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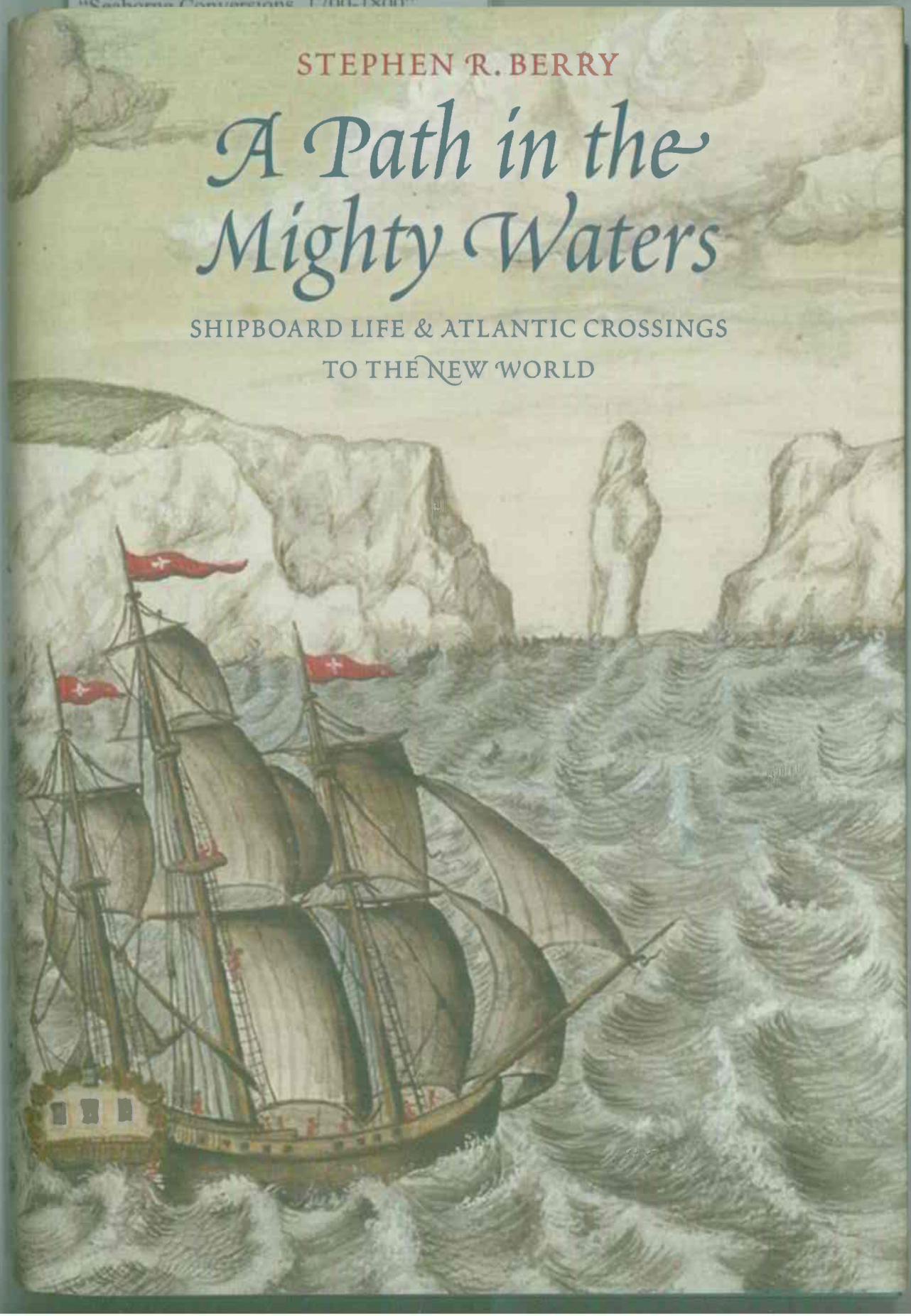
STEPHEN R. BERRY

