

North American Society for Oceanic History (NASOH)

Annotated Bibliography of

Race, Class, Labor, and Gender in American Maritime History

In response to the nationwide protests for racial justice that erupted following the murder of George Floyd in 2020, the NASOH advisory council committed to, among other things, developing a freely accessible annotated bibliography of race, class, labor, and gender in American maritime history. This is a work in progress to which all are encouraged to contribute corrections, annotations, and additions, whether recently published work, or older works we have simply missed. Please write Lincoln.Paine@gmail.com with any emendations you may have.

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Africans and African Americans

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voyage, and two others documented by that young man, to unearth new realities of Connecticut's slave trade and question how we could have forgotten this part of our past so completely. When writer Anne Farrow discovered the significance of the logbooks for the Africa and two other ships in 2004, her mother had been recently diagnosed with dementia. As Farrow bore witness to the impact of memory loss on her mother's sense of self, she also began a journey into the world of the logbooks and the Atlantic slave trade, eventually retracing part of the Africa's long-ago voyage to Sierra Leone. As the narrative unfolds in The Logbooks, Farrow explores the idea that if our history is incomplete, then collectively we have forgotten who we are—a loss that is in some ways similar to what her mother experienced. Her meditations are well rounded with references to the work of writers, historians, and psychologists.

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Gordinier, Glenn S., ed. *Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Maritime America: Papers from the Conference Held at Mystic Seaport, September 2006*. Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 2008.

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Grandin, Greg, and Alex Gourevitch. "Slavery and Capitalism: An Interview with Greg Grandin." *Jacobin* (8/2014). <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/08/capitalism-and-slavery-an-interview-with-greg-grandin>

Grandin, Greg. *Empire of Necessity: Slavery, Freedom, and Deception in the New World*. New York: Picador, 2015. ¶*One morning in 1805, off a remote island in the South Pacific, Captain Amasa Delano, a New England seal hunter, climbed aboard a distressed Spanish ship carrying scores of West Africans he thought were slaves. They weren't. In fact, they were performing an elaborate ruse, having risen up earlier and slaughtered most of the crew and officers. When Delano, an idealistic, anti-slavery republican, finally realized the deception—that the men and women he thought were humble slaves were actually running the ship—he rallied his crew to respond with explosive violence. ¶Drawing on research on four continents, *The Empire of Necessity* is the untold history of this extraordinary event and its*

bloody aftermath. Delano's blindness that day has already inspired one masterpiece—Herman Melville's Benito Cereno. Now historian Greg Grandin returns to these dramatic events to paint an indelible portrait of a world in the throes of revolution, providing a new transnational history of slavery in the Americas—and capturing the clash of peoples, economies, and faiths that was the New World in the early 1800s.

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studies, his work, including his science, was also inextricably involved in his nation's imperialist goals. Before and after his resignation from the United States Navy to join the Confederacy during the American Civil War, Maury worked for the perpetuation and expansion of race-based slavery. For these reasons, we argue that oceanographers, historians, and the public need to rethink depictions of Maury that glorify his accomplishments without interrogating their darker side. Presenting honest portrayals is not only historically responsible but also aids the larger endeavor to recruit and retain more diverse students and scientists for ocean science.

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Glenn, Myra C. *Jack Tar's Story: The Autobiographies and Memoirs of Sailors in Antebellum America*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. ¶*Glenn's book positions sailors' autobiographies and memoirs as major sources for understanding antebellum American masculinity and nationalism. Chapter 3 studies American perspectives of the Haitian/Spanish American Revolutions. In the former, white American sailors frequently viewed black revolutionaries with profound disgust and racialized repulsion, especially as the massacres on both sides of the conflict mounted. At the same time, the extremes of the Revolution in Haiti made Americans proud of their organized and conservative revolution. Even more, the terror posed by the sight of blacks in charge of whites put sailors all the more on their guard, lest they suffer a similar fate*

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- Lemisch, Jesse. *Jack Tar vs. John Bull: The Role of New York's Seamen in Precipitating the Revolution*. Studies in African American History and Culture. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Magden, Ronald. *A History of Seattle Waterfront Workers, 1884–1934*. Seattle: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union 19 of Seattle, the Washington Commission for the Humanities, 1991.
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Purvis, Diane J. *Ragged Coast, Rugged Coves: Labor, Culture, and Politics in Southeast Alaska Canneries*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021.

