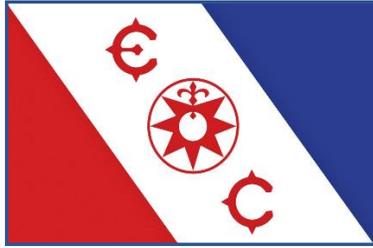


# THE EXPLORERS CLUB

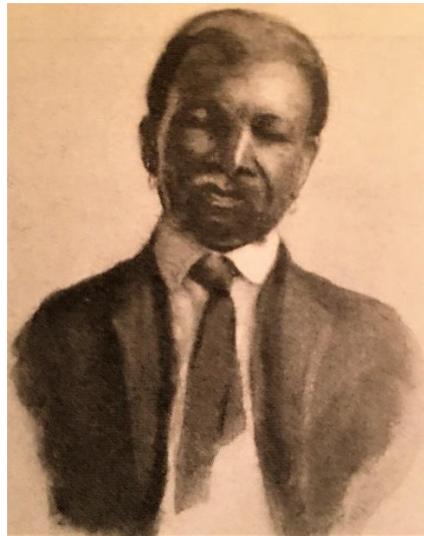


## FLAG # 212 EXPEDITION REPORT

### POLEE AND ROSE ALLEN OF THE SLAVE SHIP *CLOTILDA* AND AFRICATOWN, ALABAMA

by

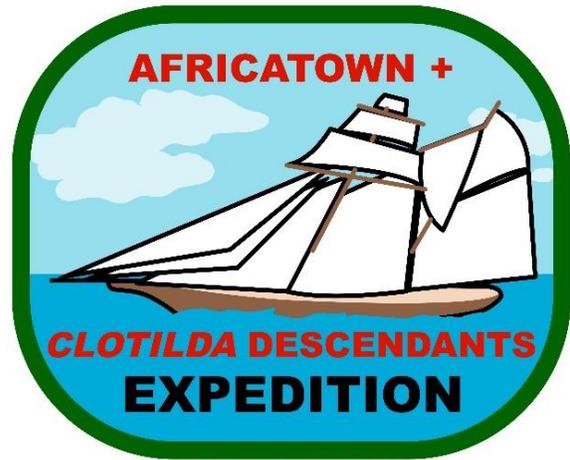
Llewellyn "Lew" Toulmin, PhD, FRGS, FN '04  
Africatown, Alabama and Silver Spring, Maryland  
4 April 2022



**Polee Allen:**  
*Clotilda* Survivor and Africatown Co-founder

The “Polee and Rose Allen of the Slave Ship *Clotilda* and Africatown, Alabama” Explorers Club Flag Expedition took place in February, March and April 2022. The Expedition logo/patch is shown below. This Final Flag Report contains the following sections:

- Flag Photos of the Expedition
- Location of the Expedition
- Goals of this Effort
- Why This Work is Important
- Previous Relevant Work
- Summary of Genealogical Findings
- Other Activities and Accomplishments
- Targets for Possible Archaeological, Historical & Land Ownership Investigation
- Land Ownership Map
- Any Toulmin Connection?
- Participants in the Expedition
- Covid Precautions
- Annexes:
  - A: Maps of the area
  - B: Images of the expedition
  - C: New photo of Cudjo Lewis and Helen Duggar Conwell, c. 1935
  - D: Interview with Orlando Pogue
  - E. A song for the expedition
  - F: Flag #212 award email
  - G. History of Flag # 212
  - H: Lifetime list of Toulmin expeditions
  - I: Previous Flag Expeditions
- Separate Attachment: Draft of “The Polee, Rose and Lucy Allen Lines: Genealogical Descents from Africa, the Slave Ship *Clotilda*, and Africatown, Alabama to the Present”



**Flag Photos of the Expedition**



Darron Patterson (right), President of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association, Flag #212, and Lew Toulmin, at the site of the *Clotilda* shipwreck in the Mobile River in Baldwin County, Alabama.



Flag #212 and Lew Toulmin at the Africatown welcome sign.



Author Lew Toulmin and Explorers Club Flag #212, in front of the schooner *Harvey Gamage*, headed up the Mobile River to the site of the *Clotilda* wreck.



Veretta Henson, Lew Toulmin, the cover story on the *Clotilda* in *National Geographic*, and Flag #212



Lew Toulmin and Flag #212 and the Union Missionary Baptist Church historic marker, showing Polee and Rose Allen as founders of the first church in Africatown.



Flag #212 and the Plateau Cemetery grave of Mary Allen, daughter of *Clotilda* survivors and Africatown co-founders Polee and Rose Allen.



Flag #212, Lew Toulmin, and the new Africatown Heritage House museum under construction (right) and in the artist's conception (left).

## Location of the Expedition

Africatown (formerly Affica Town or Africa Town, including Plateau, Lewis Quarters and Magazine Point) is a neighborhood three miles north of downtown Mobile, Alabama. It was originally formed as a separate community by West Africans, who in 1860 were illegally brought to Mobile as captives on the last slave ship to enter US waters, the infamous *Clotilda*. Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade was outlawed in 1808, the ship's owner, Timothy Meaher, reportedly made a callous bet that he could evade US and British anti-slavery maritime patrols, and bring a cargo of at least 100 enslaved persons to Mobile. Sadly, his scheme succeeded, and in June/July 1860 the *Clotilda* carried 110 men, women and many children, of the Yoruba, Fon and other tribes of central Nigeria and possibly northern Benin, from the port of Whyday (now Ouidah in present-day Benin) to Mobile. To conceal the Federal capital offense of slave-smuggling, the ship was scuttled and burned to the waterline, and the enslaved captives hidden and dispersed on shore.

After the Civil War and emancipation, 32 of the *Clotilda* survivors, seeking to preserve their African culture, formed a separate community in an unsettled area north of Mobile, near the Mobile River where the *Clotilda* had been scuttled (about four miles northeast of the town, at Twelve Mile Island in the Mobile River). They built their own houses, spoke tribal languages among themselves, selected tribal leaders, and for years preserved their African customs and way of life as much as possible. They kept themselves politically, socially and economically apart from white society and even from the nearby African-American communities in Pritchard, Toulminville and north Mobile.

However, by the 1930s, with the construction of paper mills, lumber plants, chemical plants, oil depots and other heavy industries all around Africatown, the community began to grow and change, peaking at 12,000 residents shortly after World War II. Africatown at this time was vibrant, with grocery stores, ice

cream parlors, a movie theater, fish market, doctor's offices, gas stations, drug stores and barber shops. The community was annexed by the City of Mobile in 1960.

Beginning in the 1970s, the paper mills and other major employers closed or declined, and the town lost its employment base. The community was cut up by various highways, one of which destroyed the town's commercial center. The population has now declined to about 2000-2500, and many parts are blighted. The area is now a "food and commercial desert," with no grocery stores, small businesses, necessary services, or attractions. The legacy of the many now-departed heavy industries is a high rate of cancer and other diseases. But the community is held together by its three anchors: the Union Missionary Baptist Church, founded by *Clotilda* survivors as they gradually came to accept Christianity; the Mobile County Training School, co-founded by Booker T. Washington for the children of the *Clotilda* enslaved; and the Robert Hope Community Center, which holds annual Spirit of Our African Ancestors heritage festivals, Black History Month events, and Juneteenth celebrations.

The identification of the wreck of the *Clotilda* and the publication of books about the ship, Africatown and its survivors has started to revive the community. Headlines around the world heralded the story, from *National Geographic Magazine* to *The New York Times*, *The Times* (of London), *The Guardian*, *The New Delhi Times*, the *UNESCO Courier* and many more. Africatown is on the National Register of Historic Places and on the Doris Franklin Finley African-American Heritage Trail of Mobile, and has an Africatown Historic District. A new \$1.3 million Africatown Historic House museum is under construction (although delayed by Covid and shipping bottlenecks), and various other grants, revitalization projects and city planning efforts are in train.

## Goals of this Effort

The goals of this effort were to:

1. Work closely with the *Clotilda* Descendants Association (CDA), undertake field interviews with descendants of Polee and Rose Allen (*Clotilda* survivors and co-founders of Africatown), and undertake other research, with a focus on genealogy, land holdings, and related matters.
2. Identify various sites in and near Africatown associated with Polee and Rose Allen, their immediate descendants, and with other major leaders of the Africatown community.
3. Develop materials to support and provide content for the new Africatown Heritage House museum, now under construction (and whose exhibits and content are still in the planning stage).
4. Investigate the relations, if any, between my 3<sup>rd</sup> great-uncle, CSA Colonel and later Federal Judge Harry Theophilus Toulmin (1835-1916) and John M. Dabney, owner of a plantation up the Mobile River, where Cudjo Lewis and some other *Clotilda* survivors were reportedly illegally hidden shortly after the *Clotilda* was scuttled and burned.



The *Clotilda* (sometimes spelled as “*Clotilde*”) painted on tiles near the entrance to Africatown.

## Why This Work Is Important

The trans-Atlantic slave trade and later internal US slave trade is one of the most consequential events in US history. Slavery played a key role in the Civil War, and the legacy of slavery is still affecting US race relations, society, politics, economics, education, criminal justice, historiography, and just about every other field of endeavor one can think of. Hence investigation of and reflection on important, illustrative events within the slave trade is certainly worthwhile. And within the slave trade, one of the most dramatic and telling events was the illegal voyage of the infamous *Clotilda*, the last slave ship, to bring over 100 enslaved Africans to America, over 52 years (two generations) after such an act was outlawed. That some of those enslaved Africans were then able to establish their own town and for many years preserve their African traditions -- in southern Alabama -- is quite astounding, and is itself worthy of study.

Much of the study to date has focused on Cudjo (or Cudjoe) Lewis, *Clotilda* survivor, co-founder and leader of Africatown, and the most vocal and famous of the survivors. I know personally that Cudjo Lewis was famous even in the early 1930s, because at that time my aunt and her friends often went from their homes in Mobile to Africatown to meet and listen to Cudjo Lewis. In fact, I have an electronic and physical photographic image of my aunt as a child of about twelve standing in front of Cudjo’s porch, listening to him. That image is presented later in this report.

However, the focus on Cudjo Lewis has meant that many other leaders and important personalities, male and female, who survived the *Clotilda* or were descendants of survivors, have not been well documented. This Flag Expedition aimed to help address that issue by examining the lives and descendants of Polee and Rose Allen, both *Clotilda* survivors, and both co-founders of Africatown.

Polee and Rose Allen are important for several reasons: they had six children together, and Polee had thirteen with his second wife, Lucy Turner (and thus Polee helped to significantly populate the new town); Polee was an initiate of a prestigious Yoruba tribal male society in Africa, and had the initiate name of Ku-polle, meaning “one born after the death of the chief”; he was a leader of the community and one of the Africatown men who registered to obtain US citizenship in 1868, after their efforts to

return to Africa failed; they both kept alive their African language, ways of decision-making, customs and traditions for their entire lives; and they worked hard and saved enough money to buy land and build their own house, apparently by the 1870s.

No biography of Polee and Rose has been written, their exact number of children is in some dispute, some later and modern descendants have been asserted but almost none proven to high genealogical standards; none of their family stories, African folk tales, memories of their voyage, or extant objects have been identified; their land holdings have not been documented, and their role in Africatown has not been fully explored.

