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Whalemen's Song:
Lyrics and Masculinity in the Sag Harbor Whalefishery, 1840-1850

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Stephen Nicholas Sanfilippo

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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"Whalemen's Song" is a gender-based examination of conceptions and performances of masculinity among Long Islanders of British ancestry who whaled out of Sag Harbor in the 1840s. Its theoretical basis is that masculinity is cultural and demonstrated in performance, with concepts and performances varying from man to man, between and among groups of men, and in relation to various "others," depending upon the particulars of a situation, including for whom masculinity is being performed. Three basic concepts of masculinity will be discussed: the Victorian bourgeois man, informed primarily by achieving economic success and status; the evangelical Christian man, informed by concern for personal salvation and for fulfilling his Christian obligations as family provider; and the secular libertine, informed by a pursuit of immediate pleasure

without regard to bourgeois or Christian moral and economic restraints. The whaleship is considered as an enclosed, mobile, industrial company town, under the control of a captain legally empowered to inflict severe corporal punishment, and functioning as what Foucault called heterotopia, simultaneously creating its own control, resistance, and inversion. Within this site 20 to 30 men lived and labored for 2 to 4 years, rarely going ashore. “Whalemen’s Song” recognizes the importance of men and women of various ethnic and racial groups, but through examining Long Island’s “Yankee” whalemen we can see the great differences of masculinity within one set of persons, making the whaleship ideal for the study of varying performances of masculinity among men whose constant close contact exacerbated their differing, conflicting, and contested ideals of manhood with regard to labor, authority, women, alcohol, punishment, Christianity, and rights of citizenship. The dissertation is based upon extensive research into manuscripts held at eastern Long Island archives, using journals to establish whalemen’s masculine attitudes, and their songs and poems as expository of these attitudes. It also extends Long Island into the wider project of bottom-up gender, social, cultural and maritime history.

DEDICATION

Now, this couple, they still do reside,
All in the cottage down by the river side;
So maid be true whilst your lover's away,
For a cloudy morning may bring a pleasant day.

for Susan,
from Your Dark Eyed Sailor

[from "The Dark Eyed Sailor," heard at sea by Lewis Jones, Sag Harbor Bark *Hamilton*, 1845-1848]

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Preface

"Whalemen's Song" grew from a combination of long-standing interests in the history of my native Long Island, my work as a folk singer at rallies during the late 1970s and early 1980s with "Save the Whales" environmental groups, my month aboard *Finback II*, a marine mammal research vessel out of Montauk Harbor led by marine biologist Sam Sadove, and my passion for performing songs of maritime life. I have tried, I am certain with varying degrees of success, to subsume these interests into the task of a professional historian writing academic history. I have also tried, again with varying success, to craft my dissertation as whalemen crafted ballads and poems; amidst labor there should be something of beauty. I am hopeful that this sentiment will add to, rather than detract from, my depiction of the lives men lived in whaleships.

It should be noted that although Stony Brook University is a major teaching and research institution, with an outstanding international reputation, it is still seen as a local college by many Suffolkites, and is situated near some of the most historic villages in the Town of Brookhaven. As such, it is a fitting site for the advancement of historical knowledge of national significance that rests upon the lives, activities and cultural values of Suffolk County's past population. One whaleman whose writing serves as a major source for this dissertation lived within a few miles of the Stony Brook campus, and one a very short distance from the house in Ridge, also in Brookhaven, that was my boyhood home in the 1950s and 1960s, and went on to be my married home until 2006. Although

ethnically I would fit in more closely with the Roman Catholic Romance language-speaking Azoreans than with the "Yankee boys" of whom I write, many of whose descendants no doubt saw me and sometimes still see me as an outsider in eastern Suffolk County. I do feel a definite affinity towards these men as my neighbors in place, if not in time. Many times over the past ten years while in doing my research I have traveled the same back roads, walked the same village streets, entered the same buildings, stood at the same harbor, attended the same church, and even visited the same cemeteries that these men walked, and in the last instance, where many of them and their families now rest.

An important advantage to researching "Whalemen's Song" so close to home has been familiarity with many of the family names and Long Island place names and locations involved. I also have had long-established working relationships with the staffs of many local history repositories as a result of 30 years as a history teacher on Long Island, and as a frequent performer of historical music at many of these institutions.

As "Whalemen's Song" is subtitled "Lyrics and Masculinity in the Sag Harbor Whalefishery, 1840-1850," I have used direct quotations from many songs and poems. At times I have quoted only a few words or a line or two, while at other times I have presented a song or poem, uninterrupted by comment, in its entirety. My reason for doing so is governed by the concern of how best to use the song or poem to examine various aspects of whalemen's masculinity at particular points in the dissertation.

In describing and analyzing whalemen's masculinity I have relied upon one very basic philosophical position: gender is cultural. I have taken the position that whalemen performed masculinity as a cultural phenomenon, rather than as a biological consequence. Critical to my presentation is my argument that the concept of manhood,

and the varying performances of masculinity generated by that concept, varied greatly from individual whaleman to whaleman, as well as within the mind and manners of any one whaleman at any given time. Manhood's ideals are complex and contested variables, and so, therefore, are the performances of masculinity.

I have used many quotations from whalemen's journal entries, songs, and poems, presenting their lives and values in their own voices, as they presented them through their pens. I have not used (*sic*), and have rarely interjected word or grammar corrections, preferring instead to quote the whalemen as they wrote, giving us further insights into their levels of education, the use of language on Long Island during the 1840s, and particularly with some misspellings, the ways in which Long Island whalemen pronounced words, such as "Montork" for Montauk, and "Owyhee," for Hawaii.

Finally, "Whalemen's Song" is written to be heard. The reader should endeavor, in his or her mind's ear, to hear these songs being sung, or the poems recited, amidst the sounds of a ship at sea, or of seamen gathering at a tavern while ashore. Listen for sounds of wind, lapping waves, the creak of spars, and the wind flapping the sails and whistling through the rigging. Here the men's voices. Some were no doubt gravelly or off key, in a low register, weathered by years of storms and tobacco, while others were breaking and squeaky, the voices of whalemen still in boyhood. Some of the songs and poems should be heard lustily, with gusto, and some amidst pauses for choking while holding back tears. To hear these songs and poems in your mind is better to understand the men who, on a rolling ship at sea, took hours to write them by hand into their journals because in these rhymed words they found life's meaning and in lyrics expressed their masculinity.

Acknowledgments

As I complete my dissertation I am approaching a few other important milestones in my life. I will be celebrating my 62nd birthday, and my first social security check, later this year. The number 40 comes up a few times as the number of years since my college graduation and the start of my service as an enlisted man in the U.S. Navy. Most importantly, June will mark the 40th anniversary of my wedding day, on which I married Susan Margaretha Joyce. With her I have shared and continue to share my life. It is also hard to believe that, following a 30-year career teaching history at a public high school, I am already retired for 7 years. To list all of those who should be acknowledged would be a long task indeed. Please do not feel slighted if I forget to mention you.

I need to thank my grade school and high school teachers, mostly now passed on. I am deeply indebted to my undergraduate mentor at Northeast Missouri State University, Kirksville, Missouri, the late Dr. David D. March, Professor of History, who inspired love for learning in all whom he touched. I wish to acknowledge my professors at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia, for their encouragement as I tried, ultimately unsuccessfully, to complete a master's degree while standing 12-hour watches during my tour of duty at Naval Telecommunications Center, Hampton Roads, in the early 1970s.

I wish to thank the many men and women who have traveled a passage of life with me, and whose friendship endures, among whom are Billy Herget, my best boyhood friend, Tonie Uhland Bowdish, my fellow undergraduate history major, and my carefully selected first cousin, Anthony Botta. Also, my faculty colleagues at Longwood High

School, Middle Island, New York, with whom I spent 30 years, and the staff and Chantey Sing supporters at the Pembroke Library, Pembroke, Maine.

I need to thank my fellow graduate students and my professors at Stony Brook University, for many years of concern as I pursued a MA/LS, a Master in History, and a Ph.D. in History, especially Dr. Sara Lipton and Dr. Wolf Schafer, who encouraged me to undertake my first serious effort at writing music of the maritime trades into history, Dr. Thomas Klubock, who opened up to me the possibility of using gender as a theoretical basis for my writing, Dr. Gary Marker, for his encouragement as I prepared my dissertation prospectus, Dr. Donna J. Rilling and Dr. April Masten, for encouragement and patience as I labored through long lists of readings on maritime aspects of social, cultural, and economic history, Dr. Joel Rosenthal, whose historiography seminar introduce to me the wide range of possibilities for reading and interpreting historical texts, and most of all Dr. Wilbur R. “Bill” Miller, who has been a consistent source of support, advice, and most importantly, patience.

I also must thank Dr. Glenn Gordinier, who has offered me advice, encouragement, and public speaking forums at Mystic Seaport for many years, and thank Dr. Faye Lourenso and Dr. Susan Fanning of Suffolk County Community College, Eastern Campus, for their continuing interest.

I need to express my heartfelt thanks to librarians, archivists, directors, and other workers who have facilitated my research, especially Mr. Zach Studenroth of the Sag Harbor Whaling Museum, Mrs. Cathy Ball of the Smithtown Library, Ms. Mary Cummings of the Southampton Research Center, the Staff of the Suffolk County Historical Society, and Ms. Gina Piastuck and Mr. Steve Boerner of the East Hampton

Library. Most of all among these I wish to thank Ms. Marci Vail, for many years East Hampton's Long Island Collection Librarian extraordinaire.

I wish to thank my fellow chantey singers and traditional folk musicians, especially Bob Zentz, who got me started, Jeff Warner, who inspired me, Jim McDermott, who instilled passion, Tom Pomposello, who broadened my horizon, and all of the singers of songs of the sea that I have met over the years at the Mystic Seaport maritime music festival, who taught me more and more songs, and caused me to look deeply into the historic songs of Long Island. Many thanks also to Jim Sherman, my Downeast chantey partner, Alan Furth and all the participants in the Cobscook Bay Community Center's Monday evening music Circle, and especially to the members of "Paddy Doyle's Boots," Ed Keeney, Larry Moser, John Trubisz and John Corr, with whom I sang for over 30 years. The music we have shared has inspired me beyond words.

I wish to thank my students at Longwood High School, Middle Island, New York, especially those of the Longwood High School Folk Music Workshop, many of whom still sing, and still stay in touch with me. Teaching you was my best education. You all know your names, so "Shut Up, and Sing!"

My thanks to the members of the First Presbyterian Church of Sag Harbor, the "Old Whalers' Church," especially Nancy and David Cory. Your interest and openness made "Whalemen's Song" more than just historical writing.

I wish to thank the men and women with whom I had the privilege and honor of serving in the United States Navy on active duty from 1970 through 1974. Some have kept in touch with me for 35 years. In writing, I have always kept in mind the diversity of

good and bad, of joy and sorrow, of duty and “skylarking” that we shared, and the knowledge that any attempt to stereotype a sailor is absolutely wrong. “Well Done!”

I give thanks to my family; to my late father-in-law Robert Joyce, who served in the oceans of the world in the United States Merchant Marine during World War II; to my paternal grandparents Filippo Sanfilippo and Teresa Sanfilippo fu Graffeo, Sicilian immigrants, who instilled in me admiration for all who struggle against prejudice and who overcome; to my maternal grandmother Louisa Nalbach, and my Uncle Hennie Kasper, natives of Brooklyn, who taught me to see history in every nook and cranny; to my brother Philip John Sanfilippo, who endured me as his younger brother, and who regularly sends me hand-written letters; and to my parents, Niccolo Sanfilippo and Ottilie Fredericka Nalbach Sanfilippo, who exemplified the enduring power of love through the 53 years of their marriage.

Most of all, I wish to thank the person to whom I dedicate “Whalemen’s Song,” my wife, Susan Margaretha Joyce Sanfilippo. May we share many more passages of life.

Chapter 1

THE SAG HARBOR WHALESHIP:

A SETTING FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF MASCULINITY

> "Sag Harbor is a great place for whaleing…and there are
> no better whalemen in the world than those of Sag Harbor."
> - - - David Tuthill, Sag Harbor whaleman[1]

How did whalemen use the gender laden content of the songs they sang, and the poems they wrote and read, in defining their ideals of manhood, and in performing their masculinity? This question is central to "Whalemen's Song," a dissertation on gender that seeks to answer the question through approaches of social and cultural history and ethnomusicology. The dissertation was originally conceived as an investigation into proletarian class consciousness among whalemen of the radical 1840s, but as research progressed it became clear that these whalemen did not express their experiences, their complaints, and their ideas in the discourse of class conflict, but in that of manhood, and of being at odds with men who held to differing masculine ideals. Thus, while retaining the interpretive use of whalemen's songs and poems, the dissertation seeks not to describe class consciousness, but rather the performance of masculinity, and the role of lyric and verse in and as that performance. Before describing and analyzing these

[1] Letter. David B. Tuthill (Sag Harbor, New York) to his sister, Mrs. Harriet C. Hulse (Blooming Grove, Orange County, New York), August 1, 1836. Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum [SHWHM], Sag Harbor, New York [SH, NY].

performances, it is necessary to place them into their setting; the Sag Harbor whaleship, its men, and their labors.

David Tuthill was an East Ender, the local term for people living on the eastern half of Long Island, especially those on the Twin Forks, east of Riverhead. In May, 1835, he shipped in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Hudson*.[2] The master of that voyage was Henry Green,[3] whose many successes as a whaling captain would soon be eclipsed by his role as the individual who first sighted the *Amistad*, off of Montauk Point, following that vessel's famous slave revolt.[4] Tuthill returned to Sag Harbor in the *Hudson* on July 1, 1836. Forty days later David was whaling again, sailing in the Sag Harbor ship *Phenix*.[5] His captain for his second voyage was Southampton's Mercator Cooper,[6] who would later distinguish himself when, in 1845, he took his Sag Harbor whaleship *Manhattan* into a Japanese port, the first American ship successfully to visit the then closed Shogunate.[7] Among Cooper's boatsteerers (harpooners) was another Southampton man, a career whaleman named Pyrrhus Concer, who became the first African American, and likely the first African or person of African ancestry, to enter Japan in modern times.[8]

Three years after the *Manhattan* entered a Japanese port, Ranald MacDonald entered Japan itself. MacDonald, the son of a Scottish immigrant father and a Chinook

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[2] D.B. Tuthill to H.C. Hulse, August 1, 1836.
[3] Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery. Report of Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1989; original publication 1877), pp. 318-319.
George A. Finckenor, compiler, *Whales and Whaling: Port of Sag Harbor, New York* (Sag Harbor, New York: William Ewers, 1975), pp. 39, 115.
[4] Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; original publication 1987), p. 28.
[5] D.B. Tuthill to H.C. Hulse, August 1, 1836.
[6] Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 328-329.
[7] Frederik L. Schodt, *Native American in the Land of the Shogun: Ranald MacDonald and the Opening of Japan* (Berkeley, Cal." Stone Bridge Press, 2003), pp. 152-155.
[8] "Pyrrhus Concer, Obituary," The Southampton *Press*, Saturday, August 28, 1897. Arthur P. Davis, *A Black Diamond in the Queens Tiara* (Southampton, New York: Arthur P. Davis, 1974), pp. 1-10.

mother, was born in 1824 near the mouth of the Columbia River. His desire to learn about Japan did not lead him directly westward, across the Pacific, but eastward to Sag Harbor, where he shipped as a whaleman, and resided between voyages. In 1848, as a hand in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Plymouth*, he persuaded his captain to permit him to leave the vessel in a spare whaleboat, with some supplies, so as to make his way into Japan.[9] A shipmate's letter, published in Honolulu's Christian seamen's mission newspaper, *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, describes the daring of this veteran Sag Harbor whaleman, and the wonder with which the men of the *Plymouth* watched his departure.

> After all his things were in the boat he was towed astern by a line…He let go the line and was clear from us forever. His little vessel dashed over the waves like an arrow. All hands had gathered aft to see the last of the bold adventurer. He took off his hat and waved it, but in silence. The same was returned from the ship's company…From our ship's mast he was viewed with the naked eye as long as he could be seen; then the spy-glass was passed from one to another, that they might have a last look at the little vessel. He was watched from the mast-head until he was gone from our sight forever.[10]

Thus, Ranald MacDonald, clearly popular with and respected by his shipmates, disembarked from the Sag Harbor whaleship *Plymouth* for a small island on the coast of Japan. *The Friend* concluded its report of MacDonald's adventurous departure in the whaleboat it dubbed *Young Plymouth* with a prayer that "a successful issue may crown the bold, daring, and hazardous enterprise of *Ranald McDonald, and adventure in the Japan Sea*."[11] Ranald later recounted his tears as he watched the *Plymouth* sail away from his sight. He also related his strong feelings towards his Sag Harbor shipmates, stating

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[9] Schodt, *MacDonald Opening Japan*, pp. 42-45, 145-156. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 432-433.]
[10] "A Sailor's Attempt to penetrate Japan," *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, vol. 6, no. 12 (December 1, 1848), pp. 91-92. [Sweeney copy, Southampton Historical Museum and Research Center [SHMRC], Southampton, New York [SHMP, NY].
[11] "A Sailor's Attempt," *The Friend*, Dec. 1, 1848, p. 92 [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SHMP, NY].

that: "A sailor's feelings are ever warm and true. The companionship of peril forges a masonic bond stronger than the tinsel chain of mere worldly interest."[12]

Having stepped onto the *Plymouth* at the wharf in Sag Harbor, and having taken to the sea by himself in a whaleboat built in Sag Harbor, Ranald MacDonald stepped ashore in Japan where he not only survived, but learned Japanese, and instructed Japanese government officials in the English language. When, in the early 1850s, the United States and Japan opened naval and trade negotiations, Japan's official translators were men who had learned English from Ranald MacDonald, Sag Harbor whaleman.[13] Soon thereafter the first American consul was transported to Japan in a Sag Harbor whaleship, while other Long Island ships carried the first American Christian missionaries to Japan.[14]

Herman Melville makes mention of Japan in *Moby Dick*, asserting that "If that double bolted land…is ever to become hospitable, it is the whale-ship alone to whom the credit will be due: for already she is on the threshold,"[15] but by 1851, the year of the novel's publication, Mercator Cooper, Pyrrhus Concer and Ranald MacDonald had already entered Japan. The Japanese first opened their nation to Sag Harbor whaleships and to Sag Harbor whalemen.