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Raffety, Matthew Taylor. *The Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013. ¶*Raffety argues that central questions of American nationality, governance, law, and identity emerged from the contested decks of antebellum American sailing ships. He looks at shipboard and maritime violence as they played out in court records to get a sense of how maritime law, state power, and the rights and protections of citizenship developed in the early republic. He sees the dynamic between shipboard violence and conflict, the courts, and law as a mutually-shaping discussion; what happened on deck ended up in court, which in turn shaped the law. The cycle came full circle when mariners and officers attempted to use the law to their advantage in disputes. He divides his book into three parts: law, honor (including masculinity) and citizenship.*

Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*. Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Rediker, Marcus. *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2014.

Rediker, Marcus, and Linebaugh, Peter. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and The Hidden World of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Riddell, William D. *On the Waves of Empire: U.S. Imperialism and Merchant Sailors, 1872–1924*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2023.

Ringle, Dennis G. *Life in Mr. Lincoln's Navy*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1998. ¶Ringle discusses recruitment, sustenance, service, combat, and other topics, including how the Union Navy incorporated runaway slaves into the service, which he says inspired the Army to do the same. Of course, this lead directly to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Rockman, Seth. *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in early Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. ¶“Scraping By is about breaking new ground: the often nasty, unhealthy labor essential to Baltimore's growth as a boomtown from the 1790s to 1830s. Rockman breaks new ground himself in studying “low-end laborers”: slaves, free blacks, European immigrants, and the native-born who struggled to cobble together a few days' ill-paid toil as seamstresses, stevedores, harbor dredgers, or street cleaners (literally scraping by as manure collectors). His work fits within several bodies of scholarship, including recent labor history incorporating race, gender, and class perspectives, and studies of capitalism that challenge the image of the US as a land of equal opportunity. The author deftly illustrates dependent workers' contributions by detailing how “casual” labor produced both Fort McHenry and the star-spangled banner that waved over its ramparts. One caveat: while Rockman highlights voiceless, poorly documented Baltimoreans, readers seldom hear their actual voices. Still, stressing the vulnerable, precarious nature of work is timely in the current economic climate of recession-verging-on-depression. Highly recommended. Academic and larger public libraries, upper-division undergraduates and above.” —T. P. Johnson

Rouleau, Brian, “Maritime Destiny as Manifest Destiny: American Commercial Expansionism and the Idea of the Indian.” *The Journal of the Early Republic* 30:3 (2010): 377–411. ¶Argues that travelling sailors' perceptions of Native Americans profoundly influenced their understanding of other, non-white peoples beyond the Americas. Rouleau calls for the kind of scholarship that joins continental expansion with global maritime enterprise, seeing that they colored each other.

Rouleau, Brian. *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014. ¶Rouleau's book puts working-class, blue-water white sailors at the center of American foreign relations in the early nineteenth century. Rouleau argues that sailors were the citizens of America's first global age, and that their rough and tumble working-class diplomacy shaped the nation's international relations, were the eyes for their fellow, terrestrial countrymen, and (for good or ill) served as the United States' primary representatives to foreign peoples.

Schell, Jennifer. *“A Bold and Hardy Race of Men”: The Lives and Literature of American Whalemens*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013.

Schwendinger, Robert J. “Chinese Sailors: America's Invisible Merchant Marine 1876–1905.” *California History* 57:1 (1978): 58–69.

Selvin, David F. *A Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998.

Sisson, Kelly J. “Bound for California: Chilean Contract Laborers and ‘Patrones’ in the California Gold Rush, 1848–1852.” *Southern California Quarterly* 90:3 (2008): 259–305.

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Conference Held at Mystic Seaport, September 2006, ed. by Glenn S. Gordinier, 143–56. Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 2008.

Sorrento, Matthew. “Revisiting a Debut at a Career’s End: Davis Mamet’s *Lakeboat* (1970/1980).” *Middle West Review* 92 (2023): 225–30.

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Stephens, Deanne Love. *The Mississippi Gulf Coast Seafood Industry: A People’s History*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021. Labor

Tanner, Stacy Lynn. “Progress and Sacrifice: Tampa Shipyard Workers in World War II.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85:4 (2007): 422–54.