A Path in the Mighty Waters

SHIPBOARD LIFE & ATLANTIC CROSSINGS TO THE NEW WORLD



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whistled." Music and mirth signaled the return of intestinal fortitude and marked a decided change in the quality of life. When personal queasiness faded, passengers took advantage of the opportunity to socialize. Janet Schaw noted the aural dimensions of her company's recovery, emphasizing the dreamlike qualities that the voyage now took. "The weather is now so soft, that my brother and Miss Rutherfurd are able to amuse themselves with their musick. His German flute is particularly agreeable, and one would think, by the number of fishes that are crouding round us, that he were the Orpheus of the water. If some of the sea-green nymphs would raise their heads and join their Voices, it would be a pretty concert."[20]

Adjusting to Nautical Time

Gaining one's sea legs involved more than adjusting to the rhythms of the ocean's movements; it also meant adapting to the cadences of shipboard time. Time passed differently at sea than on land. Gaining one's sea legs meant adjusting to variations in the organization of a day in an environment with limited options for both labor and leisure. Voyagers often experienced this stark divide during their first night. John Wesley's various accounts emphasized the temporal disjunctions experienced at sea. When the *Simmonds* seized a nighttime opportunity to slip out of the shelter of the Downs and make westing toward the Cowes Road, the "great noise" of the sailors' labors roused Wesley from his sleep, with his manuscript diary stating abruptly, "afraid to die!" His published journal account tamed the momentary terror by turning it into theological reflection. "Upon inquiry I found there was no danger, but the bare apprehension of it gave me a lively conviction what manner of men ought those to be who are every moment on the brink of eternity." The normal, intense efforts required to put a sailing ship into motion during the middle of the night struck Wesley as alarmingly unnatural and untimely.[21]

Other eighteenth-century voyagers shared Wesley's initial temporal discomfort. After Janet Schaw's first night aboard ship, she pondered the possibility that sleep would elude her for the entirety of the passage. She described the tumult resulting from the call "All hands on deck" being issued in the middle of the night. "My Brother descended from his Cot,

the boys sprung out of bed, all hands were on Deck, hurry, bustle, noise, and confusion raged thro' our wooden kingdom, yet it was surprizing how soon everything was reduced to order." Like Wesley, her fears of eternal wakefulness proved to be unfounded, and she soon found sleep to be "obliging." Wesley's and Schaw's sudden introduction to the round-the-clock labor of sailors proved to be just the beginning of their adjustments to nautical time.[22]

Wesley's and Schaw's struggles over the shipboard shaping of time reveal that the temporal rhythms of nautical life required intentional cultural adjustments. What seemed so unnatural to passengers was the sailors' normal, though uncomfortable, mode of existence. Oceanic life enmeshed maritime laborers within a different mode of organizing time. The demands of eighteenth-century sailing vessels necessitated a labor force twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Although labor patterns in Europe at this time underwent a shift from agrarian to industrial models, for the most part work was performed in daylight hours. Traditionally, African and European cultures associated time with its function. These agrarian communities set apart certain periods for activities like work or worship, which marked the passage of time. The biblical injunction "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven" (Eccles. 3:1, KJV) still governed most Europeans' lives. A new cultural attitude toward time, however, emerged alongside new means of manufacturing goods. In this system, the clock, rather than nature, controlled life. The advancing industrial approach made every moment of every day available for any activity, particularly work. All time was useful. No particular time was holy. Aboard ship, the oceanic environment required mariners to keep continuous watches and work in shifts day and night. The unpredictable variability of the Atlantic demanded vigilance and near instantaneous action. In this way, the temporal rhythms of a mariner's natural oceanic world required more modern intervals of labor, which the factory would later epitomize.[23]

The regular changing of the watch, not the rotation of the earth or specific seasonal functions, established the basic pattern of life aboard ships. The ship's "watch" constituted the most basic unit of nautical time and resulted from the shipboard demand for constant labor. The officers divided the crew into two parties called "watches"—usually denoted starboard and