One other Sag Harbor whalemen of the 1840s, Thomas Welcome Roys, is worthy of mention for his outstanding accomplishments, which included many technological

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[12] Ranald MacDonald, as quoted in Jo Ann Roe, *Ranald MacDonald: Pacific Rim Adventurer* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1997), p. 53.
[13] Roe, *MacDonald: Adventurer*, pp. 52-87, 94-100, 120-138, 159-185. Schodt, *MacDonald Opening Japan*, pp. 185-322.
[14] Paul Bailey, *Early Long Island: Its Indians, Whalers and Folklore Rhymes* (Westhampton Beach, New York: Long Island *Forum*, 1962), p. 81.
[15] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*, vol. 6, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1988; original publication of American edition, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), p. 8.

innovations.[16] In July, 1847, as master of the Sag Harbor whaling bark *Superior*, he began his most famous voyage, earning the accolade of "most daring whaleman of them all," when he took his vessel through the Bering Strait into the west Arctic Ocean. There, in "the icy sea," he struck a bonanza in the plentiful, slow-moving, easily hunted, high oil-yielding bowhead whale.[17] Oddly, Captain Roys' opening of the west Arctic came as Sag Harbor's whalefishery was in decline, and was not enough to prevent its collapse. In 1849, Sag Harbor sent out only two whaleships, down from the 25 to 30 that it had sent out annually from the late 1830s through the mid-1840s, often having upwards of 50, and sometimes nearly 100 whaleships at sea at any given time.[18] Still, the accomplishments of Roys, Mercator Cooper, Pyrrhus Concer and Ranald MacDonald demonstrate the extremely important role that Sag Harbor played in the American whalefishery during the 1840s, compounding the achievements of Long Island's earlier East End and South Shore whalemen, from pre-Columbian Natives,[19] to 1644 and "the first organized prosecution of the American whalefishery,"[20] to South Fork whaleman James Loper who, in 1675,

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[16] Frederick P. Schmitt, Cornelis de Jong, and Frank H. Winter, *Thomas Welcome Roys: America's Pioneer of Modern Whaling* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, for the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia, 1980), pp. 74, 79-167.

[17] Schmitt *et al*, *Roys Pioneer Whaleman*, pp. 22-32. Frederick P. Schmitt, *Mark Well The Whale!: Long Island Ships to Distant Seas*, 2nd ed.; Cold Spring Harbor, New York: Whaling Museum Society, Inc., 1986; originally publication, Empire State Publication Series, No. 97, Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1986), pp. 102-105.

[18] Sag Harbor's whaling vessel departures for 1833 through 1855 are listed in Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 304-205, 312-313, 318-321, 328-329, 340-341, 348-351, 360-361, 370-371, 382-383, 396-397, 406-407, 418-421, 432-433, 442-443, 450-451, 458-461, 466-467, 476-477, 490-491, 496-497, 512-513, 522-523, and 532-533. The peak year was 1843, with 30 whaleship departures.

[19] Robert Cushman Murphy, *Fish-Shape Paumanok: Nature and Man on Long Island* (Great Falls, Virginia: Waterline Books, 1991; original publication as *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia For Promoting Useful Knowledge*, volume 58 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1964), p. 31. Faren R. Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth Century Eastern Long Island* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), pp. 123-125, 140. John A Strong, *The Montaukett Indians of Eastern Long Island*, unnumbered volume in *The Iroquois and Their Neighbors*, Laurence M. Hauptman, series editor (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), pp. 48-49.

[20] Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, p. 9. Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound*, pp. 137-138, 140, 145. Strong, *Montaukett Indians*, pp. 50-55.

was contracted by Nantucket interests to teach the men of Nantucket how to whale.[21] At Mastic, 30 miles west of Sag Harbor on Long Island's south shore, Colonel William "Tangier" Smith kept a detailed ledger of his whaling company, including much on his employment of Native American whalemen. Smith started his pigskin-bound ledger in 1696, 25 years prior to the Starbuck sheepskin ledger of Nantucket. Upon Smith's death in 1705 his widow, Lady Martha Tunstall Smith, inherited and managed her late husband's estate, including his whaling company, become the first woman to own and control such an enterprise.[22] Not long afterward East End whaleman Samuel "Fishhook" Mulford of East Hampton led opponents of the Navigation Acts. Mulford's persistent outspokenness against royal and gubernatorial monopolistic and excise practices led to his branding as a mutineer against colonial authority, the outlawing of publication of his speech against the Acts, and his brief jailing.[23] Thus, unlike Quaker Nantucket, where the local economics of whaling led to the embrace of Loyalism during the American Revolution, eastern Long Island whalemen, from an early date, protested for their rights to free navigation and marine property, and against unfair taxation.

Long Island's East End, particularly its South Fork bay side port of Sag Harbor, was an important site for departure into the imagining and the performance of whalemen's masculinity. This manly activity included not only hard work and economic gain, but also the air of the romantic. It is hard to imagine a more romantically masculine setting for adventure than the islands of the central and western Pacific; the "South Seas."

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[21] Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 16-17.
[22] John A. Strong, "The Pigskin Book: Records of Native American Whalemen 1696-1721," *The Long Island Historical Journal*, volume 3, no. 1 (Fall, 1990), pp. 17-18.
[23] Samuel Mulford, "Navigation Discouraged," Speech to the Assembly at New York, 1714, in Joshua M. Smith, editor, *Voyages, the Age of Sail: Documents in American Maritime History, Volume I, 1492-1865* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2009), pp. 53-56. Joshua Smith, editor, *Voyages, the Age of Sail*, pp. 51-53. Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound*, pp. 145-146. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 26-28.

Yet, here too we see the importance of Long Island's whalemen. In 1650, the English government licensed a whaling company on Long Island's South Fork for the purpose of whaling on the "South seas," meaning the waters in a southerly direction from Long Island. Australian maritime historian Granville Allen Mawer's study of British and Australian Pacific whaling advances the idea that by extension of this company's "South seas" whaling license, all seas to the south of Long Island became known as the "South Seas," including the south Atlantic, round Cape Horn, into the Pacific and westward, the course to romantic manly adventure starting with Long Island, and its whalemen.[24]

William H. Goetzmann, in his history of American exploration *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery*, wrote of the penetration of distant and often port-less places as essential to the economic enterprises of whaling and sealing. Commenting upon their exploits, he described whalemen as "the mountain men of the sea," who "blazed trails across the world's vast oceans and into the frozen polar regions."[25] Goetzmann, in making this observation, was echoing what whalemen had long known. Lewis Jones, ship's carpenter in the Sag Harbor whaling bark *Hamilton*, 1845-1848, heard whalemen sing their own praise, performing their masculinity through the gendered content of the song:

> We shall sail to all parts of the world that ever yet was known,
> We will fetch home gold and silver whenever we do come home.[26]

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[24] Granville Allen Mawer, *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Scholarly and Reference Division, 1999), p. 2. [Nantucket whalemen persisted in singing songs of loyalty to Great Britain during and after the American Revolution. See Gale Huntington, compiler and editor, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (3rd edition, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2005; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 146-148, 324.

[25] William H. Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery* (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1986), pp. 232-234.

[26] Song #19, no title given, first line beginning "As I lay amusing," in Lewis Jones's Song Collection [LJSC], Lewis Jones File {LJF], Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY].

Sag Harbor whalemen were in the forefront of this "sail to all parts of the world," This was known by James Fenimore Cooper, the first major writer of American nationalist sea fiction and maritime historiography. He recognized "the significance of the ocean to man in its role as a shaper of human character,"[27] by which experience at sea was essential to the formation of mid-19th century concepts of American masculinity. Cooper, himself a former merchant seaman and naval midshipman, invested in the Sag Harbor whalefishery in partnership with his cousin, Charles Dering,[28] one of Sag Harbor's principal whaleship owners, including the *Hamilton*, in which Lewis Jones sailed.[29] Cooper's final novel, *The Sea Lions*, was published in 1849, two years prior to Melville's *Moby Dick*. In this tale of virtuous Long Island seafarers, Cooper tells how whaling and sealing were central to "the imagination" of the Sag Harbor's whalemen,[30] while describing Sag Harbor as the center of "the hardy and manly occupation of whaling," and filled with "indispensable…*esprit de corps*." There was, he said:

> scarcely an individual who followed this particular calling out of the port of Sag Harbor, whose general standing on board ship was not as well *known to all the women and girls* [emphasis added] of the place as it was to his shipmates. Success in taking the whale was a thing that made itself felt in every fibre of the prosperity of the town; and it was… natural that the single-minded population of that part of Suffolk should regard the bold and skilful harpooner or lancer with favor…His peculiar merit, whether with the oar, lance, or harpoon, is bruited about, as well as the number of whales he may have succeeded in "making fast to," or those which he caused to "spout blood."[31]

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[27] Thomas Philbrick, *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 42, 292.
[28] James Fenimore Cooper [grandson of James Fenimore Cooper, the 19th century author], editor, *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, vol. I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), pp. 37-38.
[29] "Crew List of Vessels Owned by Deering of Sag Harbor, 1828-1855," unpublished ledger, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[30] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Sea Lions, or The Lost Sealers* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Fredonia Books, 2002; original American publication, 1849), pp. 42-43.
[31] Cooper, *The Sea Lions*, pp. 9-10.

"Whalemen's Song" is a study of the "hardy and manly" whalemen of Sag Harbor, seeking to analyze and understand the complexities of masculinities that were far more complicated than the dichotomy of virtue versus avarice that Cooper presented in *The Sea Lions*. Unlike New Bedford, Sag Harbor was not a large city. Unlike Quaker-led Nantucket, with which it vied for second place in whaling to New Bedford, Sag Harbor is not an off-shore island, with its own insular society. Sag Harbor during the 1840s, set into a period of national population growth, the power and expansion of Manifest Destiny, partisan democratic fervor, a major religious revival, increased immigration, and the on-going transformation of the earlier ideal of an artisanal republic into one of capitalist finance, was a microcosm of the dynamics of American society, and the Sag Harbor whaleship a microcosm of the development and contestation of different ideals of American masculinity, as its whalemen pursued the performance of their manhood.

Not all whalemen achieved the fame of men like Roys and Mercator Cooper. Most were for the most part anonymous, even within the whaling community, and none, regardless of his family background or cultural surroundings, was "born" a whaleman. The courage and skills that whaling required had to be learned through experience, and it was upon this that a man's performance of masculinity as a whaleman rested. Beyond this, there were many other factors involved in how whalemen conceived of individual and group manhood, and how these combined with whalemanship to create differing and often contested performances of masculinity.

One man who learned the skills and courage of whaling was Daniel Howell Buckingham, the son of a successful and propertied millwright, and the direct descendant of two families that moved from England to Connecticut during the 1630s, and soon

thereafter to Long Island. He was born and raised in the hamlet of Middle Island, at Long Island's geographical center. His home was less than 10 miles from the coast, but still as far from salt water as a Long Islander could be. He was learning his father's trade, and had the opportunity to apprentice to a shipbuilder in Port Jefferson, but by the age of 19, in 1843, he had grown dissatisfied with his quiet inland life. "The times were dull and not much doing," he wrote, "so I went to Sag Harbor and shipped for a voyage."[32] From there, Buckingham, like thousands of other whalemen, left the green shallows of the coast and sailed, outward bound, into the blue water. Through his experience, which was quite ordinary for many men of the mid-1800s, one can gain a better understanding of the Sag Harbor whaleship as a site for the performance of masculinity.

In 1909, only days before his 86th birthday, and 61 years after he had completed the second of his two whaling voyages, Buckingham wrote a brief "Autobiography." His memory and writing were crisp, and what he called his "little scrap of history of myself" speaks clearly of the incidents that touched him during his years as a whaleman, beginning with his shipping in the ship *Henry*, which sailed in July, 1843.[33]

Buckingham's "Autobiography" gives an excellent and succinct description of the basic organization of labor in the whaleship, of making sail and cruising, and of the process of whaling. Rather than looking to secondary sources, or constructing a compilation from numerous first person accounts, it will be instructive here to use much of Daniel's descriptions, thereby placing later analysis of the masculinity of whalemen into the context of their labor and the highly technical knowledge, specialized

[32] Daniel Howell Buckingham, "Autobiography, Daniel Howell Buckingham, Whaler," unpublished copy printed from 1909 manuscript, Buckingham Family File, Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY], pp. 1- 2.
[33] Buckingham, "Autobiography," pp. 1-2.

vocabulary, dexterous skills, physical strength and stamina, and cooperative effort and perseverance that were demanded of those who labored in the whaling industry.

One way in which labor aboard the whaleship was organized was by the division of the hands into two watches, each of which contained nearly half of the men in the ship, and which alternated normal ship's duty at times other than when all hands were called. A second organization of labor was the assignment of hands to the whaleboats. The *Henry* was a "3 boat ship," meaning that she was outfitted and manned in such a way as to give her the capability of lowering three whale boats at once. Each of these boats was under the command of an officer, and each had a boatsteerer, or harpooner, who had been signed to the voyage for that specific billet. The other four men of each boat, the oarsmen, were selected in turn by the officers. These watch and boat selections were not made until shortly after the ship had set sail, which in the case of the *Henry* came once the ship had rounded Montauk Point. It was not until these selections were made that "all knew where they belonged." Daniel was selected by the *Henry*'s first mate, Henry D. Conklin, for the "Learboard Watch," and for the mate's whaleboat, the "Learboard Quarter Boat," in which he "pulled the Quarter Oar all the voyage." Another organization of duties was that of the men who labored in the ship, but did not whale, and who stayed aboard the ship when the whaleboats were lowered. These included craftsmen, the cooper, carpenter, sometimes a blacksmith, and the shipkeeper, who might double as the cook, and the cabin boy.[34]

Buckingham's 22 month long voyage in the *Henry* came to an end in May, 1845. During the voyage he started an acquaintanceship, for one could not properly say friendship as it was between an officer and a crewman, with the first mate, Henry D.

[34] Buckingham, "Autobiography," pp. 2-3.

Conklin, in whose watch and boat Daniel had served. Five months after the *Henry*'s return to Sag Harbor, Daniel went with Conklin to Greenport, on Long Island's North Fork, where they shipped in the Greenport whaleship *Nile*. Conklin, who sailed as the *Nile*'s first mate, must have been greatly impressed with Buckingham, as Daniel signed onto the *Nile* as Conklin's boatsteerer,[35] indicative of his strength, skill, and courage. An oarsman, while laboring in the whalefishery and experiencing fully its dangers, does not experience the whale hunt to the fullest, his back always turned away from the whale during the chase and the kill. As boatsteerer, Daniel got to confront the whale face forward, first in harpooning it, and then in steering the boat as the mate prepared to kill it with his lance. His experience as boatsteerer in the *Nile*, October, 1845 to June, 1848,[36] gave him the knowledge to write with authority and clarity on the labor of whaling.

Buckingham's description of whaling captures the rapid pace of the action, and the immediacy and perfection which each task's performance necessitated. He recounted that after the cry of "there she blows" from the masthead:

> everybody is stirring at the call to lower away the boats and every man in his place and the ship keepers stand ready to lower away the boats. Then every boats crew is anxious to pull away and to get the 1st iron into him… When the boat steerer strikes the whales he and the boat header…change ends. The boat steerer takes the steering long oar under his arm and a little handle in that hand and then with his right hand he catches the line fast to the iron in the whale and is turning out lively from the tub…catches 3 turns around the logger head and nippers the two parts together and tells the oarsman to wet the tub line lest it blister his hands as it passes swiftly through them. The whale when 1st struck with the iron or harpoon suddenly goes down, throwing up his flukes in the air…heads to the windward very swiftly. Then it is, when the boat steerer must manage to hold him with the line…keeping the bow of the boat as close to water as possible without going

[35] Buckingham, "Autobiography," pp. 6, 15.
[36] Buckingham, "Autobiography," pp. 6, 15. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, 432-433.

> under, and it depends much whether the sea is rough or smooth …when he has come up way ahead of us, and the line slackens, then its "haul in the line", "hand over hand", "lively boys", and "come up with him". While he is up and thrashing around with his flukes, we lay the mate on to him to give him the long lance 5 or 6 feet long that reaches into his life…When the lance has reached the life the whale will spout blood with his breath. I have had my face spattered with the damp shower. When he gives up the fight he is dead.[37]

Actions had to be prompt and precise. If not, the consequence could be severe injury, or death. This was also the adventurous part of the whale hunt, and although it could be fast and rewarding, it could last for hours, and result in no kill being made, or losing the kill if it sank. If successful, with the whale dead, came the unglamorous part of whaling; the drudgery of towing the whale to the ship, hoisting it, cutting it up, building fire at the brick tryworks on deck, boiling down the blubber into oil, ladling it into barrels, and stowing the oil barrels below deck. It was very hard, smoky, dirty, greasy work, and with a false step or a slipping knot, it could be deadly. This is what tested a whaleman's masculinity, as he faced the extraordinary danger that was extraordinarily routine to his labor.

One instance, in particular, demonstrates the fragile line that existed between a whaleman's manly labor and a whaleman's brutal death. Buckingham told of an incident in which, as his boat's harpooner, he had made fast to a whale, with nearly fatal consequences to himself:

> I gave him two irons, solid, when the second iron struck him we were running kind of catering over him he struck with his flukes and knocked the stern of the boat off, and the Mate was astern swimming. I slewed around on my feet, to make an observation, at that moment, the whale after his first dash, he drew his flukes rather moderate over the starboard side of the boat and over the mens heads, at the oars, and came against the mast and broke it

[37] Buckingham, "Autobiography," pp. 9-12.

> short off, and as I had just faced around it came against my breast… His flukes slipped off at my right hand down he went and was off like a shot. I faced around to the fore again and caught the knife out of the sheath and cut the line off which was fast to the irons in the whale…which were beginning to run from the tub and which might very soon have whirled around some of us and taken us over-board. We soon helped Mate aboard what was left of it, just enough to float us partly in the water….[38]

An important idea that runs through Buckingham's "Autobiography" is that the sharing of labor in such an enterprise as whaling infused a strong sense of comradery that transformed one's shipmates into more than fellow workers. They became fellow men to be remembered. The passing of six decades had not removed from Daniel's mind this fondness and respect for his fellow whalemen, and the manners in which several of them had met their ends; an end that he himself had narrowly escaped. Buckingham related several of these deaths as he so vividly remembered them. The first took place during his first voyage in the *Henry*, when Captain Brown's boat had made fast to a whale, been towed away to some distance, stoved, and capsized. The captain and four men survived. One man drowned, and his body was never found.[39] Seven years later, in 1853, Captain Brown, the master of the *Henry* in Buckingham's first voyage, was in command of the Sag Harbor whaleship *Ontario*. Following a kill, while he was supervising the cutting in, he was "killed instantly by a blanket piece falling on him which crushed him so that his blood ran in the scuppers."[40]

Other deaths took place during Buckingham's service in the *Nile*. Each involved working sails aloft in a storm, and it must be emphasized that while being a whaleman required unique skills, it also required great skill as a seaman. One can gain an image of

[38] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 12.
[39] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 13.
[40] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 15. Finckenor, *Port of Sag Harbor*, pp. 61-62, 134. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 476-477

this labor, if not a technical understanding, through a song that Melvin P. Halsey, a resident of Water Mill, just south of Sag Harbor, wrote into the journal he kept during his whaling voyages. Halsey did not become a whaleman until well after the decline of the Sag Harbor whalefishery, but his boyhood included much contact with the culture of the whalefishery, most notably through his older cousin Catherine, who accompanied her husband, whaleship captain Jetur Rose, on several of his voyages. Although Melvin did not go whaling until the 1860s, and then not out of Sag Harbor, his whaling experience was strongly tied to what had gone on before in the Sag Harbor whalefishery and among earlier Long Island whalemen.[41] Halsey called the song "Description of a Squall." As one reads the words one can also see in the mind's eye men in the rigging and out on the yards, feel the line in their hands, and imagine the strain as they reefed the wet and heavy sails. The reader must also endeavor to hear in the mind's ear the high pitched screeching of the wind as it whistles through the rigging, the roar of the wind and its thunderous beating of the sails, the metallic clanging of ship's chains and fittings, the roar of the sea against the hull, the rain beating on canvas and wood, and the shouting of orders. Amidst these sounds, and in this natural setting of tempest, men worked with skill, stamina and courage, the normal condition of their work, as described so well in the song.