## Previous Relevant Work

Relevant previous publications and other items on *Clotilda* survivors, descendants and Africatown include the following, in reverse chronological order:

- Llewellyn (“Lew”) Toulmin, *The Matilda Crear/McCrear Lines: Genealogical Descents from Africa and the Slave Ship Clotilda to the Present* (Silver Spring, Maryland and Africatown, Alabama: *Clotilda* Descendants Association, November 2021). (This is the first and only detailed genealogical tracing and proving to a high standard of a descent from a *Clotilda* survivor down to the present.)
- Stacye Hathorne and James P. Delgado, “‘Finding’ *Clotilda*: Now What Happens?” *Alabama Heritage*, Fall 2021, pp. 10-23.
- Karim Shamsi-Basha, “*Clotilda* Descendants Association is an Alabama Bright Light Shining on a Dark History,” *AlabamaNewsCenter.com*, 24 September 2021, on-line.
- Jeremy D. Ellis, “A Case Study for Reparations: *Clotilda* and the Story of the 110,” *AL.com*, 10 June 2021. (Ellis states he is a 6<sup>th</sup> generation descendant of Polee and Rose Allen.)
- CBS News—60 Minutes, “The *Clotilda*: Inside the Wreck of the Last Ship Known to Have Brought Enslaved Africans to America,” air date 29 November 2020.
- Sylviane A. Diouf, “The Last Slave Ship Survivor and Her Descendants Identified,” *National Geographic Magazine*, 27 March 2020, on-line.
- Hannah Durkin, “Uncovering the Hidden Lives of Last *Clotilda* Survivor Matilda McCrear and her Family,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 41, (3), 19 March 2020, pp. 431-457.
- Henry Louis Gates, “Slave Trade: Finding Your Roots,” Season 6, Episode 8 (PBS segment on Questlove and his ancestors Charlie and Maggie Lewis of the *Clotilda* and Africatown), aired 11 February 2020.
- Renee Kemp-Rotan, “If We Can Save the Ship, We Can Save the Town,” *American Roundtable*, n.d. but apparently December 2019, at: <https://archleague.org/article/africatown-intro/>
- Hannah Durkin, “Finding Last Middle Passage Survivor Sally ‘Rendoshi’ Smith on the Page and Screen,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 40, (4), 26 March 2019, pp. 631-648.
- Ben Raines, “Sunken Treasure: A Reporter’s Remarkable Account of Finding the Last Slave Ship,” *Lagniappe Magazine*, 31 December 2019.
- Lawrence Specker, “The Inside Story of the Long, Strange Search for the *Clotilda*,” *AL.com*, 24 May 2019, online.

- Joel K. Bourne, Jr. “Their Ancestors Survived Slavery – Can Their Descendants Save the Town They Built?” (re Africatown, including an interview with Darron Patterson), *National Geographic Magazine*, 15 February 2019, online.
- Brent Staples, “America’s Last Slave Ship, and Slavery’s Stain,” *The New York Times*, 3 February 2018.
- Zora Neale Huston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last Black Cargo* (New York: HarperCollins, ed. by Deborah G. Plant, 2018).
- Descendants of Polee Allen (*Clotilda*), Facebook Group [private closed group; I am now a member], est. 2018.
- Henry Louis Gates, “Southern Roots: Finding Your Roots,” Season 4, Episode 9 (PBS segment on the *Clotilda* and Africatown), aired 12 December 2017.
- Martha Davis Vignes, *The Clotilda and Africatown USA: Local Media Coverage of the Ship, the Africans, and the Historic Landmark from 1860 to 1991* (Mobile, AL: University of South Alabama, M.A. Thesis, 2011).
- Natalie S. Robertson, *The Slave Ship Clotilda and the Making of AfricaTown, USA – Spirit of Our Ancestors* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008).
- Sylviane A. Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama: The Slave Ship Clotilda and the Story of the Last Africans Brought to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Addie E. Pettaway, *Africatown, U.S.A.: Some Aspects of Folklife and Material Culture of a Historic Landscape* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin State Dept. of Public Instruction, 1985).
- Progressive League, *Africatown, U.S.A., Statement of Eligibility for the National Register* (London: Progressive League, 1982).
- John H. Smith, *Africatown, U.S.A., A Pictorial History of Plateau and Magazine Point* (Mobile, AL: American Ethnic Science Society, 1981).
- Progressive League, *The Voyage of the Clotilda and the Africatown Settlement: An Historic Resource Inventory* (London: Progressive League, 1979).
- Capt. William Foster, “Letter to Mr. Donaldson, an account of the *Clotilda* voyage,” 29 September 1890, online at: <http://digital.mobilepubliclibrary.org/items/show/1802>.

During the course of the expedition, Mr. Ben Raines, who played a pivotal role in identifying the *Clotilda*, published a book on his efforts, called *The Last Slave Ship* (New York: Simon and Schuster, January 2022) 304 pp.

Much of this work is extremely useful, and was drawn upon in this effort. However, significant gaps in basic granular information about Africatown and its residents still exist, particularly the following: facts about early community leaders other than the famous Cudjo Lewis; proofs of descent from Polee and Rose Allen (and other co-founders of the town) down to the present; land holdings and rented home locations of early leaders; and inputs for the new, under-construction Africatown museum.

## Summary of Genealogical Findings

In brief, the Expedition developed the following:

- A final report on descendant lines to the present of Polee and Rose Allen, and with more than anticipated information on descendants of Polee and his second wife, Lucy Turner. This report is 117 pages long, with hundreds of proof items and numerous charts showing lines of descent. Over 160 descendants are presented, most with birth and death dates. There are eight generations shown, and there are a number of persons presented who are alive today. This latter information should be useful to the *Clotilda* Descendants Association in building its membership. This lengthy report is published separately from this Flag Expedition Report, as a separate Attachment. The Attachment being submitted to the Club with this Report is a draft, which will be finalized in the near future.
- The possibility of a future report on descendant lines to the present of Ossa and Annie Keeby. Ossa Keeby was selected as one of two informal, tribal judges of Africatown, and was on the *Clotilda* and he and his wife were co-founders of the town. An investigation of this line will be undertaken in future.

The Polee Allen report is done to high genealogical standards. No such report on any *Clotilda*/Africatown descendants has been done previously by any author, with the exception of the similar Matilda McCrear report that I wrote and published in the fall of 2021.

## Other Activities and Accomplishments

In addition to the activities and accomplishments listed above and below, the Expedition accomplished the following:

- Identified and secured a previously unpublished photo of the most famous Africatown resident, Cudjo Lewis. The photo is labeled as "Uncle Cudjo" and "Helen." The photo was likely taken by my mother, Mary Morgan Duggar Toulmin, and it shows my aunt, Helen Duggar Conwell, with Cudjo, and Cudjo's house, including a part of his house not previously photographed before. This photo is explained and presented in the Annexes. This photo may be historically important, since it was apparently taken in 1935 and is likely the last photo taken of Mr. Lewis, who died in July 1935. It may be possible to enhance the photo in a future effort, and obtain even more information from it.
- Developed a concept for a major display at the new Africatown Heritage House museum, based on the genealogical charts presented in the Polee and Rose Allen report. The display would show the charts, and invite viewers, especially children, who descend from the Allens to trace their ancestry, win a prize when they make the connection, and add elements to the printed charts if they or other persons are missing. Other blank charts would invite visitors descended from the *Clotilda* or Africatown to draw their family trees.
- Wrote a song about the life of Polee (KuPollee) Allen; this is shown in the Annexes. The song was presented to President Patterson of the CDA for its possible future use.

- Visited the site of the wreck of the *Clotilda* and commemorated the sacrifices and memory of the captives with a special African-style libation ceremony.
- Undertook an unusual interview with a *Clotilda* descendant and Africatown resident who doubts that the *Clotilda* story is true. This is presented in an Annex. (Note that I firmly disagree with this resident, but it was an interesting perspective.)
- Developed a methodology for future additional research on land holdings of the original Africatown residents, and for publishing those data.
- Developed a methodology for identifying some missing *Clotilda* descendants in the historical record, and used it to possibly identify over a dozen target persons.
- Undertook research into the genealogical lines of two persons who separately approached the CDA and thought that they might be descended from the *Clotilda*. That work is still in process.
- Preliminarily investigated the possibility that some descendants of the *Clotilda* captives might have gone from the Selma area to Gee's Bend, the famous small, isolated town in central Alabama which produced some astounding quilts which took the art world by storm from 2002 to 2015.
- Identified the fact that the University of South Alabama (U-SA) Archaeology Museum has recently received archaeological artifacts unearthed about 11 years ago by archaeologists from the College of William and Mary. Those artifacts only recently arrived at U-SA, and may perhaps be more appropriately housed at the new Africatown Heritage House museum, and may turn out to be a very important part of their exhibits.
- Undertook preliminary research into the descendants of Sally Smith (a.k.a. "Redoshi" (c. 1848-1937)), one of the last survivors of the *Clotilda*.
- Calculated the approximate number of descendants alive today that Polee and Rose and Lucy Allen could have – this number is estimated to be over 1100.
- Identified a possible source of future information – a cache of funeral programs related to *Clotilda* descendants.
- Collected over 50 obituaries relevant to the Allen clan and other descendants.

## Targets for Possible Archaeological, Historical and Land Ownership Investigation

Part of the Flag Expedition's purpose was to identify possible targets for future archaeological and historical investigations, and possibly land title and ownership tracing back to the founders of Africatown. This effort yielded the following results:

**Target 1: The first and second Union Baptist Church** predecessor buildings located in Africatown.

Location: Approximately 10-40 yards west of the present, brick Union Baptist Church. Some of the old structures may be under the present church parking lot, just west of the church. The two early versions of the Church faced east, not south like the present church. The earliest church building was furthest west, and the second structure was closest to the present brick building.

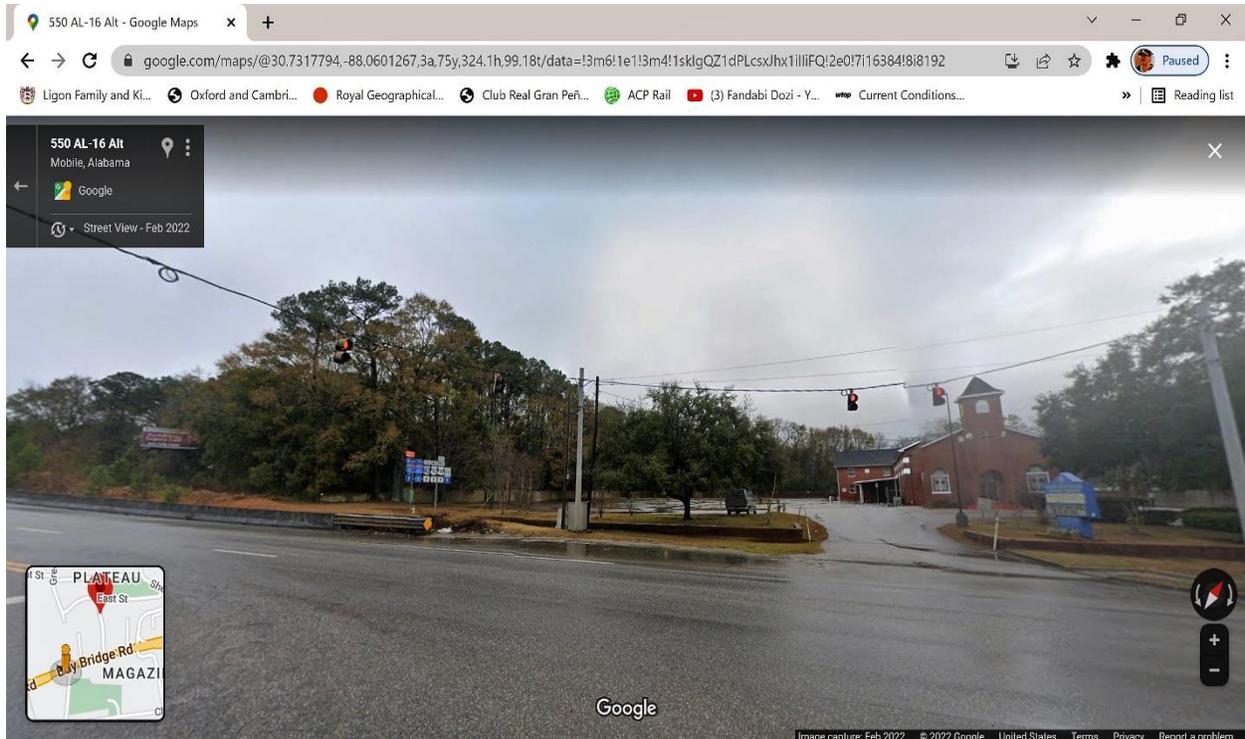
Approximate lat/long: 30.732265, -88.060637

Respondent: Eric Finley, of the Doris Franklin Finley African-American Heritage Trail

Date of Interview and interviewer: 7 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Respondent states that the office of the Church archives has extensive information on the church history, including photos of the early churches, may have ground plans, and does have church records including programs for Sunday services dating back to the late 1800s.

