



BLACK SAILORS

**Afro-American Merchant Seamen and Whalemens
Prior to the Civil War**

Martha S. Putney

 **Greenwood**
PUBLISHING GROUP

BLACK SAILORS

Recent Titles in

Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies

Series Advisers: John W. Blasingame and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

Race, Politics, and Culture: Critical Essays on the Radicalism of the 1960s
Adolph Reed, Jr.

The White Press and Black America
Carolyn Martindale

Africa and the West: The Legacies of Empire
Isaac James Mowoe and Richard Bjornson, editors

A Black Elite: A Profile of Graduates of UNCF Colleges
Daniel C. Thompson

"De Lawd": Richard B. Harrison and *The Green Pastures*
Walter C. Daniel

Health Care Issues in Black America: Policies, Problems, and Prospects
Woodrow Jones, Jr., and Mitchell F. Rice, editors

The Character of the Word: The Texts of Zora Neale Hurston
Karla F. C. Holloway

Surprising Narrative: Olaudah Equiano and the Beginnings of Black
Autobiography
Angelo Costanzo

Conscientious Sorcerers: The Black Postmodernist Fiction of LeRoi Jones/
Amiri Baraka, Ishmael Reed, and Samuel R. Delany
Robert Elliot Fox

Alexander Crummell: Pioneer in Nineteenth-Century Pan-African Thought
Gregory U. Rigsby

A Revolution Gone Backward: The Black Response to National Politics,
1876-1896
Bess Beatty

The Short Fiction of Rudolph Fisher
Margaret Perry, editor

BLACK SAILORS

***Afro-American
Merchant Seamen and Whalemen
Prior to the Civil War***

Martha S. Putney

*Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies,
Number 103*



GREENWOOD PRESS

NEW YORK • WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT • LONDON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Putney, Martha S., 1916-
Black sailors.

(Contributions in Afro-American and African studies,
ISSN 0069-9624 ; no. 103)

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.

1. Afro-American merchant seamen—History. 2. Afro-
American whalers. 3. Navigation—United States.
4. United States—History, Naval—To 1900. I. Title.
II. Series.

VK23.P87 1987 305.896073 86-22822
ISBN 0-313-25639-X (lib. bdg. : alk. paper)

Copyright © 1987 by Martha S. Putney

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be
reproduced, by any process or technique, without the
express written consent of the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 86-22822
ISBN: 0-313-25639-X
ISSN: 0069-9624

First published in 1987

Greenwood Press, Inc.
88 Post Road West, Westport, Connecticut 06881

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the
Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National
Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To My Son

and

The Memory of My Mother

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Figures	ix
Preface	xi
1. How Many Were on the Ships	1
2. The Black Complement	33
3. Black Ship Officers	49
4. Those Who Sailed	79
5. What It All Meant	103
Notes	107
Appendix	119
Bibliography	165
Index	171

This page intentionally left blank

Figures

Crew Lists of:

1.	<u>Francis Jane</u> , June 28, 1843	3
2.	<u>Cuba</u> , July 18, 1837	5
3.	<u>Cuba</u> , August 5, 1837	7
4.	<u>Cuba</u> , August 31, 1837	9
5.	<u>Louisville</u> , July 7, 1832	18
6.	<u>Nashville</u> , June 14, 1834	20
7.	<u>John</u> , July 14, 1827	22
8.	<u>Sarah Ralston</u> , June 1825	23
9.	<u>Shenandoah</u> , November 18, 1840	24
10.	<u>William Tell</u> , March 4, 1836	26
11.	<u>Natchez</u> , October 31, 1840	27
12.	<u>Rival</u> , July 26, 1826	29
13.	<u>Elizabeth</u> , July 17, 1839	56
14.	<u>Elizabeth</u> , March 26, 1841	58
15.	<u>Caroline</u> , December 19, 1816 (front side)	62
16.	<u>Caroline</u> , December 19, 1816 (back side)	63
17.	<u>Angel</u> , June 24, 1837	68
18.	<u>Angel</u> , November 15, 1836	69
19.	<u>Protection</u> , May 4, 1821	73

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

In a pilot study, which appeared in the April 1972 issue of the Journal of Negro History, I assessed the black presence on American ships in foreign commerce at Newport, Rhode Island, prior to the Civil War. The Newport study was part of an ongoing examination of the Bureau of Customs crew lists, shipping articles, manifests, ship registers, and protection papers begun in the early 1960s. These documents lend themselves to a wide variety of historical, social, and economic analyses.

This account represents an expansion of the scope of the Newport study to include more ports and a demography of black seamen and whalers in the context of United States history. Regrettably, the records of the port of Boston were not available at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and reportedly were destroyed by fire. The omission of some crucial data on an exceptionally large number of New York port crew lists precluded an intensive study of blacks on the ships there.

In a sense, this is still a pilot project; one has to stop at some point and assess the findings. The hope is that others will examine the records of ports and time frames not included in this account. These documents are the best sources available for studying the horizontal and upward mobility, the urbanization, the out-migration from the South, the work habits, the earnings, the family ties, and the acculturation of a large body of free blacks. These sources reveal, among other things, evidence of a Cuffee dynasty wedded to the sea, the multiple commands of Captain William A. Leidesdorff on merchant ships and Captain Pardon Cook on whaling vessels, and a significant out-migration of black seamen and whalers from the South.

I am indebted to Dr. Harold O. Lewis, Professor Emeritus of History at Howard University, for his valuable advice. I also want to acknowledge the help of a number of graduate assistants and two grants made by the Department of History of Howard University for aid in researching the New Orleans crew lists. At the National Archives, George T. Briscoe, an archivist technician, provided commendable service.

This page intentionally left blank

BLACK SAILORS

This page intentionally left blank

1

How Many Were on the Ships

Before the Civil War, both foreign commerce and whaling were important business enterprises, two of the major growth activities in the American economy. The lion's share of the export and import trade was carried in American ships. During the early part of the nineteenth century, the United States merchant marine had more ships afloat than any other nation except England. From 1800 to 1812, American ships carried ninety percent or more of the nation's exports and imports; after intervals of decline caused by the War of 1812 and the panics of 1819 and 1837, the level rose again to about seventy-two percent of the foreign commerce by 1850 and about sixty-five percent in 1860.(1)

The United States whaling fleet at the beginning of the nineteenth century consisted of fewer than 100 vessels, about one-fourth the number of ships operating from American waters than before the Revolutionary War, while England had more than 300 whaling vessels. Efforts to revive the American business met with moderate success until the War of 1812, which practically drove the United States fleet off the sealanes. Thereafter, whaling activity expanded rapidly. By 1831, the fleet consisted of about 290 vessels. Fifteen years later, it had more than doubled in size, to 735 vessels. In 1847, the world's whaling fleet stood at about 900 ships; more than 700 of these were American. The United States, by 1850, had become the foremost whaling center in the world. In Massachusetts alone, whaling ranked next to shoe and cotton manufacturing in importance.(2)

The whalers brought home huge amounts of oil and bone for processing and redistribution. The oil and bone had a variety of commercial uses. The sperm oil, the most valuable of the haul, was marketed for the illumination of lamps and candle making. The whale oil was sold as a lubricant for machinery. The whalebone, the cheapest item of the catch, went into the making of numerous articles, such as corset and dress stays, umbrella ribs, walking canes, shoehorns, horsewhips, bristles for brushes and brooms, book covers, fishing rods, penholders, and frames for hats, trunks, and furniture. Some of the oil and bone was sent to foreign

2 Black Sailors

markets through normal trading channels on the merchant marine. The whalers sold or exchanged some for supplies at distant ports, thus opening new markets for merchant ships.

The merchant ships and whaling vessels also served as training schools for the United States Navy. Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the treasury, viewed whaling as an excellent "nursery of seamen" for the navy. Thomas Jefferson likewise regarded whaling as a training ground for naval service and a source of American strength. John Adams, the second president of the United States, looked upon merchant ships and seamen as symbols of the nation's growing power.(3)

Blacks were on the merchant ships and whaling vessels before the Revolutionary War. Crispus Attucks, as a runaway slave, had spent some twenty years as a merchant seaman and whaleman before being struck down during the Boston Massacre. The noted Paul Cuffee was captured by the British while he was on a whaling voyage in 1776 and held for three months. "A large number of negroes were brought from the mainland" to Nantucket, Massachusetts, to man the whaling vessels in the effort to revive the business after the Revolutionary War. But it was not until 1803 that shipmasters were required to deposit crew lists with the Bureau of Customs.(4)

The crew lists contained personnel identification data and were submitted each time a vessel left for a foreign destination and reentered the country. These lists, along with the shipping articles or wage contracts that show the seamen's positions, job titles, or ranks, and other related Bureau of Customs records afford an opportunity to assess the black presence on the ships and reveal some significant information about the men.(5)

The crew lists used for this study--those for the ports of New Orleans, Newport, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Mobile, Charleston, New Bedford, and a few scattered ones for Nantucket--show that a considerable number of blacks sailed on the merchant ships and whaling vessels.(6) These lists, however, do not permit a precise count of the number of blacks or that of any other ethnic group on the ships. In many instances, the terms or words used on the lists to describe the person's complexion and hair, the main keys for determining racial origin, are vague and confusing.

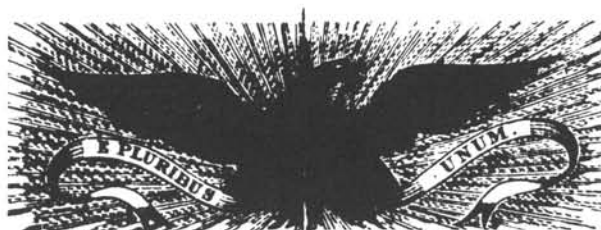
IDENTIFYING THE BLACKS

Blacks, of course, can readily be identified when words or terms such as African, colored, black, yellow/woolly, brown/woolly, and Negro appeared in the appropriate columns (See Figure 1 for these and some of the other terms used to describe blacks). Words such as "black and white" and "mixed" in the complexion column might strike modern readers as odd, but they would have no doubt about the ethnic origin of the person so described. On the other hand, the excessive and indiscriminate use of the word "dark" for complexion and hair poses a serious problem. The records show that individuals born in Africa as well as in the United States, England, France, Italy, and elsewhere had dark complexions and hair.

It was possible to identify as black hundreds of the

1. Crew List of the Francis Jane of Baltimore, June 28, 1843.

List of



Seamen.

Printed and for sale by RICHARD J. MATCHETT, at the corner of Gay and Lombard streets - Baltimore.

I, *Wm. G. Coffin*, do solemnly, truly and sincerely swear that the following List contains the names of all the persons composing the crew of the *Francis Jane* together with the places of their birth and residence, as far as I can ascertain the same. So help me God.

Custom House, Baltimore,

Sworn this *Twenty Eighth* day of *June*

before *A. & Williams etc*

Wm. G. Coffin

List of Persons composing the crew of the *Francis Jane* of Baltimore, Maryland, whereof is Master *Wm. G. Coffin*

and for

NAME	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY, CITIZENRY OR SUBJECTY	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				HEIGHT	HAIR	COMPLEXION	HAIR	
				FEET	INCHES			
<i>Wm. K. Gardner</i>	<i>Baltimore</i>	<i>Baltimore</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Twenty Six</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Grey</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Redd</i>
<i>Joseph Hickey</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Six</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Eight's</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Grey</i>
<i>Henry King</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Nine</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Wend's</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Benjamin Thomas</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Eight</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Wend's</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Thomas Gordon</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty One</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Eight</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Charles Roberts</i>	<i>Tellaware</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty One</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Yellow</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Henry Murphy</i>	<i>Baltimore</i>	<i>Tells</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Seven</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>

4 Black Sailors

men on the New Orleans lists described as having dark complexions and hair. At times, a consular or boarding officer's report would designate these men as black. At other times, individuals with dark complexions and hair on the front side of the crew lists were referred to on the reverse side as among the "within named persons of color" or "a person of color." More often, the same persons had dark complexions and dark or black hair on one list and black complexions and dark, black, or woolly hair on the other lists. Just as often, persons with dark complexions and dark or black hair were found on previous or subsequent voyages to have had black complexions and black or woolly hair.

For example, the lists of the Two Friends of Baltimore and the Martha of Pensacola, which sailed respectively on November 6, 1819, and October 21, 1831, had different descriptions for some of their men. One list of the Two Friends depicted one man as having dark complexion and hair and another man as having dark complexion and black hair. A second list showed both of these men with black complexions. A man on the Martha had dark complexion and hair on one list and dark complexion and woolly hair on the other list.

The lists of the steamship Cuba provide an example where men were identified as black on subsequent voyages. The Cuba cleared New Orleans for Havana on July 18, 1837, with a crew of twenty-two men; sixteen of these men were listed as having dark complexions and hair and two as having yellow complexions and dark hair. The same vessel made subsequent voyages on August 5 and August 31 of the same year carrying many of the same men. A comparison of the lists for the three separate voyages (Figures 2, 3, 4) shows conclusively that fifteen of the sixteen previously described as having dark complexions and hair were actually black men and that the two previously depicted as having yellow complexions and dark hair were also black men.(7)

Similarly, on a smaller but still significant scale, individuals on the same or different voyages were described as having dark complexions and brown hair on one list and brown complexion and dark hair on another list, and as colored on still another list. An individual, for example, who deserted from the Columbus of Portsmouth, which cleared on October 13, 1829, was referred to as "man of color"; he was carried on the crew list with dark complexion and brown hair. Two men on separate voyages from New Orleans had dark complexions and hair on one list and dark complexions and black hair on the other.(8)

Admittedly, the mixed ancestry of many blacks could have made it extremely difficult to find suitable words or terms to differentiate some of them from persons in other ethnic groups. One seaman reportedly had fair complexion and sandy hair. Had not the record maker entered the word "colored" in parentheses in the appropriate space, this man would have been counted among the non-black.(9)

Two crewmen, one sailing on the Hanover of Bath in December 1830 and the other on the Gustave of New Orleans on September 1, 1837, had light complexion and brown hair. The latter, according to a consular report, was "a colored man who was put in jail on his arrival and was taken out and sent to Philadelphia" on a different vessel. The former,

2. Crew List of the steamship *Cuba* of Baltimore, July 18, 1837.



*List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Steam Ship Cuba
of Baltimore, whereof is Master Joseph Butler bound for Havana.*

NAMES	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY - CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				Aged	Height		Complexion	Hair
				feet	inches			
<i>Joseph Butler</i>	"	"	<i>U States</i>					
<i>W. Miller</i>	"	"	<i>U States</i>					
<i>J. John Roofbridge</i>	<i>Baltimore</i>	"	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Two</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Dark</i>
<i>J. Henri Treppie</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	"	<i>Do</i>	<i>Thirty Eight</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>J. Josiah Henson</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	"	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty One</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>J. Cyrus Chamber</i>	<i>do</i>	"	<i>Do</i>	<i>Thirty Seven</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>J. Washington Perkins</i>	<i>do</i>	"	<i>Do</i>	<i>Twenty Eight</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>

2. Continued

J Saml Byler	do	.	Do	Thirty Five	5	4 1/2	do	do
J James Croson	do	"	Do	Twenty seven	5	5	do	do
J John Feller	do	"	Do	Thirty Five	5	7 1/2	do	do
J Cha ^d Nicholson	do	"	Do	Twenty four	5	5 1/2	do	do
J James Steel	do	"	Do	Twenty Two	5	10	do	do
J J. Eastman	do	"	Do	Twenty four	5	7	do	do
J Cha ^d Johnson	do	"	Do	Thirty six	5	5 1/2	do	do
J W. Johnson	do	"	Do	Thirty four	5	3 1/2	do	do
William Cooper	do	"	Do	Twenty one	5	7	Yellow	do
William Wilson	do	"	Do	Twenty six	5	3	Dark	do
John Crowell	do	"	Do	Twenty one	5	5 1/2	Yellow	do
J Arnold	do	"	Do	Twenty four	5	7 1/2	Dark	do
James Curtis	do	"	Do	Twenty nine	5	4	do	do
Henry Williams	do	"	Do	Twenty three	5	4	Light	Black
Joseph Tysman			No Proof					
Orange Perry			do					

3. Crew List of the steamship Cuba of New Orleans, August 5, 1837.



List of Persons composing the CREW of the Steamship Cuba of New Orleans
 whereof is Master Swiler bound for Havana

Printed and Sold by E. Johns & Co. No. 112, Chartres-street.

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	Of what Country Citizens or subjects	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.				
				AGE. Years.	HEIGHT. Feet. Inches.		COMPLEXION.	HAIR.
Joseph Swiler			U States					
Williams Miller			Eng					
John Hoofnagle	Baltimore		Eng	28	5	4	Dark	Dark
John Patter	Eng		Eng	35	5	7 ¹ / ₂	Dark	Dark Brown
Henry Williams	Queen Anne's City		Eng	17	5	4	Black	Wooley
Williams Cooper	Talbot City		Eng	21	5	7	dy	dy
Wm Wilson	Ann Arundel City		dy	26	5	3	dy	dy
Polladore Arnold	Talbot County		dy	25	5	7 ¹ / ₂	Dark Musc	dy
James Curtis	Eng		dy	29	5	4	Black	dy
John Cromwell	Baltimore		dy	21	5	5 ¹ / ₂	Melatto	dy
Henry Tripp	Talbot County		dy	38	5	6	Black	dy

3. Continued

Josiah Hynson	do	do	21	5	3/6	do	do
Cyrus Chambers	Chester Town	do	37	5	7/6	do	do
Washington Perkins	do	do	28	5	11	do	do
Samuel Rejser	Washington Cty	do	34	5	4/6	do	do
James Dobson	Talbot Cty	do	23	5	5	do	do
James Steel	do	do	25	5	6	do	do
Cha ^s Nicholson	Kent Island Queen Anne's Cty	do	24	5	7/6	do	do
Samuel Perkins	Chester Town	do	24	5	7	do	do
Wm Johnson	do	do				do	do
Charles Johnson	Queen Anne's Cty	do	36	5	5/6	do	do
Peter Dixon	New Jersey	do	25			do	do
James Weaver		No proof					
Peter Newber		No proof					
Sam Felghman		No proof					
James McHenry		No proof					
Joseph Fogelman		do					



List of Persons composing the Crew of the Steamship Cuba of Baltimore
 whereof is Master Joseph Smith bound for Havana

Printed and sold by Benjamin Levy, corner of Chartres and Beaufort streets.

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	AGE.			HEIGHT.			COMPLEXION.	HAIR.
				YEARS.	MONTHS.	DAYS.	FEET.	INCHES.	LINE.		
✓ James Weaver 1 st Eng.	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	45	5	8	White	Dark			
✓ Peter Meaker - 2 nd Eng.	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	40	5	7	White	Dark			
✓ William Miller 1 st Mate	Maryland	New Orleans	United States	41	5	7	White	Light			
✓ John Hoagland 2 nd Mate	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	34	5	4	White	Dark			
Charles Johnson	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	36	6	5½	Black	Woolly			
Charles Mechall and	Key Islands	Baltimore	United States	24	5	7½	Black	Woolly			
James Stub	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	25	5	6	Black	Woolly			
James Dobson	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	23	5	5	Black	Woolly			
Washington Perkins	Maryland	Baltimore	United States	28	5	11	Black	Woolly			

4. Continued

Cyrus Chambers	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	35	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Black Woolly
Joseph Hinson	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	21	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Black Woolly
Honny Tripp	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	38	5	6	Black Woolly
John Cromwell	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	21	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Mulati Woolly
James Curtis	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	29	5	4	Black Woolly
Poladon Arnolds	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	25	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dark Mulati Woolly
William Cooper	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	21	5	7	Prpt Blend Woolly
William Wilson	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	21	5	3	Black Woolly
Honny Williams	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	17	5	4	Black Woolly
John Patten	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	30	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Black Woolly
Peter Dixon	Louisiana	New Orleans	Whitea Slats	31	5	11	Mulati Woolly
Sam Filgmon	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	24	5	7	Black Woolly
Shedrick Congan	Louisiana	New Orleans	Whitea Slats	33	5	11	Black Woolly
James McKimney	Louisiana	New Orleans	Whitea Slats	35	6	-	Black Woolly
Joseph Williams	Louisiana	New Orleans	Whitea Slats	31	5	8	Black Woolly
Guillem Perkins	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	24	5	7	Black Woolly
Sam Kiper	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	34	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Black Woolly
William Johnson	Maryland	Baltimore	Whitea Slats	31	5	4	Black Woolly

reported a boarding officer, was a "Negroe whose protection papers did not correspond with his description." The true ethnic origin of these men came to light because something happened to them and because their ships departed from and returned to the same port.

The protection papers referred to above were certificates of proof of citizenship that every American seaman was supposed to have. Customs officers seized and destroyed the protection papers of those found to have descriptions inconsistent with those on their papers. These papers, from which the descriptions on the crew lists generally were taken, were, as James Fenimore Cooper wrote in Miles Wallingford, "beggars" certificates, they not unfrequently fitted one man as well as another."(10)

Those individuals without protection papers appeared on the crew lists as "no proofs," usually with no other identifying data. The "no proofs," whose numbers increased substantially after 1822, consisted mainly of blacks and foreigners. Cooks and stewards, positions often held by blacks, were among the "no proofs." Also, it apparently was presumed initially that many black "no proofs" had protection papers, since a part or all of the personnel information about them was lined out and "no proof" inserted. In some instances, the lining appeared only on one copy of the list.

The cook on the Martha of Pensacola, which went to sea on February 19, 1831, had dark complexion and woolly hair. Exactly one month later, this same person was on the Martha again, but on this occasion the dark complexion and hair ascribed to him were lined out and "no proof" entered. A seaman with yellow complexion and woolly hair on the Mobile of Stonington, which sailed on January 6, 1838, had this descriptive information deleted and "no proof" put in its place. The cook on the Courier of Baltimore was a "no proof," yet he was identified on the reverse side of the crew list as a "person of color." The outbound crew list for the Iago of New Orleans had one man as a "no proof"; the inbound list carried this same man as a black.(11)

Written comments of American consular and port authority officials identified some "no proofs." Two seamen on a vessel registered in New York were "two black men without any [protection] papers." The cook on the Exchange of Norfolk, wrote the boarding officer, "has no protection or free papers, is an American Negro and the captain is aware of his being a free man." A crewman on the Catherine and Jane of Charleston, likewise, was "a colored man" with "no protection or free papers." Two "no proofs" on the Ceres of Norfolk were a black man and a slave. The consul at Marseilles, in a note dated August 5, 1829, stated that a "no proof" who had died at Marseilles was "reported to be the cook" and "a coloured man, aged thirty-five years, born in New York." This consular report noted that the captain of the La Grange, which sailed on April 21, 1829, had paid for the interment and that a death certificate had been prepared. "A black man born in Woodbridge, New York," was a "no proof" on the Providence of Providence, which cleared on February 17, 1838.(12)

In addition to the instances mentioned above, thousands of other "no proofs" on the New Orleans records remained unidentified. In some years, more than one-fifth of the total crews consisted of "no proofs." Large numbers of "no

proofs" and individuals with no descriptions were on the New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and New Bedford crew lists also. At Philadelphia, men without descriptions made up more than eighteen percent of the total crews for some years. At New York, the percentage of men with no descriptions on the ships was much higher for some years. The overwhelming majority of these "no proofs" and men without descriptions remained unaccounted for.

The thousands of "no proofs" and unidentified, the thousands more with vague and confusing descriptions, the hundreds of apprentices with no personnel data, and others whose identities cannot be ascertained because of torn and deteriorated crew lists render it impossible to determine with mathematical certainty how many blacks were on the ships. The black presence on the ships, then, can best be perceived numerically by grouping individuals into three categories: those described as black and found to have been black, those with stated descriptions which could encompass blacks (such as dark complexion and dark, black, or curly hair), and the "no proofs." Tables 1 through 6 in the Appendix show the numbers of crew personnel in these three categories for New Orleans and Baltimore and the number in category one only for Newport, Philadelphia, New York, and New Bedford. Omitted from the data in the tables was a large number of seamen and whalemens with no descriptions, among whom may have been many blacks.

IDENTIFIABLE BLACKS ON THE SHIPS

The tables reveal that the 908 blacks on the ships at Philadelphia in 1804 were the largest number of identifiable blacks employed at any one port covered by this study for any one year. In 1860, at least 861 blacks were on the ships at Philadelphia. The 872 blacks on ships at New Orleans in 1837 represented the largest number of identifiable blacks at that port for any one year. Numerically and proportionally more identifiable blacks were on the ships at New Orleans (590) than at Philadelphia (499) in 1817. Between 1803 and 1840, at least 2,028 blacks worked on 729 ships out of New Bedford; almost all of these were whalemens.

New Orleans

The crew lists of New Orleans were more intensively scrutinized than those of any other port. As shown in Table 1, excluding the figures for 1840, 1850, and 1860, blacks consisted of 11.76 percent of the total crew sample. They averaged 1.33 persons per ship, while ship crews averaged 11.36 persons per voyage. Undoubtedly, the percentage of blacks in the total crew sample and the number per ship would be higher if the ethnic origin of those in categories two and three, the unidentified, and the apprentices were known.

Shipping at the port of New Orleans was more drastically affected by the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts of 1807 and 1809 than at many ports.(13) The former barred American vessels, except those with special permission, from foreign ports and foreign ships from exporting American goods. The latter act restored foreign trade to all ports and ships but those of England and France, the two nations that were the

main markets for American goods. Although unpopular among some segments of the American people and evaded, both of these measures were attempts to stop the harassment of American ships on the seas by England and France, who at that time were engaged in the Napoleonic Wars.

In the years following the end of the War of 1812, more blacks than previously were on the ships at New Orleans. From 1816 through 1819, of the 9,884 crewmen on the ships, 1,966, or 19.8 percent, were black; over the same years 2,086 men had descriptions that could encompass blacks and 320 were "no proofs." In the three years following the panic of 1819, both numerically and proportionally, fewer black seamen appeared at New Orleans; they represented 14.3 percent, or 1,277 of the total crews of 8,906 men. Beginning in 1838, the first full year when the nation was suffering from the effects of the panic of 1837, the number of blacks on the ships at New Orleans declined. At the same time, more men and more ships were engaged at the port. It appears that both the panic of 1819 and the panic of 1837 affected the employment of blacks on the ships at New Orleans.

Of greater consequence than the panics in affecting the presence of blacks on ships at New Orleans and many other southern ports were the Negro Seamen's Laws. The first of these laws was passed by South Carolina following the slave rebellion in 1822 led by Denmark Vesey, a free black. The 1822 South Carolina law provided for the imprisonment of free black seamen entering the state until their vessels departed and the payment of the cost of the upkeep of the imprisoned men by the shipmaster. Seamen whose expenses were not paid and who did not depart with their ships could be sold into slavery. Each time this law was amended, the penalties became more severe or the restrictions more extensive. Inspired by the example of South Carolina and by their own fears of slave uprisings, other southern states passed similar laws. These laws not only impeded the movement of free blacks but also imposed a burden on interstate and foreign commerce.(14)

Efforts by the federal authorities, northern shipmasters and ship owners, and foreign governments to obtain the repeal or relaxation of these seamen's laws were met with intransigence on the part of southern leaders, especially those of South Carolina. To them the laws were a matter of their states' rights and the preservation of their peculiar institution. The laws became the subject of national and international concern about the same time that the tariff and nullification issues had taken center stage in national politics.(15)

The Louisiana Negro Seamen's Law of 1830 required out-of-state black seamen to depart with their ships or leave the state in thirty days if their vessel were not being prepared for an outbound voyage. This law was modified twice before 1852 with the addition of more restrictive provisions. The 1852 revision provided blacks with "passports" that permitted them to come ashore--a belated compliance with a federal court decision in 1840 invalidating such acts. Before the passage of the 1852 law, some ships followed the example of the Hungarian, which moored outside the New Orleans city limits to prevent the blacks in its crew from being imprisoned.(16) By 1852, however, the presence of blacks on the ships at New Orleans had already reached its nadir.

14 Black Sailors

Baltimore

The Baltimore sample of 468 voyages, most of them in 1806, shows 801 black merchant seamen on the ships. They comprised seventeen percent of the total crews (see Table 2). More blacks were on the ships at Baltimore than at New Orleans during the same time period. Since only those who were clearly designated as blacks were tabulated from the Baltimore lists, it is very probable that other blacks were among those with vague descriptions or no descriptions at all. Unlike at New Orleans and most other southern ports, free black seamen from other states had no legal restrictions imposed on them. Hence, an in-depth study of Baltimore port records might reveal a greater number of blacks on the ships there than at any other southern port.

Philadelphia

Philadelphia was the largest and busiest of the American ports at the beginning of the period. More individuals whose descriptions marked them as black were employed on the ships at Philadelphia than at New Orleans from 1803 to 1824. During this twenty-two year period, 8,642 identifiable black seamen were on the ships at Philadelphia.

Some of the Philadelphia ships left port without any apparent blacks; others had several black crewmen; and still others had large black crews. In 1803 and 1804, for example, 109 ships had at least three blacks in their crews, and seventeen of these ships had five or more. The Ganges, which sailed on August 17, 1804, carried thirteen black crewmen, and the Three Sisters, which cleared on October 26, 1804, had eleven blacks. For the entire period covered by this study, over 9,500 positions on the ships at Philadelphia were filled by stated blacks (see Table 4).

Additionally, counts were made of some "no proofs," among whom were individuals designated as cooks and stewards, positions normally held by blacks. On 89 voyages from August to December 1817, some 207 men were "no proofs." Some 700 "no proofs" were on 501 of the 525 voyages in 1821. One year later, 622 men on the lists had no descriptions. From August to December 1824, on 195 voyages, 285 of the 1,536 men were without descriptions. For the crew lists examined in 1821, 1822, and 1824, unidentified men made up between 16.1 and 18.5 percent of the total ships' crews. How many blacks were among them is not known; that some blacks were is certain. Likewise, blacks may have been among the many men at Philadelphia who had descriptions that "fitted one man as well as another."

New York

A sample of 935 ships at the port of New York carried 1,597 black crewmen, an average of 1.7 blacks per voyage (see Table 5). Since an unusually large number of the New York port lists had no descriptions for the crew personnel, the data from the sample might not be representative of the black presence on the ships.

Newport

Newport serviced a higher proportion of out-of-state ships than either New York or Philadelphia but lower than New Orleans. The actual number of ships using Newport facilities, however, was much smaller. Like New Orleans, Philadelphia, and New York, significant numbers of men were "no proofs" and without descriptions. Over 175 of these unidentified men were foreigners who were born in the Caribbean islands or lived there; hence, many of them may have been black. More than 145 crew lists had no descriptive data for the crew personnel. The 2,429 crew lists with some descriptions contained the names of 2,509 Afro-Americans from the Newport records at the National Archives and those at the Newport Historical Society, an average of 1.03 blacks per voyage. The smaller sample of Newport crew lists at the National Archives shows that blacks consisted of 31.9 percent of the total crews and averaged 2.2 persons per voyage from 1803 to 1857 (see Table 3).

New Bedford

New Bedford, the nation's leading whaling center by 1830 following the decline of Nantucket, offered employment to blacks, Indians, foreigners, and any others willing or able to venture into an endeavor where accident at sea were not uncommon, tours of duty were lengthy, and pay for the common whalemens was exceedingly low. Data compiled from the crew lists at the National Archives and the Bethel Registers at the Old Dartmouth Historical Society show that at least 3,189 identifiable blacks held 4,064 positions on the ships from 1803 to 1860 (see Table 6). Many whalemens on these lists had no descriptions, many others had the ambiguous dark complexions and dark, black, or curly hair, and still others were "no proofs." For example, the 1841 sample of sixty-five blacks on thirty-two voyages also had ninety-three individuals with the nondescript complexion in addition to the "no proofs" and those without descriptions. Similarly, the 1842 sample with forty-eight blacks on twenty-six voyages had fifty-five nondescript men.

Not all of the ships that went to sea from the New Bedford Customs District were whalers. Conversely, whalers sailed from ports other than New Bedford and Nantucket. The Newport lists included more than 100 whaling voyages. Sixty-four of them carried 142 blacks among their total crews of 1,334 men; 66 of the men were "no proofs" and others had no descriptions. At the port of New York, the men on two whalers had no descriptions; another carried thirty-one men, one-third of whom were black. In all, at least two dozen whalers were in the New York port sample. A few whalers also cleared and returned to the port of Philadelphia.

SHIPS WITH LARGE BLACK CREWS

Some ships at the ports under study did not carry any stated blacks, but almost all of them had personnel who might have been black. On some ships all of the crewmen were black, such as the Lovely Lydia of Philadelphia,

which cleared on May 16, 1815, and the Eros of Baltimore, which sailed for Martinique on December 26, 1820.(17)

Dozen of ships left New Orleans, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newport, New Bedford, and Mobile with crews in which three-fourths or more of the men were black. The Louisville and Nashville, whose crew lists are shown in Figures 5 and 6, were both out of New Orleans. The Louisville sailed on July 7, 1832, with at least twelve blacks in its crew and possibly fifteen, not including the four "no proofs." One American Indian also was a crewman on the Louisville. Note that the captain and the probable mate are without descriptions, and that not a single individual for whom personnel information was given was born in Louisiana.

Blacks comprised a larger proportion of the crew of the Nashville, which sailed for Liverpool on June 14, 1834, than the Louisville, as noted in Figures 5 and 6. As on the Louisville, none of the crew on the Nashville was born in Louisiana. Moreover, none claimed a residence in the state. Most of the men had a listed residence in New York. The crewmen ranged in age from thirteen to fifty. Noteworthy, also, is the complexion column. Blacks were described as colored, yellow, mulatto, brown, and black.

The only descriptions on the crew list of John of Baltimore, which appears in Figure 7, are those that could fit blacks. Among the crewmen on the John were George W. and Daniel Gardner, who were probably brothers. Although the residences of the men were not given, only one reportedly was born in Maryland and none in any other southern state. The John cleared port on July 14, 1827.

All ten of the men on the Sarah Ralston, which sailed in June 1825, could have been black, including the mate. They, like many other seamen, lacked residency data (see Figure 8). The Shenandoah of Philadelphia in its voyage to Liverpool on November 18, 1840, carried a large crew of twenty-eight, including at least twenty-two blacks. The descriptions of the blacks were varied: one was an African; two were mulattoes; others were colored, yellow, dark, and black; and one each was designated as sambo and light sambo. Note that most of the men were northern-born and that those born in the South were from the upper South. The Shenandoah's crew list (Figure 9) shows the rank and positions of the personnel. The William Tell and the Natchez of New York, whose crew lists are shown in Figure 10 and 11, cleared port on March 4, 1836, and October 31, 1840. The number of people in the crew of the Natchez was not unusual for the steamships. What is unusual and noteworthy in view of the discussion on migration in Chapter 4 is that four of the blacks who were born elsewhere claimed New Orleans as their residence.

The crew list of the Rival, which left port on July 26, 1826, is shown in Figure 12. Two of the youngest and two of the oldest men on board were black.

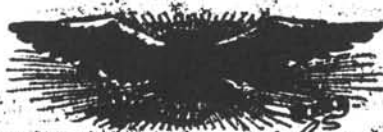
Some of the many other ships with large black crews and their sailing dates were: South Carolina of New Orleans (May 10, 1821); Ohio of New York (August 5, 1822); Ann Marie of Philadelphia (March 13, 1813); Exertion of North Yarmouth (August 14, 1830); Andes of New York (May 7, 1830); Ellen of Philadelphia (June 16, 1823); Chancellor of New Haven (August 30, 1843) out of Newport; Harry Bluff of New York (August 6, 1860); and the Rocklight of New York (June 8, 1860) out of Mobile.

The ships that had large numbers of blacks in their crews could be found at every port coming within the scope of this study except Charleston.(18) A count of the Newport crew lists showed that blacks made up one-half or more of the crewmen on 118 voyages and that on an additional 10 voyages six or more of the personnel were black. At New Orleans from 1816 to 1820, the crews on 84 ships were fifty percent or more black, and on 6 other voyages six or more of the men were black. From 1810 to 1824 and in 1860 at Philadelphia, 214 ships had crews consisting of at least as many blacks as non-blacks. The New Bedford whaler Charles on 9 voyages between 1818 and 1833 averaged five blacks per venture, excluding the "no proofs" and unidentified. On one of these sailings, eight blacks were crewmen. The whaler Grand Turk on eight different occasions between 1827 and 1838 averaged five blacks and at one time had nine in the crew. During 1843, 26 of 89 ships at New Bedford carried five or more blacks in their crews. About one-fourth of the number of ships cited at Newport, New Orleans, and Philadelphia had crew complements sixty percent or more black.

Two of the Philadelphia ships with large black crews were the Three Sisters and the Hindostone. The former left port on October 26, 1804, for Cape François, Haiti, with eleven free black crewmen: one was a carpenter, a second was a cabin steward, a third was a cook, a fourth was a cook's mate, and two were landsmen, a combination of personnel not normally found on ships engaged in ordinary commercial transactions. About a year later, on November 28, 1805, the same vessel left Philadelphia for an undisclosed destination with a large crew including nineteen blacks. On board was a Dr. Robert Bell, a thirty-two-year-old Virginia-born mulatto and a resident of Philadelphia (Robert Bell may have been among the earliest of the black doctors in the United States). With Bell was James Cournwell, a black apprentice, apparently to Dr. Bell. The presence of a black doctor and his presumed apprentice also suggests that ordinary commercial transactions were not the sole concern of the trip. Three months earlier, on August 27, 1805, the Hindostone had cleared at Philadelphia for Cape François with at least eight blacks in the crew. Six of them were free blacks, including the cook, sixty-year-old Cato Barry, the steward, and four seamen. Of the two landsmen on the voyage, one was a slave whose holder was not revealed. Both ships on all three occasions carried large cargoes.

Evidently the landsmen were needed on the Three Sisters and the Hindostone to assure that the proper people were at dockside to receive the cargo. The doctor and his apprentice were on board to offer assistance to those still suffering from the effects of the revolution from which Haiti had just emerged or to care for their crewmates in the event of difficulty. The large crews likewise were on board probably to handle the merchandise and to assist in delivering the shipment to the consignee or consignees.

The crew lists observed for Mobile and Charleston were for the period of the late 1850s and 1860. The rationale for selecting this time frame was to assess the enforcement of the stringent Negro Seamen's Laws, especially at Charleston, in view of the state of affairs in the nation at large and the need for access to foreign markets.




List of Persons composing the CREW of the Ship *Louisville* of New Orleans
whereof is Master *Peter Price* bound for *Spain*.

NAMES	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	Of what Country apparently an apprentice	DESCRIPTION OF FEELINGS				HAIR
				AGE Years	HEIGHT Feet	WEIGHT Inches	COMPLEXION	
✓ Peter Price	U. States	U. States	U. States	-	-	-	-	-
✓ H. Johnson	N. York	do	do	27	5	6	-	-
✓ John Sefson	St. Island	do	do	23	5	4 1/2	dark	dark
✓ Wm Carson	Philadelphia	do	do	24	5	8	dark	dark
✓ Gaspar Melden	Pennsylvania	do	do	20	5	3	-	-
✓ Henry Ware	U. States	do	do	23	5	7 1/2	black	woolly
✓ Thos. Amblerman	N. York	do	do	21	5	-	brn	do
- John Roberts	N. York	do	do	25	5	8	brn	do
- Abraham Geer	Massachusetts	do	do	27	5	8 1/2	brn	do
- Geo. C. Douglas	Mass &	do	do	28	5	7	Blk	woolly

John Reed.	Massachusetts	do	20 33	6 4	do	do
John Chadwick	Virginia	do	22 26	5 3/4	do	black
John Johnson	Philadelphia	do	24 29	-		
Ym. Chew.	Maryland	do	27 31	5 8	Indian	long black
Ym. Abrams.	N. York	do	28 32	5 1	Bl. beard	Curly
Jacob Donnell	Delaware	do	29 37	5 5	White	Wavy
Simon Gunn.	N. York:	do	26 26	5 4	"	"
Richd Thompson.	N. York:	do	28 28	5 10	"	"
Benj. Key:	Mass:	do	14 14	5 -	-	"
Ym. Smith:	Swanwick	do	15 15	5		
Sam ^r . Moore.	No proof.					
Chat. Smith	No proof.					
Robt. Hinckley	No proof.					
Olvas Mickelson	No proof.					

6. Crew List of the Nashville of New Orleans, June 14, 1834.


 List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Ship Nashville
 of New Orleans when it is Master of Barkbone bound for Liverpool.