From New York Harbor we Set Sail
We were blessed with a pleasant gail
With a ringtail roarer at our Mizen Peak
Crying luff Boys, luff we are out to Sea

[41] Letter. Cady B. Rose to Melvin P. Halsey, January 14, 1856, original held by Water Mill Historical Museum archives, Water Mill, New York, published in *Water Mill, Celebrating Community: The History of a Long Island Hamlet*, ed. by Marlene E. Haresign and Marsha Kranes (Water Mill, New York: Water Mill Museum, 1994), p. 18. "Water Mill." Obituary of Melvin P. Halsey. *The Southampton Press*. Southampton, New York: Thursday, September 29, 1921, p. 4.

But by & by there came a Squall
Which Struck us on our lee quarter with all
Haul down your StudSails alow & aloft
Clew up your Royals fore & aft

Lay up there Boys & maike them fast
See that the gaskets are right well Sassed [?]
Steady taut your Braces before that you go
To keep the yeards from Swinging to & fro

Clew up your tgalland Sails take them in
Four hands lay foreward & haul the Jib down
Lay up in the Cross tress [tree] you John Brown
Stand by to haul the Gaft Topsail down

Stand by your topsail halyards all
See that they are ready to let fall
Haul out Ruf Takles your Haliards then let fly
Double Reef your Topsails & aloft let you lie

All hands Stand by give tacks & sheets
See they run right single round their cleets
Haul out your Reef Takle your tacks & sheets let fly
A Reef in each course & aloft let you lie[42]

Even the most capable and experienced mariner could find himself the victim of the powerful forces of the wind upon the sea. Buckingham related such a tragedy as took place aboard the *Nile* in early January, 1846, as the ship sailed southwards from Brazil towards Cape Horn, and one man watched helplessly as his brother fell to his death.

> When five days out [from Rio de Janeiro] we lost our 2nd Mate, Frank Ackerly overboard early in the morning, while his watch (the Starboard) were reefing the fore topsail. His brother Henry, a boat steerer, was aloft on the yard. The wind was blowing fresh, and the main tack of the main sail rove through the sail and belayed to a wooden pin, where an iron pin belonged, but was misplaced. The pin broke and the main sail slatted heavily, and as Mr. Ackerly had his arm over the tack looking at his men reefing, it threw him clean across the deck, striking the Waist

[42] "Description of a Squall," Melvin P. Halsey, "Journal of Melvin P. Halsey," unpublished manuscript, Southampton Historical Museum and Research Center [SHMRC], Southampton, New York [SHMP, NY], p. 29. [Halsey's journal includes dated entries for three voyages during the 1860s, with song lyrics written into the back portion of the journal. Page numbers are as counted by this writer.]

> Boat, Davit head. As he went overboard, the cry rang out, "A man overboard". A boat was quickly lowered to save him, but he had gone down. Probably killed when he struck the Davit head. They picked up his hat.[43]

An important part of the figure of a whalemen's masculinity was how he saw himself with regard to "others." Responses were complex, depending on a whaleman's own conception of manhood, on who the "other" was, and the circumstances. An example from Herman Melville's *Typee* is instructive. Throughout the work Melville's autobiographic character "Tom" presents greatly varying impressions of the Native peoples of the Typee Valley. Many of these impressions are unfavorable, particularly the on-going fear that they will kill and eat him. However, in describing specific individuals of the Typee, Melville frequently presents them as sympathetic, gracious and likeable, and in the instance of the Native woman "Fayaway," magnificently beautiful, poised and alluring.[44] Buckingham never relates fear regarding the non-white non-American peoples that he encountered, but his comments do echo Melville's in that they are critical in the general abstract of peoples, but complimentary when dealing with particular persons.

Melville's Ishmael, in *Moby Dick*, presented this same tendency with regard to Queequeg, moving from fear of a heathen cannibal, to wonder, to acceptance of a good shipmate. Queequeg was described as:

> …a creature in the transition state – neither caterpillar nor butterfly. He was just enough civilized to show off his outlandishness in the strangest possible manner. His education was not yet completed. He was an undergraduate. If he had not

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[43] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 7. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 432-433.
[Beaufort's Wind Scale, used by mariners, defines a "fresh gale" as winds of 48 mph to 55 mph. and calls for double-reefing topsails.] W. A. McEwen and A. H. Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge* (Centreville, Maryland: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1953), p. 37-38]

[44] Herman Melville, *Typee, A Peep at Polynesian Life*, Vol. 1, Northwestern-Newberry Edition, *The Writings of Herman Melville*, edited by Harrison Hayford, Hrshel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1968; original publication New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), pp. 72, 74-77, 83-85, 93, 108-110, 201, 205, 208, 217-220, 231-237.

> been a small degree civilized, he very probably would not have troubled himself with boots at all; but then, if he had not been still a savage, he would never have dreamt of getting under the bed to put them on.[45]

Buckingham, with a cultural perspective like Ishmael's, made a similar evaluation of Honolulu, which he first visited in 1846 in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Henry*, remarking that: "Honolulu was in a sort of a transition state at the time, emerging out of its original heathen and into the borders of civilization and religion…The majority of natives dress at that time was rather ludicrous, a mixture of one kind or other…."[46] However, in describing a particular Pacific Islander, a man whose English name was Bill Moses, Buckingham showed great admiration, appreciation, and over sixty years later, attachment to the veteran whaleman Pacific Islander who had helped the green "Yankee boy" Middle Islander learn the skills of whaling. Their relationship was not inhibited by race, but facilitated through their occupation. They were Sag Harbor whalemen. "I often talked with him in his broken English…he helped me," Daniel remembered.[47]

The feelings of a whaleman toward his officers and shipmates were important to the development of his masculine performance in the whaleship. Many times comradery and manly respect failed to develop. In other cases, respect for another's whalemanship outweighed or overcame other considerations. Most exemplary of this latter condition, and far from the libertine stereotype of whalemen, is the relationship between Daniel Howell Buckingham and Bill Moses who became extremely ill and died during the voyage in the *Henry*. Daniel recalled that:

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[45] Melville, *Moby Dick,* pp. 21-28.
[46] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 5.
[47] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 3.

> The morning that Bill died or the day he died, he told the men in his watch, "something speak at me, Bill die to-day," and he did. The next day was his funeral. The main yard was aback and the rail and board taken out on the Starboard side. Bill was laid out and tied up in canvass with bricks to his feet and laid on a board his feet pointing overboard. The weather was moderate. All hands standing around the gangway, the Captain acting as chaplain. He read from the Bible and a prayer book. It was a solemn time. The Captain was a rather hard man, yet I think it brought the tears to his eyes. When all was ready the inboard end of the board was raised and Bill Moses slid off, feet foremast into the blue water.[48]

A whaleman's masculinity included his sentiments, perhaps even more than his whaling. The whaleship was his setting. His masculinity was his own.

[48] Buckingham, "Autobiography," p. 4.

Chapter 2

WHO IS THE WHALER?

PERCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITIES IN THE WHALEFISHERY

"Who is the Sailor? Some have sneering cried…
But I will answer – it's an easy task…."
- - - from "The Sailor", in the journal of Josiah Foster,
Ship *Jefferson*, Sag Harbor, at sea, May 7, 1850[1]

Who is the whaler? Or, to ask the question in a manner better in keeping with the purposes of this dissertation, what was the masculinity of the whaleman? To tell is no "easy task." Masculinity, in its conceptions and performances, varied from man to man in an on-going negotiation that involved self-perception, group-perception, inter-personal relationships, inter-group relationships, and the vast possibilities for particular circumstances. The issue of what is "masculine" and what constitutes "manhood" is complex, often involving disagreement. These complexities are visible within a group as limited in number as Sag Harbor's whalemen of the 1840s, many of whom were white natives of eastern Long Island, of British ancestry, Protestant, literate, and of better than middling family circumstances with regard to property and status. Sameness of men's place, ethnicity and class did not translate into sameness in the ideal of manhood and the style of masculine performance, even among Long Island's Yankee boy whalers.

[1] "The Sailor," Josiah Foster, "Journal of Josiah Foster's Whaling Voyage in the Sag Harbor Ship *Jefferson*," 1847-1850, unpublished manuscript, Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum [SHWHM], Sag Harbor, New York [SH, NY], poem dated May 7, 1850, appears in the rear section of the journal, following daily entries, pp. 255-262.

The mid-19th century American whalemen's constructions of masculinities took place in public activity, usually in the workplace (ship, whaleboat, dockside,), but also in places where their maritime workplace and culture confronted the life of shore-dwellers and shore cultures (alehouse, whorehouse, boardinghouse, city street, country lane, seamen's mission, front parlor, cemetery, Native settlement, mercantile house, pawn shop) in the home port, in ports-of-call, or in the whaleman's former home, be it a farm, a small village, or a maritime city. The performance of masculinity contained many diverse contradictions and ambiguities, often occurring in a manner that may seem to be counter-intuitive. The whaleman's adventurous and highly dangerous work may appear as supporting a secular libertine form of masculinity, but this work was performed under a mode of production that subjected him to a highly proletarianized form of labor. The whaleship was a compact company town, its purpose being to search for and procure a raw material, process it while at sea into an industrial product, and transport it to a central location for purposes of mercantile distribution. It was totalitarian in its close quarters and surveillance which permitted for no privacy, in the systematic and often brutal discipline of its workforce, and in the full-time control over the bodies and skills of its labor force. In this industrial setting many whalemen were, by the standards of rational property-owning manhood, "feminized," entirely dependent upon a patriarchal system for employment, berth, and board, having no permanent domestic place of abode or residential property, and therefore disenfranchised. Other than captains and some mates, they lacked the fixity and financial ability to support a family in a comfortable and secure manner, and few possessed marketable skills of the type that could assure financial security in non-maritime labor ashore. In most cases the whaleman was an "other;" an

irrational outsider whose legal and property status was in many ways closer to that of a woman, a child, or a slave, than to that of a rational, property-owning, fully enfranchised free adult male of fixed abode. In addition to having to be totally obedient to patriarchal authority, whaling hands also did much that would be judged as "feminine" in land culture, including cooking, cleaning, washing and sewing clothing, and making fancy decorative objects, such as scrimshaw and ornamental knotting.[2]

Masculine performance is not only complicated by the issue of who is performing, but also for whom he is performing, and under what circumstance. Michael Kimmel, a leader in the field of gender sociology, holds that a man performs his masculinity for other men as the means of proving his own manhood both to them and to himself. This, in turn, is complicated by the construction of competing forms of masculinity; the predominating and that which challenges it. Frequently there is more than one type of masculine performance that challenges, and these may be quite diverse and even opposed to one another. Such considerations lead Kimmel to assert that masculine performance is motivated by one's desire to maintain domination over other men, or by a fear of being vanquished by them. In such performance, he maintains, "woman" exists as an idea to be used as male "currency" in formulating and constructing masculinity through competitive performance in a male homosocial culture.[3] The whaleship, with twenty to thirty men working, eating, and berthing, crammed into a

[2] Earle, Walter K., *Scrimshaw: Folk Art of the Whalers* (Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y.: Whaling Museum Society, Inc., 1957), pp. 6-9, 13, 22-32. Richard C. Malley, *Graven by the Fishermen Themselves: Scrimshaw in Mystic Seaport Museum* (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 1983), pp. 17-21, 85-123. Richard C. Malley, *In Their Hours of Ocean Leisure: Scrimshaw in the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum* (Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y.: Whaling Museum Society, 1993).
[3] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), pp. 1-9.

narrow space about one-hundred feet long, at sea without landfall for months at a time, provided an optimal place for the development of this competition.

Masculinity is NOT a natural phenomenon, but a part of the cultural conception of gender. This is not to say that the anatomy and functions of the male body are not natural, particularly the maleness of those body parts and functions that are specifically male as differentiated from the body parts and functions that are particular to the female body. However, these physical differences as used to identify a person's sex, clear as they may be in certain individuals, and nearly or fully indistinguishable in those having pronounced hermaphroditic physiologies, do not constitute masculinity, or its so-called "opposite," femininity. Instead, masculinity and femininity are ideas and values assigned to behaviors and attitudes by a dominant culture, and adhered to or resisted by subordinate cultures. This conception of gender, which informs the central theoretical position of "Whalemen's Song," has been succinctly put forward by feminist philosopher and gender historian Judith Butler, who maintains that nothing that is considered to be masculine exists on its own as a cultural condition that is purely biological in origin. Masculinity, instead, is entirely the result of a particular set of cultural constructions that may or may not be considered as indicative of masculinity within other cultures. Masculinity, therefore, may be seen as a conscious performance of what is considered to be masculine, with what is masculine arising not from nature, but from a particular type or standard of action that a cultural community imagines to be masculine.[4] Furthermore, as presented by Lillian Nayder in her study of the assignment of masculinity and femininity in late 19th century Western maritime culture, a society's constructions of the masculine and the feminine is

[4] Judith Butler, "Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification," in Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis and Simon Watson, editors, *Constructing Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 31-34.

not permanent, but can change in reaction to technical, economic, domestic or other developments. An excellent example of this within the maritime trades can be seen in the development of fuel-burning mechanically-powered ships. To labor in such vessels was seen as emasculating and feminizing by sailors who worked sail. Then, as steam overtook sail in importance and in power, particularly in military power, the culture changed its assignment of gender, constructing machinists as modern and masculine, as sail-handlers passed into a softened, nostalgic, somewhat feminized form of masculinity.[5] Such multiple, contested and transforming conceptions of masculinity existed within the Sag Harbor whalefishery, and were often expressed through performance of the gender laden content of songs and poems that supported or challenged particular ideals of manhood.

"As I lay amusing," a song heard and written down by Lewis Jones during his mid-1840s Sag Harbor whaling voyage, presents an excellent example of how particular ideas of masculinity were performed both through singing, and through the singing of the gendered content of the song. "Amusing" in the context of the song does not mean in a state of carefree or mindless diversion or merriment, but rather deep in contemplation; at musing. The song itself, which entered into oral tradition in about the year 1600 under the title "The Praise of Sailors,"[6] was current in the American whalefishery during mid-1800s.[7] Here, to be heard in the mind's ear, is the version as heard by Lewis Jones.

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[5] Lillian Nayder, "Sailing Ships and Steamers, Angels and Whores: History and Gender in Conrad's Maritime Fiction," in Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, editors, *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 180-203.

[6] "The Praise of Sailors," in Roy Palmer, compiler and editor, *The Oxford Book of Sea Songs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 21-24.

[7] "Hearts of Gold" ["'Twas the plowing of the raging seas"], in Gale Huntington, compiler and editor, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (3rd edition, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2005; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 68-70, 323-324.

As I lay amusing and sleeping at my ease,
O I dreamed of the mariners, poor seamen of the seas,
They do, they do, both hot and cold stand many a bitter blast,
Tis often times they are obliged for to cut away the mast.

Twas overboard our guns we threw and all our cargo too,
Twas in our longboat we were forced to get our precious lives to save,
The captain in the cabin did sit a man of courage so bold,
Saying steer on, steer on my brisk young lads steer on my hearts of gold.

Come all you pretty maidens if you did but only know
The hardships and dangers poor seamen undergo,
O you would have a better regard for them than ever yet was known,
O you'd scorn to see those landlovers that always stay at home.

Always with the pretty girls and telling them fine tales,
What hard and tedious days works they have done in their cornfields,
It is killing of the grass and weeds is all that they can do,
Whilst we poor seamen stand many a bitter blow.

As soon as it is six o'clock they he've aside their plough,
Saying we cannot work no longer, home we will go now.
As soon as it is eight o'clock in their beds they crawl,
Whilst we poor seamen stand many a bitter sqwal.

As soon as it is dark as pitch the winds began to blow,
Step up, step up, my brisk young lads, step up from down below,
All hands upon the deck our ship and lives to guard,
Step up, step up my brisk young lads. Send down topgallant yard.

The seas they run mountains high they toss us up and down,
Saying we are in great danger, we are afraid our ship will found,
Saying don't you be fainthearted boys you'll see your girls again
In spite of all that will hinder us we will cross the ragin' main.

We will sail to all parts of the world that ever yet was known,
We will fetch home gold and silver whenever we do come home,
We will drink and make our country flourish,
we will drink and pass it round again,
And when our money is all gone we will go to sea again.[8]

This is performance. It is the expression of masculinity, of masculinities, through the gender laden content of the song, presenting many conceptions of what it means to be

[8] "As I lay amusing," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

masculine, how masculinity is performed, and for whom it is performed, while setting seamen's masculinity against or in accord with several "others." The action of the singing also involved several masculine performances, from that of the singer or singers, no doubt conscious of the context in which the song was performed, to the action of the listeners, who shared in its context. In performance, the song's lyrics present their own gendered content as the musings of a sailor. The singing of the song, in the whaleship, was not a musing, but actual masculine performance, by whalemen, for whalemen, through the medium of the conveyance of the masculine content of the song..

The first verse of "As I lay amusing" is clearly an imagining ("amusing," "dreaming"), yet it is an imagining set into the repetitious reality of seamen's hard physical labor under life-threatening natural conditions, including laboring in extremes of heat and cold, and cutting off the masts in typhoons to prevent capsizing due to top-heaviness. This performance in the face of physical reality is repeated in the second verse, in which the ship's guns and cargo are jettisoned during a great storm so as to increase buoyancy, and in which men with "hearts of gold" are forced to abandon a sinking ship, placing themselves into longboats, 20 foot rowboats, therein to survive the perils of the sea.

Jones's third through sixth verses address masculinity towards an imagined target audience of listeners, women ("pretty maidens," "pretty girls,"), who are not present to hear the song at sea, and likely would not be present to hear the song sung ashore. The masculine performance of the song is, rather, intended for the hearing of men, and the reassuring of their own masculinity. Rather than telling women, the whalemen are actually telling themselves when they assert that the occupational performance of

masculinity by seamen is far superior to that performed by farmers, who live safely ashore by the clock, rather than dangerously amidst the violent forces of the sea. Sexual performance is also subtly presented in the song. Landsmen, following the routine and unadventurous monotony of their chores, are unable to sustain themselves into the night-time. They "crawl in bed," as opposed to seamen, who at night are able to "stand many" a squall. This occupation-based sexual superiority is asserted despite the fact that farmers had far more opportunity to engage in sexual activity with flesh-and-blood women.