Image of Union Baptist Church location from Google Earth (2019), below:



**Target 2: Polee Allen property.** Polee Allen was a *Clotilda* survivor and Africatown co-founder and leader.

Location: on the south side of Magazine Road, just SE of the intersection of Magazine Road with Bay Bridge Road/Africatown Boulevard.

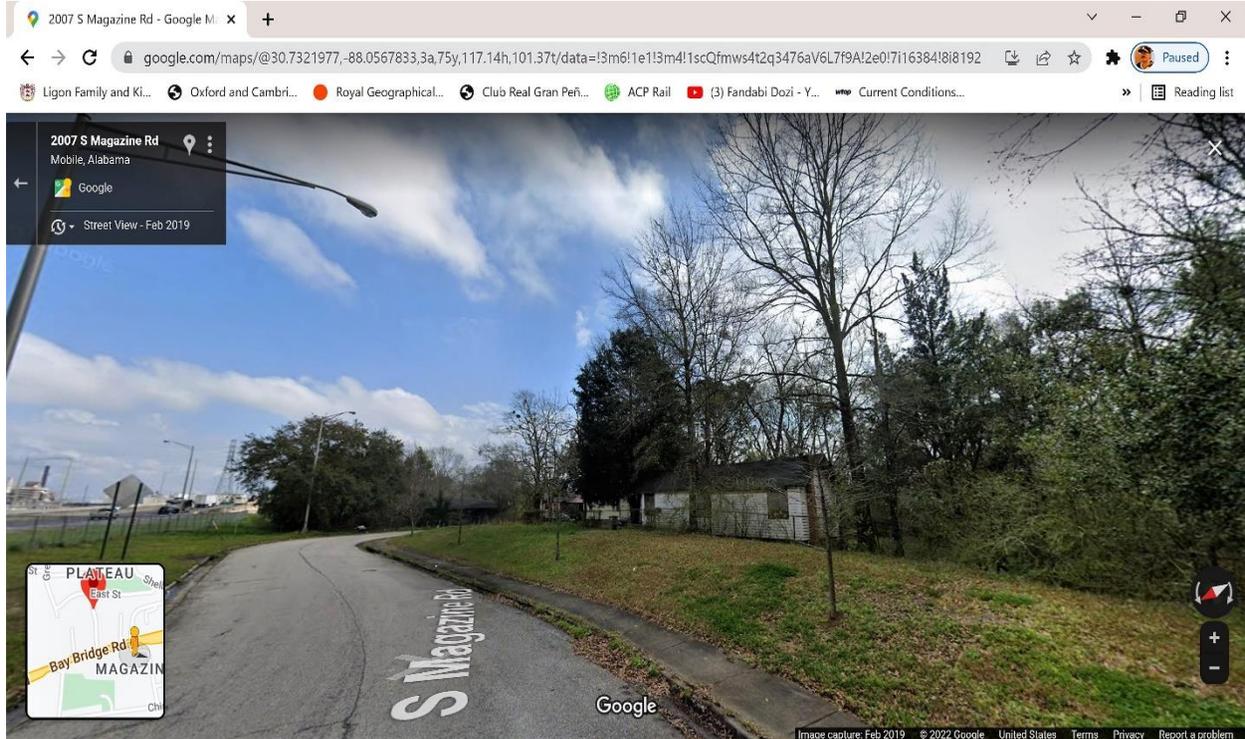
Approximate lat/long: 30.732126, -88.056469

Respondent: Eric Finley, of the Doris Franklin Finley African-American Heritage Trail

Date of Interview and interviewer: 7 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Respondent states that Polee Allen had a house in this area. Respondent is not certain if this was Polee's first house with his first wife Rose, or was possibly a second house, perhaps with his second wife (Lucy).

Image of Polee Allen property area, from Google Earth (2019):



**Target 3: Keeby family residence.** Ossa and Annie Keeby were *Clotilda* survivors and Africatown co-founders and leaders.

Location: on the east side of Magazine Road, just south of where Magazine Road turns south, and north of the intersection of Magazine Road and Frazier Street. Building is dilapidated and now has a “No Trespassing” sign on the door. Address from Google Earth is 2008 South Magazine Rd.

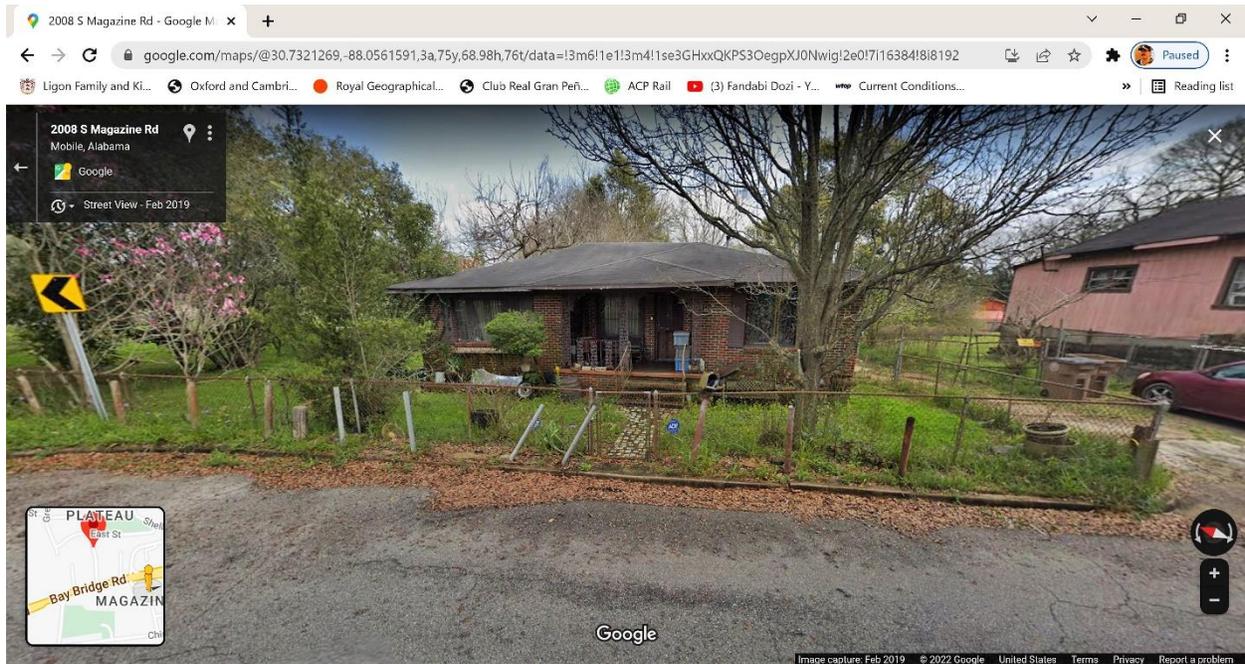
Approximate lat/long: 30.732150, -88.056125

Respondent: Eric Finley, of the Doris Franklin Finley African-American Heritage Trail

Date of Interview and interviewer: 7 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Respondent states that this house belonged to the Keeby family; he is not certain if it belonged to and was lived in by the original Keeby couple – Ossa and Annie.

Image of location of Keeby residence from Google Earth (2019), below:



**Target 4: Peter Lee property.** Peter Lee was a *Clotilda* survivor and an Africatown co-founder, and has been described as the principal leader of the town.

Location: on the NE corner of the intersection of Peter Lee Street and Bay Bridge Road/Africatown Boulevard.

Approximate lat/long: 30.732422, -88.058270

Respondents: Eric Finley, of the Doris Franklin Finley African-American Heritage Trail, and Sarah Johnson, MPA, MSW, Director of BSW Student Services, Illinois State University, [sajohn2@ilstu.edu](mailto:sajohn2@ilstu.edu); [sabracy@gmail.com](mailto:sabracy@gmail.com); 309-438-3924. She is a descendant of Peter Lee.

Date of Interview and interviewer: 7 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Respondent Johnson states that her family still owns the property at this location, that five persons from the older generation hold the deed, that they are interested in archaeology and perhaps building a memorial or other structure on the property, but are not decided yet. She pointed out the remaining, famous chimney from the Peter Lee house, on the south side of the property, overlooking Bay Bridge Road, but noted that one small structure, a shed, still remains standing on the property. She states that her family owned a business (a beauty parlor?) that fronted on Peter Lee street, but nothing remains of that.

Image of Peter Lee property from Google Earth (2019):

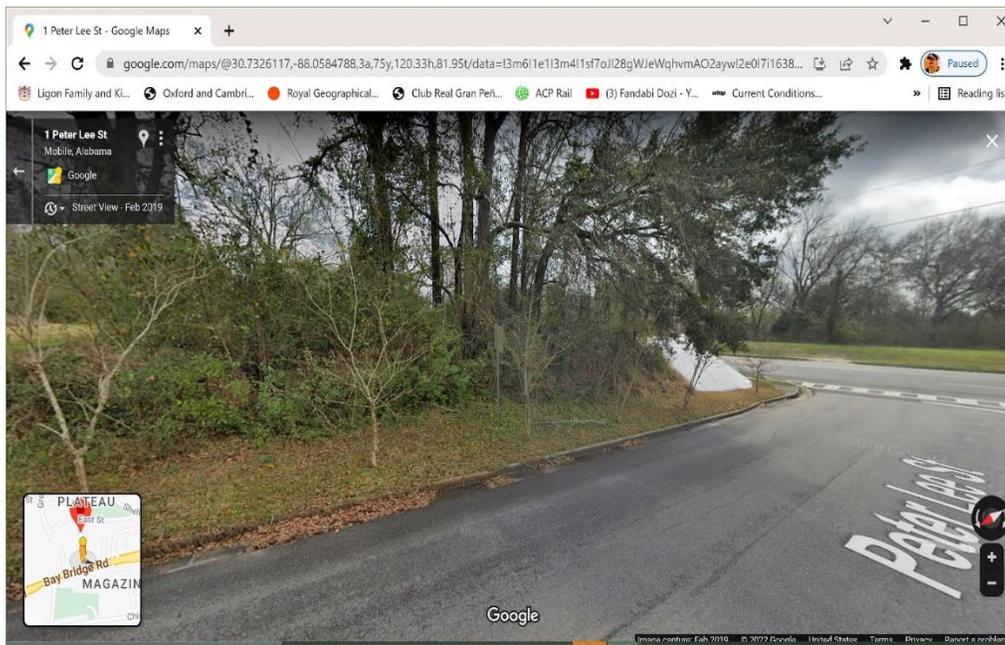


Image of Peter Lee home chimney, just above the *Clotilda* painting:



**Target 5: Rosina Allen home.** Rosina Allen was a grand daughter of Polee and Rose Allen, and she married William “Tippin’ William” Taylor.

