

NEW ENGLAND SLAVE TRADER: THE CASE OF CHARLES TYNG

A Thesis
presented to
the Faculty of California Polytechnic State University,
San Luis Obispo

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in History

by
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June 2019

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ABSTRACT

New England Slave Trader: The Case of Charles Tyng

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Charles Tyng has been heralded as an American hero after the posthumous publication of his memoir, *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1808-1833*, in 1999. Recent research involving British Treasury report books from the nineteenth century suggest otherwise – that Tyng actively promoted and was engaged in the illicit trade of African captives. A Boston Brahmin, Tyng applied the lessons of his time at sea with Perkins & Company, the opium trading firm, to his occupation as an agent of notorious slave trading firms in Havana. This paper uses as evidence records of the captures of several vessels that implicate Tyng directly in equipping ships for the slave trade to correct the historical record and exposing a supposed hero as a predatory capitalist ignoring ethics for financial gain.

Keywords: Charles Tyng, slave trade, Havana, Cuba, West Africa Squadron, opium trade, Perkins & Company, Before the Wind

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is a culmination of many years of school, and I would be remiss without acknowledging the many teachers who have made a positive impact on me throughout my academic career: Donna Cooksey, Marilyn Tate, Karen Shumey, Lisa Vaughn-Everett, Suzanne Nicasro and Kathi Froemming. I thank the professors and staff of the Cal Poly History Department for their guidance and advice during my four years at Cal Poly, with special thanks to doctors Thomas Trice, Matthew Hopper, and Andrew Morris – their encouragement, support, and expertise had a significant role in my applying for grad school and succeeding at something that I was not always sure I was capable of. This thesis exists because of them.

I must also mention various mentors that have had a significant effect on my life: Scott Maher, Tom Bolton, Len Wood, Janene Scully, Laurie Jervis, and Brady Redman. Thank you for taking a chance on me.

This master's thesis is dedicated to my parents Dan & Janice, my sister Lauren, my girlfriend Kristen, and to the memories of my grandparents Joseph & Sophie Waclawik and Julius & Mildred Michaels, my cousin Bill Petersen, and my dog Kooper. This is for all of you, with all my heart.

Paul Joseph Michaels
April 28, 2019

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

By 1815, when a young Charles Tyng (pronounced with a long “i,” think “sting”) first set sail aboard the ship *Cordelia* en route to China, the transatlantic slave trade was about to enter its fourth century. Historians estimate that by the end of that year, 8.1 million Africans embarked on 28,000 voyages for the Americas.¹ For the most part, five European nations had transported slave labor across the Atlantic: Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, and Britain. During the “peak years” of the slave trade, 1680 to 1830, roughly 90 percent of all emigration across the Atlantic consisted of Africans forcibly taken to the Americas.² Following the independence of the United States, slaves were also transported on ships flying the American flag. Between 1776, the year the Declaration of Independence was signed, and 1807, the year before the abolition of the slave trade, nearly 134,000 slaves embarked on 939 American voyages; between 1807 and 1830, 8,219 slaves on 50 voyages; between 1831 and 1850, 35,000 slaves on 57 voyages.³ The topic of this paper concerns 14 of those 57 voyages between the years 1831 and 1850, which involved an American merchant based in Havana.

At first glance, Charles Tyng appears to be a typical nineteenth-century man hailing from a well-to-do Boston Brahmin family. Though a “lackluster and...rebellious student,” his family’s connections within Boston society placed him aboard a merchant ship at the tender age of thirteen, inspiring Charles to become a “[ship] captain...as soon

¹ “Summary Statistics,” Slave Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database, 2013, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/rbY4K5MZ>.

² David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 12.

³ Slave Voyages, 1776 to 1807: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/inJCMi23>; 1808 to 1830: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/zqT3u9GS>; 1831 to 1850: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/KBHeW757>.

as he possibly could.”⁴ Throughout his sixty-year career, Tyng captained, owned, and chartered many ships, mostly in connection with his Havana-based merchant firm Tyng and Company.⁵ The prominent station of his family would facilitate his latitude in transoceanic commerce at a time when the United States, on the heels of two wars against Great Britain, was establishing itself as an economic and political power in the Atlantic. Concurrently, the slave trade had become extremely lucrative while the British Navy cracked down on such activity on the world’s oceans.

Knowledge of Tyng and his story, and the inspiration of this thesis to examine it, would not be possible without his great- great-granddaughter, Susan Fels. Written in about 1878, a year before his death, Tyng’s memoirs were a family heirloom – passed generation to generation. William LaMoy, librarian of the James Duncan Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, was approached in 1997 by Fels to gauge interest in “acquiring for its collection a memoir written by [her] ancestor Charles Tyng.”⁶ The memoirs are described by LaMoy as a “remarkable [narrative that] is so obviously an ingenuous tale of a Boston and Newburyport, Massachusetts youth who had to contend with early adversity.”⁷ Fels describes how the memoirs became *Before the Wind*, the volume that will act as a foil, in the acknowledgements of the book – outlining how the “fragile pages...were expertly cleaned, de-acidified, mended and encapsulated” before having their text “judiciously trimmed.”⁸

⁴ Charles Tyng, *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1807-1833*, ed. Susan Fels (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), xiv.

⁵ Henry Lorenzo Janes, “The Black Warrior Affair,” *The American Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (1907), 282.

⁶ William T. LaMoy, preface to *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1807-1833*, ed. Susan Fels (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), vii-x.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁸ Susan Tyng McEwan Fels, acknowledgements to *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1807-1833*, ed. Susan Fels (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), xi-xii.



Figure 1: Charles Tyng

From inside flap of *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1808-1833*.

The reception the memoir and subsequent book receives is celebratory among those involved with the project and some within the publishing industry. LaMoy describes the memoir as a “wonderfully full and captivating picture of the life of an American shipmaster coming of age in the exhilarating period of the first third of the nineteenth century.”⁹ The author of the afterword of *Before the Wind*, Thomas Philbrick, pronounces the book a “memoir of a nearly forgotten frontier,” complete with an “authenticity that neither Forester nor O’Brian, however skillful, can simulate.”¹⁰ W. Jeffrey Bolster, in a review for the *New York Times*, heralded Tyng a “valuable informant for historians” and author Alan Gurney proclaims *Before the Wind* “social history at its best...counting the story of a life from reluctant schoolboy to ship’s captain and owner.”¹¹ Despite the triumphal and rosy appraisals of his memoir, there are several silences discernable in Tyng’s narrative, some of which are even outlined by his great-great-granddaughter.

A resounding issue for most is the fact that the memoir ends in 1833, leaving out the last 46 years of Tyng’s life. One passage in the book’s introduction, written by Fels, addresses this: “Although we might wish that Charles Tyng had completed the written account of his life, it seems likely that the years he describes in his memoir were his most adventurous and dramatic.”¹² Critics attempt to make sense of the abrupt end, with the consensus, such as the opinion posited by Kirkus, being that Tyng contracting Asiatic

⁹ LaMoy, x.

¹⁰ Thomas Philbrick, afterword to *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1807-1833*, 251-256.

¹¹ W. Jeffrey Bolster, “Seaward Ho!,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1999, <http://movies2.nytimes.com/books/99/07/11/reviews/990711.11bolstet.html>; Alan Gurney, inside cover of *Before the Wind: The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1807-1833*.

¹² Fels, *Before the Wind*, xvii.

cholera is the likely culprit.¹³ However, this is effectively taking Tyng at his word, and does not call into question other possibilities. What other reason could there be that the memoir ends at 1833? This thesis will historicize the memoir and gauge whether it stands up to the historical record. I will bring to light what Tyng did after 1833 and provide a calculated answer for the sudden end to the memoir – arguably, his “most adventurous and dramatic” years were not behind him. My research will show that Tyng was not the hero that his memoir makes him out to be – in actuality, he was an aider and abettor in the traffic of enslaved Africans.

This thesis will contextualize Charles Tyng and the world he lived in by examining Atlantic politics and international policies that would have impacted his business in Havana. I will situate this argument within a historiography that, increasingly in recent years, promotes true bottom-up social microhistories of the slave trading Atlantic Ocean in the nineteenth century. Lastly, this paper will, through my original research, demonstrate the unsavory and illegal activities that Charles Tyng himself undertook as a shipmaster at the Harbor of Havana as such action became gradually more lucrative as time went on. Specifically, this paper will seize upon four vessels that implicated Tyng in the slave trade: the *Catharine*, the *Spitfire*, the *Martha*, and the *Julius & Edward*. But first, it is necessary to contextualize the world that Tyng lived in, and the world that he would affect as a sea merchant.

¹³ “Before the Wind,” Kirkus Reviews, May 1, 1999, <https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/charles-tyng/before-the-wind/>.

1.1 Anglophone Acts Prohibiting the Slave Trade

When Tyng was six years old, the United States and Great Britain both passed legislation to abolish the transatlantic slave trade. The Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807, championed by Thomas Jefferson in his 1806 State of the Union address, was enacted on March 2, 1807.¹⁴ Likewise, the British Slave Trade Act 1807, officially “An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” gained royal assent on March 25, 1807. The latter went into effect on May 1, 1807, the former on January 1, 1808. While curbing the trade, both still allowed for the continuation of slavery in areas where it had been in practice previously – the British would not outlaw slavery until the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 and the Americans until the passage of the thirteenth amendment to the United States Constitution under the tutelage of Abraham Lincoln. There were significant differences between the British and American bills, and each had its own unique impact on the nation ratifying it.

The British Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, citation 47° Georgii III, Session 1, cap. XXXVI, carried severe punitive measures for British subjects implicated for participating in the traffic of “Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies, or any part of America whatsoever, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of his Majesty...directly or indirectly from [any] Place as aforesaid, to any other Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever”

¹⁴ Thomas Jefferson, “Sixth Annual Message to Congress (1806),” The American Presidency Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara, 2018, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/sixth-annual-message>. The exact verbiage used by Jefferson: “I congratulate you, fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa....”

for their transmission into slavery.¹⁵ Among these, any British subject was to be fined £100 for each slave they were cited for transporting, selling, owning, or subjugating, their vessel and each slave seized and forfeited to the Crown.¹⁶ In order to enforce the Act, a new Royal Navy fleet – the West Africa Squadron – was formed, and charged with patrolling Atlantic waters for offending vessels. Based at the Cape of Good Hope until the founding of the “West Coast of Africa Station” at Sierra Leone in 1819, the West Africa Squadron was bolstered by Vice Admiralty courts that prosecuted captured ships and crew.¹⁷

On the other hand, the American version, though worded very similarly to the British Act, did not have the same result. While it could be surmised that the ineffectiveness of the Act Prohibiting Importation Slaves was largely due to the relatively diminutive reach of the American Navy compared to the Royal Navy, accounts hint at a general apathy and disdain for the curbing of commerce. The Act was poorly enforced, and on more than one occasion state law took precedent over the federal law, which was increasingly shrugged off – with slave traders even receiving presidential pardons.¹⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, in his Harvard doctoral dissertation, presents ample evidence for the continued “clandestine” proliferation of slave trading in the United States after 1808,

¹⁵ “47° Georgii III, Session 1, cap. XXXVI, An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” The Electronic Scholarly Publishing Project, March 5, 2007, <http://www.esp.org/foundations/freedom/holdings/slave-trade-act-1807.pdf>.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ “Suppressing the Trade,” The Abolition Project, 2009. West Africa Squadron historiography is substantial, relevant works not otherwise utilized in this study include: John Broich, *Squadron: Ending the African Slave Trade* (New York: Overlook Press, 2017); Bernard Edwards, *Royal Navy Versus the Slave Traders: Enforcing Abolition at Sea, 1808-1898* (South Yorkshire, UK: Pen & Sword Maritime, 2007); Peter Grindal, *Opposing the Slavers: The Royal Navy's Campaign Against the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016); Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012). http://abolition.e2bn.org/slavery_155.html.

¹⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1970), 108-109.

even in New England states such as Connecticut.¹⁹ A common practice was for American privateers to fly flags of other nations on their vessels as they attempted to smuggle Africans to the Americas and Caribbean, trying to avoid British patrols. Supplementary acts between 1818 and 1825, which altered penalties and stipulations in an effort to more forcefully hold trafficking in check, were mostly inconsequential, with “American participation in the trade continuing, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860.”²⁰

1.2 British Policing of the Slave Trade

The patrolling of the Atlantic Ocean was not an easy undertaking. International pressure as well as domestic dissent against the British Empire’s agenda only added weight to an already unwieldy bureaucracy. Though the Act had passed Parliament almost unanimously, there was feeling that its mission was in vain. Siân Rees shared in her book *Sweet Water and Bitter: The Ships that Stopped the Slave Trade* that Earl Grosvenor “had told the House of Commons in 1807, ‘I have twenty reasons for disapproving the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the first of which is, that the thing is impossible; and therefore, I need not give the other nineteen.’”²¹ Nonetheless, the initial five ships dispatched to West Africa to quell the trade grew to seven by 1825 and twenty-five by 1845, the original Vice Admiralty Courts at Cape of Good Hope and Sierra Leone, replaced temporarily by Commission Courts from 1820 until 1840, would

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

²¹ Siân Rees, *Sweet Water and Bitter: The Ships that Stopped the Slave Trade* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2009), 37.

eventually be reinforced by the establishment of a court at Saint Helena in 1840 and supplemented by Caribbean courts at Tortola, Antigua, and Demerara.²²

Another obstacle for British abolitionists to overcome was the sheer expense of the endeavor. The Royal Navy, already spread thin by continuous war with France, had “been busy sniffing out mutineers, pirates, smugglers, blockade-runners and deserters.”²³ The additional duty of slave patrols, interception, emancipation and prosecution “was sweetened by the promise of extremely generous head-money:” £40 for every man, £30 for every woman, £10 for every child, “which Bounties shall be divided amongst the Officers, Seamen, Marines, and Soldiers on Board His Majesty’s Ships of War, or hired armed Ships.”²⁴ These generous sums were considered unsustainable, and were thus whittled down to £10 per slave freed after the passage of the Slave Trade Act of 1824.²⁵ The suppression of the transatlantic slave trade was nonetheless an exorbitant task, as one British merchant bemoaned in 1845: “We have spent £20,000,000 to abolish slavery and £20,000,000 more to repress the Slave Trade; yet does no one nation under Heaven give us credit for disinterested sincerity in this large expenditure of money and philanthropy.”²⁶

²² “Suppressing the Trade;” J.P. Van Niekerk, “The Role of the Vice-Admiralty Court at St Helena in the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Fundamina: A Journal of Legal History* 15, no. 1 (2009): 98-99; Michael Craton, “The Role of the Caribbean Vice Admiralty Courts in British Imperialism,” *Caribbean Studies* 11, no. 2 (1971): 16. The three Caribbean courts are corroborated by the HCA 35 volumes.

²³ Rees, 16.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ “Slave Trade Act 1824 c. 113, LXVII,” UK Legislation, January 2, 2018, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/5/113/crossheading/additional-article-a-bounty-of-10l-for-every-slave-found-on-board-of-vessels-seized-and-condemned/enacted>.

²⁶ Rees, 308.

1.3 American Contraband Trade and Friction with Britain

One of those nations was the United States, despite its similar oath to end the slave trade. American complicity in the slave trade after the Act Prohibiting Importation Slaves in 1807 was, as W.E.B. DuBois discovered, most active in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. “The United States...emerged from the war of 1812 with strong economic prospects... [protected by] the shield that the Royal Navy provided,” with most interests held in Cuba and Brazil.²⁷ With the burgeoning United States growing exponentially, demand for goods like coffee and sugar skyrocketed in the 1820s and 1830s. Brazilian historian Leonardo Marques describes that growing demand as inextricably linked to concomitant growth of slavery in Cuba and Brazil, with “more than two million captives embarked on vessels destined to both countries [between 1820 and 1867] despite anti-slave trade treaties and legislation passed in both Spain and Brazil.”²⁸ The demand for coffee and sugar in the United States and demand for building materials, food and manufactured goods in Cuba ensured a tight bond between the two economies, with Havana becoming the “third most important trading partner” for the United States by 1830. The result was an “entrenchment of [American] merchants in all sectors of the Cuban economy,” with an estimated 1,256 American citizens living on the island in 1846.²⁹

New England merchants had long been involved with the slave trade to their home states before 1807 and through Cuba later in the nineteenth century. Many of today’s largest insurance companies, including New York Life, Aetna, US Life, got their

²⁷ Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776-1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 107-108.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

start in New England states, providing “substantial assistance to American merchants” who engaged in the trade of slaves “with vigor.”³⁰ The books chronicling the plans and claims of these insurance companies have been invaluable to historians studying the complicity of American merchants in the slave trade. Marques follows the story of a Rhode Island family, the D’Wolfs, and their activities from American and Cuban shores beginning not long after the signing of the United States Constitution through the last few years of the 1810s.³¹ Such accounts will serve to compare those of Charles Tyng and his company in Havana as he shipped coffee, sugar, and contraband cargoes aboard his and chartered ships from West Africa to Cuba.

