also providing her with an allowance.

63. James Davies to Princess Beatrice, March 31, 1884, PP 3 32, Royal Archives.

64. "Memorandum: Mrs. Victoria Randle (nee Davies)," n.d., PP 3 7 47, Royal Archives.

65. Henry Johnson, "In Memoriam," September 19, 1880, PP Vic 1882/12279, Royal Archives.

CODA

1. For a detailed story of Campbell's life after he moved to Lagos, see Blackett, *Beating against the Barriers*.

2. Both in the past (Edward Alpers) and more recently (Yogita Goyal), scholars have consistently pushed for a revisioning of the African diaspora.

3. See Hatfield, "Oludah Equiano."

4. See, for instance, Craciun, "What Is an Explorer?"

5. Lowe, *Intimacies*, 35.

6. See Totten, *African American Travel*, chap. 3.

7. The story of Henson, Peary, their Inuit wives, and their Inuit children and great-grandchildren has become legendary. See, for example, LeMoine, "Elatu's Funeral," 341; Evans, "Forgotten Indigenous Women."

8. Matthew Henson, *Negro Explorer*, 6-7.

9. Matthew Henson, *Negro Explorer*, 189-200.

10. Matthew Henson is hardly a household name, so attempts by teachers and scholars to bring even the most basic aspects of his story to light remain an ongoing project.

11. For the story of Henson's Inuit descendants, see "World Away"; Buchanan, "Es-kimo Goes to Harvard."

12. See Rediker and Linebaugh, *Many-Headed Hydra*; Scott, *Common Wind*; Bolster, *Black Jacks*; Schoepfner, *Moral Contagion*.

13. Two exceptions—one could also call them starting places—include the work of Tiya Miles, as in the case of *Ties That Bind*, about Cherokee enslavement of Black Americans, and Toni Morrison's *Home*, which follows the journey of a Black veteran troubled by his participation in atrocities against civilians during the Korean War.