NAMES	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS			
				Aged	Height feet inches	Complexion	Hair
Wm. Barkbone	Connecticut	New York	United States.				
David Jackson		Do	Do	38.	5-6	Slight	Black
Samuel Lee	Virginia	N. York.	Do	28	5-7	"	Slight
St. Davis	do	do	Do	37	5-6	Black	woolly
James Johnson	do	do	Do	27	5-5	"	"
Robert Johnson	W. Carolina	do	Do	28	5-9	"	"
James Neilson	Albany	Do	Do	28	5-11 ²	"	"
John Moore	Virginia	Do	Do	28	5-6	"	"

Walter Stewart	Danville	Do	Do	30	5-10	black woolly
Ed Ambrose	Wilmington	Do	Do	30	5-8	black woolly
James Green	Wilmington	Do	Do	22	5-6 3/4	Col ^d wool
John Simpson	Coston	Coston	Do	31	5-8	RR woolly
William Jackson	Nyone	New York	Do	17	5 -	" "
Geo Jacobs	Maryland	do	Do	13	5-2	yellow. black
Geo Klapin	bu		Do	16	5-2	blk woolly
John Shepherd			Do	29	5-3 3/4	blk woolly
Charles Webb			Do	30	5-7	yellow woolly
James Gornin	Baltimore	Baltimore	Do	24	5-6	blk wool
James Anderson	Delaware	N.Y.	Do	37	5-5	blk woolly
Elizabeth Mills			Do	58	5-4 1/2	" "
Pratt Thomas			Do	24	5-8	multicolor "
			Do	25		



List of Persons

composing the Crew of the

Ship John

of

Baltimore

whereof is Master

Isaac Brewer

bound for

Liverpool

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY, CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.				
				AGE.	HEIGHT.		COMPLEXION.	HAIR.
					Years.	Feet.		
<i>Isaac Brewer</i>			<i>United States</i>					
<i>David S. Smedley</i>	<i>New York</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Dark</i>
<i>Alexander Stewart</i>		✓	<i>do</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7 1/2</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>George W. Gardner</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5 3/4</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Josiah Cooper</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black curly</i>
<i>Charles Holden</i>	<i>Connecticut</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3 1/2</i>	<i>Dark yellow</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>John Gomez</i>	<i>New Jersey</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Black</i>	
<i>John Truman</i>	<i>Connecticut</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>Mulatto</i>	<i>Curly</i>
<i>John Gomez</i>	<i>New Jersey</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>		
<i>Levi Bloom</i>	<i>New York</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Black</i>	
<i>Daniel Gardner</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Black</i>	
<i>Thomas Chester</i>	<i>New Jersey</i>	✓	<i>do</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>		
<i>Samy Nolan</i>			<i>No proof</i>					
<i>Peter Howard</i>			<i>No proof</i>					
<i>David Hiscob</i>			<i>No proof</i>					

8. Crew List of the Sarah Ralston of Philadelphia, June 1825.



List of Persons composing the Crew of the Ship *Sarah Ralston*
 whereof is Master *Charles Winslow* bound for *Hamburg*

195
 of Philadelphia

NAMES	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY, CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				AGE Years	HEIGHT Feet Inches		COMPLEXION	HAIR
<i>Charles Winslow</i>			<i>United States</i>					
<i>Isaac Wash</i> ✓			<i>d</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9 1/2</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>dark</i>
<i>Jacob Cook</i> ✓	<i>New Jersey</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3 1/2</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Henry Doney</i> ✓	<i>Maryland</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Chas F Bailey</i> ✓			<i>d</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Jos Nightingale</i> ✓	<i>Mass</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>yellow</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Jos Williams</i> ✓	<i>Phila</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Jos Martin</i> ✓	<i>Pennsylv</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>GEO Smith</i> ✓	<i>Connecticut</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Chs Gardner</i> ✓	<i>Massachusetts</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
<i>Joe Tucker</i> ✓	<i>Massachusetts</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>woolly</i>
	<i>June 1825</i>							

9. Crew List of the Shenandoah of Philadelphia, November 18, 1840.

Dec 18 1840
1840

Part of P. Co.



List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Ship Shenandoah of Philadelphia, whereof is Master James West bound for Liverpool, G. B.

24

NAME &	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZEN OR SUBJECTS	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				Aged	Height feet inches	Complexion	Hair	
Norman Ritchie ✓	1 st Mate	Philadelphia	United States	Thirty four	Five	Five	Light	Light
William Russell ✓	2 ^d Mate	Pennsylvania	United States	Thirty four	Five	Nine	Light	Brown
Henry Pennell ✓	3 ^d Mate	Maryland	do	Seventeen	Five	Six 1/4	Light	Brown
Thomas Jones ✓	Boatman	Pennsylvania	do	Thirty six	Five	Eight	Yellow	Curly
David Rice ✓	Carpenter	New York	do	Thirty three	Five	Nine	Light	Brown
William Middleton ✓	Sailmaker	Philadelphia	do	Twenty five	Five	Seven	Slight	Black
Henry Thompson ✓	Cook	Philadelphia	do	Twenty four	Five	Seven	Black	Woolly
John C. Brown ✓	Steward	Philadelphia	do	Thirty three	Five	Seven	Yellow	Woolly
John H. Salter ✓	Steward	Maryland	do	Twenty eight	Five	Seven	Yellow	Black
Samuel Hendry ✓	do	New York	do	Twenty	Five	Seven	Black	Woolly

Jacob B. Anderson	do	New Jersey	do	do	Twenty five	Five	Five's	Coloured	Black	Woolly
John Austin	do	Virginia	do	do	Twenty two	Five	Five's	Yellow	Dark	
Robert Anderson	do	New York	do	do	Twenty eight	Five	Six's	Dark	Black	Woolly
Schab. de Russell	do	Connecticut	do	do	Twenty two	Five	Five's	African	Woolly	
Richard Freeman	do	Virginia	do	do	Twenty three	Five	Three	Dark	Woolly	
Samuel Hussey	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty	Five	Six's	Coloured	Black	
John Buchanan	do	New York	do	do	Twenty three	Five	Four	Shades	Woolly	
Alfred Freeman	do	Connecticut	do	do	Eighteen	Five	Three's	Black	Woolly	
Henry Jackson	do	Virginia	do	do	Twenty seven	Five	Five's	Black	Woolly	
John H. Saunders	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty six	Five	Eight's	Dark	Woolly	
Robert Vintay	do	Philadelphia	do	do	Twenty one	Five	Seven	Black	Woolly	
Isaac Pickett	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty five	Five	Seven	Black	Black	
Jacob Day	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty two	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Woolly
Joseph Maxwell	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty one	Five	Six	Black	Black	Woolly
Henry Beckwith	do	Maryland	do	do	Twenty three	Five	Five's	Coloured	Woolly	
David Foster	do	Delaware	do	do	Twenty eight	Five	Seven	Black	Woolly	
Major Johnson	do		do							
Anthony Hayes	do		do							

do examined and found correct except for the
Richard Freeman No. 21 instead of Jacob Day

10. Crew List of the William Tell of New York, March 4, 1836.

LIST OF PERSONS composing the CREW of the *Ship* *William Tell* of *New York*
 whereof is Master, *Charles, H., Coffin* bound for *Leaves*

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.			
				HEIGHT.	COMPLEXION.	HAIR.	HAIR.
<i>Charles H. Coffin</i>		<i>United State</i>					
<i>Corny Belleston</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>		<i>21</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Light</i>
<i>Benjamin Edgar</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>		<i>33</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>		<i>Brown</i>
<i>George Mayden</i>	<i>Virginia</i>		<i>39</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Thomas Murray</i>	<i>Maryland</i>		<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Samuel Seymour</i>	<i>Connecticut</i>		<i>21</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Manuel Richardson</i>	<i>Maryland</i>		<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Henry Robinson</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>		<i>30</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Thomas Reed</i>	<i>Virginia</i>		<i>33</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>William Joyce</i>	<i>Virginia</i>		<i>34</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>William G. Sadler</i>	<i>New York</i>		<i>33</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Yellow</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>William Nicholson</i>	<i>Virginia</i>			<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Joseph Smith</i>	<i>Virginia</i>		<i>26</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>My. W. Gann</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>		<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Thomas W. Sabine</i>	<i>Virginia</i>		<i>33</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Black</i>



*List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Steamship Natchez
of New York, whose name is Master, at New York bound for Havana.*

NAMES	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZEN'S OR SUBJECTS	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				Aged	Height		Complexion	Hair
				feet	inches			
<i>John Storer</i>		<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Dark</i>
<i>William Miller</i>		<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Light</i>
<i>John C. Huges</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Dark</i>
<i>Benjamin F. Bell</i>	<i>Connecticut</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Brown</i>
<i>John A. Buslin</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Audrey John Alexander</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Dark</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Nathaniel Butler</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>Valentine Cairn</i>	<i>Salem</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Black</i>
<i>Abraham Willson</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>Yellow</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>James Wick</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11 1/2</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>James Walker</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>

John	Skinner	Maryland	New Orleans	U. States	21	5	6	Black	Woolly
George W.	Thayer	Virginia	New York	U. States	36	5	9	Light	Brown
Henry	Watson	Virginia	New York	U. States	40	5	6	Black	Woolly
Alfred	Paetka	Maryland	Baltimore	U. States	24	5	4	Black	Woolly
Edw.	Brown	New York	New York	U. States	26	5	2	Black	Woolly
Stephen	Finney	Virginia	New York	U. States	35	5	8	Black	Woolly
Samuel	Demmett	New York	New York	U. States	22	5	7	Black	Woolly
John	Ordier	Virginia	Baltimore	U. States	29	5	9	Black	Woolly
William	Barber	Virginia	New York	U. States	36	5	4	Black	Woolly
James	Dobson	Maryland	Baltimore	U. States	27	5	2	Black	Woolly
John	Johnson	Connecticut	New York	U. States	30	5	8	Black	Woolly
Henry	Calwell	New York	New York	U. States	39	5	9	Fair	Light
George	Lowes	Massachusetts	New York	U. States	26	5	8	Fair	Dark
John	Carler	Maryland	New Orleans	U. States	39	5	8	Fair	Dark
Abraham	Harvey	New Orleans	New Orleans	U. States	26	5	3 1/2	Fair	Black
John	Tracas	Baltimore	Baltimore	U. States	23	5	6	Light	Brown
Samuel	Chase	New York	New York	U. States	29	5	10	Light	Fair
Francis	Braken	New York	New York	U. States	40	5	7	Light	Dark
John	Brink	Baltimore	Baltimore	U. States	32	5	6 1/2	Fair	Dark Brown
John	C. Smith	New York	New York	U. States	22	5	9	Black	Woolly
William	W. Hendley	Virginia	New Orleans	U. States	31	5	9	Black	Woolly
John	Mitchell	New York	New York	U. States	31	5	8	Black	Woolly
Oliver	Williams	New York	New York	U. States	19	5	7	Black	Woolly
John	Calow	New York	New York	U. States	26	5	6	Yellow	Woolly
Henry	Williams	Maryland	Baltimore	U. States	20	5	4	Black	Woolly
John	Horlimer	New York	New York	U. States	25	5	6	Light	Fair

all in bond but * w. h. do not p.

Nov 14 1850
 7/29/99 9/25/00

Printed for WM. M'KEAN, New-Orleans.—J. Beardslee, Printer.



LIST OF PERSONS composing the Crew of the *Big Rival* of
Newport whereof is Master *Beniah White* bound for *Liverpool*

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.				
				AGE.		HEIGHT.		COMPLEXION.
				Years.	Feet.	Inches.		
<i>William Marble</i>	<i>Newport</i>	<i>Newport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>Brown</i>
<i>William Marsh</i>	<i>Newport</i>	<i>Newport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>John Chapman</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6½</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>Richard Phillips</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>John Freeman</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7¾</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>Henry Francis</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4½</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>George W. Helt</i>	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3½</i>	<i>Mulatto</i>	<i>Woolly</i>
<i>Richard Roberts</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>22</i>			<i>light</i>	<i>Brown</i>
<i>Lewis Barrett</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>no proof</i>	<i>20</i>			<i>Black</i>	<i>Woolly</i>

Earlier, Richard Johnson, who reportedly held every position on shipboard from cabin boy to master and who later was a shipowner and merchant, told of his experience with the South Carolina Negro Seamen's Law. According to Johnson, he was a supercargo on a ship that put in at the port of Charleston, and the local authorities moved immediately to imprison the blacks on the ship. When they approached Johnson, his employer and "gentlemen" who knew him stepped forward and claimed that the law did not apply to him as a supercargo. The officials felt otherwise and asserted that Johnson could cause more trouble among the slaves than the lowly cook and sailor they had arrested. Johnson's supporters succeeded in keeping him out of jail by posting bond to insure his good behavior.(19) Even though the law technically did not apply to Johnson as a supercargo, he escaped incarceration only because of this intervention by non-blacks. Not many black seamen making a port call at Charleston found themselves in such fortunate circumstances. (20)

An examination of the crew lists of Charleston and Mobile during the period of the climactic events leading up to the Civil War ought to reveal which had the higher priority: the enforcement of the Negro Seamen's Laws or the need of South Carolina and Alabama to get their cotton and other products to foreign markets and to bring back imports. A review of about 150 crew lists of ships out of Mobile from January to August 1860 clearly indicates that the need to export cotton took precedence over other considerations. All but a handful of the ships had home ports in the New England states and New York. If a representative number of the "no proofs" and of those described as having dark complexions and dark or black hair happen to have been black, then, blacks comprised more than one-half of the crew complements. Excluding those whose ethnic origin could not be ascertained, blacks on some ships made up more than eighty percent of the crews. Moreover, with a few exceptions, these blacks were born in and resided in the northern states.

The Elizabeth Dennison, Ontario, and Harry Bluff of New York, and the Thirty-One States of Camden, North Carolina, had a combined crew complement of eighty-two men; sixty-eight of these men were black. The Carolus Magnus of New York out of Mobile to Liverpool carried a crew of thirty-two; seventeen were black, five had dark complexions and hair, and ten were "no proofs." The Minnesota, a Mobile-based vessel, cleared for Liverpool with fourteen blacks in an eighteen-man crew; all of the blacks were born in and resided in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. Many other ships out of Mobile during the eight-month survey period carried large contingents of blacks. However, an appreciable number of these blacks deserted at European ports.

Many of the Charleston records for 1858 and 1859 used the ambiguous dark for complexion and dark or black for hair. The "no proofs" and unidentified, including the waiters on steamships, add to the problem of determining how many blacks were on the ships. However, the Emily Pierce (or Emily St. Pierre) sailed for Liverpool in January 1858 with at least eight blacks in its twenty-man crew. All eight of these blacks, who were born in New York and resided in Charleston, along with ten of their crewmates deserted the ship at Liverpool. The I. G. Richardson carried sixteen out-of-state blacks in its nineteen-man crew when it cleared Charleston

for Liverpool on July 10, 1858. Once at its destination, with the exception of the captain, first mate, and one black, the ship experienced wholesale desertions. But, for unexplained reasons, all of the wayward crewmen returned to duty before the I. G. Richardson departed from Liverpool.

Neither at Charleston nor at Mobile were there notations of the arrest or imprisonment of any of these out-of-state blacks entered on the crew lists. Also, out-of-state blacks on some sixty other vessels with southern home ports such as Natchez, Key West, Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Savannah, and Wilmington and Edington, North Carolina, using port facilities at New Orleans, Philadelphia, Newport, and Mobile between 1850 and 1860 evidently were not subjected to the provisions of the Negro Seamen's Laws.(21)

Blacks were on the ships at all ports coming within the purview of this study. Those visible and most of those not so visible have been accounted for numerically in the tables in the Appendix. The invisible ones--the "no proofs," the personnel without descriptions, the individuals with false protections, the apprentices, and, most important of all, persons with descriptions that "fitted" any man--were probably very numerous. Some few of the invisible ones may possibly be identified by additional reference to federal census reports, local directories, tax rolls, probate records, and muster rolls. But these men were "on the go," and in all probability most, if not all, escaped the census takers. Those of mixed ancestry who defied easy categorizing were also among the uncounted hundreds, and possibly thousands, of black merchant seamen and whalemén.(22)

Port facilities at New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Newport, New Bedford, Mobile, and Charleston accommodated ships with home ports from virtually every port city in the United States. Frequently, ships with home ports in Boston, New York, Newport, or elsewhere used New Orleans, Charleston, Mobile, Baltimore, or other ports both as their port of departure and entry in the conduct of their foreign commerce. Also, southern-based ships made calls at northern ports in their foreign trade ventures.

Black merchant seamen and whalemén thus formed an important part of America's burgeoning commercial life in the antebellum period. Numbers alone, of course, do not tell the full story of the role played by these black mariners. Fortunately, the same source that reveal their presence on the ships also provide some additional information about these individuals.

This page intentionally left blank

The Black Complement

The merchant ships and whaling vessels had in their crews all manner of men and some women. The crews were multiethnic, multinational, interracial, and cosmopolitan. The blacks on these ships were a reflection of the crews in general; they too were natives or subjects of different nations, had different cultural attributes and life experiences, and came from different backgrounds. The black complement consisted of slaves, children, fathers and sons, brothers, females, husbands and wives, old men and young men, and foreigners, including some inhabitants of Africa.

SLAVE SEAMEN

A surprising number of slaves were on the ships. At least 244 slaves filled 327 positions at New Orleans. Occasionally, they comprised the entire crew of a ship there. At Philadelphia 78 slaves held 97 positions. The port of Baltimore records showed 24 slaves in 27 positions. Two slaves appeared on the New York crew lists, one in 1805 and one in 1806. Newport records for the entire period of 1803 to 1805 contained five slaves, while the crew lists in the New Bedford sample technically had one: an individual who claimed free status but according to the notation on the crew list was a runaway slave.

It is highly probable that more slave seamen were on the ships. All, some, or a few of the considerable number of the persons with first name only and some with full names--all without the "no proof" label, the apprenticeship designation, and personnel identification data (the usual accouterments of persons with free status)--may have been slaves. In some instances, apprentices and individuals with first name only were listed as slaves on different lists or later voyages. Blacks with and without surnames who were designated as apprentices and who were probably slaves appeared on the records at New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Newport.(1) In some instances, these black apprentices had the same surnames as their captains who apparently were non-black, such as one on the William of Newport, which

cleared on December 22, 1810, and another on the same ship when it sailed about a year later.

The majority of the holders of slave seamen were the captains and owners of the vessels. They usually had one or two and occasionally three or four slaves. Other holders were individuals who hired out their slaves. Brokers, exporters, and importers supplied slave mariners. Thomas Baily, a merchant in New Orleans, on two occasions hired out four; on another occasion he supplied three; and once he sent one on a voyage. A Mr. Boyd of Charleston, South Carolina, had four of his slaves, all with the surname of Boyd, on the Armed Neutrality, which sailed on December 30, 1807. "Baltimore," presumably the city, was cited, among others, as a holder of farmed-out slave seamen.(2) Occasionally on the New Orleans lists and more frequently on the Philadelphia records the holders were not identified.

Slave seamen appeared on ships at New Orleans between 1804 and 1840. The first three, John Beatley, George West, and John Durrant, cleared for Liverpool on the Catherine, on June 23, 1804. Shortly after their arrival, Beatley along with three other crewmates deserted. George West and six of his crewmates absconded before the Catherine departed from Liverpool. The voyage was a ticket to freedom for Beatley and West. It also appears to have been a learning experience for holders of New Orleans slave seamen. Thereafter, most of these holders apparently placed their "peculiar property" on ships engaged in commerce with the slaveholding areas of Central and South America, possibly in an effort to minimize their losses.

Surprisingly, New Orleans records showed five instances of desertion among slaves: two from vessels with home ports at Bath, Maine, and one each from ships with home ports of Norfolk, New Bedford, and New Orleans. Both of the Bath ships had cleared from and returned to New Orleans. The New Bedford vessel had cleared from Charleston and returned to New Orleans.(3)

Slaves also absconded at domestic ports. One man, for example, left his ship in New Orleans. His captain offered a ten-dollar reward for his apprehension and warned ship brokers and landlords that they would be prosecuted if they harbored or assisted him.(4) Desertaion that occurred at domestic ports after the boarding officers had checked the ships' rosters would not be recorded on the crew lists.

A slave seaman boarded the Iris out of New Orleans on April 20, 1813, bound for Lisbon. He reportedly lived in New Orleans. His ship reentered the country at Newport on September 10, 1813. Another slave crewman, one of the five slaves appearing on the Newport records and a resident of Charleston, South Carolina, was on the Betsey of Newport when it left Charleston for a foreign destination. The Betsey returned to Newport on June 12, 1810, with the slave on board. A man, claiming Massachusetts as his birthplace and free status, signed as an apprentice on the merchant ship Abigail out of New Bedford in January 1824. The notation opposite his name on the crew list read "runaway slave." All three of these individuals could have remained in the free states of Rhode Island and Massachusetts unless the slave catchers ran them down or the authorities surrendered them to their owners.

The case of Sylvain Fournier was different. Fournier, a mulatto, enrolled as a slave seaman on the Missouri out of

Baltimore, which sailed to Bordeaux on May 2, 1815. When the ship made port in France, Noël Fournier, a passenger on board, claimed that Sylvain belonged to him and took Sylvain off the vessel. Despite the captain's vigorous protest, the Missouri returned to New Orleans without Sylvain Fournier. Noël Fournier apparently had found a way to transport Sylvain across the Atlantic Ocean without cost. Once on the soil of France, Sylvain was deemed to be "born free and equal."

In a letter written on board a whaler in the Pacific Ocean and reported in the thirteenth Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, a runaway slave told of his escape from Louisiana to Brooklyn, New York. He found a job in Brooklyn, but, as he related, "I fled from Brooklyn because I could not sleep, as I was so near the slaveholding country I thought I could not be safe until I had gone to the other side of the globe." (5)

Whereas this runaway Louisiana slave made good his flight to freedom, others were not as fortunate. One such case was a slave who had taken refuge on the whaler Cornelia in New Bedford. The captain discovered the slave and turned him over to authorities. A free black whaleman who had assisted the slave in his futile attempt to escape was given a prison term. The owner of the vessel, Joseph Ricketson, a long-time supporter of the antislavery cause, in an open letter to the public published in the January 24, 1845, Liberator criticized his son, the captain of the Cornelia, and disassociated himself from the incident. He declared that he "would much rather have the vessel jeopardized or even lost forever" than "be connected with any such occurrence." Ricketson was deeply troubled also because "it resulted in the imprisonment of a free black man." (6)

Runaway slaves had every reason to conceal their identity. Shipmasters who knowingly signed them on were in violation of the law. Those who unknowingly hired slaves and later learned of their status would not have been inclined to report their presence except in unusual circumstances. They should have checked the blacks' "freedom papers" or verified their status before taking them on board.

Local authorities and holders used the press to seek the return of escaped slaves and to discourage individuals from assisting in their flight to freedom. New Orleans newspapers printed almost daily notices of runaway slaves. The overwhelming majority of these notices sought to retrieve those slaves who looked to sea duty as a road to freedom. These advertisements appeared in columns next to ship news items and repeatedly admonished commanders of vessels, ship brokers, and others against harboring runaways. These warnings reiterated that violators would face "the severest penalties of the law." Newspapers in other port cities carried similar notices, such as the one in a New York paper offering a reward for the return of an eighteen-year-old runaway that read in part: "Seen wearing a sailor's jacket and pantaloons, talks of going to sea. Warning to all persons and all captains of vessels. Law rigidly enforced." (7) Also, one of the objectives of the Negro Seamen's Laws was to counter attempts by ship crews to assist runaway slaves. The required incarceration of free black seamen was aimed at the perceived willingness of these seamen and their sympathetic ship captains to aid and abet the slaves to escape.

An independent study may find a high correlation between runaway slaves at port cities and the increasing number of "no proofs" and individuals using false protection papers on the crews of ships in foreign commerce from 1822 to 1860. An alarming number of seamen on their return to the United States were found to have false protection papers. Most of these men had vague or no descriptions, some were non-black, and others were black. The boarding officer at New Orleans on April 11, 1838, noted on the crew list of the Devcalion (or Dencalion) of Boston, which cleared on November 28, 1837, with a crew of nineteen, "not one man could answer to the names on the protections." Likewise, the description of the men on the Catherine of New York, which sailed on March 26, 1839, did not correspond with their protection papers. Six men on the Euphrates of New Orleans, which left port on December 21, 1839, had their false protection papers condemned and destroyed. Boarding officer reports continually showed a significant use of false protections. Not only was the personnel descriptive terminology on the protection papers imprecise but also the papers themselves were forged, sold, and traded in a wholesale manner. During the same period, from the 1820s onward, consular and boarding officer reports revealed an increasing rate of desertions and discharges among the "no proofs" and others--some of whom may have had false protections. The strong presumption is that slaves used this road to freedom and that it was probably much more frequently travelled than the overland route of the historic "underground railroad."

Other slave seamen received their freedom in a much more conventional manner. Aquilla Brown, a Baltimore slave, made seventeen voyages that took him to New Orleans between 1823 and 1829. He was apparently sold at least twice since he had three holders, all captains of the vessels on which he sailed. Brown was sometimes designated as an apprentice, other times as a slave, and occasionally not identified. He was variously described as having dark complexion and hair, dark complexion and black hair, dark complexion and black woolly hair, black complexion and black hair, a dark black man, and simply as a slave. He was apparently sixteen years old when he made his October 4, 1823, trip to New Orleans. Six years later, on October 14, 1829, Brown sailed from Philadelphia on the Andes of New York as a free black. The last holder of Aquilla Brown also had another slave seaman, Richard Brown. Richard Brown, likewise, appears to have obtained free status when he reached the age of twenty-one. Richard Brown continued in the merchant marine, sometimes sailing under the command of his former holder.(8) The Browns gained their freedom either by manumission or purchase, both of which were permissible under Maryland law.

Another Maryland slave gained his freedom and stayed in the merchant marine. Bound to one of the owners of the vessel, he began his service on the sea at least as early as 1806. Without a surname and dubbed Liverpool, possibly because of his frequent trips there and elsewhere in Europe, he remained on the ships until 1830 or beyond, sailing some twenty years or more as a free black. Among the other slaves who chose seafaring life after becoming free were one each out of New Orleans, Newport, and New Bern, North Carolina, and five out of Philadelphia. One of the latter was a twelve-year-old youth who had made three voyages on the

Saunders beginning on July 9, 1803. Released from bondage, he again boarded the Saunders on December 27, 1804. This voyage was his last; he reportedly drowned on passage. Some of the former slaves remained on the ships ten, twelve, and twenty years or more.(9)

Almost all of the slave seamen on New Orleans-based ships who made multiple voyages apparently remained bound. One made nine sailings between May 1813 and September 1815, mostly to Pensacola. Another, a cook, made seven voyages between 1805 and January 1808 to Havana and Vera Cruz. The latter was shown on one list as a "free black boy belonging to the master," a contradiction in itself, and was referred to other lists as a slave. Another cook, who belonged to the owner of the vessels on which he worked, made the first of his six voyages on the Thomas of New Orleans on April 18, 1806, and the last on the Bellona of New Orleans on April 28, 1815. His nine-year period of sailings appears to have been longer than that of any other slave seaman on New Orleans ships. Others worked more voyages, but their names could not be found on the crew lists after two or three years. Only one other slave mariner appeared in the New Orleans records over a longer period than the cook on the Thomas, and he was on ships registered at Norfolk, Virginia.(10) None of the slaves on New Orleans ships was found on ships of that port as a free black.

In keeping with a 1780 Pennsylvania law looking to the gradual abolition of slavery and the treatment of those still held in bondage, slave seamen on Philadelphia-based ships were entered on the crew lists as "servants," "indented," "indented apprentices," "bound boys," "black servants," and "bound." When they were simply called apprentices, and it appears that some were, a problem emerged since free blacks also were clearly listed as apprentices.

Of the seventy-eight slaves on the port records, fifty-nine were on ships having Philadelphia as their home base. After 1807 slaves had almost disappeared from Philadelphia ships. One sailed in 1808, two in 1809, and one in 1812; a ten-year-old youth who left port on March 11, 1812, on the Charlotte was the last of the Philadelphia "black servants." However, merchantmen with out-of-state home ports carried slaves out of Philadelphia until 1824 and possibly later.

Although slave mariners at Philadelphia made multiple voyages, none remained bound more than two years or more than four sailings. Unlike their New Orleans counterparts, slaves at Philadelphia were taken, carried, or permitted to sail to the far-flung ports in Europe, India, Africa, and China. It is not known how many deserted on the way, since the inbound lists were not examined. Also unlike their New Orleans counterparts, many of them returned to the ships at Philadelphia to work as free blacks.

On several occasions at New Orleans slaves made up the entire crews of ships. On three of these occasions ships with all-slave crews went to sea during the War of 1812, once in September 1814 and twice in mid-1815, sailing between Pensacola and New Orleans. Out of Philadelphia, the Patty with an all-black crew proceeded to Puerto Rico on December 16, 1813. The non-slave blacks on the Patty faced the normal risks of sea duty plus a possible confrontation with a British naval patrol. But the slave crews on the vessels out of New Orleans were on the seas at the very time that the

British navy was forcibly making its presence felt in American waters.(11) If they had been captured and if the British had made good on their promise of freedom, fortune might have smiled on the slaves. On the other hand, capture might have led to impressment in the British service or reenslavement.

The oldest listed age for slaves was forty-five at New Orleans, thirty-four at Philadelphia, and thirty at Newport and Baltimore. The youngest were mere children. However, the usefulness of the recorded ages is severely limited. First, almost two-thirds of the slave entries had no age data. Of the 244 identified slaves on the New Orleans lists, only 41 had age data, whereas 59 of the 78 on the Philadelphia records and 18 of the 24 on the Baltimore ships had stated ages. Secondly, the accuracy of the recorded ages leaves much to be desired. Numerous instances exist where the same person over time became younger, stayed the same age, or was inordinately older. The discrepancies in age data were widespread and in some cases egregious.(12)

CHILDREN AND FAMILY MEMBERS ON THE SHIPS

Children--slave and free black--some of them very young, were "waiting boys," cabin boys, cook's apprentices, apprentices, sailors, and seamen; the job of "waiting boys" appears to have been held only by slaves. One hundred and thirty-five children, all black or probably black, ranging in age from seven to thirteen, worked on the ships at New Orleans, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport, New York, and New Bedford. Ninety-four were on the New Orleans records.(13)

The number 135 probably represents the tip of the iceberg. For example, "a black boy belonging to Bogart and Hawthorne [a brokerage firm]," who made five voyages from New Orleans to Cuba on the Cuba in 1839, had no listed age. Also without age information was "a small Negro boy belonging to the owner of the vessel [Urchin]," and who the boarding officer found was "an American Negro and stated to be on board accidentally" when the ship returned from its July 18 1838, voyage. Nor was the age given for "a small black boy" on the Seraph when it cleared on September 30, 1831, who was an apprentice to the captain and "who states he is a free boy." Others were referred to as "black boys" or "bound boys." These designations may or may not be meaningful in regard to the ages of the individuals. Among the more than 200 slaves without age information and the substantial number of apprentices and "no proofs," especially at New Orleans, the children may have been very numerous.

Of those with credible data, the slave on the Ann of Charleston and two free blacks on the Monroe of Palmouth and the Ansell Gibbs of New Bedford were the youngest, seven years of age. One year older were five slaves and one free black. Eight of these were on ships at New Orleans; the other was employed on a whaler out of New Bedford on December 7, 1835, to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Philadelphia and Newport records each reveal the employment of a nine-year-old free black, while a slave of the same age was the youngest on the Baltimore lists. In all, children ten years old or younger held twenty-six jobs on the ships at New Orleans, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Bedford, and Newport during the period under study. All twenty-six of these jobs were worked

by black children with the possible exception of two. The latter two were held by ten-year-old children whose descriptions could have encompassed blacks.(14)

Except for members of the captain's family, seldom did same-surnamed non-black mariners accompany each other on voyages. Surprisingly, twelve black children worked side by side with their fathers or older male members of their families. Samuel Hill, age nine, and Samuel Hill, apparently his forty-five-year-old father, both of Charleston, South Carolina, were together on the Mary Ann of Charleston, which cleared on March 27, 1817. Also on board the Mary Ann was Adam Hill, age thirty-five, apparently the older Hill's brother. Peter Williams and his twelve-year-old son, George Williams, thrice found employment on the Arethusa of New York between December 9, 1834, and May 23, 1836. When the Arethusa sailed on August 4, 1836, the younger Williams was on his own. Among the others was thirteen-year-old John Joseph, Jr. who followed his forty-one-year-old father into the merchant marine. John Joseph, Jr. was apparently the third generation of his family to seek a livelihood on the sea. Some eighteen years earlier a John Joseph, age forty-six, sailed from Baltimore. All three of the Josephs were born in port cities: Nantucket, New Orleans, and New York. Likewise, all three claimed residences at the port cities where they worked: Baltimore and New Orleans.(15)

No effort was made to identify fathers and their youthful sons on different voyages, nor was an effort made to pair fathers with older sons or two or more older brothers on the same or different voyages. But some instances beg for attention.

Abraham Row, whose father had preceded him to sea, introduced his fifteen-year-old son to seafaring life. John Moseley, who had spent thirty-three years or more at sea, in 1838 and 1839 worked two passages to Europe with his fifteen-year-old son. The older Moseley had signed on vessels with home ports in Richmond, Petersburg, New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. His ships over the years made port calls at New Orleans seven times. Peter Seixas and his son appeared to have been career seamen, each signing on ships again and again out of Newport.

Several male members of some families worked on the ships, most of them over extended periods. For example, nine members of the Trusty family of Maryland and at least eight of the Hazard family of Rhode Island were merchant seamen. Some of the six Wanton brothers and the six Derrys took employment on both commerce carriers and whalers. The Canackers--Tom, James, Joseph, and Harry--were whalersmen.

Not all of the father-son and brother-brother pairs returned with their ships. Thirty-six-year-old Shandy Yard and his fifteen-year-old son, Shandy A. Yard, requested and received discharges at Rio de Janeiro in October 1813. The Charleston, South Carolina, brothers, Alfred and George St. Clair, ages fourteen and twelve respectively, deserted at Havana in 1824. George Blake, as cook, and George Blake, Jr., as apprentice, signed on the Valador out of Baltimore bound for Liberia via Norfolk on November 18, 1830. The Valador returned to New Orleans without the Blakes. Although the consular report noted the changes in the crew personnel, it made no mention of desertions. Since the American Colonization Society had used the Valador in its efforts in the resettlement of blacks in Liberia, the Blakes might have

been a part of the society's activities.(16) For the Yards, fifteen months at sea on a whaler might have been enough. The social climate in the country, especially in South Carolina after the Vessy plot, might have motivated the St. Clairs to seek a change in location.

In all, 111 seafaring family groups are listed in Table 20 in the Appendix. Admittedly, the listing does not contain all of the nuclear or extended family members coming within the purview of this study. The focus was on young black children and the effort was to ascertain if older family members cared. Only those individuals with obvious kinship ties such as same surnames, compatible birthplaces and residences, and sailing on the same voyages, or having distinctive surnames, were noted. No effort was made to link extended family members to seafaring careers, although, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the example of the Cuffee family posits the possibility.

What started out as an attempt to determine whether young free black children on the ships were castoffs has, indeed, produced strong evidence of the existence of many seafaring families among free blacks during this period. It is a stirring account of black family members struggling on the perilous seas, many of them voyage after voyage, to make a try of it in a world not of their making.

CREW WOMEN

Women were crew members--eighty-one of them. They were bona fide crew personnel, and not the captains' wives. All were on merchant ships; none was found on the whalers. The females, slave and free, most of them "no proofs" and unidentified, worked on sailing ships and steamships. They held 101 positions on the ships. Six of them made multiple voyages; one went to sea four times. The females cleared on ships with home ports in New York, the New England states, Philadelphia, Charleston, Key West, Richmond, Baltimore, and New Orleans.

The first of the female mariners, in point of time, at the ports studied was a slave. With given name only, she was one of two or three (the outbound and inbound lists lacked conformity) slaves of the owner of the Shark, which sailed from New Orleans to Pensacola on August 25, 1807. Another mariner, a seventeen-year-old Charleston-born "mulatto woman," was "a slave to the captain" of the Miller of Boston. On board with the female was at least one free black crewman when the ship cleared for Havana on May 1, 1822.

Without the boarding officer's report, the slave status of two blacks, one male and one female, would not have been uncovered. Their holder, who was both a passenger on and one of the owners of the Citizen of Key West, took them to Galveston, Texas, on August 24, 1838. At Galveston, on September 19, 1838, the owner notified the American consul that he had relieved the captain of the vessel and hired another. The consul duly recorded and dated the change of command on the crew list. Three days later, the Citizen returned to New Orleans without the slaves. Under questioning by the boarding officer, the owner attested that they were his slaves and that he had left them in Texas.

Since the slaves, both twenty-three year old, were carried on the list as crew personnel and since Bureau of

Customs regulations required that every personnel change be authenticated by a consular or port authority official located where the change occurred, the owner should have been penalized for not bringing the absence of the slaves to the attention of the consul at Galveston. The record shows no indication of any action taken against the holder or captain in this instance. Further, unless the slaves were released from bondage in Texas--and nothing in the boarding officer's report or the holder's statement explicitly or implicitly indicated that this was the case--the holder could have been in violation of the federal law prohibiting anyone from engaging in the foreign slave trade.

It would be interesting to know how many incidents similar to the Citizen one occurred. It would be interesting, also, to know how many such incidents went unreported. Crew lists have been found marked "all returned," when, in fact, notations thereon clearly stated that some blacks and unidentified were not on board.

A fourth female may have been a slave. Lacking a surname, a "no proof" label, and all other personnel information, the absence of which usually denoted slave status, this individual sailed on the Eagle of Baltimore to a French port on June 29, 1815. However, she just possibly could have been the same person who cleared on the William and Henry of Baltimore to Liverpool on May 30, 1817. Both had identical given names and sailed on vessels registered at Baltimore. The female on the William and Henry had a surname, was twenty-one years old, had black complexion and woolly hair, and was a native of Baltimore.

The female mariners with free status first appeared on the merchantmen at ports under study in 1812. On April 2 of that year, one, whose description could fit both non-blacks and blacks, departed from the port of Baltimore on the George for a market in the West Indies. She was twenty-one years old and was born in Connecticut and lived in Baltimore. The Caldwells, Abigail, a stewardess and a "no proof," and Isaac, a "colored" cook, were the first female-male family pair observed on the ships from the port records reviewed. The Caldwells were employed on the Elisa Grant of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which departed for Liverpool on March 2, 1825.

In addition to the Caldwells, twenty other females were accompanied on the voyages by same-surnamed males. In thirteen instances, both same-surnamed females and males were "no proofs" or without descriptions. In three instances, the female had no descriptive data while the male had dark complexions and hair. One female had dark complexion and hair and her same-surnamed crewmate had light complexion and brown hair. The remaining three were May and John Ring, Elizabeth and Joseph Spencer, and Jane S. and John Williams.

The Rings and the Spencers were black. Both couples worked on ships registered at Portland, Maine; these ships cleared for European markets. Jane A. Williams, an Indian, was apparently the wife of John, the black mate of the William Gray of Boston (The Caldwells, Rings, Spencers, and Williamses are in the listing of family members in Table 20 in the Appendix).

The available shipping articles and information on the crew lists reveal that in fourteen of the cases where the same-surnamed males and females had no descriptions, vague descriptions, or were "no proofs," the males were the cooks and the females were in the stewardesses. Since blacks

frequently were hired to fill these positions, the probability exists that some among them were black.

Of the seventy-seven non-slave crew women, twenty-seven were black; fourteen others might have been black; one was an Indian; and six probably were non-black. Some of these females were identified by the description of same-surnamed males on board. The ethnic group of the rest could not be determined.

Reference to the crew lists did not always give a clue to the sex of a person. For example, S. J. White was twice on the steamer Isabel of Charleston on its passage to Havana on May 18, 1859 and later that same year. On one of these voyages, E. Rollins was also on board. The first initial in White's name stood for Sarah, and both she and Rollins were employed as seamstresses. Undoubtedly more crew women might have been found on the vessels if more of the shipping articles for the voyages were available and if the females were not hidden behind the initials of their given names.

As seamstresses, cooks, cook's apprentices, and most frequently as stewardesses, the women worked on ships which went to markets in Liverpool, Havre, Bremen, Cadiz, Gibraltar, the coast of Africa, Rio de Janeiro, and ports in Mexico and the Caribbean. Thirteen of the stewardesses and the three seamstresses were on steamships. Except for two sailings between Charleston and Havana, the steamships travelled between New York and New Orleans via Havana. These steamships carried passengers, cargo, and mail. The large size and composition of the crews, with several grades of cooks, pantry aides, chief steward and his assistants, and waiters, indicated that the dominant activity of some of these steamships was passenger service.

The average age of the crew women for whom information was given was 27.5 years. The two oldest were forty-three and fifty, and the youngest were sixteen and seventeen. More than one-third of them, thirty-four in all, worked on the ships in the last four months of 1860.

The greater incidence of women working on the ships in 1860 than previously was due in part to their more frequent use on the steamships and the increase of steamship traffic between the United States and Cuba, especially those steamships offering passenger service. Also, the labor pool for men may have been smaller because of the availability of jobs in other sectors of the domestic economy. Further, labor cost may have been a consideration since women were paid less. Women could still be found on the ships after the Civil War, at least at the port of Charleston, South Carolina.

OLD MEN ON THE SEA AND CAREER SEAMEN

Despite the obvious inaccuracy of the age data, it is clear from the records that older black men went to sea in far greater numbers than older non-blacks. It is also clear that blacks stayed on the sea at a much older age than non-blacks. A casual inspection of the lists turns up case after case of blacks being the oldest men in the crews. For example, the average age for black men on ships at New Orleans during April-May 1832 was 32.8 years while that for men who probably were non-black was 28.0 years. During April-May 1833 the average age for those two groups of seamen

at New Orleans was 32.9 and 27.7 years respectively. Over the same four months, five of those who most likely were non-black were in their fifties and none had reached sixty, while seven blacks were fifty or more years old and two others were in their sixties.(17)

Based on the age data of all of the New Orleans crew lists covered by this study, 433 blacks were fifty years old or older. Some 338 others with descriptions that could fit blacks fell in the same age group. Fifty-two of the 433 ranged in age from sixty to seventy-seven. Over the same period, only two non-blacks were in their sixties; one was sixty-six, the other was sixty-eight, and both were naturalized citizens.(18)

The oldest blacks on the New Orleans lists were William Woodward, Joseph Webster, and Joshua Bell. Woodward, a South Carolinian, at seventy-seven sailed on the Maryland of Baltimore to Havana on February 26, 1836. Webster (or Webter) of Philadelphia was seventy-three when he left port on the Margaret of New Orleans on August 15, 1805. Bell, who was born in New Jersey, worked on the Lima of Kennebunk on its passage to Havre on February 4, 1833. None of Bell's crewmates was older than twenty-three, while Bell was seventy-one.