Location: on the north side of Chin Street, on the dead-end part of Chin Street west of Bay Bridge Cutoff Road.

Approximate lat/long: 30.72987, -88.0606

Respondents: Darron Patterson, President of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association.

Date of Interview and interviewer: 27 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Respondent Patterson states that William Taylor was called “Tippin’ William” and had a second family elsewhere with a mistress.

Image of Rosina Allen property from photo by Lew Toulmin, March 2022:



**Target 6: Mary Allen home.** Mary Allen was a daughter of Polee and Rose Allen.

Location: on the west side of Magazine Road, south of Bay Bridge Road.

Approximate lat/long: 30.72987, -88.0606

Respondent: Darron Patterson, President of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association.

Date of Interview and interviewer: 27 March 2022, Lew Toulmin

Notes: Blue house at 1983 Magazine.

Image of Mary Allen property from photo by Lew Toulmin, March 2022:



## Land Ownership Map

Below is a land ownership map from Diouf, *op. cit.*, in the photo pages after page 116, showing land ownership by various persons and organizations in Africatown in the 1920s. A source is not given except for the rather vague Rutgers University Cartography. But whether this information came from respondents or land records is not described, and Rutgers does not appear in the extensive bibliography.

Unfortunately, this map is not very useful as is. There are no street names or other major markers evident to make it clear how this map overlays on present reality, or on the reality of the 1920s. There is a scale and a compass rose, which are helpful.

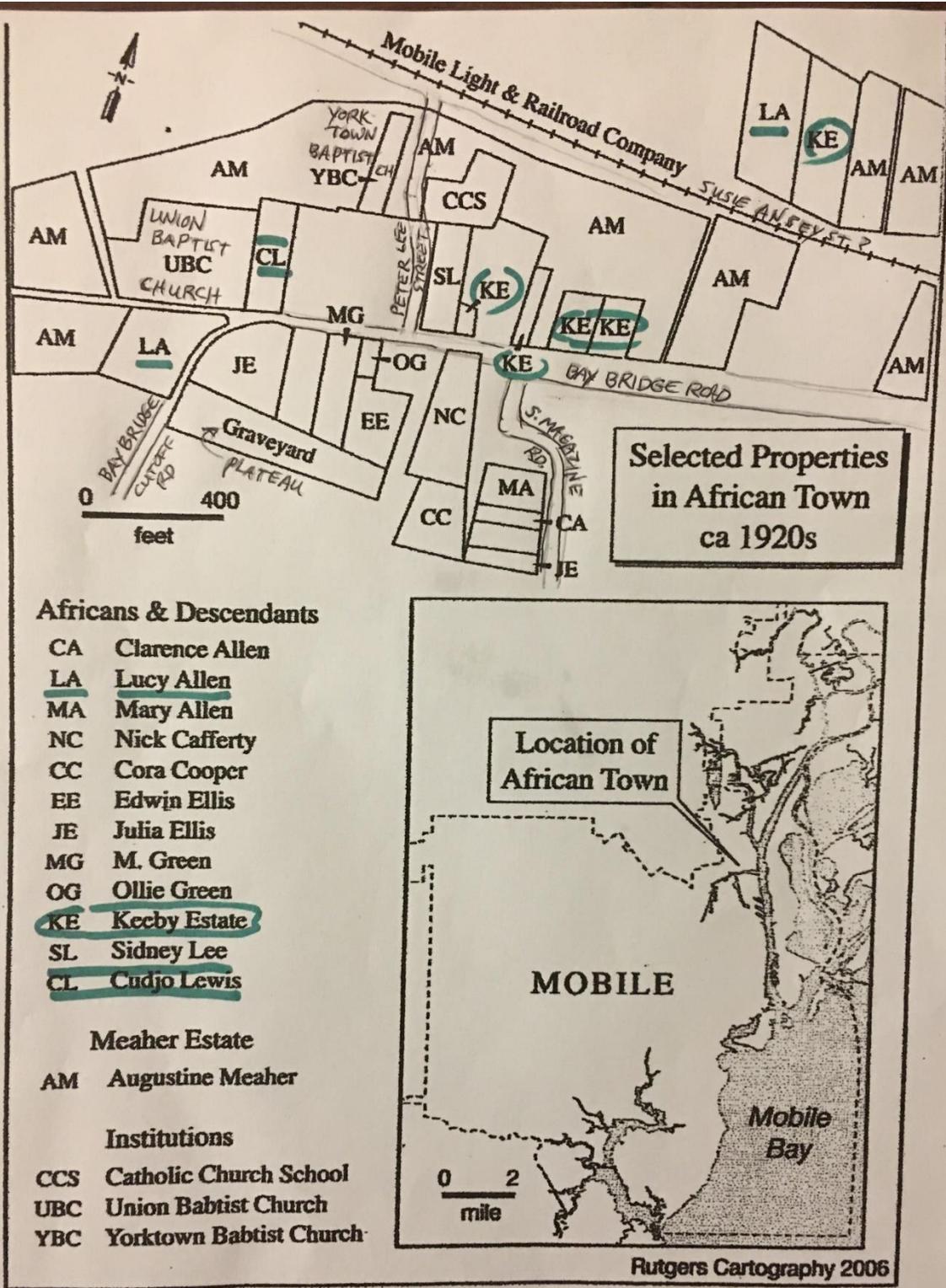
To make the map more useful, and add value, I have undertaken the following:

- Attempted to estimate where some roads are now located, and draw and label them by hand on the map. I am fairly certain of the Bay Bridge Road (recently renamed Africatown Boulevard), the Bay Bridge Cutoff Road, S. Magazine Road, and Peter Lee Street, as shown, but am not so certain of the current Susie Ansey Street, which I think runs where the Mobile Light & Railroad Co. line is shown on the north side of the printed map.
- Highlighted in green several key people's holding: Lucy Allen (2<sup>nd</sup> surviving wife of Polee Allen), Cudjo Lewis and the Keeby Estate.
- Noted two landmarks: the Union Baptist Church and the Yorktown Baptist Church. Also noted the Plateau Graveyard, which is shown as quite narrow on the map, but today is apparently wider.

All this may help in future historical and archaeological research, to identify land parcels of interest for possible excavation.

Note the following findings:

- The only Cudjo Lewis property is just east of the Union Baptist Church property.
- The Keeby Estate holdings are all concentrated just north of Bay Bridge Road (but with one unit off to the NNE), although respondent Finley in his interview indicated that the Keeby family he was familiar with lived on South Magazine Road, south of Bay Bridge Road.
- Lucy Allen has two properties, one in the NE quadrant of town, and one in the SW.



African Town. Rutgers University Cartography.

## Any Toulmin Connection?

Dr. Natalie S. Robertson, in her book *The Slave Ship Clotilda and the Making of AfricaTown, USA – Spirit of Our Ancestors*, asserted on pages 65 and 203 that John M. Dabney hid many of the *Clotilda* captives in the canebrake on his plantation north of Mobile, at Mt. Vernon, and that Dabney had a “patron” relationship with Harry Theophilus Toulmin. Harry is my 3<sup>rd</sup> great uncle, so naturally I wanted to pursue this interesting statement and obtain the facts and details.

Harry Theophilus Toulmin was born in Mobile, Alabama on March 4, 1838, the son of Theophilus Lindsay Toulmin (born June 1796 in Lexington, Kentucky, died 4 July 1866 in Toulminville, Alabama). T. L. Toulmin served variously as Sheriff, State Senator, Postmaster, Brigadier General of the Alabama Militia, founder of Toulminville, Alabama (now part of Mobile), and Chairman of the Electoral College which selected Martin Van Buren as President in 1840. Thus he was a very powerful and influential man.

His son Harry Theophilus Toulmin was educated at the University of Alabama. He also attended classes for one year at The University of Virginia and then took a course in legal lectures at the University of Louisiana. He worked very closely under the direction of the Honorable Robert H. Smith, a prominent Mobile attorney, who served in the Alabama State Legislature. During the Civil War Smith served in the Confederate Provisional Congress, was a signer of the Confederate Constitution, and was made a Colonel in the Confederate Army.

After his education, Harry T. Toulmin immediately passed his bar exam and in July of 1860 formed a partnership with his former tutor. He also became a Senior Warden at Trinity Episcopal Church in downtown Mobile.

Just as Harry Toulmin's practice began to flourish, Alabama seceded from the United States. On April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1861, Harry took leave from his law practice and enlisted as a private in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Alabama Infantry. His first promotion came in September of that same year when he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant of H Company. Shortly thereafter he was promoted to Captain of that same unit.

Toulmin fought at the massive battle of Shiloh, where he was wounded, and he subsequently fought in the battles of Murfreesboro, Perryville, Missionary Ridge and Chickamauga. At Chickamauga he captured a Union cavalry sword, which he carried for the rest of the war, since it was heavier, longer and better made than his Confederate sword. (That Union sword is in my possession.) He was promoted to Major after Chickamauga. Shortly thereafter he obtained the rank of Lt. Colonel and then in July of 1864 he was promoted to full Colonel, commanding the 22<sup>nd</sup> Alabama. He served as Colonel throughout the Atlanta campaign, the Battles of Franklin and Nashville and up until surrender with General Johnston at Greensboro N.C. on April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1865. While his service was distinguished and his accounts of the battles were stirring, it must be said that some of his rapid promotion is attributable to the numerous letters he wrote to prominent Alabama leaders.

After the war Col. Toulmin swore allegiance to the USA, resumed his private law practice, then served in the Alabama House of Representatives as a Democrat from 1870 to 1872. He served as an Alabama judge from 1874 to 1882, then in 1886 was nominated by President Grover Cleveland to serve on the US District Court for the Southern District of Alabama. He served on that Court as a respected and well-known judge until his death in Toulminville on 12 November 1916.

Robertson's assertion of a "patron" relationship between Colonel/Judge Toulmin and John M. Dabney raises several questions:

1. What does that mean in this context?
2. Is there any chance that some of the *Clotilda* enslaved became slaves of Harry Toulmin?
3. Since Harry was only 23 in 1860, is it possible that some of the *Clotilda* enslaved became the slaves of Harry's more powerful and wealthy father, Theophilus Lindsey Toulmin?

My research into these questions revealed the following:

Robertson states that "Lists of Accounts in Petty Ledger, Code MISC, Book F, pp. 372-77, 1856, Mobile Probate Archives" supports her statement that a "patron" of John M. Dabney was Harry Theophilus Toulmin. My in-person review of pages 369 to 377 of that book at the Mobile Probate Archives shows that the name of Harry Toulmin does appear on page 372, near the top of the page, as owing \$38.45. However, the list of debts is not connected to John M. Dabney, rather the list is "Schedule A" in a "List of Accounts in the Old Ledger of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1856." This Ledger does not seem to relate in any way to Dabney. Rather it is an astounding list of hundreds and hundreds of gold and silver items sold for \$25,000 (an immense sum at the time) from silversmiths Albert Leslie and Franklin Leslie of Mobile to a James Kelly. No mention of Dabney is in evidence. The pages first list the sale of \$1000 worth of gold and silver items (bracelets, rings, etc., enumerated,) from the Leslies to Kelly, then list the sale of the \$25,000 worth of items (all enumerated in great detail), then provides Schedule A, which appears to be a list of debtors to the Leslies, which is being sold on to Kelly. Examples of the items listed in the sale include 69 gold watches, 138 gold split rings, 9 diamond and opal rings, 193 pairs of gold earrings, and so on, for pages. It is not clear why the Leslies are selling what appears to be their entire stock, since they did not go out of business or die until much later, after the war.