larboard—that took turns running the ship. A thirty-minute hourglass established the basic unit of time. The ringing of a bell marked the glass's completion. Every four hours—at eight bells—the watches switched, ensuring that the ship would be capably manned at all times. The nighttime watches, shorter two-hour periods called "dog watches," proved to be the most difficult. One seaman noted the exertion required when they "in a hurrey mustered out Between Sleping and Waking." Because the Quaker itinerant John Woolman lodged among the ship's crew during his 1772 voyage, he was able to note the difficulties involved in such an arrangement. "A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Rising to work in the night, it is not commonly pleasant in any case, but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable." Even those more socially distant from the sailors could not escape the noisy tumult after the ringing of the bell that set the entire crew into motion. The change of watch interrupted many a traveler's first attempt at sleep. After his first night aboard a London-bound ship, Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies noted, "The Novelty of my Situation and the Noise on Deck hindered my sleeping, so that I am heavy and indisposed." Passengers eventually adjusted to these temporal rhythms and, in the words of evangelist George Whitefield, "began to be more reconciled to a ship life."[24]

Mariners also measured their days differently, as conveyed by the ship's logbook. Instead of days, masters often began log entries "This 24 hours . . ." (figure 2.2). Ship days began and ended not at midnight or at sunset but at noon, with the master's calculation of the ship's position. Speed also factored into the shipboard marking of time as mariners carefully recorded the distance sailed. Columns in the log designated the direction of both the ship and the wind. These climatic elements bore close association with the experience of time. Gales blowing from the wrong quarter seemed to make time stop. "Mity Sorraie times you May depend," lamented James Rhodes as the prospect of a lengthy voyage loomed over the schooner *Nancy*. Two days later little had changed. "Wind as you see Mity Sorry[.] You May depend Mister it makes me groe olde fast." Speed and distance tracked the passage of time at sea as much as manmade timepieces. Impediments to the ship's spatial progress had temporal effects. Aboard the *Simmonds*, David Nitschmann recognized