The Baltimore sample had seven blacks who were over fifty years old. The oldest, Peter Lewis at sixty, a New Orleans-born resident of Baltimore, cleared on the Happy Couple on March 16, 1812.

Sixty-four-year-old Abner Brown was the oldest of eighty-six men who were at least fifty years old on the Philadelphia lists from 1803 to 1823. Born in Kent County, Maryland, and a resident of Philadelphia, Abner Brown apparently made his first voyage out of Philadelphia on November 22, 1804, to Liverpool when he was forty-five years old. From 1804 to 1823, Brown, sometimes accompanied by one or another of his three sons, made frequent voyages out of Philadelphia, most of them to Liverpool. How often Brown sailed before 1804 and after 1823 from Philadelphia or, indeed, from any other port at any time during his career as a merchant seaman is not known. John Brown, who at age twelve had travelled with his father in July 1810, some nineteen years later, in May of 1829, made port on a Philadelphia-based ship at New Orleans. John Brown, like his father, probably was a career merchant seaman.

Forty-five blacks, who were at least fifty years old, appeared on the New York crew list sample between 1820 and 1849. Ten of these men were in their sixties. James Brown and James Johnson, both sixty-five and the oldest, sailed respectively on the Jane Russel and the Horatio in February and October of 1849. Brown and Johnson were born in and resided in New York.

Newport Historical Society crew lists contain the names of forty-nine blacks who were fifty or more years old. Of the eight in their sixties, John Baily at sixty-seven was the oldest. Baily, a New Yorker by birth and residence, worked on the Harriet of New York in 1835. One of the long-time seamen at Newport was Peter Seixas. At age fifty-three, he sailed on the Minos in 1833. Seixas had been on the seas at least from 1804, when he signed on the Richmond at Newport as a twenty-five-year-old steward. He frequently sailed four or more times annually. His brothers, John and James, and his son Peter also had jobs on ships out of Newport. The latter

apparently made his first voyage at age sixteen on the Perseverance to Africa. Like his father, Peter Seixas, Jr., was among the more than fifty blacks who sailed repeatedly on ships out of Newport.

Much of the age data on the New Bedford lists was missing, but that which was available showed that forty blacks, most of them whalers, were age fifty or over. Eight of these men were between sixty and seventy-seven years old. William Crassell and John D. Layton, both seventy-two, and Thomas Fuller at seventy-seven, were the oldest. Crassell was born in New York, Layton in Edgartown, Massachusetts, and Fuller in Rochester, Massachusetts.(19) All forty of these men had sailed on previous voyages.

It is probable that older seamen and whalers were among the "no proofs," the unidentified, and those with missing age data. It is also likely that some were among those on the Newport lists at the National Archives whose ages were not transcribed on the research notes. Further, as noted earlier in this chapter, it is highly probable that many of the listed ages were misstated; some may have been grossly understated or overstated.

Sixty-eight of the 433 older blacks on the New Orleans records worked multiple voyages in or out of the New Orleans port facilities. Some frequented the port four or more times on ships with home ports elsewhere. George Henson, one of the sixty-eight, made eleven appearances at New Orleans between 1824 and 1836; all but one of these voyages were on ships registered at Newport. Henson began his career in the merchant marine at least as early as 1806. Newport crew lists at the National Archives and at the Newport Historical Society detail his many tours of duty from 1806 to 1835. For example, he made four sailings in 1835 on the Commerce of Newport, which called at New Orleans. His brother, Moses Henson, was at New Orleans five times between November 1833 and November 1834. His employment was on ships with home ports in New York, Bath, Castine, and, of course, Newport. Over the course of one year, Moses Henson's listed age seasawed from 52 to 51, 65, 57, and back to 51. The Henson family had its roots in Maryland, but the seamen among them claimed residence at one or another of the port cities where they happened to find jobs.(20)

The places of birth, residence, and work of these older seamen and whalers are illustrative of others on the move in search of jobs--going from port to port for work. Indeed, of all the older men found at the ports under study, only four, all merchant seamen, apparently worked out of one port exclusively. Abner Brown, Charles Morant, and Anthony Williams of Philadelphia, and Peter Seixas of Newport were on ships at their respective ports over a period of nineteen, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty-nine years respective.(21) However, any of the four may have taken jobs at other ports and time frames outside the scope of this study.

The example of these men going to sea voyage after voyage and year after year in the days of old sailing vessels and early steamships suggests a strong commitment to work. Although only about one-third of the older black seamen and whalers at the ports in this study made multiple voyages, it is highly probable that a goodly number of them, if not all, had spent a lifetime on the seas working out of one or more of the port cities in the nation. Uncounted others may have had long years of service on the ships, but due to missing

personnel information or discrepancies in age data, they have eluded positive identification.

The work habits exemplified by the older seamen and whalemens were likewise displayed among those under fifty years old. Of the younger men on the ship at New Orleans for the three-year period 1829-31 and the last three months of 1840, at least 307 were involved in multiple voyages. Among them, Casimer Romain made thirteen voyages between 1824 and 1831, and Pierre Elis took employment on the ships ten times between 1824 and 1829. Romain was born in Louisiana and resided there, while Elis was born in St. Domingo and lived in New Orleans. Isaac Oson and Arthur Dawson cleared New Orleans nine times between 1823 and 1838. Oson, a Boston resident, sailed on ships with home ports in Oxford, New Orleans, Portland, New York, and Boston. Dawson, who was born in and resided in New York, worked on ships with home bases in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New Castle, and New Orleans. Aquilla Brown, both as a slave and free black, was on ships that made port calls at New Orleans eighteen times. Between June 30, 1838, and October 8, 1840, Francis Epps sailed into or out of New Orleans more than thirty times on the steamships Columbia and Neptune. Epps, who was born in Petersburg, Virginia, made his first voyage to New Orleans on the William Brown of Baltimore, which cleared on July 26, 1827. George Foster's appearances at New Orleans spanned a twenty-five year period. Foster, a Massachusetts resident, sailed on the Tallahasee of New Orleans to Liverpool on July 28, 1835, and on October 13, 1860 on the Tennessee of New York as a watchman.(22)

At Philadelphia, 209 men under fifty years of age made multiple voyages out of the port over the four-year period between 1803 and 1806. Seventy of them sailed three times; thirty-five made four voyages; ten cleared five times; and three went to sea six times. Among them were Friday Brown, Liberty Brown, Christopher Furbelow, and Andrew Gray. These four merchant seamen were typical of about one-half of the 209-man sample whose service at Philadelphia on the merchant ships extended beyond 1806.

Friday Brown sailed on the Annawan of Boston on January 4, 1805, at Philadelphia, and frequently thereafter, at least until his return to port on the Levant of Philadelphia, which sailed on May 11, 1821. Liberty Brown left port on the Ruth and Mary of Philadelphia on March 25, 1806. Averaging two voyages annually, Brown remained on the seas until the Junius returned from its voyage of May 26, 1820. Andrew Gray worked on the Active of Philadelphia on its passage to the West Indies on July 18, 1803, and apparently made his last voyage from Philadelphia on the Margaret when it sailed for Bordeaux on June 15, 1816. Christopher Furbelow was on the Saunders when it cleared on December 22, 1806, for Madeira and on the Feliciana on its June 7, 1820, voyage to Bordeaux. The Feliciana, made a port call at New Orleans. Hence, while the New Orleans port records show only minimal service in the merchant marine for Furbelow, Philadelphia crew lists reveal his frequent voyages over a fourteen-year period. All four of these men claimed Philadelphia as their residence, although only Gray was born in Pennsylvania.

At New Bedford at least 643 of the 3,189 identifiable black men on the ships made multiple voyages. James D.

Scott, born in New York and listed as a resident of New Bedford in the New Bedford Directory for 1841 and 1845, apparently made the first of his eleven whaling voyages on the George and Susan on May 19, 1817, and the next-to-the-last one on the Salma on July 31, 1841. The Selma reportedly was destroyed by fire at sea less than two months after it left port with Scott on board. Scott survived and ventured on at least one other whaling mission. James Hamilton moved from Tiverton, Rhode Island, to New Bedford to work on the ships. His first apparent voyage out of New Bedford was on a merchantman to Hamburg, Germany, in March 1820. After his return from this trip, he joined the crew of the whaler Russell, which left for the Pacific Ocean on August 29, 1820, and again on December 5, 1822, after having been in port less than two months. Hamilton next sailed on the whaler Charles in 1825 and 1827, the Commodore Decatur in 1829, 1830, and 1831, and the Rising States in 1836 and 1837. The intervals between his successive whaling ventures gave Hamilton only enough time for the vessels to be readied for their next voyages. As will be noted in Chapter 3, on his ninth and final whaling voyage in 1837, Hamilton, who at that time was third in line of command of the vessel, and three of his crewmates lost their lives when their ship encountered difficulty at sea.

Others worked on the whalers out of New Bedford over extended periods; three participated in at least eight or more voyages, fourteen took part in six or more ventures, twenty were on five different sailings, and sixty-one made at least four trips.(23) Some of the ships on which they worked were at sea two, three, and four or more years.

Many of the older seamen, as already mentioned, had begun their seafaring life in their younger years. As for the others, if it can be assumed that few of them would take to the uncertainties of the oceanways for the first time at age fifty or older, then many of the more than 500 on the ships at New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Newport, and New Bedford may be considered career merchant seamen and whalers. Further, a substantial number of men under fifty--the Osons, the Dawsons, the Browns, the Scotts, the Hamiltons, and named and unnamed others--were veterans of the seaways. Additionally, some black career seamen most likely were among those with vague descriptions.

BLACK FOREIGNERS

Identifiable black foreigners were on the records of every port examined. More than 125 ranging in age from fourteen to sixty sailed from the ports of New Orleans, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Over 360 of them were on ships leaving or entering Newport, mostly on the whalers. Large numbers of them were on the whalers at Nantucket and New Bedford. The inbound crew lists of New Bedford were replete with names of blacks. Those on the ships at New York were not tabulated. Also excluded were the blacks among the vast number of foreigners who were "no proofs," those taken on the merchant ships at foreign ports, and those who passed themselves off as United States citizens.

These blacks were subjects of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark, Holland, and the South American countries, and inhabitants of Africa. Fewer than twenty

claimed residence in Africa. The rest were Africans in the diaspora or their offspring. The majority of the black foreigners were natives of the Caribbean area and were British and Spanish subjects. Some claimed domiciles in Spain, England, Portugal, and France.

Sixteen blacks, fifteen from ships at New Orleans and one from a ship at Philadelphia, had become naturalized American citizens. The naturalization of blacks, the issuance to them of protection papers certifying their citizenship, and the designation of them as citizens on the crew lists--all official acts of the United States government--relates to the issue of whether free blacks were, in the eyes of the United States government, citizens in the same sense as others so designated. Slaves, on the other hand, almost without exception were entered on the crew lists without protection papers (meaning without certificates of citizenship) and without designation of citizenship.

This page intentionally left blank

Black Ship Officers

The number of black merchant seamen and whalemens on the ships is impressive, but certainly amazing is the fact that many of them became officers. The records reveal that they held every ranked position on the ships, even that of commander. Black shipmasters in many instances commanded mixed officer and crew personnel. In some instances, blacks held all of the ranked positions on ships with interracial crews. Blacks attained these positions by virtue of their experience, abilities, and the demands of the marketplace despite their lowly status in American society and the racist attitudes prevalent at that time.

The actual number of black officers may never be known. Vague and imprecise descriptions, frequent omission of personnel data especially for shipmasters, the nonavailability of some shipping articles, and the failure in some instances to adhere to the standard procedure of placing the names of personnel on crew lists according to rank contrive to preclude an accurate count and assessment of black officers.

LOWER RANKS

In the lower ranks of the officer personnel was Cezar Pitt, a Maryland-born Baltimorean, who was the pilot of the Chesapeake on its passage to Vera Cruz in 1806. John Williams, Thomas Jones, and George Lewis were boatswains on the October 2, 1822, sailing of the Currier of Boston, the November 18, 1840, voyage of the Shenandoah of Philadelphia, and the October 30, 1860, passage of the H. H. Prescott respectively. Francis Lewis and David Stockley were assistant engineers on the steamship Philadelphia of Philadelphia, which cleared on November 30, 1850.

BOATSTEERERS AND MATES

Thirty-three blacks, most of them out of the Customs District of New Bedford, held thirty-seven boatsteerer positions on the whalers. The boatsteerers, who sometimes simultaneously served as mates, were the individuals in charge of the boats that tracked and brought the whales to

bay. Their knowledge, skill, and experience were the keys not only for a profitable venture but also for the safety of the teams on the boats.(1)

Joseph Miller thrice held the position of boatsteerer on the same vessel when it went to sea in 1808, 1815, and 1818. But some black boatsteerers were not as fortunate as Miller. Philip Baily was a boatsteerer on the Tacitus, which was lost at sea some months after it left port. Henry Tucker's ship, the Maria Theresa, got caught in a heavy gale that resulted in the loss of the first mate, one boatsteerer, and three other men. This loss of life was tragic, yet the owners of the Maria Theresa profited from a successful haul of sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone. Most of the vessels with black boatsteerers as well as those with non-black boatsteerers turned in a tidy profit for their captains, owners, and agents.(2)

Identifying the mates, those in command positions under the captains, was at times a problem. When the crew was all-black, as it was in some instances, the individuals whose names appeared immediately beneath those of the captains were assumed to have been mates in the absence of information to the contrary. The same assumption was not always valid when the crew was mixed, since some "no proofs" had been identified as mates on the shipping articles. Consular notes provided information on some men; for example, when Oscar C. Roberts was left in Galveston, Texas, because of illness, the consul referred to him as the mate. Boarding officer reports aided in the identification of others, such as Francis Quiner, who was specifically pointed out as first mate when the muster was taken. Without the aid of consular and boarding officer reports and in the absence of shipping articles, internal evidence was used to determine some ranking officers. Some crew lists designated the title and position of the personnel. For those that did not, a comparative analysis of the personnel data on crew lists of those voyages and any other voyages made by the same individual produced some results. Positive determination was not always possible. Hence, the mates were divided into two groups: those blacks who were mates and those blacks who probably were mates.

In reference to the "probable mates," all were enrolled on the lists in the spot customarily reserved for the first mate. All were described as black, or men of color, or mulatto, or yellow with dark hair, or brown with dark or black hair, except one: fifty-eight year old John Tarquin had brown complexion and grey hair. All but one were on ships with other blacks in the crew: Samuel Carter was the only member of his seven-man crew who was not a "no proof." Seven made multiple voyages, and each time their names were in the spaces where mates' names normally appeared. The evidence strongly suggests that these men, fifty-five in all, were mates. Their names, ship assignments, and other pertinent information appear in Table 22 of the Appendix.

All of these probable mates were on merchant vessels. They travelled on ships with home ports in New Orleans, Norfolk, Charleston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York, as well as those in the New England states. All of them with the possible exception of one worked under non-black commanding officers. Another, Virginia-born Francis Epps, who probably was either a first officer or first mate on the steam packet Columbia of New York, made

more than thirty voyages on steamships between June 30, 1838, and October 8, 1840. On several of these trips, T. B. Lee and Company of New Orleans supplied slave mariners. At the time Epps may have been first officer or first mate, five of the Lee slave mariners were working on the ship.

Eighty mates, thirty-eight on merchant ships and forty-two on the whalers, and one first officer on a steamship had worked their way up the ladder to officer positions. Most of them were first mates, second in rank under the captain; others were second mates; and still others were third or fourth mates. The latter two positions generally were assignments on whalers. Some served two or more tours of duty as mates (see Table 23 in the Appendix for a listing of the mates).

J. B. Baker, born in Buffalo, New York, was first officer on the steamship Cahawba of New York three times between August and December 1860. The Cahawba had crew complements in excess of fifty, including engineers, firemen, coal passers, waiters, stewards, a variety of cooks, and a purser. On the August 24 passage, thirty of the fifty-nine crewmen were "no proofs," while forty-six of the fifty-two men on the December voyage were naturalized citizens. The composition of the crew suggests that the Cahawba was in the business of carrying passages between New Orleans and New York via Havana.

John Wainer's ship apparently was manned entirely by blacks, including the captain. Six other mates, James L. Arndall, John Atkinson, B. F. Bass, Nathan McKinnie, John Middleton, and Benjamin Prince, had all-black crews under them. George Ward, John Williams, and Thomas Wood were mates on merchant vessels whose crews may have been all-black.

Two black mates did not return with their ships. Isaac Bacon, the mate on the May Queen of Philadelphia, probably went down with his ship in the Delaware Bay. Without explanation, the boarding officer at New Orleans simply noted that Charles Lawrence was not on board when the Camden returned to port.

John Williams, who was variously described as yellow with woolly hair, mulatto with dark hair, and as an Indian with black hair, was employed along with his wife Jane on his March 1832 sailing. Jane Williams was an Indian and the only non-black in the crew.

The merchant ships on which these blacks were mates had home ports in the North and the South. Eleven of the blacks were on ships with home ports in Philadelphia, but only two on ships registered at New Orleans. The merchant ships on which the mates worked carried cargo, mail, and occasional passengers to ports in England, France, Italy, Spain, and the German port cities. However, their most frequent destinations were in the Caribbean. Havana was the main destination for the steamships.

The mates on the whalers were an exceptionally hardy lot. They normally doubled as boatsteerers, leading a team of men in small boats in the classic duel of men against whales. They had to overcome the burden of race and achieve a good measure of on-the-job success before advancing to mates.(3) The owners, agents, and captains of the whalers wanted skilled and experienced hands and hearty souls in the ranked positions for the success of the venture. Blacks moved up in ranks because they had the skill and experience, because the need was there, and because at this time, unlike

in many areas of the domestic economy, they were not barred from these jobs on the seas. In the view of the owners, agents, and captains of the vessels, one of the tests of a good whaling crew was the profits they obtained from the venture.

On the basis of this criterion, many of the whalers with black mates did exceptionally well. The Formosa, with Benjamin Williams as mate, returned to port after four years, six months, and four days at sea with a payload worth \$80,711. The crew of the Eliot C. Cowdin, on which Jasper M. Ears was mate, made port with oil worth about \$78,258 after almost four years at sea. Joseph Ammons was mate on the Roman, which sent home about \$5,000 worth of sperm oil and whalebone and returned home after two years at sea with additional sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone worth about \$34,500. Paul Cuffee, Jr., was the fourth mate on the Alexander Coffin, which left port on October 20, 1844, and returned on April 19, 1849, with a cargo valued at \$26,531. On George Baily's apparent third voyage as mate, the Ceres, out to sea a little over nine months, made port with sperm oil and whale oil which grossed almost \$23,000. On the next voyage, which lasted almost two years, the crew of the Ceres had a cargo which brought in about \$37,000.(4)

Some whaling ventures were not as profitable. The Pantheon, with Henry Williams as mate, returned with \$10,293 worth of oil and bone. But the Roscoe, on which Williams had sailed previously, turned in a tidy profit to the owners and agents. The Rodman, with Asa Wainer as mate, and both voyages of the Rising States, with William Cuffee, George Baily, and James Hamilton as mates, did not turn a profit. Unless the Rodman sold some of its cargo while at sea or sent some home on another vessel, its owners, agents, and crewmen suffered a serious loss. Since the Rodman on its previous whaling mission realized a handsome profit for its owners, the only real losers were the crew members of the later voyage.

Black mates appeared on the ships throughout the period from 1803 to 1860. The eighty who were unquestionably mates and the first officer held 110 positions on 105 different voyages and played a very important role. If the service of the fifty-five probable mates is added, the black role becomes even more significant. Moreover, had the Nantucket records and more of the New Bedford shipping articles been available at the National Archives, additional mates and boatsteerers could have been identified. For example, the mates and boatsteerers on the Industry, which had an all-black crew, could not be identified, nor could any others who might have been on the whalers at Nantucket.

A SUPERCARGO

A supercargo is the individual in charge of the cargo of a vessel. His is the duty to sell and purchase the ship's goods and merchandise and to keep records of the ship's business transactions. Although he usually has no command responsibilities, a supercargo is an important member of the crew. His acuity in the disposing and receiving of the cargo determines the profitability of the voyage.

Purnell, surname only, a Philadelphia "servant," held the position of supercargo on the Alert, which sailed on June

29, 1807, to Laguna. A slave placed in charge of the cargo on the vessel! In addition to his being a slave, Purnell's assignment was all the more intriguing since he did not appear to have been a "servant" to the captain, since he was apparently the only black on board, and since he was deemed competent enough to do the job by the consigners of the cargo.

Only one other black was found who reportedly had been a supercargo. Richard Johnson, as noted in Chapter 1, was the supercargo on a ship which made port at Charleston. Johnson in the 1830s owned, provisioned, and sent to sea a whaler which was manned exclusively by blacks.(5)

SHIPMASTERS

The highest ranking officer on shipboard was the captain. The captain had complete responsibility for the ship and the crew; the success of the voyage and the survival of the men depended on his skills. In the records surveyed, twenty captains were definitely black and an additional forty were probably black. The actual number is undoubtedly much higher because more than one-third of the captains in the sample had no physical descriptions and many others had imprecise and vague descriptions.

Of the forty probable captains, twenty-three had brown complexions and dark, black, or chestnut hair, or no stated hair color or texture. Thirteen others, although without description, had same-surnamed apparent free blacks in their crews: men described as black or brown with black or dark hair. The remaining four, also without description, by virtue of other internal evidence could have been black (see Table 24 for the listing of probable captains).

The latter four were Prince Freeman, Prince Snow, John Hammond, and Henry Tew, Jr. Both Freeman and Snow had names common among blacks. Also, Freeman's Barnstable, Massachusetts, protection papers depicted him as "darkish" and everyone in his six-man crew was without descriptive data which, although common at New York, was unusual elsewhere, especially for ships out of Boston. Snow commanded a crew of six; five of them were black. Hammond and Tew were on ships out of Newport. John Payne Hammond, who also worked out of Newport and twice served as mate in 1807, was described as having brown complexion. John Hammond, the master of the General Cobb of 1843, may have been the son or kinsman of John Payne Hammond. Further, the seven crewmen of the Captin Hammond's ship were all without description. The only Tews on the Newport crew lists were black. Cuff, Abraham, John, and Jack Tew were employed on ships at Newport from 1803 to 1816. A black family of Tews was listed on the Newport City Directory as late as 1865.(6)

The thirteen shipmasters without description who had same-surnamed men in their crews were Pardon Bennett, Manuel Durand, William Freeman, Hezekiah Gardner, Samuel Glidden, Nathaniel Green, Joseph Hendley, Pardon Howland, Nicholas Myers, Levi Paine, Loum Snow, William Williams, and Alexander Wilson. Bennett and Durand both had a two-man crew, all black. With Bennett on his ship, which was registered in Tiverton, Rhode Island, was eighteen-year-old Abaco Bennett, and with Durand on his ship, which was registered in New Orleans, was fourteen-year-old Louis Durand. Like

shipmasters Bennett and Durand, the eleven other shipmasters with same-surnamed crewmen sailing with them had other blacks on board. Loum Snow was the only whaling master among the probable captains, and his 1837 cargo of sperm oil and whale oil grossed about \$4,900.

Francis Logan was one of the probable captains with descriptive data. In 1817, his age was given as fifty-six and, although he had no listed residence, his birthplace was given as New Orleans. Logan purportedly had brown complexion and black hair. Between December 1807 and January 1819, Logan held at least six commands, all on ships registered in New Orleans and all cleared for Mexican ports. His crews, not unlike those of some other ships at New Orleans or elsewhere, were multiethnic and interracial. On all of his voyages except the last one, Logan had a slave crewman. Apparently three different slaves with given names only served under him at different times. The holder of the slaves was not always identified, but on some crew lists was the notation "belonging to the captain" or "slave to the captain."

These probable shipmasters commanded ships registered at New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and port cities in the New England states. The forty captains held a total of fifty-six commands.

The twenty shipmasters who were unquestionably black commanded vessels in or out of New Orleans, Philadelphia, Newport, Nantucket, and New Bedford. Their ships had home ports in New Orleans, Philadelphia, Boston, Westport, New Bedford, Nantucket, Mattapoisett (Massachusetts), Warren (Rhode Island), and Charleston (South Carolina). Twelve took merchant ships to sea and eight were whaling masters. Some of the whaling masters also commanded merchantmen (See the listing of the captains and their commands in Table 25).

Absolom F. Boston

Absolom F. Boston was the grandson of the slave Prince Boston and the husband of Hannah Cook. Boston's son, Thomas, later became assistant cashier of the Freedmen's Saving Bank in Washington, D.C. Boston had sailed for many years out of Nantucket under non-black sea captains before assuming command of the Industry. Both Starbuck and Stackpole, two noted historians on whaling, identified Boston as a black captain. Starbuck further indicated that the Industry was manned wholly by blacks and that it probably left Nantucket for a whaling mission sometime after May 8, 1822, and returned to port in November of the same year, a relatively short stay at sea for whaling ventures.(7)

Pardon Cook

Pardon Cook may have commanded more whaling voyages than any other black between 1803 and 1860. In taking to the sea, Cook may have been following in his father's footsteps. His father, Benjamin Cook of Tiverton, Rhode Island, had married Catherine Almy of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, on June 14, 1790. The couple had established a home in Westport, Massachusetts, one of the Buzzards Bay ports within the New Bedford Customs District. He may well have been the Benjamin Cook who was

mate on the Hero of Westport, which was outbound from Philadelphia to Oporto, Portugal, on May 23, 1803.(8)

Prior to assuming what may have been his first command, Pardon Cook served as second mate in 1816 on the Traveller to whaling grounds in the North Atlantic and again as second mate in 1819 on the Industry to whaling grounds off the Cape Verde Islands. He was on the Industry when it departed Westport in 1821 to whale off the Western Islands, this time as first mate. Cook likewise was first mate on the Almy and Traveller in 1822 and 1826. Five years later, on June 15, 1831, he sailed on the Two Brothers to the South Atlantic whaling grounds, and on November 26, 1836 he was on the Delight when it left New Bedford for the Atlantic. Cook may have been on other voyages. It appears that Cook's employment was all on vessels with interracial crews and that except for the tour of duty on the Traveller on May 6, 1826, his service was under the command of white officers.(9)

Four times, Cook took his men to sea in search for whales: three times on the Elizabeth in 1839, 1840, and 1841, and once on the Juno in 1843. The first three ventures were to whaling grounds in the Atlantic and the last one to the Indian Ocean.

The crew lists of these four commands of Pardon Cook provide a remarkable contrast of the rank and status of blacks on shipboard to that in the real world of a nation whose basic laws supported slavery and whose people believed in racial inferiority. The lists at the same time provide some insight into the power of the marketplace: whaling was a major business enterprise, the potential profits were high, and skilled persons in leadership positions were needed.

The crews on all four voyages were interracial. On the 1839 sailing of the Elizabeth, only two crewmen were unquestionably black: Asa Wainer and Samuel Cuffee (see Figure 13). John Davenport may have been black. But since two of the owners of the Elizabeth were Abner and Isaac Gifford and since Royal Gifford is listed as white, the inference is that Alexander Gifford was also white. Similarly, Peleg Tripp, although his complexion and hair were dark, was probably non-black since Alexander Tripp had light complexion and brown hair. Further, some other members of the Tripp family on subsequent voyages appear to have been white. The two ranking positions on the Elizabeth in 1839 were held by blacks: Pardon Cook and Asa Wainer. Next in line was John Davenport, with a description that could fit any man.

Of the fourteen men in the total crew of the Elizabeth's 1840 voyage, only four of them had descriptions that definitely marked them as black. Three of these blacks held the top ranks; Pardon Cook, Asa Wainer, and Rodney Wainer. These same three men were first, second, and third in command when the Elizabeth went to sea again on March 26, 1841, as shown in Figure 14.

Although Cook was without a description on the 1839 crew list, on the subsequent voyages of the Elizabeth and that of the Juno his birthplace, residence, age, height, and ethnic identity were revealed. On the Juno, Pardon Cook's junior offices were white. Of the twenty crewmen on the Juno, only two and possibly a third were black.

Most of the crew members on Cook's voyages were born in and lived in Westport or other New England port cities and towns. Only one foreigner left port on his ships: Manuel

13. Crew List of the Elizabeth of Westport, July 17, 1839.

List of Persons Comprising the Crew of the Brig Elizabeth of Westport wharfed at New York bound for the Atlantic Ocean

NAME	PLACES OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZEN OR SUBJECT	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS				
				Age	Height		Complexion	Hair
					feet	inches		
Asa Trimmer	Westport	Westport	Westport - N. H.	10	5	9	black	reddish
John Quincy	Do	Do		19	5	10 1/2	dark	dark
John H. Gifford	Do	Do		17	5	7 3/4	do	do
Abel P. Gifford	Do	Do		21	5	6 1/2	do	black
Samuel Gifford	Do	Do		10	5	10 1/4	dark	dark
Alex S. Gifford	Do	Do		11	5	"	light	brown
James W. Gifford	North Kingfield	Do		16	4	9 3/4	do	do
Royal Gifford	Westport	Do		53	5	5 1/4	do	gray
Richard Gifford	Westport	Do		20	6	7 3/4	oiled	curly
Edwin Baker	Westport	Do		15	5	7	light	brown
Alex Howland	Westport	Do		17	5	7 1/4	do	do
Manuel Pira								
Augustus White	New York							
Joseph Perry								

Deputy of Westport for Probate Westport
 June 16 1840 I hereby certify
 that all the above named men
 comprising the crew on return
 to this port
James Long

New York July 17th 1839
Richard Gifford

Peira was on the Elizabeth in 1839 and 1840. And, most remarkable for whaling voyages, no one deserted, no one was injured, no one was sick, no one died, no one was discharged en route, and no one was left at a foreign port on his first three commands.

He was not so fortunate on the Juno. One man deserted before the ship left port, six others deserted at various ports of call, and one was discharged because of illness in the Azores. Three of the four replacements were discharged and their places were filled with other foreigners. Two blacks and a third who might have been black were the only members of the original crew to return with the ship.

The owners and investors in the Elizabeth and Juno did not reap big profits from the sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone that Cook and his men brought home. Neither did they suffer any financial losses. The value of the haul from the voyages was sufficient to cover expenses or yield small profit.

Cook's sister, Polly, married the son and namesake of the noted Paul Cuffee in 1812. Cook, himself, in 1820 married into the Cuffee family by taking as his bride Alice Cuffee, the daughter of Paul Cuffee, Sr. Like his then deceased father-in-law, Pardon Cook acquired ownership shares in sailing vessels. He and his black first mate Asa Wainer were two of the seven owners of the Elizabeth in 1841. At his death in 1848, at age 53, Cook held a one-eighth interest in the whale-boat General Taylor.(10)

Paul Cuffee

Paul Cuffee's December 2, 1815, voyage to Sierra Leone was a precursor of the American Colonization Society's efforts to resettle blacks in Africa. Long before this date, Paul Cuffee had commanded vessels in foreign commerce, in whaling, and in the coastal trade. He was a highly successful shipbuilder, shipmaster, owner of a number of vessels, exporter, importer, merchandiser, and navigation instructor for his family members and others. The author of a contemporary history of New Bedford referred to Paul Cuffee as "a man of great work and [one] who possessed a most noble character." Numerous accounts detail his many achievements and contributions.(11)

As a navigation instructor and role model, Paul Cuffee touched the lives of an untold number of blacks. Whether unintentionally or by design, he started what may properly be called a seafaring dynasty. Paul Cuffee's brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters had married into families whose male members and many of their offspring became merchant seamen and whalers. The crew lists are replete with individuals with the names of Cuffee, Cuffe, Cuff, and Slocum (Cuffee's father's original surname), and Wainer, Cook, Gardiner, Howard, Masten, Phelps, Auker, Pompey, Johnson, and other family names resulting from intermarriages. A glance at the Cuffee genealogical chart and the lists of fathers and sons, brothers, boatsteerers, mates, and shipmasters in the Appendix provides some evidence of the existence of the Cuffee dynasty (see Tables 20 and 26). A survey of the crew lists of the Customs Districts of New Bedford, New York, Newport, and Philadelphia, especially, would give ample

LIST OF PERSONS

Composing the Crew of the *Big Elizabeth* of Westport whereof is Master, *Isaac Cook* bound for
Whaling Voyages in the Atlantic Ocean & Elm Wharf

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.			
				AGE.	HEIGHT. Feet. Inchet.	COMPLEXION.	HAIR.
<i>Isaac Cook</i>	<i>Dartmouth.</i>	<i>Westport.</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>21.</i>	<i>5. 5.</i>	<i>Black.</i>	<i>Woolly.</i>
<i>Asa F. Wayner</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>18.</i>	<i>5. 9.</i>	<i>Black.</i>	<i>Woolly.</i>
<i>Rodney Wayner</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>21.</i>	<i>5. 10.</i>	<i>Copper</i>	<i>Black.</i>
<i>Stephen Tripp Jr.</i>	<i>Westport.</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>27.</i>	<i>5. 5.</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Brown.</i>
<i>Henry Perry.</i>	<i>New Port Rd.</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>44.</i>			
<i>Charles Hall</i>	<i>New Port Rd.</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>41.</i>	<i>5. 5.</i>	<i>Black.</i>	<i>Woolly.</i>
<i>Nathaniel Manchester</i>							
<i>Josh Smith</i>							
<i>Holden Tripp</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>19.</i>	<i>5. 8.</i>	<i>Dark.</i>	<i>Brown</i>
<i>Erasmus W. Maister</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>35.</i>	<i>5. 9.</i>	<i>Black.</i>	<i>Woolly.</i>
<i>Endicott DeBolt</i>	<i>Dartmouth</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>17.</i>	<i>5. 8.</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Brown</i>
<i>Geo. W. Butler</i>	<i>Dartmouth</i>	<i>do.</i>	<i>U. States</i>	<i>19.</i>	<i>5. 8.</i>	<i>Dark.</i>	<i>Black.</i>

Thomas Gifford

W. Gifford	Dartmouth	do	N. Plats	20	5	11/4	Light	Brown
Mum Butts	Dartmouth	do	N. Plats	19	5	11/4	Light	Brown
Charles F. DeWoll	Westport	do	N. Plats	15	5	27/4	Dark	Brown
			Out Door	do	do			

I, Pardon Cook do solemnly, sincerely and truly affirm that the above List contains the names of the Crew of the Brig Elizabeth together with the places of their birth and residence, as far as I can ascertain the same.

Appointed this 26 day of March 1841.

Before me,

[Signature]

Collector

Pardon Cook

supporting evidence of the presence on the ships of the Cuffees, their relatives, and their offspring by blood and marriage. It has already been mentioned that Captain Absalom F. Boston married Hannah Cook, that Captain Pardon Cook married Paul Cuffee's daughter, Alice, and that Cook's sister, Polly, married Paul Cuffee, Jr. The latter, who appeared on the crew list described as an Indian on the Dorothea out of Philadelphia on October 24, 1812, remained on the seas some thirty-five years.(12)

Paul Cuffee's crew on the Traveller to Sierra Leone in 1815 was all-black. His first mate was Alvan Phelps, his son-in-law. Also on board were Edward A. Cook and Cuffee's sixteen-year-old son William. All of the crew members except one were born in and resided at Westport or within the New Bedford Customs District.

William Cuffee

Captain William Cuffee took his crew on the Rising States to the South Atlantic and elsewhere to search for whales. He had an all-black crew of nineteen, which included Shadrack N. Howard, his nephew and the son of his sister, Ruth Cuffee Howard Johnson. The Rising States was black-owned and the majority owner was Richard Johnson, the brother-in-law of William Cuffee. This command was apparently William Cuffee's first. He had been first mate on the previous whaling voyage of the Rising States and on the Traveller's whaling venture in 1816. He had continued his seafaring life at least since his voyage to Sierra Leone with his father. He was, in short, an experienced seaman. But, as noted in Chapter 2, the ship apparently encountered rough seas some four months after it left port. Between November 21 and December 7, 1837, four men lost their lives before the vessel reached port at the Cape Verde Islands. Among the dead were James Hamilton, the second mate, and William Cuffee.

The remaining members of the crew wanted to continue the venture, but the American consul at Cape Verde condemned the ship as unseaworthy despite their vigorous protests and arranged to have the men and the 150 barrels of oil sent home aboard other ships.(13)

Thomas Dalton

Shipmaster Thomas Dalton held at least three commands on merchantmen. Dalton was born in Boston and resided there. In 1822, his stated complexion was dark, his hair brown, and his age thirty-six. Seven years later, his complexion was given as black, his hair dark, and his age as forty-two. He commanded vessels with home ports in Boston, and all three of his voyages were to Havana. His crew on the Venus may have been all-black, but those on the Easter Trader and the George appear to have been interracial. On each occasion his ships made calls at New Orleans. Dalton may have held other commands during the intervals between his known voyages.

Pierre Etienne

As commander, Pierre Etienne sailed at least fifteen times between New Orleans and Pensacola, frequently with a one- or two-man crew. Just as frequently, if not more so, he made voyages to Pensacola as a crewman, sometimes as the lone crewmen. In his case, as in others in this account, unless an individual was specifically designated as a mate, no one was presumed to have been mate when the crew had fewer than three men.

Captain Etienne was most often depicted as having brown complexion and grey hair. Once he was said to have a dark complexion. The clue to his ethnic origin was Jose Etienne, sometimes referred to as Joseph Etienne. Jose or Joseph, who was listed as eight years old in 1819, accompanied Pierre on at least eight voyages. The younger Etienne was referred to on several crew lists as the captain's son. Jose or Joseph was described variously as a mulatto with black hair or yellow with curly hair or simply as a mulatto. A man with brown complexion acknowledging a mulatto boy as his son presumably was black himself.

Daniel George

Captain Daniel George held six commands. The front and reverse sides of the crew list of his third voyage, which appear in Figure 15 and 16, and the crew lists of George's other five commands, provide an opportunity for comment and analysis. The reverse side of the illustrated list, dated December 19, 1816, bears George's signature in clear flowing script and his oath and that of a customs official attesting to the authenticity of the data on the list. It also shows that the vessel was registered at Charleston.

On the front side, George is shown as a mulatto with woolly hair. George was described in the same manner on the crew lists of his fifth and sixth voyages, which sailed on April 18, 1817, and June 14, 1817. Had George appeared at New Orleans or any other port only during the course of his first voyage, his ethnic origin would not have been discovered, since no personnel information was entered on the list for him. On the crew lists for his second (October 30, 1816) and fourth (February 15, 1817) voyages, George is said to have had brown complexion and black hair. John George on the list shown in Figure 15 likewise had brown complexion, although his hair was curly. Presumably this same John George appeared on the October 30, 1816, crew list, where he had dark complexion and brown hair (Some blacks have brown hair). Charles George, who was also a crewman on the October 30, 1816, voyage, had brown complexion and black hair.

The circumstance that Daniel George twice was depicted with brown complexion and black hair and that John and Charles at one time or another were described as having brown complexion lends further credence to the possibility that the men listed as probable mates and probable masters with brown complexions may well have been black. The fact that William Lesley, who sailed with Daniel George on April 18, 1817, and had black complexion with woolly hair on the outbound list and brown complexion without a designation of hair color or texture on the inbound list adds more substance to the

15. Crew List of the *Caroline* of Charleston, December 19, 1816 (front side).

PRINTED BY F. K. WAGNER, NEW-YORK.



LIST of the PERSONS composing the CREW of the *Ship Caroline*, of Charleston, whose master is *David George*, bound for *Caracas*.

NAME.	Place of Birth.	Place of Birth.	Of what Country, District or Natives.	Description of their persons.			
				Age Years.	H-height Feet.	Complexion.	Hair.
<i>David George</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5 7</i>	<i>mulatto</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>Richard Nicholas</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>5 3/4</i>	<i>swarthy</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>Saml Jones</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5 10</i>	<i>mulatto</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>John Turner</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>5 3/4</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>James Gray</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>5 7</i>	<i>yellow</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>John Lewis</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	<i>Rhode Island</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5 6</i>	<i>swarthy</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>John W. Wright</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5 2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>light</i>
<i>Jose Cortez</i>	<i>Caracas</i>	<i>Caracas</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>J. Garcia</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>5 9</i>	<i>mulatto</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>J. M. Lopez</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>John Madrigal</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5 2</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>black</i>

16. Crew List of the *Caroline* of Charleston, December 19, 1816 (back side).

I, *James* do solemnly, sincerely and truly *swear* that the list contains the names of the crew of the *New Caroline* in the places of their birth and residence, as far as I can ascertain the same.
 of Mississippi—Port of N. Orleans, *19th Dec 1816*
James before

James George

DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI—PORT OF NEW ORLEANS

I do certify that the within is a true copy of the list of the crew of the *New Caroline* of master, taken from the original, on file in this office.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at the custom-house, this *19th* day of *Decr* in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and *16*

James George

I do hereby further certify that the within named *D. George & Son, & James* and *J. Gray*

who compose *one* of the company of the *Slave* is at present master, *as produced to me* in the manner directed in the act entitled "An act for the relief and protection of American seamen." And to the said act, and to the act supplementary to the act concerning consular and vice-consular jurisdiction, and for the protection of American seamen, I do hereby certify that the said *James George & Son*

are citizens of the United States of America.