On page 377 in Book F, under an alphabetical list, apparently of the minor accounts of the Leslies, is shown "Capt. H. Toulmin," owing \$7.25. This is almost certainly "Little Harry" Toulmin, the son of Judge Harry Toulmin (a founder of the state of Alabama). Judge Harry Toulmin (not to be confused with Judge Harry Theophilus Toulmin!) was the father of Theophilus Lindsey Toulmin, and the latter was the half-brother of "Little Harry." "Little Harry" was a Captain in the US Army, rejected the Confederacy, moved north to Pennsylvania before the Civil War, and his branch of the family stayed there. But again, there is no tie from this Toulmin to Dabney or the *Clotilda*.

According to Geni.com, John Milton Dabney was born 9 December 1818 in King William County, Virginia, and died in March 1881 at Mt. Vernon, Mobile County, Alabama, at the age of 62. This death date means that his will and administration papers would not contain any information on any enslaved persons owned, since they would have been freed many years prior to his death.

The last ship's manifest for the *Clotilda* is dated 27 February 1860, when the ship departed Mobile for "St. Thomas or a Market" carrying 41,000 feet of lumber, 18 barrels of whiskey, 75 barrels of flour, 46 barrels of beef, and 74 barrels of bread, with William Foster as ship's master. (National Archives at Atlanta, The *Clotilda*, A Finding Aid, box 93, on-line at <https://www.archives.gov/files/atlanta/finding-aids/clotilda.pdf>). As is now known, the vessel did not sell the lumber or go to St. Thomas, but instead the crew built slave pens below for the anticipated cargo of slaves, and produced no manifest listing the illegal slaves carried on the return voyage from Africa. Hence the only names known of the enslaved

persons carried are those 32 founders of Africatown put together by later researchers, plus two women identified in central Alabama.

Harry T. Toulmin is listed as a 23-year-old lawyer in the 1860 US Census for Mobile, living in the household of his father Theophilus L. Toulmin and mother Amant E. Toulmin. See below.

30		Henry Gibson	1 M						
31		James Cault	35 M		Labour	✓			
32	1/16 Sep	Theophilus L. Toulmin	44 M	✓	Farmer	✓	28,000	75,000	Kentucky
33		Amant E. Toulmin	40 F						Alabama
34		Harry T. Toulmin	23 M		Lawyer	✓			"
35	1/4 Sep	William D. Cleveland	40 M	✓	Farmer	✓	21,000	40,000	Georgia
36		Amant E. Cleveland	35 F						Alabama
37		George F. Cleveland	31 M						"

Although only 23, Harry T. Toulmin is listed as having seven slaves, ranging in age from 38 to less than 1, two females and five males, in the 1860 slave schedule:

38	Harry T. Toulmin	1	38	2	0
39		1	15	5	0
40		1	20	0	0
41		1	19	0	0
42		1	8	0	0
43		1	6	0	0
44		1	0	0	0
45	William D. Cleveland	1	25	5	0
46					

This schedule's information was collected on 8 October 1860. So it is conceivable that some of the enslaved from the *Clotilda* (which arrived in Mobile in July 1860) could be among these unnamed persons. Unfortunately, since the names and other biographical information are not given, it is not possible to determine their origin.

Cudjo Lewis and other contemporary respondents do not list Harry T. Toulmin (or any Toulmin) as receiving slaves from the *Clotilda*, or as being investors or participants in any way in the *Clotilda* voyage.

Harry's wealthy father Theophilus L. Toulmin enslaved 77 persons in 1860 (per the 1860 US Census slave schedule). These enslaved persons are not named, so it is not possible to see if there is an overlap with any names from the *Clotilda* captives.

T.L. Toulmin leased out some of his slaves to the Confederate Army during at least the months of January, February and March 1864 (per Ancestry.com, Confederate Army Payrolls for Enslaved Labor). The names of these persons are recorded, as: Lundy, Lewis, Joe, Matt, Columbus, John and Will. These seven men worked for the CSA, apparently putting in an average of 12 to 27 hours each month, and Toulmin received \$1.00 per hour for their labor, realizing the substantial sum of \$440.00 for that period. It may be that he received other payments for leased enslaved labor also, but that the records are missing. The names of the seven men listed do not match any of the known *Clotilda* names, but of course only about 25-30 percent of the *Clotilda* names are known to history.

There is no paperwork showing that Harry T. Toulmin leased out his slaves to the Confederate Army.

T.L. Toulmin died in July 1866, so his estate papers would not list any slaves.

Summarizing these findings, it appears that Robertson may have made an error in asserting a link between Harry T. Toulmin (or any Toulmin) with John M. Dabney or the *Clotilda*. There is no evidence produced to date of such a link. Of course, there is the possibility that such a link, “patronage,” or even transfer of enslaved *Clotilda* survivors occurred. But there is no paper trail produced so far to support those ideas. An email was sent to Dr. Robertson in March 2022, inquiring about this matter, but no reply was received.

## Participants in the Expedition

Participants who were proposed or mentioned in Flag Application for this expedition and who participated included:

- Lew Toulmin, PhD, FRGS, FN '04, Expedition Leader
- Jasmine Burr, SM '21, Researcher
- Darron Patterson, President, *Clotilda* Descendants Association (CDA)
- Vernetta Henson, Polee and Rose Allen descendant and respondent.

A participant who was not anticipated in the proposal but who was helpful and active was Clarence Wall, Jr. (not a member of TEC), Secretary of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association, who volunteered to provide information on his descent from Ossa and Annie Keeby of the *Clotilda* and Africatown, and who thus inspired a new, additional and not previously anticipated report on this line. This report will be worked on in the future, after the end of this Expedition.

Another participant who was recruited for the genealogical research and who worked on the Rudolph Ellis line was Ryan Crutchfield, RPA, FN '21 of Tampa; he is a Fellow of the Club.

Rebecca Davis (not a member of TEC), listed in the Flag Application, was not able to participate due to an unexpectedly heavy teaching workload. There were sufficient resources available to make up for her non-participation.

## Covid Precautions

Team members were fully vaccinated and boosted, or worked remotely on research, and wore masks during in-person interviews and field inspections.

## Annex A Maps of the Area

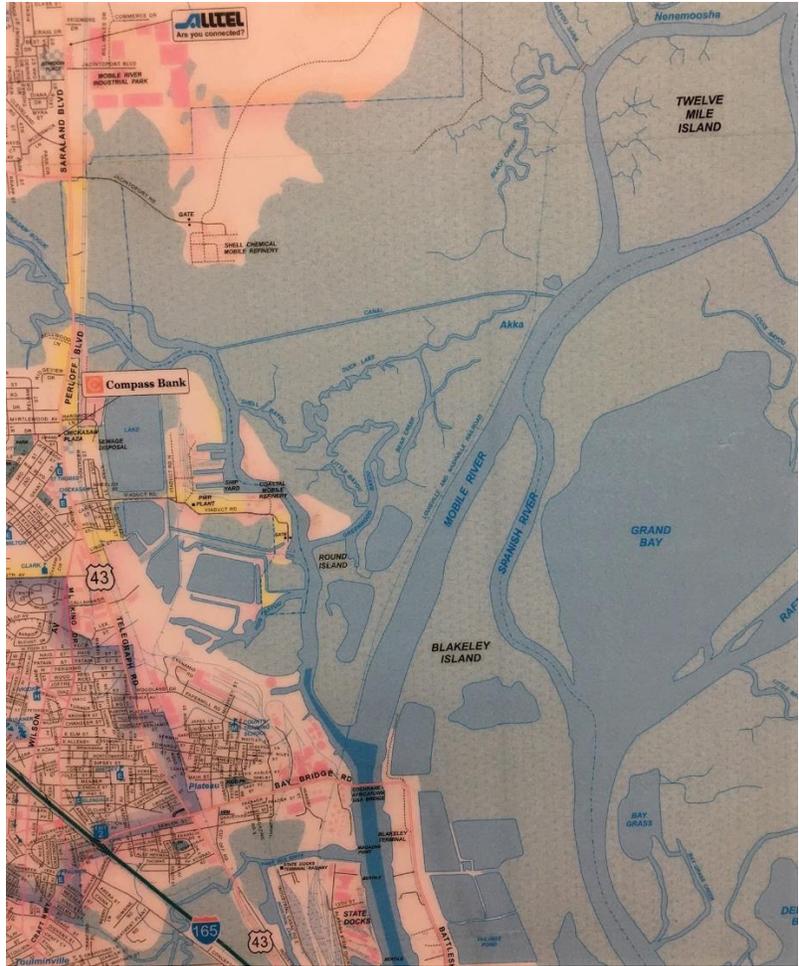


Map of Alabama, showing Mobile and its Africatown community in the state's SW corner, near Mobile Bay. Africatown is the only community in the US founded by Africans that is still in existence.

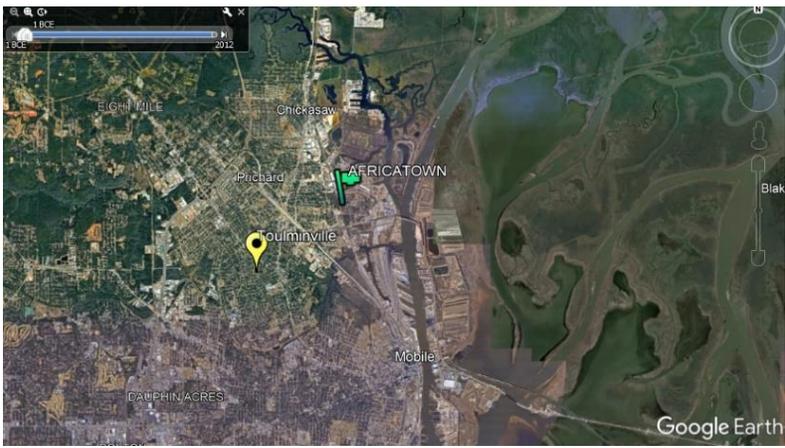
Approximate location of the wreck of the *Clotilda*, in Baldwin County off Twelve Mile Island in the Mobile River. (Upper red arrow)

Africatown (now part of north Mobile, is SSW of the *Clotilda* about 4 miles (Lower red arrow)





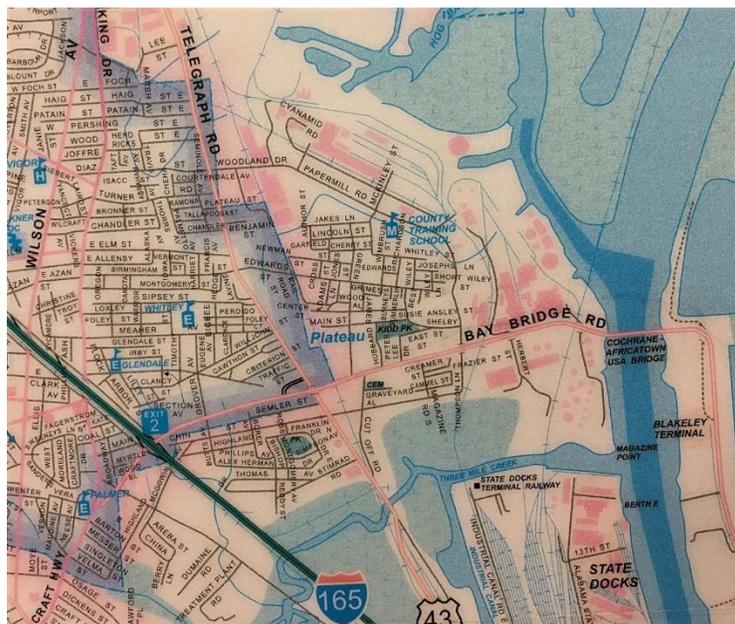
Africatown is in the lower left of the map, and 12 Mile Island is in the upper right, about four miles NE of Africatown. The *Clotilda* was scuttled and burned on the SE side of the Island.