The proliferation of the transatlantic slave trade among American merchants invariably led to confrontations with the British Royal Navy, charged with rooting out and policing the slave trade per the mandate of the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The prevailing attitude among the former was one of contempt for the curtailing of American overseas commerce, reaching such a pitch that it was conceivable that another war between the United States and Great Britain was not far off.³² The American flag flown on ship masts had become a sign of wariness for British sea captains, and Americans had become suspicious of British motives. Wrote U.S. Secretary of State Lewis Cass: “Who can doubt but that English cruisers, stationed upon that distant coast,

³⁰ Rachel L. Swarns, “Insurance Policies on Slaves: New York Life’s Complicated Past,” *New York Times*, December 18, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/18/us/insurance-policies-on-slaves-new-york-lifes-complicated-past.html>; Willy E. Rice, “‘Commercial Terrorism’ from the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the World Trade Center Disaster: Are Insurance Companies & Judges ‘Aiders and Abettors’ of Terror? – A Critical Analysis of American and British Courts’ Declaratory and Equitable Actions, 1654-2002,” *Scholar: St. Mary’s Law Review on Minority Issues* 6, no. 1 (2003): 48-53; Anita Rupprecht, “‘Inherent Vice’: Marine Insurance, Slave Ship Rebellion and the Law,” *Race & Class* 57, no. 3 (2016): 31-44.

³¹ Leonardo Marques, “Slave Trading in the New World: The Strategies of North American Slave Traders in the Age of Abolition,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 32, no. 2 (2012): 256-257.

³² Erik Calonius, *The Wanderer: The Last American Slave Ship and the Conspiracy That Set Its Sails* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006), 165.

with an unlimited right of search and discretionary authority to take possession of all vessels frequenting those seas, will seriously interrupt the trade of other nations?”³³ If nothing else, the targeting of American vessels by the British Navy speaks to the prevalence of American participation in the slave trade, as well as British willingness to target ships flying an American flag, by the 1850s.³⁴ Nonetheless, the trade continued at a rapid pace. During the 1840s and 1850s, the price of sugar grew exponentially, and a surplus of ships built in American port cities had resulted in a glut of cheap vessels – most prized were the “speediest of clipper ships [that] could easily outsail and outfox...the Brits.”³⁵ It is in the ascent and early stages of this era that Charles Tyng reenters the historical record.

1.4 Charles Tyng and Her Majesty’s Treasury Reports

Most essential to the original research presented in this thesis are the Slave Trade Advisor to Her Majesty’s Treasury report books, transcribed from original documents by William Rothery and his son Henry Cadogan Rothery, legal advisors to the Royal Treasury in London. Begun in 1821, the series spans 70 years in 89 volumes and “concern matters arising out of cases in the Admiralty, Vice-Admiralty, and Mixed Commission courts under the Proceeds of Captured Slavers Act 1821.”³⁶ Held in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the report books have only recently been

³³ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁴ Per the Slave Voyages Database, the number of ships flying American flags captured and adjudicated by the British Navy between 1835 to 1845 were as follows: 1 in 1835, 1 in 1836, 2 in 1837, 1 in 1838, 17 in 1839, 12 in 1840, 2 in 1841, 5 in 1842, 2 in 1843, 5 in 1844, and 5 in 1845. “Transatlantic Slave Trade Database,” Slave Voyages, 2019, www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 170-171.

³⁶ “Slave Trade Advisor to the Treasury: Report Books,” The National Archives of the UK, London, December 18, 2008, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C8633>.

examined and cataloged. Upon perusing the seventy-fifth volume, the ship *Julius & Edward* kept recurring, with the name Charles Tyng associated with it. A few minutes of research later and the inspiration for this paper was had.

Tyng and his business in Havana, shipping coffee, sugar, and various other goods from Cuba to the United States was innocent enough; it was a common occupation and many merchants did it. However, it appears that unlike for some of his peers, the lucrative nature of facilitating the slave trade may have been too much to resist. Never unequivocally identified in the express transport of slaves himself, Tyng is an obscure and, save for *Before the Wind*, mysterious individual in American and slave trade history. Celebrated by many for the adventurous and daring picture he paints for himself in his memoirs, the Treasury report books instill the image of an insidious and fraudulent character that chose wealth over ethics. This thesis will argue that Charles Tyng was a slave trader during his time based in Havana.

CHAPTER 2

YOUNG TYNG'S CONTEMPORARIES: BOSTON SEA MERCHANTS

The strong economic prospects for the United States following the War of 1812 alluded to by Marques in his book *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776-1867* manifested strongly in Boston. During this period, “lumbering, fishing, ship-building, and whaling were the principal industries of New England.” Pamphlets published in 1918 and 1919 by the State Street Trust Company describe the shores of Boston in the first half of the nineteenth century as “alive with ships just arrived or about to sail,” a time when “‘counting-houses’ covered the wharves; when shipping held the centre of interest on State Street and Commercial Street; and when at almost any hour of the day could be seen on Telegraph Hill, at Hull, from the cupola on Central Wharf, and from the cupola on the Old State House the signals announcing a new arrival in the harbour.”³⁷ This was the Boston young Charles Tyng and his contemporaries came of age in and set sail from. The question may be asked then, how common is the story told in *Before the Wind*, and if it is, how exceptional is it? Was it common for Boston Brahmin merchants to move to Havana? Were any implicated in the slave trade?

The State Street Trust pamphlets present brief biographies of what it calls “notable men” and “[prominent] mercantile houses” from the early to mid-nineteenth century in Boston. Included are names such as Russell Sturgis, Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins, William Appleton, and John Perkins Cushing, among many more.

³⁷ Allan Forbes, *Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston: Being a Collection of Sketches of Notable Men and Mercantile Houses Prominent During the Early Half of the Nineteenth Century in the Commerce and Shipping of Boston* (Boston: Walton Advertising & Printing Company, 1918), v-vi; Allan Forbes, *Other Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston: Being More Information about the Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston Who Played Such an Important Part in Building Up the Commerce of New England Together with Some Quaint and Curious Stories of the Sea* (Boston: Walton Advertising & Printing Company, 1919).

While these pamphlets are intended as advertising, testifying to the role that the State Street Trust Company played in the “building up” of commerce in Boston by facilitating the shipping industry, they present a helpful starting point in beginning to understand the characters behind it. Tyng is conspicuously absent from the roster of celebrated merchants and captains despite his being of the same generation, occupation, and station as those mentioned. Despite this, we see his early experiences echoed repeatedly in the biographies of his contemporaries.

The front matter of *Before the Wind* plays up the fact that Tyng was challenged young, sailing his first voyage to China at the age of thirteen. This appears to be a common occurrence for Boston Brahmins, as Colonel Perkins “first went to China [when] he was very young,” and his nephew, John Perkins Cushing first sailed to China when he was sixteen.³⁸ Indeed during this period, Boston was the eminent doorway for American trade with China until midcentury, dominated until 1827 by Perkins & Company, the “most prestigious concern in China.”³⁹ Perkins & Company was a member of the Boston international trade syndicate, a tight-knit group united by intermarriage as well as political and economic interests.⁴⁰ Tyng himself was a member of the Perkins-Cushing contingent, rising from teenaged deckhand aboard the *Cordelia* in 1815 to first officer aboard the *Cadet* in 1822 – both Perkins vessels.⁴¹ Competitors of Perkins &

³⁸ *Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston*, 4; *Other Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston*, 17.

³⁹ Benjamin W. Labaree, “The Making of an Empire: Boston and Essex County, 1790-1850” in *Entrepreneurs: The Boston Business Community, 1700-1850*, ed. Conrad Edick Wright and Kathryn P. Viens (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 358; Jacques M. Downs, “The Caleb Cushing Papers and Other China Trade Materials at the Library of Congress,” *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 1989, no. 86 (1989): 6; “Perkins and Company, Canton 1803-1827,” *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 6, no. 2 (1932): 1.

⁴⁰ Downs, 6.

⁴¹ *Before the Wind*, 16-17; 87-89.

Company included Olyphant & Company, Augustine Heard & Company, and Russell & Company – the latter being the largest firm and eventual buyer of Perkins & Company in 1827. Its founder, Samuel Russell, was orphaned and first sailed at the age of 12.⁴²

A youth of Tyng's social standing working for a Boston overseas trading house was not unheard of given the ubiquity of New England shipping and the lucrative nature of international trade.⁴³ One of the earliest New England merchants to send ships to China was John Brown, who operated a five-ship fleet that continually carried ginseng, sheet copper, iron, and cannon from Rhode Island to Canton.⁴⁴ Tyng indicates in his memoir that roughly 15 to 20 individuals could be aboard a merchant clipper during an overseas voyage; thus it is reasonable to assume that at least 75 sailors could be working for a trading firm the size of the one owned by John Brown. With at least four companies regularly sailing routes to China, as few as 300 individuals could be employed in roughly the same capacity as Charles Tyng in 1825.⁴⁵ Anywhere from "four to eight smart American boys...who looked forward to becoming officers and captains" were allowed aboard each ship – Tyng, as well as his superiors Perkins and John Perkins Cushing, began their careers this way.⁴⁶

⁴² Chaim M. Rosenberg, *Yankee Colonies Across America: Cities Upon the Hills* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 201.

⁴³ Edward L. Glaeser, "Reinventing Boston: 1630-2003," *Journal of Economic Geography* 5 (2005): 130.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 201-202.

⁴⁵ *Before the Wind*, 89-90.

⁴⁶ Arthur Hamilton Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era: An Epitome of Famous American and British Clipper Ships, Their Owners, builders, Commanders, and Crews, 1843-1869* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1910), 123.

2.1 Boston Brahmins and the China Trade

Charles Tyng was born into privilege. While he did not immediately belong to one of the more prominent Boston Brahmin families – “including [the] Appletons, Bacons, Cabots, Codmans, Coolidges, Crowninshields, Forbes, Hunnewells, Lodges, Lowells, Parkmans, Perkins, Russells, Saltonstalls, Shattucks, Shaws and Winthrops” – he regularly interacted with them and wrote about them in his memoir, some having already been mentioned here.⁴⁷ Between the years 1815 and 1824, Tyng had been employed in some capacity by the Perkins and Cabots, and worked alongside members of the Forbes family during his time sailing for Perkins.⁴⁸ The tight-knit, feudal, and nearly incestuous nature of the long since landed Boston families and their merchant enterprises virtually ensured that an outsider could not penetrate the walls of its empire – this system has been described as “meritocratic nepotism” by some.⁴⁹ Tyng relied on a tenuous, non-blood relation to gain a foothold within the Perkins merchant empire – his aunt Barbara was married to the brother of Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins.⁵⁰

The sea trade syndicate in Boston was ruled by the Brahmins – a term coined by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. in 1861 when describing the Boston aristocracy as “the Brahmin caste of New England.” The New England Historical Society describes these families as subscribing to the assumption that “destiny had set them apart to create a shining city on a hill...embracing the values of their Puritan forebears.”⁵¹ Some had

⁴⁷ “A Brief History of the Boston Brahmin,” New England Historical Society, 2018, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/brief-history-boston-brahmin/>.

⁴⁸ *Before the Wind*, 86-87. The Cabots had intermarried with the Perkins, Samuel Cabot controlling some interest in Perkins & Company as the husband of Colonel Perkins daughter Elizabeth.

⁴⁹ John R. Haddad, *America's First Adventure in China: Trade, Treaties, Opium, and Salvation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 36.

⁵⁰ *Before the Wind*, 252.

⁵¹ “A Brief History of the Boston Brahmin.”

ancestors that sailed aboard the *Mayflower*, while others, like Tyng, had roots in Boston society going back to the seventeenth century. The Perkins, Russells, and Forbes also belonged to this group, and had begun to gain prominent standing through their involvement in the overseas “China Trade” – the trafficking of opium in East Asia.⁵²

The afterword to *Before the Wind* describes Tyng as “peddling opium” while sailing aboard *Cadet* under contract with Perkins & Company. A cargo of Turkish opium would be smuggled from the United States to Canton in “tin cases, about two feet long, and on end a half square, covered with a wooden box.” Tyng describes in detail how opium was offloaded under the cover of night into a “smuggling boat,” after which ballast would be placed in the tins to mimic the weight of the unloaded opium.⁵³ Cargo weight would then be near to what was reported upon leaving the United States, rendering authorities unaware that illicit cargo had been dispersed. During the period Tyng was sailing aboard the *Cadet*, “vessels arriving from foreign ports rose from an average of 610 per year during the 1810s to 787 and 1,336 per year during the 1820s and 1830s, respectively.” Taxes on imports arriving in Boston Harbor by the 1840s accounted for an astounding “one-sixth of the federal government’s entire budget” – with the China Trade “in general and smuggled opium in particular,” playing a huge part.⁵⁴

⁵² *Ibid.*, Gregory Adam Scott, “David Washington Cincinnatus Olyphant Papers Finding Aid,” The Burke Library Archives at Columbia University Library, June 2010, https://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/mr/ldpd_8527541.pdf.

⁵³ *Before the Wind*, 100 & 252.

⁵⁴ Michael E. Chapman, “Taking Business to the Tiger’s Gate: Thomas Handasyd Perkins and the Boston-Smyrna-Canton Opium Trade of the Early Republic,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 52 (2012): 8.

2.2 Perkins & Company: A Tradition of Smuggling

Michael E. Chapman (a historian who divides his time between Beijing and Boston) draws a direct line between the overwhelming clout of Brahmins and their ability to whitewash and “pooh-pooh any insinuation that their shining city...[was] a smugglers’ den.”⁵⁵ A legacy of smuggling contraband came down from the Revolutionary War period, a conspicuous example being the antics of John Hancock and his associates in the Sons of Liberty. Hancock’s famous quote, “Let every man do what is right in his own eyes,” would appear to be either an excuse or an endorsement for participation in illicit activities.⁵⁶ Chapman states that popular Revolutionary War narratives such as the one of the Sons of Liberty-led Boston Tea Party allowed for “Boston’s citizens to gloss over – or deny – their smuggling roots.”⁵⁷ Flush coffers had depleted by the end of the war in 1783, causing Brahmin merchants to look at foreign ports for increased profit margins.

Boston companies would smuggle illicit goods “first with the French colony of Saint-Domingue and the Spanish colonies of South American, and then...increasingly through Canton.”⁵⁸ Thomas Handasyd Perkins engaged in such trades when he was a young man in Boston, sailing to Le Cap François in Saint-Domingue where, along with his brother James and an older man named Walter Burling, they dealt in “salt cod, flour, horses, coffee, and slaves.” Perkins, in one account, “equated risk with opportunity, and the profit he made proved his premise.” Chapman mentions in his article about Perkins that during the period when a 150-ton schooner cost \$8,000, a “healthy male slave could

⁵⁵ “About Michael E. Chapman,” The Kent State University Press, 2016, <http://www.kentstateuniversitypress.com/author/chapmanm/>; Chapman, “Taking Business to the Tiger’s Gate,” 8-9.

⁵⁶ Benjamin L. Carp, *Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party and the Making of America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 123.

⁵⁷ Chapman, 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

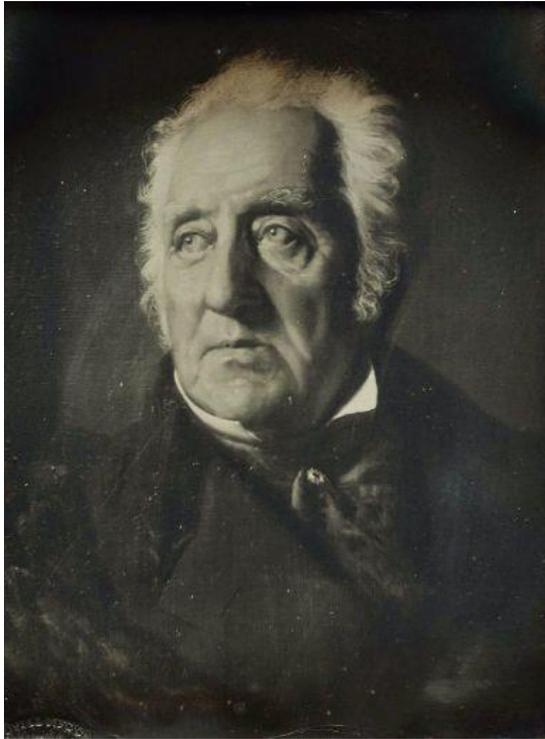


Figure 2: Thomas Handasyd Perkins
Daguerreotype of painted portrait by Spiridione Gambardella, circa 1850. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

fetch \$2,300 at auction... a sale that yielded [him] a \$60 commission.” Such a hearty sum was not enough for the young Perkins, and he eventually turned his attention to Canton and the opium trade in 1789.⁵⁹

A difficult export market in Canton – the only Chinese port open to Western trade – caused Perkins to “experiment” with various products, eventually settling on Turkish opium and mercury. His ship, the *Bocca Tigris*, was a small 180-ton schooner that “attracted little notice” next to the large 800-ton East Indiamen.⁶⁰ This was ideal for a smuggling operation, as a lighter vessel was faster, easier to maneuver, and required a relatively paltry investment. The route for Perkins vessels in the late 1810s was to sail to Smyrna on the west coast of Turkey from Boston Harbor with “flour, coffee, Havana cigars, peppers, Chinese sugar, and Chinese cinnamon.” Once in Smyrna, cargoes would be delivered to the Perkins Brothers of Smyrna – “relatives George and John... Loyalist refugees who had fled Massachusetts in 1775.” Then, 40,000 pounds, or 300 chests, of Turkish opium were loaded before sailing to Tuscany to take aboard 250,000 pounds of mercury.⁶¹ After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, the Perkins vessel would sell the opium at the Pearl River delta near Canton before proceeding to Canton to offload the mercury before taking on cargoes bound for Boston.⁶²

Chapman states that despite the deviousness and cunning with which he operated, Perkins has been “rather ignored” by historians, with focus and scrutiny instead being given to “glamorous merchant-princes” like John Jacob Astor.⁶³ He is sure to point out,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 12-13. “East Indiamen” was the class of ship used by the East India Company; they were typically large frigates also referred to as “tea clippers.”