Given under my Hand and Seal of office, *James George*

contention that those on the probable lists similarly described could indeed have been black.

George's vessel was registered in Charleston for the third voyage in December 1816, and the records showed that he twice cleared port at Charleston. Warren, Rhode Island, was the port of registration for the vessel, the Caroline, for the other five voyages. George was born in Rhode Island and claimed Charleston, South Carolina, as his residence on the December 1816 and the June 1817 voyages. Warren was his residence for the April 1817 sailing, while Swansey, Massachusetts, was claimed as his residence on the other two clearances. George, like other seamen, apparently located himself where the job assignments took him.

All of George's crews were apparently interracial. He likewise had foreign nationals on all of his voyages. Some of the foreigners were black and others were apparently non-black. Jose Bertolo, a nine-year-old child and a Spanish subject born in Havana, sailed on two voyages. On one occasion, as many as seven foreigners were in a nine-men crew, five of them Spanish subjects and the other two Italians. Twice George had a slave mariner, forty-two year old Frank Lafon. Lafon, apparently older than any other man on all of George's crews, was born in Africa and lived in Charleston. The record was silent on the identity of Lafon's holder. He was one of the few slaves on the New Orleans records with personnel information. Likewise, it was unusual that all of the foreigners on George's voyages were identified.

The ship registers for the port of Bristol-Warren, Rhode Island, do not reveal the ownership of the Caroline. The outbound manifest of the December 1816 voyage contained consignments from eight different shippers. Some of the goods on this voyage were foreign merchandise brought to the United States for exporting.

George experienced some problems with his crews. On his October 1816 voyage, Charles George, apparently his older brother, and two Spanish nationals, both born in Spain and claiming cities in Spain as their residences, deserted in Havana. On the April 1817 passage, three others deserted, two blacks and one Italian. Both blacks were Spanish subjects; one was born in Africa and lived in Havana, the other was born in Florida and claimed New Orleans as a residence.

After six commands extending over an eight-month period with ethnically diverse and interracial crews including Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese, French, Canadians, and Americans, Daniel George did not again appear on the New Orleans records.

Samuel Harris

Whaling master Samuel Harris cleared Nantucket on September 19, 1842. Some four years and three months later, on December 24, 1846, Harris and his crew made port at Pernambuco with a badly leaking ship. The ship was condemned at Pernambuco and the crew forced to abandon its mission. Whale oil valued at about \$5,200 was sold at Pernambuco and Sydney, Australia. Additional whale oil and sperm oil worth

about \$42,000 was transferred to another vessel for transportation to Nantucket. Although their ship was lost through condemnation, Harris and his crew had obtained a large haul of oil.(14) With insurance covering the ship, the owners, agent, and officers of the Phoebe realized a good return for their investment and effort.

Amos Haskins

Amos Haskins was identified as black when he was first mate on the whaler Annawan, which sailed on April 26, 1843. The August 4, 1843, issue of the Liberator also referred to Haskins as black. The April 14, 1851, crew list of the Massasoit, of which Haskins was commander, gave his age as thirty-four and his birthplace as Rochester, Massachusetts, and described him as a mulatto with black hair. On this voyage, Haskins had twenty-two men in his crew: six were clearly black, including three foreigners, six others may have been black, including two foreigners, and the rest were apparently non-black. If the sequence of the names on the list represented the rank of the crewmen, then the first, second, and third mates (the latter probably a boatsteerer) were among those who might have been black. On its next voyage, the Massasoit again had twenty-two men in its crew: twelve were black, including the only foreigner, and the other ten were non-black. The first nine names appearing on the November 1852 crew list were those of blacks. The shipping articles confirmed that the first and second mates and three boatsteerers were black. The crews, then, on Haskins' two commands were interracial. The ranking officers on the first may have been black and those on the second were definitely black.

Haskins had personnel problems. Fourteen of the men in his first command did not return with the ship. His first mate and some of his boatsteerers were among those discharged. At least four blacks, including two foreigners, were not on the Massasoit when it returned to port on September 15, 1852, after having been at sea for some seventeen months. Haskins picked up eleven replacements at foreign ports; eight of them were Portuguese subjects, one was English, and at least one was an American. The number of discharges and/or desertions experienced by Haskins and the hiring of replacements at foreign ports of call were not uncommon among whaling masters. Incidentally, not a single individual who made the voyage with Haskins in 1851 was aboard the Massasoit when he went to sea in November 1852. The rate of labor turnover was high among whalemens, but in this instance it was 100 percent. Noteworthy, also, was that on this second command Haskins had blacks immediately under him.

Haskins and his men returned from the first voyage with enough sperm oil to enable the investors to make a fairly good profit. The second voyage no doubt resulted in a financial loss to all concerned; it was at sea only eight months. The deaths of four men, including one black, and the desertion of two others, both black, may have led to the termination of the venture.

William A. Leidesdorff

Despite the 1807 Louisiana Territorial law that barred the entry of free blacks, William A. Leidesdorff migrated to the state, settled there, and became naturalized there. Surprisingly, he became a shipmaster operating out of New Orleans and commanding interracial crews in foreign commerce after the passage of the state's Negro Seamen's Law of 1830 requiring all out-of-state free black seamen to leave the state within thirty days or with their ships if these vessels were being prepared for outbound voyages. Leidesdorff, a remarkably successful man, was born in St. Croix, the son and legal heir of a Danish sugar planter and a black mother. He migrated to Louisiana and became an American citizen in 1834. He later settled in California and became a merchant and United States vice-consul. Prior to his appointment as vice-consul, Leidesdorff had embraced Mexican citizenship and had received a large grant of land from the Mexican government. As vice-consul he played an important role in winning California for the United States. At his death in 1848, his real estate holdings were valued at one and one-half million dollars; he was certainly one of the wealthiest black Americans in the pre-Civil War era.(15)

Without foreknowledge of Leidesdorff's origin, the researcher most certainly would have received no help from the lists on his racial identity. As mate on the Lucy Ann of Baltimore, which sailed on August 30, 1833, and made a port call at New Orleans, his birthplace and residence were listed as Baltimore, his age as twenty-seven, his complexion as dark, and his hair as dark. Between April 2, 1834, the year he reportedly became a naturalized citizen and, hence, eligible to command an American merchantman, and February 14, 1838, Leidesdorff's name appeared on the crew lists as shipmaster on eighteen occasions. Seventeen times his ships, registered at New Orleans, departed from and returned to New Orleans. Once his ship apparently cleared out of Boston, where it was registered, and terminated at New Orleans. It was on the crew list of this Boston-registered vessel that one finds the only descriptive information on Leidesdorff as shipmaster. The crew list prepared in Boston for his November 15, 1836, sailing gave his age as twenty-six, his complexion and hair as dark, and his residence as New Orleans. The record was silent on his place of birth, although nine of his crewmen had listed birthplaces.

All of his crews were interracial, and they ranged in number from five to eleven. Although seventeen of his voyages departed from and returned to New Orleans, only two men on all eighteen of his commands reportedly were born in Louisiana, and both of these men had descriptions that could "fit any man." All of his crewmen who were clearly identifiable as black were born Maryland or the northern states; only three claimed New Orleans as a residence.

Unlike Daniel George, who probably had to recruit some of his men in Cuba, Leidesdorff's crews were supplied by Ralph Jacob and Company, a ship brokerage firm in New Orleans. Indeed, the company's printed crew list forms were deposited with the Bureau of Customs authorities at New Orleans instead of the standard government forms. The company's crews apparently performed their duty satisfactorily, and all returned with their ship except on

the June 1837 voyage. On this occasion, nine crewmen, all except the mate, absconded, and Leidesdorff had to obtain replacements in Havana. The outbound crew lists for this voyage and for his November 1836 command, which originated in Boston, appear in Figures 17 and 18. Note the difference in letterheads of the forms, the descriptive data on Leidesdorff on the Boston form, and the absence of data on some men, especially information on places of birth and residence.

Leidesdorff commanded four different vessels: the Eclipse, the Crawford, the Columbus, and the Angel. He carried cargo to Texas and Vera Cruz in Mexico, to Omoa in Honduras, and to Havana. His most frequent voyages were to Havana. His outbound cargoes consisted of a vast array of merchandise, including flour, lard, pork, sugar, butter, beans, cotton, clothing, shoes, liquors, wines, snuff, sperm oil, fish oil, candles, soap, glassware, cutlery, chocolate, and nails. One shipment contained, among other items, thirty boxes of machine implements and apparatus for an exhibition. Once, in January 1835, Leidesdorff transported as part of the cargo his own consignment of flour, lard, soap, sugar, coffee, cutlery, wines, and empty casks to market in Omoa, Honduras. The value of the cargo on some of his voyages exceeded \$20,000.

His shipping consignments were obtained from a number of individual exporters. The most frequent shipper was the company of Champonier (or Champomier) and Girand, a business partnership of Pierre Antoine Champonier and Pierre Antoine Girand, the two owners of the Angel, which Leidesdorff commanded on ten trips to Havana. The Eclipse, which Leidesdorff piloted on his first five voyages to Honduras, was registered in the name of Jules Le Blanc, a New Orleans merchant and agent for the owner.(16) The manifests for the first two voyages of the Eclipse showed that Jules Le Blanc was the sole consigner. The Columbus's shippers, William Bryan and Brandes de Rinney Wright, sent an assortment of merchandise including a large shipment of liquors to Texas. In Leidesdorff's case it appears that the business connections of the shippers and the vessels' owners, rather than the nature of the cargo, determined the destination of the voyages.

Attached to the manifest of Leidesdorff's last outward voyage from New Orleans was this terse notation:

Capt. Wm A. Leidesdorff has given bail according to law in case of the United States against him.

[Signed] W. W. Wiggins
New Orleans, February 14, 1838, Deputy
U. S. Marshall

The bail bond of \$750.00 made on February 14, 1838, was undersigned by Leidesdorff and Champonier and Girand, the firm that owned the Angel, so that the vessel could proceed on its voyage. The government sought a \$500.00 penalty on its claim that the fastenings and seals placed on some cargo had been broken and removed.(17)

Leidesdorff through an attorney denied that a Customs Office official had installed the fastenings and seals and that the fastenings and seals were fixed in the manner as alleged. The allegations were centered on some bags of coffee in the lower cabin of the Angel. Leidesdorff

17. Crew List of the Angel of New Orleans, June 24, 1837.

PRINTED BY GEORGE S. ...

PRINTED AT THE ...
JAMES JACKSON & CO.
 SHIP BROKERS,
 NEW ORLEANS.

LIST OF PERSONS

JOINING THE ... of New Orleans, whereof is Master ...
 board for ...

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION OF APPEARANCE.		
					HEIGHT.	COMPLEXION.	HAIR.
Wm. Williams			United States				
Jac. Smiths	Livingston			31	5	5 1/2 light	Brown
Joseph Smith				40	5	3 1/2 dark	dark
Geo. Wainham	Indiana			24	5	4 1/2 light	Brown
Wm. Rice	St. Louis			30	5	7 1/2 light	light
Benj. J. Newcomb				24	5	10 dark	dark
Henry Williams	Indiana			37	5	9 black	wooly
Walter Lambert				32	5	8 1/2 light	light
John Paine							
Wm. Davis				supposed			
Theresa Thomas							

List of Persons, comprising the Crew of the Brig Angel
of Boston, which is Master Leidesdorff, bound for Habanero

NAME	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZEN OR SUBJECT	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS			
				Age	Height	Complexion	Hair
W. A. Leidesdorff		New Orleans	United States	Twenty six	five	Six	Dark Dark
John White	Maryland	Boston	Do	Twenty four	five	Swart	Light Light
Benjamin Hancock	Boston	Boston	Do	Twenty three	five	Swart	Dark Dark
Wm Leach	New York	Boston	Do	Thirty	five	Light	Dark Dark
William Shea	Pittsford	Boston	Do	Twenty nine	five	Swart	Light Light
John Parker		Boston					
John Lambert	Sandwich	Boston	United States	Twenty four	five	Light	Light Light
John H. ...		Boston	Do	Twenty nine	five	Swart	Dark Dark
Thomas ...	Anti ...	Boston	Do	Twenty seven	five	Light	Swart
Mr W. Leggett	Mahabury	Boston	Do	Thirty five	five	Swart	Black Woolly
Henry Williams	Phil ...	Boston	Do	Thirty five	five	Swart	Black Woolly

maintained that on his last voyage from Havana he carried more coffee bags than usual and had the extra bags placed in the lower cabin, which also held some of the ship's stores. He stated that on his voyage from Havana the hatches to the lower cabin, which had no access to the main hatches, were tied with small cord and remained tied when the vessel arrived at New Orleans. He further stated that some days later when he desired some of the ship's provisions from the lower cabin, he asked the ship's steward if a Customs official had sealed and fastened the cargo in the lower cabin. When the steward replied in the negative and stated that the same cord that had been previously affixed was still in place, Leidesdorff said that he then sent the steward in to get some provisions.

Leidesdorff assured the court that he had no "intention of doing any wrong, much less of violating the laws of his country." He requested a jury trial to prove his case if the charges were not dismissed. The first mate's deposition, which substantiated Leidesdorff's account of the events, was filed with the court on the opening day of the trial, June 19, 1838. The mate in his deposition stated that the Customs officer did not go into the lower cabin and did not put fastenings on the hatches there. The mate, however, was not positive about the time when the Customs inspector was on board, which was about six or seven days after the arrival of the Angel in port. One day after the trial had begun, on June 20, 1838, the court announced its verdict in favor of the United States.

Leidesdorff then petitioned Secretary of the Treasury Levi Woodbury. Woodbury felt that the "fine was incurred without wilful negligence or any intention of fraud" and decided "to remit to the Petitioner all the right, claim and demand of the United States . . . to the said fine in payment of costs by said petitioner." (18) This decision closed the case and marked the end of Leidesdorff's tenure as a captain at New Orleans.

A \$500.00 penalty for an incident involving surplus cargo in the ship's store room that was not inspected by Customs officials until six or seven days after the arrival of the vessel in port apparently did not seem right to Leidesdorff. No hint of intentional or wilful violation of rules was presented in the case by the government. Leidesdorff was a free black who had migrated to a state that officially did not welcome out-of-state free blacks, especially out-of-state free black seamen. He reportedly moved to the port of New York.

James Augustus Lewis and Pierre Louis

Only the bits and pieces of information on the crew lists have been found about several black shipmasters. Among them were James Augustus Lewis and Pierre Louis (Lewis). James Augustus Lewis, who was born in New York and claimed Charleston, South Carolina, as his residence, commanded the Messenger of Philadelphia out of the port of Philadelphia to Kingston, Jamaica. At the time of his command, in 1804, Lewis was twenty-eight years old. He had only one clearly defined black in his crew. Pierre Louis or Lewis twice piloted the merchantman Felicity from New Orleans to

Pensacola in 1813 with only one crewman aboard. In both instances, he had no description. But as a mate on the Lucille under Joseph Duro in 1816, Pierre Lewis was described as a twenty-six year old mulatto with woolly hair who was born in New Orleans.

Alvan Phelps

Alvan Phelps, son-in-law of Paul Cuffee and a member of the Cuffee dynasty, commanded the Traveller on three occasions: twice as a merchantman and once as a whaler. On the Traveller as a merchantman, Phelps had mixed crews, and each time had black first mates. Phelps's two sons, John A. and Milton, ages seventeen and fifteen respectively, were crewmen on the May 1826 voyage to St. Andrews, Canada. In 1822 Phelps took his son John on a whaling venture to the Western Islands on the Traveller as a member of an all-black crew of thirteen. The whaler was at sea less than one year and its early return may have been precipitated by a mishap on board that led to the drowning of one crewman and the arrest of another. Captain Phelps and two of his sons were to meet personal misfortune themselves in 1831 when the Hammer on a coastal trip between Westport and Nantucket was wrecked and all three of them were lost.(19)

Edward J. Pompey

Among the many unexpected findings of this study was the whaling venture commanded by Edward J. Pompey. Pompey preceded William Cuffee as whaling master of the Rising States. Richard Johnson, a few months before Pompey's voyage, had become the sole owner of the vessel. He persuaded Edward Pompey to come up from Nantucket to head the whaling mission. He gathered around Pompey several experienced whalemen. William Cuffee as mate and James Hamilton as second mate each had at least sixteen years of seafaring experience. Henry Champlain, the oldest at age forty-seven, had been a whaleman on the Diana (1815) and the Abigail (1821). Abraham Gooding had been on the seas at least as early as 1829, first as a merchant seaman on the Drogar (Drugin), which cleared New Bedford on February 10, and later as a whaleman. Others of the all-black crew may have had previous seafaring employment.

Johnson spent \$4,000 in provisioning the Rising States and additional money for insurance, bonds, and other incidentals. The New Bedford black community was aware of the uncommon undertaking, and at a church meeting a special prayer was offered for the success of the enterprise, funded and undertaken entirely by blacks. But the proceeds from the sale of the cargo did not cover the expenses.(20)

Antonio Ribas and Samuel Snow

Information on shipmasters Anto. (Antonio) Ribas and Samuel Snow comes from the crew lists. Ribas, age twenty with yellow complexion and black hair, cleared New Orleans on the Hope on December 17, 1817, for Pensacola. Ribas, whose birthplace was not disclosed, had with him only one crewman,

Juan Albaras, a forty year old Spanish-born New Orleans resident whose complexion was dark and hair woolly.

Samuel Snow, a "bright mulatto," commanded the Latona of Philadelphia to Marseilles in 1832 and made a port call at New Orleans. Snow, whose age was twenty-four and whose birthplace and residence were unlisted, had fourteen men in his crew, including at least four blacks. Two years later, Snow was commander of the Creole of New Orleans on its voyage to Havre. The crew list of the Creole contained no personnel data on Snow. Further study may reveal whether the Samuel Snow who was shipmaster of the Elizabeth of Boston (December 28, 1816), the Six Brothers of Boston (May 1, 1818), and the Mayflower of Boston (May 31, 1824 and May 1825), was the same person as the Samuel Snow who was the "bright mulatto". Of the latter three ships, only the crew list of the 1824 voyage of the Mayflower had descriptive data on its master. He was reportedly born in Spain and a resident of Cohasset, Massachusetts, with dark complexion and hair. His age was listed as thirty-four. Given the inaccuracies and wide discrepancies of the age data, a possibility exists that the Samuel Snow of the Latona and the Creole and the one of the Elizabeth, the Six Brothers, and the Mayflower may have been one and the same man or father and son.

Paul Wainer and Thomas Wainer

Shipmasters Paul and Thomas Wainer were brothers. Both had commanded ships in the coastal trade. Some of their ships were owned in whole or in part by their well-known uncle, Paul Cuffee, Sr. Paul Wainer led the merchantman Resolution and the whaler Protection, to sea. The Resolution had a two-man black crew. The crew of the Protection, which is shown in Figure 19, was interracial. Four of its ranking officers were black. The only thing about Paul Wainer that was divulged on this crew list was the country of his citizenship. At sea a little than a year, the Protection returned to port with 500 barrels of whale oil, whose then market price was a little over \$5,000.

Thomas Wainer commanded the Hero and the Traveller in foreign commerce. The Hero carried cargo to Oporto, Portugal, in 1803, and the Traveller sailed for Sierra Leone in December 1810. Both of Thomas Wainer's commands cleared Philadelphia for their foreign destinations; both had mixed crews; and both had non-black first mates. Thomas Wainer had his younger brother, John, as a crewman on the Hero and both John and Michael, another younger brother, as crewmen on the Traveller.

Peter Green and Alexander Rose

Peter Green and Alexander Rose were not shipmasters when their respective ships left port. They found themselves commanders on the return voyages as a result of mishaps. Peter Green was second mate on the whaler John Adams of Natucket, which cleared port on June 23, 1821. The captain died and the first mate and his boat crew were lost as a result of being towed by a whale. Speaking of Green, Stackpole wrote that "he was an officer and his command, coming as it did through a process of harsh elimination, was

LIST OF PERSONS

Composing the Crew of the *Brig Protection* of Fair Haven, whereof is Master *Paul Waince*
 the Master *blazes* elsewhere at sea for whaling bound for

NAMES.	PLACES OF BIRTH.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.	OF WHAT COUNTRY CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.	DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.				
				Aged.	Height.		Complexion.	Hair.
					Feet.	Inches.		
<i>Paul Waince</i>			<i>United States</i>					
<i>John Mastony</i>	<i>Barnstable</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 3/4</i>	<i>slender</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>Augustus E Pecke</i>	<i>Dorchester</i>	<i>Dorchester</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>colored</i>	<i>blk</i>
<i>Paul Cuffee</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7 1/2</i>	<i>Colored</i>	<i>black curly</i>
<i>Richard Delano Jr</i>	<i>Fair Haven</i>	<i>Fair Haven</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>dark</i>
<i>George Soule</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8 3/4</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>Setham Trapp</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7 1/2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>Oleiver Head Jr</i>	<i>Troy</i>	<i>Troy</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>black</i>
<i>John Manchester</i>	<i>Swanton</i>	<i>Swanton</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10 1/2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>Gilbert Trapp</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>dark</i>
<i>Philip Baber</i>	<i>Swanton</i>	<i>Swanton</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9 1/2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>David Trapp</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5 1/2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>Elles Trapp</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8 3/4</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>
<i>Benjamin Seabury Jr</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>Westport</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>brown</i>

nevertheless his--and he was master of his ship." Stackpole stated that Peter Green brought the John Adams home to Nantucket "from 3 days 'round the Horn." Green is cited as a replacement captain in the Directory of Whaling Masters.(21)

Alexander Rose, a thirty-three-year-old native of the West Indies and a naturalized American citizen, held no ranking position on the Numa of New Orleans when it cleared port on June 20, 1831. The ship's captain became ill at sea and had to be left at a Mexican port. The captain apparently lacked confidence in his mate and notified the American consul that he was entrusting the command of the ship with a mixed crew of seven to Rose with instructions for Rose to return it to Mobile.

Alexander Rose and Peter Green, like so many other blacks before and after them, had the knowledge and skill to hold responsible positions but were mired at the lower levels of the ladder only to be used briefly for rescue operations or not used at all. A few, like Green and Rose, have their names and deeds recorded, but most languish in anonymity, used or passed over, and forgotten.

Lack of specificity, insufficiency of information, and absence of data may have precluded the recovery of some black ship officers. Moreover, the likelihood exists that some men cited above or on the lists in the Appendix cleared from or returned to the United States during a time or at a port beyond the scope of this study. Paul Cuffee captained more than one vessel in overseas ventures. Richard Johnson's seafaring activities, except for a possible single voyage out of Philadelphia on the Bonetta of Baltimore on September 10, 1807, as a steward, have not been recounted. Nor has William Alexander Leidesdorff's reported activity out of the port of New York been explored.(22)

What is remarkable about the black ship officers is not so much the number, for blacks held an infinitesimal portion of the ranked positions on the ships at the ports reviewed, but the fact that blacks held as many of these positions as they did in the pre-Civil War United States. This is especially true of the black shipmasters, few though they were. Even more remarkable was the number of occasions when the ships with interracial crews had black commanding officers and particularly when all of the ranking officers of interracial crews were black.

Based on accessible data, the ships captained by blacks ranged in capacity from 16 to 379 tons. At 16 tons was the Victoire, captained by Pierre Etienne. Etienne also captained the Mary Rose and the Jealous, of 28 and 30 tons respectively. Antonio Ribas's ship, the Hope, had a carrying capacity of 33 tons. The Angel which Leidesdorff took to sea ten times, was 157 tons. The other three vessels that Leidesdorff captained were the Eclipse at 56 tons, the Crawford at 59 tons, and the Columbus at 77 tons. Larger than Etienne's Ribas's and Leidesdorff's ships was the Latona, one of the two vessels commanded by Samuel Snow. The Latona was a 353-ton vessel.

Among the whalers, the Phoebe at 379 tons and commanded by Samuel Harris had the largest carrying capacity. The John Adams, which Peter Green captained on its return trip to Nantucket, was 268 tons. Amos Haskins twice took the 206-ton Massasoit on whaling voyages. The ships commanded by Pardon Cook, the Elizabeth and the Juno, were 107 and 166 tons

respectively, while the Rising States, captained by Edward Pompey and William Cuffee, was 134 tons. The Hero, Protection, and Traveller, which were used both as whalers and merchantmen and captained by Paul Cuffee, Alvan Phelps, Paul Wainer, and Thomas Wainer, were 162, 126, and 109 tons respectively. As will be noted in Chapter 4, blacks held ownership interests in some of these vessels.(23)

Leidesdorff's last appearance at New Orleans in February 1838 was the last appearance of any identifiable black captain at that port. Pardon Cook's appearance at Newport in 1840 was the last appearance of any identifiable black captain there. Amos Haskins was apparently the last black captain to clear from the New Bedford Customs District, at a time when the market for sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone was at its peak and the nation was undergoing a period of prosperity. None of the other black shipmasters, including those on the probable list in the Appendix operated beyond 1843.

Much earlier, Paul Cuffee with his ship, black crew, and cargo had been denied clearance by the Customs official at Norfolk, Virginia, because he was black. Cuffee, who at that time was engaged in the coastal trade, took his case to Washington, D.C., where he was brought before President Madison. Cuffee reportedly told the president: "I have been put to much trouble and have been abused . . . I have come here for thy protection and have to ask thee to order thy Collector for the port of Norfolk to clear me out for New Bedford, Massachusetts." Madison immediately moved to have Cuffee's ship cleared.(24)

It was the concern on the part of the state officials of Virginia about the presence of black captains at its ports some years later that prompted United States Attorney General William Wirt to issue a ruling in 1821. This ruling may help to explain the disappearance of black shipmasters from foreign commerce and whaling. Wirt's opinion read:

Free blacks in Virginia are not citizens of the United States in the sense in which the term citizen is used in acts regulating foreign and coastal trade so as quality to command vessels.

In justifying the exclusion of blacks from the command of vessels, the Wirt ruling stated that blacks were "not competent as witnesses" and that they could not "be clothed with the duties, powers, and authority of masters who are required to" take oaths in respect to the "property of white men, insurers, owners, freighters, and of the government itself."(25)

The Wirt ruling was issued in the wake of the controversy over Missouri's request for statehood. As the sectional crisis over slavery intensified, aided and abetted in part by the rising voices of the abolitionists, the apologists for slavery propagandized their views of racial inferiority. Yet the presence of black captains, especially those commanding mixed crews, at southern ports, northern ports, and ports around the world was a potent refutation of their arguments.

John C. Calhoun, the leading congressional spokesman for the slavocracy, who was a member of the president's cabinet

at the time the Wirt ruling was issued, was well aware of this situation. He succeeded in 1842 in getting the United States Senate to adopt a resolution barring blacks from all but the positions of cooks, stewards, and servants in the United States Navy. His rationale was that having blacks in any other positions would be denigrating to white seamen. The resolution failed to win approval in the House of Representatives.(26)

Calhoun and his supporters had powerful friends in high places at least from 1829 onward. Howell Cobb of Georgia, a "moderate" Democrat and former Speaker of the House of Representatives, was Buchanan's secretary of the treasury and probably the most influential of the president's cabinet secretaries. As secretary of the treasury with jurisdiction over the Bureau of Customs, Cobb voiced the view that since blacks were not citizens they could not be shipmasters on any vessels operating under United States licenses even if blacks owned the vessels.(27)

Challenges to the Negro Seamen's Laws in Congress and the courts and by foreign governments whose ships called at southern ports undoubtedly exacerbated southern resentment. Hence, from their positions of power, the southerners probably pressed for the implementation of the Wirt ruling. Also, the increasing presence on the ships of foreign-born non-black Americans, especially after 1840, created a skilled cadre of personnel to command the ships.

Answering a question in 1863 on whether blacks were held in esteem as whalemasters, Captain Edmund Gardner, a former whaling master, replied that they were "first rate material for whalemasters" and as highly regarded as other seafaring men. He told of having black officers, who "were all prime men," on three of his voyages from New Bedford. Captain Gardner recalled the days when his father-in-law, Captain Gideon Randall, a long-time whaling master, had twenty blacks in a thirty-man crew. He stated that over time the proportion of blacks in the crews had declined gradually "until in a majority of cases the cooks and stewards only were colored." He added:

This is the case now for the most part . . . but it is, without doubt, almost wholly owing to the prejudice of the whites. Colored men have held every position on board of our whale ships; but the reason why they are not there as seamen often, and very rarely there as officers is the same that must be given for their exclusion from every other position of authority or fellowship.(28)

The Wirt ruling was not formally reversed until 1862, and then only partially. Salmon P. Chase, an abolitionist and Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, had received a report from a Customs House official who told of the detaining of a vessel with a black captain at South Amboy, New Jersey. This customs official noted that numerous vessels in the coastal trade had black captains and he asked for an opinion on the status of blacks as citizens and their competency to be captains. Chase sought the views of Edward Bates, the attorney general. Bates issued an opinion that blacks were citizens and that, if qualified, they could command ships in the coastal trade.(29) The Bates ruling

gave the cloak of official sanction to an activity that had been ongoing. It explicitly did not extend to foreign commerce carriers.

This page intentionally left blank

Those Who Sailed

Seamen were a mobile cosmopolitan lot who took to the uncertainties of life and work on the seas for meager compensation. Some deserted or sought discharges from their ships at foreign and domestic ports. Some were involved in mutinies. A few managed to rise above the generality of their fellow mariners and acquire a measure of affluence. A few also engaged in community service activities.

BLACK OWNERSHIP OF VESSELS

Some blacks who sailed had ownership interests in whalers and merchantmen. Paul Cuffee probably had a greater capital investment in ships than any other black during this period. He held a one-half interest in the Alpha, the Traveller, and the Ranger and a one-third ownership in the Hope and the Hero. Cuffee-owned ships were used as whalers and merchantmen in overseas commerce and in the coastal trade. They went to sea under black and non-black shipmasters; and, as noted in Chapter 3 and on the charts of black captains in the Appendix, Paul Cuffee himself, and Alvan Phelps, Paul Wainer, and Thomas Wainer commanded some of these vessels. In his will Cuffee bequeathed to his son, Paul, one-fourth and to three of his daughters each one-eighth interest in the Traveller to provide an annual income for them.(1)

Richard Johnson was the sole owner of the Rising States in 1836 when Captain Edward J. Pompey went to sea with it. In 1837 when William Cuffee was its master, the Rising States had ten owners, most of them black. Johnson had retained the major interest and Edward J. Pompey had become one of the multiple owners. Richard Johnson also had ownership interests in the Francis and the Washington. His one-sixteenth ownership of the Francis was valued at \$1,750 in 1835. By 1842, he had increased his share of ownership in the Francis to one-eighth, which had an assessed value of \$4,000. On Richard Johnson's death, his share of the Washington went to his sons, Richard C. and Ezra R. Johnson. The two sons were part owners of the Wade, while Richard C. Johnson had an additional investment in the Pleiades. Nathan Johnson, a brother of Richard Johnson, was a part owner of the Draper.(2)

In addition to his interest in the Rising States, Edward Pompey held part ownership in the schooner A. R. Smith and the Highland. Alvan Phelps, Michael Wainer; Paul Wainer, Thomas Wainer, and Jeremiah Wainer, all tied to Paul Cuffee by blood or marriage, purchased or inherited interests in one or another of the vessels in which Paul Cuffee held ownership rights. Pardon Cook, Cuffee's son-in-law, and Asa Wainer, were two of seven owners of the Elizabeth. Additionally, Pardon Cook held an ownership interest in the whale-boat General Taylor. George J. Belain, who was twice mate on whalers and remained on the seas beyond 1860, had an investment in the Massasoit.(3)

With the exception of Belain, all of those named above were linked in the Cuffee dynasty. They were merchant seamen and whalemens, and they had vested interests in the business of seafaring. George J. Belain and his apparent son, William, likewise a mate, were blazing the trail for one of their own. Joseph G. Belain went to San Francisco and was involved in whaling there from 1886 to 1905, serving three times as boatsteerer, once as second mate, fifteen times as first mate, and once as whaling master between seasons.(4)

Additional research may bring to light other black ship officers who were owners of ships out of the New Bedford Customs District, and may uncover shipowners among ordinary seamen such as Nathaniel Borden, John M. Lawton, and Darius P. Gardner. Nathan Borden was a whaleman out of Nantucket who was on the Ann when she cleared port on December 13, 1827, for the Pacific Ocean. Some ten years later Borden purchased an interest in the Rising States. Lawton, who sailed on vessels out of Newport, was part owner of the Wintrop of Fairhaven, Gardner, a seaman on the Omega of Fairhaven in 1847, had invested in the President of Fairhaven and the Hermaphrodite. Likewise, blacks in other lines of endeavor may be found to have been shipowners such as David W. Ruggles, another of the owners of the Rising States, and William Berry, who had an investment in the Hudson of Beverly. Moreover, ship registers at port cities other than New Bedford need to be examined to assess how widespread shipowning was among blacks during this period. Luther Jackson in his study of free blacks in Virginia, for example, pointed out that John Updike of Petersburg owned four merchantmen.(5)

COMPENSATION

Merchant seamen usually signed a two- or three-month wage agreement for a flat rate based on their rank and position. At the beginning of the period, the seamen on the average received \$13.00 monthly; cooks and stewards were paid about \$15.00; mates earned between \$18.00 and \$20.00; and masters were paid between \$30.00 and \$35.00. The pay for black and non-black seamen was generally uniform. The \$58.00 monthly salary paid to Richard Johnson as steward and the \$118.00 monthly compensation paid to the black cook for their work on the Bonetta of Baltimore outbound from Philadelphia on September 10, 1807, were uncommonly high.

The salary for merchant seamen peaked in 1840, when it averaged \$21.00 per month; it dropped in the 1850s to \$16.00; and in 1860 seamen were earning \$17.00 monthly. Over the same period cooks and stewards earned four or five dollars

more than seamen. In 1840, mates earned between \$35.00 and \$45.00, and masters got between \$40.00 and \$50.00. The salary paid to mates in the 1850s and 1860 reflected the pattern of the seamen, cooks, and stewards. Generally, shipmasters' pay was not disclosed on the shipping articles for the 1850s and 1860 on the New Orleans records. The decline in wages for seamen between 1840 and 1850 probably was a reflection of the cost of labor on the domestic market following the panic of 1837 and the availability of more men for work.

Steamship employees generally earned more than those on the sailing ships. Engineers, pursers, and specialty people on the steamship received more than other employees. For example, the monthly salaries of personnel on the steamship De Sota of New York, which cleared New Orleans for New York via Havana on October 4, 1860, were as follows:

Captain			
First officer	\$ 75.00	Butcher	\$ 15.00
Second officer	45.00	Waiters (9)	15.00
Carpenter	40.00	Officers boy	17.00
Quartermasters (3)	25.00	Steward	75.00
Seamen (8)	20.00	Second steward	27.00
Ordinary seamen (2)	16.00	Stewardess	18.00
Chief engineer	125.00	Cook	60.00
First assistant engineer	75.00	Second cook	40.00
Second assistant engineer	50.00	Third cook	19.00
Third assistant engineer	40.00	Pastry cook	50.00
Fourth assistant engineer	40.00	Porter	20.00
Firemen (6)	30.00	Second porter	16.00
Coal passers (6)	20.00	Pantryman	20.00
Firemen's boy	16.00	Second pantryman	16.00
Storekeeper	25.00	Captain's man	15.00
Barber	15.00	Water-closet boy	15.00

The salaries quoted for most positions were about the going rate for steamship personnel and for some positions were slightly above average.

The stewardess on the De Sota, apparently the only female crew member on board, on her next voyage out on November 3, 1860, was paid \$15.00, three dollars less than she got for the previous voyage. Even at \$15.00, she was as well paid as most stewardesses on other steamships and better paid than many stewardesses on sailing ships. For example, the stewardess on the E. and E. Perkins (November 22, 1850, sailing date) received \$10.00 per month, as did the stewardess on the Oman Pasha (August 9, 1860, sailing date). Other stewardesses on sailing ships were paid \$12.00 and \$13.00 dollars per month. Male stewards on both sailing ships and steamships during comparable times generally received more money than their female counterparts.

At about the same time, on the sailing ship Highland Light of Boston, which cleared October 17, 1860, for Genoa, Italy, the mate was paid \$40.00, the second mate \$25.00, the carpenter \$25.00, each of the ten seamen \$16.00, the cook \$25.00, and the stewardess \$13.00 monthly. The disparity in the salary between the personnel on the sailing ships and those on the steamships in all probability was because the steamship business with its passenger load, cargo, and mail imposed a greater burden on some segments of the crew and was more profitable to the owners. Incidentally, the cook and

the stewardess on the Highland Light had the same surname, and it appears that even on steamships the gap between the salaries of male cook and stewardess was not as great when the male and female had different surnames.

Whalemen's earnings were based on fractional shares of the net proceeds from the sale of the sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone. These fractional shares were called lays. The lay system was premised on the assumption that the crews would have more incentive to bring in a larger haul. The premise cannot of itself be faulted, but the size of the lays allocated to all but a few key positions resulted in the exploitation of the common whalemen.

The lays for the men on the Pioneer, which sailed from New Bedford for the Indian Ocean on June 26, 1854, and returned on April 9, 1858, were as follows:

Master	one thirteenth
First mate	one seventeenth
Second mate	one thirtieth
Third mate	one fortieth
Boatsteerers (2)	one seventy-fifth
Boatsteerer (1)	one eighty-fifth
Cooper	one sixtieth
Cook	one hundred and thirty-fifth
Steward	one hundred and fortieth
Carpenter	one hundred and seventieth
Ordinary seamen (2)	one hundred and sixtieth
Green hands (8)	one hundred and seventy-fifth
Boy	one two hundred and tenth

(Data taken from Whalemen's Shipping Papers in the Melville Room, New Bedford Free Public Library)

The lays for some positions on the Pioneer were a little more generous than those recorded on some shipping papers, but they are representative of the average. It was not uncommon for masters to have been assigned lays at one eighteenth, first mates at one twenty-seventh, second mates at one thirty-eighth, cooks at one hundred and seventieth, seamen at one hundred and ninetieth, ordinary seamen at one two hundredth, green hands at one two hundred and twentieth, and boys at one two hundred and fiftieth. Instances existed where individuals holding the same position on the same voyage were assigned different lays. The Pioneer had no seamen, those with a rank above the ordinary seamen.

Additionally, whalemen generally were charged fees for the cost of the labor for the outfitting of the ship and for the discharging of the cargo from the ship. They, like merchant seamen, paid exorbitant prices for merchandise obtained on board ship and interest rates of twenty percent or more on salary advances and money borrowed at port cities. With interest rates that high, it was no wonder that the owners or agents of the ships apparently had little or no reluctance in making advances to the men.

Reminiscing about his days as a whalemen, which ended in 1914, a ninety-eight-year-old whaleman recalled some of his experiences in an interview with Reginald B. Hegarty, curator, Melville Whaling Room, New Bedford Free Public Library. He said that he learned from his first voyage that it was advantageous to buy everything he needed before he boarded the ship. Suits that he could get for two or three

dollars on shore would have cost four or five times that amount on shipboard. He related that for each dollar a whaler borrowed at foreign ports twice that much would be charged against his account. Men on the whalers a century earlier apparently confronted a similar situation. For example, the captain of the Barclay received sailing orders dated April 24, 1805, which contained this statement: "As all the Blackmen except Charles Johnson are much in debt, I recommend thy furnishing them with nothing more than is absolutely necessary on this voyage."(6)

These practices and the minuscule lays combined with the lengthy tours of duty and the inherent nature of the activity explain in large measure the high rate of labor turnover among the common whalers and the dependence on foreigners, blacks, and Indians. Referring to Nantucket, one writer asserted that some owners and whaling masters so thoroughly exploited the common crewmen that the inflated charges often exceeded the dollar amount of their lays. Consequently, this writer declared, the whalers' debts were at times used as a device to have the men imprisoned to assure their availability for the next voyage.(7)

The officers on the whalers fared much better; their lays were more generous. In addition, some masters and first mates received bonuses if their ships returned with a cargo in excess of an agreed-upon amount. The master and first mate of the Hector earned \$4,814.52 and \$2,751.16 respectively with corresponding lays of one sixteenth and one twenty eighth. The lays of the other ranked personnel on the Hector, which was at sea from May 27, 1838, to August 16, 1840, ranged from \$1,481.39 to \$855.91. From these amounts were deducted charges for merchandise obtained by the third mate and the boatsteerer, and advances including twenty percent interest thereon for the second mate and two boatsteeres. But none of the men had a net salary less than \$567.00.(8)

The master of the Fava, at sea from 1857 to 1860, received \$5,943.15 and his first mate \$4,019.47; both of these salaries included bonuses. The second and third mates' lays amounted to \$1,805.42 and \$1,217.28. The captain and the first mate of the Roscoe, at sea a little over six months from November 6, 1836 to June 20, 1837, were paid \$977.45 and \$543.03 for their efforts. Paul Cuffee, Jr., the fourth mate on the Alexander Coffin from October 20, 1844, to April 19, 1849, earned \$542.05 with a lay of one seventy-fifth, but his take-home pay was only \$251.66 after expenses were deducted. Thomas J. Smith, a black who was born in North Carolina and was apparently a boatsteerer on the Charles Frederick, earned \$1,039.50 at a lay of one sixtieth in 1838 after two years and one month at sea. On the second voyage of the Charles Frederick, which lasted almost three years, Smith's pay was \$1,563.50 at a lay of one forty-seventieth plus a \$35.60 bonus. Henry A. Levin (or Lewis) and John Remington, boatsteerers on the Washington, had gross earnings of \$372.17 each and net earnings of \$226.79 and \$216.88 respectively after having been at sea from December 15, 1838, to July 1, 1840, some eighteen months.(9) Like Smith, Cuffee, Lewis, and Remington were black while the officers on the Hector, Fava and Roscoe were apparently non-black.