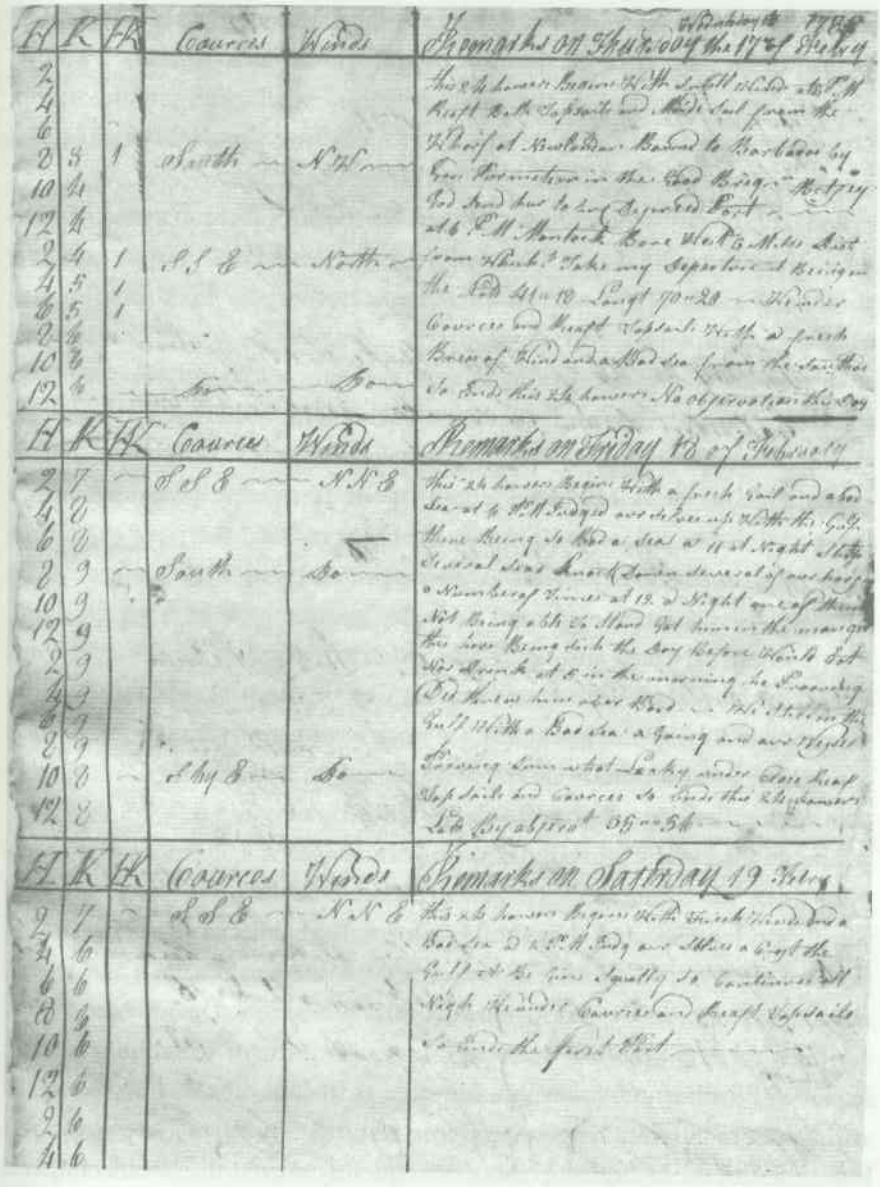

FIGURE 2.2. Page from the logbook of the *Betsey*, c. 1785, from the John Palmer Papers, Coll. 53, Manuscripts Collection, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum

that delays in sailing ate away the time available to pursue his calling. "I prayed for a good wind, since we do not wish to lie in one place and be of no use." The turning of the glass, striking the bell, changing the watch, observing each twenty-four hours, and calculating the distance sailed all marked out the passage of time aboard ship.[25]

Journal accounts sometimes reflected the desire of cabin passengers to adapt to nautical ways on board ship. Thomas Perkins marked his first shipboard entry, "First part of the day, or rather the 24 hours (for this memorandum is kept in nautical days)." Diaries and journals also illustrate how even single individuals measured time differently on land and sea. For example, Robert Treat Paine—who achieved fame as the prosecuting attorney in the Boston Massacre trial and as a Massachusetts signer of the Declaration of Independence—spent almost five years at sea as a mate and commander of sailing vessels. Paine marked the passage of time differently in his "sea journal" than in the diary he kept onshore. The most notable variation stemmed from the treatment of Sunday. On land, his notation of when and where he attended religious service created a weekly rhythm centered on this market day of the soul, but on ship, the Christian Sabbath disappeared. An undifferentiated succession of days marked by location, miles sailed, wind direction, and a host of other daily routines replaced a calendar revolving around sacred days.[26]

Life at sea produced unusual time patterns, especially in regard to sacred time. The different approach to Sunday narrated in ships' logs and journals often reflected the lack of a formal religious observance among seamen. The time did not become sacred because no religious activity set the day apart. As the Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies bemoaned, "Indeed there is Nothing that has the Appearance of a Sabbath among Sailors." European nations often required that ships of a certain size carry a chaplain to conduct religious services, but the majority of vessels did not meet the threshold, and ship owners frequently skirted the law. A chaplain seemed to them just another mouth to feed and a presence that did not contribute to the functioning of the ship. Some voyagers concluded that obligatory religious services actually caused more harm than good. A passenger aboard a French vessel at the end of the eighteenth century thought that the mandatory Roman Catholic prayers muttered by the crew merely "keep up the Farce of Religious Ceremony—I do not see

that any good results from it." But mandatory prayers such as these served as the exception on the eighteenth-century Atlantic. The majority of accounts record the absence of public worship rather than its offense.[27]

The lack of religious service on board ship reflected the constraints of the wooden world, not necessarily the antireligious sentiment of the crew. Connecticut sailor Eleazar Elderkin lamented, "I should like very well to attend Church." On Sundays, sailor Simeon Griswold turned his thoughts to "how Hapy the People are that stay at Home at there Ease Numbers there are this Day in Churches spending there time in Hearing the Good Words of ye Gospell." Individual shipmasters, like slave ship captain John Newton, might take it upon themselves to conduct Sunday meetings for their crew, but most appear uncompelled to have done so. Even ships with clergy and obliging officers found themselves disappointed when the weather made such meetings impractical. Ministers often found themselves in positions like that of German pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who prepared to preach to the English passengers and crew "but was prevented because a strong wind and rain arose, which forced the passengers into their cabin and the crew to their posts." Life at sea made public worship contingent on the weather, the willingness of the ship's master, and the availability of clergy.[28]