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 16.

however, the infamous regard afforded to Perkins contemporaneously by British authorities in Canton. Correspondence between officials during an 1821 House of Lords inquiry found another Perkins relative, London resident Samuel Williams, had aided Perkins in “circumvent[ing] mercantilist regulations.” American exports from Canton were likely in excess of \$7 million – outperforming the East India Company – found to be a result of the “[American] government’s lack of restrictions and the nimbleness of [American merchants’] small vessels,” like the *Bocca Tigris*, *Cadet*, and *Cordelia*.⁶⁴ The Perkins & Company opium trade reached its zenith in 1825, “when six ships brought 177,837 pounds (1,334 chests)...account[ing] for at least half the Turkish crop.” Chapman reports that Perkins enjoyed a profit of \$430,000 a year – over \$13 million in today’s dollars.⁶⁵

2.3 New Englanders and the Caribbean Trade

The assumption that the switch from trading in slaves to opium was a decision made with concern to the accountant’s ledger is a reasonable one – Chapman certainly makes the case for it. The Chinese trade and its potential are described by historian John R. Haddad as replete with laissez-faire attitude, absent of government officials, and out of reach of the West Africa Squadron.⁶⁶ The trade of opium to Canton peaked in 1833, five years after Perkins & Company had been sold.⁶⁷ Soon thereafter, the Opium Wars and subsequent treaties between the Chinese and Western nations considerably curbed the

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17; “CPI Inflation Calculator,” Official Data Foundation, 2019, <http://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1860?amount=430000>.

⁶⁶ Haddad, 32.

⁶⁷ W. Travis Hanes III and Frank Sanello *The Opium Wars: The Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2002), 24.

illicit trade of opium to Canton. For the purposes here, I will not go into detail here as the opium trade after 1828 is not relevant to the career of Charles Tyng. What is relevant, however, is a topic that is given short shrift in Chapman – the slave trade.

Haddad states that many New England merchants gave up Caribbean trade in the first few years of the nineteenth century due to “entanglement with slavery,” Perkins himself asserting that the Caribbean trade “perplexes and does not pay in proportion to the vexation.”⁶⁸ As evidenced by the D’Wolfs, there were exceptions to this rule. It is not explicitly clear why some companies chose the China Trade over the transatlantic slave trade. The prior quote by Perkins indicates it was likely a financial decision rather than result of a privately-held moral conviction. This begs the distinction that Perkins and his relatives/employees were eminently-connected – cousins in London, Smyrna, and perched high atop American society. The D’Wolfs were not Brahmin Bostonians with friends in high places and bottomless resources. Participation in the slave trade was rife with competition “marked by many bankruptcies:” hardly the environment favored by personalities like Perkins and his contemporaries who preferred a sure thing. The hyper-monopoly created by Perkins and Cushing, operated with lethal efficiency, was simply not possible in the Atlantic amid constant British naval patrols and hostile sentiment back home.⁶⁹

Whereas Boston was the epicenter of American seagoing might in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was also where most of America’s ships were built.⁷⁰ While the

⁶⁸ Haddad, 38.

⁶⁹ Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776-1867*, 13; Haddad makes many mentions of Perkins’ ambition and zeal for a strong monopolistic grip on the Turkish opium trade to Canton, including on page 32 of *America’s First Adventure in China*.

⁷⁰ Edward L. Glaeser, “Reinventing Boston: 1640-2003,” Harvard University National Bureau of Economic Research, December 2003, 16-17, <https://www.csus.edu/indiv/c/chalmersk/econ251fa12/glaeserboston.pdf>.

great merchants of Boston were sending their ships around the world to engage in the Canton trade, their shipbuilder counterparts were constructing the vessels that were facilitating the transatlantic slave trade. American shipbuilders, a significant number of them operating in and around Boston, saw their handiwork “become unquestionably predominant...[in] the contraband slave trade,” even “driving numerous British builders to bankruptcy.”⁷¹ William Henry Hurlbert mentions in his 1854 book *Gan-Eden* that “the demand for...new, handsome, and swift American barque[s]...is permanent, as after “a slave-ship has discharged her fearful cargo, she is usually scuttled and sunk.”⁷² American presence in the Atlantic broadly and Caribbean specifically – whether directly by middling merchant companies or indirectly through the ubiquity of American-built vessels – was increasing. This was most apparent in Cuba.

New Englanders, particularly Rhode Islanders, had settled in Cuba dating back to the first decade of the eighteenth century. The D’Wolfs, as well as former ship captains John Sabens and Joseph Oliver Wilson had established vast plantation estates there, worked by slave labor. In one case, Nathaniel Fellows, the descendant of a Boston merchant, had inherited three such estates and “rented a fourth” – overseeing “406 slaves distributed across them.”⁷³ Burgeoning populations in the northern United States spurred demand for such products as sugar and coffee. While early supply was in part sated by domestic sources in Louisiana, internal economic and political squabbles would squarely place the weight of American appetite on the Cuban plantations.⁷⁴ Protectionist tariffs in

⁷¹ Marques, 109.

⁷² *Slaves, Sugar, & Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801-1899*, edited by Louis A. Perez, Jr (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Books, 1992), 111-112.

⁷³ Marques, 110.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 122

1828, 1832 and 1833 empowered northern industry at the expense of southern states, hamstringing sugar plantations in Louisiana and in part facilitating New England entrepreneurial activity in Havana harbor.⁷⁵

This chance for profit was attractive to a sea-going American, filled with ambition and emboldened by a mentorship regime including Boston merchant royalty like Thomas Handasyd Perkins and John Perkins Cushing. Cast out by the Perkins juggernaut in late 1824, Tyng would operate as an independent contractor of sorts for various factions until the end of the decade, “first chartering and then purchasing a succession of vessels...voyaging...to Europe and the West Indies.”⁷⁶ In his memoir, the growing American interest in Cuba and its products is apparent, with Tyng increasingly more involved with the trade of sugar, molasses and coffee as the account reaches its conclusion. In 1833, when the narrative ends, Tyng is regularly shipping corn, among other cargoes to Havana, his ships returning to the United States – usually New York or Baltimore – with coffee.⁷⁷ The 1833 cutoff in Tyng’s memoir, when he is reeling from a bout of cholera, is curious given he wrote this account in 1878. The late 1820s and 1830s were a period of great changes in transatlantic trade and international politics – both which have influenced Tyng heavily by the time he appears again in the historical record.

⁷⁵ Richard E. Ellis, *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States’ Rights, and the Nullification Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 116.

⁷⁶ *Before the Wind*, 253.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 246-248.

CHAPTER 3

THE 1830s: NORTHERN MERCHANTS FLY SOUTH

The state of the economy in a given period often provides ample explanation for why an individual or a group of people move from place to place or choose to engage in a specific activity. The tumult of the political showdown between Jacksonian Democrats and Whigs surrounding tariffs in the United States in the antebellum period, effectively pitted the industrial, enterprising North against the agrarian, export-heavy South. Northern states favored international commerce and sought to increase influence on the western states and territories by facilitating open markets – at the expense of Southern export interests.⁷⁸ Corporate growth in the New England and Mid-Atlantic states greatly outpaced the South by a 76 percent to 20 percent margin, amid the rapid founding of more banks and triumph of Hamiltonian economics.⁷⁹ Tyng was the archetypal entrepreneur that the financial system during this period favored.

Concurrently, but not unrelated, the political divide was widening on the issue of slavery in the United States. This spurred the economic exile of some northern companies to the South where they could continue their slave trade-dependent businesses.

Connections to investors in northern cities ensured financing for the shipment of slaves from the west coast of Africa to Cuba.⁸⁰ Tyng's increasing appearances in New York and

⁷⁸ Douglas A. Irwin, "Antebellum Tariff Politics: Regional Coalitions and Shifting Economic Interests," *The Journal of Law & Economics* 51, no. 4 (2008): 735-737. This dichotomy had existed dating back to the Constitutional era, between Jeffersonian laissez-faire and Hamiltonian protectionist factions. Their words on the topic can be found in Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia, Query XIX (1780)," Teaching American History, 2018, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/notes-on-the-state-of-virginia-query-xix-manufactures/> and Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures (1791)," Digital History, 2016, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=265.

⁷⁹ Richard Sylla and Robert E. Wright, "Corporation Formation in the Antebellum United States in Comparative Context," *Business History* 55, no. 4 (2013): 662.

⁸⁰ Carole E. Scott, "The Very Different But Connected Economics of the Northeast and the South Before the Civil War," *Business Quest* 20 (2015): 5.

Baltimore, per his memoir, is commensurate with shifts in the sea-going economic landscape of the late 1820s and early 1830s. New York, amid a booming population and completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, had become “to feel...like the center of the universe.”⁸¹ Baltimore shipbuilders had gained wide acclaim for their “notoriously fast clippers.”⁸² What’s more, Tyng also followed the flight of northern merchants, though he went much further south – to Havana.

The afterword to his memoir describes Tyng as a “miniature Perkins, no longer a sailor but a merchant and shipowner with a line of credit exceeding a million dollars.”⁸³ His great-great-granddaughter writes that he and his wife, at some point after the memoir ends, moved to Cuba where he “continued his mercantile ventures, hiring others to captain ships that he owned.”⁸⁴ It should be emphasized that this is all that exists in published media about Tyng living in Cuba, or what he did when he lived and worked there. Granted, he was not unique in this case: many American merchants – including Boston Brahmins like Benjamin Burgess who owned B. Burgess & Co. – operated their commercial houses near Cuban harbors at Havana and Cienfuegos.⁸⁵ It appears American merchants exiled themselves in Cuba for the sake of running their businesses more efficiently and to avoid any economic or social sanction during a time of turbulent political morass as the United States neared Civil War.

The Panic of 1837 further compounded economic worry and stabilized American merchant resolve to move their businesses to the Caribbean. Uncertainty surrounding the

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸² Marques, 130.

⁸³ *Before the Wind*, 253.

⁸⁴ *Before the Wind*, xvi.

⁸⁵ Forbes, *Other Merchants*, 49.

financial stability of the United States amid Andrew Jackson's "Bank War," stemming from his "apparent personal vendetta against the Bank," caused markets to plummet.⁸⁶ Anxiety from Jacksonian financial policy, especially in the industrial North, was manifested in the closure of 194 of 729 chartered (corporate) banks in the first year of the crisis. Bank assets fell by 45 percent, "prices of banking, railroad, and industrial securities...plummeted," investment growth per capita fell by 7.6 percent, and output growth per capita fell by 1.4 percent.⁸⁷ While the American economy was in flux and unstable, shipbuilding still grew during the Panic of 1837 – a curious statistic that one must deduce owes to the flourishing slave trade. Marques states that American connections to the illicit traffic of Africans became more evident during his period, "with rumors that some vessels had [even] been specifically designed" for the slave trade to Cuba.⁸⁸ In one instance, a British Navy lieutenant recalls American shipbuilder John Chase telling him that his "[ships were] built expressly for the Slave Trade" and that "he would build as long as he could find purchasers."⁸⁹ Shipbuilders like Chase would find ready customers in Cuban-based American merchants.

3.1 The Cuban Economy and Merchant Capital

Tyng's specific rationale for relocating to Havana cannot be known as he did not identify why he moved his company there. Whether it was to escape social admonishment or economic struggle as a merchant engaged in the shipment of goods

⁸⁶ Jonathan M. Atkins, "Van Buren and the Economic Collapse of the Late 1830s," in *A Companion to the Antebellum Presidents*, ed. Joel H. Silbey (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2014), 133.

⁸⁷ Peter L. Rousseau, "Jacksonian Monetary Policy, Specie Flows, and the Panic of 1837," *The Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 2 (2002), 457.

⁸⁸ Marques, 130.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

produced by slave labor, it is undeniable that he would have gone to Cuba to, like his mentor Thomas Perkins many years earlier, maximize his profit despite the risks. When Tyng set up shop in Havana in the late 1830s, Cuba was undergoing significant political and economic change.⁹⁰ The British and Spanish in 1835 signed an amendment to their prior agreement in 1817 that had abolished the slave trade. New stipulations, outlined in 15 articles, sought to punish captains and crews of offending ships, as well as designated “articles of equipment” that would indicate either participation in or intent to participate in the slave trade including “extra mess gear, water barrels, lumber, and foodstuffs.”⁹¹ Amid financial hardship within the Empire, growing undercurrents of independence among colonials, and increasing American business presence on the island, Spain was gradually easing its grip on Cuba – while British influence steadily grew throughout the Atlantic.⁹² The result was less regulation on trade and industry on the island and increasing presence of foreign merchants and goods.

The economic crisis 1837 was felt not only in the United States, but in Great Britain and France as well – together, the three most prevalent commercial nations in the Atlantic. Concurrently, the financial health and gross domestic product of Cuba was soaring. The value of imports and exports to the island jumped over \$43 million from

⁹⁰ United States v. The Catharine, 26 FED.CAS.-22, 14,755 (New York Circuit Court, 1840). Tyng claims in his deposition for this case that his residence began at Havana in October 1837, where he was a ship broker and commission agent. We will find later that many of his statements were dubious, at best.

⁹¹ “Tribunal Legislation,” *Liberated Africans*, 2019, <http://liberatedafricans.org/history.php?kid=11-11-92285>; the text of the 1835 treaty can be found in both English and Spanish in Lewis Hertslet, *A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions, and Reciprocal Regulations, at Present Subsisting Between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, So Far as They Relate to Commerce and Navigation, to the Repression and Abolition of the Slave Trade, Volume 4* (London: Darling & Son, 1835), 440-479; further context of British attitudes toward abolition and the suppression of the slave trade in Maeve Ryan, “The Price of Legitimacy in Humanitarian Intervention: Britain, the Right of Search, and the Abolition of the West African Slave Trade, 1807-1867,” in *Humanitarian Intervention: A History*, ed. Brendan Simms and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 231-255.

⁹² Elena Schneider, “African Slavery and the Spanish Empire: Imperial Imaginings and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century Cuba and Beyond,” *Journal of Early American History* 5 (2015): 10, 27-29.

1836 to 1837 and grew another \$2 million from 1837 to 1838.⁹³ This new capital “moved elite merchant-planters [on Cuba] to [install] an infrastructure of flows exclusively designed” for the white sugar business. This was compounded by the completion of the first Cuban railroad in 1838, linking Havana to the sugar powerhouse of Güines.⁹⁴ All commercial aspects of sugar – production, refining, transport and conveyance to shippers – was streamlined thanks to the “deep pools of capital” that were now available to Cuba’s elite.⁹⁵ It was these merchant-planters, the de-facto gentry of the island, that had become “the world’s hungriest consumers of transatlantic slave labor,” with enslaved Africans accounting for 45 percent of Cuba’s total population by 1839.⁹⁶ The Panic of 1837 was a windfall for the slave trade to Cuba, and many were eager to take advantage of it.

The amended Anti-Slave Trade Treaty of 1835 between the British and Spanish “[spread] alarm” in Cuba, an economy entirely dependent on slavery for labor.⁹⁷ The gray area that existed at the time between British and their suppression of American involvement of the slave trade soon caused what historian Dale T. Graden describes as the onset of the “multinational character” of the Cuban slave trade. In 1837, American vessels began sailing from Cuba, flying the stars and stripes though chartered by Cuban-Spanish interests and carrying Cuban-Spanish cargoes. Research by Atlanticist historians studying the Havana slave trade found that often these ships would carry what are termed as “Coast Goods”: cooking tubs, utensils, shackles, water casks, small arms, gunpowder,

⁹³ Freeman Hunt, “Commerce of Cuba,” *The Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* (December 1843), 337.

⁹⁴ Louis S. Pérez, Jr. *Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 46.

⁹⁵ Daniel B. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 88.

⁹⁶ Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Viking, 2012), 20.

⁹⁷ Pérez, 109.

aguardente, dried beef, and manioc flour, to West Africa where these goods would be traded for slaves who were then embarked on either Spanish or Portuguese ships bound for Cuba.⁹⁸ This system was at the heart of what has been described as the most active period in Cuban slave trade history, the mid 1830s to early 1840s – the exact time period that Tyng moved to Havana and began to establish himself as a merchant. This activity was facilitated by five major firms mostly based in Havana, including Cuesta Manzanal & Hermano, Pedro Martinez & Company, and J. Robert & Company.⁹⁹

3.2 Havana's Slave Firms and a Corrupt Consul

The many trading firms of Havana harbor were, not surprisingly, multinational as well. Charles Tyng, his cargo consignment company, and their interactivity with the major shipping firms like Pedro Martinez & Company would not exactly be exceptional given the reach of the larger trading houses. Graden states that a firm like Martinez would have had contacts in “Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, St. Augustine, and New Orleans; Salvador and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; Cadiz, Spain; and Lisbon, Portugal,” and with slavers on the West Africa coast.¹⁰⁰ Many of these are locations that Tyng mentions traveling to in his memoir, including to Spain and Holland, in order to “settle accounts” and oversee the shipment of cargoes.¹⁰¹ Networking was the name of the game in the late 1830s and early 1840s in Havana: my research in the next

⁹⁸ Dale T. Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), 22.

⁹⁹ Edgardo Pérez Morales, “Tricks of the Slave Trade: Cuba and the Small-Scale Dynamics of the Spanish Transatlantic Slave Trade in Human Beings,” *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 91, no. 1-2 (2017): 25-29.

¹⁰⁰ Graden, 24.