One boatsteerer, who had earned \$200.00 after almost four years at sea, debated with himself, "Why should I cause myself such sad feelings by taking this [the next] voyage."

He reasoned that it was "not for money" since "little was forthcoming." Searching further, he suggested, "Well it might be for the wish to command a ship." He questioned whether this was "worth the candle," and was unable to offer a satisfactory reason for taking the voyage."(10)

The majority of the common whalemén on the Frances Henrietta, which was at sea from August 12, 1843, to May 22, 1845, grossed between \$318.55 and \$217.96. Others who joined the crew during the course of the voyage received prorated lays. The charges against their earnings were not given. The net return from the oil and bone on the Frances Henrietta was \$41,411.15.(11)

Many of the settlement accounts for the whalers in the Melville collection do not reveal the amount in dollars earned by and paid to the common whalemén. It is not difficult to compute the gross earnings of these men from the data on the settlement sheets and the shipping articles, but the more important figure, their indebtedness or take-home pay, would still not be known.

In a letter to his agents dated September 1, 1854, the whaling master of the Mount Wollaston stated that he shipped seven natives of New Zealand at green hands lays because he could not "get a white man to talk of shipping on a lay short of an eightieth or one hundredth."(12) The shipping articles, especially after 1830, reveal the hiring of a sizable number of green hands. The Pioneer, already mentioned, had eight green hands. Among others, the Paulina (sailing date December 2, 1849) had fourteen green hands, the Martha (sailing date May 18, 1850) had twelve, and the Montgomery (sailing date July 20, 1858) had fifteen.

Whaling masters frequently left port with incomplete crew complements and stopped at the Azores, Cape Verde, the Hawaiian Islands, or elsewhere to pick up men to fill the slots. Most of the men hired in this manner were paid green hand lays. The agent for a number of owners and captains wrote that the whaling crews had a "great proportion of foreign outcast, . . . they can be obtained at a lower rate than Americans." He spoke of the "Portuguese from the islands . . . by whom our whaling fleet is in a large proportion manned."(13)

On the other hand, those who sailed had and did exercise the option of releasing themselves from the rigors and risks inherent in the occupation and the less-than-adequate compensation. Great numbers of them left their ships in midcourse at foreign ports and were replaced by foreigners or occasionally by Americans who had been left at foreign ports. Others did not re-sign for subsequent voyages.

Whereas New Bedford obtained low cost labor for its whalers increasingly from among the natives at ports of call, Baltimore was willing to pay top price for experienced non-black Americans. The Free Press and Patriot of Brunswick, Maine, in 1828 carried the following advertisement: "Sixteen dollars a month is offered, in Baltimore, for prime white seamen".(14) Since neither the Maryland law of 1807 nor the law of 1831 banned out-of-state black seamen from the state's ports or imposed undue restrictions on them, the search for white seamen in the New England area at a salary higher than the going rate pointed out the difficulty in Baltimore of attracting experienced non-blacks to the merchant marine. The need in New Bedford was for cheap labor, in particular green hands and willing

hands on its whalers. The need in Baltimore was for more non-black experienced hands on the decks of its merchant ships.

DESERTIONS AND DISCHARGES

One of the problems that shipmasters, owners, and agents had to deal with was desertions and discharges. Despite the risks inherent in the nature of the work and their status in American society, blacks did not desert or seek discharges in great numbers. Excluding designated foreigners, the table below shows the number and percentage of merchant seamen who deserted and the number who were discharged at foreign ports from ships returning to New Orleans for the indicated years.(15)

	Desertions		Discharges			
	Blacks	Percentage of Total	Non-Blacks	Percentage of Total	Blacks	Non-Blacks
1829	19	2.8	147	2.8	1	5
1830	23	3.5	164	3.0	1	14
1831	38	5.9	239	4.3	0	2
1839	74	8.9	1,061	10.9	-	-

The Newport crew lists at the National Archives, the only other inbound records reviewed extensively, reveal thirty desertions and ten discharges among the 882 blacks on the ships between 1803 and 1859. Numerically and proportionally, more blacks deserted from ships returning to New Orleans in 1831 than those on the ships at Newport for the entire period covered by the Newport sample. Twenty-one of the desertions at Newport occurred after 1821, a date that also marked the escalation of the issue of slavery in national politics. New Orleans records for 1820, the previous year, show that 31 of the 374 blacks on the ships deserted. Although at neither port was the incidence of desertion great, the sample seems to suggest that blacks were more inclined to desert from ships returning to New Orleans, a southern port, than from ships returning to Newport, a northern port.

The increase in the number of desertions as reflected on the table, although not substantial, cannot be explained in terms of the number of blacks on the ships for the years shown since their number remained relatively the same (see Table 1 in the Appendix for annual totals for New Orleans). An explanation may be found in the time of the occurrence, the locale of the occurrence, the home port of the vessel, the port of reentry, or comments on the crew lists.

The blacks who deserted included old men and young men. A sixty-five-year old man deserted at Gibraltar from the Tea Plant out of Newport on June 13, 1826, and a fifty-two-year-old seaman along with two other men left the Irene of Philadelphia at Port-au-Prince in November 1822. About the same time, two other blacks, one age thirty and another age thirty-one, deserted the Rampont of New York at Port-au-Prince. The twenty-year-old cook and the steward, whose age was not given, deserted the Mail of New Orleans in June 1839 in Jamaica, where the ship's officers had to deal with the misconduct of some other members of the crew.

David Cuffee, in a letter to his mother dated October 12, 1849, related that he deserted the whaler Junius because he had been at sea twenty-one months and the haul was small. He also noted that he was in love with a sixteen-year-old Malay girl. Some black whalers left their ships at the Sandwich Islands, such as one from the Balaeno and another from the Java, which cleared New Bedford on October 29, 1825, and June 10, 1841, respectively. A twenty-three-year-old Philadelphia-born resident of New Bedford ran away on the coast of Peru, while another black whaler, age twenty-one, "lowered the boat without permission at nite [sic] and deserted" from the Tuscaloosa, which had sailed from New Bedford on May 1, 1839. The latter probably landed in Australia or New Zealand if he made it to shore. The log of the Herald's 1829 voyage contained a statement that probably expressed the sentiment felt by many whalers as they contemplated their predicament. One of the whaler had been killed instantly that day by the fluke of a whale, and the notation read that he "is now far better of than us [sic] who are labouring under the trials of the life." (16)

The desire to live in a more congenial social environment or to seek a new start in life, the prospect of inadequate financial return for the work done, fear of personal injury or death, the hope for adventure, the need to escape pending problems at home, and, especially for whalers, the desire to end the long and harsh sojourn on the seas were some of the reasons which motivated both blacks and non-blacks to desert. Instances in which all or almost all of the crew deserted at foreign ports were not uncommon, and blacks were among those deserting, such as the crew of the Sylvan Jenkins of New York, outbound on January 17, 1839, in which at least seven blacks were among the eighteen deserters. Nine men, seven blacks and two non-black officers, absconded from the Golconda of New Bedford on October 17, 1820, about one year after the whaler left port for the Pacific Ocean. Some black deserters, no doubt, were runaway slaves determined to leave behind the chains that bound them.

Some of the same reasons that induced seamen to desert also inspired them to seek discharges. A black merchant seaman on the Zingri of Salem obtained a discharge at Rio de Janeiro in April 1851 "because he did not wish to proceed to New Orleans." A person with an identical name (probably a black using false protection papers) was one of the fourteen men discharged by mutual consent at Marseilles from the crew of the Clairborne of New Orleans, which cleared on November 16, 1850. All of these fourteen seamen claimed to be citizens of the world or foreigners. A black on the James Lawrence out of Philadelphia in 1820 left ship at Aux Cayes "declaring himself an indigent." Another black on the Mary Ellen of New York was discharged "because he was not able to perform duty" and wanted "to find employment at Marseilles." Five blacks and possibly a sixth were left "by mutual consent" at Cape Palmas on the coast of Africa by the Ohio, which cleared Newport on June 23, 1852, and made a port call at New Orleans. One black left the Little Sizzy of Newport on May 31, 1850, at Buenos Aires "by mutual consent," while another, also out of Newport on the Louise Dyer on November 17, 1855, was discharged at Kingston, Jamaica, "at his request." The twenty-five-year-old cook on the Sarah Louise of Boston (clearing date September 7, 1827) was discharged

at Port-au-Prince for an undisclosed "fear that some violence would occur from the rest of the crew if left on the vessel." He was replaced by another black cook.

Usually, no reasons were given for voluntary discharges. Such was the case when seven blacks were left at Cape Haitien. They had sailed on the Forest out of Philadelphia on October 9, 1824, with five other crewmen including another black, who had worked on the Forest's June 19, 1824, voyage. The vessel returned to Philadelphia with its five-man crew. It is conceivable that the seven blacks had a mutual agreement with the captain to drop them off at Cape Haitien. All of the seven purportedly had residences in Pennsylvania, although two were born in Maryland, two in Pennsylvania, and one each in Virginia, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. They ranged in age from twenty-two to thirty-five. Other blacks were discharged at Port-au-Prince, points on the coast of Africa, Copenhagen, Liverpool, Marseilles, and other ports in Europe and the Caribbean.

In one instance, a fifty-year-old seaman on the Eliza, sailing from New York to Tabasco on April 3, 1829, apparently requested and was refused a discharge by his shipmaster. He then apparently sought relief from the American consul. In a note dated May 22, 1829, the consul stated: "I duly certified the Blackman Wm Black has been taken and discharged by the government against the wish of Capt. Wm Mathews."

Some blacks had involuntary discharges. Sickness, personal injury, death, arrest and imprisonment for misconduct or allegations of misconduct, mutiny, shipwreck, disabled ships, denationalization of their ships, and other, occurrences temporarily or permanently cut short their voyages

Among the five crewmen arrested by the civil authorities at Havre, France, was one Frederick Douglass. He had sailed outbound from New York on the Gen on December 14, 1831. The crew list gave his age as twenty-two, his complexion as dark, and his hair as black. Although he had no listed residence, his birthplace reportedly was New York. This individual could not possibly have been the noted abolitionist, who at this time was still a slave in Maryland, known by his slave name as Frederick Augustus Washington Baily and a mere youth of thirteen. But the protection papers that the latter used to make his escape from Baltimore might have been those of the Frederick Douglass on the Gem. Assuming the surname of his benefactor, the name of the man whose protection papers had enable him to escape from slavery, would have been a fitting acknowledge of gratitude.

A twenty-five-year-old Connecticut-born Philadelphian died and was buried at sea on December 24, 1839, on the homeward passage of the Tacon of Philadelphia. He had been sick for several days, "in which time all medical aid and assistance the vessel afforded was rendered to him." The cook on the Kendushead of Bangor died in November 1837 from "chronic affection of the lungs." The crew of the Topaz returning to Newport after having left Boston for Havana on August 17, 1810, was not the same crew which had taken the ship to sea. Of the original crew, the captain and the second mate were dead, two seamen were dead including the black steward, four seamen had left the ship, and one had deserted.

There was an unusually high incidence of men, both black and non-black, left sick at foreign ports with unexplained

illnesses or injuries. Some of these men subsequently died. Others were reported dead at foreign ports without explanation.(17) The May 20, 1859, issue of the Liberator reported on an item in the London Times that stated that between June 1857 and June 1858 some 150 men from foreign ships, mostly Americans, had been hospitalized at Liverpool suffering "from maltreatment of their officers."

Others were victims of shipwrecks. For example, two blacks were among the three "destitute" men who "lost all of their clothing" when the Samuel of Boston went down on November 27, 1836. The American consul placed these men on another vessel for return to New Orleans. Five blacks were in the six-man crew of the Federal of North Kingston out of Newport to Havana in 1807 when the vessel was lost at sea.

Reflecting the hazardous nature of whaling, the notations on the crew lists and the remarks columns of the charts in Starbuck recount the numerous incidents of involuntary discharges of whalemens. The condemnation of two whalers captained by blacks and the loss at sea of four blacks on one of these whalers have been mentioned in Chapter 3. Also, blacks were on the Amanda and the Commodore Decator, which sailed from New Bedford on April 25, 1832, and May 23, 1838, respectively, when these whalers were condemned. Three blacks were in the crew of the Mentor of Fairhaven (sailing date July 20, 1831) when the ship was lost at sea along with eleven men. A thirty-year-old black man who was born in Virginia and resided in New Bedford died at sea on the Golconda's 1818 voyage. As noted in Chapter 3, one black seaman on the Traveller under the command of Alvan Phelps was thrown overboard, and the alleged perpetrator was brought home in irons and jailed for trial.

Possibly the most horrifying story of all was what happened to the six blacks on the ill-fated Essex. The vessel left Nantucket on August 12, 1819, and some fifteen months later, in November 1820, it was sunk by a whale and the men took to lifeboats. The gruesome account of the fate of the black men on the boats is as follows:

First boat:	Samuel Reid, died, body eaten for food
Second boat:	Richard Peterson, bured at sea
Third boat:	Lawson Thomas, died, body eaten for food
	Charles Shorter, died, body eaten for food
	William Bond, missing
	Isaiah Shepard, died, body eaten for food

These six men were the only blacks on the Essex. The whaling master, the mate, and the three men in one lifeboat were saved and returned home. Three other men were left on Disco Island.(18)

MUTINY

Four blacks on the whaler Wilmington and Liverpool of New Bedford outbound on the Pacific on December 1, 1824, were left with the American consul in Ecuador for mutinous activity. Two others who were on the L and W Armstrong from New York were arrested at the Venezuelan port of Maracaibo in 1849 for mutiny. Seven blacks, five of whom had shipped at Trieste, Italy, murdered the second mate and were subsequently overpowered by the captain and first mate on the

Cactus of Kennebunk. They were placed in irons and returned to Philadelphia on the Cactus in 1846.

Loose talk apparently was the reason two blacks fired the Cassander of Providence. The two, taken on board on the coast of Africa, fired the ship at both ends. When the fire raged out of control, they jumped overboard and the crew took to lifeboats. One of the blacks was hauled into one of the boats. He related that his accomplice had stabbed himself before jumping overboard. They had been excited, he said, by fear of being sold into slavery. They were ready, he added, to accept death rather than endure this fate. The crew spent a terrifying ten days on the sea before reaching land on the coast of Brazil.(19)

Among other blacks involved in mutinies was William Humphries, a steward on the whaler Globe of Nantucket. Humphries, a native of Philadelphia, was among those who signed on the Globe in Hawaii after six men had deserted. Reportedly he joined the mutiny, led by a boatsteerer, in which all of the ranking officers were brutally murdered. Later he loaded a pistol and held the loaded pistol because he said, he had heard that the ship was about to be retaken by those not involved in the mutiny.

When it apparently was concluded that no such plan to retake the ship had existed, Humphries was charged and brought before a jury of his shipmates. Even before the jury had reached its verdict of guilty, Humphries's fate had been determined by those in charge of the ship, the leaders of the mutiny. Everyone on board was ordered to hold on to the rope as he was being hanged. His last reported words were: "Little did I think I was born to come to this." After his death, sixteen dollars in specie belonging to the murdered captain was found in Humphries's chest. The carnage among the men continued after his hanging. Starbuck referred to the agonizing and mindless acts of the ringleader and his followers as "the most diabolical, cold-blooded mutiny ever perpetrated upon the deck of any whaleship."(20)

Occasionally, consular officials removed individuals accused of mutiny from the ships for their own safety or for the maintenance of decorum on shipboard. Several such cases involved blacks. For example, the crew of the Paragon of Boston outbound from New Orleans on August 13, 1825, allegedly mutinied. After the consul at Gibraltar talked with all fifteen men in the crew, he returned four of them to their ship. The other men, including two of the four blacks in the crew, were allowed to remain "on shore with the consent of the consul."

Crew lists of both merchantmen and whalers contain notations by consular officers of the return to the United States of hundreds of destitute, shipwrecked, and wayward seamen and whalemens. Some of the latter, many of them deserters, returned as replacements of others who had deserted. For example, the William Penn of Baltimore returned to Philadelphia in mid-1860 with thirteen blacks who were added to the crew in Liverpool. The Rappahanock, returning to New York in 1849, had signed on nine blacks at Liverpool. Twelve blacks had joined the crew of the Liverpool at Liverpool for its homeward journey, while the Roscius took on fourteen blacks at the same port on its return to Philadelphia in 1860. All of these replacements were United States citizens. Many, if not all, of these replacements were crewmen who previously had deserted, had

been discharged, or had been employed in the British maritime or naval forces. Other black seamen and whalers returned home as "destitute seamen" under arrangements made by American consuls with shipmasters.

IMPRESSMENT OF BLACKS

Impressment was another way the voyages of blacks were aborted temporarily or permanently. It was the "Chesapeake Affair" that brought the issue of impressment to the attention of the American public. Little was it known by most Americans at the time that at least two of the four men seized by the British on the Chesapeake were blacks and that only three, including the blacks, claimed American citizenship. The fourth man was a British subject who had enrolled on the Chesapeake under an alias. Public clamor over the "Chesapeake Affair" and official reaction to the incident were two of the motive forces leading to the Embargo Act of 1807. Two of the seized Americans were later released; the third died while in British hands.

Blacks were pressed both before and after 1807 indiscriminately from American vessels. James Linzee and Jo Munford, both residents of Massachusetts, were pressed in 1801. Richard Jacobs and Charles Pairce, claiming birthplaces in Virginia and Delaware respectively, were taken from the Harmony out of Philadelphia on March 22, 1804. Nicholas Francis, a native of New York and a seaman on the Triumph of New Bedford bound to Liverpool on March 17, 1806 was impressed on September 3, 1806. Francis Talbot, who was born in Salem, Massachusetts, likewise was seized before 1807 and held by the British. Neptune, a former slave of a Boston family, was in Liverpool with his ship in 1807 when he was reportedly inebriated and either joined or was forced to join the British service. Freeman, no given name, was on board the British ship Java when she was captured by the Constitution. Freeman, who claimed American citizenship, had been pressed by the British. He subsequently became a member of the crew of the Constitution. Another black, a gunner on the British man-of-war the Guerrierre, left his post on the approach of the Constitution on his claim of being an American citizen. He was ordered back to his post by a British officer under threat of a court-martial. In Boston after the Guerrierre had been brought to bay, the gunner was adjudged an American and a resident of New York.(21)

Although some impressed non-blacks as well as blacks entered the British service, it was apparently the blacks' actions that caused the United States secretary of state to send instructions to the Salem, Massachusetts, collector of customs, in whose jurisdiction one of the impressed blacks obtained protection papers, and probably to other collectors to stop issuing protection papers to blacks. Part of the problem of the impressment controversy stemmed from the ease with which almost anyone, Americans and foreigners, could obtain protection papers. Further, since many more non-blacks were impressed than blacks, it appears that the ban against blacks would not have done much to solve the problem. Despite the instructions, blacks with and without protection papers continued to enroll on the ships. Some of them were impressed until the end of the War of 1812. The list of men held at Dartmoor prison included names and other

data on a number of black seamen and whalers who had been pressed.(22)

No less reprehensible and far more despicable than the corresponding British and French impressment of American seamen was the practice of American ship officers of kidnaping and selling into slavery black foreigners whom they had employed as seamen. The British consuls at Norfolk, Virginia, were acutely aware of the problem and tried to stop the seizure and enslavement of British West Indian blacks. In 1854, reportedly over 200 British nationals from the West Indies had been seized and sold into slavery at Norfolk.(23) It is conceivable that this practice may have existed at other southern ports also.

URBANIZATION AND OUT-MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH

The movement of black seamen from their birthplaces to their workplaces had three main characteristics: significant numbers of the men involved were northerners by birth; the movement was an important factor in the urbanization and acculturation of a large body of blacks; and it was the vanguard of the migration of southern blacks to the northern port centers. Additionally, the blacks on the ships came from all areas of the diaspora and Africa.

The birthplace and residency data on the 468 Baltimore crew lists for 1806, 1807, and 1812 show blacks coming into the port city from every area.(24) Eighty-four percent of the 433 Maryland-born seamen migrated from the rural counties in the state, but once in the city, almost all of them claimed it as their residence. More than one-half of the 105 men born in the southern states other than Maryland no longer claimed residency in those states. Those southern states in the closest proximity to Maryland, the upper South, lost the least. The out-migration from the northern states was sixteen men. Massachusetts even experienced a slight gain. Almost ten times as many men claimed residences in the city of Baltimore as were born there. (See Table 7 in the Appendix.)

It can not be concluded from the data in the table that 666 black merchant seamen (minus the few among them who made multiple voyages) were actually domiciled in Baltimore in the intervals between sailings for the years covered. It can be stated that in signing up for the voyage and in obtaining protection papers they claimed Baltimore as their residence--more than 500 in 1806 alone. Others, such as some born in Virginia, Delaware, and elsewhere, signed up for voyages and obtained protection papers in Baltimore but apparently preferred to retain their previous residence. Some of the men claiming Baltimore residency took employment on vessels with home ports in other states. Hence, their next voyage and claim of domicile could have been elsewhere, a situation not uncommon among seamen at other ports. However, the records show that once having claimed a residence in a northern state, very few southern-born seamen switched their domicile back to a southern area.

As noted in Chapter 1, unlike many other southern states, Maryland had placed no bar on black seamen's access to the state. State legislation subsequent to 1807 was designed to prevent the escape of slaves on ships rather than

discourage black mariners from working or calling at the port. This state of affairs may explain why almost twice as many black seamen claimed Maryland residency as were born there.

At Philadelphia, as at Baltimore, where only those who were clearly designated or described as blacks were used for this study, the birthplaces and residences of the seamen on the crew lists for the three-year period 1803 to 1805 dramatically reveal their movement to the urban port city and their out-migration from the South (see Table 8). More black seamen came to Philadelphia, the busiest American port during this early period, from small towns and rural areas than from other urban areas. They came from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia in significant numbers. For example, only 71 of the 559 born in Pennsylvania were natives of Philadelphia, but once at the port city only six claimed a Pennsylvania residence outside of Philadelphia. Likewise, about eighty percent of those migrating from the New England states, New York, and the other southern states and claiming residence in Philadelphia were from the small towns or rural areas. Even more noteworthy was the out-migration from the South at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Almost ninety-five percent or 875 of the 924 southern-born blacks on the ships at Philadelphia claimed Philadelphia as a residence. (About 200 black seamen on the ships at Philadelphia from 1803 to 1805 made multiple voyages.)

Philadelphia crew lists from January to June 1820 show only 11 were born in Philadelphia and 57 in the state as a whole, yet 171 claimed a city residence and 177 claimed residence in the state as a whole. A substantial majority of those claiming residence in the city were from the southern states. Indeed, the Philadelphia port records from 1803 to 1823 presented a pattern of a constant flow of seamen from the small towns and rural areas, especially those in the southern states, who took up residence in the port city (see Table 9). Partial data from the 1860 federal census for Philadelphia likewise reflect the out-migration from the South. The data show that of the native-born blacks living in Philadelphia, almost as many were southern-born as were native Pennsylvanians (see Table 10).

Information on the New Orleans crew lists on birthplaces and residences of seamen was spotty, uneven, and fragmentary. At times, only some birthplaces were given; at other times, only some residences were entered; and at still other times, the spaces were blank. Of 167 blacks with reportable birthplace data on the ships in 1807, more than sixty percent, or 101, were born in the South. Almost one-half of those born in the South were natives of Louisiana, mainly of the city of New Orleans. Of the 177 blacks with reportable data on residency, almost sixty-five percent, or 115, claimed residence in the South. Seventy-eight of those with southern residence claimed a domicile in Louisiana, all but one in New Orleans, the port city. Although only twenty-five percent of those with birthplace information were born in New Orleans, more than forty-three percent of those with residence data lived in the city (see Table 11).

Data from the 1830 New Orleans crew lists show that 179 of 519 men were born in the southern states but only 27 of them in Louisiana, none apparently in the city of New Orleans. For the same year, 90 of the 294 blacks on the

ships claimed a residence in the southern states, with 24 in Louisiana. One-half of these 24 claimed a New Orleans domicile (see Table 12). For the last three months of 1840, only 12 seamen regarded Louisiana as their residence, all in New Orleans and all, incidentally, employed on steamships. Six of these twelve made subsequent voyages in 1840, and four of them no longer considered New Orleans or anyplace else in the state as their home. Not a single black was found on the lists examined for 1850 and 1860 who claimed a Louisiana residence.

As reflected in the Baltimore port data, northern-born blacks working on ships out of New Orleans continued to claim residence in the northern states. In 1807, the increase of black seamen at New Orleans came mainly from blacks born in other southern states. In 1830, southern-born blacks either retained their previous residence or were looking to relocate elsewhere. Over time, fewer black seamen at New Orleans claimed Louisiana or New Orleans as a birthplace; and fewer claimed Louisiana or New Orleans or other southern states as a residence. Of the southern states, Maryland was the birthplace of most black seamen on ships at New Orleans and the preferred place of residence of southern-born blacks.

The decreasing number of black seamen, both those born in Louisiana and elsewhere, on the American ships at New Orleans cannot be attributed to the volume of trade or the number of ships using the port. Indeed, over time, more products were exported than previously and more ships used the port facilities; both the export and import trade increased. A significant increase in export trade occurred in the ten-year period ending August 31, 1847, and the value of exports for the first three quarters of the fiscal year 1859-60 was nearly ten million dollars more than that for the same three quarters for the fiscal year 1858-59.(25)

Probably the most important factors in discouraging blacks from locating in New Orleans were the social environment, the Negro Seamen's Law of 1830, and the law's subsequent more restrictive provisions. A contributing factor was the circumstance that more and more ships using New Orleans port facilities had home ports elsewhere, mainly in the northern states. Some of these ships, however, used New Orleans both as a port of departure and entry.

The response of "A Long-Shoreman" to a set of resolutions adopted on January 8, 1831, by a group of forty-one shipmasters, including some masters of British vessels at the port, may well have reflected the sentiment towards black seamen. The masters agreed not to ship any seamen unless they pledged to complete the voyage. They further agreed not to employ any seamen in the loading and discharging of the ships unless they had been released from their previous employment. These resolutions, the longshoreman responded, were against the interests of the shipowners and shippers and, of course, the longshoremen. The writer advised the British shipmasters to "go home and attend to the English laws." He characterized the longshoremen as mostly old sailors who were determined to protect themselves and earn a comfortable living. He reminded the shipmasters that the sailors also were "free men and have no negro blood in them." The longshoreman concluded with a challenge to the shipmasters:

You are mistaken! those who work on the Levee, commonly called along-shoremen, will do what they can; sailors will do the same, but if you wish to place them upon an equality with a negro, and if you would sooner employ mulattoes, who have received orders to quit the country, depend upon it you will repent.(26)

Some years later, the mayor of New Orleans received an anonymous communication that related that black crewmen on a New York ship were hired by abolitionists to abduct blacks. On the basis of this allegation, the mayor arrested five black seamen. When it was determined that the communication came from whites who resented the hiring of blacks on steamships, the seamen were released on bond with the understanding that they remain on board their ship until it had cleared.(27) If the sentiment expressed in the longshoreman's letter and the anonymous communication reflected the public mood in New Orleans, black seamen had reason enough to seek employment and residence elsewhere.

A majority of the blacks on the Newport Historical Society's crew lists from 1820 to 1857 (except for the fragmentary information for the years 1843 and 1847) were born in the northern states. Most of these northern-born blacks had birthplaces in the New England states, although fewer than one-half were natives of Rhode Island. Of the 1,065 with birthplace data, 133 were born in the South. Once at Newport, an overwhelming majority of the men for whom residency information was available claimed the port city as home; almost five times as many men claimed residence in Newport as were born there. Those taking domiciles in Newport came in significant numbers from other New England states, the other northern states, and from the southern states. Only 11 of the 133 with birthplaces in the South retained a southern residence. Noteworthy was the number of black foreigners or foreign-born blacks, mostly West Indians. Many of the latter were on the whalers from 1840 to 1856, and some of these took up residence in Newport (see Table 13). Birthplace data from 312 scattered protection papers issued at Newport to black seamen signing up for foreign voyages from 1803 to 1820 show a similar pattern. Eighty-seven percent of these 312 men were born in the North, sixty-six percent of them in the New England states, seventeen percent in Newport; and almost thirteen percent were born in the South. Over 50 of these men, or about eighteen percent, were from the small towns and rural areas. Since they all had to be on location to sign up, most of them claimed a Rhode Island residence (see Table 14).

Although the data on New York crew lists suffer from insufficiency, of the 421 black men on 266 voyages almost seventy-seven percent were northerners by birth, twenty percent were of southern origin, and three percent were foreigners. A majority of the northerners, 194, or almost forty-seven percent of the total number, were born in New York. As a result of the pull of the job market more than eighty-eight percent (or 299) of the men with reported residency data lived in New York and ninety-seven percent in the North. Only about three percent still claimed a southern residence (see Table 15).

Scattered crew lists of New Bedford and a few of Nantucket from 1803 to 1841 containing 1,516 blacks with much

of the data on places of birth and residence showed that eighty-three percent (1,259) were born in the North, thirteen percent in the South, and the rest were foreigners or foreign-born. Although a majority of those born in the North were born in Massachusetts, less than one-half of one percent had New Bedford as their birthplace. The residency data reported on 1,481 placed 1,199 (eighty-one percent) in Massachusetts and 846 of this number in New Bedford--783 more men than were born there (see Table 16).

A survey of New Bedford protection papers from 1809 to 1865 produced the names of about 3,000 blacks who signed up for foreign voyages. Most of these blacks were born in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, but about 500 were born in the southern states. An examination of scattered protection papers issued at Nantucket from 1816 to 1860 produced 461 men who signed for foreign voyages. Of these, 384 were natives of northern states, 75 of southern states, and 2 were born in the West Indies. Of the 109 who were born in Massachusetts, only 36 had birthplaces in Nantucket. Among those born in the South, most came from Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware (see Table 17). Since someone on location had to vouch for these men to obtain protection papers, the presumption is that most of them had established or intended to establish residences at or near their workplaces.

The 1855 state census for New Bedford contained the names of 1,474 blacks. Six hundred and ninety were northern-born, including 419 natives of Massachusetts, and 649 were southerners. Worthy of mention is the circumstance that 105 had birthplaces in territory under Portuguese jurisdiction; others were born in Canada, the West Indies, Africa, the Sandwich Islands, and South America.(28) The 1860 federal census for Bristol County, Massachusetts, which included New Bedford, showed that proportionally more residents in the county were born in the southern states than in all the northern states combined (see Tables 18 and 19).

The birthplace-residence data from the 1860 federal census for Bristol County, the 1855 New Bedford state census, the protection papers issued at Nantucket, New Bedford, and Newport, and the crew lists examined for this study revealed some meaningful demographic information on blacks. Not unexpected, a majority of the black seamen were northern-born. Noteworthy is the circumstance that few northern-born blacks sought employment in Baltimore and fewer still claimed Baltimore as their residence. Blacks on the ships at Baltimore in the main were native Marylanders and other southern-born blacks, most of whom took up residence in Baltimore. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of blacks on the ships at New Orleans were northerners who claimed residence in the northern cities even though many of these ships, although registered at northern ports, departed for foreign markets at New Orleans and reentered the country at New Orleans. However, northern-born black seamen did take up residence at northern ports away from their birthplaces.

All of the crew lists examined showed a very pronounced migration of blacks out of the small towns and rural counties of their birth to the urban port cities. More than one-half of the black seamen on the port of Baltimore crew lists were born in the rural counties of Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware. Also, a significant number of those on the Philadelphia records came from the small towns and rural

areas of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and elsewhere. A similar pattern was discernible from the data on the New York, New Bedford, Newport, and New Orleans records. With the exception of New Orleans, once at their workplaces, an overwhelming number of them claimed their workplaces as their homes. In the case of New Orleans, especially after the 1830s, fewer and fewer blacks regarded it as their domicile. In all instances, however, the migration of these men to the port cities had the effect of urbanizing a very mobile and numerically significant segment of the black population.

This migration had another important feature: a steady and widespread movement of black seamen out of the South. This out-migration was evident in 1803, when crew lists were first required by law, and continued through 1860. The 1855 state census for New Bedford, cited above, offers corroborating evidence of the out-migration; 649 of the 1,474 black residents of New Bedford were born in the South, while only 271 were born in other northern states. The 1860 federal census reports for Bristol County and for parts of Philadelphia offer additional evidence of this out-migration. A significant number of southern-born black seamen had forsaken or bypassed the port cities of the South and moved to the North. Even the Baltimore records reflected the trend of the northward movement of black men: men born in the states south of Maryland were coming to Baltimore.

Northern states had begun to abolish slavery before the end of the Revolutionary War either through legislation or judicial decree. The process of gradual or immediate abolition was still in progress in most of these states as the nineteenth century began. In all probability it served along with the pull of the workplace and the conditions in the South to inspire the out-migration of blacks. The attraction of blacks to Baltimore seems to indicate that the needs of the marketplace had priority over other considerations. Since 1807 black seamen, messengers, and wagon drivers, all job positions needed in a port city, had been excluded from the ban prohibiting free blacks from entering the state. Maryland had more free blacks than any other southern state, and most of them were in Baltimore. Maryland also had a small but active Quaker movement centered in Baltimore; Quakers were among the first to take a stand against slavery and to free their slaves.

The 1855 New Bedford state census and the 1860 federal census reports for Bristol County and parts of Philadelphia showed that southern blacks other than seamen and whalemens had migrated to New Bedford and Philadelphia. The trek northward by black seamen and whalemens may have mirrored what was happening among other segments of the southern black population as suggested by the census reports. Black merchant seamen and whalemens were in the vanguard of that movement.

MULTIETHNIC CREWS

On the ships with the blacks of the United States were American Indians, Mexicans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Indians from India, natives of practically every inhabited island in the Pacific Ocean, natives of Africa and Africans throughout the diaspora, Chinese, and non-blacks from virtually every European country and the Americas including Canada.

At New Orleans, more than sixty American Indians appeared on the crew lists along with fourteen Chinese, ten East Indians, two from the subcontinent of India, and one Filipino. One American Indian, William Chew, cleared on ships at New Orleans six times between July 14, 1830, and May 4, 1833, while John Phillippe, who was born in Culcutta, was at the port thirteen times between March 15, 1823, and December 13, 1832. More foreign ethnics joined the crews on ships at foreign ports inbound to New Orleans than were on the outbound voyages.

At Philadelphia, New York, Newport, and New Bedford, American Indians and foreign and foreign-born subjects were present on the ships in greater numbers than at New Orleans. Large numbers of them worked on the whalers out of Nantucket and New Bedford. The inbound lists of New Bedford were replete with names of natives from practically every inhabited island on the route to and from the whaling grounds. Some of these foreign whalemens departed the ships at various ports of call. Others were dropped off at the port of origin of their voyages. Many returned with the ships to American ports. Of the latter, some established their homes in the United States, while others eventually returned to their homeland. The merchantmen likewise took on and discharged foreign nationals at various ports of call, and some of these merchant seamen took up residence in the United States.

The crews were multiethnic, international, and interracial: a composite mosaic of the peoples of the world. The mixing of peoples of various nationalities and ethnic and cultural backgrounds and their interaction with each other produced a fertile environment for acculturation. The acculturation process was enhanced by the movement of men from port to port at home and abroad. Black Americans were participants in and beneficiaries of this experience.

LITERACY

The shipping articles, the wage contracts of the crew members, supposedly bear the signatures of the ships' personnel. But some of the names on these documents appear to have been written by the same hand. The shipping articles of the steamship De Sota of New York, whose crew members' salaries were discussed earlier in this chapter, make a good case study. The names of forty-two of the sixty-one people on the document are apparently in the handwriting of one person. Five others appear to have been the writing of a second individual, and the rest were apparently done by different persons. Forty-seven of the sixty-one names on the De Sota's shipping articles, then, appear to be questionable signatures. Yet not a single "x" (standing for his or her mark) was on the long extended sheet of paper bearing the names.

The only clearly identifiable black in the De Sota's crew was a seaman whose name was in the mate's spot on the crew list and in tenth place on the shipping articles. Another seaman may have been black. The signatures of both of these men were excuted by the one person who apparently signed for forty-two people, forty-one if he signed for himself. Thirty-five of the De Sota's crew were "no proofs."

The shipping articles of the De Sota were not unlike some others. Also, there were instances in which interspersed among a group of purported signatures of apparent identical handwriting were insertions of the "x his mark" legend. In cases of this nature, there was the possibility that some of the "x" marks may have been inadvertently omitted, in addition to the question of the authenticity of the other signatures.

A survey of twenty-one whalemens' shipping papers with apparent authentic signatures on file at the Old Dartmouth Historical Society produced the names of fifty men who by cross-reference with the crew lists were found to have been black. Of these fifty, only thirteen had the "x" mark by their names. Computation based on this sample would indicate that seventy-four percent of these men could execute their signatures--an usually high percentage in the context of the times. Further, ten of the thirteen black whalemens on the Massasoit along with their whaling master signed their names; the other three made their mark by their names. The blacks on the Massasoit in 1852 may have been atypical and the thirty-seven in the sample of fifty men may be too few to serve as a model. But confronted with the task of name signing or mark making at the outset of each voyage, men could be inspired to learn how to write their names. Noteworthy was the circumstance that William Cuffee had among his effects on the ill-fated Rising States two slates, two volumes of Johnson's Dictionary, eighteen tracts, and two Bibles.(29) Black merchant seamen and whalemens, although collectively a large body of men, were not a cross-section of blacks at large in pre-Civil War America. Their unique experience set them apart.

The signatures of the black captains appear to be authentic. Only one, Pierre Etienne, had to make his mark. Peter Green and Alexander Rose were masters on return voyages, and hence their names did not appear in the signature section of the crew lists.

The papers of Paul Cuffee and the logs of Edward Pompey, Pardon Cook, William Cuffee, and others, including many of the black mates, leave no question about the functional literacy of these men. The many and varied activities of William A. Leidesdorff mark him as a man of distinction.

PERCEPTIONS

Blacks were perceived of as blacks. Seldom were they referred to as Negroes or Africans. Next to black, their most frequent designation was mulatto. Occasionally, they were called colored men or men of color. Surprisingly, the term "boy" was used infrequently in a disparaging manner. On the other hand, the label "sambo" was used rather often. As if to differentiate among them, some were designated as "light sambo," others as "bright sambo," still others as "black sambo" or "brown sambo." Some blacks had Sambo as their surname; Henry, Joseph, Samuel, William, and Jeremiah Sambo were from a seafaring family from Rhode Island. Some members of this Sambo family were described as mulattoes and others as yellow and black. Denigrating was the name given to one man, "Jim Crow," who along with "Jim Boy" was added to the crew of the whaler Montgomery after it had left port on

July 20, 1858. The names of two slaves, Negro Jack and Negro Hall, left no doubt as to their ethnic origin.

Of the 1,222 blacks on the ships at New Orleans in 1825 and 1826, fewer than ten were listed as Negroes and fewer than five as Africans, while twenty-five were depicted as sambos. The overwhelming number of them were referred to as blacks.

Stereotyping of blacks was not uncommon. So black were blacks perceived that some of them were depicted as having "very black" complexions, "very black" eyes, and "very black" hair. One seaman with a given name only on the Phoebe of Philadelphia, which cleared on June 4, 1803, was "a black boy" and "black all over." Unflattering comments about the noses, lips, and mouths of blacks were not infrequent. For example, a slave with the name of Devonshire Flowers on the Dorchester out of Baltimore on August 13, 1806, was "black [with] thick lips and broad nose." The crew lists did not solicit descriptions or comments about the noses, lips, and mouths of the seamen.

Blacks were working on jobs that many other Americans shunned. They were the cooks, the stewards, the green hands, the ordinary seamen, and common whalers on whalers and the cooks, the stewards, the ordinary seamen, the mariners, and the common seamen on the merchant vessels. They were employed in the least desirable and the lowest paying jobs. Only a few moved up in the ranks.

Paying them less than the going rate was based on the long-held premise that they did not deserve as much as whites, that their standard of living was lower, or that they did not need the money. The black merchant seamen on the Iddo Kimball challenged this practice. They had signed for a voyage to Europe and return to a port in the United States for discharge. The Iddo Kimball put in at New Orleans. Rather than going ashore, the blacks accepted the shipmaster's offer to stay on the vessel and be paid at nine dollars less a month than their previous rate. When the vessel was ready to depart on another voyage, the captain demanded that they sign at the lower rate. The blacks objected, sought relief from the court, and won their case. (30)

The names of some blacks suggest how they were perceived and how they perceived of themselves and their condition of life. Some of these names were pointedly meaningful and picturesque. Jack Fairplay and Hard Times were the full names of two slaves. Two other slaves had the given names only of America and Boatswain. Alexander the Great was a free black crewman on a voyage out of Charleston with two slaves mariners named Punic and Deck. Moses the Prophet, a sixty-year-old seaman and a free black, made several sailings that took him to New Orleans. John Enough deserted his whaling vessel in Honolulu; he probably had enough of whaling also. A number of free black seamen had the given name of Liberty, such as Liberty Brown, Liberty Montgomery, and Liberty Castine. Others had the given name or surname of their places of birth, such as Philadelphia Craig, Boston Brown, and Caesar Newport. Toussaint was the given or surname of several free blacks. James Barker assumed the alias of John Senegal.