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Tucker, Barbara May. “Ship’s Boys: Child Labor and New London’s Whaling Industry.” *Coriolis* 10:2 (2021): 16–36. <https://ijms.nmdl.org/article/view/21630>

Valle, James E. *Rocks & Shoals: Naval Discipline in the Age of Fighting Sail*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

Vickers, Daniel. *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. ¶Challenges romantic assumptions about the maritime profession in the colonial period, suggesting that seafaring would come to be associated with romance only in the nineteenth century. Before that, seafaring for colonial sailors was far shorter, more predictable, and also ubiquitous. In the colonial period, going to sea as an ordinary sailor was a rite of passage to manhood, but it was not a role to continue indefinitely, nor was it unusual or romantic because everyone went to sea. His in-depth social study of sailors out of Salem in the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries revealed just how ordinary and expected it was. It was only later, after independence, as voyages grew longer, more intense, and more exotic did it come to be associated with romantic adventures in the way that Melville and Dana wrote about them.

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Watterson, Rodney K. *Whips to Walls: Naval Discipline from Flogging to Progressive Era Reform at Portsmouth Prison*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2014.

Way, Peter. “Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers.” *Journal of American History* 79:4 (1993): 1397–1428.

Willett, Don. “Another Lost Cause? Maritime Labor Unity on the Gulf Coast Waterfronts.” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 43:3 (2002): 315–29.

Williams, Kathleen Broome. “Women Ashore: The Contribution of WAVES to US Naval Science and Technology in World War II.” *Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord* 8 (1998): 1–20.

Willoughby, Lynn. “Apalachicola Aweigh: Shipping and Seamen at Florida’s Premier Cotton Port.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69:2 (1990): 178–94. ¶Some details on regulations regarding Black sailors in Apalachicola in the 1840s.

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Wright, David, and David Zorby. *Fire on the Beach: Recovering the Lost Story of Richard Etheridge and the Pea Island Lifesavers*. New York: Scribner, 2001. ¶The Pea Island station was the only all African American manned station in the US Life-Saving Service/US Coast Guard.

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Migration, Imperial Encounters, &c.

Aly, Götz. *The Magnificent Boat: The Colonial Theft of a South Seas Cultural Treasure*. Translated by Jefferson Chase. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2023.

Armstrong, Benjamin. *Small Boats and Daring Men: Maritime Raiding, Irregular Warfare, and the Early American Navy* (Norman, Oklahoma, 2019). ¶Discusses the Quallah Battoo and Muckee operations in Chapter 7, “The First Sumatra Expedition, 1831–1832,” 150–71, and Chapter 8, “Return to Sumatra: The East India Squadron, 1838–1839,” 172–90.

Baynton, Douglas C. “The Undesirability of Admitting Deaf Mutes’: U.S. Immigration Policy and Deaf Immigrants, 1882–1924.” *Sign Language Studies* 6:4 (2006): 391–415. ¶When the federal government began in the 1880s to regulate immigration, the exclusion of what were termed “defectives” was one of the primary aims. Deaf people were among the thousands of disabled immigrants turned back each year at U.S. ports as “undesirables.” Stereotyped as economically dependent and as carriers of potentially defective genes, deaf immigrants were seen as a threat to the nation. The advent of immigration restriction was one aspect of a pervasive and intensified stigmatization of disability during this period, which also saw the widespread incarceration of mentally disabled people in institutions, the sterilization of the “unfit” under state eugenic laws, the suppression of sign language, and a growing tendency to exclude disabled people from social and cultural life.

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Fouts, Sarah. “The Mafia, *La Raza*, and the Spanish-Language Press Coverage of the 1891 Lynchings in New Orleans.” *Journal of Southern History* 83:3 (2017): 509–30.

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beach for plank canoe pull-outs and area of off-shore kelp beds, for 46 coastal locations. A simple descriptive analysis supports key IFD predictions. A Bayesian model fitted with the Gibbs sampler allows us to reconstruct the Native assessment of habitat that appears to underlie this process. Use of the Gibbs sampler mitigates the impact of missing data, censored variables, and uncertainty in radiocarbon dates; it allows us to predict where new settlements may yet be discovered. Theoretically, our results support a behavioral ecology interpretation of settlement history, human population expansion, and economic intensification in this region. They also demonstrate Bayesian analytical methods capable of making full use of the information available in archaeological datasets.

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