¹⁰¹ *Before the Wind*, 210-227.

chapter will show how well-connected Tyng was, particularly to Pedro Martinez & Company, but to others like J. Robert & Company and the Zuluetas as well.¹⁰²

Of significant import to the trading houses in Havana and other parts of Cuba was the assurance that their work would be unimpeded in Cuba, with British patrols off the African coast the sole threat to their business.¹⁰³ Cuban slave traders – or *negreros* – had an ally in Nicholas Trist, student of Thomas Jefferson and husband of his granddaughter, who was the United States consul in Havana, a post he held since in 1833 when he was appointed by Andrew Jackson.¹⁰⁴ During his time as consul, Trist, a proponent of slavery, ran interference for *negreros* in Cuba. Before setting sail for Africa, “slave ship captains [would] request official papers that would protect against boarding by a cruiser of the British Squadron and potential seizure.” Trist was known to be accommodating and willing to grant these requests, “enabling U.S.-built slavers to depart from Havana on supposedly legitimate trading voyages to Africa.”¹⁰⁵

Graden states that “to the delight of a powerful bloc of traffickers based in Havana, Trist also took on the responsibilities of consul from Portugal” between 1838 and 1840 – the former consul sacked when he refused to issue fictitious documents that would allow for the continuation of the slave trade to Cuba. James Kennedy, one of the British commissioners at the British-Spanish mixed court, openly bemoaned that Trist

¹⁰² Tyng’s name is mentioned in the court documents of Pedro de Zulueta, who was charged with being engaged in the trade of slaves. “Trial of Pedro de Zulueta, On a Charge of Slave Trading, Under the 5 Geo. IV, Cap. 113, 1849,” Archive.org, 2019, https://archive.org/stream/trialpedrodezul00zulugoog/trialpedrodezul00zulugoog_djvu.txt.

¹⁰³ Other trading ports in Cuba included Matanzas, Cienfuegos, Cárdenas, Sugua la Grande, Trinidad, and Santiago de Cuba.

¹⁰⁴ The term “negreros” is found in Michael Zueske, *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*, trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2015), 198; Richard M. Ketchum, “The Thankless Task of Nicholas Trist,” *American Heritage Magazine*, August 1970, <https://www.americanheritage.com/thankless-task-nicholas-trist>.

¹⁰⁵ Graden, 27-29.

“signed all papers passed to him [from slaver captains],” and that for his troubles he “received consular fees [along with bribes] on close to 100 vessels.”¹⁰⁶ These activities went on unacknowledged by the American government until the high-profile case of the *Amistad* in 1839 brought to light Trist’s negligence of duty. Under pressure, “President Martin Van Buren recalled Trist to Washington to respond to accusations” that had been levied against him in court. The testimony of Richard Madden, the British superintendent of liberated Africans in Cuba, was particularly injurious to Trist, who faced allegations of crafting false documents to make captured Africans appear as Cuban-born slaves and possibly alerted traffickers to fly the American flag in order to “guard against...British search.”¹⁰⁷

The removal of Trist did not curb the illicit traffic of captive Africans, however. Following Trist’s recall to Washington, none other than Charles Tyng assumed the duty of signing consular documents in a position that could be best described as interim or acting consul. Given the continued proliferation of slave vessels embarking from Cuba evidenced by British reports, Tyng likely acted as a rubber stamp for slave ship captains. Tyng’s involvement in the slave trade as American consul was just the tip of the proverbial iceberg: he personally shipped cargoes aboard slave ships bound for Africa and was implicated in the cases of no less than fifteen of those ships. The next chapter provides the evidence of those cases.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 30. Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Sage of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 55, 106-107. While Jones’ *Mutiny on the Amistad* is a seminal work, two more recent publications also do an excellent job in examining the context and trial of the Cuban vessel: Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Viking, 2012) and the aforementioned book *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants* by Michael Zueske.

CHAPTER 4

TYNG IN HAVANA: EVIDENCE OF SLAVE TRADING

At the conclusion of his memoir in 1833, Tyng is absent from the historical record until 1839. We last hear from him when he is in New York, fresh off a six-day voyage from Havana and reeling from the early effects of cholera. By this time, he had been a successful ship owner and trader, engaging in international commerce and travel and seemed quite nomadic, not setting down roots in any one location. He jumps from Philadelphia to Havana to New York to London to Cadiz on a whim, supervising the exchange and handling of goods ranging from sugar to fruit to tobacco – anything he could turn for a profit.¹⁰⁸ Tyng hints at becoming more engaged in the coffee trade in Havana when the memoir ends, and it is reasonable to assume that he did so. It is documented in a legal deposition from 1839 that Tyng did not move to Havana and establish the trading house Tyng & Company until October 1837. In lieu of more information, it is reasonable to assume that he operated internationally per his memoir until the economic and political climate in the United States became untenable.

Beginning in 1839, thanks to British Treasury reports and Parliamentary papers, American Congressional and judicial documents, and newspaper reports, Tyng's activities in the late 1830s and 1840s come into sharp focus. Following his apparent concentration on the coffee trade between Cuba and the United States, his settlement in Havana meant that he became more acquainted with Cuban trading companies such as Pedro Martinez & Company. Without pursuing further research in locales such as

¹⁰⁸ Tyng, *Before the Wind*, 226-249.

Table 1: List Of Vessels That Implicate Charles Tyng

Vessel	Date, place of embarkation	Date, place of capture	Captor	Date, place of condemnation	Determined nationality	Tyng's role
<i>Catharine</i>	29 Jun 1839, Havana	30 Aug 1839, Cape St. Pauls	<i>Dolphin</i>	Oct 1839, New York	American	Co-owner of vessel
<i>Douglass</i>	Late summer 1839, Havana	21 Oct 1839, River Bras	<i>Termagant</i>	Released on technicality	American	Owner of cargo
<i>Asp</i>	17 Nov 1839, Havana	13 Jan 1840, River Bras	<i>Wolverine</i>	9 Mar 1840, Sierra Leone	Cuban-Spanish	Owner of cargo, agent of ship owner
<i>Lark</i>	Sept 1839, Havana	16 Jan 1840, River Nun	<i>Wolverine</i>	2 Mar 1840, Sierra Leone	Cuban-Spanish	Owner of cargo
<i>Hudson</i>		22 Feb 1840, San Pablo de Loanda				
<i>Eliza Davidson</i>	9 Jan 1840, Havana	4 Apr 1840, Shebar	<i>Wanderer</i>	18 Apr 1840, Sierra Leone	Cuban-Spanish	Owner of cargo
<i>Lone</i>		2 May 1840, San Pablo de Loanda				
<i>Seminole</i>		11 May 1840, Gallinas				
<i>Kite</i>		27 May 1840, San Pablo de Loanda				
<i>Plant</i>	Spring 1840, Havana	7 Jul 1840, Lagos	<i>Persian</i>	1 Sep 1840, Sierra Leone	Cuban-Spanish	Owner of cargo
<i>Echo</i>	6 Nov 1840, Havana	13 Jan 1841, Sierra Leone	<i>Wanderer</i>	5 Mar 1841	Hamburgian	Owner of cargo
<i>Julius & Edward</i>	Winter 1840	15 Feb 1841, Pointe-Noire	<i>Persian</i>	Acquitted, Bremen	Bremer	Owner of cargo
<i>Boston</i>	July 1843	1843, Rio de Janeiro				
<i>Spitfire</i>	25 Dec 1844	Early 1845, Cape Verde				

Archivo Nacional de la República de Cuba, it is unknown how many companies he may have interacted with. Nonetheless, it appears Martinez & Company was a close ally of Tyng during his early years in Cuba: some in the Royal Navy speculated that Tyng was no more than an agent, his company a front for his engaging in illicit business with the

“notorious” Martinez & Company.¹⁰⁹ Sources show Tyng not only wrapped up in the wares of known slave trading firms, but he himself engaging in such activity and going to significant lengths to deter attention and otherwise thwart attempts at prosecution and suppression.

In order to wade through the various incidences and cases involving Tyng and British and American authorities policing the Atlantic during the late 1830s and 1840s, I have chosen to present my research chronologically. I have identified fourteen ships that Charles Tyng either owned or otherwise had interest in, stretching from 1839 to 1844. Some cases were quickly condemned and exit the historical record, others persisted years after appeals were made. The effort so far in this paper has been to contextualize the world in which these events occur, and now I present the events themselves.

4.1 The *Catharine*

Tyng, by the middle of 1839, appears fully entrenched in the African trade. There is no mention of him explicitly shipping goods to or from the west coast of Africa throughout his memoir, so this is likely a new development. Evidence of this is his sudden appearance in documentation of slave trade suppression efforts. The first source in which Tyng is mentioned after 1833 is in the October 18, 1839 edition of *The Liberator*, a Boston-based abolitionist newspaper that was founded by notable social reformer William Lloyd Garrison – like Tyng, born in Newburyport, though almost three and a half years younger. This article did not extoll the good virtue and character of

¹⁰⁹ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1841), 28.

Garrison's fellow "townsman" – instead it showed Tyng as chartering a vessel that had been detained for involvement in the slave trade.¹¹⁰ The capture and case of the American schooner *Catharine* appears in numerous volumes from both American and British governments. It is notable for a few reasons – not just for the interest of Tyng, but for the greater effort of the suppression of the slave trade as well. Much of the article from *The Liberator* is lifted from court documents that were then summarized and collated by the northern district court in New York under case number 14,755.

The *Catharine* was a brand-new Baltimore-built ship initially owned by Robert W. Allen and John Henderson, merchants based in Baltimore. A few weeks after the ship had been registered, it was sailed to Havana and brokered by Charles Tyng who sold the ship to Pedro Martinez & Company for \$7,750. Upon purchase, per the federal case summary, Tyng was then, as an agent of Martinez & Company, asked to charter out the vessel as the new owners had "discovered some objections to the vessel." John S. Thrasher contracted the schooner at \$300 a month for an eight-month voyage – under the command of a Captain Peterson – to the west coast of Africa with the intention of selling a cargo including "one-hundred half-pipes of brandy...and two thousand two hundred and seventy-five bales of leaf tobacco."¹¹¹ However, before sailing, the *Catharine* was sold to Simón de Terán, but it was agreed to that Tyng would maintain interest in the vessel until cargoes were offloaded in Principe.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Fels makes note of the fact in her Book TV presentation that Tyng felt camaraderie with fellow Newburyporters and often sought them out when in port overseas. I find it ironic that the first mention of Tyng involved in the slave trade is by someone from Newburyport.

¹¹¹ United States v. The *Catharine*; "U.S. Court – Charge of Being Engaged in the Slave-Trade," *The Liberator* (Boston), October 18, 1839; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997): 661.

¹¹² United States v. The *Catharine*, 3.

On August 30, 1839, the *Catharine* was captured and seized by the British brig *Dolphin* near Cape Saint Pauls on the “pretence...she was a slaver; and though sailing under American colors, was, in reality, owned by Spaniards.”¹¹³ Upon search of the vessel, it was found that although no slaves were aboard, there were 600 wooden spoons, 350 pairs of handcuffs, and planks “cut ready to install a slave deck, vividly suggesting the purpose of the voyage.”¹¹⁴ The familiar refrain of being “equipped for the slave trade” is found in all Tyng incidents but one that I have found, pursuant to the equipment clause in the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1822, which Spain accepted in 1835.¹¹⁵ Citing the equipment clause, the *Catharine* could be seized and condemned if courts found compelling evidence and intent. Also onboard was found a letter written by Thrasher containing directions for the eight-month voyage, plans for the construction for a slave deck, and names of crewmembers who were not present – likely an alibi for the presence of excess rations.¹¹⁶ What’s more, Peterson was found to have on his person “instructions from the owners telling him how to convince a boarding party that the Spaniards and Portuguese on board were passengers” and not slave traders.¹¹⁷

Following capture, the *Catharine*, Peterson, an American seaman named Michael who was aboard, and Joseph Pereyra, the cargosuper, were transferred to Sierra Leone for adjudication. Judges there, citing the American colors flown on the ship, argued they did not have jurisdiction to try the vessel and its interested parties. In an uncommon move, British authorities chose to forward the case to United States, which took custody on

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, 661.

¹¹⁵ W. E. F. Ward, *The Royal Navy and the Slavers: The Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), 119; “Liberated Africans,” Turks and Caicos Museum, 2018, <https://www.tcmuseum.org/culture-history/slavery/liberated-africans/>.

¹¹⁶ United States v. The *Catharine*, 5-6.

¹¹⁷ Thomas, 661.

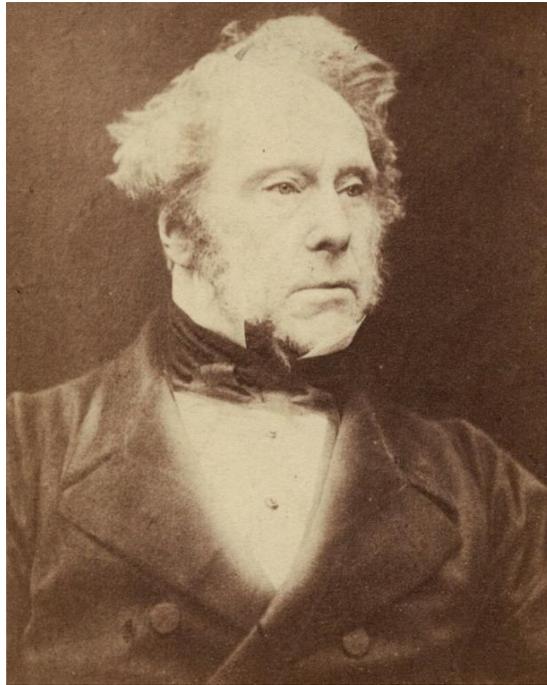


Figure 3: H. J. Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston
Daguerreotype taken March 30, 1857. National
Portrait Gallery, London.

October 6, 1839 – Pereyra committed suicide the day after.¹¹⁸ After deposing Michael and Peterson, the district court ruled in favor of Tyng, asserting American citizenship, who had filed a claim for the ship, stating that he was the actual owner of the ship at time of capture, that the ship “had not been engaged in the slave trade, and that he never intended to employ her in such a trade.”¹¹⁹ The grounds of the ruling were nebulous at best, a deference to the a bill passed in Congress thirty-nine years prior that the appearance of the vessel as “American in character” only for the first leg of the voyage when no slaves were aboard essentially absolved wrongdoing and “could not lead to a conviction for slave dealing.”¹²⁰ Further deliberation in the Supreme Court spurred the chief justice, Roger Brooke Taney, to announce the *Catharine* case as a “disgrace on the United States...[and] on Baltimore,” subsequently ordering the “condemnation and confiscation” of the *Catharine*.¹²¹

Tyng had now been implicated in the slave trade for the first time – and the case brought national attention. The *United States v. The Catharine* suit had set a benchmark in anti-slavery case law in the United States. The “scandal of the frequent use of United States flags by slavers” as the *Catharine* did cause President Van Buren to “mount [anti-slave trade] patrols on the African coast for the first time since the 1820s.”¹²² British policing of the trade was also influenced by the capture of the *Catharine* and other slave vessels in mid-1839: Lord Palmerston, who was the Foreign Secretary for the Crown during this period, sought to quell limitations on British authority in the Atlantic. The

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*; *United States v. The Catharine*, 6.

¹¹⁹ *United States v. The Catharine*, 4.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8-10.

¹²¹ Thomas, 661.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 661-662.

Palmerston Act of 1839, passed in August of that year, handed the entire Atlantic to the West Africa Squadron, with the British now able to effectively suppress the trade south of the equator.¹²³ The Act further ensured proliferation of the equipment clause, which now applied to virtually all vessels the Royal Navy might come across.¹²⁴ It is not clear if these two developments caused more Tyng ships to be captured or not, but it could be argued. Nonetheless, Tyng appears several more times in quick succession after Van Buren's order and the Palmerston Act.

4.2 The *Douglass*

Less than two months after the capture of the *Catharine* and three days after contemporaneous reports reached the United States mainland of said capture and adjudication in *The Liberator*, a second Tyng ship became entangled in slave trade suppression efforts. The case of the *Douglass* did not garner the widespread notoriety that the *Catharine* did, though it is an excellent example of British and American relations at the time – the latter viewing the former with skepticism and distrust.¹²⁵ Charles Tyng was a charterer of the vessel, itself based at the port of Duxbury, Massachusetts, some 35 miles south of Boston harbor. According to executive documents of the twenty-sixth United States Congress and corroborating British sources including a catalog of the correspondence of the British commissioners at Sierra Leone and Havana, the owner of the vessel, Charles D. Brown, agreed to a contract with Tyng at Havana for the shipping

¹²³ Ryan, 242-244.

¹²⁴ L.M. Bethell, "Britain, Portugal and the Suppression of the Brazilian Slave Trade: The Origins of Lord Palmerston's Act of 1839," *The English Historical Review* 80, no. 317 (1965): 772.

¹²⁵ The spelling "Douglass" and "Douglas" are used interchangeably throughout parliamentary and congressional documents. I will use "Douglass," the most often-used spelling.

of “only...rum, clothes, tobacco, and frame and board for a house” to “the Rio Brass, or Bonny, on the coast of Africa.”¹²⁶

The captain of the vessel was Alvin Baker, a native of Duxbury. Baker refers to “Don Carlos Tyng” in the bill of lading before the ship sailed from Havana.¹²⁷ This is the first instance of this alias – evidence that the methods of deception with which Tyng was now extending to his name and nationality. This as a crackdown on American citizens and colors on the Atlantic and begun at the behest of Van Buren and Palmerston following the case of the *Catharine* and other vessels earlier in 1839. Also mentioned, alongside Tyng, is the individual who was identified to receive the cargo: Don Pablo Frexas, a “well-known slave trader.”¹²⁸ Baker’s deposition, held before a notary-public and justice of the peace almost two and a half years after the capture of the *Douglass*, has been described in the W. E. F. Ward book *The Royal Navy and the Slavers* as replete “with very strong and insulting language.”¹²⁹ The text of the deposition, found in British parliamentary papers from 1843, shows Baker to be forceful in his protest of the ship being detained for participating in the slave trade. An erstwhile letter from the United States minister to the United Kingdom, Edward Everett, himself a Boston native, described the action taken by Lieutenant Seagram of the capturing vessel *Termagant*,

¹²⁶ *The Executive Documents, Twenty-Sixth Congress, Second Session* (Washington, D.C.: United States Congress, 1841), 358; *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 99. Spellings of “Brass” and “Bonny” have been found as “Bras” and “Bony” – I am using the spellings most commonly used.