The seventh verse reverts to the theme of the seamen's struggle to survive ("our ship and lives to save") through seamanship, the skill by which men attempt to harness the forces of nature, and when necessary, to resist them. This struggle continues into the eight verse, in which fear of sinking ("afraid our ship will found") is overcome through an appeal to seamen's masculine sexuality and the romantic attraction they hold for women ("you'll see your girls again"). Finally, overcoming all possible hardships and obstacles that "will hinder us," these highly masculine "poor seamen" return home with wealth, for themselves and for their nation, and celebrate in the male comradery of drinking rounds until, again penniless, they return to sea, where they will once again engage in their actual work and their musings.

Masculinity, as reflected in Lewis Jones's version of "The Praise of Sailors," is complex, and it is better refer to the performances described in the song as masculinit*ies*. A whaleman, regardless of what he held to as an ideal of manhood, could accept and take pride in much of the song's manly portrayal of seamen, particularly the verses dealing with bravery in the face of natural perils. Yet, other values presented in the song could be

quite troubling for men holding to ideals of manhood at variance with or in contradiction to those presented in the song.

Historians Marcus Rediker and Paul Gilje have argued that seamen act in opposition to established socio-economic norms, constructing masculinity in opposition to the values and power of economic elites. Rediker sees this opposition as proletarian, arguing that by the early 17th century, the time of publication of "The Praise of Sailors," seamen were forming a collective class consciousness that facilitated communal class action. Thus, Rediker sees whalemen's refusal to carry out their duties in protest against overwork, short rations and physical abuse as constructing a proletarian masculinity based upon class conscious opposition to capitalist authority.[9]

Paul Gilje also sees many seamen's actions against authority as economically motivated, but not out of a proletarian class consciousness. Gilje maintains that these seamen, who will be referred to as "libertine," rejected liberal concepts of property, believing that adherence to such a concept would be detrimental to the exercise of unlimited liberty of action. The form of masculinity these men performed in pursuing unrestrained sensual bliss, regardless of its impact upon others, was the type of conduct that the Founding Fathers had feared as an antecedent to anarchy. Such men, as presented by Gilje, were the antithesis of the emerging 19th century bourgeois masculinity of the "self-made man." These libertine seamen rejected thrift, the accumulation of wealth, and the exercise of wealth-based authority as being contrary to the exercise of masculine liberty. Still, in Gilje's view, such seamen did not develop a class conscious proletarian

[9] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 14-18, 35, 73-81, 110-115.

desire to gain liberation by seizing control of the means of production, which would still require adherence to standards determined by commercial and industrial considerations.[10]

Herman Melville, history's most famous whaleman, presented masculinity as escape from conventional standards of conduct, including a rejection of the emerging bourgeois value of monetary acquisitiveness and financial success as the measure of a man. In what gender historian E. Anthony Rotundo termed "the masculine primitive" of survival, strength, and energy,[11] Melville presented the ideal of escape into life in a natural state, without civilized artifice. Thus, Ishmael, Melville's narrator in *Moby Dick*, while not presenting himself as an immoral libertine, was still capable of freeing himself from the conventional prejudices and routines of bourgeois society by leaving the city for the whaleship. Despite his initial fears and protestations, Ishmael was able to reeducate himself to accept Queequeg's right to his savagery, unencumbered by Western bourgeois values and Protestant orthodoxy, and in so doing he liberated himself from his own civilized sense of manhood; "the damp, drizzly November of my soul" that had been brought on through bourgeois pursuits. Thus, Ishmael made his decision to go to sea as a whaleman, signing aboard with his newly found mentor and bed-mate, Queequeg, the South Sea Island "cannibal."[12]

Melville, in *Typee*, further rejected bourgeois masculinity as preventing one's freedom. In describing the life of Native people of the Marquesas, he equated true liberty with the Typees' contentment in living with what nature provided. Their freedom of

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[10] Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. xii-xiii, 6-14.
[11] E. Anthony Rotundo, "Leaning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-class Family in 19th Century America," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), pp. 35-37, 40-42.
[12] Melville, *Moby Dick*, pp. 1, 18-23.

action and their uninhibited unstressed lives resulted from the absence of the ideals of monetary wealth and performance display that was becoming prevalent in the mid-19th century society of the self-made man. Among the Typee, Melville tells us:

> There were none of those thousand sources of irritation that the ingenuity of civilized man has created to mar his own felicity. There were no foreclosures of mortgages, no protested notes, no bills payable, no debts…no destitute widows with their children starving on the cold charities of the world; no beggars; no debtors' prisons; no proud and hard-hearted nabobs in Typee; or to sum up all in one word – no MONEY![13]

Many whalemen, particularly those in their teens and early twenties, may have been motivated by a desire to achieve manhood through escape from the domination of a patriarchal father or an overly protective mother, rather than through desire for monetary gain and financial security. Other whalemen, particularly those with aspirations of becoming a captain or first mate, were drawn to sea as a professional career. Still others were motivated by the desire to earn a large lump sum payment in cash at the end of a successful voyage, to be invested into the purchase of a farm, or the establishment of a craft or mercantile business. Such a whaleman who "sailed away…to stay nearby,"[14] was Lewis Jones. In 1845, at the age of 23, Jones shipped as carpenter for a three year voyage in the Sag Harbor whaling bark *Hamilton*. Upon the completion of his three years at sea he set up in his own carpentry business in his home town of East Hampton, eventually parleying his lay of $600 into a successful house-building business and his own economic competency.[15] In much the same manner as the construction craftsmen turned petty

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[13] Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*, Vol. 1, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Herschel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1968; original publication of *Typee*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), p. 126.
[14] Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, pp. 48, 51.
[15] "Crew List for Vessels Owned by Charles T. Deering of Sag Harbor 1828-1855," unpublished ledger, LIC, EHL, EH, NY., p. 48.

capitalists described by Donna Rilling in her study of Philadelphia house builders,[16] Jones converted his income as a laborer into his status as an independent craftsman; a businessman, rather than a proletarianized worker. Although Jones collected several songs of a libertine character during his voyage, he personally rejected libertinism, or at least he did so *after* his voyage. His was not the anti-bourgeois masculinity that Melville expressed when he stated that the happiness of the Typee was the result of, "in one word – no MONEY!" Melville actually used two words; "no" and "money." For many whalemen, from captains to carpenters, the ideal of achieving manhood did involve "one word"; "money;" or, perhaps, a great many words, conditions, "money" being one of them. Other Sag Harbor whalemen of the 1840s, most notably two evangelical Christians, George Smith and John Quin, took yet another approach to manhood, rejecting the acquisition of "money" as a purely secular goal, while recognizing the need to earn a good living so as to provide for a Christian family, a major Pauline duty in the performance of the Christian manhood towards which both men aspired.

The whalemen whose journal entries, songs and poems constitute the greater part of this dissertation's primary documentation did not frequently exhibit a secular libertine masculine attitude, and while consistently critical of the abuses of those in authority, they did not demonstrate proletarian class consciousness. Though likely not consistently

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U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1850*, New York State, Suffolk County, East Hampton Town, p. 43.

Deed and Insurance Certificates, unpublished documents, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

Robert J. Hefner, editor, *East Hampton's Heritage: An Illustrated Architectural Record* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), pp. 46-47, 155.

[16] Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). [Rilling states that "carpentry, as a designation, ranged across a spectrum of skills," from making small wooden frames for mirrors to building houses. Also cited is one Philadelphia carpenter who shifted between carpentry work ashore and at sea, depending upon particular economic conditions, unlike Lewis Jones who went to sea and then stayed ashore. Rilling, *Making Houses*, p. 6.]

representative of those men who may have been the greater portion of the hands who whaled out of Sag Harbor during the 1840s, it is through their eyes, ears and pens that we see masculine performance in the whaleship and the whaling port.

Many of the whalemen who kept journals were extremely literate and expressive, and quite persistent in their modest daily undertaking of putting down on paper the incidents of the voyage, the songs and poems they heard or read, and their thoughts. This attention to keeping journals or diaries was examined by Thomas Augst in his monograph *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Augst concluded that the mid-19th century practice of young men keeping diaries was a means of moral self-examination, referring to their practice as "the moral economy of literacy," and stating that such diaries and journals "allow us to see how young men mapped their uncertain and anonymous world and created identities for themselves within it: as boys becoming men, as clerks becoming businessmen, as single youths entering into the domesticity of the married household."[17] The same may be applied to several of Sag Harbor's 1840s whalemen, as they kept journals, and wrote or copied songs and poem, the better to prepare them for a career at sea, or for an occupation and home ashore, and often as a means of moral self-examination and sustenance, as they grew into manhood. Augst also refers to "the enterprise of reading," describing how young men sought moral as well as economic self-betterment through the application of reading towards the salutary benefits of a worthwhile aim, rather than as mere amusement.[18] In like manner, many whalemen read in pursuit of moral guidance or practical improvement, in works

[17] Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 1-2, 7-9
[18] Augst, *Clerk's Tale*, pp. 154-165, 169, 175, 178, 185.

ranging from the writings of 17th century English theologian Richard Baxter to Nathaniel Bowditch's *Navigator*.

The question of whalemen's manhood was addressed [in *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870*] by Margaret Creighton, one of the leading historians working at the intersection of maritime, social, cultural, and gender history. Creighton refers to the men who kept shipboard journals and read serious instructive literature as "Victorian seamen," alluding not only to their considerable degree of literacy, but also to their familial and personal social status, personal aspirations, and moral values. Yet, as Creighton points out, such "Victorian" whalemen differed greatly in attitudes, and in performances of and observations made upon masculinity, not just of "others," but also among themselves.[19] Moving beyond this, "Whalemen's Song" asserts that the conception of a "Victorian seaman" as a bourgeois aspirant with secular goals of comfort and status is incomplete. Some whalemen, who might also be termed "Victorian" and gentlemanly, were ardent Evangelical Christians of the Second Great Awakening, while at least one who will be examined in detail embraced highly democratic conceptions of liberty that went far beyond one of bourgeois property and individualism. These whalemen, while "Victorian" in family status, literacy, and respectability, held to sets of masculine values that could contradict and even challenge those of the bourgeois "Victorian seaman," as well as the secular libertine.

How would these whalemen likely have reacted upon hearing "As I lay amusing"? A whalemen who held to "Victorian" bourgeois values would likely condemn its praise of spending hard-earned wages on liquor, as is presented in the song's

[19] Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 10, 80-81, 123-126, 156-161.

concluding verse. Such men would have valued converting their lays into capital so as to further their wealth and status, and would have seen spending it on drinking rounds of alcohol as not only foolishly wasteful, but as unmanly. Similarly, Evangelical Christian whalemen would have condemned the wasteful and unmanly misuse of money as presented in the song, though for a fundamentally different reason. While the principal motivation of the bourgeois aspirant was economic advancement, as well as respectable public sobriety, the Christian whaleman, seeking manhood as a *moral* imperative in the sight of God to his stewardship as a husband and father, would challenge the song's praise of the unmanly sins of intemperance and slothful self-indulgence. As seen by such a man, the spending of one's pay on drink would prevent the successful performance of the manly Christian duty to support one's family. The song's concluding verse would therefore be seen as descriptive of the drinking seamen's inability to achieve manhood. Yet, to the secular libertine whaleman who embraced drinking without regard to morality and status, or spiritual cleanliness and stewardship, spending one's money on the comradery of alcohol consumption was a fundamental performance of masculinity in pursuit of one's manhood.

The great variations in conceptions of masculinity as expressed through the gendered content of songs and poems can be seen by a comparison between Lewis Jones's "As I lay amusing," and selected verses from Josiah Foster's poem, "The Sailor." Foster, a hand in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Jefferson*, 1847-1850, wrote out many lengthy poems and songs in a diminutive calligraphic hand. Unlike Jones's collection, many of Josiah's express ideals of domesticity and Christian morality, especially as they relate to life and culture of maritime workers and their families. In reading "The Sailor,"

one should *listen* to it in the soundscape[20] that Josiah Foster heard in the *Jefferson*: creaking spars, flapping sails, snapping lines, chains clanking, the wind whistling, men's heavy footsteps, orders being shouted, chanteys bellowed, and the ocean waves pounding on the hull of the ship. Such an imagining on the reader's part will better the comprehension of the vastness of the ocean and the fragility of man in a conception of manhood that differs greatly from that expressed in "As I lay amusing."

"The Sailor"

Darkness guided the ocean wave,
  Our gallant bark wildly leapt
From sea to sea, and her timbers creaked
  As over the deep she swept.

Our mast were sprung, our bulwarks gone,
  Our sails were sorely riven,
While over our heads the storm-cloud rolled
  And the scud was rapidly driven.

Hark, heard ye that shriek and the wild wave's roar
  How it strains through the evening air
On the hurricane's wings it is borne to the shore
  The idolaters screaming prayer.

Who is the Sailor? Thank the blush that tinges that fair cheek,
  But deem it not the blush of shame, let her who loves him speak,
She says, "Tis he to whom my vows of early love were given,
  My Pole star true which none can dim, my all this side of Heaven.

The Book of God to ocean's sons shall now be freely given,
  And they – too long neglected Tars – shall learn the way to Heaven.
That Northern hills, and Southern plains, and East and West may see
  That God, the Lord, the Saviour reigns to all Eternity.[21]

[20] Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 6-8. [Smith's monograph chiefly describes the significance of the differences between the ways the industrial, free North and the agricultural, slave South sounded. His work makes an excellent case for historians to consider and understand the ways in which history sounded, and to consider that much of what is written is an attempt to describe sounds produced and heard, such as songs and poetry recitations.]
[21] "The Sailor," Josiah Foster, "Journal *Jefferson*," 1847-1850, pp. 255-262.

Unlike Lewis Jones's "As I lay amusing," which presents the storm at sea as a setting for the robust performance of masculinity, "The Sailor" presents the tempest as a challenge against man's frailty ("heard ye that shriek…the idolaters screaming prayer"), especially when he does not base his manhood upon Christian faith. True manhood, "The Sailor" tells its reader or listener, is gained through acceptance of, and faithfulness to, the Christian domesticity of a faithfully loving woman at home, and fostered through adherence to the teachings of the Bible. On the other hand, such sentimental Christian poetry and song would be seen as unmanly and ridiculed by whalemen who embraced and performed the masculine conception of the secular self-made man or the secular libertine.

The man who could whale successfully could rise in rank, prestige, and wealth, be it aboard ship or in business upon returning to shore. A whaling captain's success had one measure; returning to port with a full ship in as short a time as possible. Self-made masculinity was performed in the marketplace. One might inherit or perhaps marry to economic advantage, but to be truly masculine the self-made man had to increase his economic value so as to increase his manly status. As a result, the masculinity of the self-made man was in a constant state of having to be proven. It existed only in the act of being proven, was highly confrontational, and required that in his quest for market-centered success he be self-centered, manipulative, competitive, all-consuming, and willing to be abusive towards others in pursuit of his masculine goal.[22]

The highly gendered content of song lyric and poetry was not only a reflector and reproducer of diverse types of masculinity, but also a site for contestation that exposes as stereotyping the idea that whalemen were a monolithic collective. *Moby Dick*'s Ishmael

[22] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), pp. 9-10, 16-18, 22-31.

may have mused that "Your true whaleman is…a savage,"[23] but his creator drew from that primeval to reach the height of literary civilization. The differing conceptions of manhood presented within and between "As I lay amusing" and "The Sailor" demonstrate this complex and contested diversity.

One whaleman who likely heard "As I lay amusing" was Richard Boyenton. He labored as a foremast hand in the 1832-1835 voyage of the Salem whaleship *Bengal*,[24] during which one of his shipmates heard and wrote down a version of the song as "The Praise of Sailors."[25] Boyenton himself kept a journal of the voyage, making observations on his shipmates, referring to them as a "hetregenious mass of incongruity."[26] Creighton, who quotes Boyenton's astute observation, lists some of the many ways in which whalemen serving together in a ship were organized or divided, including billet, berth, lay, watch, and boat, as well as class, race, and ethnicity.[27] These, however, are only physical. There were also many other factors in how whalemen organized themselves, in groups or individually, that are harder to describe, but which give one a far better understanding of who and what whalemen were. These factors include intelligence, powers of observation and expression, feelings of solidarity or isolation, libertine, bourgeois, or Christian goals, romantic sentiments, and spirituality. The influences of these forces as they worked upon whalemen, individually or as an occupational whole,

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[23] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*, Vol. 6, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1988), p. 270. [Original publication of American edition of *Moby Dick*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.]

[24] Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, pp. 121-122. Alexander Starbuck, *Report of Commission of Fish and Fisheries: History of the American Whale Fishery* (Secaucus, N.J.: Castle Books, 1989; original publication 1877), pp. 296-297.

[25] Huntington, *Songs*, pp. 68-70, 323-324.

[26] Diary of Richard Boyenton, Ship *Bengal*, May 30, 1834, as quoted in Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, pp. 121-122.

[27] Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, p. 121.

can be understood by seeing them within the values and ideals of many differing and rival conceptions of masculine performance that pointed toward one's perception of his having achieved manhood. Ultimately, the masculinity of the men this dissertation seeks to understand is an enigma. As they slew the leviathan of the sea, so too do they slay the leviathan of stereotype, be it a stereotype of popular ignorance or of academic theory, both of which would assign a required sameness to men, particularly to men of such an enterprise as whaling. These men were diverse, not only one from another, but also within each individual's self. They were reflective and spontaneous, seekers of ease and of adventure, skillful and sloppy, bawdy and sentimental, profane and pious, fearful of tempest and loathing of calm. They often remained poor as they risked their lives, and died, in the pursuit of wealth taken by others. If they were "Victorian" men, they were also adolescent youths given to savage butchery, democrats serving under a tyrant, and wandering adventurers in a factory. The enigma of Sag Harbor's 1840s "Victorian" whalemen, perhaps of all whalemen, will be seen in the brilliance of Isaac Sidney Gould, of Stony Brook, who labored in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Fanny*. His journal, filled with remarkable insights into the conditions faced by whalemen, and his own highly critical self-examination, reveals that this pro-temperance son of a Presbyterian deacon was, if a "Victorian," also one whose musings challenged the restrictions of Victorianism.

So, with regard to the concept of manhood, and the performance of masculinity, the question under examination remains: Who is the Whaler? Many different answers will be given, depending upon whose journal, songs and poems are asked.