Google Earth image of Africatown, with the huge Mobile Delta to the east, downtown Mobile to the south, and Toulminville (founded by my 3<sup>rd</sup> great-grandfather) to the southwest.



Land use map of Africatown, showing the community in green and yellow in the center of the map; the purple shows the heavy industry, chemical waste ponds and landfills that surround three quarters of the community.



Map of Africatown, cut in half by the east-west “Bay Bridge Road” (now renamed Africatown Boulevard) and the massive Cochrane/Africatown high bridge and by the north-south Route 43 and I-65. These highways helped destroy the commercial and cultural heart of the town.

**Annex B**  
**Images of the Expedition**



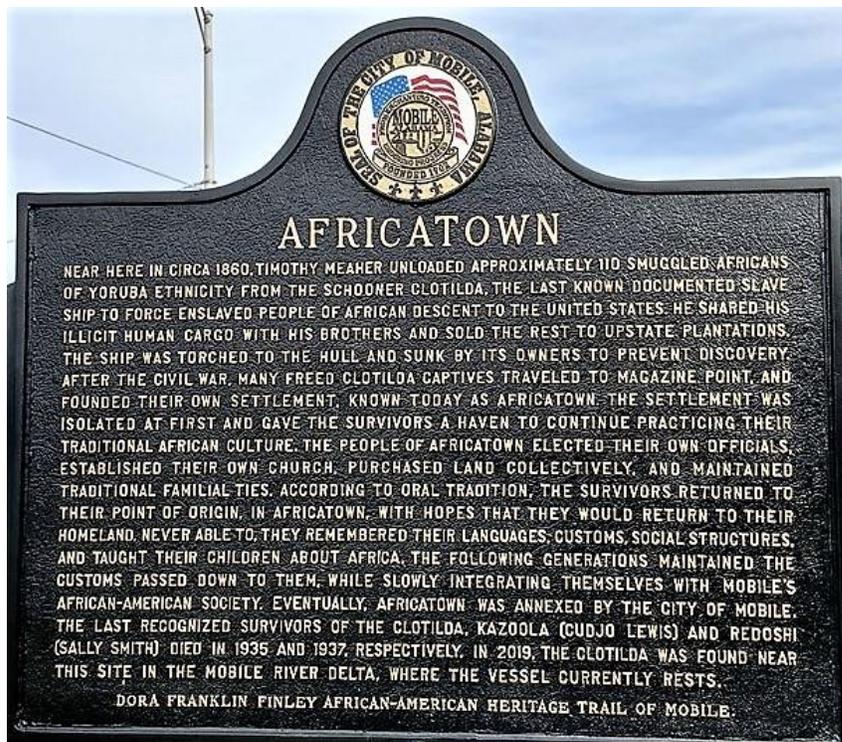
Sign at the entrance to Africatown



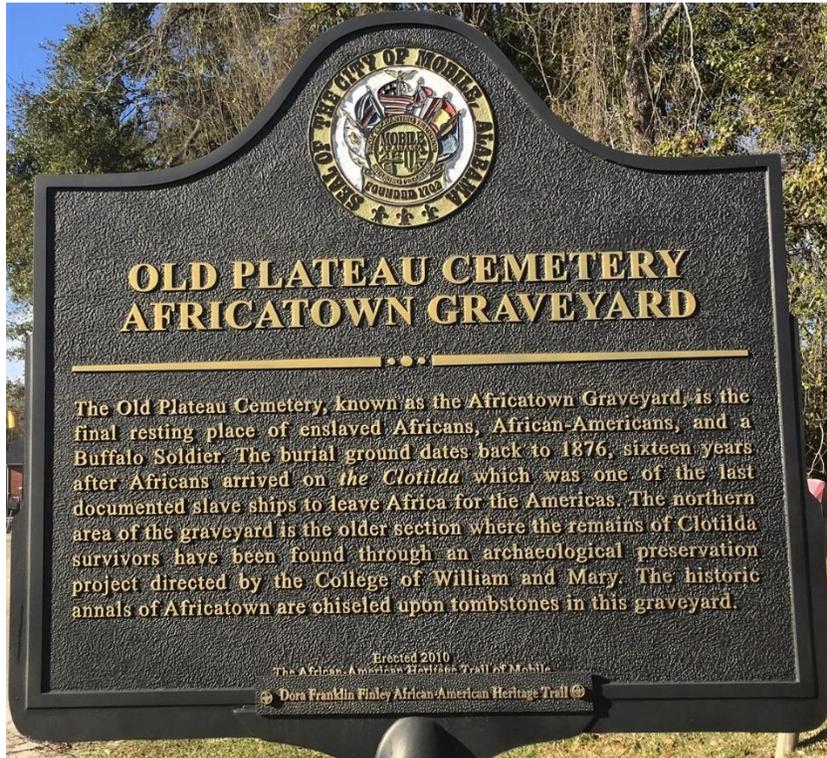
Dancers at a Black History Month festival pose in front of the sign marking the site of the future Africatown welcome center.



A sign for the future Africatown Welcome Center, on a hill overlooking the historic Plateau Cemetery. Unfortunately, according to one respondent, the construction of the Center has been delayed by three years because the City of Mobile has not allocated the money to relocate graves under the construction site.



Historic marker in Africatown



Marker for the Plateau cemetery, where many *Clotilda* survivors and descendants are buried.



Left: an attractive residential street in Africatown. Right: Africatown's Union Missionary Baptist Church, an anchor of the community.



Left: some of the many blighted and abandoned houses in Africatown.  
Right: some of the heavy industry that borders and still pollutes the town, as seen from the immense Cochrane-Africatown USA bridge.



Architect's drawing of the Africatown Heritage House museum and welcome center, now under construction (but delayed due to Covid and shipping problems).



The new museum under construction in March 2022



Image of the infamous slave ship *Clotilda* (sometimes spelled *Clotilde*) painted on large tiles, near the entrance to Africatown. The ship was chosen for the slaving voyage to Africa, because it was reputed to be the “fastest vessel on the Gulf Coast,” and thus could outrun the numerous anti-slavery vessels of the British and US navies.



Interior of the *Clotilda* with its cargo of 110 enslaved Africans – artist’s conception. One reason that the ship was burned was that the captain and owner knew that if a ship’s hold was found to be full of human feces, this was often used as evidence in prosecuting slave runners, even if the slaves themselves could not be located. The *Clotilda* had about 55 to 70 days of 110 people’s feces in the hold, so she was burned and scuttled. But the slave trade was so profitable that this seemingly insane act was well worth it to the owners.

There I got a Steam Ferry to take  
Schn up Spanish river into the  
Ola river; at "Twelve Mile Island"  
I transferred my Slaves to a river  
Steamboat, and sent them up into the  
canebrake to hide them until further  
disposal. I then burned my Schn.  
to the waters edge and sunk her.

Page from Captain William Foster’s detailed, boasting, 1890 account of the *Clotilda*’s 1860 voyage, where he states, “I transferred my Slaves to a river steamboat, and sent them up into the canebrake to hide them until further disposal. I then burned my Schn. (Schooner) to the waters edge and sunk her.”



Sonar images of the underwater wreck of the *Clotilda* – now listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2021. This vessel was conclusively identified as the *Clotilda* by a team led by James P. Delgado of SEARCH, Inc. and Fellow of The Explorers Club, and with the involvement and backing of the Alabama Historical Commission, National Geographic Society, Smithsonian’s National Museum of African American History and Culture and its Slave Wrecks Program, Divers with a Purpose, the Black Scuba Divers Association, and the George Washington University Maritime Archaeology Department. The team’s efforts led to the listing on the National Register.



Polee and Rose Allen and *Clotilda* descendant Darron Patterson is the President of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association, requested the proposed research and expedition, and played a key role in its efforts.



Polee and Rose Allen and *Clotilda* descendant Vernetta Alfredetta Henson was a major information source for the expedition.



Vernetta Henson with the *National Geographic* issue showing her ancestor Polee Allen, and her photo.



On a boat over the *Clotilda* wreck site, are, from left, Gary Lumbers, descendant of Cudjo Lewis; Mike Foster, descendant of the *Clotilda*'s captain, William Foster; and Darron Patterson, descendant of Polee and Rose Allen and President of the *Clotilda* Descendants Association. Mike Lewis regrets his ancestor's part in the saga, and has been welcomed by the *Clotilda* descendants.

**Annex C:**  
**Photo of Cudjo Lewis and Helen Kathryn Duggar (later Conwell)**



This scanned image above was supplied via email to Lew Toulmin by Bill Conwell, son of Helen Kathryn Duggar Conwell (1922-2016), in 2019. Helen was the sister of author Lew Toulmin's mother, Mary Morgan Duggar Toulmin. The original photo was scanned in Alabama by Bill Conwell in 2001. The original remained in Alabama in a photo album compiled by Mary, now in my (Lew Toulmin's) possession. But over time the original image faded and is now the scanned image above is apparently better than the original.

Given that the album was compiled by Mary, and that Mary does not appear in the photo, and the two sisters were close, it seems likely that Mary Morgan Duggar (later Toulmin) was the photographer.

The image shows "Uncle Cudjo" and an unknown woman, and Helen, visiting Cudjo at his home in Africatown. No date is given for the photo. Cudjo Lewis was born about 1841 in west Africa and died in Plateau (part of Africatown) on 17 July 1935. It seems possible that the unknown woman is the mother of Helen Duggar and Mary Duggar, namely Ida Flora Morgan Duggar, who might have been escorting the two girls in their visit to Cudjo.

Bill Conwell states that his mother Helen told him that she and other young residents of Mobile would often visit "Uncle Cudjo" and listen with great attention to his stories. His exact words, from his email of 7 April 2019, are as follows:

\*\*\*

Saw the below article in the *Oregonian* recently. It mentions Cudjo Lewis.

Cudjo was brought on the last slave trading ship from Africa (the *Clotilda*), in 1860, and was a celebrity of sorts in Africatown - a black community adjacent to Mobile. Helen and other children would ride the streetcar out to the end of the line and call on him - bringing him treats, calling him Uncle Cudjo.

Attached is a photo of Helen at Cudjo's place, from a family photo album. Cudjo is lost in the shadows on the porch - zoom in and you can see his crutch and imagine the face and beard. The photo is on the same page of a photo album as photos from 1935, which is the year Helen turned 13, which looks about right.

1935 is also the year that Cudjo died, per the below news item, which reports that another woman on the *Clotilda* is now believed to have been the last surviving enslaved person trafficked from Africa. She died in 1937.