¹²⁷ *The Executive Documents, Twenty-Sixth Congress*, 358.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*; *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1843), 243; the spellings “Freiras” and “Frexas” are used and is understood to be the same individual.

¹²⁹ Ward, 147.

among others, as “one of the greatest aggravations of the wrong inflicted on American commerce by interruption in the African seas.”¹³⁰

Upon receipt of this accusation, Seagram is steadfast in his resolve in a March 1841 declaration submitted to the commissioners of the Admiralty. Upon detaining the *Douglass* on October 21, 1839, Seagram had intention to send the vessel to the United States for adjudication given its apparent nationality, as had been done with the *Catharine* and other apparently American vessels, including the *Eagle* and *Clara*. Apparent ambiguity in orders following the capture, largely due to uncertainty regarding the legality of capturing an American vessel, resulted in the *Douglass* being arrested in open ocean alongside the *Termagant* for eight days.¹³¹ Seagram describes incivility and reluctance to cooperate by Baker and the crew of the *Douglass*. The presence of a Spanish crew, the fact the ship had sailed from Havana, that it was headed for “a river where no trade but the Slave Trade is carried on,” and that there was no custom-house clearance aboard caused “strong suspicions to be excited.”¹³² Seagram goes further, describing that evidence for the *Douglass*’ involvement in the slave trade was compounded by the cargo being shipped to Frexas, a “notorious” slaver, and that in accordance with the charter party, in which Tyng was the charterer, the ship had aboard “leaguers, hoops and staves, slave tiers, plank and other fittings for a slave ship...and that [there] three complete slave coppers in her hold at the time.” Slave coppers, known as slave hire badges, were neck tags that identified “all that would ever be known” of an

¹³⁰ *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30, 237.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 243; *The Royal Navy and the Slavers*, 147.

¹³² *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30, 243.*

individual.¹³³ Don Pablo Frexas is said to have believed that a slaver sailing under the American flag was “well protected,” the assistant surgeon of the *Termagant* testifying that Frexas also stated “that he would not put a cargo of slaves on board the *Douglass* for she sailed badly, and that he had some beautiful vessels coming out which would outstrip our cruisers in sailing.”¹³⁴

The eight-day detention of the vessel was found to be illegal as Palmerston himself admitted that the evidence against the ship was nonetheless “slender” and that “nothing could justify detaining [the *Douglass*] for more than a week.”¹³⁵ This case underscores the confusion that was present within the West Africa Squadron at the time, in part stemming from prior cases in which a ship flying American colors was captured. Following “falling in” with the *Douglass* on October 21, 1839, Seagram writes that he had “an expectation of obtaining some intelligence from the senior officer...that would enable me to proceed against [the vessel].” He further states that because “no intelligence had yet arrived from the United States respecting the American flag and knowing the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone had no power over that flag,” he freed the *Douglass* on October 30. Seagram also cautions “serious misunderstandings,” and defers to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.¹³⁶ This would help to give rise to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842, an agreement between Britain and the United States

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 243-244; Victoria Dawson, “Copper Neck Tags Evoke the Experience of American Slaves Hired Out as Part-Time Laborers,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2003, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/copper-neck-tags-evoke-experience-american-slaves-hired-out-part-time-laborers-76039831/>.

¹³⁴ *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30*, 245.

¹³⁵ Ward, 148-149.

¹³⁶ *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30*, 246-247.

which required dual patrols – American and British ships scouting together – assuring the American flag could no longer be used as a deterrent.¹³⁷

In retrospect, and as Ward asserts, the evidence against the *Douglass* does suggest involvement in the slave trade.¹³⁸ It is apparent that Tyng with the *Catharine* and *Douglass* was sure to have what was unquestionably Cuban, therefore Spanish, cargo sailing under the American flag to achieve a measure of immunity and otherwise blur the lines of what was legal and what was not. This case shows Tyng dealing with a known slave trader in Frexas, which would support the charge that he was an aider and abettor of the slave trade. It is also apparent the chameleon-like character Tyng assumed, referred to variably as Charles Tyng or Don Carlos Tyng – British authorities growing unsure whether he was an American citizen living in Havana, an American who had become a naturalized Spanish citizen, or later, a full-fledged Spanish citizen.¹³⁹

4.3 The *Asp*

The first Tyng-interested vessel of many captured in 1840 was the schooner *Asp*. Built in Baltimore like the *Catharine*, the *Asp* was on its second voyage at the time of capture, the first being from Baltimore, under an American captain named William Knight, laden with rice for Havana. British parliamentary reports show the *Asp* as having been built to order for Pedro Martinez & Company, who took custody of the vessel upon its arrival in Havana in November 1839. A report written by Her Majesty's Commissioners Doherty and Hook at Sierra Leone and addressed to Lord Palmerston

¹³⁷ Ward, 149.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Tyng is referred to as an American citizen, naturalized Spanish citizen, or native Spanish citizen, with the alias Carlos Tyng in multiple reports found throughout the HCA 35 Treasury report series.

states that it was at this point that Charles Tyng – identified as a naturalized Spanish citizen – while “acting as an agent for the vessel and shipper of cargo, the better to keep a name so notorious as Martinez and Co., out of view,” placed the crew and had the vessel loaded with “a quantity of specie and tobacco.” This ship was to sail to Bight of Benin, to either the “Rio Nun or Brass” – and, per the *Asp*’s flag-captain Wilson L. Weems, embarked from Havana on November 17, 1839.¹⁴⁰

The contemporaneous testimony of Weems, “in a good measure corroborated and in no respect shaken by...the Spanish steward of the vessel,” is damning. He explains the ship belonged to Simón de Terán, the acting partner of Pedro Martinez & Company, with whom Tyng was a regular associate during this time. Weems tells the commissioners that after setting out from Havana, the *Asp* “touched nowhere until she reached the mouth of the Nun,” a river formed by a split of the Niger River in what is present-day Nigeria. It was his belief that the money received for the specie and tobacco was to be used to purchase slaves, who were to be boarded “a few miles up the river” where the *Asp* anchored for three days. On January 16, 1840, boats from Her Majesty’s sloop *Wolverine* made contact and captured the schooner.¹⁴¹

Present onboard the *Asp* were “many iron bars proper for securing the hatches, spare planks intended for a slave-deck, leaguers and casks half filled with fresh water capable of holding 90 pipes and intended to carry water for slaves, and 70 or 80 bags of rice in the cargo intended for slaves and crew.”¹⁴² Weems further testified that while the

¹⁴⁰ “Report of the Case of the Spanish schooner ‘Asp,’” March 12, 1840, HCA 35/52, The National Archives of the UK, London, 107-109.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 109-110; further corroborated in *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 28-29.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

Wolverine's boats were inbound, cargo consisting of "a barrel of shackles, a box of mess-tins, and one large iron boiler" as well as "the papers of a private journal kept by the Spaniard Francisco" were all dispatched to shore in effort of minimizing evidence. The Spanish steward of the vessel, Manuel Arrojo, independently attested that "articles [onboard] were intended...for a cargo of slaves."¹⁴³ The commissioners Doherty and Hook list seven papers found on the *Asp*, among them the ship's permanent register "dated at Baltimore on the 2nd of October 1839," the muster roll and seamen's articles, a custom house clearance and bill of lading "declaring the shipper of the cargo to be Charles or Don Carlos Tyng," the personal passport for supercargo Don Ramon Garcia Bior, and "a very imperfect ship's log, written in English."¹⁴⁴

The *Asp* was then taken to Sierra Leone for adjudication and was condemned on March 9, 1840 by the British-Spanish Mixed Commission Court. Doherty and Hook agree in their report that the evidence and testimonies of Weems and Arrojo were more than satisfactory to find the ship and its crew guilty of involvement in the slave trade, pursuant to the equipment clause. The official copy of the sentence of condemnation issued at Sierra Leone outlines in stark terms the facts of the case: though the ship had been flying American colors, the ship was undeniably Spanish as it was built "on order and account of the Havana House of Pedro Martinez & Co.," and that outfitting and loading of cargoes were carried out by Knight and Tyng.¹⁴⁵

The sentence says that it was Tyng who directed the ship to sail "directly for the Bight of Benin" and to "land her cargo for the immediate purchase of slaves at the mouth

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴⁵ HCA 35/52, 111-112.

of the Rio Nun or Brass.”¹⁴⁶ The case of the *Asp* is the first time British Admiralty singles out Tyng as likely directing the individuals he placed aboard a vessel to carry out the purchasing of slaves. The *Wolverine* did not give pause to pursuing a ship flying the American flag, which had caused “severe misunderstandings” before. No appeal was filed challenging the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, and the net proceeds for sale of the schooner after expenditures was £289.6 Sterling.¹⁴⁷

4.4 The *Lark*

Only three days after the seizure of the *Asp*, its “sister ship” *Lark*, flying the American flag, was likewise captured in the River Nun by the *Wolverine*. While the record is brief with immediate regard to the *Lark* compared to the preceding captures, much can be gleaned from later instances. It would appear in more ways than one this schooner was a sister ship to the *Asp*: the “same characters” of Terán and Tyng appear once again in their respective roles as ship owner and charterer, the ship was Baltimore-built, and that the crew consisted of both Americans and Spaniards.¹⁴⁸ The permanent register aboard the vessel showed the build date to be April 22, 1839, whereas a muster roll gave the departure date for a four-month voyage from Havana as September 1839. While not explicitly stated, it is reasonable to assume that like the *Asp*, the *Lark* was also built for Pedro Martinez & Company.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 30, 76.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

Terán, and likely Tyng, chose “the well-known Spanish Captain” Juan Barba to command and act as supercargo for the *Lark*, himself a part-owner of the vessel and therefore given considerable latitude in choosing where to take the vessel when at sea.¹⁵⁰ The Royal Navy knew Barba well, capturing him and charging him twice for engaging in the slave trade for his roles as supercargo and real master of the slave ships *Mary Ann Cassard* and *Violante*. Commissioners Doherty and Hook state Barba’s “experience of the efficacy of the America flag in the first of those occasions was sufficient to determine him to resort it again, in a new adventure in the traffic, to the expected protection of the same colors.” The third time was not successful for Barba, as his vessel was captured soon after anchoring in the River Nun on January 16, 1840.¹⁵¹

The cargo found aboard the *Asp* by the *Wolverine*’s crew consisted of “five pairs of shackles and bolts, water-casks for 70 pipes of water all filled with water, 20 mess kits, two iron boilers, 100 bags of rice, and 24 [bags] of farina.” Papers on board including the permanent register, a charter-party document like the one found on the *Asp* that listed all interested individuals including Terán and Tyng, the muster roll, seamen’s articles, and “American protection for the flag-captain [T. M.] Solomon.”¹⁵²

Commissioners Doherty and Hook deposed both Solomon and the ship’s cook, a Spaniard, to gather evidence for the court case against the *Lark*. The deposition, written into the record on March 14, 1840, almost two months after the capture of the ship, is found in parliamentary papers alongside the *Asp* report. Solomon, a native of

¹⁵⁰ I say “likely Tyng” because it was usually the owner of the cargo who designated the supercargo for a voyage. While Tyng is oddly not directly implicated in the immediate documentation of this case, he is mentioned as acting in the same role for the *Lark* as he did with the *Asp* in later cases, including the *Eliza Davidson*.

¹⁵¹ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 30.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 29-30.

Philadelphia, testifies that the 15 Spaniards aboard the *Lark* were not passengers as listed in the register but were in fact crew and that he was aware that the owners of the vessel were Simón de Terán and Juan Barba. Solomon tells the commissioners that the ship, after departing Havana, landed at Nun where “tobacco, beads, and 2000 feet of plank” were discharged, and then proceeded to St. Thomas to take on “farina and water” before sailing back to Nun where it was captured by the *Wolverine*. The deposition states that the *Lark* was to return to Havana after reaching Nun from St. Thomas, and that Solomon “supposed” provisions onboard, including water and rice, were “for the use and consumption of a return cargo of slaves.”¹⁵³ The Spanish cook corroborated Solomon’s testimony, affirming the “course of trade and equipment” and that the Spanish passengers aboard were indeed crewmembers.

The commissioners write in their report that the case of the *Lark* is relatively unremarkable and “does not differ from that of other American-Spanish vessels which have been before the Court” and that the evidence, information and papers relating to the case “sufficed to establish the Spanish ownership of the vessel, and her Spanish course of trade.” Doherty and Hook explicitly state that it was the testimony of Solomon, “who withheld nothing,” that “was in all respects conclusive against her.”¹⁵⁴ The ship was successfully condemned on March 9, 1840 at the British and Spanish Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, pursuant to the equipment clause. The British Treasury reports on the ship provide a detailed account of the expenses incurred and proceeds gained from the

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

capture of the *Lark* – the net proceeds amounting to £216.0.3, paid into the Military Chest of Sierra Leone.¹⁵⁵

Tyng's name appears alongside Simón de Terán's name when commissioners refer to the "ladens, consignees, and...owners of the cargo" of the ships *Asp* and *Lark* during the adjudication of the brig *Eliza Davidson*.¹⁵⁶ Despite Tyng not appearing explicitly in the contemporary reports, he is later identified as the likely owner of cargo on the *Lark*. It is likely, given the close timeframe and similarity in voyages, that Tyng was once again acting as an agent for Terán, who was a partner for Pedro Martinez & Company. Like the *Asp*, the *Lark* was another case where despite the flying of the American flag the ship was ultimately determined to be a Spanish (Cuban) vessel and liable to be tried in Sierra Leone.

4.5 Tyng as Acting Consul in Havana

With American Consul to Cuba Nicholas Trist recalled to Washington during the fallout of the *Amistad* affair, Charles Tyng "took over the responsibility of signing consular documents" at Havana. In this role, Tyng allowed slave ships to sail for the coast of Africa – among them, the *Hudson*, *Plant*, *Lone*, *Seminole*, and *Kite*.¹⁵⁷ These ships stand apart from the others examined in this paper, as it appears Tyng did not have business interest in the vessels themselves. Curiously, all ships save the *Plant* are not found in British Treasury volumes and are only quickly referenced in American

¹⁵⁵ "Report of the Case of the Spanish schooner 'Lark,'" July 30, 1840, HCA 35/50, TNA, London, 338-341.

¹⁵⁶ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 76.

¹⁵⁷ Graden, 30.

congressional and British parliamentary papers. It is not immediately clear why that is – the *Hudson*, *Lone*, *Seminole*, and *Kite* are identified as American schooners while the *Plant* is identified as an American brig.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that the four schooners were all adjudicated by American authorities while the brig was tried and condemned at Sierra Leone.

The *Hudson*, along with the *Plant*, the *Lone*, the *Seminole* and the *Kite* are mentioned in the Executive Documents of the twenty-sixth United States Congress, published in 1841. An excerpt is included in this publication of a “dispatch from Her Majesty’s commissioners at the Havana, dated June 13, 1840.” The excerpt lists 21 ships that had been sent to the coast of Africa from Havana over the prior four months – of these, 10 sailed under the Portuguese flag, eight under the American flag, and three under the Spanish flag. Charles Tyng is identified as clearing out “no fewer than five” of the American vessels. The first of these was the *Hudson* on February 22, bound for San Pablo de Loanda; followed by the *Plant* on May 2, bound for Lagos; the *Lone* on May 2, bound for San Pablo de Loanda; the *Seminole* on May 11, bound for Gallinas; and the *Kite* on May 27, bound for San Pablo de Loanda. The extract states that despite efforts to quell it, “there still continues the abuse of the flag of the United States to the same increasing degree as last year, notwithstanding the attention of the United States Government has been so strongly directed to the correction of the evil.”¹⁵⁹ As the *Plant* is

¹⁵⁸ *The Executive Documents, Twenty-Sixth Congress*, 215.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 214-215. Loanda is the present-day capital and primary port city of Angola in southwestern Africa; Gallinas refers to the area around the mouth of the Gallinas River in present-day Liberia, a nineteenth-century hotbed of slaving activity; Lagos is located in present-day Nigeria near the country’s border with Benin, and is currently the most populous metropolis on the continent of Africa.

the only one of these vessels reported on substantively by British authorities, it is the only vessel that can be examined to any effect.