Chapter 3

POOR JACKS, PRETTY MAIDENS, AND PUNITIVE PATRIARCHS: LEWIS JONES AND THE MASCULINE SONG CULTURE OF THE WHALESHIP

My cruel father planned it so,
On board of some ship he should quickly go,
Sending a press gang which did not fail
Pressed by love on board of the Nightingale.
- - - "The Nightingale"[1]

On Wednesday, May 3, 1848, Sag Harbor's weekly newspaper, *The Corrector*, announced the April 29th arrival in port of four vessels of the village's whaling fleet. Three ships, the *Ohio*, the *Salem*, and the *Ann-Mary-Ann*, each reported its catch in barrels of whale oil and sperm oil, and in pounds of whale bone, along with a listing of the names of the vessels with which it spoke, including dates, latitudes and longitudes, homeports, and captains. The fourth vessel, the bark *Hamilton*, gave *The Corrector* no account of vessels encountered. The announcement for its return was short and business-like: "29th, bark, Hamilton, Babcock, 1300w 55sp, 12,000 lbs bone, to C T Dering. Reports nothing."[2]

[1] Song #18, "The Nightingale," Lewis Jones Song Collection [LJSC], Lewis Jones File [LJF], Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY]. ["by" in transcript; contextually "my."]
[2] "Marine Intelligence. Port of Sag-Harbor. Arrived." *The Corrector* (Sag Harbor, New York), May 3, 1848, vol. XXXVI, p. 3. [Note that the surname Dering is spelled as Deering in other documents.]

The *Hamilton* was, of course, carrying more than whale oil, sperm oil, and whale bone. It was also carrying Captain Job Babcock and the twenty-three men who sailed under his command. One of these men was Lewis Jones,[3] and although *The Corrector* stated that the *Hamilton* had nothing to report but its catch of oil and bone, Lewis Jones carried something to Sag Harbor that has lasted for more than a century and a half. The whaling vessels are long gone, as are the barrels of oil and the corset and umbrella stays made of baleen, but what Lewis Jones carried with him has survived. Lewis carried songs, having written down the lyrics to thirty of the songs he had heard during the *Hamilton*'s voyage.[4] So, together with Captain Babcock and his mates, crew, oil, and bone, the *Hamilton* bore a catch of songs to Sag Harbor.

Jones kept his song collection until his death in 1906. It was then passed down through his family. By the 1930s it had come down to his grand-nephew, Edmund Conklin, a professor at the University of Indiana. Conklin loaned it to Professor Stith Thompson, a folklorist on the Indiana faculty. Thompson made a transcript of the songs, but doubted they would ever be published as they were "too lusty," and to this date the collection has remained unpublished. During the 1950s, through the efforts of Mrs. Jeanette Edwards Rattray, publisher of the East Hampton *Star*, a copy of the transcript held at Indiana was made and sent to East Hampton, where it was placed into the Long Island Collection of the East Hampton Library.[5]

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[3] "Crew List for Vessels Owned by Charles T. Deering of Sag Harbor 1828-1855," unpublished ledger, LIC, EHL, EH, NY, p. 48.
[4] Songs #1 through #30, LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[5] Letter, Edmund S. Conklin to Professor Stith Thompson, December 17, 1934, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. Jeanette Edwards Rattray, *East Hampton History, Including Genealogies of Early Families* (Garden City, New York: Country Life Press, 1953), pp. 254, 257-259. Letter. Stith Thompson to Mrs. Arnold [Jeannette Edwards] Rattray, January 20, 1955, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. "Jeanette E. Rattray, E. Hampton Journalist," obituary, *Newsday*, May 21, 1974. Letter. Joan Kirtley (Mrs. Bacil F. Kirtley) to Mrs. Arnold Rattray, February 4, 1955, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. Anne Warner, "Eastern Long Island

Lewis Jones, in writing down the words to thirty of the songs he heard during his 1845-1848 voyage in Sag Harbor's whaling bark *Hamilton*, almost certainly did so solely for the purpose of remembering them, most likely for his own singing. It is also clear that he was more interested in the words to the songs, as he made no indication of the tunes to which the lyrics were to be sung. It is likely that he heard a great many more than these thirty songs, but the ones he chose to write down must have connected with him in some way. These songs were an important part of the orally transmitted culture of mid-19th century American whalemen, and express a wide variety of sentiments. They, in turn, give the historian many insights into conceptions of masculinity, and to the pursuit of manhood by those who both sang them and, like Lewis Jones himself, provided their willing audience. The lyrics to these songs are the gender-laden content of what was presented by whalemen in one of the means through which masculinity was performed. Together with the poems written down by other whalemen, these lyrics are signifiers of values and ideals that were accepted or rejected by whalemen, imbedded into the important aspect of whalmen's masculine culture that was presented through display behavior in verse. Whether singing or reciting, writing or copying, hearing or reading, the whalemen who took part in this culture were active participants in the performance of

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Folknotes," *Long Island Forum*, vol. XLV, no 10 (October, 1982), pp. 200-201. [*N.B.* Quotations from the Lewis Jones Song Collection, as have appeared earlier in this dissertation, and as will appear in large numbers in this and subsequent chapters, are given exactly as they appear in the transcripts prepared by Mrs. Kirtley in 1955, as taken from the earlier transcriptions prepared fro the original manuscript in 1934. It is apparent that in preparing the transcripts either Mrs. Kirtley, or more likely the original transcriber, did not intend to or attempt to make corrections to Jones's spelling, grammar, or misuse of certain words, and that the transcriber or transcribers indicated illegible or confusingly misspelled words with a question mark. In other instances the transcripts leave blank spaces with lines of songs, likely indicating places where Lewis Jones himself, or the singers he had heard, could not remember the words. *Sic* has not been used to indicated misspellings or misuses, and on the few occasions where a clarification of a word or phrase was necessary the clarification has been placed into the song in squared parentheses.]

masculinity, be it through the telling of their lived experience, the denunciation of others, or their own imaginings.

One, upon casually and uncritically listening to or reading any one or few of the songs in Lewis Jones's collection, could come away with a stereotypical view of both the songs and of whalemen, as was done by both Professor Stith Thompson at the University of Indiana, and Miss Amy Bassford, who reviewed the collection for an East Hampton literary organization.[6] Consider the following lines from three of Jones's songs:

> Lady gay why do you roam alone?
> …She stood whilst tears from her eyes did fall,
> For the dark eyed sailor has proved my downfall.
> … For my dark eyed sailor a maid I live and die.[7]

> So now the noble vessel the Albion is lost
> Though the tempestuous ocean she so often times had crossed,
> Our noble captain he is lost a man a sailor bold,
> And many a gallant life is lost and many a heart made cold.[8]

> As she lay under cover addressing the stars,
> I then hopped upon her like thunder and mars,
> With my sword in my hand and my balls in the rear,
> O I beat upon her drum like a bold privateer.[9]

What does the gendered content of these three songs tell us about the men who performed their masculinity through singing them, and those who willingly and actively listened to them? Taken individually, each gives a different view. Sailors were romantics. Sailors faced danger and death. Sailors were lustful. Taken together they present a view of sailors as adventurous; emotional, but not intellectual. For these lyrics to have meaning as historic cultural texts they must be put into context. To the purpose of this dissertation

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[6] Thompson to Rattray, December 17, 1934. Amy O. Bassford, "Lewis Jones and his Sea Chanties," unpublished report, April, 1967, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[7] Song #9, "The Dark Eyed Sailor," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[8] Song #13, "The Loss of the Albion," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[9] Song #5, no title given, first line beginning with "Come all you pretty maidens I'd have you draw near," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

that context is the whalemen's experiences and attitudes, their labors and social encounters, as through the manly performance of their song culture they transformed mere lyrics into the content of production and reproduction, acquiescence in or resistance against, varying and complex conceptions of masculinity. The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to place an exemplary sampling of the songs collected by Lewis Jones into the context in which they were sung and heard. This contextualization will facilitate the understanding and analysis of these songs as circulating texts that provided the gendered content of an important form of whalemen's masculine performance culture. The songs that these men performed were not the mere ephemera of romantic or bawdy entertainment, but expressions of the culture of music in masculinity that had developed among them. When placed into their historical context, the songs present the complex and often ambiguous and contested conceptions of masculinity and masculine social interaction that took place within the male homosocial space of the whaleship, wherein men strove to perform varying conceptions of masculinity in pursuit of manhood.

The put Lewis Jones's songs into context requires that we understand, as closely as possible, the social setting in which Jones heard the thirty songs whose lyrics he chose to write down. As the system of rank, labor and division of labor in the whaleship was discussed earlier, we now need to acquaint ourselves with the men with whom Jones shared most of three years during his voyage in the Sag Harbor bark *Hamilton*. This will be done through an analysis of the *Hamilton*'s crew list for the 1845-1848 voyage in which Jones took part. Additionally, it is necessary to have detailed anecdotal information and commentary regarding a whaleship's voyage. This, unfortunately, is not available for either the *Hamilton*'s 1845-1848 voyage, or for any other voyages in which

Job Babcock served as captain. Nor is it available in the form of a journal of whaleship commentary written by Jones himself. Although the journals of several Sag Harbor whalemen give excellent details on personal experiences and whaleship observations, none gives a concise and comprehensive anecdotal presentation of the social and cultural interaction of the officers and crewmen within the whaleship itself for an entire voyage. While a composite picture can be drawn from several of these, it is better to have an overall view of one voyage, dealing with one set of men. To this purpose the dissertation will make use of *"There She Blows,"* a highly descriptive narrative of the 1844-1847 whaling voyage of the bark *Emigrant* of Bristol, Rhode Island, written by Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely.[10] In choosing to make use of this narrative several factors were considered, including the extreme similarities between the demographic of the *Hamilton*'s and the *Emigrant*'s officers and crew, the considerable overlap of the dates of the voyages in which Jones and Ely labored, and the significant similarities that Jones and Ely shared in their relatively high social status before shipping, their lowered status as whalemen, and their pursuit of greatly improved status upon the completion of their respective voyages. Additionally, the use of Ben Ely's narrative facilitates the extension of the Jones collection to whalemen sailing from the greater Long Island Sound - Narragansett Bay area, while remaining outside the immediate hegemony and idiosyncrasies of Nantucket's insular culture and New Bedford's increasingly urban and large-scale industrialism and commercialism.

[10] Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely, *"There She Blows": A Narrative of a Whaling Voyage, in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans*," ed. by Curtis Dahl, volume III, *The American Maritime Library* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, for The Marine Historical Association, Inc., 1971; original publication Philadelphia, James K. Simon, 1849).

The captain of the *Hamilton* for the voyage in which Lewis Jones labored was 44 year old Job Babcock, a head of household and propertied resident of Long Island's South Fork. He was a successful career whaleman and commanded several voyages out of Sag Harbor. His first mate was his relation, 41-year-old Henry A. Babcock, also a successful career whalemen. Henry later rose to the position of whaleship captain, as well as chief keeper of the Montauk Point Lighthouse following his retirement from whaling. Like Job, he was a propertied South Fork resident and head of household. Captain Babcock received a 17th lay (one-seventeenth of the profits of the voyage), while First Mate Babcock received a 28th lay for his service,[11] each of these in keeping with the lay rates given to captains and first mates during the mid-1840s.[12]

The Babcocks were quite similar to the captain and first mate of the *Emigrant* for the 1844-1847 voyage in which Ben Ely labored. Captain James Sherman, age 38, was a career whaleman who served as master for at least three whaling voyages, becoming prosperous enough to become a whaleship owner. His first mate, Samuel B. Allen, had been whaling since 1838. If Allen had commenced whaling at the age of 20, a likely age, he would have been well into his 20s by the time of the *Emigrant*'s sailing. In taking command and executive authority of the *Emigrant* both men traveled to Bristol, Rhode

[11] "Crew List…Deering," pp. 32, 36, 43, 48. United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1850*, New York State, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 418; Town of Southampton, p. 391. Alexander Starbuck, *Report of Commission of Fish and Fisheries. History of the American Whale Fishery* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1989; original publication 1877), p. 496. Rattray, *East Hampton History*, p. 110.

[12] Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *The Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816-1906*. *National Bureau of Economic Research Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development*, Claudia Goldin, series ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 161.

Island from their residences in nearby Fall River, Massachusetts, an indication that they may have known each other as neighbors, or perhaps been related.[13]

The *Hamilton*'s second and third mates and the *Emigrant*'s second mate [she did not have a third mate] also bore considerable similarity, all three being white native-born "Yankee" Americans, in their twenties, and having shore residence within the normal proximity for the shipping of whalemen for their respective homeports. They were career whalemen, able to rise to the positions of lower ranking officers, but none of the three rose to command a whaleship.[14] These men played key roles in the social and labor culture of the whaleship, for although they were officers, they did not have the aloof positions of the captain's command authority or the first mate's executive supervision. They received lays of one-fifth to one-seventh of the captain's, placing them closer to those of seamen than to their higher ranking fellow officers. They also stood regular watches, in four hour rotations, with their respective watch sections, and performed regular ship's labors together with lower ranking boatsteerers and whaling hands.[15]

The two whaleships' crews are remarkably similar. Specifics for the *Hamilton* can be made by comparing its crew list with those of other Deering whaleships of the 1840s

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[13] "List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Barque Emigrant of Bristol whereof is Master James Sherman bound for Indian Ocean & Elsewhere Whaling," in Curtis Dahl, ed., "The Vessel, the Voyage, and the Crew," Appendix II, in Ely, *"There She Blows,"* p. 147. [The ship's roster and Starbuck's listing for the *Emigrant* give the captain as "Sherman." Dahl's notes give the spelling as "Shearman." "Sherman" is the spelling used in the dissertation.]

[14] "Crew List…Deering," pp. 36, 43, 48. *Census, 1850*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of Brookhaven, p. 192. *Census, 1840*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of Southold, p. 148. "List of Crew of Emigrant," in Dahl, ed., "Vessel, Voyage, Crew," pp. 148-149. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 442-659 [Starbuck, in these pages, lists captains of all American whaleships sailing from 1847 through 1876. None of the 2nd or 3rd mates, Francis Benjamin and Augustus Bogardus (an early Long Island Dutch name) of the *Hamilton*, and Thomas Palmer and Seth F. Lincoln of the *Emigrant*, is listed by Starbuck as a ship's master.]

[15] "Crew List…Deering," p. 48. For information one mate's duties, and on lay rates in the 1840s, see: Elmo Paul Hohman, *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928, pp. 119-125, 230-232. Also see Davis, *Pursuit of Leviathan*, pp. 154-171. [Hohman's work, a standard in the field of whaling economics and the physical and labor processes of whaling, is still frequently cited, including by Davis in *Pursuit of Leviathan*.]

and early 1850s, and through use of United States *Census* data for Suffolk County's six eastern townships for 1840, 1850, and 1860. Details on the *Emigrant* are given in its crew list and in anecdotal evidence in Ely's narrative.

Each bark's crew consisted as almost entirely as can be determined of white native-born Americans, nearly all of whom had English, Scottish or Irish surnames. They were about equally divided between men residing within the proximity of his vessel's homeport and those, as listed in the *Emigrant*'s crew list's "place of residence," and implied for the *Hamilton* through Suffolk County *Census* data, as being itinerants from outside of his vessel's homeport's immediate proximity. Each vessel also carried three men with Portuguese surnames, with placement in the crew list indicating that at least one of these men in each ship was a boatsteerer, and another a boatsteerer or an experience seamen. At least one boatsteerer in each vessel was a "Yankee" from homeport vicinity. The *Hamilton* carried one man with a Scottish surname who census data indicates was an Azorean, while the *Emigrant* carried one man with an English surname who may have been from the Comoros Islands, north of Madagascar. The *Emigrant* also carried a white man who was a native of Ireland. Each vessel employed one African American. In the *Emigrant* this was Henry Henry, a native of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who Ben Ely identified as the bark's cook. In the *Hamilton* the only person who can be identified as an African American was Nathaniel Jack, most likely a member of the Jack family that resided in the Sag Harbor vicinity. Jack's billet is listed as "shipkeeper." As no cook is listed for the *Hamilton*, it is likely that Jack's "shipkeeper" duties included cooking, as his 100th lay is in keeping with the lay rate for cooks of the 1840s, and as many vessels shipped African Americans as cooks during that time

period.[16] Thus, the two mid-1840s whaling barks were remarkably similar in the demographic of the men who constituted their officers and crews, and at the same time not atypical of the manpower of the whaling industry for that time.[17]

There are also important similarities between the two men whose writings place them as the interlocutors between, on one hand, the officers under whom they labored, the men with whom they lived and labored, the whaleship in which they lived, and the whalemen's culture in which they took part as workers, and on the other hand, the historian. Both Lewis Jones and Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely came from economically and socially well-to-do families. Lewis was born in 1823, in East Hampton, New York. He was a direct descendent of Edward Jones, who had arrived in Massachusetts from England with Governor Winthrop, serving as Charlestown's constable. In 1643 Edward moved to Southampton, where as one of Long Island's early English settlers he was able to obtain a land grant, appearing with the title "Gentleman" in town records. Lewis's father, Sylvanus Jones, is listed in the United States Census of 1850 as a farmer, owning real estate valued at the then sizeable amount of $2000. While no direct evidence has been found, it can be conjectured reasonably that Lewis had a falling out with his father, perhaps involving the marriage of Lewis's only sibling, his sister Philena, to Captain

[16] "Crew List…Deering," pp. 36, 43, 48, 52. *Census, 1840; Census, 1850*; *Census 1860*, New York, Suffolk County, Townships of Brookhaven, East Hampton, Riverhead, Shelter Island, Southampton, and Southold. "List of Crew of Emigrant," in Dahl, ed. "Vessel, Voyage, Crew," pp. 148-149. Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 16-20. W. Jeffrey Bolster. "'To Feel Like a Man': Black Seamen in the Northern States, 1800-1869," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 76, no. 4 (March, 1990), pp. 1174, 1176-1177, 1187, 1194-1196.

[17] "Crew List…Deering," pp. 1-70. [The Deering list shows a steady use of a large number of men with English surnames frequently found in Suffolk County's six eastern townships. An important trend seen in this document for this time period is the gradual increase of men with Portuguese surnames. The United States Census for the eastern towns also shows a very slow, but noticeable presence of Portuguese and Irish surnames in the vicinity of Sag Harbor during the middle decades of the 1840s.] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 215-229. W. Jeffrey Bolster, "To Feel Like a Man," pp. 1194-1199. Margaret Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 28-30, 210, 213-214, 216-219.