'Pretty amazing that you all are one degree of separation away from an enslaved person born in Benin, west Africa in about 1840, thru Helen.

\*\*\*

This photo may be important for several reasons:

- I (Lew Toulmin) am not aware of any other photo that shows this much of the right side of Cudjo's house. Analysis of his house construction could be instructive.
- Photo enhancement may reveal other details (for example, is that a large rain barrel to the left of the steps? What are those odd structures in front of the roof edge and in the distance?)
- Photo enhancement may also yield a better image of Cudjo's face.
- Given the timing of the image, it is likely that this is the last photo taken of Cudjo before his death
- The image shows the cane or crutch that Cudjo was using shortly before his death.
- Other photos of Cudjo are perhaps not as dateable as this one.

I have used simple software to try to improve the clarity of the photo and the image of Cudjo's face and cane, with the results shown below. Not much improvement. Perhaps a professional can do much better. This matter will be pursued in future.



UNCLE LUDTO

HELEN

## Annex D

### Interview with Orlando Pogue

Below is an interview conducted by Lew Toulmin with Mr. Orlando Pogue of Africatown, on 15 March 2022, while driving through the neighborhood. Vernetta Henson was in the car and introduced the two men, outside Mr. Pogue's house at 626 Shelby Street, Mobile. The thrust of the rather startling two hour conversation and tour was as follows below. Mr. Pogue stated quite vigorously that:

The *Clotilda* story is all or almost all made up. The *Clotilda* could not have made it up Mobile Bay because Union or other officials were always stopping all ships entering the Bay, and the *Clotilda* could not have made it past those patrols. The stopped ships usually had a large amount of their cargo seized as fees or fines by the military or Customs, and then the owners would sue, and that would generate court documents which can be inspected to show that the *Clotilda* did not enter the Bay.

The people who supposedly came on the *Clotilda* to Mobile in fact were mostly born in the US before 1860, and brought to Mobile overland, from ports such as Pensacola or New Orleans, or from Havana. They were living in downtown Mobile and attended church there. But the white people drove them out of that church and downtown, and forced them to live in north Mobile, in Plateau, and that is when and why the first church was built in Plateau in 1866, just after the Civil War.

Polee and Cudjo were not contemporaries, as most people say. They were 30 years apart in age.

Even if a vessel did make it up the Bay and was burned and scuttled upriver, the current which sometimes flows at 16 knots would have washed all the remains of the wooden vessel down into the Bay and out to sea, perhaps as far as Mexico. Nothing would be left after all this time in the Mobile River. The people who have "found" the *Clotilda* are just trying to make money off the idea. There is nothing to find.

Many people are trying to make money off the *Clotilda*. These include people who are getting grants to study Africatown, its people, and the *Clotilda*, but are not giving any money to the community, which needs housing, infrastructure and better maintenance of existing houses and empty lots. This includes journalists. Mr. Pogue said that CNN staff tried to interview him, and he demanded to know how much the CNN staff were getting paid. Mr. Pogue said that they should give something to the community from the big money they were getting.

Mr. Pogue said that there really is no such thing as "Africatown." There is no Africatown mayor, police force, legal authority, boundary, taxing authority or city hall. There is Plateau and Magazine Point and other neighborhoods, but there is no Africatown. That name, the re-naming of the Cochran Bridge and Bay Bridge Road to include the name Africatown, and the studies and small grants and other symbolic gestures do nothing to actually improve the area or the lives of the residents. "Africatown" is a fairy tale.

The community used to have three gas stations, three motels, a grocery store, hardware store, dry cleaners, laundromats, clubs and a real commercial area, where residents could go for anything they

needed. There was no movie theater, however; people would see movies shown in one of the churches. All of that is gone, and there are no shops for anything anymore.

Mr. Pogue directed the car to the Plateau graveyard, and pointed out various relevant graves, of the Allens, Keebys and Cudjo Lewis, so that photos could be taken.

Re land holdings and other landmarks, Mr. Pogue stated during the tour that:

- Mr. Pogue's house (at 626 Shelby Street, see photo) was the house of Polee and Lucy Allen, but that they were not on the *Clotilda*. Polee and Rose Allen lived elsewhere in the community. (Vernetta interjected that she thought the present house was not built in Polee's time, but was the location of the original house.)
- The Polee Allen land, where he and Rose lived, is south of Bay Bridge Road, across from the south end of Peter Lee street. The Allen land runs over to the east, as far as the east side of South Magazine Road. Mary Allen, daughter of Polee, inherited land on the west side of this large tract.
- The exact location of the Polee and Rose Allen house was at what is now 604 South Magazine Road, on the east side of that street.
- Just north of 604 South Magazine Road a little way is another house, that was inhabited by Floyd Allen, another Allen clan member.
- Rudolph Ellis, an Allen descendant, lived in a house on the west side of South Magazine Road, near the north end of the road.
- On Chin Street (at about number 345 Chin Street per Google Earth) is a small dilapidated white structure. In the bushes behind the structure and NW of the structure is a "Spanish Point" marker showing that the Spanish had the original control of this area. It is not visible from the street.
- In that same part of Chin Street, SE of the street, are some huge white warehouses. These were built on top of hundreds of slave and Spanish graves, an entire large graveyard. This was once called "Lincoln's Graveyard" and very few people know about it.
- The part of the Allen property that Mary Allen inherited was to the west, on the north side of the west dead end of Chin Street (address per Google Earth of 599 Chin Street). That small cul-de-sac was called Graveyard Alley previously, because of the nearby graveyard.
- Just north of Graveyard Alley/west end of Chin Street is the proposed location of the Africatown Welcome Center. This center has (as of 2022) been proposed but not built for over three years. This is because there is a graveyard underneath the proposed building site, and the City is too cheap to spend the required money to dig up the remains and re-bury them elsewhere. He and others in the community raised such a protest that nothing has been built for three years.



The house of Mr. Orlando Pogue at 626 Shelby Street, Mobile, Alabama; on this land and site was previously the home of Polee Allen and Lucy Turner Allen, according to Mr. Pogue.

**NOTE:** This interview readout was included here for completeness, because of the land information, and because of the unusual nature of the views recorded. It must be noted that virtually all researchers disagree with Mr. Pogue's assertions that the *Clotilda* did not exist or that the story is untrue. For example, in Ben Raines book *The Last Slave Ship*, pp. 73-92, he makes it clear how the *Clotilda* was able to slip past the US Navy patrols at the entrance to Mobile Bay by coming in from the Mississippi entrance to the Bay, and to make it up river past the city of Mobile by disguising the *Clotilda* as a mast-less barge being towed by a steamship.

## Annex E: A Song for the Expedition

### IN THAT SLAVE HOLD BELOW

By Lew Toulmin, 2021, to the tune of "Sugar in the Hold Below;" DUDU  
Written about Polee & Rose Allen, enslaved *Clotilda* survivors, and co-founders of Africatown, Alabama

Intro: **Dm C G G7 Dm**

Well, **[G]** my Africa **[C]** name is **[G]** KuPollee  
**[G7]** In my native land I was **[Dm]** free!  
**[C]** But those slave catchers -- they caught **[G]** me  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below.

**Chorus:**           **[Dm]** Hey, **[C]** ho, **[G]** below, below; In that slave hold **[G7]** below  
                         **[Dm]** Hey, **[C]** ho, **[G]** below, below; In that slave hold **[Dm]** below

They **[G]** put me **[C]** in hell on the **[G]** *Clotildee*  
**[G7]** for my shackles I had no **[Dm]** key  
**[C]** 70 days in our crap and **[G]** pee  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

Here **[G]** in Alabama **[C]** they **[G]** sold me  
**[G7]** I was chained in **[Dm]** slavery  
**[C]** But the Union Army gave us our **[G]** free  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

I'm **[G]** stuck here next to **[C]** Mobile **[G]** Bay  
**[G7]** Stackin' lumber all the **[Dm]** day.  
And I just wants to **[C]** get **[G]** away,  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

My **[G]** main joy **[C]** is my Rosa- **[G]** lee  
**[G7]** and the babies on my **[Dm]** knee.  
But in Africa I **[C]** still wants to **[G]** be  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

We **[G]** built for us **[C]** our Africa-**[G]** town  
**[G7]** mighty strong, I'll be **[Dm]** bound.  
Our church and school **[C]** are very **[G]** sound  
**[G7]** Below, below, **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

Well the **[G]** next generations **[C]** will have to **[G]** fight  
'Cause **[G7]** slavery, it's still got some **[Dm]** bite.  
Our young folks better work **[C]** for the **[G]** right  
Break **[G7]** that slave hold **[Dm]** below. **CHORUS**

**Annex F**  
**Flag # 212 Award Email**

From: Emerald Nash  
To: Lew Toulmin  
Sent: Wed, Jan 12, 2022 7:42 pm  
Subject: Flag Applications Approved!

Dear Lew,

We're delighted to inform you that both of your recent flag applications were approved!

We understand time is of the essence, so please let us know where we may send the flag and we'll prepare a shipment right away!

Kind regards,

Emerald

*Emerald Nash (She/Hers)*  
**THE EXPLORERS CLUB**  
46 East 70th Street, New York, NY 10021  
| [www.explorers.org](http://www.explorers.org)

[The two Flag applications referred to above are the *Clotilda*/Africatown 2022 expedition and a "Search for Sodom" expedition in Jordan, set for January 2022. This latter expedition had to be postponed at the last minute due to Covid problems in Jordan, and the Jordanian military refusing to process permits for any archaeological efforts in-country, because of a Covid Omicron spike.]

## Annex G

### History of Flag 212

G. Chris Fischer	2015	Expedition Australia: Queensland
G. Chris Fischer	2015	Expedition Western Australia
G. Chris Fischer	2015	Expedition Gulf of Mexico
G. Chris Fischer	2016	Expedition Jacksonville
P. Wytykowski & R. Zajder	2016	L-72 A Forgotten Tragedy - Part II
G. Chris Fischer	2017	Expedition New York
Charles Rawlings	2018	Photo Survey of Living Slit Shells, Philippines
Denea Buckingham	2018	Fourni Underwater Archaeological Expedition
Ben M. King	2019	K070 Whales, Toothfish, & Marine Protection
Fabien Schultz	2019	Exploring self-medication in wild chimpanzees
<b>Lew Toulmin</b>	<b>2021</b>	<b>Excavating President Madison's Montpelier</b>
<b>Lew Toulmin</b>	<b>2021</b>	<b>The Missing Banqueting Hall of Queen Elizabeth I</b>
<b>Lew Toulmin &amp; Kenton Spading</b>	<b>2021</b>	<b>Search for President Madison's Enslaved Workers</b>
<b>Lew Toulmin</b>	<b>2022</b>	<b>Polee &amp; Rose Allen of the <i>Clotilda</i> &amp; Africatown</b>

**Annex H**  
**Lifetime List of Toulmin Expeditions**

**List of Projects & Expeditions  
in Archaeology/Anthropology/History  
of Llewellyn M. Toulmin, PhD, FRGS, FRSA, KTJ, FN '04**