Black desertions and discharges in Haiti, the coast of Africa, the British West Indies after emancipation, and elsewhere in the slave-free world were indications of

dissatisfaction, a desire for a change, or hope for a better life. As mentioned above, some sought employment at foreign port cities. Indeed, blacks' travail on the seas in substantial numbers and, for some, over long years was a reflection of their perception of their condition of life. Hundreds and thousands of them stuck with the ships voyage after voyage to eke out a risk-prone livelihood. Nothing much better in job opportunities was open to such a large body of free blacks at this time in the nation's history. Others looked to the seas as a means to put distance between themselves and reenslavement, such as the escaped Louisiana slave who left the job he had found in Brooklyn and signed on a whaler.

SOCIAL COMMITMENT AND ACTIVISM: NEW BEDFORD AND NANTUCKET MARINERS

No doubt the example of Paul Cuffee inspired in many of the blacks in New Bedford and Nantucket a concern for their condition of life and that of other blacks. Cuffee was a respected and successful member of the community; he had protested the payment of taxes in Massachusetts without the right to vote; he had erected a school at his own expense and later turned it over to the town of Westport, Massachusetts; and in the Sierra Leone project, he had sought to improve the condition of life of some blacks.(31)

Likewise, the social environment in the two Massachusetts whaling centers was more congenial for the nurture and expression of their concerns than in many places elsewhere in the country. One local historian wrote of the strong influence of the Quakers in New Bedford. He stated: "It was said at one time in the early part of the century that hardly a house in the place had not given shelter and succor to a fugitive slave." In reference to the blacks, he added that many of them were "among our most respected and worthy citizens" and on the whole were "remarkable for their morality, industry and thrift." Frederick Douglass, who spent some time working in New Bedford, felt that the city afforded him more freedom and equality than he had heretofore experienced. Despite the rigid discipline on a whaler and the awesome power entrusted to the whaling master to enforce that discipline, a United States District Court in Boston in 1848 found the captain of the whaler Mercury of New Bedford guilty and fined him for the abuse and mistreatment of a black steward on his ship. The captain had been tried for the physical abuse of two of his men. He was exonerated in one instance because the seaman had a knife; but since the steward had no weapon, the court found his behavior unjustified.(32)

As at New Bedford, Quaker influence was strong in Nantucket, where blacks from an early period were used on the whalers. A young slave by the name of Prince Boston, the grandfather of Captain Absalom F. Boston, had been paid his lay for his voyage on the whaler Friendship, whose agent was a Quaker. The heirs of Boston's owners in 1769 sued the captain for Boston's lay. The jury sided with the captain and the magistrate ordered that Boston be released from bondage. Thereafter, all of the slaves in Nantucket were freed.(33) But neither in Nantucket nor New Bedford on the

ships or off the ships did free status mean social acceptance and the absence of discrimination.

In 1845, Captain Absalom F. Boston brought suit against the town of Nantucket because his daughter was refused admission to the school. As a result of the February 1846 election of twelve school committee members favorable to removing the bar against blacks, Boston achieved his goal. By 1850, schools in Salem, New Bedford, and Nantucket were open to blacks.(34)

Nathaniel A. Borden, a whaleman and one of the owners of the Rising States, and Edward J. Pompey, the whaling master on the Rising States, were Nantucket agents for the Liberator and very active in anti-slavery activities. Borden frequently sent letters that were published in the Liberator, served as secretary and treasurer of the local anti-slavery society, and took a strong stand against slavery. He also was secretary of the Nantucket Colored Temperance Society, of which Edward Pompey was president. Pompey attended the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in June 1834 as a representative from Nantucket. In 1839 Pompey was a member of the executive committee formed to bring about a union between the all-female anti-slavery society and the local all-male society at Nantucket; the New County Anti-Slavery Society that emerged had some 300 members. When the war for freedom began, Nathaniel Borden was involved in it as a crewman on the U.S.S. Minnesota, but Edward J. Pompey did not live to witness the removal of the shackles from his enslaved brethren.(35)

In New Bedford, Richard Johnson and his sons were deeply involved in the anti-slavery movement, the New Bedford Union Society (probably an affiliate of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race), and the annual celebrations of West Indies Emancipation Day. In 1837, blacks in New Bedford assembled to declare that they would "stand apart from all political parties and . . . vote for no man of any party who [would] not give his influence in favor of Liberty for all men." Concurrent with this declaration, Ezra R. Johnson, Nathan Johnson, and William P. Powell were appointed to a committee to question all Bristol County (of which New Bedford was a part) candidates for legislative office on the issues of liberty, slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories, the internal slave trade, freedom of speech and press, and the right of protest.(36)

Richard Johnson also served as the New Bedford agent of the Liberator. He, William Berry, Joseph Durfee (both Berry and Durfee were part owners of vessels), Shadrack Howard, the grandson of Paul Cuffee, and at least ten other seamen or former seamen were among those in attendance at the Temperance Convention of the People of Color of New England in 1836. Further, Berry and Edward Phelps, the latter of the Alvan Phelps family, served on a committee of three members to bring in lecturers on science and literature to enrich the lives of blacks. Shadrack Howard gave up whaling and went to California, where he joined the movement to win the franchise for blacks.(37)

The activities of these seafaring or former seafaring blacks and other like-minded residents of Nantucket and New Bedford were self-help endeavors. They were designed to win freedom for the slaves and improve the condition of life for themselves and, more importantly, for those many other less fortunate blacks in their own communities struggling to make

a living on the ships, at dockside loading and unloading cargoes, or engaged in other menial tasks.

What It All Meant

Thousands of blacks were on the merchant ships and whaling vessels along with thousands and thousands of non-blacks, individuals with imprecise descriptions, and individuals with no descriptions. The sources do not reveal the full story of the black presence on these ships, but they do contain abundant evidence of significant numbers of black merchant seamen and whalers on the ships. In hundreds of instances ships went to sea with crews consisting of half or more black personnel. In some instances all-black crews manned the ships. The need for more hands on deck in what was at best arduous, hazardous, and low-paying work provided the job openings.

Blacks, young and old, slave and free, American and foreign, male and female, fathers and sons, brothers, some husbands and wives, and the children--young children in appreciable numbers at New Orleans--manned the ships. They held every position and rank on the merchantmen and whalers. To some--those among the slave crewmen who were mixed indiscriminately with all sorts of men, the slaves who had false protection papers, and the slaves spirited away--the seaways were a means to escape the chains of bondage. To many others the sea provided employment, not the most desirable, but employment that they could not find elsewhere in the nation's economy. Some spent a lifetime on the sea, signing on voyage after voyage year after year--the native-born working class of the seaways. A few found the sea as an avenue to upward mobility. Aided by the forces of the marketplace, a small number became shipmasters, an anomaly for this period in history. Even more anomalous were the occasions when blacks held the ranking positions on ships with interracial crews. A few blacks also became shipowners.

The many, the common seamen and whalers, black and non-black alike, eked out a precarious livelihood. The excessive interest charges imposed on advances and goods purchased on shipboard eroded, in some instances, their meager contractual pay. The whalers in particular, and especially the green hands, were victimized by the system: exploitation was the rule, equitable lays were the exception. The whalers' pay coupled with the perils of the job led to the increasing use of foreigners and foreign-born men on the ships, mainly natives from the islands at the ports of call.

Domestic port cities, foreign port cities, and shipboard were veritable schools for the urbanization, acculturation, and education of blacks. On shipboard were all manner of men: multiethnic, multinational, and interracial. At the port cities, domestic and foreign, were all manner of activities and lifestyles. This mixing of men and the broadening of their horizon were enhanced by the widening of the maritime frontier as the whalers and merchantmen piled their trade at more distant places and markets.

The Negro Seamen's Laws that resulted from black protest against slavery--protest allegedly instigated and inspired in part by black seamen--had the effect of discouraging black seamen from enrolling on ships making calls at most southern ports. Linked to the controversy over slavery, these laws encroached on the federal government's control over interstate and foreign commerce and became the subject of congressional debates, judicial decisions, and diplomacy. Despite these laws, at Mobile during the first six months of 1860, large numbers of out-of-state blacks worked on the ships, and some worked on the ships out of Charleston in 1860.

Before the passage of the Negro Seamen's Laws, black seamen who were born in the South had begun to migrate to the northern port cities and to claim residence there. The Philadelphia port records beginning in 1803 graphically reveal the exodus of blacks from the South. In Louisiana, seventy-eight black seamen claimed residence in 1807, all but one in the city of New Orleans; in 1830 twenty-four claimed residence, with one-half in the city and the rest elsewhere in the state; and none was domiciled either in the city or the state in the last quarter of 1850 and 1860. This movement of black seamen and whalemens northward was the vanguard of the out-migration of blacks from the South to the northern port cities.

A surprising number of black seamen and whalemens knew how to sign their names. Some were very active participants in the anti-slavery movement and community service and self-help activities. The careers of Paul Cuffee, Richard Johnson, and William A. Leidesdorff were indeed remarkable when considered in the spirit and mood of the times. Absalom F. Boston, whose grandfather's situation led to the end of slavery in Nantucket, advanced blacks in that port city one step closer to equality by leading the movement that opened the public schools to them.

The question of whether free blacks were citizens in the eyes of the United States government was clothed in ambiguity. The protection papers and the crew lists said they were. The naturalization process conferred on them the status of citizens. Further, the privilege of commanding United States registered ships was restricted to citizens, and blacks commanded both merchantmen and whalers. Moreover, one of the important incidents that inspired public outrage was the seizure of American citizens in the "Chesapeake Affair"; blacks were among those citizens who were seized on the Chesapeake. On the other hand, there was some ambivalence in issuing protection papers to blacks, and an attorney general had rendered an opinion saying in effect that blacks were citizens, but not in the sense that they could be shipmasters. Consequent upon the attorney general's ruling, black captains began to disappear from the ships.

By their presence on the merchantmen and whalers, blacks made an enormous contribution to the nation's economy and economic development, prestige, and power position. Until 1812, American ships carried ninety percent or more of the nation's exports and imports, and by 1860 those ships still were carrying about sixty-five percent of this trade. The major port city was Philadelphia in the early part of this period, with New York beginning to emerge as the foremost port by 1815. Baltimore with its grain and tobacco trade was the main port in the upper South and by 1860 was approaching Philadelphia in importance. New Orleans rose in prominence and became by 1840 the most important port in the lower South. Charleston was the leading center for the export of cotton at the beginning of the period but by 1860 was replaced by Mobile. Boston had been among the top three major ports throughout the period. Although most of the export trade consisted of southern products, the carrying trade was dominated by the northerners. Ships from these ports (many Boston-registered ships called at New Orleans,) and Newport that handled this trade had sizable numbers of blacks in their crews.

The American whaling fleet increased rapidly after the War of 1812 and became the foremost whaling fleet in the world. The whaleships of the two main centers, Nantucket and New Bedford, and Newport carried significant numbers of blacks in their crews. With the discovery of crude oil and the processing of its byproducts, the whaling industry began to decline except on the west coast, where it enjoyed relative prosperity for some time longer.

Both whaling and foreign commerce stimulated the nation's economy by creating or expanding many service-related enterprises, such as shipbuilding, the lumber industry, sail making, rope making, merchandising, insurance underwriting, banking, the brokerage business, and warehousing. Importers, exporters, lawyers, storekeepers, dock workers, and a host of other skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled individuals made a living by the coming and going of the ships. Foreign trade, also, was the single most important source of revenue for the federal government during this period.

One of the elements in the equation for assessing a nation's prestige--that intangible and sometimes elusive quality that measures how important other nations or groups perceive a nation to be and how effectively a nation uses its perceived status--was how many ships a nation had afloat. In this respect, the United States was second, behind Great Britain. Ships bearing American registration papers were there for all to see in all of the major markets of the world and on the seaways in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans. They enhanced the nation's strength.

As the native-born working class of the merchant marine and the whaling fleet, blacks played an important role in the economic development of the nation and helped to lay the basis for capital formation in the United States. As merchant seamen and whalers, they helped to raise the prestige of the nation. Blacks, too, were an integral part of what Thomas Jefferson regarded as a source of American strength and what John Adams referred to as symbols of the nation's growing power.

This page intentionally left blank

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. William H. Clark, Ships and the Sailors, The Story of Our Merchant Marine (Boston, 1938), pp. 111, 130-31; Edward C. Kirkland, A History of American Economic Life (New York, 1951), p. 213; and Robert G. Albion, "New York Port and Its Disappointed Rivals," in Essays on Jacksonian America, edited by Frank Otto Gatell (New York, 1970), pp. 69, 71, 74, 82.

2. Alexander Starbuck, History of the American Whale Fishery from Its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876 (New York, 1964), 1:89, 91-95, 98, 111; Elmo Paul Hohman, The American Whaleman, A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry (New York, 1928), pp. 4-6; and A. Hyatt Verrill, The Real Story of the Whaler (New York, 1916), p. 4.

3. Marshall Smelser, The Congress Finds the Navy, 1787-98 (South Bend, 1959), p. 10; Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1958), 14:219; and Lester J. Cappon, ed., The Adams-Jefferson Letters (Chapel Hill, 1958), 1:48.

4. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, 5th ed. (New York, 1980), pp. 83-84, 108-9; and Starbuck 1:90.

5. Crew lists and shipping articles are records of the Bureau of Customs, Record Group 36, the National Archives, Washington, D.C. Record Group 36 also includes ship manifests and protection papers or the seamen's certificates of citizenship. The Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island, the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, and other agencies and institutions have collections of some of these documents. Reference to these records, unless otherwise specified, will be to Record Group 36 and will be identified by type of record, port of record, and if necessary, name of the ship, home port (port of registration), and sailing date.

6. Port records examined for this study were those for New Orleans from 1803 to 1826, from July 1827 to 1839, and the last three months of 1840, 1850, and 1860; for Newport

from 1803 to 1860; for Philadelphia from 1803 to 1824 and 1860; for Baltimore for practically all of 1806 and some for 1807 and 1812; for New York for some 935 scattered voyages, most of them in 1822, 1840, and 1849; for Charleston from 1858 to 1860; for Mobile from January to August 1860; for New Bedford for practically the entire period from 1803 to 1860; and a few scattered documents for Nantucket.

7. For a few of the many other men who were said to have had dark complexions and were found to have been black, see crew lists, New Orleans, Levin Polk on the Spark of Baltimore, November 17, 1831; John Johnson on the Peru of Baltimore, December 10, 1831; William Lockerman on the Saracen of Boston, February 25, 1832, and the Comet of Boston, June 6, 1829; Moses Hensen on the North America of Bath, May 20, 1834, and November 8, 1834; William Young on the Manilla of Duxbury, July 15, 1835; Joseph Shivey on the Bonita of New Orleans, December 10, 1835; and Thomas Weeden on the Tallahassee of New York, March 26, 1831, and December 17, 1832. Occasionally crew lists for the same voyage had different sailing dates.

8. William Wise on the Pilot of New Orleans, December 3, 1832, and William Snow on the Aurora of New Orleans, August 3, 1833, were two of the many so described. It was not unusual for ships to have more than two crew lists for the same voyage.

9. See New Orleans crew list, Mary and Susan of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, December 20, 1832.

10. James Fenimore Cooper, Miles Wallingford (New York, n.d.), p. 184.

11. New Orleans crew lists, Courier of Baltimore, October 19, 1831; and Iago of New Orleans, May 17, 1838. For similar instances of this nature, see the Hunter of Oxford, December 18, 1829; Henrietta of New Orleans, August 24, 1833; Eagle of New Bern, January 1835; Eclipse of New Orleans, June 5, 1834; and J. M. Caldwell of New Orleans, May 24, 1837. More than a hundred instances of this nature were found on the New Orleans lists alone.

12. New Orleans crew lists, the Lodi (or Sadi) of New York, November 30, 1840; Exchange of Norfolk, November 7, 1826; Catharine and Jane of Charleston, December 29, 1826; and Ceres of Norfolk, March 8, 1824.

13. Most of the foreign commerce from New Orleans from 1808 to 1815 was to Pensacola, Florida. This commerce was shipped in smaller vessels and handled by small crews of two, three, or four men. A number of presumably armed merchantmen with exceedingly large crews left port on "cruises." Some of these "cruises" were to undisclosed destinations and others to specified markets. Neither these "cruises" nor those similarly manned voyages departing from other ports, especially from Philadelphia, were counted in the sample.

14. See Philip M. Hamer, "Great Britain, the United States and the Negro Seamen's Acts, 1822-48," Journal of

Southern History 1 (1935): 3-28, for the origin, nature, and international repercussions of these laws.

15. Ibid.; U.S. Congress, House, Documents concerning Slavery, Free Colored Seamen: Majority and Minority Reports (Report Number 80), 27th Cong., 3rd sess., January 20, 1843; Corrector (Sag Harbor), January 1, 1825; and the Liberator, February 10, 1843, February 17, 1843, November 3, 1843, January 17, 1845, October 4, 1850, October 25, 1850, and July 24, 1853.

16. Liberator, October 18, 1850, May 16, 1851, and April 30, 1852; and Helen T. Catterall, Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro (Washington, D.C., 1920), 4:402, 511.

17. Some of the many other vessels with all-black crews were the Massachusetts of Wilmington, which left port on March 21, 1837; the Patty of Philadelphia, which departed for Puerto Rico on December 16, 1813; the Asia of New York, which cleared on May 10, 1834; the Select of Philadelphia out of New York in 1840; and the whaler Rising States out of New Bedford in 1836 and 1837. The Letitia of Baltimore, with a sailing date of December 4, 1824, probably had an all-black crew, while the crew of the Walker of New York, outbound on April 23, 1824, was all-black except the mate.

18. As noted, the social and legal climate at the port of Charleston was a problem for black seamen. This problem is discussed with more detail later in this chapter.

19. Liberator, May 2, 1835, and March 4, 1853.

20. For some instances of the arrest and imprisonment of black seamen in South Carolina under the provisions of the Negro Seamen's Law, see Liberator, October 4, 1850, October 25, 1850, April 30, 1852 and June 18, 1852; and Hamer, pp. 4, 14, 19.

21. The spaces on the reverse side of the crew lists for entering matters affecting the ships' personnel contain no indication of the arrest of these men. The logs of three of the ships out of Mobile which had out-of-state black crewmen likewise were silent on this matter.

22. In an effort to ascertain the ethnic origin of 400 men with vague descriptions who gave their residence or places of birth as New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newport, or New Bedford, a search was made of the federal census reports for 1830 (Free Negro Heads of Families), 1850, and 1860. This effort produced only five instances in which the men may have been one and the same and black. The local directories, especially those of Baltimore, Newport, and New Bedford, were more helpful. These directories revealed that eighteen of the men may have been black.

CHAPTER 2

1. For some examples, see Baltimore crew lists, Felicity, November 1, 1806; Greyhound, November 1, 1806; and

Two Brothers, November 8, 1806. For some of the many examples on the New Orleans crew lists, see Dart of Alexandria, November 19, 1831; Hope of Boston, November 16, 1830; Equator of New York, October 4, 1832; Elizabeth of New Orleans, July 13, 1830; Gustavus of New Orleans, November 17, 1806; and Roboreus of Baltimore, May 20, 1806. For some on the Philadelphia crew lists, see Aeolus of Philadelphia, April 26, 1815; William and Samuel of Philadelphia, September 5, 1804; Saunders of Philadelphia, September 24, 1804; Eliza and Katy of Philadelphia, October 5, 1804; and Little Cherub of Philadelphia, October 10, 1804.

2. Some of the others who hired out slave mariners were T. B. Lee and Company of New Orleans, Bogart and Hawthorn of New Orleans, a General Beatty of New Jersey, Mrs. McKinlay of New Bern, North Carolina, and "a citizen of the state of New Jersey." See New Orleans crew lists, Euphemia of New York, June 10, 1807; Fair Creole of New Orleans, August 27, 1807; Julia Ann of Charleston, June 15, 1809; Columbia of New York, May 22, 1839; Cuba of New York, March 23, 1839, May 10, 1839, May 25, 1839, and June 10, 1839; New York of Philadelphia, October 30, 1805; Chance of New Bern, November 19, 1833, and April 4, 1834; Fortune of Washington, December 25, 1835; New York of Philadelphia, February 1, 1808; and Return of Baltimore, September 13, 1823.

3. New Orleans crew lists, Friendship of New Bedford, April 10, 1807; Louisiana of New Orleans, December 1, 1823; Only Daughter of Norfolk, April 17, 1823; Byron of Bath, June 16, 1835; and the Charles of Bath, June 20, 1835.

4. Louisiana Courier, May 30, 1827.

5. Thirteenth Annual Report, presented at New York, May 11, 1853 (New York, 1853), p. 143 footnote.

6. Liberator, January 24, 1845.

7. Louisiana Courier, August 21, 1820, February 25, 1822, March 6 and 8, 1822, April 5, 1822, and May 27, 1822; New Orleans Argus, July 1, 4, 8, 10, and 14, 1828; and New York Commercial Advertiser, February 22, 1808.

8. For some of the voyages of Aquilla Brown as a slave and later a free black, see New Orleans crew lists, Time of Baltimore, October 4, 1823; Hamilton and Hiram of New Orleans, January 10, 1824, March 22, 1824, May 15, 1824, March 1925, and December 21, 1825; Hound of New Orleans and of Baltimore, October 31, 1825, December 17, 1825, August 7, 1826, November 25, 1826, and October 1, 1827; Virginia Ross of Baltimore, May 1825; Correo of Baltimore, January 17, 1829, February 14, 1829, March 20, 1829, April 17, 1829, and May 18, 1829; United States of Philadelphia, October 14, 1829; and Andes of New York, May 7, 1830. For some of the voyages of Richard Brown as a slave and free black, see New Orleans crew list, Hamilton and Hiram of New Orleans, January 10, 1824, and March 22, 1824; Correo of Baltimore, January 17, 1829, February 14, 1829, March 20, 1829, April 17, 1829, and March 13, 1830; and Emperor of Baltimore, November 11, 1830.

9. Baltimore crew lists, William and Mary, April 15, 1806; New Orleans crew lists, Eros of Baltimore, December 26, 1820; Fame of Falmouth, April 27, 1825; South Carolina of New Orleans, November 16, 1829; Hope of Boston, November 16, 1830; Flying Fish of New Orleans, May 18, 1805; Cornucopia of New Orleans, December 31, 1805, and March 26, 1806; Fishhawke, January 16, 1810; Chance of New Bern, November 19, 1833, and April 5, 1834; Philadelphia crew lists, Philadelphia of Philadelphia, October 7, 1803; Louisiana of Philadelphia, October 30, 1804; Thomas of Philadelphia, July 16, 1803, and February 26, 1805; Active of Philadelphia, May 5, 1804; Amelia of Philadelphia, January 12, 1804; Lovely Lass of Philadelphia, June 12, 1805; Reaper of Philadelphia, September 13, 1806; Mary of Philadelphia, April 3, 1818; and Newport Historical Society crew lists, Polly and Nancy, 1811. Some free black merchant seamen had the same surnames as their apparently non-black captains. These individuals may have been ex-slaves who remained on the ships. One of these seamen, designated as an apprentice, deserted at Nassau after at least five voyages under the command of the same captain (New Orleans crew lists, Swain of Cape May, October 9, 1830; April 6, 1832, and June 8, 1832; Ceres of Philadelphia, October 29, 1832; Glide of New Orleans, March 26, 1833; Francis Henrietta of New York, December 4, 1820; and Newport crew lists, William of Newport, 1807 and December 22, 1810). Liverpool, who was born on the coast of Africa, apparently gained his freedom when he became twenty-one years old. He was eighteen at the time of the 1806 voyage.

10. New Orleans lists, Edward, May 29, 1813; Fair American, May 23, 1814, August 5, and 31, 1814, September 14, 1814, March 15, 1815, May 25, 1815, and August 9, 1815; American, September 3, 1815; Jane, May 5, 1805, July 23, 1805, August 20, 1805, September 1805, December 1805, and February 24, 1806; Felicity, July 14, 1806; Trio, January 21, 1808; Ceres of Norfolk, April 11, 1823; Jefferson of Norfolk, March 16, 1829; and Ajax of Norfolk, May 16, 1835.

11. All-slave crews were on the Hirondella of New Orleans, September 13, 1814; the Cecil, May 6, 1815; and the Cecilia of New Orleans, June 19, 1815. All-slave crews manned other ships out of New Orleans, such as the Shark, which sailed on August 25, 1807.

12. Among the many seamen whose age data lacked consistency were: Joseph Chew over a ten-month period was recorded as being twelve years younger (New Orleans lists, Emperor of Baltimore, March 12, 1830, and January 6, 1831). On two different lists for the same voyage, William Davis was noted as sixty-seven and forty-seven years old (New Orleans list, Dorchester of New Orleans, January 26, 1833). Pardon Cook's Asa Wainer's, and Rodney Wainer's ages remained the same on the records over a five-year period (New Bedford crew lists, Elizabeth of Westport, July 17, 1839, June 24, 1840, and March 26, 1841; and Juno of Westport, June 16, 1843).

13. Two individuals, one on a New Orleans crew list with a stated age of five and the other on a New Bedford list with a stated age of four, were not included in the count; their age data were deemed errors. For the children, when differences existed on the lists, the oldest of the given

ages was used. The youngest person found on the New York crew list sample was a slave who reportedly was thirteen. The age data on the Newport lists at the National Archives were not consistently recorded. None of the captains' sons was included in the count of the children.

14. New Orleans crew lists, Ann of Charleston, August 28, 1820; Monroe of Falmouth, September 15, 1823; Watchman of New York, November 12, 1834; Francis Henrietta of New York, December 4, 1820; Victoire of New Orleans, March 12, 1819; Factor of Philadelphia, May 1, 1820; Baltimore crew lists, Vigilant of Baltimore, August 4, 1806; Newport crew lists, William of Newport, 1807; and New Bedford crew lists, Ansell of New Bedford, December 7, 1835.

15. Other children who worked on the ships with their fathers or other male members of their families were Joseph Dorott, Jr., Charles Beauchamp, Nelson Mason, Jr., David Yorker, and Richard Garner. These fathers and sons and brothers are included in the listing of family members on the ships in Table 20 in the Appendix. Although most of these family members worked multiple voyages, only one voyage is documented in the listing. The John Joseph out of Baltimore sailed on the Carthamine on January 15, 1806.

16. American Colonization Society, Fifteenth Annual Report (Washington, D.C., 1832), p. 1.

17. The primary interest was in black men and old men, hence complete data for all crewmen were recorded for 1832 and 1833 only.

18. A crewman whose complexion was dark had a listed age of eighty-seven. His age was probably overstated. A second crew list for the Thomas Gener of New York, on which he sailed on August 12, 1836, was not available for cross-reference.

19. New Bedford crew lists, Edward of Mattapoisett, March 28, 1842; Herald of New Bedford, November 20, 1830; and Quito of New Bedford, January 22, 1829.

20. At least two other members of the Henson family were seamen. Josiah sailed on the steamship Cuba each of the five times it cleared port at New Orleans between July and October 1837. David's ships called at New Orleans eight times between 1826 and 1831. Among the other sixty-eight of the older men were John Peters and Abraham Gibbs. Peters, a native of the Louisiana Territory and a sometime resident of New York, apparently spent some thirty years on the seas, beginning at least as early as 1805, when the Margaret cleared on May 17. His ships made several port calls at New Orleans. He was reportedly sixty-eight when the Columbus made port at New Orleans in March 1835. Gibbs, a native and resident of Pennsylvania, worked ships with various home ports including Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston beginning at least as early as March 1825. When he sailed on the Clarissa Andrews of Boston on November 7, 1839, his listed age was fifty-nine.

21. Philadelphia crew lists, Flora, June 20, 1803, and September 23, 1803; Martha of Philadelphia, June 6, 1804; Dominich of Philadelphia, May 8, 1805; Hannah of Philadelphia, July 19, 1819, September 9, 1819, October 30, 1819, February 26, 1820, May 27, 1820, and July 22, 1820; Good Friends, March 3, 1821; and others; Newport Historical Society crew lists, Richmond, 1804; Laurel, 1810; Robinson Potter, 1824; Hiram, 1832; Minos, 1833; and others.

22. Casimer Romain's sailings included voyages on the Eliza of New Orleans, January 14, 1824, July 23, 1824, and October 23, 1824; the Cherub of New Orleans, April 25, 1825; the Monk of New Orleans, July 24, 1829, August 28, 1829, November 28, 1829, January 26, 1830, March 15, 1830, and May 8, 1830; and the Emperor of New Orleans and Baltimore, January 6, 1831, March 12, 1831, and April 27, 1831. Isaac Oson cleared New Orleans on the Lima of New York, January 29, 1823; the Amiable Caroline of New Orleans, August 15, 1823; the Clarissa of Boston, November 6, 1824; the Nymph of New Orleans, October 19, 1825; the Joseph of Portland, February 16, 1826; the Hunter of Oxford, July 28, 1829, October 28, 1829, and December 18, 1829; and the Sabine of New Orleans, December 13, 1834. Arthur Dawson sailed on the United States of Philadelphia May 8, 1830, June 26, 1830, and August 18, 1830; the Correo of Baltimore, July 10, 1830 and December 4, 1830; the Express of New Orleans, December 18, 1830; the Ivory Lord of Boston, April 25, 1831; and the Oceola of New Castle, March 15, 1838. For the sailings of Aquilla Brown, see note 8 on page 110. Francis Epps was on the Columbia of New York, June 30, 1838, August 1, 1838, September 3, 1838, September 18, 1838, October 17, 1838, November 3, 1838, November 15, 1838, December 17, 1838, January 2, 1839, February 18, 1839, March 6, 1839, March 20, 1839, April 5, 1839, April 20, 1839, May 4, 1839, May 20, 1839, June 5, 1839, June 22, 1839, July 6, 1839, July 20, 1839, August 3, 1839, August 16, 1839, August 31, 1839, September 28, 1839, October 15, 1839, November 1, 1839, November 14, 1839, November 30, 1839, June 30, 1840, and October 8, 1840; and the Neptune of Charleston, January 7, 1840.

23. Frederick A. Lawton, a Rhode Island-born New Bedford resident, beginning at age fourteen went to sea each time the whaler Charles left port between 1830 and 1841. On May 30, 1862, after thirty-two years on the sea out of New Bedford and Newport, Lawton shipped out on the Dolphin as first mate, still in the pursuit of whales. James Quonwell, a New Bedford native and resident, spent twenty-three years on the whalers, starting with his tour on the Sally on May 22, 1815, and possibly ending with the return of the Isaac Howland to port on October 4, 1838. In all, Quonwell, who reportedly was fourteen at the time of his sailing on the Sally, made at least eight voyages. Apparently four other members of his family were whalemens; some of them made four or more voyages. Ebenezer Hunter, another long-time whalemans, began at least as early as May 12, 1826, when the Canton went to sea, and lasted at least to November 2, 1840, when the Canton returned to port after eight voyages.

CHAPTER 3

1. For a list of the boatsteerers, see Table 21 in the Appendix.

2. Alexander Starbuck in his two-volume History of the American Whale Fishery has a comprehensive listing of the whalers, their voyages, the amount of oil and whalebone they brought home, and other pertinent information. Many of the tragedies that befell the whalers and the men on them are graphically noted in the remarks column of the charts in both volumes.

3. Comments on some shipping articles indicate that crewmen were evaluated on their on-the-job performance and potential for elevation to boatsteerers and mates. See New Bedford Whalemens' Shipping Papers, Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Massachusetts, for notations on various documents.

4. Starbuck stated that much of the oil and whalebone was not reported. He also indicated that some of the cargo was sold at foreign ports and that some was sent home on other vessels (1:66). The value of the sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone was computed on the basis of data supplied in the chart in Starbuck, 2:660-61 and the assumption that a barrel contained the standard thirty-one and one-half gallons.

5. Martha S. Putney, "Richard Johnson: An Early Effort in Black Enterprise," Negro History Bulletin 45 (April-June 1982):46-47.

6. Boyd's Newport City Directory with a Business Directory. 1865, compiled by Andrew Boyd (Newport, 1865). For the voyages of John, Cuff, Jack, and Abraham Tew, see Newport Historical Society crew lists, Marian, 1803; Bonetta, 1803, Russell, 1810; Azubah and Ruthy, 1810; Golden Age, 1811; and Mary, 1816.

7. National Anti-Slavery Standard, November 6, 1869; Nantucket, Vital Statistics: Marriages, vol. 3; Starbuck, 1:242-43; and Edouard A. Stackpole, Sea Hunters, The New England Whalemens during Two Centuries, 1635-1835 (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 288.

8. Martha S. Putney, "Pardon Cook, Whaling Master," Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society 4 (Summer 1983): 47.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-54.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 51.

11. Daniel Ricketson, History of New Bedford, Bristol City, Massachusetts, Including a History of the Old Township of Dartmouth (New Bedford, 1858), p. 253. For some of the literature on Paul Cuffe, see Sheldon H. Harris, Paul Cuffe, Black America and the African Return (New York, 1972); Elizabeth Ross Haynes, Unsung Heroes (New York, 1921); Henry N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe and his Contribution to the American Colonization Society," Proceedings of the

Mississippi Valley Historical Society 6 (1913):370-402; and "Paul Cuffe," Journal of Negro History 8 (April 1923): 153-232; and Freedom's Journal, March 16, 1827.

12. Paul Cufee, Jr., was on the Traveller of Westport, which sailed in March 1817, and the Alexander Coffin, which cleared on April 19, 1849. Between 1817 and 1849, he appeared on ships at New Bedford and New York at regular intervals.

13. Putney, "Richard Johnson," pp. 46-47.

14. Starbuck, 1:390-91.

15. See the Liberator, October 18, 1850, for the territorial law of 1807 and the state law of 1830. The authorities may have been lax in enforcing the 1807 law, but they did remove free blacks from the ships calling at New Orleans in accord with the 1830 law (Liberator, October 4, 1850). Leidesdorff's life and activities are related in William A. Savage, "The Influence of Alexander Leidesdorf on the History of California," Journal of Negro History 38 (1953):322-32, and Delilah Beasley, Negro Trail Blazers of California (Los Angeles, 1919), pp. 107-8.

16. Survey of Federal Archives, comp., Ship Registers and Enrollments of New Orleans, Louisiana, National Archives Project, Work Progress Administration (Baton Rouge, 1941), 3:65.

17. Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans, United States District Court General Case Files, 1806-1952, Case Number 4323, Record Group 21, Federal Archives and Records Center, Fort Worth, Texas.

18. Ibid. The papers filed with the case indicated that at the time Leidesdorff did not maintain a residence in New Orleans and apparently had no property in the state. It appeared that he had living quarters on his ship.

19. Undated letter from John Cuffee to Freeloove Cuffee, Cuffee Papers, New Bedford Free Public Library.

20. Putney, "Richard Johnson," pp. 46-47.

21. Stackpole, pp. 286-87; and Survey of Federal Archives, comp., Directory of Whaling Masters Sailing from American Ports, Federal Writers Project, Work Progress Administration (New Bedford, 1938), p. 307.

22. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe," Journal of Negro History, p. 323. A Richard Johnson appeared on crew lists of Philadelphia, New York, and Newport, but it could not be ascertained whether any of these entries was for the man who owned the Rising States.

23. Ship Registers, New Orleans, vols. 1, 2, and 3; and Survey of Federal Archives, comp., Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts, National Archives Project, Work Progress Administration (Boston, 1940), vols. 1 and 2.

24. Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," Journal of Negro History 21 (April 1936): 198-99.

25. Benjamin F. Hall, ed., Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States, 1791-1825 (Washington, D.C., 1852), 1:506-8. See also Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free State, 1790-1860 (Chicago, 1961), p. 50.

26. Litwack, p. 33.

27. Henry Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America (Boston, 1872), 7:634.

American Freemen's Inquiry Commission, Special Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Colored Population of New Bedford, 1863, New Bedford Free Public Library.

29. Joseph H. Ashton, ed., Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1868), 10:382, 413.

CHAPTER 4

1. Ship Registers of New Bedford, 1:147, 268, 310-11, and 144; and the will of Paul Cuffee, reprinted in Sherwood, "Paul Cuffee," Journal of Negro History, pp. 230-32.

2. Ship Registers of New Bedford, 1:109, 76, 273, 324, 259, and 321; and Assessor's Office, City of New Bedford, Valuation Book, School Districts #5 and #6.

3. Inventroy of estate, Edward Pompey, Nantucket Probate Office; and Ship Registers of New Bedford, 1:310-11, 268, 144, 2:166.

4. List of Officers Composing the Whaling Fleet, San Francisco, 1886-1908, Melville Room, New Bedford Free Public Library. Joseph G. Belain was first mate on the Navarch, which cleared New Bedford on September 6, 1892.

5. Ship Registers of New Bedford, 2:263, 101, 265, 108, 212, and 250; and Luther P. Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860 (New York, 1942), p. 141. Both Berry and Ruggles were active in the anti-slavery movement and other self-help activities (Liberator, November 1, 1834).

6. Undated newspaper clipping, Melville Room, New Bedford Free Public Library; and William Rotch, Jr., Letter Book, 1804-1808, p. 192, Old Dartmouth Historical Society.

7. Hohman, p. 50

8. Charles W. Morgan Papers, Journal C, 1836-1842, Melville Room, New Bedford Free Public Library.

9. Settlement Accounts at the Old Dartmouth Historical Society. Interest charges on whalemens indebted to the Abigail of New Bedford, which sailed on November 19, 1831, were twenty-eight percent (Charles W. Morgan Papers, Journal B, 1830-1836).

10. Nelson Cole Haley, Whale Hunt, The Narrative of a Voyage (New York, 1967), p. 23.

11. Settlement account of Frances Henrietta, Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford.

12. Letter from William R. Potter to Wood and Nye, Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford.

13. Jonathan Bourne, Jr. Papers, 1844-1879, Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford; and J. Ross Browne, Etchings of a Whaling Cruise with Notes of a Sojourn on the Island of Zanzibar (New York, 1846), p. 495.

14. Free Press and Patroit, December 10, 1828.

15. The data in the table reflect the notations of desertions and discharges entered on the crew lists. Boarding officers occasionally noted "all returned" when in fact some crewmen were not on board. In some instances, these men were left sick at foreign or domestic ports or died at sea. In other instances, no information was given.

16. Notes of James B. Congdin in researching the Cuffee Papers, New Bedford Free Public Library; Bethel Register, p. 37, Old Dartmouth Historical Society; and log of the Herald, Old Dartmouth Historical Society.

17. Among some of the blacks who were left sick or died of undisclosed illnesses at foreign ports were men on the Raising Sun of Philadelphia (sailing date December 27, 1820), Balaeno of New Bedford (sailing date October 29, 1825) and Alexander of Hollewell (sailing in 1822).

18. Corrector (Sag Harbor, Long Island), April 26, 1823; and Stackpole, p. 332. For a full account of the shipwreck of the Essex, see Owen Chase, Shipwreck of the Whaleship Essex (New York, 1963).

19. Starbuck, 1:142-43. Apparently no action was taken against the man.

20. William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey, Mutiny on Board the Whaleship Globe (New York, 1963), pp. ix, 19-20; Stackpole, p. 414; and Starbuck, 1:34-35. Humphries appears to have been the only black on the Globe.

21. Columbian Courier (Boston), May 1, 1801; and Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the Subject of Impressed Seamen with the Document Published by the House (Boston, 1813). Between 1804 and 1807 at least twenty-seven seamen were taken off ships in or out of New Orleans. Many of the lists for these years were torn, crumbling, water-damaged, or faded, and hence much of the information was unreadable or missing.

22. Charles Andrews, The Prisoners' Memoirs or Dartmoor Prison (New York, 1815), Rare Book Collection, Library of Congress.

23. Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's As Seen by British Consuls," Journal of Southern History 1 (1935):32.

24. Birthplace and residency data on the crew lists often were omitted altogether, or birthplaces only or residence only were given, or some of one and some of the other were recorded. The New Orleans, New York, and New Bedford lists were the most deficient in this respect.

25. Commercial Times (New Orleans), September 1, 1847; and Daily Crescent (New Orleans), Jun 6, 1860.

26. Courier (New Orleans), January 14, 1831.

27. National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 12, 1848.

1855 State Census, New Bedford, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston (microfilm).

29. Department of State, Consular Letters, Santiago, Cape Verde, February 18, 1834-December 24, 1841, letter dated December 30, 1837, report of Consul F. Gardner, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

30. Catterall, 4:518.

31. Franklin, pp. 108-9; and Cadbury, p. 197.

32. Ricketson, p. 252; Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York, 1962), pp. 204-17; and Mercury (New Bedford), April 6, 1848.

33. George H. Moore, Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts (New York, 1856), p. 117; and Stackpole, p. 287.

34. Liberator, September 26, 1845, and February 20, 1846; Ricketson, pp. 252-53; and Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presented in New York, May 7, 1850, p. 122.

35. Liberator, March 8, 1834, June 7, 1834, September 10 and 13, 1834, March 29, 1839, April 10, 1840, August 14, 1840, and February 21, 1841; New Bedford Directory, 1865; and Vital Statistics, Nantucket, Deaths, Number 494, Nantucket Probate Office. Pompey died on October 7, 1848, at age forty-eight.

36. Daily Mercury (New Bedford), October 28, 1817, and August 1, 1839; and Liberator, November 1, 1834, May 30, 1835, October 28, 1837, May 24, 1839, and June 21, 1839.

37. Liberator, January 28, 1832, January 4, 1834, May 30, 1835, October 28, 1837, May 24, 1839, and June 21, 1839; and Beasley, p. 63.