William Mulford. The 1870 census, taken several months after Sylvanus Jones's death in August, 1869, shows that the total value of Captain Mulford's property had increased since 1860 from $4100 to $9000, the difference being almost exactly the amount given for Sylvanus Jones's total wealth in 1860, which was $5000. Lewis, on the other hand, despite his prospering carpentry and house building business, and his additional business as a wheelwright, had only seen his total wealth increase from $2150 in 1860 to $3200 in 1870, the clear implication being that Sylvanus Jones had left his estate to his son-in-law, Captain William Mulford, rather than to his only son, Lewis Jones. As a final inference for the falling out between Lewis and his father, Sylvanus Jones was buried in the prominent in-town family plot of the Mulford family, the eventual resting place of his childless son-in-law and daughter, William and Philena Mulford, rather than with several generations of Joneses, including Sylvanus's parents, grandparents, and sister, in the less prestigious out-of-town Jericho Cemetery, the eventual burial place of Lewis and Anna Jones, as well as three of Lewis and Anna's children who had preceded their grandfather Sylvanus in death.[18]

Although he was an only son, Lewis left home well into his 23rd year. He shipped in the *Hamilton* as carpenter which, although a craft rather than seaman billet, was of low rank and low esteem, the carpenter often berthing and messing in the forecastle instead of amidships. Receiving a 130th lay, as compared to the 17th lay of Captain Babcock and the 100th lay of Nathaniel Jack, the African American shipkeeper, Jones was the ninth lowest

[18] Jones Family Gravestone Inscriptions, Jericho Cemetery, East Hampton, New York, visited and recorded by Stephen N. Sanfilippo, dissertation writer, Spring, 2003. Jericho Cemetery Burial and Inscription Record, unpublished compilation, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. Rattray, *East Hampton History*, pp. 407-408, 486. *Census, 1850*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 426. *Census, 1860*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, ledger pp. 91, 98; compilation pp. 539, 546. *Census, 1870*. New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, compilation pp. 452, 452.

paid of the twenty-four men in the *Hamilton*. His lay was well below that of the mates and the cooper, as well as those of the boatsteerers and the experienced seamen, at least two of whom were Portuguese. As carpenter, Lewis rated somewhat above the itinerant white men who were the *Hamilton*'s inexperience hands. In terms of pay, he was only slightly better than their equal.[19]

Upon his return to Sag Harbor at voyage's end Lewis received a payment of $600. Soon thereafter he married Anna Conklin, an East Hampton resident. Lewis is listed in the 1850 census as a 27 year old white male carpenter living with his wife, Anna, age 25, in the home of Anna's widowed mother, Phebe Conklin, along with Mrs. Conklin's younger children, Phebe E. Conklin, age 14, and William D. Conklin, age 11. Very significantly, Mrs. Conklin, not Lewis Jones, is listed as the head of household. Two years later Lewis and Anna were living in their own home in East Hampton, and Lewis was insuring his own house, barn, and contents for $1125. Soon afterwards he was insuring a two-story house, a barn, and a carpentry shop.[20] Through the use ashore of his carpentry skills, which must have been acceptable and adaptable for him to be signed on the *Hamilton* as carpenter, and which no doubt grew during his whaling voyage, Lewis Jones was able to establish himself in carpentry, and then as a successful house builder. He succeeded in achieving economic self-dependency as an artisan-turned-self-employed craft businessman, and providing a respectable living standard and social status for his wife and children. In this way he was somewhat similar to at least one mid-19th century

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[19] "Crew List…Deering," p. 48. Teresa Dunn Hutchins, "The American Whale Fishery, 1815-1890: An Economic Analysis" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1988; Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1989), p. 197.

[20] "Crew List…Deering, " p. 48. Rattray, *East Hampton History*, p. 254. *Census, 1850*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 43. Deed to Lewis Jones's Property, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. Lewis Jones's Property Insurance Policy Certificates, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

Philadelphia carpenter discussed in Rilling's study, a man who used maritime labor in an effort to accumulate capital that could be used to establish economic competency ashore as a sub-contractor in the field of house construction.[21]

Lewis gained a reputation for his careful attention to details and fine and enduring quality of work for everything from building the straightest fences to constructing fine houses. Several of the homes he built near the center of East Hampton village are still standing and occupied, including the William Bennett House, which is noted for "the delicacy of the pilastered doorway."[22] He maintained a strong sense of independence and hard work throughout his later life, having fulfilled the bourgeois goals of the self-made man of business, but despite his frugality he was also tolerant of poor itinerant immigrant laborers, even when they took straw for their bunks from his yard without asking his permission,[23] perhaps remembering the hardships he had endured sleeping on straw in a bunk aboard the *Hamilton*.

Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely had an upbringing and early manhood that, though somewhat more adventurous, bore marked and significant similarities with those of Lewis Jones. Ben was born in Philadelphia in 1828, the son of the Reverend Doctor Ezra Stiles Ely, D.D., the pastor of Philadelphia's Pine Street Presbyterian Church, and the grandson of the Reverend Zebulon Ely, who was also a Presbyterian minister. Ben was educated at academies in New Jersey and Delaware, and received private tutoring while living with a relative in Rhode Island. There he developed a desire for adventure at sea, and sought his father's support for an appointment as a United States Navy midshipman, bent upon a

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[21] Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 6.
[22] Bassford, "Lewis Jones Chanties," p. 2. Robert J. Hefner, editor, *East Hampton's Heritage: An Illustrated Architectural Record* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), pp. 46-47, 155.
[23] Bassford, "Lewis Jones Chanties," p. 2.

career as a naval officer. Like Lewis Jones, Ben Ely had a falling out with his father, who refused to support his maritime ambition. Then, at the age of 16, Ben left home, traveled to Bristol, Rhode Island, and signed as a green hand in the whaling bark *Emigrant* for its 1844-1847 voyage. As a boy he had been somewhat rebellious and delinquent, but during his voyage in the *Emigrant* he had an evangelical Christian conversion experience. He also made the observations that would become his published narrative, *"There She Blows!*." He married soon after his return from the sea, apparently without parental approval, then studied law, went to California, entered politics, and was elected to its first state legislature. He then forsook politics and law for religion, studying theology, taking ordination at a Presbyterian minister, accepting a call to a church in Iowa, and living there with his wife and children until his death in 1910 at age 82.[24]

Though Ben Ely pursued a varied career, finally settling upon the clergy, while Lewis Jones quickly entered into his own carpentry and house building enterprise, their backgrounds and accomplishments are quite similar. Each, raised in privilege in a well-placed family, left home for the sea while apparently estranged from his father, labored in a much lower shipboard status than he enjoyed at home, and made careful observations as active participants in whalemen's culture, Ben through his descriptive and sometimes judgmental narrative, and Lewis through his listening to and writing down the lyrics to songs. Neither returned to his father's home, but instead quickly married and established his own career and financial self-dependency. Each succeeded quite admirably first as a physical laborer, and then as a self-made man achieving what can be seen as bourgeois respectability, Lewis in house construction, and Ben in law and then as a clergyman. At

[24] Curtis Dahl, editor, "Introduction," in Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. xix, xxiii-xxviii, xxx, xxii-xxxiii. Ben-Ezra Stile Ely, "Religious Experience and Conversion at Sea," Appendix I, in Dahl, editor, Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 127-131.

sea each was in an ambiguity in his life, perhaps a strength as neither had an over-riding ideology, and each could observe the performances of masculinity from his own point of view, neither a libertine, neither enthralled with patriarchy, and each in pursuit of developing manhood while laboring among diverse masculinities in the whaleship.

It is extremely important to note that Ben Ely makes only the slightest passing mention of the *Emigrant*'s African American, Portuguese, and Comoros crew members, while discussing throughout his narrative the background, character, actions, motivations and sayings of several of his white American shipmates, as well as his officers. This may be indicative of a social and cultural separation due to race, ethnicity and language aboard mid-19th century American whaling vessels. It further indicates that Ben Ely was primarily and perhaps nearly exclusively in social and cultural contact with the mostly young, poorly paid, white native-born English-surnamed American men who constituted the majority of the *Emigrant*'s crew. This group fits the same description as the majority segment of the *Hamilton*'s crew with which Lewis Jones would have had much of his social and cultural contact as, in the social and labor space of the whaleship, it was one's shipboard rank and billet, not ones familial class ashore, that mattered. It was this group's performances of masculinity that Ben Ely reported in his narrative, and this same group's masculine performance that was presented in the content of the exclusively English, Scottish, Irish, and Anglo-American songs collected by Lewis Jones.

Ely's narrative and Jones's songs are much alike in what they address and in what they do not address. Ones ability as a whaleman, a whaling seaman, was at the core of the performance of whalemen's masculinity, yet none of Jones's songs deals with whaling, although several have maritime or coastal settings. Ely gives only eight of his 137 page

narrative to whaling, describing the work process rather than the adventure.[25] Instead, most of Ben Ely's narrative and most of Lewis Jones's songs deal with combinations of five themes, each important to the culture and performance of masculinity within the whalefishery. Four of these themes, virtue, wealth, women, and the character of seamen, often present ambiguous, contradictory, and contested values and attitudes, and were presented within the gendered content of masculine performance through singing. One theme, however, shows no ambiguity when confronted directly. That theme is authority.

The abusive character of ship's officers and ship's discipline was most keenly felt by the same segment of 1840s whaling crews among whom Ben Ely labored, and which was the most likely singers of and intended listeners to the songs Lewis Jones collected. These were the low ranking "Yankee" boys,[26] who Ben described as feeling "shut up within the prison wall of a ship."[27] As a result, much of the performance of masculinity by whaling hands involved, if not challenging, at least complaining about abuse at the hands of officers.

Ben Ely spoke frequently of authority, always seeing it as abusive. He directed most of his animosity against his own captain, James Sherman, whom he described as a villainous "blackguard," and an "incarnate devil" who used swearing and cursing against ones mother and sister to accentuate his control over powerless subordinates. Sherman's disrespectful and blasphemous language and behavior, including his failure to have the Sabbath observed aboard the *Emigrant*, revealed to Ben "how vile and detestable a man may become…when free from all the restraints of society and religion." The captain was miserly with his men, feeding them low-grade and often putrid food in order to keep

[25] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 49, 51, 53-56, 61, 64.
[26] Bolster, "Feel Like a Man," pp. 1180-1181, 1183, 1190.
[27] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* p. 85.

down expenses, maximizing profits through his "attempt to starve a set of workingmen, for a little paltry gain," a practice of the "villainy" of whaleship owners and officers "whose meanness and oppression should be published to the world."[28]

Beyond this parsimony regarding the crew's food ration, Ely also described his captain as grossly inhumane in pursuit of ship's discipline, demonstrating his method of punishment by suspending the ship's cat by a line above the deck and whipping it nearly to death. He exposed Sherman as a hypocritical drunkard who denied an alcohol ration to his crew while claiming that he himself practiced temperance. Ben also claimed that his captain was a cowardly bully, both in discipline and in command, who openly displayed fear when facing a gale or danger near the shore. "Our captain," said Ely, "looked forward to passing the Cape of Good Hope, and approaching the coast, much as a criminal would regard his approaching trial in a case of life or death."[29]

Ely, who likely learned within whaling hands' culture of the abuses suffered under other captain's, stated that Sherman's actions were typical of whaling masters who, with authority vested in them by the laws of the United States, subjected seamen "to as horrible slavery while at sea" as faced by African slaves. The culprit, he believed, was not human nature, but the holding of authority itself, which went against human nature, turning captains into "incarnate devils" who tormented the men under their command.[30]

The performance of whalemen's masculinity through the gendered content of song facilitated the exchange and reinforcement of values condemning the abuses perpetrated by those in authority. In this regard the songs collected by Lewis Jones clearly coincide with the attitudes expressed in Ben Ely's narrative. Significantly, in only

[28] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 8-9, 13, 37.
[29] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 16, 41, 67-69, 104.
[30] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 13-15, 40-41.

two of Jones's songs did whalemen express approval of ship's officers, but in each instance the "other," in the form of the officer, was eclipsed by the presence of an immediately threatening second other, in one ballad an enemy warship, in another ballad a pirate. In each of these songs whalemen expressed praise for the manly valor of victorious officers in the face of the more threatening second other,[31] but in the absence of such a threat whalemen performed highly gendered songs in which those men who held authority were portrayed as villains, whether in their abuse of poor Jacks, or pretty maidens, or both.

In one of Lewis Jones's songs, "William Glenn," the singer directly addresses the masculinity of resistance against abuse and threat to life resulting from the immorality of a ship's captain. This ballad describes how an authoritarian captain's sinfulness and cowardice endangered his ship and the "one hundred and fifty brisk young men" of the crew. The antagonist, Captain William Glenn, who shared many of the low qualities that Ben Ely ascribed to Captain Sherman of the *Emigrant*, puts to sea only to find that much of his crew has become sickly and incapacitated. He then has a dream in which the ghost of a man he murdered, or perhaps Satan himself, tells him that all aboard will soon die in consequence of their captain's immorality.

> One night our captain he did dream,
> There came a voice and said to him,
> Prepare you and your ship's company,
> For tomorrow night you must lodge with me.

William Glenn then tells his boatswain that while he was ashore in England he was a Sabbath breaker and a drunkard, and had killed a man in order to gain access to that man's wife. The king, another abuser of authority, had pardoned Glenn for his deeds

[31] Song #12, "Paul Jones Bold Commander,"; Song #22, "The Coast of Barbary," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

of murder, and by implication adultery, seduction or rape, and fornication, but Glenn would not be able to escape the greater reckoning that would not only destroy himself, but also his ship and all his men. That night a storm destroyed the ship's yards and rigging, killing one of the seamen. With the entire crew facing death, though thinking the storm itself to be the cause, the boatswain reveals Glenn's guilt:

> And our boatswain he did declare,
> That our captain was a murderer,
> Which soon enraged the who ships crew,
> And our captain overboard we threw.
>
> Our treacherous captain being gone,
> And immediately there came a calm.[32]

Thus, the singer of "William Glenn" expressed in performance for other men, the whaleship listeners, the masculinity of resistance against the danger posed to seamen by those who hold legally constituted authority and who act with unrestrained immorality. The performance of singing the highly gendered content of this ballad in the setting of the whaleship can be seen as male display behavior in which the lower ranking and not empowered males express and take imagined power through defiance against and obliteration of their superior in rank and power. It should further be noted that although there is no evidence to include Captain Job Babcock and his mates as abusive in their authority, such abusive action by officers is consistent with the general image of captains and mates gained through the close reading of over fifty Sag Harbor whalemen's journals dating from the late 1830s through early 1850s. Only two men, Daniel Howell Buckingham and Erastus Bill,[33] spoke consistently in complimentary terms of a captain

[32] Song #14, "William Glenn," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[33] Daniel Howell Buckingham, "Autobiography, Daniel Howell Buckingham, Whaler," unpublished printed copy from 1909 manuscript, Buckingham Family File, Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead, New York. Erastus Bill, *Citizen: An American Boy's Early Manhood Aboard a Sag Harbor Whaleship*

or a mate, while a great many, as seen throughout the dissertation, spoke critically or even with condemnation regarding ship's officers. Even Henry A. Harlow, a son and brother of an important Sag Harbor whaling family, frequently condemned his ship's mates, while offering no praise for the ship's captain, even though the captain was his older brother.[34]

Sea captains rarely appear in Jones's songs. Far more common is the figure of the father, particularly the wealthy and socially prominent father whose unsympathetic wielding of power over his daughter and her beloved leads to their despair or to their resistance, most frequently with destructive results. The daughter's sweetheart, often a sailor, is of a class and occupation beneath the young woman's station. As with the hands and other low ranking men in a whaleship, under the power of the captain and his mates, the daughter and her sweetheart are also the victims of abusive patriarchal authority. Six of the thirty songs Lewis Jones collected involve this theme of the victimization of a woman, or her sweetheart, or both, by an unsympathetic father, while four more songs present women as the victims or intended victims of men of wealth who were, in several songs, also the holders of legally constituted rank, such as a nobleman, an army officer, a serving maid's master, or a woman's husband. The highly gendered content presented in the performance of these songs within the masculine culture of the whalemen usually

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Chasing Delirium and Death Around the World, 1843-1849, Being the Story of Erastus Bill Who Lived to Tell It (Anchorage, Alaska: O. W. Frost, 1978; account of first voyage published in Sag Harbor *Express*, 1905).

[34] Henry A. Harlow, "Journal, Ship Acasta of Sag Harbor," 1847-1849, unpublished manuscript, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

expressed the abuse of powerless subordinates at the hands of those in authority,[35] but also expressed the courage or wit that subordinates could used in resistance.[36]

Exemplary among the songs of victimization without redress is the ballad titled "The Nightingale." It is a song with which many whalemen and other seamen who went to sea under forced, coerced, estranged, or otherwise less than fully voluntary and rational conditions could hear with a sympathetic ear, while as a performance of whalemen's masculinity, through its gendered content, it expresses the recognition of abuse at the hands of legally constituted authority, such as the song's father, who may be seen as a surrogate for the whaleship captain. The ballad, which is presented from a female point of view, and thereby better able to express victimization, tells of a "cruel father" who, not approving of his daughter's sweetheart, calls for a press gang. The sweetheart is taken and forced into service on a ship called "The Nightingale," which then encounters a severe storm, sinking with all hands. The whaleman singer, through the young woman's voice, then tells that:

> On the very night that my love was lost,
> He appeared to me in a dreadful ghost,
> In seaman's clothes with his visage pale,
> Told me his fate in the Nightingale.
>
> Oh, Nancy, Nancy, cold is my clay,
> In the Bay of Biscay my body lay,
> To be a bait for some shark or whale,
> Such was the fate of the Nightingale.

She despairs at the news of her sweetheart's death, told to her by his own ghost, she being the victim of her father's objections to her love, and her loved one the victim of

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[35] Song #1, "Irish Molly O,"; Song #4, "Shannon Side," Song #17, "Sarah Wilson,"; Song #18, "The Nightingale,"; Song #23, "Caroline of Edinburgh Town,"; Song #29, "Dawning of the Day," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

[36] Song #2, " Poor Archer,"; Song #3, "Lovely Joane,"; Song #7, no title given, first line beginning "On Gosport beach I landed,"; Song #24, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

her father's murderous authoritarian intervention. The ballad concludes with the young woman telling that:

> My father's dwelling I will forsake,
> To some lonesome woods I myself will take,
> In some lonesome woods or some silent vale,
> Then I will mourn his fate in the Nightingale.[37]

While the whaleman performer of "The Nightingale" expressed that part of whalemen's culture in which whaling hands saw themselves as victims of authority, with the song's pressed sailor and young woman each representing such victimization, other songs expressed that part of whalemen's masculine performance that moved beyond lamenting victimization, and embraced bold resistance. The singing of such songs was a highly gendered statement of the resistance of the will against the physical control that was central to whaling hands' life in the whaleship. The Lewis Jones song most exemplary of this form of manly resistance, even though only imagined through the shared experience of whalemen singing and hearing the lyrics, is an expression of the condition of subservience, and in this case resistance, through the surrogate actions of a woman. This song, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," is a complex ballad that challenges the prescribed norms of gender and constituted authority. The song's narrative tells of a young lady of the nobility, Caroline, who sees a very handsome young sailor through the window of her drawing room. Leaving the house and confronting him, she tells him that she is a rich nobleman's daughter and that she is going to forsake her fortune of 10,000 pounds to run away from home and marry him, as within the context of other whalemen's ballads, as well as society norms, her noble father would never approve

[37] Song #18, "The Nightingale," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

the marriage of his noble daughter to a common sailor. The sailor, whose name we learn is William, responds to her statement in a most virtuous manner, cautioning her that:

> …in sailors there is no dependence,
> When their true loves they leave far behind.
>
> Be advised and stay at home with your parents,
> And do by them as you are told,
> And never let anyone tempt you,
> To wed with a young sailor bold.