It appears that of the five ships listed in the British dispatch, the *Plant* was the only vessel of which Tyng had direct interest – more specifically, he owned the vessel. Sailing from Havana to the coast of Africa on May 2, the *Plant* was captured by the British sloop *Persian* on July 7, 1840 off Badagry near Lagos, a well-known slave port.¹⁶⁰ Commissioners Walter W. Lewis and Doherty outline what is perhaps the most damning case to date for Tyng, including in their report a lengthy deposition of the master of the *Plant*, John Penison Couthouy, a Boston native and acquaintance of Charles Tyng. After towing the ship into the harbor of Sierra Leone on July 24, proceedings began in the British and Spanish Mixed Commission Court because although the *Plant* had been sailing under American colors, it was adjudged to be a Spanish vessel. The owners of the cargo, which was “intended for the purchase of slaves,” was the “well-known slaving-house of Abrea and Mazorra.” The commissioners write that, as Spanish law had made the slave trade illegal, the American flag was flown to stave off attention and capture.¹⁶¹

Lewis and Doherty list all papers found onboard the *Plant*, which included: the registration papers of the *Plant*, which had been built in 1818 at Amesbury, Massachusetts; a cargo manifest signed only by Charles Tyng; a cargo invoice addressed from Charles Tyng; voyage instructions for Couthouy from Tyng; and a sealed packet of correspondence that ordered “the cargo...to be wholly employed in the purchase of

¹⁶⁰ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 153.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

slaves.”¹⁶² Couthouy testified in his deposition that he received “command and possession” of the vessel from Tyng, who was the “sole owner” of the *Plant*. He says that the cargo consisted of “specie, Spanish brandy, and dry goods” and that the ship lacked equipment for transporting slaves. The steward of the ship, James Carson, further testified that the *Plant* was carrying “more [water] than requisite for the use of the brig’s crew.” The British commissioners state that indeed the *Plant* was holding 2,360 gallons of water.¹⁶³

An interesting twist to the story began shortly after the captor’s case was “closed,” when Couthouy submitted his defense claim. Nathaniel Hoyt, acting as witness on behalf of Couthouy, was interrogated in order to provide supplementary information to the commissioners. Hoyt was a longtime associate of Tyng’s, himself a former “Indiaman” and New England native. He describes Tyng as a “former mariner and [commander of] the *Bashaw*, Indiaman out of Boston” who was now a merchant and commission-merchant whose “domicile at present may be considered to be New York, but [he] often resides at Boston.” Hoyt describes Tyng’s business in Havana as “the purchase of box, sugar, and logwood, for Russia; for which he returns at Boston of hemp [*sic*], canvass, iron, sheeting, and cordage.” He further testifies that Tyng’s concern as “in the house of Twing and Perkins of Boston, and in that of Norton of New York.”¹⁶⁴ To this point, this is the most biographical information that exists of Tyng outside of his own memoirs, and it is all inaccurate. Hoyt’s testimony appears to be a string of lies to cover

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 155-156.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

for his friend of 17 years. While Tyng likely did visit New York and Boston from time to time, he most definitely lived permanently with his wife and family in Havana.

The Court knew better, and apparently knew enough of Tyng to realize his antics in trying to pass his ships and/or cargoes as American when they had “bona fide Spanish character” and thus could be adjudged in the British and Spanish Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone.¹⁶⁵ In deciding proper jurisdiction, the Court then had to decide whether the excessive number of water casks found aboard the *Plant* were sufficient evidence to deliver a guilty charge. To determine this, the Court established what was a “legal” quantity of water: one gallon per man per day. Given that the *Plant* had aboard ten men and the voyage was agreed to be 70 days in duration, 700 gallons was the allowable amount of water. The fact that “237 percent” of this amount was found aboard meant guilt was established and the *Plant* was then condemned at Sierra Leone in early September 1840.¹⁶⁶

4.6 The *Eliza Davidson*

The fourth vessel found to be a product of the Martinez & Company and Tyng alliance, the *Eliza Davidson* is the only Tyng-interested vessel that was captured with slaves aboard. A 12-year-old New York-built brig, the *Eliza Davidson* was based in Baltimore and owned by James Corner and James J. Corner before sailing to Havana in 1840.¹⁶⁷ The *Eliza Davidson* shares similarities with the *Catharine* – particularly, the African voyage undertaken by the vessels coincided with conveyance of ownership,

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

¹⁶⁷ This is not a typo. *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 72-73.

leaving open the ambiguity of jurisdiction and liability should the vessels be detained. Like the *Catharine*, the *Eliza Davidson* was determined to be owned by Simón de Terán at the time of capture and therefore of Spanish and not American nationality.

Chartered by Terán's Martinez & Company and laden with cargo belonging to Tyng, the *Eliza Davidson* set sail from Havana on January 9, 1840 and arrived off Gallinas, south of Sierra Leone, on February 26. After arrival on the African coast, the crew of the *Eliza Davidson* "landed [the ship's] Havana cargo at the slave factory of Jose Alvaraez on the Gallinas" and were employed "in shipping at Shebar and the Plantain Islands in this neighbourhood a cargo of rice for that person." During this period, commissioners Doherty and MacDonald note that the vessel was visited by British cruisers three times before finally being captured by the sloop *Wanderer* on March 4. Upon arrival in Sierra Leone on March 8, charges were filed in the British and Spanish Mixed Commission Court and a witness docket was created. Depositions began in earnest on March 11.¹⁶⁸

The first to testify was the ship master, an American and Baltimore native named Alexander B. Hanna. He told the commissioners that after offloading the Havana cargo at Gallinas to Alvarez, the ship took on 60 tons of rice at Shebar and 70 more tons of rice at the Plantain Islands and that the whole cargo was "intended for Alvarez." It was while at anchor off the Plantain Islands that the *Wanderer* made contact and placed the *Eliza Davidson* under arrest. Hanna further testified that he believed the owners of the vessel and of the Havana cargo to be Terán and Tyng, and that he personally had carried on correspondence with Terán regarding "concerns of the vessel and cargo." Hanna, when

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

pressed, denied involvement in the slave trade but “admitted that the vessel was provided with the means of carrying 2000 gallons of water.” Given the outcome of the *Plant* case, this was incriminating.¹⁶⁹

The commissioners also deposed Charles Knoff, the ship’s steward who identified as an Englishman. While he lacked knowledge of the owners of the ship or the cargo, he testified “to the existence of a still greater number of water casks than that stated by the master.” Doherty and MacDonald posit Knoff’s deposition of “additional particulars” as being of “the greatest importance.” These particulars included the embarkation of two boys “libelled as slaves” at Gallinas, obtained from Alvarez. Knoff states that he overheard Hanna saying that the boys were from the Alvarez factory at Gallinas and that they were to be his apprentices. With this now known, Hanna was deposed a second time and admitted the slaves were named Enjahe and Wurrah. He stated that he did not know for sure, but thought it was probable that Alvarez was a slave trader as he saw “30 or 40 negroes chained” in a “large building at Lombokorrow, a place at which Alvarez was a leading man.”¹⁷⁰

The Court at Sierra Leone ruled that the two boys taken on at Gallinas “cannot [be] considered...in any other light than that of slaves” and emancipated them from slavery. The Court also stated that in addition to the slaves, “one undeniable article of equipment, namely, a supply of water casks, declared by surveyors to this court to be more than sufficient for her as a licit trader.” The final judgment of the ship found that, despite the American colors being flown, the fact that the ship was chartered by Terán and Tyng, agents of Martinez & Company of Havana, was “sufficient to establish a

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

Spanish character beyond doubt or cavil.” Lord Palmerston and the Advocate General of the British Navy concurred, and the *Eliza Davidson* was condemned in court on April 18, 1840. By May 26, the hull, tackle, apparel, furniture and stores had been auctioned off for £975.12.6.¹⁷¹

The case of the *Eliza Davidson*, like that of the other four vessels involving Tyng as agent of Pedro Martinez & Company, found him implicated through the consigning of cargoes that were to be traded for either the wares to subsist slaves or for slaves themselves. The British authorities at Sierra Leone found that Teran and Tyng were “virtually” the owners of the vessel itself based on evidence that “proves to demonstration [*sic*] that the sum which the owner [in Baltimore] there acknowledges to have received from Terán for the use of the vessel during two years was greatly beyond the price of a vessel of her class and age.” It is deduced by the British that the charter party used in such a case is effective as a “virtual” bill of sale, and that this de facto transfer includes “the entire liability of ownership.” Essentially, not only did Terán and Tyng own the cargo, but they owned the ship that was caught with slaves aboard and was in violation of the equipment clause of the slave trade treaty.¹⁷²

4.7 Tyng and Hanseatic Ships: The *Echo* and the *Julius & Edward*

The last of the several captures of 1840 was the *Kite* on May 27. The rash of activity was followed by a calm and uneventful summer and fall, likely due to a downtick

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 75-77; “Report of the Case of the Spanish brig ‘Eliza Davidson,’” May 26, 1840, HCA 35/50, The National Archives of the UK, London, 250-251.

¹⁷² *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam Relating to the Slave Trade: From May 11th to December 31st, 1840*, 75-76.

in prices for produce and freights in Havana during this period.¹⁷³ The next time Tyng appears is following the capture of two Hanseatic vessels, the *Echo* of Hamburg and the *Julius & Edward* of Bremen, in December 1840 and February 1841 respectively. It is reasonable to assume that the utilizing of a triangular trade involving Europe would fetch better consignment than the direct trade between Cuba and Africa. It was either the lucrative nature of trading with Europe during a time of economic recession or an attempt to avoid slaving suspicion by using Hanseatic ships flying Hanseatic flags, or both, that drew Tyng to the *Echo* and the *Julius & Edward*. The latter is the ship that drew me to Tyng in the first place, as it is a case that spans over a decade in nearly continuous appeal in Bremen and Lubeck courts, appearing in several volumes of the British Treasury reports to the slave trade advisor.

The *Echo* was a barque, or three-masted sailing ship, based in Hamburg, that was chartered by Tyng acting in interest of R. H. Ballauf & Company in Havana in October 1840 to convey “sundry articles” to “Young or New Sesters or Sestos, on the Western Coast of Africa, for a freight of 4,500 dollars.” Information about the *Echo* in the historical record is derived from two sources: a report given by C. G. A. Sohst, the German master of the *Echo* and an account by J. E. Elliott, captain of the capturing British Navy ship *Wanderer*, both found in parliamentary reports from 1842. Sohst states that after receiving cargoes from Tyng, he had the manifest inspected by the English consul, “obtained a certificate from the American consul that the cargo was American property,” and received a clearance from the Hamburg consul for the voyage. The *Echo*

¹⁷³ “Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa; Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index,” *British Parliamentary Reports from the Committees: West Coast of Africa, 3 February – 12 August 1842* (Shannon, IE: Irish University Press, 1968), 394.

sailed from Havana on November 6, 1840 for the Cape Verde Islands, landing there after a 28-day crossing. After being “becalmed,” Sohst sailed for Young Sesters, arriving at the village on December 15.¹⁷⁴ The day before, the *Echo* was intercepted by the *Wanderer*, Elliott writing that “though engaged in conveying a cargo to a notorious slave factory, there is nothing on board coming under the denomination of slave equipment.” The *Echo* was then ordered to continue to Young Sesters.¹⁷⁵

Sohst then reports that before anchoring, the *Wanderer* was again seen and that “three boats, with two officers and 19 men” were being sent toward his ship. For three days, the British searched the *Echo*, Sohst reporting the crews “conducted themselves so improperly, by taking articles out of the cargo for their own use, such as champagne, fish hooks, &c., that I was compelled to complain to the master.” The ship was, per Sohst’s report, continually harassed by British authorities while at anchor, after leaving Young Sesters on December 24, and following arrival at Sierra Leone on January 9, 1841. Asked by the customs collector to leave “as soon as possible,” the *Echo* set out on the evening of January 12 and was subsequently chased down by two boats in the early hours of January 13 and ordered back to the harbor where the vessel was detained and charged with “aiding and abetting” the slave trade.¹⁷⁶

The *Echo* was condemned on the charge of aiding and abetting in the Vice Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone on March 5 and was subsequently auctioned off and awarded to a Sierra Leone merchant for £2,560 on March 18. All charges against Sohst

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Young Sesters was a village located at a opening in an eight-mile reef where boats would travel through en route to the New Sess River, in the vicinity of Grand Bassa, Liberia. “Shoals to St. Ann to Cape Palmas,” *Africa Pilot, Part I: North Atlantic Islands & Cape Spartel to River Cameroon* (London: Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1880), 214.

¹⁷⁵ “Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa,” 394.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 394-398. *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1843), 83.

were unsuccessful, and he was found not guilty of engaging in the slave trade. This case stands out because most of the information on the record is from the captain of the captured vessel – his first-hand account of being imprisoned and harassed by the *Wanderer* and others provides for a harrowing story. For Tyng, this was the eleventh vessel condemned for involvement in the illicit trade and the tenth found guilty on grounds of being equipped for the slave trade.

In my capacity as research assistant for Professor Hopper at Cal Poly, I cataloged many of the British Treasury reports between 1850 and 1860. While reading the cases of hundreds of ships, Charles Tyng's name kept appearing within entries titled "Julius & Edward." Obviously, this would have been some time after the capture of the vessel as no Tyng ships were implicated in the slave trade after about 1845. What was found were updates given by British agents in the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg, alerting the Crown of the progress of appeals that were filed by Tyng in those cities. Further research has shown the *Julius & Edward* to be an extraordinary case of defendant persistence in asserting their innocence and betting that prosecutors will blink before they will.

Not much is reported about the embarkation of the Bremen barque *Julius & Edward*, just that it sailed from Havana to Cabinda, was mastered by Captain Ratje Siedenburg, and was captured by Thomas Edward Symonds, captain of the British sloop *Persian*, at latitude 4°36' S, longitude 11°44' E – about 150 miles north of Loanda near the present day port city of Pointe-Noire, Republic of Congo – on February 15, 1841.¹⁷⁷ It is notable that the place where the *Julius & Edward* was detained was in the heart of the

¹⁷⁷ *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1841, Volume 19* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1842), 85.

infamous Loango Coast, where approximately 45 percent of all African captives were transmitted into the transatlantic slave trade through the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Virtually all information relating to the capture and sailing of the vessel is found in the deposition of Symonds, taken in May 1841.

It appears the *Julius & Edward* was captured before reaching Cabinda and was lacking a full cargo. Charles Tyng was identified as being the owner and consignee of the cargo found aboard the ship, with Symonds identifying Tyng as “a well-known shipper of slave-cargoes,” adding that he and his ship, the *Persian*, “already seized and condemned in the Court of Sierra Leone a vessel under American colours, with a cargo belonging to the said Mr. Tyng, intended for use in the Slave Trade.” This is a reference to the capture of the *Plant* seven months earlier. The fittings found aboard the *Julius & Edward* were typical of what was found aboard slavers of the day: “an immense number of tins used by the slaves on board ship, and known by the term slave-tins; also a large number of empty bags for the shipment of farina, Indian corn, or rice, such as are generally found in slavers; also 200 demijohns, neither for which, nor the extra number of water casks, does the master produce a certificate from [Havana].” Symonds also states that despite the vessel having 15 individuals aboard at time of capture, there was “much greater quantity of water in casks than is requisite for her use as a merchant vessel, they being capable of containing upwards of 4000 gallons, being equal to eight months’ consumption, at one gallon per man per diem.”¹⁷⁹ Of course, it was the *Plant*, also captured by the *Persian*, that was condemned largely on the basis of excessive amounts of water found onboard.

¹⁷⁸ Stacey Sommerdyk, “Trade and the Merchant Community of the Loango Coast in the Eighteenth Century,” (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2012), 60.

¹⁷⁹ *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1841, Volume 19*, 85.

Symonds is careful to cite the “6th paragraph of the 6th Article of Supplementary Convention of the 22nd of March, 1833, agreed to under the accessory Convention of the free and Hanseatic cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, signed at Hamburg the 9th of June, 1837,” where an allowable number of water casks is outlined. Lastly, coppers, mentioned in the case of the *Douglass*, were found aboard the *Julius & Edward*, shipped at Bremen (before arriving in Havana) and “[were] evidently larger than requisite for her crew as a merchant vessel.”¹⁸⁰

Unlike the *Echo*, the *Julius & Edward* was sent back to Germany for adjudication. Published parliamentary papers from 1842 contain enclosures of correspondence of individuals involved in the case, with most German officials complaining about how unjust the British anti-slavery system was set up. The Syndicus of Hamburg at the time, Karl Sieveking, wrote that “the ignorance or cupidity of the masters of Hanseatic vessels might easily be induced indirectly to abet the illicit traffic [by slave traders of Cuba].” This would appear to be an excuse for his countrymen, and is directly applicable to this case where Tyng, a merchant in Cuba, hired the ship to convey cargoes to Africa. Sieveking also wrote that the mess kits, water casks, and coppers could “be accounted for by almost the whole of the Bremen shipping being employed in the transport of emigrants to America,” further stating that the number of water casks could also be explained by “Germans being accustomed to the cooking of a larger quantity of vegetables...beyond [what] British vessels would be considered a liberal supply.”¹⁸¹

These explanations serve as a foreshadowing of the following trial. It is not immediately clear why the *Julius & Edward* was tried in Bremen while the *Echo* was

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 90. A Syndicus is an officer of government.

tried in Sierra Leone – Lord Leveson, a justice in the British court system, wrote in a May 26, 1841 letter that the vessel was turned over to authorities in Bremen so “proceedings may be there instituted in regard to her according to the law of that country.”¹⁸² This may indicate a measure of confidence in the treaties enacted between Britain and the Hanse Towns for cooperation in the curbing of the slave trade – but the ultimate outcome for the *Julius & Edward* would not be what they imagined.

The proceedings took almost 11 months, with a verdict delivered by the High Court of Bremen on April 15, 1842. The trial, in which Captain Ratje Siedenburg, first mate Gustav Hermann Siedenburg, second mate Nicolai Wilhelm Hansen, owner Frederick Leo Quental were tried “respecting a transgression of the penal law against Slave Trade, enacted on the 20th of February, 1837, as well as respecting the application of the provisions of an Act published on the 18th July, 1838 concerning Slave Trade,” gave special consideration to Charles Tyng, the owner of cargo, and his claim against Symonds for “the recovery of the expenses, damages, and costs of the proceedings in this Court.” The judgment is a 2,700-word scathing treatise, not condemning the *Julius & Edward* but criticizing the British anti-slavery juggernaut. The High Court of Bremen found that “the defendants cannot be charged with any transgression,” arguing that the aforesaid treaty of 1838 between Britain and the Hanse Towns including Bremen stated that no Hanseatic vessel could be found to be involved in the slave trade. This, along with the charging that all evidence was improperly characterized as being intended for the conveyance of slaves, is the basis for the not guilty verdict.¹⁸³ It is conjecture, but the

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁸³ “Enclosure No. 165,” *Correspondence with Foreign Powers, Relative to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1842, Volume 30* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1843), 240-244.

argument that no Hanseatic vessel could be charged with the illicit trade of slaves could be the basis for Tyng chartering two such ships after being implicated in the condemnations of so many Cuban-Spanish ships.