Appendix

Table 1. New Orleans Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ships and Percentage of Blacks in the Total Crews Based on Those in Category I

Year	Category I (Black)	Category II (Descriptions Encompass Blacks)	Category III (No proofs)	Total Crews	No. of Ships	Percentage*
1804	96	91	-	585	60	16.4
1805	303	144	133	1,916	222	15.8
1806	143	184	61	1,060	118	13.49(1)
1807	308	310	60	1,802	201	17.0
1808	61	24	33	431	47	14.1
1809	53	108	14	368	53	14.4
1810	23	41	-	119	18	19.3(2)
1816	272	214	54	1,264	138	21.5(3)
1817	590	598	45	2,629	282	22.4
1818	587	581	79	2,663	329	22.0(3)
1819	517	693	142	3,328	386	15.5
1820	374	494	150	2,646	314	14.0(3)
1821	453	520	270	3,226	380	14.0
1822	450	505	345	3,034	373	14.8
1823	732	901	621	5,131	568	14.2
1824	671	712	836	4,322	409	15.5
1825	661	190	725	4,184	443	15.8
1826	766	757	891	5,112	533	14.9
1827	381	391	587	2,982	301	12.8(4)
1828	452	511	754	3,648	379	12.4(4)
1829	688	772	1,342	5,906	754	11.6
1830	659	771	1,546	6,120	594	10.7
1831	641	987	1,273	6,263	570	10.2
1832	526	925	1,117	5,340	530	9.8
1833	531	935	1,348	5,955	543	8.9
1834	716	1,250	1,602	7,056	652	10.1
1835	806	1,318	1,817	8,298	789	9.7
1836	859	1,441	2,570	9,223	807	9.3
1837	872	1,387	1,949	8,381	786	10.4
1838	856	1,632	3,073	10,144	903	8.4
1839	828	1,699	2,281	10,522	946	7.86
1840	315	488	741	3,160	256	9.96(5)
1850	39	314	653	2,724	197	0.14(5)
1860	41	380	693	2,898	143	0.14(5)

- (1) Based on voyages from January to July and one in December.
- (2) Armed merchantment and those vessels on "cruises" not counted.
- (3) Fifty-two voyages not counted for 1816 because of the deteriorate condition of the documents; some voyages omitted for 1818 and 1820 or the same reason; some documents for other years similarly affected.
- (4) For 1827, data based on voyages from July to December; for 1828, data based on voyages from January through June.
- (5) Data based on voyages for the last three months of 1840 and 1850 and October and November of 1860.

*The percentages do not take into account those blacks in categories II and III. For the period 1804-1839, blacks composed 11.76 percent of the total crews and 1.33 persons per voyage.

Table 2. Baltimore Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ships and Percentage of Blacks in the Total Crews Based on Those in Category I

Year	Category I (Blacks)	Category II (Descriptions Encompass Blacks)	Category III (Not recorded)	Total No. of Crews	No. of Ships	Percentage
Sample of 1806 1807 1812	801	202	-	4,704	468	17.0

Blacks averaged 1.71 per voyage.

Table 3. Newport Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ships

Crew List as the National Archives

Year	Blacks	Total Crews	Number of Ships	Percentage	Blacks per Ship
1803-1857	862	2,694	391	31.9	2.20
1858-1859	20	--	51	--	--

Crew Lists at the Newport Historical Society

Year	Blacks	Number of Ships	Blacks per Ship
1803-1860	1,627	1,987	.82

Combined Lists

Year	Blacks	Number of Ships	Blacks per Ship
1803-1860	2,509	2,429	1.03

Table 4. Philadelphia Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ship

Year	Blacks	Total Crews	Ship Count	Percentage
1803	364	-	217	
1804	908	-	449	
1805	849	-	500	
1806	765	-	519	
1807	349	-	233	
1808	85	-	56	
1809	53	-	30	
1810	378	2,524	302	14.9
1811	220	2,002	218	10.9
1812	240	1,388	140	17.2
1813	102	956	63	10.6
1814	54	-	64	
1815	422	4,530	480	9.3
1816	269	-	380	
1817	499	4,082	509	12.2(1)
1818	367	3,944	493	9.3
1819	316	-	460	
1820	409	-	493	
1821	443	-	525(1)	
1822	399	-	488(2)	
1823	523	-	510(2)	
1824	628	-	604(1)	
1860	861	-	786(2)	

(1) In addition to the "no proofs" and those with descriptions who might have been black, a large number of men had no descriptions. For example, in 1817 on 89 voyages 207 men were without descriptions, in 1821 on 501 voyages 700 men had no descriptions, and in 1824 195 voyages 285 men were without descriptions.

(2) Some ships carried no clearly designated blacks. For example, in 1822 blacks were on 274 of the voyages, in 1823 they were on 365 of the 510 voyages, and in 1860 they were on 369 of the 786 voyages.

Table 5. New York Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ships*

Year	Blacks	No. of Ships
1803-1808	68	35
1820	59	38
1821	64	44
1822	245	161
1823	47	29
1839	10	4
1840	421	266
1848	114	72
1849	569	286

*Scattered lists; "no proofs," unidentified, and those with descriptions which could fit blacks were not counted among the blacks.

Table 6. New Bedford Crew Lists: Number of Blacks on the Ships*

Year	Blacks	No. of Ships(1)
1803-1840	2,028	729
1841	65	32
1842	48	26
1843	171	89
1846	51	24
1847	215	113
1848	162	114
1849	103	119
1850	126	117
1851	241	184
1852	95	85
1853	139	142
1854	177	162
1855	112	145
1856	159	137
1857	108	70
1858	24	106
1859	8	4
1860	32	25

*Large numbers of "no proofs" and unidentified men on the lists were tabulated. In some instances all of the voyages for the indicated years were tabulated, in other instances only those voyages with black crewmen are shown, and in still other instances the crew lists for only a few of the voyages were examined. For example, in 1847, blacks were found on 95 of the 113 voyages; the next year, clearly designated blacks were on 89 of the 114 voyages. In sum, identifiable blacks could not be found on all of the voyages shown for the years 1847 and 1858.

Table 7. Baltimore Crew Lists: 1806, 1807, and 1812 (468 Crew Lists) Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Maryland (364)		Baltimore (665)	
Baltimore (69)	= 433	Maryland (1)	= 666
New England	= 46	New England	= 40
Massachusetts	= 30	Massachusetts	= 32
Connecticut	= 6	Rhode Island	= 4
Rhode Island	= 6	New Hampshire	= 3
New Hampshire	= 3	Maine	= 1
Maine	= 1		
Other Northern States	= 78	Other Northern States	= 68
New York	= 46	New York	= 42
Pennsylvania	= 30	Pennsylvania	= 25
New Jersey	= 2	New Jersey	= 1
Southern States	= 105	Other States	= 50
Virginia	= 45	Virginia	= 40
Louisiana	= 21	Delaware	= 9
Delaware	= 15	Louisiana	= 1
District of Columbia	= 8		
North Carolina	= 7		
Georgia	= 5		
South Carolina	= 4		
Foreign	= 39	Foreign	= 2
West Indies	= 26	Africa	= 1
Africa	= 9	West Indies	= 1
Spain	= 2		
East Indies	= 1		
Mexico	= 1		

Table 8. Port of Philadelphia Crew Lists: 1803-1805
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Pennsylvania (488)		Philadelphia (1,817)	
Philadelphia (71)	= 559	Philadelphia (6)	= 1,823
New England	= 184	New England	= 55
Massachusetts	= 113	Massachusetts	= 32
Rhode Island	= 43	Connecticut	= 8
Connecticut	= 25	Rhode Island	= 8
New Hampshire	= 3	Maine	= 7
Other Northern States	= 347	Other Northern States	= 23
New York	= 244	New York	= 21
New Jersey	= 103	New Jersey	= 2
Southern States	= 924	Southern States	= 49
Maryland	= 350	Maryland	= 17
Delaware	= 296	Delaware	= 15
Virginia	= 157	North Carolina	= 7
South Carolina	= 79	South Carolina	= 6
North Carolina	= 28	Louisiana	= 3
Georgia	= 7	Virginia	= 1
Louisiana	= 6		
District of Columbia	= 1		
Foreign	= 94	Foreign	= 3
West Indies	= 49	Africa	= 1
Africa	= 22	Portugal	= 1
Guinea	= 8	West Indies	= 1
East India	= 4		
Portugal	= 4		
Brazil	= 2		
India	= 2		
Denmark	= 1		
France	= 1		
Sweden	= 1		

Table 9. Port of Philadelphia Crew Lists: January-June 1820
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Pennsylvania (46)		Philadelphia (171)	
Philadelphia (11)	= 57	Pennsylvania (6)	= 177
New England	= 23	New England	= 11
Massachusetts	= 14	Massachusetts	= 7
Rhode Island	= 5	Rhode Island	= 2
Connecticut	= 2	New Hampshire	= 1
Maine	= 1	Vermont	= 1
Vermont	= 1		
Other Northern States	= 35	Other Northern States	= 8
New York	= 21	New York	= 6
New Jersey	= 14	New Jersey	= 2
Southern States	= 87	Southern States	= 18
Delaware	= 31	Virginia	= 7
Maryland	= 23	Delaware	= 5
Virginia	= 12	Maryland	= 3
Louisiana	= 7	Louisiana	= 2
South Carolina	= 7	South Carolina	= 1
North Carolina	= 4		
Georgia	= 2		
District of Columbia	= 1		
Foreign	= 3	Foreign	= 0
Africa	= 2		
West Indies	= 1		

Table 10. 1860 Federal Census: Philadelphia Fourth Ward:
 Eastern and Western District, and Fifth Ward:
 Southern (Partial) and Northern District Blacks

Birthplaces:

Pennsylvania	=	104
New England	=	5
Massachusetts	=	5
Other Northern States	=	35
New Jersey	=	21
New York	=	13
Ohio	=	1
Southern States	=	97
Maryland	=	35
Delaware	=	34
Virginia	=	14
Louisiana	=	6
North Carolina	=	3
South Carolina	=	3
District of		
Columbia	=	1
Kentucky	=	1
Foreign	=	23
West Indies	=	14
Canada	=	8
Africa	=	1
Not listed	=	3

Table 11. New Orleans Crew Lists: 1807
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces		Residences	
New Orleans (42)		New Orleans (77)	
Louisiana (5)	= 47	Louisiana (1)	= 78
New England States	= 20	New England States	= 6
Massachusetts	= 13	Massachusetts	= 4
Rhode Island	= 5	Maine	= 1
Connecticut	= 2	Rhode Island	= 1
Other Northern States	= 42	Other Northern States	= 56
New York	= 18	New York	= 28
Pennsylvania	= 14	Pennsylvania	= 27
New Jersey	= 10	New Jersey	= 1
Southern States	= 54	Southern States	= 37
Maryland	= 26	Maryland	= 21
Virginia	= 17	Virginia	= 9
North Carolina	= 4	South Carolina	= 5
South Carolina	= 4	Georgia	= 1
Delaware	= 2	North Carolina	= 1
Carolina	= 1		
Foreign	= 4		
Africa	= 3		
West Indies	= 1		

Table 12. New Orleans Crew Lists: 1830
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Louisiana	= 27	Louisiana (12)	
		New Orleans (12)	= 24
New England States	= 120	New England States	= 107
Massachusetts	= 59	Massachusetts	= 59
Connecticut	= 23	Rhode Island	= 21
Rhode Island	= 22	Connecticut	= 13
Maine	= 12	Maine	= 10
New Hampshire	= 4	New Hampshire	= 4
Other Northern States	= 219	Other Northern States	= 97
New York	= 107	New York	= 55
Pennsylvania	= 92	Pennsylvania	= 40
New Jersey	= 20	New Jersey	= 2
Southern States	= 152	Southern States	= 66
Maryland	= 83	Maryland	= 35
Virginia	= 35	Virginia	= 15
Delaware	= 11	Delaware	= 9
District of		Florida	= 4
Columbia	= 9	Georgia	= 2
Georgia	= 5	South Carolina	= 1
Alabama	= 3		
South Carolina	= 3		
North Carolina	= 2		
Florida	= 1		
Foreign	= 1		
India	= 1		

Table 13. Newport Historical Society Crew Lists: 1820-1857*
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Newport (118)		Newport (531)	
Rhode Island (111)	= 229	Rhode Island (79)	= 610
Other New England States	= 165	Other New England States	= 78
Massachusetts	= 106	Massachusetts	= 70
Connecticut	= 35	Connecticut	= 8
Maine	= 15		
New Hampshire	= 6		
Vermont	= 3		
Other Northern States	= 175	Other Northern States	= 60
New York	= 109	New York	= 52
Pennsylvania	= 54	Pennsylvania	= 8
New Jersey	= 12		
Southern States	= 133	Southern States	= 11
Maryland	= 56	Maryland	= 5
Virginia	= 37	Virginia	= 3
Louisiana	= 15	Louisiana	= 2
District of Columbia	= 7	South Carolina	= 1
South Carolina	= 7		
Delaware	= 4		
North Carolina	= 4		
Alabama	= 2		
Kentucky	= 1		
Foreign	= 361		
West Indies	= 329**		
Africa	= 15		
South America	= 2		
Other Foreign	= 15		

*Except for the years 1843 and 1847

**Most of the West Indians were employed on the ships in 1840 and afterward.

Table 14. Newport: Protection Papers at the National Archives. Birthplaces of Black Seamen

Rhode Island (105)		
Newport (54)	=	159
Other New England States	=	47
Massachusetts	=	24
Connecticut	=	21
Maine	=	2
Other Northern States	=	66
New York	=	31
Pennsylvania	=	31
New Jersey	=	4
Southern States	=	40
Maryland	=	13
Delaware	=	8
Virginia	=	8
District of Columbia	=	4
Louisiana	=	4
North Carolina	=	2
Georgia	=	1

Table 15. New York: Crews for 1840*
 Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
New York	= 194	New York	= 299
New England States	= 66	New England States	= 10
Connecticut	= 24	Connecticut	= 4
Massachusetts	= 24	Massachusetts	= 3
Rhode Island	= 9	Maine	= 2
Maine	= 7	Rhode Island	= 1
New Hampshire	= 1		
Vermont	= 1		
Other Northern States	= 58	Other Northern States	= 11
Pennsylvania	= 44	Pennsylvania	= 10
New Jersey	= 14	New Jersey	= 1
Southern States	= 83	Southern States	= 11
Maryland	= 31	Maryland	= 5
Virginia	= 21	Virginia	= 4
Delaware	= 12	District of	
Louisiana	= 8	Columbia	= 1
District of		Louisiana	= 1
Columbia	= 7		
South Carolina	= 2		
Georgia	= 1		
North Carolina	= 1		
Foreign	= 14	Foreign	= 7

*Sample of 266 sailings with 421 blacks employed as crewmen.

Table 16. New Bedford Customs District Crew Lists: 1803-1841
Birthplaces and Residences of Black Seamen

Birthplaces:		Residences:	
Massachusetts (484)		New Bedford (846)	
New Bedford (63)	= 547	Massachusetts (353)	= 1,199
Other New England States	= 267	Other New England States	= 111
Rhode Island	= 153	Rhode Island	= 59
Connecticut	= 59	Connecticut	= 33
New Hampshire	= 27	Maine	= 9
Maine	= 24	New Hampshire	= 9
Vermont	= 4	Vermont	= 1
Other Northern States	= 445	Other Northern States	= 106
New York	= 228	New York	= 67
Pennsylvania	= 169	Pennsylvania	= 33
New Jersey	= 48	New Jersey	= 6
Southern States	= 205	Southern States	= 53
Maryland	= 101	Maryland	= 26
Virginia	= 28	Virginia	= 9
Louisiana	= 23	District of Columbia	= 6
Delaware	= 20	Delaware	= 5
District of Columbia	= 11	Louisiana	= 5
North Carolina	= 11	North Carolina	= 2
South Carolina	= 7		
Georgia	= 2		
Florida	= 1		
Kentucky	= 1		
Foreign	= 52	Foreign	= 12

Table 17. Nantucket: Protection Papers at the National Archives: Birthplaces of Black Seamen: 1815-1860*

Birthplaces:

Massachusetts (73)	
Nantucket (36)	= 109
Other New England States	= 56
Connecticut	= 25
Rhode Island	= 21
Maine	= 7
Vermont	= 2
New Hampshire	= 1
Other Northern States	= 219
New York	= 126
Pennsylvania	= 60
New Jersey	= 33
Southern States	= 75
Maryland	= 37
Virginia	= 13
Delaware	= 11
North Carolina	= 5
District of	=
Columbia	= 4
Louisiana	= 3
Alabama	= 1
Georgia	= 1
Foreign	= 2
West Indies	= 2

*Records of some years and parts of years were not available.

Table 18. 1855 New Bedford State Census

Birthplaces of Blacks

Massachusetts = 419

Other New England States = 90

Rhode Island = 64

Connecticut = 18

Maine = 6

New Hampshire = 2

Other Northern States = 181

Pennsylvania = 82

New York = 64

New Jersey = 34

Michigan = 1

Southern States = 649

Virginia = 325

Maryland = 143

District of

Columbia = 95

North Carolina = 42

Georgia = 17

South Carolina = 12

Tennessee = 6

Delaware = 5

South = 3

Kentucky = 1

Foreign = 135

Portugal = 105

Canada = 17

West Indies = 5

Africa = 4

Sandwich Isles = 2

South America = 2

Total 1,474

Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Office of the Secretary, Archives Division, State House of Boston, Massachusetts

Table 19. 1860 Federal Census: Bristol County, including
New Bedford, Fairhaven, Fall River, Dartmouth,
Taunton, Westport.

Birthplaces of Blacks

Massachusetts	=	84
Other New England States	=	12
Rhode Island	=	12
Other Northern States	=	41
New York	=	25
Pennsylvania	=	12
New Jersey	=	2
Ohio	=	2
Southern States	=	161
Virginia	=	94
Maryland	=	42
District of Columbia	=	9
North Carolina	=	9
South Carolina	=	4
Georgia	=	2
West Virginia	=	1
Foreign	=	13
Sandwich Island	=	6
Africa (1)	=	
Cape Verde (2)	=	3
Portugal	=	2
France	=	1
Ireland	=	1

Not given, unknown, or not readable = 47

Table 20. Some Family Members on the Ships

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Almy						
David	New Bedford	39	George & Susan	New Bedford	New Bedford	1812
William	New Bedford	17	George & Susan	New Bedford	New Bedford	1812
Ammons						
Joseph	Charleston	30	Roman	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/29/1839
Gideon	Charleston	20	Roman	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/29/1839
Auker						
Joseph	Westport	59	Industry	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/ 7/1821
Tillinghost	Dartmouth	18	Industry	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/ 7/1821
Bannister						
James	So. Kingston	31	John Pierce	Newport	Newport	1853, 1857
Charles	So. Kingston	22	John Pierce	Newport	Newport	1853, 1857
Barry						
Cato	Africa	60	Hindostone	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	8/22/1805
Plato	South Carolina	24	Amphitrite	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	11/22/1806
Batice						
John	New Orleans	39	Mississippi	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/11/1805
John	New Orleans	18	Mississippi	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/11/1805
Beauchamp						
Jonathan	New York	29	Asage	Boston	New Orleans	12/ 5/1840
Charles	New York	11	Asage	Boston	New Orleans	12/ 5/1840
Belain						
Peter	West Indies	28	Eagle	Newport	Newport	1805
Thomas	Martha's Vineyard	--	Mercury	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/19/1844
George	Martha's Vineyard	42	Massasoit	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	11/18/1853
William	Martha's Vineyard	24	Massasoit	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	11/18/1853
Berryman						
Charles	Kent County, Md.	27	Blanchy	--	Baltimore	3/26/1812
Sam	Kent County, Md.	17	Blanchy	--	Baltimore	3/26/1812

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Blake						
George	Baltimore	39	Valador	Baltimore	New Orleans	11/18/1830
George, Jr.	Baltimore	13	Valador	Baltimore	New Orleans	11/18/1830
Briggs						
Henry	Tiverton	22	Betsy	Newport	Newport	1804
Zebediah	Tiverton	20	Betsy	Newport	Newport	1804
Brown						
Abner	Maryland	50	Clothier	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	July 1810
	Maryland	64	Delaware	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/12/1823
John	Pennsylvania	12	Clothier	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	July 1810
Frederick	Philadelphia	16	Delaware	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/12/1823
Abner, [Jr.]	Philadelphia	24	Peruvian	New York	New Orleans	7/13/1829
Caldwell						
Abigail	--	--	Elisa Grant	Portsmouth, N.H.	New Orleans	3/29/1825
Isaac	Delaware	33	Elisa Grant	Portsmouth, N.H.	New Orleans	3/29/1825
Canacker						
Harry	--	--	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/ 3/1831
James	--	--	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/ 3/1831
Joseph	--	--	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/ 3/1831
Tom	--	--	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/ 3/1831
Clement						
Robert	New York	19	Diomede	Portland	New Orleans	10/31/1829
Robert	New York	57	American	Philadelphia	New Orleans	3/20/1830
Conner						
Garrison	Philadelphia	38	Tiger	New York	New Orleans	1/16/1836
Thomas	Philadelphia	33	Tiger	New York	New Orleans	1/16/1836
Cook						
Pardon	Dartmouth	24	Industry	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 7/1821
Joseph	Dartmouth	19	Industry	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 7/1821
Cooper						
Abraham	Chilmark	18	Jasper	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/27/1836
Nathan F.	Chilmark	15	Jasper	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/27/1836

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Copeland						
Thomas	--	[23]	Heroine	Fairhaven	New Bedford	8/14/1837
John	--	21	Heroine	Fairhaven	New Bedford	8/14/1837
Cuffee						
Paul, Jr.	Westport	17	Sarah	New Bedford	New Bedford	4/ 8/1809
Paul	Cuttyhunk	56	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	12/ 2/1815
William	Westport	16	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	12/ 2/1815
Derry						
James	Maryland	34	Otto	New York	New Orleans	4/16/1816
George P.	New York	23	Braganza	New York	New Orleans	10/31/1823
William	New York	21	Braganza	New York	New Orleans	10/31/1823
Henry	New Bedford	18	Amazon	Fairhaven	New Bedford	June 1824
Charles H.	New York	29	Havre	New York	New York	March 1849
Charles	New York	23	Havre	New York	New York	March 1849
Dorott						
Joseph	Maryland	40	Sally	Philadlephia	Philadelphia	8/31/1805
Joseph, Jr.	--	12	Sally	Philadlephia	Philadelphia	8/31/1805
Edwards						
Alexander	--	34	Gen. Harrison	Boston	New York	Dec. 1847
John	--	34	Gen. Harrison	Boston	New York	Dec. 1847
Essex						
Albin	Philadelphia	28	Weston	--	New York	12/ 8/1822
Richard	Philadelphia	14	Weston	--	New York	12/ 8/1822
Abner	Philadelphia	53	Hongna [Songna?]	New York	New York	Oct. 1847
Etienne						
Pierre	New Orleans	--	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/12/1819
Joseph	New Orleans	8	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/12/1819
Francis						
John R.	E. Windsor	24	Geneva	Newport	Newport	1834
Frederick	E. Windsor	23	Geneva	Newport	Newport	1834

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ships	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Furbelow						
Christopher	Delaware	40	Lancaster	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	4/28/1818
Christopher	Delaware	16	Olive Branch	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	4/24/1819
Daniel	Philadelphia	65	Tea Plant	Newport	Newport	6/13/1826
Galmston						
Ned	South Carolina	40	Hercules	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12/ 5/1832
Henry	South Carolina	30	Hercules	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12/ 5/1832
Daniel	South Carolina	20	Hercules	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12/ 5/1832
Gardner						
Benjamin	Rhode Island	--	German Peggy	Newport	Newport	1/ 6/1804
George	Newport	25	Hope	Newport	Newport	1/27/1804
Prince	Newport	25	Hope	Newport	Newport	1/27/1804
Joseph	No. Kingston	18	Federal	No. Kingston	Newport	1807
Peter	No. Kingston	17	Federal	No. Kingston	Newport	1807
Aaron	Rhode Island	20	Newport	Newport	New Orleans	5/30/1825
Amboy	Rhode Island	38	Newport	Newport	New Orleans	5/30/1825
Daniel	Rhode Island	28	John	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/14/1827
George W.	Rhode Island	29	John	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/14/1827
Garner						
Andrew	Massachusetts	24	Favorite	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/19/1806
Richard	Massachusetts	12	Favorite	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/19/1806
Garrison						
Thomas	Philadelphia	--	Mary	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/10/1855
William	Philadelphia	--	Mary	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/10/1855
Glidden						
George	Maine	22	Constitution	Boston	New Orleans	2/14/1834
Francis	Maine	14	Constitution	Boston	New Orleans	2/14/1834
Goodrich						
Francis	Gayhead	28	Grampus	Boston	New Bedford	4/27/1836
Philip	Edgartown	26	Grampus	Boston	New Bedford	4/27/1836
Gray						
Andrew	Pennsylvania	27	Active	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	7/18/1803
David	Pennsylvania	21	Active	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	7/18/1803

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Hamilton						
John H.	District of Columbia	35	Corinthian	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/ 9/1847
William H.	District of Columbia	17	Corinthian	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/ 9/1847
Handley						
William	Pennsylvania	24	Pacific	New York	New Orleans	10/26/1850
John	Pennsylvania	24	Pacific	New York	New Orleans	11/27/1850
Haskell						
Robert	--	27	Mary Ann	--	New Orleans	3/14/1820
Francis	--	22	Mary Ann	--	New Orleans	3/14/1820
Hathaway						
Fuller	Tiverton	44	Good Return	Freetown	New Orleans	6/14/1817
Isaac	Tiverton	22	Good Return	Freetown	New Orleans	6/14/1817
Hatton						
John	Virginia	--	Emulous	New York	New York	2/ 7/1822
Richard	Virginia	--	Emulous	New York	New York	2/ 7/1822
Hays						
H. F.	New York	33	Savannah	Richmond	New York	May 1848
Anthony	Pennsylvania	26	Savannah	Richmond	New York	May 1848
Hazard						
Samuel	Newport	26	John	Newport	Newport	1804
Newport	Jamestown	22	Mary	--	Newport	1804
Thomas	Rhode Island	22	Polly	Warren	Newport	1811
Robert	Newport	28	John	--	Newport	1822
Daniel	Rhode Island	31	Balance	Bristol	New Orleans	2/12/1825
James	Rhode Island	35	London Packet	Baltimore	New Orleans	6/22/1830
John	So. Kingston	28	Cerene	--	Newport	1832
Frederick	So. Kingston	24	Philadelphia	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/18/1834
Henson [Hinson]						
David	Massachusetts	27	Jefferson	Baltimore	New Orleans	10/ 4/1826
James	Maryland	22	North Star	Philadelphia	New Orleans	11/10/1832
Moses	Maryland	52	Citizen	New York	New Orleans	11/28/1833
George	Maryland	56	William	Newport	New Orleans	12/ 4/1834
Josiah	Maryland	21	Cuba	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/18/1837

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Hill						
Samuel	Charleston	45	Mary Ann	Charleston	New Orleans	3/27/1817
Adam	Charleston	35	Mary Ann	Charleston	New Orleans	3/27/1817
Samuel [Jr.]	Charleston	9	Mary Ann	Charleston	New Orleans	3/27/1817
Hill						
John H.	Salem, N. J.	30	Hector	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/17/1856
Robert R.	Salem, N. J.	23	Hector	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/17/1856
Howard						
Frank	Virginia	29	Hound	--	New Orleans	1/23/1828
Colin	Virginia	21	Hound	--	New Orleans	1/23/1828
Hunter						
Nathaniel	--	49	Altivia	Boston	New Orleans	7/2/1818
James	Glasgow	25	Altivia	Boston	New Orleans	7/2/1818
Hunter						
Abraham	Tiverton	36	Brutus	--	Newport	1818
Abraham, Jr.	Tiverton	18	Brutus	--	Newport	1818
Ebenezer	Tiverton	21	John	--	Newport	1820
Hurlhur						
Hiram	New Jersey	38	Jane E. Williams	New York	New York	July 1849
Tyson	New Jersey	28	Jane E. Williams	New York	New York	July 1849
James						
Thomas	Philadelphia	46	Natchez	Philadelphia	New Orleans	7/29/1820
John	Philadelphia	21	Natchez	Philadelphia	New Orleans	7/29/1820
James						
James	North Carolina	--	Susanna	--	New Orleans	11/23/1803
William	North Carolina	--	Susanna	--	New Orleans	11/23/1803
Jeremiah	North Carolina	--	Susanna	--	New Orleans	11/23/1803
Jeffrey						
Russell	Connecticut	35	Cyrus Butler	New York	New Orleans	5/ 6/1830
William F.	Connecticut	30	Cyrus Butler	New York	New Orleans	5/ 6/1830
Johnson						
Charles	Maryland	36	Cuba	New Orleans	New Orleans	8/ 5/1837
William	Maryland	30	Cuba	New Orleans	New Orleans	8/ 5/1837

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Johnson William	New York	30	Hercules	New York	New Orleans	11/12/1824
John	New York	25	Hercules	New York	New Orleans	11/12/1824
Joseph John	New Orleans	41	Geo. Washington	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/16/1824
John, Jr.	New York	13	Geo. Washington	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/16/1824
Laighton Nathaniel	Kittery, Maine	--	Resolution	Portsmouth	New Orleans	5/ 3/1821
Samuel, Jr.	Kittery, Maine	19	Resolution	Portsmouth	New Orleans	5/ 3/1821
Lawton William W.	Newport	19	Ursula	Warren	New Orleans	1/13/1825
William	Rhode Island	40	Ursula	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/ 3/1826
Lee William	--	--	Pioneer	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/26/1854
Joseph	--	--	Pioneer	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/26/1854
Lindsey John	Virginia	56	Lavinia	New York	New Orleans	4/15/1829
Walter	Virginia	19	Idds	New York	New Orleans	4/23/1831
Luff Daniel	Delaware	43	New England	Boston	New Orleans	12/16/1826
Nathaniel	Delaware	30	American	Middletown	New Orleans	3/31/1835
London	Delaware	28	Tamenend	Newcastle	New Orleans	6/15/1836
Mahoney Abraham	--	35	Margaret	Portland	New Orleans	12/18/1833
Thomas	Virginia	35	Birmington	New York	New Orleans	2/13/1836
Mahony Samuel	Philadelphia	30	Chariot	Boston	New Orleans	5/19/1831
Jacob	Philadelphia	31	Chariot	Boston	New Orleans	5/19/1831
Marsh Charles	Rhode Island	22	Helen	Newport	Newport	5/26/1844
Gilman	New Hampshire	19	Helen	Newport	Newport	5/26/1844

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Mason						
Nelson	[Boston]	42	Nantucket	Boston	New Orleans	12/31/1834
Melson, Jr.	--	13	Nantucket	Boston	New Orleans	12/31/1834
Modest						
John	Boston	--	Rodman	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/10/1855
Evan	Boston	--	Rodman	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/10/1855
Moseley						
John	Virginia	48	Sea	New York	New Orleans	3/15/1839
James	Virginia	15	Sea	New York	New Orleans	3/15/1839
Nicholas						
Thomas	Connecticut	33	Gem	New York	New Orleans	2/ 3/1826
Noah	Connecticut	35	Gem	New York	New Orleans	2/ 3/1826
Oson						
Joseph	Connecticut	22	Carroll of Carrollton	New York	New Orleans	3/22/1832
Isaac	Connecticut	32	Atlantic	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/19/1833
Peck						
Augustus	Dartmouth	24	Augustus	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 2/1818
William	Dartmouth	21	Augustus	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 2/1818
Perkins						
Washington	Charleston	28	Cuba	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/18/1837
Gustave	Charleston	24	Cuba	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/18/1837
Peters						
John	Orleans Territory	35	Margaret	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/17/1805
Peter	New Orleans	19	Margaret	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/17/1805
Peters						
Joel C.	Gastebury	27	Active	Middletown	New Orleans	10/ 5/1829
Sheldon	Gastebury	24	Active	Middletown	New Orleans	10/ 5/1829
Peters						
George	Tisbury	24	Brandt	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/11/1830
Franklin	Tisbury	18	Brandt	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/11/1830

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Peters						
Coddington	So. Stonington	26	Union	--	Newport	1818
John	Springfield	26	Union	--	Newport	1818
Phelps						
John A.	Westport	17	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
Milton	Westport	15	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
Alvan (Master)	Rochester	[42]	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
Pompey						
Ezekiel	Nantucket	19	Hudson	Nantucket	Newport	1805
George	Massachusetts	28	Sublime	Bath	New Orleans	4/ 4/1826
Edward (Master)	Nantucket	36	Rising States	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/ 5/1836
Potter						
Abraham	Newport	32	Hope	Newport	Newport	1805
Pelaus	Newport	23	George & Mary	Newport	Newport	1806
John	Newport	19	George & Mary	Newport	Newport	1806
Potter						
Henry	East Greenwood	16	Providence	--	Newport	1805
Samuel	West Greenwood	14	Providence	--	Newport	1805
Prince						
Palin	Pennsylvania	32	Nacoachee	New York	New York	June 1849
E. A.	New York	28	Nacoachee	New York	New York	June 1849
Purnell						
George	Maryland	36	Patrick Henry	--	New York	Nov. 1839
J.	Maryland	32	Patrick Henry	--	New York	Nov. 1839
Quonwell						
James	Dartmouth	14	Sally	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/22/1815
Joseph	Dartmouth	16	Barclay	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/14/1815
John Richmond	Dartmouth	17	Columbus	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/30/1826
Peter	Dartmouth	28	Eagle	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/26/1827
Joseph, 2nd	Dartmouth	30	Eagle	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 8/1829

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Richardson						
Benjamin	Baltimore	29	Peruvian	New York	New Orleans	7/13/1829
John	Baltimore	30	Roxana	Waldoboro	New Orleans	3/18/1831
Joseph	Baltimore	24	Humphrey	Bath	New Orleans	5/13/1831
Ring						
May	Pennsylvania	20	Chevalier	Portland	New Orleans	11/30/1839
John	Rhode Island	25	Chevalier	Portland	New Orleans	11/30/1839
Robinson						
James	So. Kingston	21	Juno	Providence	Newport	1832
Isaac	So. Kingston	19	Juno	Providence	Newport	1832
Ross						
William	Boston	35	Minnesota	Mobile	Mobile	5/13/1860
James	Boston	30	Minnesota	Mobile	Mobile	5/13/1860
Row						
Abraham	Maryland	34	Neptune	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/7/1820
Willow	Maryland	15	Neptune	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/7/1820
St. Clair						
Alfred	Charleston, S.C.	14	Louisiana	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/29/1824
George	Charleston, S.C.	12	Louisiana	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/29/1824
Sambo						
Joseph	No. Kingston	19	Russell	--	Newport	1816
Jeremiah	Rhode Island	24	Betsey	Boston	New Orleans	12/25/1821
William	No. Kingston	24	Franklin	Providence	Newport	1823
Henry	Rhode Island	26	Howard	Boston	Philadelphia	4/ 2/1824
Samuel	Warwick	25	Baltic	No. Kingston	Newport	4/13/1824
Scias						
John	So. Kingston	22	Hudson	Newport	New Orleans	2/17/1830
James	So. Kingston	22	Louisa	Boston	New Orleans	5/22/1830
Seixas						
John	Newport	25	Ocean	--	Newport	1811
Peter	Newport	43	John	Newport	Newport	1832
Peter, Jr.	Newport	17	John	Newport	Newport	1832
James	So. Kingston	25	Sampson	Providence	Newport	1832

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Record	Sailing Date
Simmons						
Joseph	Charleston	22	Constitution	Newport	Newport	6/11/1833
Gideon	Charleston	20	Constitution	Newport	Newport	6/11/1833
Slocum						
Benjamin	Tiverton	20	Industry	New Bedford	New Bedford	1/ 4/1828
Thomas	Tiverton	19	Industry	New Bedford	New Bedford	1/ 4/1828
Spencer						
Elizabeth	Maine	18	Elizabeth	Portland	New Orleans	12/ 9/1839
Joseph	Delaware	24	Elizabeth	Portland	New Orleans	12/ 9/1839
Stringer						
Mandingo	North Carolina	--	Hannah	New York	New Orleans	8/ 5/1805
(Mingo)						
Jacob	North Carolina	--	Hannah	New York	New Orleans	8/ 5/1805
Summons						
John	New Jersey	40	Fanny	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	May 1815
Benjamin	New Jersey	38	Fanny	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	May 1815
Tew						
Cuff	Jamestown	21	Bonetta	--	Newport	1804
Jack	Jamestown	19	Russell	--	Newport	1810
John	So. Kingston	20	Azubah & Ruthy	--	Newport	1810
Abraham	Jamestown	21	Mary	--	Newport	1816
				--		
Thomas						
Richard	New York	45	Hiram	--	Newport	1820
Oliver	New York	23	Hiram	--	Newport	1820
Trusty						
John	Maryland	28	St. Domingo Packet	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	9/27/1803
Michael	Maryland	37	Elizabeth	Boston	New Orleans	11/28/1825
Jonathan	--	29	Dumfries	Baltimore	New Orleans	3/11/1829
Joseph	--	16	Suetana	Baltimore	New Orleans	4/13/1830
DeWitt Clinton	Maryland	18	Dumfries	Baltimore	New Orleans	12/ 8/1830
David	--	21	William Brown	Baltimore	New Orleans	12/18/1833
Henry	Maryland	35	Saxon	Salem	New Orleans	1/ 4/1836
Stephen	Maryland	27	Saxon	Salem	New Orleans	1/ 4/1836
Perry	--	20	Rolla	Baltimore	New Orleans	4/ 1/1837

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Updike						
Caesar	No. Kingston	22	Agenona	No. Kingston	Newport	1820
Christopher	No. Kingston	25	Atlantic	No. Kingston	Newport	1824
Nathan	Rhode Island	36	Majesty	Brookhaven	New Orleans	6/29/1830
Nathaniel	--	37	Majesty	Brookhaven	New Orleans	6/29/1830
Valentine						
Benjamin	New York	31	Charles Carr	Newburyport	New Orleans	3/14/1829
Absolom	New York	28	Richard	New Haven	New Orleans	10/ 7/1829
James	--	24	Orion	New Haven	New Orleans	10/20/1829
Wainer						
Thomas (Master)	Massachusetts	[37]	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	Dec. 1810
John	Massachusetts	29	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	Dec. 1810
Michael	Massachusetts	18	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	Dec. 1810
Paul (Master)	Massachusetts	[45]	Protection	Fair Haven	New Bedford	5/ 4/1821
Asa F.	Westport	18	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	3/26/1841
Rodney	Westport	21	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	3/26/1841
Wanton						
Stephen	Tiverton	16	John	Tiverton	Newport	7/16/1804
Henry	Tiverton	20	John	Tiverton	Newport	11/ 2/1804
John	Tiverton	17	Polly	Tiverton	Newport	1806
Perry	Tiverton	24	Polly	Tiverton	Newport	1806
Andrew	Tiverton	20	Polly	Tiverton	Newport	1806
Jeremiah	Tiverton	27	Industry	Westport	New Bedford	6/28/1822
Weeden						
Benjamin	Jamestown	19	Swift	--	Newport	1807
Charles	Jamestown	28	Azubah & Ruthy	--	Newport	1810
James	Jamestown	16	William	Newport	New Orleans	1/ 4/1825
Weeden						
York	So. Kingston	23	Industry	--	Newport	1818
Peter	So. Kingston	30	Cardiff	--	Newport	1852
Weeden						
John	Charleston	25	Ebenezer	--	Newport	1817
Charles	Charleston	26	Perseverance	--	Newport	1819

Name	Birthplace	Age	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Weeden						
Humphrey	Newport	33	Rowena	--	Newport	1803
William	Newport	22	Hiram	--	Newport	1819
Williams						
Jane (Indian)	Massachusetts	31	William Gray	Boston	New Orleans	3/26/1832
John	Massachusetts	41	William Gray	Boston	New Orleans	3/26/1832
Williams						
Peter	Delaware	32	Arethusa	New York	New Orleans	12/ 9/1834
George	New York	12	Arethusa	New York	New Orleans	12/ 9/1834
Williams						
John	Baltimore	29	Wm. and Mary	New Orleans	New Orleans	9/16/1820
John	Baltimore	17	Wm. and Mary	New Orleans	New Orleans	9/16/1820
Williams						
Charles	New Orleans	32	Rebecca	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/12/1821
John	New Orleans	30	Rebecca	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/12/1821
Yard						
Shandy	--	36	Bingham	Philadelphia	Newport	5/28/1812
Shandy A.	--	15	Bingham	Philadelphia	Newport	5/28/1812
Yorker						
George	Maryland	30	China Packet	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	4/17/1818
David	Philadelphia	13	China Packet	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	4/17/1818