**Expedition/Project & Organization; Date; Supervisor**

1. Expedition through the jungles of eastern Haiti and north to The Citadel of Henri Christophe at Cap Haitien; Toulmin family exped.; 1959; Harry Toulmin
2. Expedition to the outlying temples of Angkor Wat, Cambodia; Toulmin family exped.; 1964; Harry Toulmin
3. Expedition to Philmont Scout Ranch, New Mexico, 50 mile hike; BSA; 1966; Scoutmaster
4. Circumnavigation of Lake Victoria, east Africa; self; 1969; L. M. Toulmin
5. Exploration of Lake Tana and the Source of the Blue Nile, Ethiopia; Toulmin family exped.; 1969; Harry Toulmin
6. Expedition to the North Cape and the land of the Saami; University of N. Wales; 1970; L. M. Toulmin
7. Sailing exped. to St. Vincent and the Grenadines; *Canadian Chartering* magazine; 1976; CC editor
8. Evaluation of emergency preparedness of nine Caribbean islands; US Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance; 1985; OFDA Director
9. Investigation into the real story of "The Bridge on the River Kwai," Kanchanaburi, Thailand; *Army-Navy-Air Force Times*; 1992; Editor
10. Lessons learned from Hurricane Andrew, Miami-Dade County, FL; American Society for Public Administration; 1993; ASPA and Booz-Allen-Hamilton
11. Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens, Egypt; *International Travel News*; 1995; ITN Editor
12. The real story of "Out of Africa" and Isak Dinesen, Kenya; *International Travel News*; 1997; ITN Editor
13. The world's newest country – Timor Leste – and its first First Lady; *ITN*; 1999; ITN Editor
14. The lady leg-rowers of Lake Inle, Myanmar, the temples of Bagan, and the falsification of millions of Burmese genealogical records; *ITN* and *Paddler Magazine*; 2000; Editors
15. Brigantine *Soren Larsen*, Fiji to Vanuatu; *ITN*; 2001; ITN Editor
16. Japanese Sgt. Yokoi fights World War II for 28 years in a hole on Guam; *ITN*; 2002, ITN Editor
17. Voyage before the mast on the liberated slave ship *Amistad*, St. Petersburg, FL to Mobile, AL; *ITN*; 2002; ITN Editor
18. Irish National Tall Ship *Jeannie Johnston*, Charleston, SC to Baltimore, MD; *ITN* and *The Montgomery Sentinel*; 2003; Editors
19. History, scandals and genealogy of Pitcairn Island; *ITN* and *The Providence Journal*; 2003; Editors
20. The real story of *Robinson Crusoe*; *ITN*; 2003; ITN Editor
21. Tracing sites and locations of Brian Boru, High King of All Ireland in the year 1000; *ITN*; 2005; ITN Editor
22. Investigation of the dog tag lost on Kiriwina Island, Papua New Guinea, by Sgt. Raymond Brett, US Army, in World War II; *Military* magazine; 2006; Editor
23. Search for/find/documentation of the missing town of Washington Court House, AL; Univ. of S. Alabama Archaeology Dept. (USAAD); 2007; Bonnie Gums; **(TEC (The Explorers Club) Flag #24)**
24. Search for the grave of Judge Harry Toulmin, near Milry, AL; USAAD; 2008; Bonnie Gums

25. Aviation Archaeology Search and research (AAS) for missing TEC Medalist Steve Fossett and his Bellanca; SW Nevada; Ad hoc group of members of The Explorers Club; 2008; Robert E. Hyman
26. AAS for P-51-D of WW II WASP Gertrude Tompkins in Santa Monica Bay, CA; Missing Aircraft Search Team (MAST); 2009; Robert E. Hyman, L. M. Toulmin (USAF jet found)
27. AAS (successful) for N2700Q near Sedona, AZ; MAST; 2009; Chris Killian
28. AAS for F9F USMC Cougar in Flathead Lake, MT; MAST; 2010; L. M. Toulmin
29. AAS for N222TB in Oregon; MAST and Portland Police Bureau; 2010; Sheriff Tim Evinger
30. AAS for N650RV in Grand Canyon, Arizona; MAST, National Park Service and Coconino Sheriff's Office; 2011; Chris Killian (found later)
31. Search for missing Canadians Albert & Rita Chretien in NV, OR and WA; MAST & Royal Canadian Mounted Police; 2011; Sheriff Tim Evinger (found later)
32. AAS for N174BH near Lake Superior, MN; MAST and St. Louis MN SAR team; 2012; L. M. Toulmin
33. Search for Revolutionary Plantation & Battlefield of Gen. Andrew Williamson and writing his first biography; SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) & Royal Geographical Society; 2012; Dr. Jonathan Leader, SC State Archaeologist **(TEC Flag #132)**
34. AAS for the 1958 MK-15 H-bomb of B-47 USAF Stratojet near Tybee Island, GA; MAST; 2012; L. M. Toulmin
35. AAS for N26837 (successful) in Mt. Antelope Refuge, OR; MAST and Oregon State Police; 2012; Sheriff Tim Evinger
36. Search for the Site of the 1813 Battle of the Burnt Corn, AL; USAAD; 2012; Dr. Greg Waselkov
37. Search for the Creek Indian War Site of Fort Claiborne, AL; USAAD; 2012; Dr. Greg Waselkov
38. Successful documentation of crashed F41-U Corsair of Lt. John E. Date, Jr., USMC on N. Ambae, New Hebrides (now the Republic of Vanuatu), and Boar-killing on E. Ambae; 2013; L. M. Toulmin **(TEC Flag #101)**
39. Interviewing the youngest land divers in Vanuatu, on Pentecost island; *Island Life*; 2013; L. M. Toulmin
40. Wala Island, Vanuatu – a secondary inspiration for “Bali Hai”?; *Island Life*; 2013; L. M. Toulmin
41. Documenting the tribe that worships Prince Philip as a god, on Tanna island, Vanuatu; *Montgomery Sentinel*; 2014; L. M. Toulmin
42. Search for Jim Thompson, the “Silk King of Thailand,” in the Cameron Highlands of N. Central Malaysia; *Montgomery Sentinel*; 2014; L. M. Toulmin
43. Documenting the John Frum cargo cult, Tanna island, Vanuatu; *Montgomery Sentinel*; 2014; L. M. Toulmin
44. AAS for N222TB, Oregon coast (part 2); MAST and the BBC; 2015; L. M. Toulmin
45. Discovery and documentation of the Female Chiefs of Vanuatu; *Asia-Pacific Journal of Research*; 2016; L. M. Toulmin; **(TEC Flag #101)**
46. Successful geo-location of Buddha Cave of Jim Thompson; N. Central Thailand; *Journal of Spelean History*; 2016; L. M. Toulmin
47. Search for missing biologist “Forest” Gan in the high jungle of the Cameron Highlands, Malaysia; Family request; 2016; L. M. Toulmin
48. Excavating Old Colonial Mobile (1702-1712), AL; USAAD; 2016; Dr. Greg Waselkov
49. Archaeological excavations of sites possibly related to the disappearance of Amelia Earhart, Nikumaroro island, Republic of Kiribati; MAST, National Geographic Society, TIGHAR; 2017; Dr. Tom King

50. Archaeological excavation of pre-historic Native American canal, Orange Beach, AL; USAAD; 2018; Dr. Greg Waselkov
51. Excavation, archaeological lab work, historical & genealogical analysis of Old St. Stephens, AL (former Territorial Capital 1817-19); USAAD; 2018-9; George Shorter **(TEC Flag #25)**
52. AAS for missing aircraft C-FESN, NE of Revelstoke, BC; 2018; MAST; L. M. Toulmin
53. Research in 1944 WW II case of UC-64 Norseman with band leader Glenn Miller on board, in the English Channel; TIGHAR; 2018; Ric Gillespie
54. Search (part 2) for Revolutionary Plantation, Battlefield and POW Camp of Gen. Andrew Williamson; 2019; ad hoc group of archaeologists and historians; L. M. Toulmin
55. Archaeological lab work re the real *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of Rev. Josiah Henson (the biography and "book that sparked the Civil War"), Montgomery County, MD; Montgomery County Parks Archaeology Division; 2019; Heather Bouslog
56. Excavation, search and genealogical analysis re the missing monastery of King St. Oswald and St. Aidan on the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, Northumberland, England; DigVentures & Durham University Archaeology Dept.; 2019; Johanna Ungemach & Dr. David Petts **(TEC Flag #50)**
57. Documentation and genealogical analysis re Rev. Josiah Henson (the heroic inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), his possible relative, explorer Matthew Alexander Henson (co-discoverer of the North Pole), and the Henson clan; Montgomery County, MD; Montgomery County Parks Archaeology Division; 2019/20; Lew Toulmin **(TEC Flag #50)**
58. Excavating Montpelier Expedition (archaeology and African-American genealogy); central Virginia; James Madison's Montpelier Archaeology Department; 2021; Lew Toulmin **(TEC Flag #212)**
59. The Search for the Missing Monastery of Queen Elizabeth I; Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, UK; 2021; DigVentures **(TEC Flag #212)**
60. Search for President Madison's Enslaved Workers (archaeological metal detecting); central Virginia; James Madison's Montpelier Archaeology Department; 2021; Lew Toulmin **(TEC Flag #212)**.
61. Genealogical and historical research on the descendants of Matilda McCrear of the *Clotilda*, the last slave ship to arrive in the US; in preparation for possible future archaeological/genealogical expeditions to Africatown; September-November 2021; Lew Toulmin and the *Clotilda* Descendants Association.
62. Expedition re Polee and Rose Allen of the Slave Ship *Clotilda* and Africatown, Alabama; February to April 2022; Lew Toulmin **(TEC Flag #212)**.

## **.Annex I**

### **Previous Flag Expeditions**

**First Flag Expedition:**

First Expedition Name: Search for the Ghost Town of Washington Court House, Alabama

Date of First Expedition: 02/2007

Please state the first Flag number: 24

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Second Flag Expedition:**

Second Expedition Name: White Hall Revolutionary War Archaeological Expedition

Date of Expedition: 05/2012

Please state the Flag number: 132

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Third Flag Expedition:**

Third Expedition Name: Documenting "Bali Hai" from South Pacific – the Next Krakatoa?

Date of Expedition: 09/2013

Please state the Flag number: 101

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Fourth Flag Expedition:**

Fourth Expedition Name: The Female Chiefs of Vanuatu

Date of Expedition: 04/2016

Please state the Flag number: 101

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Fifth Flag Expedition:**

Fifth Expedition Name: Excavating Old St. Stephens: Where Alabama Began

Date of Expedition: 11/2018

Please state the Flag number: 25

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Sixth Flag Expedition:**

Sixth Expedition Name: King St. Oswald's First Monastery on the Holy Island of Lindisfarne

Date of Expedition: 08/2019

Please state the Flag number: 50

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

**Seventh Flag Expedition:**

Seventh Expedition Name: Documentation of the Josiah and Matthew Alexander Henson Clan

Date of Expedition: 12/2020

Please state the Flag number: 50

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

Eighth Flag Expedition:

Eighth Expedition Name: Excavating President James Madison's Montpelier Plantation

Date of Expedition: 10/2021

Please state the Flag number: 212

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

Ninth Flag Expedition:

Ninth Expedition Name: The Search for the Missing Banqueting Hall of Queen Elizabeth I

Date of Expedition: 10/2021

Please state the Flag number: 212

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

Tenth Flag Expedition:

Tenth Expedition Name: The Search for President Madison's Enslaved Workers

Date of Expedition: 11/2021

Please state the Flag number: 212

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes

Eleventh Flag Expedition:

Eleventh Expedition Name: Polee & Rose Allen of the *Clotilda* & Africatown

Date of Expedition: 2/2022

Please state the Flag number: 212

Did you file a Flag Report for this expedition: Yes – you just read it!

**#End of Flag Report#**

Note: a separate Attachment to this Flag Report is a 117-page draft report on the genealogy, descendants and family history of the Polee, Rose and Lucy Allen clan.