Despite the sailor's forthrightness and his honest concern for the nobleman's daughter's well being, she runs away to follow him, forsaking her parents, her home, and her wealth. Vowing that "He never shall leave me behind," the daughter takes on the identity of a man, becomes a sailor, goes to sea with William, and performs with the manly skill and courage that are so valued in seamanship as the occupational core of masculinity. The whaleman singer continues the story, telling that despite being shipwrecked three times she continued to do her duty as a sailor, and most importantly, maintained her virtue, as "She always proved constant and true," the implication being that she preserved her virginity, as well as her love for William. He also continued to show his virtue as, through the implication of the ballad's story line, he did not force himself sexually upon Caroline. Then, after three years at sea, Caroline and William return to England, where Caroline:

> ...said O dear father forgive me,
> Deplore me forever of gold,
> But grant my request I am contented,
> To wed with a young sailor bold.

Caroline's father agrees to the marriage. Caroline and William are wed, and only after the wedding does Caroline's father present her with the gold she had twice forsaken, once to run away with William, and once in seeking her father's permission to wed.[38]

"The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," examined as the gendered content of a whaleman's masculine performance through song, is based upon the assumption and the lived experience that those who hold arbitrary authority, such as Caroline's rich and noble father, will act to prevent a subordinate from acting in a manner that would lead to the subordinate's happiness and self-fulfillment. Patriarchs, be they noble fathers or whaling captains, act to perpetuate their authority and its accompanying wealth and privileges. Had Caroline been poor, that is to say had her father been poor, she might have been freer to marry one of such low station as a sailor. William, on the other hand, disdained easy wealth through marriage, first urging Caroline not to marry him, and then marrying her when she appeared to be disinherited. More than mere fantasy, or ephemeral entertainment, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," within the context of whaling hands masculine performance song culture, is a statement of resistance against arbitrary authority, expressed through the role-reversal heroine who, not only "handsome" and "comely," but also "bold," acts against authority in the interests of a seaman and of her own seaman self.

"The Rich Nobleman's Daughter" raises another important feature of the ballads of true love found in Lewis Jones's song collection, this being the near absence of sexual relations between poor Jacks and pretty maidens. Nearly all, like the story of Caroline and William, imply the virtuous, virginal fidelity of the couple, as is clearly the case with "The Dark Eyed Sailor" and "The Farmer's Boy," while the ballad "Caroline of

[38] Song #24, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

Edinburgh Town," in telling of a runaway couple that gets married, thereby implying marital sex, ends in tragedy.[39]

The pleasure of casual sexual relations with women, and the telling of such relations to other whalemen, was to be certain an important part of the masculine culture and manly behavior of many whalemen. Such men embraced a secular libertine ideal of manhood, their thoughts and actions based upon the immediate fulfillment of desires, usually physical, without regard to the bourgeois masculine considerations of thrift, social betterment, and respectability, or to Evangelical Christian manhood's moral strictures and the rejection of sinful thoughts and actions. Melville's Captain Bildad, in addressing the *Pequod*'s 3rd mate upon sailing, had warned: "If ye touch at the islands, Mr. Flask, beware of fornication."[40] Consider the opportunity for fornication that presented itself to the approximately 24 men aboard the Sag Harbor whaleship *Arabella* when she put in at Nukuhava in the Marquesas, the location of Melville's *Typee*, during Christmas week of 1834. While the *Arabella*'s captain, James Pierson, himself a Sag Harbor man, did not make mention of sexual activity, it is hard to imagine that it did not take place. Pierson recorded that December 24th "Ends with 30 girls on board." That number grew over the next three days, and on December 27th Pierson "Landed 47 girls this morning from the ship" before setting sail.[41]

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[39] Song #9, "The Dark Eyed Sailor,"; Song #21, "The Farmer's Boy,"; "Song #23, "Caroline of Edinburgh Town," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

[40] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*, Vol. 6, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Herschel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press-Newberry Library, 1988; original publication New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 105.

[41] James Peirson [Pierson], "Journal Kept in Ship Arabella Sag Harbor, 1833-1835" (unpublished journal, Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY], December 24, 1834; December 27, 1834.

The forcible withholding of sexual access to women at ports of call could result in severe conflict and armed violence between secular libertine whalemen and shore authorities, as was the case with the whaleship *Daniel* at Lahaina when its crewmen protested restrictions imposed through the efforts of Christian missionaries and island patriarchs.[42] Even when not prohibited, libertine whalemen's sexual appetite for Native women resulted in laws aimed at limiting their sexual and other contacts when ashore in the Sandwich Islands, with heavy fines being levied for fornication, drunken misconduct, fighting, and staying ashore beyond evening curfew,[43] the latter three all activities that could lead to fornication.

Ben Ely's narrative addressed such sexual contact, citing two instances in which the men of the *Emigrant* encountered Native women during their voyage. He described the exotic appeal of the young women of Brava, Cape Verde Islands, as "witches [who] are truly quite bewitching"; smokers, drinkers, and dancers.[44] The women of Madagascar were even more alluring, as they were "fine in form," graceful in movement," and "lascivious." They also engaged in the sensual pleasures of smoking, drinking, and dancing, and were "well instructed in those thousand little arts by which the power of beauty chains the soul." Ely told how they wore "picturesque" clothing, "consisting of a flowing robe thrown over one shoulder, and descending sufficiently low to seem to hid,

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[42] Creighton, *Rites & Passages*, p. 139.

[43] *Statute Laws Relating to Vessels and Harbors*. Lahaina and Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, 1846, pp. 2-7. [copy in Whaling File, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]

[44] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 44-45. [Melville, in *Typee*, presents a similar description of the exotic beauty of Marquesan women. Of particular interest at a time of moral conduct restrictions of respectability placed upon white American women is the whaleman's statement that "there is nothing in which a young and beautiful female appears to more advantage than in the act of smoking." Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*, Vol. 1, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwester University Press and Newberry Library, 1968; original publication New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), p. 133.

yet set of the more, the beautifully turned ankle, and arching instep. One finely moulded arm, shoulder, and budding breast…is left uncovered."[45]

That which Ely described in aesthetic terms of exotic feminine allure was seen and acted upon by others in Ben's whaleship in a far lustier manner. The social barrier between Captain Sherman and the crew seemed to drop as he and most of his men engaged sexually with what these libertines saw as erotic females, taking Madagascan women aboard the *Emigrant*, and turning the ship into what Ely described as "a floating scene of abominations."[46]

Several songs in Lewis Jones's collection are descriptive of the type of uninhibited sexual pleasures in which Captain Sherman and many of his men engaged with Native women at the Cape Verde Islands and at Madagascar. In taking down the words from hearing, Jones preserved the songs' gendered content as presented in whalemen singers' masculine performances as given to whalemen audiences. Through these performances, imagined sexual experience was transformed into a shared libertine experience of men through each singer's telling of his song's imagined male protagonist's imagined sexual exploitation of an imagined woman. Unlike Ben Ely, who couched the mention of sexual pleasure in such phrases as "their notions of matrimony were such as to suit our captain and most of his crew," and "sell all the virtue they possessed," the bawdy songs Lewis Jones collected present a reveling in sexual intercourse, or at least the imagining of such as told through libertine masculine singing, and described in blatant sexual imagery. The gender-laden content of these songs reduces

[45] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* p. 94. [Melville, *Typee*, describes the young Native woman "Fayaway" as having "the most bewitching ankle in the universe," p. 135.]
[46] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* pp. 94, 98.

women to objects of libertine male sexual fulfillment through the performance of masculinity in song, rather than in bed.

Several of the libertine songs found in Jones's collection involve masculine performance through the imagined transformation of women's bodies into the non-human sites of masculine craftsmanship or military combat. "The Weaver," likely originating among hand-loom weavers ashore, tells of the encounter between a noblewoman and a weaver, in which the weaver, as masculine narrator, notes that "betwixt her thighs she carries a loom." She pays him well for his services, as he weaves for her such traditional patterns as "the rose and crown" and "the diamond twill." In this song the masculine performer describes sexual intercourse as a manly craft, the woman's body as a hand operated piece of machinery, and pleasure as the interplay between a proficient artisan and the tools and product of his trade. In performing, the whaleman "weaver" tells his listeners:

> I laid this fair maid on the grass,
> I braced her loom both stiff and fast,
> And in her web my shuttle flung,
> And O good God how the shuttle sprung.
>
> Her pretty blocks being well greased
> Lord how she begun to hug and squeeze,
> My shuttle flung as true as steel.
> Say she O Lord how gay I feel.[47]

In a second of Jones's bawdy songs, also exemplary of this libertine genre, the whaleman singer's masculine performance is expressed through the gendered objectification of an encounter between the female body, alternately a milking pail and a fortress, and a male body, alternately a bull and an artillery force.

[47] Song #30, "The Weaver," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

Then swinging her milking pail over her head,
And wringing her hands she most bitterly said,
If you love me as I love you,
The devil may go a cow milking for me.

I laid this fair maiden right down on the grass,
And there I began to lay siege to her ass,
I marched up to her castle it was neat and in trim,
The gate it was open I boldly marched in.

Those two bomb shells that you do now feel,
Are two kegs of powder for your magazine…

...And when she had filled the milking pail full,
She thought it more pleasure in milking the bull.[48]

To look solely at the sexual explicitness of Jones's songs gives an incomplete impression of the values found in their gendered content. Several songs express the whalemen's tremendous sympathy for the powerless sexual victims of the powerful, portraying the female as subject to the destructive whims of men of legally constituted authority, and in this manner surrogate for the suppression of whalemen's masculine agency by their captains and officers. Exemplary of such songs is "Sarah Wilson," in which Sarah, a serving maid, tells how in her "folly" she "brought both guilt and shame" upon herself by allowing herself to be seduced by a man, most likely her master, who "kissed like Judas when he did betray." Sarah's guilt, her recognition of sin, and her

[48] Song #6, no title given, first line beginning "As I walked through Flanders," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. Others of Lewis Jones's songs that objectify libertine sexual encounter include: Song # 2, "Poor Archer," young wife playing her husband's oboe; Song #5, no title given, first line beginning "Come all you pretty maidens I'd have you draw near," farm girls at their chores conquered by a privateers assault; Song # 10, "Rogers," man uses his ribbons to "roll in her hair"; Song #15, "Caty Mary," man fails at seducing a woman in an orchard, then marries her, then climbs his fruit tree (his wife), and "will try the split and graft it in , and see what fruit twill bring"; Song #20, "The Plow Boy," a girl collecting nuts encounters a plow boy who calls for his ox to stand, then plows and sows, leaving the girl pregnant. Several other songs directly describe male upon female seduction. These include: Song #3, "Lovely Joane," seduction thwarted by young woman's wit and bravery; Song #4, "Shannon Side," seduction, impregnation and abandonment of girl by a soldier named "Captain Thunderbolt"; Song #29, "Dawning of the Day," seducer impregnates young woman, then refuses to marry her, instead marrying another woman for her wealth, while the young woman gives a warning that women should "never trust a man alone." All songs listed in footnote in LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

shame, implying that she has become pregnant out of wedlock, leads to her ultimate downfall as her seducer is to marry another woman, his wedding day to be her funeral day, as she will die at her own hand.[49] Like Sarah, the whaling hand, whether his masculine outlook be secular libertine, Evangelical Christian, or bourgeois aspirant, labored under the power of a master who controlled his body, prevented his self-fulfillment, and in many cases determined his survival.

No *Emigrant* incident and *Hamilton* song better tie together the complex and often contradictory values and attitudes of whalemen's masculine performances than Ben Ely's account of young women being prostituted to whalemen in Madagascar, and Lewis Jones's song "On Gosport beach," which tells of an English whore working the waterfront of an English port city. Ben Ely, when confronted with shipboard prostitution while in port at Madagascar, was disgusted by the "moral degradation" of the people of Madagascar, and by the prurient libertinism of Captain Sherman and many of the *Emigrant*'s crew. The victims of this "degradation" and sexual licentiousness were the young women, who Ben recognized as not acting on their own accord or through their own desire, but rather by being forced into such actions by the very patriarchs who should have been protecting them, their fathers and their brothers, for these men's own financial gain. When Ely judged that "their ideas of right and wrong, and even of decency, are very imperfect," he was speaking of the Madagascan patriarchs, but he might just as easily have been speaking of the secular libertine whalemen, from Captain Sherman on down to the lowest of the hands who engaged in what Ben saw as such wanton activity. Clearly, Ely did not see the young women of Madagascar as prostitutes, but as the prostituted victims of two sets of men who held power over them; their own

[49] Song #17, "Sarah Wilson," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

patriarchs, in quest of wealth, who held power to merchandise them, and the libertine whalemen, led by their patriarch, the captain, who with money in hand had power to consume them.[50] Patriarchs, in putting profit or pleasure over protection, endangered those with whose well-being they were legally entrusted; their daughters, or their crew.

Ben Ely's comments regarding the *Emigrant* and Madagascan prostitution, and the way in which he saw women as victims of men with authority, power and wealth, coincides with the whalemen's attitudes expressed in Lewis Jones's "On Gosport beach," a traditional English seamen's song that circulated in oral tradition among whalemen during the 1840s and 1850s.[51] The whaleman that Lewis heard sing this ballad during his 1845-1848 voyage in Sag Harbor's *Hamilton* was performing gendered content that simultaneously demonstrated the condemnation of men of wealth and authority, the sympathy of seamen for women in despair, and the manly virtue to which even the most lowly common sailor could aspire.

"On Gosport beach" tells of a sailor who picks up a prostitute while ashore. He describes here as a "flashy dame," who dresses in scarlet red silk. They drink by day, and fornicate by night. The following morning the sailor asks: "pretty fair maid what brought you down this way?" She replies that she is "a rich merchantman's daughter," but that her father, for a reason not given, had turned her out of his house, leading her to take to waterfront prostitution. The sailor tells her that he is sorry that she was forced "to throw yourself away," and without passing judgment against her, vows that he will marry her following his next voyage. The ballad then describes a moral turnabout by both the sailor and the prostitute. The sailor, who has squandered his pay on alcohol and prostituted sex,

[50] Ely, *"There She Blows!,"* p. 48.
[51] Gale Huntington, compiler and editor, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (3rd. ed., Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2005; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 127-129, 324.

becomes continent and thrifty. The prostitute also becomes continent, as well as lovingly patient, during the sailor's absence.

> They both shook hands and parted tears from her eyes did flow,
> She appeared quite broken hearted with him she could not go,
> But as a token of true love, Her gold ring she broke in two,
> On half she gave to her own true love, Saying adieu sweet lad adieu.
>
> When twelve months were ended this young man he came back,
> Saying my sweet girl I will marry you with the [word missing] in my sack,
> Then to church this couple hastened, The marriage knot to tie,
> Oh may they both live happy, Until the day they die.[52]

"On Gosport beach," perhaps more than any other song in Lewis Jones's collection, demonstrates the contested interactions and transformations that took place within the gendered content of masculine performance in whalemen's song culture; contests and changes that could also take place within lives and the performances of masculinity by flesh-and-blood whalemen. Unlike Jones's "As I lay amusing," which presents differing though consistently supplementary performances of seamen's masculinity, "On Gosport beach," as presented by the whaleman singer from whom Jones heard the song, told of the ways in which whalemen might seek to embrace manhood through differing ideals of manhood, as their circumstances might change and as they might be moved. From a secular libertine consumer of alcohol and women, the sailor of "On Gosport beach" is transformed into a loving and faithful husband of a newly virtuous wife. In making this transition he embraces a new ideal of manhood, that of the respectable provider and protector of a respectable woman. Perhaps he has become a

[52] Song #7, no title given, first line beginning "On Gosport beach I landed," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. [The typed transcript for Jones's "On Gosport beach" leaves a space, as indicated, in the second line of the second verses, as quoted above. Within the context of the song, it is clear that the sailor has returned with some sort of wealth. The 1856 version of the song, as heard and written down in the New Bedford whaleship *Catalpa*, and given under the title "The Undutiful Daughter," gives the word as "shiners," indicating gold or silver coins. Huntington, *Songs Whalemen Sang*, p. 129.]

bourgeois aspirant to higher socio-economic status, hoping to show off his wife as she wears attire of a more respectable fashion. Perhaps, as "to church this couple hastened," he and she have embraced a Christian sense of manhood and womanhood, bound by Pauline family duty. Or, perhaps, they will backslide, she to whoredom, and he to whoring.

The next two chapters will examine Sag Harbor whalemen of the 1840s who not only went to sea, but also "to church." Through their journal entries, their songs, and their poems, they described their voyages, their faith, their sense of manhood, and their Christian masculine performance. Much like Ben Ely's narrative, and the whole of Lewis Jones's songs, these Christian whalemen will afford insights into the varying and contested complexities of the performance of masculinity of those who labored in the whalefishery amidst varying conceptions of their own manhood as they lived in a world, both real and imagined, of poor Jacks, pretty maidens, and punitive patriarchs.

Chapter 4

"JESUS, SAVIOR, PILOT ME"

GEORGE SMITH AND THE MASCULINITY OF A CHRISTIAN WHALEMAN

> Ishmael, regarding Queequeg and Christendom: "…he was actuated by a profound desire to learn among the Christians…Arrived at last in old Sag Harbor…and seeing what the sailors did there…poor Queequeg gave it up for lost. Thought he, it's a wicked world in all meridians; I'll die a pagan."
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> - - - Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*[1]

> Ishmael, regarding himself and Christendom: "Long exile from Christendom and civilization inevitably restores a man to that condition in which God placed him, *i.e.* what is called savagery. Your true whaleman is…a savage…I myself am a savage…."
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> - - - Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*[2]

> George Smith, ashore at Pitcairn's Island: "Population 116 nearly all of them Protestant Christians."
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> - - - George Smith, in whaleship *Thames*[3]
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> [His only comment on the people of the places visited during a circumnavigation of the world, 1843-1846]

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[1] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*, Vol. 6, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1988; original publication of *Moby Dick*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), p. 56.

[2] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 270.

[3] George G. [S?] Smith, "George G. [S?] Smith's Book Ship Thames Journal of A voyage in the Ship Thames of Sag Harbor commencing July 7th 1843," unpublished manuscript, Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum [SHWHM], Sag Harbor, New York[SH, NY], Feb. 14, 1844, p. 37.