Table 21. Boatsteerers

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
George Allen	Hero	Westport	New Bedford	10/20/1808 [10/25/1808]
Thomas Auker	Archer	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/ 1/1841
Thomas Auker	Archer	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/27/1845
Philip Bailey	Tacitus	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/27/1844
Rollin Black	President	Westport	New Bedford	8/22/1845
George Buroughs	Massasoit	Mattapoiset	New Bedford	11/18/1852
Richard Gould	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/25/1849
John Johns	Hercules	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/18/1845
John Johnson	Roman	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/12/1845
William Leonard	Massasoit	Mattapoiset	New Bedford	11/18/1852
Henry A. Levin (Henry A. Lewis)	Washington	New Bedford	New Bedford	12/15/1838
Henry Long	Tuscaloosa	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/17/1844
Isaac Lothrop	Phoenix	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/ 3/1847
Isaac Lothrop	Phoenix	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/ 4/1851
William R. Martin	Gratitude	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/25/1858
John Masten	Timoleon	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
Joseph Miller	Barclay	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/29/1808
Joseph Miller	Barclay	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/14/1815
Joseph Miller	Barclay	New Bedford	New Bedford	1/10/1818
Abel Norcross	William & Eliza	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/18/1817
Robert Oliver	Harvest	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/ 1/1850
Thomas Perch	Martha 2nd	Fairhaven	New Bedford	8/ 5/1844
Asa Peters	Layfayette	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/22/1840
Enoch Reed	Gratitude	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/14/1845
John Remington	Washington	New Bedford	New Bedford	12/15/1838
Abram Rodman	America	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/13/1843
Thomas J. Smith	Charles Frederick	New Bedford	New Bedford	1/ 7/1836
Francis Spencer	Pioneer	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/27/1854
John Stephens	Annawan	Mattapoiset	New Bedford	10/12/1857
Moses Suekenish [Suekinish]	Hero	Westport	New Bedford	10/20/1808 [10/25/1808]
John Thomas	Roman	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/12/1845
Henry Tucker	Maria Theresa	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/ 1/1845
Rodney Wainer	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	5/18/1841
Washington Waters	Lagrange	Mattapoiset	New Bedford	6/12/1841
Amos White	Walker	New Bedford	New Bedford	July 1808
Joseph A. Williams	Euphrates	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/25/1849
Anthony Woolford	Massasoit	Mattapoiset	New Bedford	11/18/1852

Table 22. Probable Mates

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Robert Adams	United States	Philadelphia	New Orleans	11/15/1827
Robert Adams	United States	Philadelphia	New Orleans	12/20/1827
Andrew Anderson	Wm. A. Turner	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/18/1837
Thomas Anthony	Geo. Washington	Philadelphia	New Orleans	4/ 7/1823
G. Blanchard	Montezuma	--	New Orleans	May 1839
Thomas Bowman	Rufus Putnam	Pittsburgh	New Orleans	12/21/1838
William Brooks	Amiable Matilade	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/15/1826
Abraham Brown	Kite	Baltimore	New Orleans	10/22/1840
Abraham Brown	Kite	Vienna	New Orleans	12/26/1840
Joseph Brown	Experiment	Harwick	New Orleans	5/15/1839
Benedict Burwell	Woodbury	Bath	New Orleans	3/27/1838
John Carson	Traveller	Charleston	New Orleans	8/ 3/1826
Samuel Carter	Hope Retrieve	Harwick	New Orleans	11/12/1827
Andrew Cole	Sadie	New York	New York	2/22/1840
Louis F. Deboy	Emperor	New Orleans	New Orleans	2/26/1836
[Debay]				
J. B. Ducas	Return	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/25/1825
Francis Epps	Steam Packet	New York	New Orleans	6/ 5/1839
(First mate or First Officer)	Columbia			
John Fernandez	Keoka	Boston	Philadelphia	1860
John Ferns	Sally	--	Baltimore	5/ 5/1806
William Filton	Ringleader	New Orleans	New Orleans	8/ 2/1837
Josephus Fitch	Eliza	New London	New Orleans	12/25/1824
B. Fontelay	Eclipse	Providence	New Orleans	1/15/1825
Robert A. Foreman	Hellsport	Boston	New Orleans	9/10/1838
John Gorham	Time	Baltimore	New Orleans	4/24/1823
William N. Gray	Archilles	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	1860
Ezekal Hall	Two Friends	Baltimore	Baltimore	4/26/1806
[Ezekiel Hall]				
Moses Hayes	Corine	New York	New Orleans	1/19/1839
Moses Hayes	Corine	New York	New Orleans	4/27/1839
Moses Hayes	Corine	New York	New Orleans	5/23/1839
Henry Hendley	William Bryan	Middletown	New Orleans	10/18/1837
Henry Hendley	William Bryan	Middletown	New Orleans	3/24/1838
Stephen Hitch	Olive and Sarah	Bath	New Orleans	11/ 4/1824
W. William Hobbles	Leopard	New York	New Orleans	2/ 8/1821
Jeremiah Jefferson	Joannes [?]	--	New Orleans	3/22/1838
Thomas D. Kennedy	Bingham	Philadelphia	New Orleans	12/ 6/1824
Thomas D. Kennedy	Bingham	Philadelphia	New Orleans	3/21/1825
Peter Lamb	Ann Gadsden	New York	New Orleans	7/19/1832
Alexander Martin	Ceres	New York	New Orleans	6/ 8/1807
Archibald McDonald	Natchez	--	Baltimore	5/ 3/1806
William Meyers	Thomas	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/28/1807
John Morris	Mary Washington	Philadelphia	New Orleans	4/ 1/1823
Isaac Murphy	John and Elecy [?]	--	Baltimore	5/28/1806
Varinus Nickerson	Thrasher	New York	New Orleans	11/ 2/1826
Isaac Norris	T. Y. Tomkins	Baltimore	New Orleans	1/26/1835

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
James Otman	Jealous	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/31/1824
James Otman	Brisk	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/ 5/1825
Thomas Patterson	Ceres	Norfolk	New Orleans	11/10/1824
William M. Pierce	Martha and Jane	Portsmouth	New Orleans	5/ 1/1824
Ephraim Rich	Champion	Bath	New Orleans	10/26/1836
Ephraim Rich	Manchester	Bath	New Orleans	1/ 6/1838
Levi Sampson	Byron	New York	New Orleans	5/26/1837
Freeman Simonton	John Spofford	Thomaston	New Orleans	12/ 3/1839
William E. Smith	Sarah	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/18/1839
Washington Snow	Green	New Bedford	New Orleans	7/22/1820
Thomas Spincer	La Bruce	Baltimore	New Orleans	10/11/1837
John Tarquin	Sarahann	New Orleans	New Orleans	2/14/1825
Thomas Trefry	Phebe	Marblehead	New Orleans	6/22/1821
Henry Tudes	{?}	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	[Dec. 1860]
Zebulon Wade	Magnet	--	New Orleans	April 1826
Samuel Wells	Texel	Beverly	New Orleans	12/ 6/1826
Philip Whiteford	Henry	Baltimore	New Orleans	1/ 9/1839
Thomas B. Wilson	Corine	New York	New Orleans	12/ 9/1837
Thomas B. Wilson	Corine	New York	New Orleans	6/ 2/1838
William Wright	Crescent	Portsmouth	New Orleans	2/24/1837

Table 23. Mates

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Joseph Ammons	Roman(w)	Westport	New Bedford	5/12/1845
James L. Arndall	Select*	Philadelphia	New York	{Nov.?) 1840
Thomas Ashley	Providence	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	5/ 1/1824 [5/ 8/1824]
Andrew Atkinson (Third Mate)	Siren Queen(w)	Fairhaven	New Bedford	6/13/1860
John Atkinson	Patty*	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12/16/1813
Isaac Bacon	May Queen	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	Jan. 1860
George Baily (Third Mate)	Almy(w)	Westport	New Bedford	10/ 2/1823
George Baily (Third Mate)	Ceres(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/ 4/1831
George Baily (Third Mate)	Ceres(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	4/13/1833
George Baily (Third Mate)	Ceres(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/28/1835
George Baily	Rising States(w)*	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/13/1837
Robert Bain (Fourth Mate)	Charles(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	9/14/1820
J. B. Baker (First Officer)	Cahawba	New York	New Orleans	8/24/1860
J. B. Baker (First Officer)	Cahawba	New York	New Orleans	10/11/1860
J. B. Baker (First Officer)	Cahawba	New York	New Orleans	12/11/1860
John Baker (Fourth Mate)	Olive Branch(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/21/1845
B. F. Bass	Susquehanna*	New York	New York	1840
George J. Belain	Massasoit(w)	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	11/18/1853
George J. Belain	Pioneer(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/26/1854

*All=black crew

(w)=Whaler

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
William P. Belain (Second Mate)	Massasoit(w)	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	11/18/1853
William P. Belain	Pioneer(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/26/1854
John J. Bremsy	Amelia(w)	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	12/19/1856
Thomas Brown	Spartan	--	Baltimore	5/ 3/1806
George Charles	Rolla	--	Baltimore	1/ 2/1806
George Cole	Alexander	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	4/20/1824 [4/24/1824]
Benjamin Cook	Hero	Westport	Philadelphia	5/23/1803
Pardon Cook (Second Mate)	Traveller(w)	Westport	New Bedford	7/12/1816
Pardon Cook (Second Mate)	Industry(w)	Westport	New Bedford	7/31/1819
Pardon Cook	Industry(w)	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 7/1821
Pardon Cook	Almy(w)	Westport	New Bedford	10/ 2/1822
Pardon Cook	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
John Coyles	Mario	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	7/15/1824
Paul Cuffee, Jr. (Fourth Mate)	Alexander Coffin(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	4/19/1849
William Cuffee	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	7/12/1816
William Cuffee	Raising States(w)*	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/ 5/1836
George Dansell	Ocean	New Bedford	New Bedford	June 1856
Benjamin R. Davis	Olympus	[Newport]	Newport	1811
James Davis (Third Mate)	Juno	New Bedford	New Bedford	3/ 7/1834
James Davis (Third Mate)	Alexander Barclay(w)	Nantucket	New Bedford	7/21/1835
John Davis	Fanny	--	Baltimore	7/ 8/1806
John Dixon	Concord	--	Baltimore	11/10/1806
Jasper M. Ears	Eliot C. Cowdin(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	5/22/1860
David Freeman	Venus	Wilmington, N.C.	New York	12/11/1805
Isaac Freeman (Second Mate)	Panopea	Baltimore	New Orleans	7/ 2/1824
Philip Goodridge (Fourth Mate)	America(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/13/1843
Peter Green (Second Mate)	John Adams(w)	Nantucket	Nantucket	8/22/1823

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
James Hamilton (Second Mate)	Rising States(w)*	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/13/1837
John Payne Hammond	Azubah & Ruthy	Newport	Newport	1807
John Payne Hammond	Azubah & Ruthy	Newport	Newport	1807
Amos Haskins	Annawan*(w)	Mattapoisett	New Bedford	4/26/1843
Amos Haskins	Annawan*(w)	Mattapoisett	New Bedford	11/27/1844
Samuel Haskins	Palmyra(w)	Mattapoisett	New Bedford	6/24/1856
Henry Jackson (Third Mate)	Ruby	Bucksport	New Bedford	1821
John Jackson	Spanish Lady	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	5/25/1805
John Johns (Third Mate)	Hercules(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/18/1845
Samuel Jones	Caroline	Charleston	New Orleans	12/19/1816
Charles Lawrence	Camden	Boston	New Orleans	8/12/1830
William Lee (Third Mate)	Pioneer(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/26/1854
William A. Leidesdorff	Lucy Ann	Baltimore	New Orleans	8/30/1833
Henry A. Lewis (Third Mate)	Wm. Hamilton(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/17/1848
Henry A. Lewis	Wm. Hamilton(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/20/1850
Henry A. Lewis	Newark(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/19/1859
Pierre Lewis	Lucille	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/20/1816 [6/24/1816]
Isaac Lothrop (Third Mate)	Phoenix(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/ 3/1847
Isaac Lothrop	Phoenix(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/ 4/1851
Henry Macomber (Third Mate)	Elizabeth(w)	Mattapoisett	New Bedford	12/22/1850
Richard Macomber (Second Mate)	Robert Pennell	New Bedford	New Bedford	4/14/1856
William R. Martin (Fourth Mate)	Gratitude(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	8/25/1858
John Masten (Third Mate)	Industry(w)	Westport	New Bedford	7/17/1818

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
John Masten	Protection(w)	Fairhaven	New Bedford	5/ 4/1821
Samuel McFarland	Betsey	Baltimore	New Orleans	5/28/1828
Nathan McKinnie	Eros*	Baltimore	New Orleans	12/26/1820
John Middleton	Lovely Lydia*	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	5/16/1815
John Miles	John Armistead	Plymouth	New Orleans	1/16/1819
Peter Morrison (Third Mate)	Alexander Barclay(w)	Nantucket	Nantucket	4/26/1831
Issac Murphy	John & Elecy	--	Baltimore	5/28/1806
Joseph Peters	Columbus(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	12/ 3/1850
Alvan Phelps	Traveller	New Bedford	New Bedford	4/30/1810
Alvan Phelps	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	12/ 2/1815
Benjamin Prince	Reapter*	--	Baltimore	5/ 3/1806
Francis Quiner	Powhattan	New York	New Orleans	12/27/1839
Oscar C. Roberts	Henry	Baltimore	New Orleans	9/ 7/1837
Oscar C. Roberts	Henry	Baltimore	New Orleans	1/19/1838
George F. Robinson (Third Mate)	Columbus(w)	Fairhaven	New Bedford	11/23/1843
William Robinson (Second Mate)	German Peggy	Newport	Newport	1805
William Rose	Pacific	New York	New Orleans	3/22/1834
Walter A. Seals	Addison(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/25/1856
Joshua Session	America(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/13/1843
John Simpson (Second Mate)	America(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/21/1845
Thomas J. Smith	Charles Frederick(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	12/ 1/1838
Thomas J. Smith	Charles Frederick(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/20/1842
Samuel Summers	Grimes	Philadelphia	New Orleans	3/15/1829
Thomas Summers	Belvedere	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	9/ 4/1822
Asa Wainer	Elizabeth(w)	Westport	New Bedford	7/17/1839
Asa Wainer	Elizabeth(w)	Westport	Newport	6/24/1840
Asa Wainer	Elizabeth(w)	Westport	New Bedford	3/26/1841
Asa Wainer	Rodman(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	10/28/1845
John Wainer	Resolution*	Troy	New Bedford	7/20/1816
George Ward	Massachusetts	Wilmington	New Orleans	3/21/1832

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Joseph Warren	Traveller(w)	Westport	New Bedford	4/ 3/1822
Benjamin Williams (Fourth Mate)	Formosa(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/ 7/1844
Henry Williams (Second Mate)	Roscoe(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 4/1837
Henry Williams	Pantheon(w)	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 9/1841
Henry Williams	James W. Caldwell	Philadelphia	New Orleans	2/23/1839
John Williams	William Grey	Boston	New Orleans	6/16/1830
John Williams	William Grey	Boston	New Orleans	11/ 8/1830
John Williams	William Grey	Boston	New Orleans	3/26/1832
John Williams	Eleanor	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/16/1832
Robert Wilson	Asia*	New York	New Orleans	5/18/1834
Thomas Wood	Venus	Boston	New Orleans	11/ 2/1829

Table 24. Probable Black Captains

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Jeremiah Banks	Sarah Ann	Portsmouth	New Orleans	7/ 3/1817
Orlanda Basset	Sam Houston	New York	New Orleans	5/ 4/1839
Pardon Bennett	Thomas Jefferson*	Tiverton	Newport	Jan. 1811
John Buch	Ann Maria	Newburyport	New Orleans	4/ 1/1817
James Cummings	St. Paul	Newburyport	New Orleans	7/ 5/1816
Manuel Durand	Trial*	New Orleans	New Orleans	2/12/1819
Samuel Eames	Cyrus	Boston	New Orleans	4/10/1816
Prince Freeman	Federal Volunteer	Boston	New Orleans	8/15/1805
William Freeman	W. B.	Baltimore	New Orleans	2/24/1821
George Gardner	Junta Central	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/22/1816
Hezekiah Gardener	Abigail	New Bedford	New Orleans	March 1825
Samuel Glidden	Sally	Newcastle	New Orleans	3/22/1825
Samuel Glidden	Sally	Newcastle	New Orleans	8/ 6/1825
Samuel Glidden	Constitution	Boston	New Orleans	2/14/1834
Samuel Glidden	Tamenend	Newcastle	New Orleans	4/12/1834
Nathaniel Green	Atlas	Providence	New Orleans	6/12/1818
John Hammond	General Cobb	--	Newport	1843
Robert Hart	Missouri	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/24/1817
Joseph Hendley	William Bryan	Middletown	New Orleans	10/18/1837
Joseph Hendley	William Bryan	Middletown	New Orleans	3/24/1838
William Hopples	Cleopatra	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/ 1/1817
Pardon Howland	Hepsa	New Bedford	New Orleans	4/ 4/1807
Ruben Howland	Minerva	New York	New Orleans	11/28/1817
Henry Hunter	Reuben and Eliza	New York	New Orleans	5/31/1817
Nathaneil Lindsey	Legal Tender	Boston	New Orleans	12/ 4/1817
Francis Logan	Trio	New Orleans	New Orleans	12/12/1807
Francis Logan	Trio	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/21/1808
Francis Logan	Favorite	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/14/1817
Francis Logan	Favorite	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/26/1817
Francis Logan	Margaret	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/27/1817
Francis Logan	Cora	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/13/1819
Nicholas Myers	Fabius	--	New Orleans	3/24/1819
Ambrose Nelson	Asturiana	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/28/1817
Levi Paine	Lodemia and Eliza	Bridgetown	New Orleans	11/24/1838
John Riley	Isabella	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	6/10/1817
Edward Scott	Defiance	Boston	New Orleans	2/ 7/1818
Isaac Sillman	John Watson	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	3/ 8/1817
Benjamin Smith	Harp	Philadelphia	New Orleans	6/ 8/1816
Benjamin Smith	Harp	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	7/ 7/1817
Abner Snow	Chauncy	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/31/1817
Joseph Snow	Henrico	Boston	New Orleans	2/11/1816
Loum Snow	Horatio	New Bedford	New Bedford	1/22/1811
Loum Snow	Cicero	New Bedford	New Bedford	6/ 4/1837
Prince Snow	Freemont	New York	New York	1840
Robert Snow	Milo	Thomastown	New Orleans	12/16/1817
William H. Taylor	Bonita	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/ 9/1833
William H. Taylor	Ajax	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/20/1833
Henry Tew	Polly	Newport	Newport	7/21/1815

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Henry Tew	Polly	Newport	Newport	1815
John Waller	Asia	New York	New Orleans	6/14/1817
David Williams	Cora	New York	New Orleans	7/ 2/1816
William Williams	Levin Jones	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/29/1837
William Williams	Levin Jones	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/ 6/1837
William Williams	Levin Jones	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/27/1837
William Williams	Levin Jones	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/ 7/1837
William Williams	Levin Jones	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/ 2/1837
Alexander Wilson	Maria	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	7/ 1/1817

Table 25. Black Captains

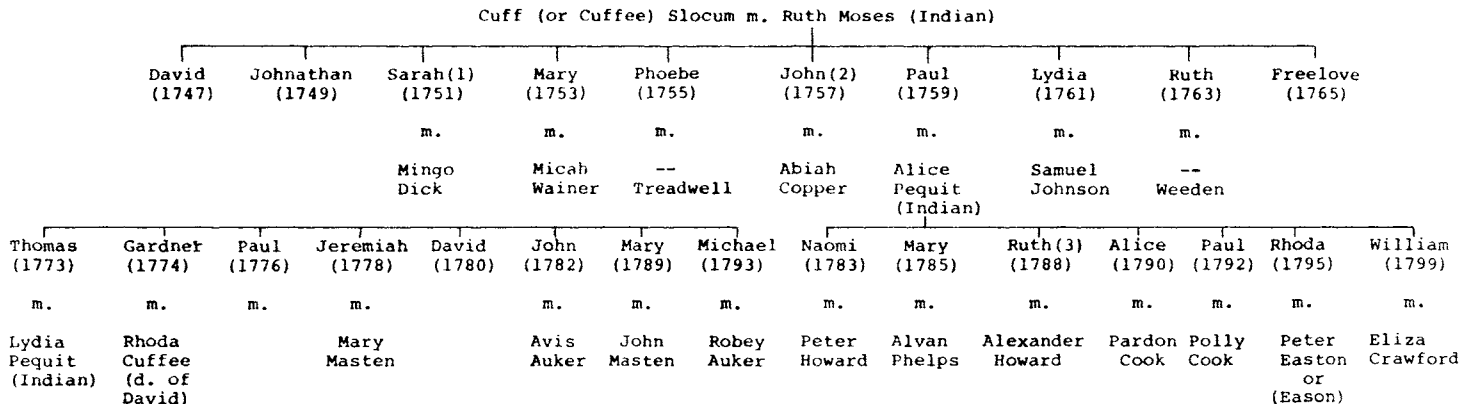
Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
Absolom F. Boston	Industry*	Nantucket	Nantucket	[5/8]/1822
Pardon Cook	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	7/17/1839
Pardon Cook	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	6/24/1840
Pardon Cook	Elizabeth	Westport	New Bedford	3/26/1841
Pardon Cook	Juno	Westport	New Bedford	6/16/1843
Paul Cuffee	Traveller*	Westport	New Bedford	12/ 2/1815
William Cuffee	Rising States*	New Bedford	New Bedford	7/13/1837
Thomas Dalton	Easter Trade	Boston	New Orleans	11/19/1822
Thomas Dalton	George	Boston	New Orleans	10/26/1825
Thomas Dalton	Venus	Boston	New Orleans	11/ 2/1829
Pierre Etienne	Jealous	Bayou St. John	New Orleans	5/23/1814
Pierre Etienne	Jealous	Bayou St. John	New Orleans	7/22/1814
Pierre Etienne	Italienne	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/ 4/1816
Pierre Etienne	St. Jereques[?]	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/30/1818
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/12/1819
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/ 7/1819 [4/13/1819]
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/20/1819
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/ 5/1819
Pierre Etienne	Victoire*	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/17/1819 [5/22/1819]
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/ 2/1819
Pierre Etienne	Victoire	New Orleans	New Orleans	7/22/1819
Pierre Etienne	Mary Rose	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/14/1820
Pierre Etienne	Mary Rose	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/27/1820
Pierre Etienne	Mary Rose	New Orleans	New Orleans	2/24/1821
Pierre Etienne	Mary Rose	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/16/1821
Daniel George	Caroline	Warren	New Orleans	10/13/1816
Daniel George	Caroline	Warren	New Orleans	10/30/1816
Daniel George	Caroline	Charleston	New Orleans	12/19/1816
Daniel George	Caroline	Warren	New Orleans	2/15/1817
Daniel George	Caroline	Warren	New Orleans	4/18/1817
Daniel George	Caroline	Warren	New Orleans	6/14/1817
Peter Green**	John Adams	Nantucket	Nantucket	6/23/1821
Samuel Harris	Phoebe	Nantucket	Nantucket	9/19/1842
Amos Haskins	Massasoit	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	4/14/1851
Amos Haskins	Massasoit	Mattapoissett	New Bedford	11/18/1852
William A. Leidesdorff	Eclipse	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/ 2/1834
William A. Leidesdorff	Eclipse	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/30/1834
William A. Leidesdorff	Eclipse	New Orleans	New Orleans	8/23/1834
William A. Leidesdorff	Eclipse	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/18/1834
William A. Leidesdorff	Eclipse	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/20/1835 [1/21/1835]

*All-black crew

**Master on return voyage

Name	Ship	Home Port	Port of Record	Sailing Date
William A. Leidesdorff	Crawford	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/28/1835
William A. Leidesdorff	Crawford	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/14/1835
William A. Leidesdorff	Columbus	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/20/1835
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/16/1836
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/19/1836
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	5/ 2/1836
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/21/1836
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	Boston	New Orleans	11/15/1836
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	1/21/1837
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	3/14/1837
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	4/29/1837
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/24/1837
William A. Leidesdorff	Angel	New Orleans	New Orleans	2/14/1838
James Augustus Lewis	Messenger	Philadlephia	Philadelphia	Aug. 1804
Pierre Louis [Lewis]	Felicity	New Orleans	New Orleans	8/ 6/1813
Pierre Louis [Lewis]	Felicity	New Orleans	New Orleans	10/18/1813
Alvan Phelps	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	7/12/1816
Alvan Phelps	Traveller*	Westport	New Bedford	4/ 3/1822
Alvan Phelps	Traveller	Westport	New Bedford	5/ 6/1826
Edward Pompey	Rising States*	New Bedford	New Bedford	11/ 5/1836
Anto. Ribas	Hope*	New Orleans	New Orleans	12/17/1817
Alexander Rose**	Numa	New Orleans	New Orleans	6/20/1831
Samuel Snow	Latona	Philadelphia	New Orleans	7/10/1832
Samuel Snow	Creole	New Orleans	New Orleans	11/22/1834
Paul Wainer	Resolution	Troy	New Bedford	7/20/1816
Paul Wainer	Protection	Fairhaven	New Bedford	5/ 4/1821
Thomas Wainer	Hero	[Westport]	Philadelphia	5/23/1803
Thomas Wainer	Traveller	Westport	Philadelphia	Dec. 1810

Table 26. Genealogical Chart



164

- (1) Sarah m. Boston Durfee in 1788 and Ichabod Manchester in 1798.
- (2) John m. Bethiah Gray in 1792 and Jane White in 1798.
- (3) Ruth m. Richard Johnson in 1826

Other Family Links:

Newport Gardner m. Margareat [Margaret] Wainer (Indian).

George Pompey m. Lydia Howard.

Absolom F. Boston m. Hannah Cook.

Nathaniel A. Borden m. Deborah Cook.

Data taken from Cuffee Papers, New Bedford Free Public Library; Leonard Papers, Book of Births, Marriages and Deaths of Dartmouth, Westport, and New Bedford, New Bedford Free Public Library; New England Historic and Genealogical Society, Vital Records of Dartmouth, Massachusetts to the Year 1850 (Hoverhill, 1930); New England Historical Society, Vital Records of Nantucket: Marriages (Boston, 1927); and New Bedford Vital Statistics, New Bedford Free Public Library.

Bibliography

MANUSCRIPTS

Fort Worth, Texas. Federal Archives and Record Center, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans. United States District Court Files, 1806-1952, Case Number 4323. Record Group 21.

Massachusetts. New Bedford Free Public Library. 1855 State Census. Boston. Microfilm.

Nantucket, Massachusetts. Probate Office. Inventory of estate, Edward Pompey.

_____. Probate Office, Vital Statistics, Deaths. Number 494.

New Bedford, Massachusetts. New Bedford Free Public Library. American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. Report of Special Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Colored Population of New Bedford, 1863.

_____. New Bedford Free Public Library. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., Papers.

_____. New Bedford Free Public Library. Cuffee Papers.

_____. New Bedford Free Public Library. Leonard Papers. Book of Births, Marriages and Deaths of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Westport, Massachusetts, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. Typescript.

_____. New Bedford Free Public Library. Melville Room. Charles W. Morgan Papers. Journal B. 1830-1836, and Journal C, 1836-1842.

_____. New Bedford Free Public Library. New Bedford Vital Statistics.

_____. Old Dartmouth Historical Society. Bethel Registers, 1840 to 1860.

- _____. Old Dartmouth Historical Society. Logs of Rising States and Herald.
- _____. Old Dartmouth Historical Society. Settlement Accounts.
- _____. Old Dartmouth Historical Society. Whalemens Shipping Papers.
- _____. Old Dartmouth Historical Society. William Rotch, Jr. Letter Book, 1804-1808.

Newport, Rhode Island. Newport Historical Society. Crew Lists, 1803-1860.

Washington, D.C. National Archives. U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Bristol County, Massachusetts. Fourth Ward, Eastern and Western Districts and Fifth Ward, Southern and Northern Districts of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Record Group 29.

_____. National Archives. U.S. Department of State. Consular Letters. Santiago, Cape Verde, February 18, 1834-December 24, 1841. Letter dated December 30, 1837, Report of Consul F. Gardner. Record Group 84.

_____. National Archives, U.S. Department of the Treasury. Bureau of Customs. Crew Lists, 1806, 1807, and 1812 for Baltimore. Crew Lists, 1858-1860 for Charleston. Crew Lists, January-August, 1860 for Mobile. Protection Papers, 1815-1860 for Nantucket. Crew Lists, 1803-1841 for New Bedford. Protection Papers, 1809-1865 for New Bedford. Crew Lists, 1803-1860 for Newport. Protection Papers, 1803-1820 for Newport. Crew Lists, 1803-1826, July 1827-1839, and last quarter of 1840, 1850, and 1860 for New Orleans. Manifests, 1830-1840 for New Orleans. Shipping Articles, 1845-1860 for New Orleans. Crew Lists, 1803-1808, 1822, 1840, and 1849 for New York. Crew Lists, 1803-1824 and 1860 for Philadelphia. Manifests, 1803-1806 for Philadelphia. Shipping Articles, 1850-1860 for Philadelphia. Record Group 36.

BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND REPORTS

- Albion, Robert G. "New York Port and Its Disappointed Rivals." In Essays on Jacksonian America Edited by Frank Otto Gatell, pp. 68-82. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970.
- American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Annual Report, 1850. Presented at New York on May 7, 1850. New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1850.
- _____. Thirteenth Annual Report. Presented at New York on May 11, 1853. New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853.
- _____. Annual Report for the Years 1849-1853. New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853.

- American Colonization Society. Fifteenth Annual Report. Washington, D.C.: For the Society, 1832.
- Andrews, Charles. The Prisoners' Memoirs of Dartmoor Prison. New York: For the Author, 1815.
- Ashton, Joseph H., ed. Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States. Vol. 10. Washington, D.C.: W. H. and O. H. Morrison, 1868.
- Beasley, Delilah. Negro Trail Blazers of California. Los Angeles: Times Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1919.
- Boyd, Andrew., comp. Boyd's Newport City Directory with a Business Directory. Newport, 1865.
- Boyd, Julian P., ed. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Vol. 14. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Browne, J. Ross. Etchings of a Whaling Cruise with Notes of a Sojourn on the Island of Zanzibar. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1846.
- Cadbury, Henry J. "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends." Journal of Negro History 21 (April 1936): 151-213.
- Cappon, Lester J., ed. The Adams-Jefferson Letters. Vol. 1. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1858.
- Catterall, Helen T. Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Vol. 4. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1920.
- Chase, Owen. Shipwreck of the Whaleship Essex. New York: Corinth Books, 1963.
- Clark, William H. Ships and the Sailors, The Story of Our Merchant Marine. Boston: n.p., 1938.
- Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. 5th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.
- Haley, Nelson Cole. Whale Hunt, The Narrative of a Voyage. New York: I. Washburn, Inc., 1967.
- Hall, Benjamin F., ed. Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States, 1791-1825. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Robert Farnham, 1852.
- Hamer, Philip M. "Great Britain, the United States and the Negro Seamen's Acts, 1822-48." Journal of Southern History 1 (1935): 3-28.
- Harris, Sheldon H. Paul Cuffe, Black America and the African Return. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.
- Haynes, Elizabeth Ross. Unsung Heroes. New York: Du Bois and Hill, 1921.

- Hohman, Elmo Paul. The American Whaleman, A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry. New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1928.
- Jackson, Luther P. Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942.
- Kirkland, Edward C. A History of American Economic Life. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951.
- Lay, William, and Hussey, Cyrus M. Mutiny on Board of the Whaleship Globe. New York: Corinth Books, Inc., 1963.
- Litwack, Leon F. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Massachusetts. Report of the Committee on the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the Subject of Impressed Seamen with the Document Published by the House. Boston: Russell and Cutler, 1813.
- Moore, George H. Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1856.
- New Bedford Directory Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business and Dwelling Houses and the Town Register. New Bedford: S. C. Parmeter, 1836.
- New Bedford City Directory Containing the City Register. New Bedford: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849.
- New Bedford Directory Containing a City Register, a General Directory of the Citizens and a List of Citizens Who Have Served or are Serving in the Army and Navy. New Bedford: Abraham Taber and Brother, 1865.
- New England Historic and Genealogical Society. Vital Records of Dartmouth, Massachusetts to the Year 1850. Haverhill: New England Historic and Genealogical Society, 1930.
- Putney, Martha S. "Pardon Cook, Whaling Master." Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society 4 (Summer 1983): 47-54.
- _____. "Richard Johnson: An Early Effort in Black Enterprise." Negro History Bulletin 45 (April-June 1982):46-47.
- Ricketson, Daniel. History of New Bedford, Bristol City, Massachusetts, Including a History of the Old Township of Dartmouth. New Bedford: By the Author, 1858.
- Savage, William A. "The Influence of Alexander Leidesdorf on the History of California." Journal of Negro History 38 (1953):322-32.
- Sherwood, Henry N. "Paul Cuffe." Journal of Negro History 8 (1923):153-232.

- _____. "Paul Cuffe and his Contribution to the American Colonization Society." Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society 6 (1913):370-402.
- Smelser, Marshall. The Congress Found the Navy, 1787-98. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.
- Stackpole, Edouard A. Sea Hunters, The New England Whalers during Two Centuries, 1635-1835. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1953.
- Starbuck, Alexander. History of the American Whale Fishery from Its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876. 2 vols. New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1964.
- Survey of Federal Archives, comp. Directory of Whaling Masters Sailing from American Ports. Federal Writers Project, Work Progress Administration. Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford: Reynolds Printing, 1938.
- _____. Ship Registers and Enrollments of New Orleans, Louisiana. Vols. 1, 2, and 3. National Archives Project, Work Progress Administration. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1941.
- _____. Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Vols. 1, and 2. National Archives Project, Work Progress Administration. Boston: n.p., 1940.
- U. S. Congress. House. Documents concerning Slavery, Free Colored Seamen: Majority and Minority Reports. Report Number 80. 27th Cong., 3rd sess., January 20, 1843.
- Verrill, A. Hyatt. The Real Story of the Whaler. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916.
- White, Laura A. "The South in the 1850's As Seen by British Consuls." Journal of Southern History 1 (1935): 29-48.
- Wilson, Henry. Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. Vol. 7. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1872.

NEWSPAPERS

- Argus (New Orleans), July 1, 4, 8, 10, and 14, 1828.
- Columbian Courier (Boston), May 1, 1801.
- Commercial Advertiser (New York), February 22, 1808.
- Commercial Times (New Orleans), September 1, 1847.
- Corrector (Sag Harbor, Long Island), April 26, 1823 and January 1, 1825.
- Courier (Louisiana), August 21, 1820, February 25, 1822, March 6 and 8, 1822, April 5, 1822, May 27, 1822, and May 30, 1827.

170 Black Sailors

Courier (New Orleans), January 14, 1831.

Daily Crescent (New Orleans), June 6, 1860.

Daily Mercury (New Bedford), October 28, 1817, and August 1,
1839.

Freedom's Journal March 16, 1827.

Free Press and Patriot (Brunswick, Maine), December 10, 1828.

Liberator, various issues between January 1834 and December
1859.

Mercury (New Bedford), April 6, 1848.

National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 12, 1848, and
November 6, 1869.

Index

- American Colonization Society, 39, 40, 57
Ammons, Joseph, 52, 140
155
Angel of New Orleans and Boston, 67, 68-69, 70, 74
Arndall, James L., 51, 155
Atkinson, John, 51, 155
Attucks, Crispus, 2
- Bacon, Isaac, 51, 155
Baily, George, 52, 155
Baily, John, 43
Baily, Philip, 50, 152
Baker, J. B., 51, 155
Bass, B. F., 51, 155
Bates ruling, 76, 77
Belain, George J., 80, 139
155
Belain, Joseph, 80, 139
Belain, William, 80, 139, 156
Black foreigners, 46-47
Blake, George, 39-40, 140
Boatsteerers, 49-50, 51, 83,
152
Borden, Nathaniel, 101
Boston, Absolom F., 54, 100
101, 104, 162
Brown, Abner, 43, 44, 141
Brown, Aquilla, 36, 45
Brown, Friday, 45
Brown, James, 43
Brown, Liberty, 45
- Caldwell, Abigail, 41, 140
Caldwell, Isaac, 41, 140
- Canacker family, 39, 140
Career seamen, 44, 46
Caroline of Charleston, 61-64
Chesapeake Affair, 90
Children, 38-40, 103
Citizenship, 47, 75, 76, 104
Compensation, 80-85
Cook, Benjamin, 54
Cook, Pardon, 54-57, 74, 75,
80, 98, 140, 156, 162
Cuba of Baltimore and New Orleans, 4, 5-10
Cuffee, Paul, 2, 57-60, 71,
72, 75, 79, 80, 98, 100,
104, 140, 162
Cuffee, Paul, Jr., 52, 79,
83, 140
Cuffee, William, 52, 60, 71,
75, 79, 98, 140, 156, 162
- Dalton, Thomas, 60, 162
Derry family, 39, 141
Desertions and discharges, 57,
65, 67, 85-88
Douglass, Frederick, 87, 100
- Ears, Jasper M., 52
Elizabeth of Westport, 55-58,
74-75, 80
Embargo Act (1807), 12-13, 90
Epps, Francis, 45, 50-51, 156
Essex of Nantucket, 88
Etienne, Pierre, 61, 74, 98,
141, 162
- Family members, 39-40, 139-
151

172 Black Sailors

- Foreign commerce, importance
of, 1-2, 105
- Francis Jane of Baltimore, 3
- Furbelow, Christopher, 45, 142
- Genealogical chart (Cuffee family ties), 164
- George, Daniel, 61-64, 162
- Globe of Nantucket, 89
- Green, Peter, 72, 74, 98, 156, 162
- Hamilton, James, 46, 52, 60, 71, 157
- Harris, Samuel, 64-65, 74, 162
- Haskins, Amos, 65, 74, 75, 157, 162
- Hazard family, 39, 143
- Henson, George, 44, 143
- Henson, Moses, 44, 143
- Hill, Adam, 39, 144
- Hill, Samuel, 39, 144
- Howard, Shadrack, 60, 101
- Humphries, William, 89
- Identifying blacks, 2-12
- Impressment, 90-91
- John of Baltimore, 16, 22
- Johnson, Richard, 30, 53, 71, 79, 101, 104
- Jones, Thomas (Boatswain), 49
- Joseph, John, 39, 145
- Joseph, John, Jr., 39, 145
- Kidnapping, 91
- Large black crews, 4, 14, 15-29, 30
- Lawrence, Charles, 51
- Leidesdorff, William A., 66-70, 74, 75, 104, 162-3
- Lewis, Francis (Assistant engineer), 49
- Lewis, George (Boatswain), 49
- Lewis, Henry A., 83, 152, 157
- Lewis, James Augustus, 70, 163
- Literacy, 97-98, 104
- Logan, Francis, 54, 160
- Louis, Pierre, 70-71, 157, 163
- Louisiana territorial law, 66
- Louisville of New Orleans, 16, 18-19
- McKinnie, Nathan, 51
- Maryland laws of 1807 and 1831, 91-92, 96
- Mates, 50-52, 153-9
- Middleton, John, 51, 158
- Migration, 91, 96, 104
- Miller, Joseph, 50, 152
- Moseley, John, 30, 146
- Multiethnic crews, 96-97
- Mutiny, 88-90
- Nashville of New Orleans, 3
- Natchez of Newport, 16, 27-28
- Negro Seamen's Laws, 13, 30-31, 35, 66, 76, 93, 104
- "No proofs", 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 44, 46, 50, 51, 97
- Non-Intercourse Act (1809), 12-13
- Oson, Isaac, 45, 146
- Oson, Joseph, 45, 146
- Panics of 1819 and 1837, 13, 81
- Pennsylvania law of 1780, 37
- Perceptions, 98-100
- Phelps, Alvan, 71, 75, 79, 80, 147, 158, 163
- Pitt, Cezar (Pilot), 49
- Pompey, Edward J., 71, 75, 79, 80, 98, 101, 147, 163
- Prince, Benjamin, 51, 158
- Protection of Fair Haven, 72, 73, 75
- Protection papers, 11, 36, 87, 90, 94, 96, 103
- Purnell (no given name) (Supercargo), 52-53
- Quiner, Francis, 50
- Remington, John, 83, 152
- Ribas, Antonio, 71-72, 163
- Ring, John, 41, 148
- Ring, Mary, 41, 148
- Rising States of New Bedford, 46, 52, 60, 71, 75, 79, 80, 98, 101
- Rival of Newport, 16, 29
- Roberts, Oscar C., 50, 158
- Rose, Alexander, 72, 74, 98, 163
- Row, Abraham, 39, 148
- St. Clair, Alfred, 39, 148

- St. Clair, George, 39, 148
Sarah Ralston of Philadelphia,
 16, 23
 Scott, James D., 45-46
 Seixas family, 43-44, 148
Shenandoah of Philadelphia, 16,
 24-25
 Shipmasters, 53-74, 162-3
 Shipowners, 59, 60, 71, 79-80,
 101, 103
 Slave seamen, 2, 33-38, 40-41,
 54, 64, 103
 Smith, Thomas J., 83, 152, 158
 Snow, Samuel, 71-72, 163
 Social commitment, 100-2, 104
 Spencer, Elizabeth, 41, 149
 Spencer, Joseph, 41, 149
 Stockley, David (Assistant
 engineer), 49

 Trusty family, 39, 149
 Tucker, Henry, 50

 Wainer, Asa, 55, 150, 158
 Wainer, John, 51, 150, 158
 Wainer, Michael, 80, 150
 Wainer, Paul, 72, 75, 79, 80,
 150, 163
 Wainer, Rodney, 55, 150
 Wainer, Thomas, 72, 75, 79,
 80, 150, 163
 Wanton family, 39, 150
 War of 1812, 1, 13, 37, 90
 Ward, George, 51, 158
 Whaling, importance of, 1-2,
 105
William Tell of New York, 16,
 26
 Williams, Benjamin, 52
 Williams, Henry, 52
 Williams, Jane, 51, 151
 Williams, John, 51, 151, 159
 Williams, John (Boatswain), 49
 Wirt ruling, 75, 76
 Women, 40-42, 51, 81, 82, 103
 Wood, Thomas, 51

 Yard, Shandy, 39, 151

This page intentionally left blank

About the Author

MARTHA S. PUTNEY is retired as Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History and Geography at Bowie State College in Maryland, and as a full-time lecturer for the Department of History at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Her articles have appeared in *The Journal of Negro History*, *Negro History Bulletin*, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and the *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society*.