Sailors faced the same difficulty in regard to Sunday as did plantation slaves. Forced to work for others most of the week, Sunday became the day on which sailors worked for themselves. Elderkin portrayed the common sailors' Sunday as "all the time they give us to do any thing for ourselves." From the forecastle of his ship *Eliza*, he portrayed his Sunday employments as "overhauling my Cloths—airing them—and making a tarpaulin to cover my hat—must now leave writing and go and wash my Cloaths." When the weather cooperated, sailors controlled their own time on Sundays. Freed from the obligations of the ship's "duty," the hands could be, in the words of one master, "imployd in Reading and sleeping." Even the more religiously inclined mariners enjoyed the resting aspects of the Christian Sabbath in the absence of worship. Nautical labor reserved Sunday for personal occupation and relaxation rather than public worship. Rhode Island mariner George Munro described a typical shipboard Sunday as consisting of "rest All Day there is Nothing Remarkable this Day no Employment So Ends this Lord Day in Peace."[29]

The marine model of organizing time proved discomfiting for voyagers as it stood in stark opposition to the observance of sacred days, particularly the Christian Sabbath. Passengers struggled with maintaining the sacred calendar in an environment that ignored it. Perhaps ministers performed this task best. Liturgically minded pastors, such as Wesley or Muhlenberg, stayed in tune with the rhythms of sacred time, noting not just each Sunday, but where that particular Sunday fell on the liturgical calendar. Members of the Society of Friends recorded time through numbering of the days from the first day to the seventh day, just as they did ashore. Those whose professional calling centered on sacred calendars tried to re-create familiar patterns of religious observance on board ship, but the onus for organizing such meetings fell upon the individual person. Every ship did not have clergy, and every member of the clergy did not feel compelled to conduct public worship. Anglican layman Nicholas Cresswell expressed excitement that his ship had a clergyman aboard and thus he would benefit from regular religious observance. To his dismay, the clergyman chose to spend the day in other activities, once reading a text on scurvy.[30]

Lay passengers without an active clergy aboard ship tried to remember the Sabbath day even when it lacked formal observance. Cresswell punctuated his record of Sundays with the refrain, "No prayers to-day." Some lay passengers—particularly those from liturgical traditions—took matters into their own hands and conducted public service. For Anglicans, this form of public worship often consisted of reading from the *Book of Common Prayer* or an appropriate sermon. Even with ministers aboard, some laity stepped in to lead public religious service. The German schoolteacher Gottlieb Mittelberger assumed all the duties of a minister. "I held daily prayer meetings with them on deck, and, since we had no ordained clergyman on board, was forced to administer baptism to five children. I also held services, including a sermon, every Sunday, and when the dead were buried at sea, commended them and our souls to the mercy of God." Others observed sacred time as individuals. The account of African Ayuba ben Solomon, commonly referred to as Job, recorded his shipboard observance of Islamic devotional practices during his remarkable return from slavery. "He was very constant in his Devotions; which he never omitted, on any Pretence, notwithstanding we had

exceeding bad Weather all the time we were at Sea." Other voyagers similarly practiced their faith in isolation. When afflicted with seasickness, Rebecca Jones "spent the latter part of this day alone in our state room, my heart being turned towards the Lord." The more religiously inclined voyagers took greater responsibility for their spiritual maintenance in the absence of clergy and supportive communities.[31]

The neglect of sacred time proved irritating to religiously minded voyagers, and some feared the long-term effects of nautical life. The general apathy of sailors toward Sabbath observance on board ship could be contagious. On a Sunday toward the end of his voyage to Boston, William Palfrey noted, "My Shipmates pay little regard to the day as they are now upon deck shooting Gulls." Sailors' antipathy toward the observance of sacred time created particular frustration when in Catholic ports. Salem mariner Nathaniel Bowditch lamented the time lost in Lisbon since "about 120 days in the year are set apart for the worship of their saints on these days." Such statements reflect how mariners internalized the modern emphasis on efficient use of time. The physical demands of nautical labor superseded the temporal observance of the sacred as voyagers discovered during the voyage's first weeks. Gaining one's sea legs possibly meant adjusting to a lack of religious observances.[32]

Adjusting to Confinement

The spatial and physical deprivations of life on a ship at sea added to the environmental and chronological adjustments that the Atlantic forced passengers to make. Seasickness, waves, weather, and the need to keep the decks clear constrained people to remain in their berths below decks. Although people might have been on ship for several weeks before the actual voyage began, being under full sail made them experience their space in new ways.