Following the April 1842 acquittal, years of appeals began. Interestingly, in a longer opinion written by Dr. J. D. Meier in September 1842, the Bremen court states that “even supposing that an appeal were at all admissible, there would, in my opinion, be but little probability of obtaining an alteration of the judgment in question.”¹⁸⁴ The British Treasury report books follow the convoluted and complex proceedings of appeals, and appeals of appeals, not only in Bremen but in Lubeck and Hamburg as well, for the next two decades. There is still confusion among British authority nine years after the capture of the *Julius & Edward* as to the true nationality of Charles Tyng, whether he was an American citizen living in Havana or a naturalized Spanish citizen. Treasury reports posit Tyng as an acting agent of “a mercantile firm of the name of J. Robert & Co” along with an individual named Don Francisco Riera, who himself had been implicated in the slave trade.¹⁸⁵

The High Court of Lubeck annulled the ruling of the Bremen court on February 18, 1845, citing a procedural error in the legal proceedings. This action absolved Symonds and the *Persian* of any wrongdoing and forgave the charge of incurred fees against the captor of the *Julius & Edward*. Six years later, on June 30, 1851, the Bremen court again condemned Symonds and levied upon him the outstanding fees, a judgment

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁸⁵ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” March 20, 1851, HCA 35/75, The National Archives of the UK, London, 394-396. The name of Don Francisco Riera can be found throughout the Treasury report books in the 1840s and in the papers of the House of Lords during the same time period – one instance being: “Fourth Enclosure in No. 86,” *The Sessional Papers of the House of Lords, in the Session 1845: Vol. 9* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1845), 108.

that was again voided by the Upper Court of Appeals at Lubeck on January 14, 1852. Meanwhile, the British government had been pursuing a civil suit against Tyng.¹⁸⁶

The British authorities, including Palmerston, are steadfast in their conviction of Tyng operating as a slave trader and the *Julius & Edward* as another example of his guilt. They even attempt to gather more evidence against Tyng, including two other ships he was known to be involved in, the American ships *Spitfire* and *Martha*. However, a report from June 1851 notes the unwillingness of American attorneys to cooperate with British efforts in the case, apparently shielding Tyng from further reproach. The British then abandon the effort.¹⁸⁷ The case of the *Spitfire* is known, but there is no evidence that can be found relating to the *Martha* apart from this particular report, either from British or American sources.

Six years after that report and following a series of delays due to new judges being appointed and Tyng lacking proper counsel, the court at Lubeck upholds the prior ruling made on May 9, 1857. The verdict reads that “it is clear that the judgement [sic] of the Court of Bremen in condemning Commander Symonds was erroneous, & contrary to the VI and VII articles of the Treaty of the 22nd of March 1833.” Furthermore, it is found that the ship was not carrying the proper certificates mandated by the same treaty and therefore was in violation of the law.¹⁸⁸ One year later, on March 15, 1858, the High Court of Bremen awarded judgment in favor of Tyng for his claim of £22,000 in damages for the cargoes aboard the *Julius & Edward*. Two years after that ruling, the Supreme

¹⁸⁶ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” November 30, 1855, HCA 35/76, The National Archives of the UK, London, 252-255.

¹⁸⁷ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” June 14, 1851, HCA 35/75, The National Archives of the UK, London, 482.

¹⁸⁸ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” November 30, 1855, HCA 35/76, The National Archives of the UK, London, 252-255.

Court of Appeal at Lubeck reversed the Bremen ruling and ruled that claim “for Damages is for ever dismissed,” and that “the costs incurred in the matter are, in so far as it has not been otherwise legally decreed, to be set off against each other and annulled, and the matter referred back to the High Court at Bremen.”¹⁸⁹ Another report, dated December 15, 1860, announced that Symonds had been completely exonerated from all liability. This appears to conclude the record of the *Julius & Edward* in the treasury report books.¹⁹⁰

Tyng’s role in the *Echo* and *Julius & Edward* represents a new chapter in his story as it appears he tried to circumvent British patrols by employing Hanseatic vessels flying their respective flags instead of Cuban-Spanish ships flying American flags, of which he had lost several over the prior year and a half or so, cultivating for him a notorious reputation. The *Julius & Edward* also demonstrates the lengths he would go to in order to collect damages and order appeals. It is unclear if he had connections in Bremen that sought to fight for him; it is just as possible that officials in Bremen sought to clear the Bremer crew and their ship. While the *Julius & Edward* was not condemned for involvement in the slave trade, the evidence against the crew and Tyng appears to be just as incriminating as evidence was against the *Echo*, and the only reason for no condemnation was the fact that the *Julius & Edward* was tried in Bremen and not Sierra Leone like the *Echo* was.

¹⁸⁹ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” November 2, 1860, HCA 35/78, The National Archives of the UK, London, 7-8.

¹⁹⁰ “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” December 15, 1860, HCA 35/78, The National Archives of the UK, London, 31-32.

4.8 The *Spitfire* and Other Vessels

Following the initial court proceedings after the captures of the Hanseatic vessels, the trail, for the most part, starts to run cold. There are passing mentions in various correspondence of Tyng in connection with vessels suspected of operating with the intention of engaging in the illicit trade of slaves, but no substantive cases like what was seen between 1839 and 1842. These ships are the *Boston*, *Spitfire*, and *Martha* – all identified to be American, and all with Tyng as either ship owner or cargo consigner. As there is very little information to be gleaned from the mentions of these vessels, it is difficult to draw correlations or conclusions as to what Tyng might have been up to after 1842. Suffice it to say, he practiced a more reserved and ostensibly cautious approach to transatlantic trade.

The *Boston* was an American schooner described as being “dispatched for Rio [de] Janeiro, by an American resident [in Havana], Charles Tyng, which, from his long connections with slave dealers, may probably be...intended for [slave trade] purposes.” There is one primary source that identifies this ship, a letter addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen by commissioners Kennedy and Dalrymple notifying him of ships sailing from Havana during the month of July 1843 that could have been involved in the slave trade. Dale Graden, in his book *Disease, Resistance, and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba*, cites this same letter when outlining Tyng’s possible connection to the Havana slave trade – notably the only voyage he identifies involving

Tyng.¹⁹¹ Given that there is no mention of seizure, bounty, or adjudication, it appears that the *Boston* was never captured.

Likewise, there is no concrete evidence as to the capture of the American schooners *Spitfire* and *Martha*. The ships are briefly referenced in the *Julius & Edward* case when British authorities were attempting to gather evidence against Tyng, stating that the papers of both the *Spitfire* and *Martha* “could [not] be got in Washington” and that “the District Attornies [sic] in the States in which those Vessels were [condemned] should be applied to.”¹⁹² As I stated before, those attorneys did not cooperate, and British authorities abandoned the effort. The only further information about either vessel is another letter to the Earl of Aberdeen from commissioner Kennedy describing the *Spitfire* as “dispatched at the custom house [in Havana] for Cape Verd, by Mr. Charles Tyng, whose transactions with the slave traders have before been so frequently noticed.” The ship, which set sail on December 25, 1844, is said by Kennedy to be “intended to bring back a cargo of slaves,” citing difficulty by the owners to sell the ship, perhaps leaving them desperate enough to be hired by a known aider and abettor of the slave trade. Kennedy further states that the “sailing [of the *Spitfire*] affords proof that the traders yet look for connivance in prosecuting their course.”¹⁹³ Following the *Spitfire*, there appears to be no further awareness of Tyng respective of the slave trade.

¹⁹¹ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Surinam, Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, Loanda, and Boa Vista, Relating to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1843*, 142. Graden, 30.

¹⁹² “Report of the Case of the Bremen barque ‘Julius & Edward,’” June 14, 1851, HCA 35/75, The National Archives of the UK, London, 482.

¹⁹³ *Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Surinam, Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, Loanda, and Boa Vista, Relating to the Slave Trade: From January 1 to December 31, 1845*, 382.

CHAPTER 5

THE TYNG MEMOIR

The published Tyng memoir – *Before the Wind* – and the life of Tyng himself is billed as “a nonstop adventure,” in line with maritime novels like those of the Aubrey-Maturin series written by Patrick O’Brian.¹⁹⁴ The Afterword of the book, written by Thomas Philbrick of the University of Pittsburgh, brings the notion back down to earth and goes somewhat into the historiographical situation of the memoir. His essay is a significant departure from the celebratory tone and marketing ploys used in the other supplemental writings included in the book and goes on to call *Before the Wind* a “master’s narrative” – perhaps hinting that it is somewhere between novelization and actual first-hand account. This seems dubious, and in order to test this hypothesis, and to ascertain whether the published memoir was in any way adulterated to omit any unsavory details, I viewed the original handwritten memoir of Charles Tyng myself.

Despite the apparent wishes of Susan Fels, Tyng’s great- great-granddaughter, who wanted the handwritten manuscript to go to the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts where it would be “well-preserved” and in a “climate-controlled [environment],” the memoir found a different home.¹⁹⁵ Instead of the Peabody Essex, it resides at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, to which it was donated on July 10, 2000 by Charles Tyng, the original Charles Tyng’s great-grandson and uncle of Fels.¹⁹⁶ A sizable volume of 419 archival mylar-sleeved pages spread across three boxes

¹⁹⁴ *Before the Wind*, back cover.

¹⁹⁵ Susan Fels, “*Before the Wind*: Speech” (presentation, C-SPAN’s Book TV, Politics and Prose Bookstore, Washington, D.C., July 29, 1999).

¹⁹⁶ Charles Tyng Memoir, 1878, HM 66139, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; “Huntington Library Catalog,” The Huntington Library, 2019, <http://catalog.huntington.org/record=b1632472>.

in the Huntington's Manuscript collection, the handwritten memoir is in excellent condition and legible. Accompanying the conclusion in the third box is a page of birth and death dates for the Tyng family, written from information found in the Bible that belonged to Charles' father, Dudley Atkins Tyng. Also found in the third box was a brief biographic account, totaling 34 pages, titled "My Boyhood: Reminiscences of Men in Boston During the War of 1812-1815," in which Tyng tells of his experiences living in wartime Boston.¹⁹⁷

Fels says both in the introduction to *Before the Wind* and in a 1999 C-SPAN *Book TV* presentation following its release that the memoir was edited and shortened for mass consumption. She says in her presentation that this was largely a result of the publisher wanting the book to be a "quick read," and is quick to shoot down the notion that anything of significant substance was lost. Interestingly, she also makes the contention that an academic press would have been more careful to leave the memoir complete and unmolested. Other edits, she says, consisted of adding chapter headings and correcting punctuation, with Tyng writing in a style using excessive commas.¹⁹⁸

My examination of the handwritten memoir revealed that indeed most, and just about all, of it matched *Before the Wind*. Tyng's handwritten memoir is repetitive at times, and one can get lost thinking they have just read something that they had read a few pages before. There is no question chapter breaks were needed to ease consumption, and punctuation and sentence structure needed improvement to ensure decent flow. But again, and what has inspired this whole paper, is the fact that Tyng stops his memoir at 1833 right as he begins his career as a Havana-based merchant. My hope was, for

¹⁹⁷ Tyng Memoir, The Huntington Library.

¹⁹⁸ Fels.

whatever salacious reason, mention of slavery was removed to prop Tyng up as some infallible hero. This was not the case – Fels and the executives at Viking presented the memoir in good faith and only edited for readability. Deductive reasoning leaves us with two possible outcomes, then: Tyng had nothing to do with the slave trade and the last 40-odd years of his life were as sleepy and bucolic as *Before the Wind* would have us think, or he was aware of the fact that what he did was wrong and that his memoir would be his ultimate judgment.

Is it possible that Tyng could have had such foresight in 1878? As I mentioned in the introduction, this memoir was written during Reconstruction, after more than a decade of reflection following the Civil War. Surely any involvement in the slave trade, especially as a Northerner, would have stained his character and that of his family for generations – here I am writing about it more than 140 years after he penned the biography in question. If not that, then perhaps he was simply aware of contemporary accounts and how popular they were – maybe he was simply leaving one last inheritance for his descendants. Thus, the question might be posed: how unique is Tyng’s memoir?

5.1 Memoirs of Other Nineteenth Century Sea Merchants and Captains

Both Susan Fels and Thomas Philbrick haphazardly form the basis of a historiography for *Before the Wind* in their supplemental materials that accompany Tyng’s writing. Such titles as *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean* from 1815, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* from 1817, *Afloat and Ashore* from 1844, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* from 1846, and *Two Years Before the Mast* from 1840 (which, though not stated, would appear to be the

inspiration for the title *Before the Wind*) are all given by Philbrick in particular.¹⁹⁹ All were written before 1850 and are what he calls “master’s narratives” – books inspired by “the surge of American maritime activity in the first half of the nineteenth century.”²⁰⁰ More recent comparisons to this could be the wave of Westerns in the early twentieth century and science fiction in the later twentieth century following the conclusion of Manifest Destiny and the space race. Philbrick also mentions Herman Melville and his eminently popular and successful mid-nineteenth-century novels *Redburn* from 1849, and *Moby-Dick* from 1851, arguably the most successful examples of the genre.²⁰¹

Two Tyng contemporaries wrote their own tomes: *A Narrative of Voyage and Commercial Enterprises*, written in 1842 by Richard J. Cleveland, with whom Tyng and his wife were well acquainted in Havana, and *Personal Reminiscences*, written by “old rival” and fellow Brahmin Robert Bennet Forbes in 1878 – the same year Tyng wrote his own memoir.²⁰² Susan Fels shares an anecdote that it was Tyng’s daughter who suggested to her father, who was in his late 70s and still possessed mental acuity, to write down all the stories that he had told throughout the years.²⁰³ While this is a quaint story, it is likely that Tyng was influenced by the mainstream popularity of maritime literature as well as

¹⁹⁹ David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean* (New York: Wiley & Halsted, 1822); Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres: Comprising Three Voyages Round the World: Together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands* (Boston: E.G. House, 1817); James Fenimore Cooper, *Afloat and Ashore: A Sea Tale* (Salt Lake City: Project Gutenberg, 2005); John Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846); Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846).

²⁰⁰ *Before the Wind*, 253-254.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*; Herman Melville, *Redburn: His First Voyage: Being the Sailor-boy Confessions and Reminiscences of the Son-of-a-Gentleman, in the Merchant Service* (New York: Harper & Sons, 1850); Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale* (Salt Lake City: Project Gutenberg, 2008).

²⁰² *Ibid.*; Richard Jeffry Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (Boston: Charles H. Pierce, 1850); Robert Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1878).

²⁰³ Fels.

the biographies of his contemporaries. Philbrick echoes this, and also notes that the prose is carefully chosen, sure to explain “nautical technicalities,” and sure to avoid “personal reference to his first wife” may indicate that the intention of the memoir was for general, public consumption rather than just a smattering of stories for the great-great-grandkids to happen across someday to understand their ancestor was a globe-trotting sea merchant.²⁰⁴ The notes at the end of *Antebellum at Sea: Maritime Fantasies in Nineteenth-Century America* by literature professor Jason Berger suggests memoirs such as Tyng’s were much more common than even Philbrick – who is a scholar of the works of James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville – lets on.²⁰⁵ A further study of nineteenth century sailing biographies including *Before the Mast* and *Before the Wind*, “Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle” by Atlanticist historian Brian Rouleau, examines the identities assumed by seafarers, using their memoirs as evidence.²⁰⁶

The Robert Bennet Forbes book, *Personal Reminiscences*, provides an excellent comparison and could have been the ultimate catalyst for Tyng to write his own recollections given the history between the two men. Forbes, who Tyng refers to as “R.B.,” was a second mate with Perkins & Company in the early 1820s when both men were sailing in the same capacity for Perkins to Canton.²⁰⁷ Philbrick positions Forbes as a “rival for the blessing of T. H. Perkins.”²⁰⁸ It is not immediately clear if this was the case, but they did hold similar positions with the same company at the same time. It may just

²⁰⁴ *Before the Wind*, 254.

²⁰⁵ Jason Berger, notes from *Antebellum at Sea: Maritime Fantasies in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 247-304; Fels.

²⁰⁶ Brian J. Rouleau, “Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 5, no. 1 (2007): 29-37.

²⁰⁷ *Before the Wind*, 102.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

be coincidence, but Forbes became a full-fledged captain for Perkins at roughly the same time that Tyng was denied such a commission.²⁰⁹ Unlike Tyng, Forbes does not show up in British Treasury reports relating to the slave trade, nor does it appear that he dealt in the Caribbean trade. His story is, with relation to Tyng's, exhaustively documented and complete, his own memoir extending until his retirement –even accounting for all 70 ships he had owned or had built.²¹⁰ There is no such recovered list for Tyng's ships, though Fels purports there probably was one at one time.²¹¹

The Tyng memoir stands apart from other nineteenth century merchant and captain instances largely because it is devoid of an entire half of the individual's life. Most of Tyng's contemporaries, including those previously mentioned, seemed happy enough to write about themselves, their activities, and their legacies right up to and including their retirements and, in some cases, deaths. It bears mention that many of these individuals also owned and chartered ships like Tyng but did not move to Havana and operate their businesses there. Fels, without apparent evidence, states that her great-great-grandfather had heart troubles, got sick, and died before he could write more of his memoir. As far as I can tell, this is pure conjecture, given how clean of a break there is at the end of the handwritten manuscript without any obvious attempt at continuing his story. The historian must then consider that he intentionally ended where he did – before he moves to Havana and becomes involved in the transatlantic traffic of slaves.