Even passengers not in chains frequently described their experience of the ship's space in terms of imprisonment. Part of the sense of confinement resulted from the physical space itself. Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies described his feeling of entrapment. "I never appeared to myself so helpless in all my Life; confined to a little Vessel, in the midst of mountainous Seas, at a dreadful Distance from Land; and no possible

14. William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Mark Van Doren (1791; reprint New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 29; Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 60.

15. Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 27; Johann Carl Büttner, *Narrative of Johann Carl Büttner*, in *Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America*, ed. Susan E. Klepp, Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 217.

16. Frederick Mackenzie, *A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston*, ed. Allen French (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 9–10; "Advice for Brethren and Sisters in Preparation for Crossing the Atlantic to the West Indies," appended to Geoffrey Stead, "Crossing the Atlantic: The Eighteenth-Century Moravian Experience," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 30 (1998): 32–34; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 31; Jones, *Memorials*, 152–153.

17. John Wesley, *Journal and Diaries I*, 330; Samuel W. Boardman, *Log-Book of Timothy Boardman Kept on Board the Privateer Oliver Cromwell, during a Cruise from New London, CT., to Charleston, S.C. and Return in 1778* (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1895), 84; John C. Brickenstein, "The First 'Sea Congregation,' 1742," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 1 (1857–76): 38–39; George Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals* (1738–41; reprint, London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 123.

18. Charlotte Browne Journal, 1754–1757 (photostat), 20 Jan. 1755, MHS.

19. Johann Cristoph Sauer, "An Early Description of Pennsylvania, cont.," ed. R. W. Kelsey, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 45 (1921): 244; Käsebier and Saur, "Two Early Letters from Germantown," 222.

20. John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, "A Journey through Nova Scotia," *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era*, ed. Barbara DeWolfe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46; Johann Carl Büttner, *Narrative of Johann Carl Büttner*, 217; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 59.

21. John Wesley, *Journal and Diaries I*, 317.

22. Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 22–23.

23. Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure," *Past and Present* 29 (Dec. 1964): 50–66; E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (Dec. 1967): 56–97; Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 21–29; Marcus Buford Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 113–115.

24. "Starboard" and "larboard" referred to the two sides of the ship. Starboard referred to the right-hand side of the vessel when facing the bow. The word derives its name from the "steer board"—a paddle used for steering in early ships that was located on this side. Larboard or port refers to the left-hand side of vessel when looking toward the bow. "Port" became the preferred term for commands in order to avoid confusion

with starboard. Dean King, John B. Hattendorf, and J. Worth Estes, *A Sea of Words*, 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 262, 402; Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life in the Age of Sail* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 99; Horace Beck, *Folklore and the Sea* (Edison, N.J.: Castle Books, 1999), 58; 22 June 1748, Logbooks of *Hope*, *Dolphin*, and *Smithfield*, 22 June 1748, Mss 828, RIHS; Woolman, *Journal*, 193; Davies, "Journal," 238; Whitefield, *Journals*, 108.

25. Examples: Thomas Nicolson Navigation and Logbooks, 1769–1779, 18 July 1769, MHS; Robert Treat Paine Papers, 1731–1814, 3 Jan. 1754; Pinkham Family Papers, 1711–1822, 8 Sept. 1754, MHS; James Rhodes Log and Account Book, 16–18 Jan. 1796, Log 331, Mystic Seaport; Nitschmann quoted in *Moravians in Georgia*, 107.

26. Journals of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, 19 Dec. 1794, MHS; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1988), 39; Henry Harries, "Nautical Time," *Mariner's Mirror* 14 (1928): 364–370.

27. Davies, "Journal," 243; Robert Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 107; Nathaniel Cutting Journal, 1786–1793, 12 Nov. 1789, P-275, reel 1, MHS.

28. Eleazar Elderkin, Journal of Voyage on ship *Eliza*, 1796–1798, CHS; Simeon Griswold, Logbook and Journal of the Brig *Two Brothers*, 1768–1770, 5 Dec. 1768, Log 320, Mystic Seaport; John Newton, *The Journal of a Slave Trader, 1750–1754*, ed. Bernard Martin and Mark Spurrell (London: Epworth Press, 1962), 47; Muhlenberg, *Journals*, vol. 1, 41.

29. For a description of plantation Sundays, see Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 193–194, 371, 524; Eleazar Elderkin, Journal of Voyage on ship *Eliza* 1796–1798, CHS. Logbook of Daniel Francis, 10 May 1795, Log 389, Mystic Seaport; George Munro, Journals of *Polly* (Schooner) 1795 and *General Greene* (Sloop) 1795–1797, RIHS, both 17 March 1796.

30. *Revenge* (Sloop) Papers, 1741–1801, 16 Aug. 1748, MHS; for example, Muhlenberg notes not only that 4 July was a Sunday but that it was the "Third Sunday after Trinity." Muhlenberg, *Journals*, vol. 1, 27; Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1925), 11. For examples of Quaker accountings of time, see Jones, *Memorials;* Richard Jordan, *A Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Richard Jordan: A Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1829); and Jonathan Evans, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labors of William Savery* (Philadelphia: Friends' Book-Store, 1837).

31. Cresswell, *Journal*, 13; For example, Henry Ingraham's Journal, 31 Oct. 1802, MHS. Charlotte Browne Journal, 1754–1757 (photostat), 26 Jan. 1755, MHS; Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, trans. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), 13; Thomas Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job: The Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa* (London: Printed for R.

Ford, 1734), 25–26; Douglas Grant, *The Fortunate Slave: An Illustration of African Slavery in the Early Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 95–96; Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 71–75; Jones, *Memorials*, 59.

32. William Palfrey Journal, 28 April 1771, MHS; Journal and logbooks of Nathaniel Bowditch, 19 July 1796, MHS. Others noted the inconvenience posed by Roman Catholic holidays in foreign ports. William Almy Journal, 1776–1780, 8 Dec. 1776, William Almy Papers, RIHS.

33. Davies, *Journal*, 280; Commonplace Book of Simeon Crowell 1790–1824, MHS; James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Including a Journal of His Tour of the Hebrides* (London: John Murray, 1839), 66.1; Henry Ingraham's Journal, Nov. 1802, MHS.

34. Cresswell, *Journal*, 7–8; Woolman, *Journal*, 198; Samuel Kelly, *An Eighteenth Century Seaman Whose Days Have Been Few and Evil, to Which Is Added Remarks, etc., on Places He Visited during His Pilgrimage in This Wilderness*, ed. Crosbie Garstin (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1925), 136; "Testimony of James Fraser," *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Sheila Lambert (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1975), 71:39.

35. James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, "A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw an African Prince, as Related by Himself," in *Pioneers of the Black Atlantic: Five Slave Narratives from the Enlightenment*, ed. H. L. Gates Jr. and W. L. Andrews (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1998), 41; William D. Pierson, "White Cannibals, Black Martyrs: Fear, Depression, and Religious Faith as Causes of Suicide among New Slaves," *Journal of Negro History* 62 (April 1977): 147. Ironically, as Europeans and Africans encountered each other for the first time through the slave trade, they often shared this fear. When the British House of Commons investigated the effects of the slave trade, they often sought information about the various cultures encountered, particularly concerning the practice of cannibalism on the West Coast of Africa. "Testimony of Jerome Barnard Weuves, Esquire, in the African Company's Service," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 68:210; "Testimony of Thomas King," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 68:334–335; *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (London, 1789), 71; "Testimony of Mr. Isaac Wilson," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 72:274.

36. John Riland, *Memoirs of a West-India Planter* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1827), 22–23; Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), 267–268; Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 159; "Testimony of Mr. Alexander Falconbridge," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 72:301; Charles Garland and Herbert S. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (April 1985): 238–248; Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America* (New York: Garland, 1984), 704.