²⁰⁹ *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts: Volume III*, ed. William Richard Cutter and William Frederick Adams (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 1478-1479.

²¹⁰ The last three chapters of Forbes' *Personal Reminiscences* recount his travels, hunts, lectures, and social life after retirement, pages 317-334. The ships "built under [his] Order or Supervision, or in which [he had] an Interest" is found both in *Personal Reminiscences* and *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts, Volume III*.

²¹¹ Fels.

5.2 Where This Study Belongs in Historiography

This thesis serves two primary functions: to correct the record as it pertains to Charles Tyng and, more broadly, to bring to light American complicity in the mid-nineteenth century transatlantic slave trade. This study is situated somewhere between investigative biography and contextual history – it is my hope that the background information given is illusory enough to explain the world in which any number of reasons could cause a person to engage in the illicit slave trade and remain mum about their exploits. My primary sources included the British Treasury reports and Tyng’s memoir, which I then had to connect to each other – although the former becomes relevant in 1839, six years after the conclusion of the memoir. It is necessary then to contextualize the economies and politics of regions where Tyng lived and did business to fill in the gaps and make educated estimates of why he did what he did.

In my studying of this subject over the last several months, I did not come across any other sea merchants or captains that fell into the same category as Tyng, who had been labeled a “well-known” shipper of slave cargoes.²¹² Even the extensive genealogical surveys by Ellery Bicknell Crane, William Richard Cutter, and others in the early twentieth century that cataloged the leading families of nineteenth century Massachusetts society barely even whisper the words “slave” or “slavery.”²¹³ The silence speaks volumes – the taboo surrounding the slave trade, in a culture in which ancestry and inheritance is everything, means that it shall not be spoken of. Susan Fels, herself an

²¹² *Parliamentary Accounts and Papers: 1842, Twenty Volumes: Contents of the Nineteenth Volume: Correspondence with Foreign Powers Relating to the Slave Trade, Volume 19* (London: House of Commons, 1842), 85.

²¹³ *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts*, ed. William Richard Cutter and William Frederick Adams. *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County Massachusetts With a History of Worcester Society of Antiquity: Volume I*, ed. Ellery Bicknell Crane (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907).

heiress of this society, quickly dismisses the notion that her great-great-grandfather was involved in the slave trade when he was a shipowner and merchant in Havana.²¹⁴

This is understandable, as she is not a historian and Tyng did not mention it in the memoir she had just published. What's more, there were other American merchants of the same generation in Havana at the time – such as John R. Gove, mentioned in the Cutter genealogical study – but there are no readily available sources that demonstrate them as having anything to do with the illicit trade of captured Africans.²¹⁵ This is where Tyng appears to stand apart, and where this study stands apart as well. The existence of his handwritten account that was then published a century later is foiled by numerous substantive historical primary sources that tell a much different story of the individual in question. If it was not for the publication of *Before the Wind*, it is possible that Tyng could have just been shrugged off as just another Havana-based slaver. The happenstance surrounding this project is reminiscent of such maritime-slave trade histories as *The Diligent* by Robert W. Harms or to a lesser extent *Mutiny on the Amistad* by Howard Jones.²¹⁶

This thesis follows in the theme of recent Atlanticist historiography by examining American history with a critical eye, exposing the fallibility of long-regarded American heroes and challenging the mythical, rarified air their names are so often whispered with.²¹⁷ The ever-growing objectivity with which historians of the United States perceive

²¹⁴ Fels.

²¹⁵ *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts*, 154.

²¹⁶ Robert W. Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage Through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

²¹⁷ Such works include R.B. Bernstein, *The Founding Fathers Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), and the eminently-popular James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone, 2007).

the past informs this thesis. My argument and analysis do not explicitly impinge upon and convey the stories of the victims directly impacted by the actions of Charles Tyng – and has a scope laser-focused on the upper crust of New England and Havana society. My hope is that my work is nonetheless a guiding hand for those who continue writing history that gives voice to those marginalized by historians and those whose lives were destroyed by Tyng and people like him. This exposé is meant to inspire research replete with “depth and rigor” in an area that, until the last couple decades, lacked both.²¹⁸

Most slave trade histories that examine both Cuba and American agents in Havana have only recently been written, the latter still sorely lacking in study. In my estimation, Leonardo Marques and Dale T. Graden are the most prominent historians currently writing about these topics, and the works of both greatly advised the writing of this paper.²¹⁹ Only Graden mentions Tyng, and it is a brief blurb about the sailing of the Boston to Rio de Janeiro and his role as acting consul in Havana. The source Graden uses to substantiate this is but one of many, many official British reports that mention Tyng. Part of the impetus for writing about Tyng has been the lack of attention given to his obvious interactions with the British West Africa Squadron during its mission to suppress the transatlantic slave trade, especially with the fanfare that met the publishing of his memoir twenty years ago. Thus, not only is this paper a reset of popular history, it is a contribution to the growing historiography of American involvement in the Havana slave trade – and, as far as I am aware, the sole microhistory of a singular American agent in

²¹⁸ Richard S. Lowry, “American Studies, Cultural History, and the Critique of Culture,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 8, no. 3 (2009): 301.

²¹⁹ The works of Marques and Graden are cited in the bibliography of this paper. Marques is a Brazilian historian and professor of history at Universidade Federal Fluminense in Rio de Janeiro. Graden is an American historian and professor of history at the University of Idaho in Moscow, Idaho.

Havana who took part in the perpetuation of the immoral and illicit trade of African captives.

CHAPTER 6:

LATER LIFE, CONNECTIONS, AND CONCLUSION

It appears Tyng ends his involvement in the slave trade in the mid-1840s as there is no further evidence of his ships or cargoes being condemned by the British Navy. It is unlikely that this was a conscious decision owing to a sudden moral epiphany – in fact, the occurrence of Cuba-based merchants sending ships to Africa with the intention of slave trading “declined precipitously” between 1844 and 1850. Several factors caused this sudden downturn: the British West Africa Squadron had successfully destroyed “several factories and barracoons” on the west coast of Africa in the early 1840s; steamships were now being employed in the suppression efforts with increasing frequency; the Spanish had outlawed the purchasing of foreign vessels in Spanish ports with the purpose of repatriating them as Spanish vessels; successful slave revolts in 1844 “resulted in a massive black insurgency”; and a hurricane in 1844, drought in 1845, and another hurricane in 1846 severely hampered “the output...of sugar, coffee and tobacco.”²²⁰ It appears at this point that Tyng turned his attention to trade between the United States and Cuba.

Tyng’s most notable claim to fame before the publishing of his memoir was the *Black Warrior* Affair, an 1854 incident involving Spanish sovereignty and American trade in the Caribbean that nearly led to war between Spain and the United States. The vessel *Black Warrior*, involved in the “coastwise” American trade involving Havana, Mobile, and New York, was detained in Havana harbor before setting out for New York

²²⁰ British Navy attacks on slave trade infrastructure is outlined in sixth chapter of Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 132-176; Graden, 25.

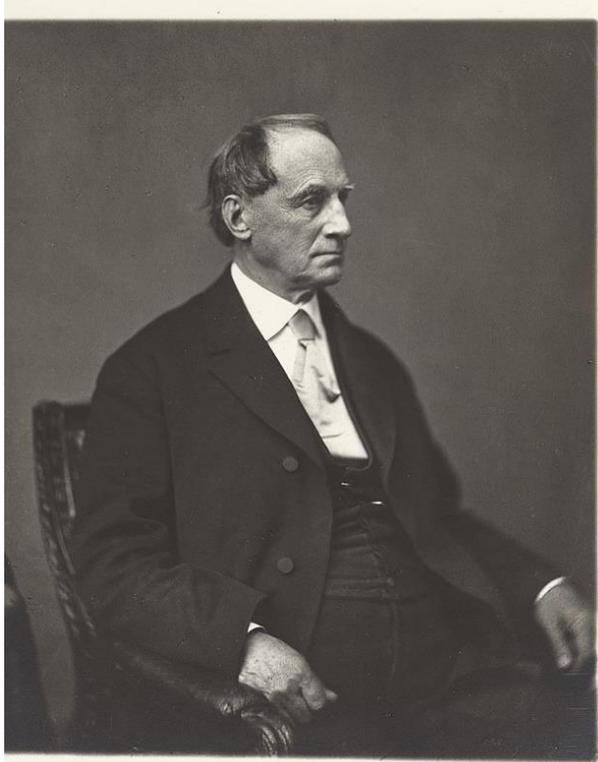


Figure 4: Caleb Cushing

Photograph taken from a negative by Matthew Brady, circa 1855. Harvard Law School Library, Harvard University.

on February 28, 1854. In his familiar role, Charles Tyng was identified as the consignee and owner of the cargo – 900 bales of cotton – which was not declared on the ship’s manifest, a direct violation of Spanish port regulations.²²¹ A fine of \$6,000 was imposed, and the ship was ordered held until Tyng paid the fine. Nearly a year and a half of litigious tension riddled the United States Congress and State Department before the fine was rescinded and Spain was ordered to pay damages amounting to \$53,000.²²² It is curious, however, that Tyng, by this time a resident conducting business in Havana for over 15 years, ignored regulations he would have known well.

The *Black Warrior* Affair is yet another instance of Tyng ignoring law or regulation, a practice dating back decades to his time as an opium trader in Canton. While this was hardly exceptional – many American merchants did the same – it encourages one to pause and ponder why he never answered to misconduct.²²³ Granted he had lost tens of thousands of dollars in condemned cargo throughout the late 1830s and early- to mid-1840s, but he had not ever been formerly adjudicated *in personam*. A quick investigation of his personal relationships might reveal why – and expose his own political leanings, a topic never touched upon in his memoir and hurriedly avoided by his great-granddaughter when asked.

Newburyport, where Tyng grew up, was tight-knit. He actively sought out “townsmen” – people hailing from Newburyport and vicinity – when traveling abroad. Tyng, in a few cases, had a life-long rapport with fellow Brahmins of his generation, the

²²¹ Henry Lorenzo Janes, “The *Black Warrior* Affair,” *The American Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (1907): 280-282.

²²² *Ibid.*, 289.

²²³ Graden speaks to Americans ignoring law and regulation in Cuba throughout the first chapter of his book *Disease, Resistance and Lies*.

correspondence of which are still extant. Close childhood friend Caleb Cushing, cousin of John Perkins Cushing of Perkins & Company fame, was well-connected to the American political machine, serving in the House of Representatives, as Attorney General under the pro-slavery Franklin Pierce administration, Massachusetts Supreme Court justice, diplomat, and was nominated for the United States Supreme Court.²²⁴ Cushing was a Democrat during the Civil War, and like some fellow Democrats at the time, favored states' rights and opposed abolition. During his time as a Massachusetts Supreme Court justice, he supported the Dred Scott decision and sympathized with the South.²²⁵

The letters written to Cushing by Tyng are of an old friend asking for favors, particularly ones of a political nature. Tyng asks Cushing, then serving in the Pierce cabinet, for his help in gaining a permanent post as American consulate to Havana in 1853 and for advice relating to the *Black Warrior* Affair in 1854.²²⁶ The sincere tone of the correspondence speaks to a close personal partnership that goes back many years. Connections between Charles Tyng and Caleb Cushing are deep: Tyng's son, Charles Dudley Tyng, a merchant in his own right and insurance underwriter in Havana alongside his father, was the private secretary and confidante of Cushing.²²⁷

At the time the *Catharine* was adjudicated in 1839, Cushing was the Congressional representative of the district containing Newburyport. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney issued an opinion on the case to the Circuit Court in New

²²⁴ Kendall A. Johnson, *The New Middle Kingdom: China and the Early American Romance of Free Trade* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 174; *The American Law Review, 1878-1879: Volume 13*, ed. Moorfield Storey and Samuel Hoar (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1879), 591-595.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*; "Cushing, Caleb," *Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume 7* (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge, 1911); Correspondence from Roger Brooke Taney to Caleb Cushing, November 9, 1857, Manuscript Division, Box 154, The Caleb Cushing Papers, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²²⁶ Correspondence from Charles Tyng to Caleb Cushing, February 5, 1853 to June 7, 1854, Manuscript Division, Box 154, The Caleb Cushing Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²²⁷ Francis Higginson Atkins, *Joseph Atkins: The Story of a Family* (Boston: Dudley Atkins, 1891), 112.

York where the case was being tried.²²⁸ It was Taney's court in 1857 that decided *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, Taney himself offering the majority opinion, and there is evidence of warm correspondence between Taney and Cushing on that topic.²²⁹ It is reasonable to posit that the two men had interacted at least 20 years before the Dred Scott case, given Cushing was a congressman when Taney was the United States Secretary of Treasury under Andrew Jackson and then Chief Justice, and also that the two shared political philosophies. Taney was described as a "partisan judge" whose stance on slavery was unquestionable – his first year on the Supreme Court saw him rule in favor of the slave ships *Garonne* and *Fortune*, damning to slavery Africans who had previously been manumitted.²³⁰

The political leanings and prior actions by both Cushing and Taney certainly speak to the institutional avoidance in the United States of suppressing the slave trade. Whether schemes were hatched behind closed doors to help Tyng explicitly cannot yet be proven. What is clear, 140 years after his death, is that Charles Tyng was irrefutably involved in the slave trade between the west coast of Africa and Cuba, and likely Brazil too. The evidence put forth in British Vice Admiralty and British and Spanish Mixed Commission courts satisfied the equipment clause of the 1835 British and Spanish treaty against the slave trade, the stipulation used to condemn at least six vessels carrying said equipment – owned by Tyng.

Before the Wind, like most memoirs of the period, was probably played up for marketability and commercial success, to augment the inheritance of his descendants –

²²⁸ United States v. The *Catharine*, 25-28.

²²⁹ Roger Brooke Taney to Caleb Cushing.

²³⁰ Charles M. Ellis, "Roger B. Taney and the Leviathan of Slavery," *The Atlantic*, February 1865, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1865/02/roger-b-taney-the-leviathan-of-slavery/387241/>.

certainly the case for Susan Fels. This thesis answers why there was a sudden cutoff at 1833 as Tyng's life took an unsavory turn soon thereafter – especially when viewed through the lens of postbellum Northerners. Charles Tyng was not a hero. Tyng was a predatory American capitalist who chose financial gain over ethics, who took advantage of legal loopholes and gray areas in treaties and trade regulations to further line his pockets and avoid his comeuppance. He was a product of American toxic masculinity, the meritocracy of the Old Boy Network, and capitalist class division.²³¹ As a person involved in the slave trade, Tyng acted as the agent of the illicit trade of human beings and only stopped when the financial reward was no longer worth the personal risk – as his mentor Thomas Perkins did with the opium trade. Charles Tyng was a slave trader.

²³¹ The “Old Boy Network” is addressed in the context of nineteenth-century United States social mobility in Cristina Rodriguez, “Clearing the Smoke-Filled Room: Women Jurors and the Disruption of an Old-Boys’ Network in Nineteenth-Century America,” *The Yale Law Journal* 108, no. 7 (1999): 1805-1844.

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APPENDIX A: COPY FROM TYNG FAMILY BIBLE

The following information was enclosed with the handwritten Tyng memoir at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

Copied from the Bible record of D. A. Tyng

Dudley A. Tyng and Sarah Higginson were married at Boston by the Rev. Peter Thatcher

D. D. Oct. 18th 1792.

Sarah Winslow Tyng was born at Tyngston March 18th 1794.

Susannah Cleveland Tyng was born at Newbury Oct. 23rd 1795.

A son was born May 17th and died May 19th 1797.

Dudley Atkins Tyng was born at Newburyport June 12th 1798.

Stephen Higginson Tyng born at Newbury March 1st 1800.

Charles Tyng was born at Newbury August 20th 1801.

George Tyng [was born at] Newbury August 7th 1803.

Mary Cabot Tyng [was born at] Boston May 24th 1805.

James Higginson Tyng [was born at] Boston May 12th 1807.

Sarah Tyng wife of Dudley A. Tyng departed this life November 2nd 1808 Aged 42 years.

Dudley A. Tyng and Elizabeth Higginson were married in Boston by the Rev. Gardiner

Dec'r 18th 1809.

Mrs. Sarah Atkins mother of D. A. T. died Oct'r. 16th 1810.

Mr. Charles Head married to Sarah W. Tyng June 28th 1814 by Rev. Dr. Holmes

Cambridge.

Mr. Charles Head died in Newburyport July 20th 1832, was buried by Rev'd. _____, in south corner of St. Paul's churchyard.

George Tyng died in Newbury April 2nd 1833 and was buried by Rev'd. _____, near the grave of Mr. Head.

Births

George Tyng – May 12th 1842 – Newburyport.

Elena Anita [Carrillo] Thompson, May 22nd 1843, Santa Barbara, California.

Chas. Tyng, Jr. May 18th 1870, ~~Arizona, Ehrenberg~~ in Santa Barbara, California.

~~George Tyng, Jr.~~

George ~~MeAlpine~~ Tyng, Jan. 13th 1872, ~~Ehrenberg, Arizona~~ in Santa Barbara, California.

Dudley Atkins Tyng, December 18th 1874, Santa Barbara.

Marriages

George Tyng, to Elena A. [Carrillo] Thompson, July 15th 1869 at Santa Barbara, ~~in the Catholic Church.~~ in her father's house

Deaths

Dudley A Tyng, May 27th 1875, Santa Barbara, Cal.