The great and surviving architectural symbol of Sag Harbor's whaling wealth is neither a mansion nor the U. S. Customs House, but a church. The meetinghouse of the Sag Harbor Presbyterian Church, commonly known as the "Old Whalers' Church," which was built during 1843 and 1844, at the economic height of Sag Harbor whaling, and paid for in large part with donations from incomes made in whaling. It is a singularly impressive building, with its massive Egyptian-revival architectural style, its lofty steeple, its imposing interior columns, and its whaleman's spade roof decorations.[4] The building of the church brought together two key factors in the lives of those who controlled the whaling industry; the great profits reaped through early industrial capitalism, and the Christian piety of the leading whaling families,[5] or at least their public participation in the economic functions of the congregation.

This chapter will analyze the construction, not of the great church, but of mid-19th century Christian masculinity among men who labored in Sag Harbor's whaling industry, focusing upon one such man, George Smith, who kept a journal while laboring as cooper in the Sag Harbor ship *Thames* for a voyage lasting from July, 1843 through June, 1846. Smith's comments will be placed into the context of the whaling industry, with specific reference to his personal Christian manhood and its relationship to the other masculinities of men aboard the *Thames*. The following chapter will discuss the personal diversities of Christian manhood found among several other Sag Harbor "Yankee boy" whalemen of the 1840s. At the core of these chapters will be the examination of ways in which the

[4] The Rev. Clarence Hall Wilson, D.D., *Sag Harbor Presbyterian Church, 1766-1916: An Historical Address, Delivered on the occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Founding, February 24th, 1916* (Sag Harbor, New York: John H. Hunt, 1916), p. 13. *First Presbyterian Church* (Sag Harbor, New York: First Presbyterian Church of Sag Harbor, 1999), p. 3. [The steeple was blown down during the Hurricane of 1938.]

[5] Wilson, *Historical Address*, pp. 15-18. [For a detailed analysis of early to mid-19th century whaling profits and Christian piety in Nantucket, see Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 51-82.]

acceptance or rejection of Christian teachings, particularly those of evangelical Protestantism, functioned as an important part of complex individual and group perceptions and conducts of masculinity through which whalemen saw themselves as men, and through which they evaluated "others."

Reverend Hopper's Whaleman's Hymn

Many Christian hymns and revival songs allude to the sea, yet only one of these, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," can be said to be closely linked to the whaling industry. It was written in 1871, the same year that the *Myra* set sail on Sag Harbor's final whaling voyage.[6] The hymn's composer, the Reverend Dr. Edward Hopper, had served as pastor of the Sag Harbor's First Presbyterian Church from 1852 through 1863. While at Sag Harbor, the Rev. Hopper conducted services for ships' crews before they set sail. Described as a man of great energy and of prophet-like appearance,[7] he bore resemblance in character and dedication to *Moby Dick*'s Father Mapple, the chaplain who preaches a charismatic whalemen's sermon on Jonah and the Whale at the Seamen's Bethel in New Bedford. "Shipmates," Father Mapple tells Ishmael, Queequeg, and others in attendance:

> …what depths of soul does Jonah's deep sea-line sound! What a pregnant lesson to us is this prophet! What a noble thing is that canticle in the fish's belly! How billow-like and boisterously grand! We feel the floods surging over us; we sound with him to the kelpy bottom of the waters; sea-weed and all the slime of the sea is about us! But *what* is this lesson that the book of Jonah teaches? Shipmates, it is a two-stranded lesson; a lesson to us all as sinful men, and a lesson to me as a pilot of the living God.[8]

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[6] Paul Bailey, *Early Long Island: Its Indians, Whalers and Folk Rhymes* (Westhampton Beach, New York: Long Island *Forum*, 1962), pp. 94-96. Alexander Starbuck, *Report of Commission of Fish and Fisheries: History of the American Whale Fishery* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1898; original publication, 1877), pp. 642-643.
[7] Willey, *Built by the Whalers*, pp. 9-10.
[8] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 42.

Rev. Hopper, who had also ministered at the Church of the Sea and the Land in New York City,[9] was deeply moved by the dangers seamen suffered in sailing the oceans of the world, seeing these dangers and sufferings as spiritual trials, symbolic of man's ultimate reliance upon God's mercy.[10] His lyrics, set to music composed by J. E. Gould, became one of the most popular hymns of Christian revival in maritime communities during the last third of the 19th century and well into the 20th.[11] First published in 1871 in both *The Sailor's Magazine* and *The Baptist Praise Book,*[12] the hymn is a petition to Jesus for guidance in navigating a sea of storms, rocks, shoals, waves, and dangerous coastline. Allegorically, the Christian seeks God's help in overcoming life's tribulations and temptations so that his soul may safely enter into Heaven. The Christian knows that the eternal safety of the Divine port cannot be reached by himself alone, but only through his acceptance of Jesus Christ as his savior; as his pilot against evil. For the Christian whaleman these temptations were not merely physical obstacles, such as alcohol or loose women. Although he would likely encounter these, his real temptation resulted from contact with his officers' and shipmates' performances of different and more prevalent forms of shipboard masculinity that conflicted with that of the Christian. At the heart of other masculinities was the satisfaction of physical desire, be it the sensual lust of a libertine, or the financial lust of a bourgeois. At the soul of the Christian whaleman's

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[9] Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth*; *A Contribution to the History of the Church Maritime*. No. 14, "Studies Series," Egede Institute for Missionary Study and Research, Oslo, Norway (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1986), pp. 501-502.

Cyberhymnal, Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me (The Sailor's Hymn), retrieved and downloaded 11/1/2004, at http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/j/s/jspilotm.htm_ , p. 1.

[10] Willey, *Built by the Whalers*, pp. 9-10.

[11] Edward Hopper, words, and J.E. Gould, music, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," hymn 83, Phillips Haynes Lord compiler, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, 6th edition (New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1931) pp. 94-95. [Phillips Haynes Lord used "Seth Parker" as his name for the hymnal, for revival meetings, and for a radio program and motion picture].

[12] *Cyberhymnal*, "Jesus, Savior," p. 1.

masculinity was curbing his physical desire in order to remain faithful to his God. As Melville's Father Mapple preached, "all things that God would have us do are hard for us to do – remember that – and hence, he oftener commands us than endeavors to persuade. And if we obey God, we must disobey ourselves; and it is in this disobeying ourselves, wherein the hardness of obeying God consists."[13] To accomplish this would be difficult. A Christian whaleman might be willing to subordinate his will to God's, but it was his captain's will to which he was held immediately responsible.

Jesus, Savior, pilot me
Over life's tempestuous sea;
Unknown waves around me roll,
Hiding rocks and treach'rous shoal;
Chart and compass come from Thee,
Jesus, Savior, pilot me.[14]

Few of the several thousand men who went to sea in Sag Harbor whaleships heard Hopper's hymn. Most of them had sailed before 1848, twenty-three years before "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me" was composed. Many died at sea, and some in the Civil War. A great many, no doubt, died from illness, in accidents, or through the natural causes of aging, and many would not have attended church or revival meetings. It may seem ironic that Sag Harbor's "Old Whalers" hymn was written at the very end of Sag Harbor whaling, but it also enables one to see the hymn as a retrospective; a remembrance of past tribulations, both physical and spiritual. For the Christian whaleman of an earlier generation, faith in Jesus had been the "pilot" for traversing the sea of life. Working in an industry that exposed him to the temptations of profanity, paganism, promiscuity, and

[13] Melville, *Moby Dick*, pp. 42-43.
[14] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, compiler, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.

profit, the Christian whaleman, and those who sought to make whalemen into Christians, constructed both private and public masculinities in which personal salvation was central to the concept of manhood.

Lewis Jones's self-made man masculinity was very different from the libertine masculinity of seaman Ned Myers, who sailed in the naval and merchant services during the last quarter of the 1700s. Myers stated: "As for money, my rule had come to be, to spend it as I got it, and go to sea for more." Libertine seamen, after having spent most of their money in drinking and generously treating other sailors to alcohol when in port, would give away or throw away any left-over money when they sailed, believing it was bad luck to take it to sea.[15] The performance of seamen's libertine masculinity in communal drinking and lack of concern for thrift is seen in the concluding verse of the version of "As I lay amusing" collected by Lewis Jones. Following a seven verse description of the physical hardships faced by seamen, the song's final verse states:

> We will sail to all parts of the world that ever yet was known,
> We will fetch home gold and silver whenever we do come home,
> We will drink…we will drink and pass it round again.
> And when our money is all gone we will go to sea again.[16]

The difference between seamen such as Myers and the men described in "As I lay amusing" on one hand, and Lewis Jones himself on the other, is primarily that of the values they accepted or rejected in the construction of masculinity. Myers, a libertine sailor, constructed a masculinity that stressed convivial fellowship through alcohol consumption and the rejection of thrift. Jones, while he wrote down lyrics about drinking,

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[15] Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 11-12.

[16] Song #19, no title given, first line beginning "As I lay amusing," Lewis Jones Song Collection [LJSC], Lewis Jones File [LJF], Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY].

rejected libertinism in favor of thrift and financial investment, but neither was he fully what Margaret Creighton's described as a "Victorian whalemen." These were men of middle birth, many being the sons of leading whaling families, and intending to rise to captaincies. Such a whaling son was not seeking to define his masculinity through escaping from home life by taking to the sea, but through proving his manhood within the family profession, enabling him to become his own self-made man.[17] This unstable form of masculinity, performed as it was in the whaleship, a tool of capital investment, was in a constant state of having to be proven. For a whaling captain this meant driving his men hard so as to return home as soon as possible with a full ship. Such a man performed masculinity in an all-consuming self-centered, manipulative and competitive manner, and was quite willing to be abusive in pursuit of the goals of his worldly manliness.[18] It was under the command of such men that Christian whalemen labored, often finding their Christian ideal of manhood in conflict with the captain's financial ideal, while at the same time dealing with shipmates who sought the sea as an escape from the proprieties of life ashore. These men often adopted a secular libertine outlook, performing a competitive masculinity that E. Anthony Rotundo described as "the masculine primitive" of survival, strength, and energy."[19] Thus, the Christian whaleman found himself at sea, situated between the dominant demands of secular masculinity based upon financial success, and the dominant numbers of men who based performance upon the pursuit of libertine adventure.

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[17] Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. pp. 123-126.

[18] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), pp. 9-10, 16-18, 22-31.

[19] E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-class Family in 19th Century America," *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), pp. 35-37, 40-42.

"Wondrous Sov'reign of the sea
Jesus, Savior, pilot me."[20]

There was another form of masculinity on the rise in the 1830s and 1840s - - - "the Christian Gentleman." Its performance and fulfillment did not rest upon competition against other men, but was practiced in one's pursuit of constancy in submission to the will of God. Though not seeking to define his masculinity through direct competition against fellow Christians, the Christian whaleman found himself in opposition against, though sometimes in cooperation with, men who performed their masculinity based upon secular libertine pleasure or secular bourgeois pursuit of profit. He opposed the competitive rational self-aggrandizing quest for material wealth and power of the bourgeois aspirant. He opposed the unrestrained self-indulgence of libertines.[21] It was against each other that these masculinities in large part defined themselves within the male homosocial space of the whaleship, and ashore at whaling ports. They could not escape one another, and as Margaret Creighton has written, their protracted interdependent contact magnified their differences, while forcing them to confront, negotiate with, resist or adopt the masculine values of several "others."[22] This was particularly true for the whalemen who sought to adhere to a Christian concept of manliness, living as they did in the violent, confrontational, profane and blasphemous society of the whaleship.

Thirty years before Edward Hopper wrote "Jesus Savior Pilot Me," Sag Harbor was undergoing a great spiritual revival. As described by the Reverend Clarence Hall

[20] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.
[21] Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood," pp. 38-40.
[22] Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, pp. 156-161.

Wilson in his 1916 address on the history of the First Presbyterian Church, the Second Great Awakening had an ecumenical effect on the community and a spiritually uplifting effect on its youth. "Sag Harbor in its great day," Wilson stated, "was a progressive community in the things of the spirit as well as in the affairs of commerce."[23]

The young men living in Sag Harbor during the revival period did not have to move from Sag Harbor to New York City or elsewhere to find employment. They could stay in Sag Harbor by venturing into the world as workers in the Sag Harbor whale fishery, which was at its height.[24] One such young Sag Harbor man was George G. Smith,[25] who sailed under Captain Jeremiah Hedges in the Sag Harbor ship *Thames* for a whaling voyage that lasted from July 7, 1843 until June 2, 1846. He was born on June 26, 1819, and had just turned 24 twelve days before the *Thames* sailed. A statement in his journal indicates that it was his second voyage. He was the ship's cooper, [26] the barrel-maker essential to stowing the ship's eventual catch of 2400 barrels of whale oil.[27] He was also well educated, as can be seen in the journal he kept during the voyage. He wrote in a steady, even and highly legible handwriting, in an ornate calligraphic style. He also showed an excellent command of language and vocabulary, although often eliminating punctuation and capitalization in a sort of short-hand. He recorded daily latitude and longitude, wind and sail settings, weather conditions, ships sighted, spoken, or gammed, and ship's duties performed, in a concise and straight-forward manner, but upon many occasions he recorded his off-duty activities, his observations of unusual events, his view of shipmates and of people and activities ashore, and his private thoughts, all in language

[23] Wilson, *Historical Address*, pp. 14-15.
[24] Wilson, *Historical Address*, p. 15.
[25] Zaykowski, *Sag Harbor…American Beauty*, p. 346-347.
[26] Smith, "Smith's Book," pp. 2, 12.
[27] Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 382-383.

that could be quite emotive and that revealed his feelings about himself. His journal provides the personal story for this chapter's investigation of whalemen's masculinity. George Smith, whaleship cooper, was a devout Christian.

"Jesus, Savior, pilot me
Over life's tempestuous sea."[28]

As the *Thames* sailed from Sag Harbor on July 7, 1843, George Smith and his shipmates likely took one last look back at the village. If George looked he would not have seen the new Sag Harbor Presbyterian Church; its construction had only begun. Neither could he have sung the words of Edward Hopper's yet-to-be-written hymn. Still, as the harbor pilot left the *Thames* and she headed into the open waters of the Atlantic, the thoughts that would later inspire Hopper were Smith's very thoughts:

Friday July 7th [1843]
This day we left our native shores for A Long Voyage with heavy hearts…2 ½ P.M. Passed Montauk Point with a stiff Breese. 5 O clock our native Land was out of sight…
Heading South East so ends this day, may kind Providence Protect us in all Our wanderings.

George's first Sunday at sea was quite hard upon him emotionally. As the *Thames* proceeded on course, with fair weather and favoring winds, and no whales in sight, it was a day without great activity to occupy ones mind, and Smith's thoughts turned to the whaleship's lack of Christian worship and Christian fellowship. This amplified his feeling of separation from home as he wrote on Sunday, July 9, 1843 that: "This day no work going on nothing to do but Think of home and those we Left behind us never felt so

[28] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, compiler, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.

bad in all the days of my life homesick in every sence of the word and wished myself back again."[29]

Homesickness could be expected in anyone leaving on a voyage that was expected to last three years and was going to the other side of the world, particularly as there might be no news from home during that entire time. Still, George's level of homesickness seems to be excessive, and he had repeated bouts with it, such as on Sunday, March 30, 1845, when, fifteen months after setting sail, he wrote "got thinking of home quite homesick."[30] He was, after all, going on his second such voyage. At age 24, he was older than the average whaleman, likely older than some of the officers, and presumably more mature as a result of both his age and his experience. It is likely that only the captain, the first mate, and one or two of the seamen or harpooners would have been older than he was, since the average age of seamen during this period was 22 to 23, and the average age of captains and first mates was 31.[31] As cooper, he held a somewhat prestigious position, since he did not serve "before the mast" with the common seamen and green hands, but would have been berthed in better accommodations amidships in the steerage, with the harpooners, and possibly other craftsmen and lower ranking mates. He also would have eaten better than the seamen, and would not have been required to engage in the most dangerous work such as hunting whales in the whaleboats or going aloft to work the sails. He would work long and hard following the killing of a whale, even "coopering at night," but he also spent much time in routine work, such as making

[29] Smith, "Smith's Book," July 7, 1843; p. 1; July 9, 1843, p. 1.
[30] Smith, "Smith's Book," March 30, 1845, p. 98.
[31] Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, pp. 213-214.

boat-buckets, deck buckets, and cooking lids,[32] and on the occasions that he worked with the carpenter he would have held the superior position, since coopering was considered a more specialized and skillful craft, and the cooper was both listed above the carpenter in the ship's crew list and received a much better lay. The cooper's lay would normally be about three times that of a seaman, ranking closer to the third mate and the harpooners than to the carpenter and hands. If the voyage was successful he would receive a sizable amount of money in one lump payment at its end.[33] If he had been thrifty and did not need to pay a large amount of money to the ship's owners for items purchased out of the ship's stores, he could return with enough money to begin his own business or buy land.

George Smith, therefore, may be seen as having been in the position of a senior petty officer. He had a specialized skill and an assigned task. So long as he performed his craft to the expectation of the captain he would be left to do his work without incident. Though a craftsman, he was not his own master, but he could hope that a successful voyage would enable him to establish his own artisanal competency. Though a worker for uncertain pay and working under an authoritarian patriarch, the captain, he was not proletarianized to the degree that the seamen were. That he felt himself to be separate from the station of the seamen is apparent in his referring to them as "the people,"[34] a term used to indicate those who worked in the ship without rank or special position, and who berthed under very bad conditions in the forecastle.

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[32] Smith, "Smith's Book," Sept. 11, 1843, p.9; Sept. 17, 1843, p. 10; March 11, 1845; March 13, 1845, p. 95; March 15, 1845; March 19, 1845, p. 96; June 9, 1845, p. 109. Ely, *"There She Blows,"* pp. 8-9.
[33] Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karen Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816-1906*, unnumbered volume, *National Bureau of Economic Research Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development*, series ed. by Claudia Goldin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 154-175.
[34] Smith, "Smith's Book," July 4, 1845, p. 113; Feb. 16, 1846, p. 147; May 12, 1846, p. 163.

Looking at George Smith's position aboard the *Thames*, it appears that there were several different and often competing ideals of manhood involved in his status and his work. As a craftsman with some privileges he could identify himself as separate from the laboring seamen and unskilled hands. As a man hoping to gain money for his own eventual economic independence, he might embrace, at least partly, the ideal of the self-made man. As an economically dependent worker, despite his self-perception as being separate from "the people," he was subject to strict authoritarian discipline and exploitation, and could find himself in the emasculated position of a proletarianized laborer. Yet, none of these considerations would have caused him to linger in homesickness. Why, then, had he "never felt so bad?" The answer is that he not only strove to be a Christian as a whaleman, but also as a husband. George Smith was married, and this further complicated what was expected of his manhood.

George had been married on December 11, 1842, less than seven months before setting sail as cooper in the *Thames*. He felt great romantic attachment to his wife, who had just turned twenty at the time of their wedding. He appears to have been greatly in love, and the early part of his voyage is replete with references to her, of eating cakes she gave him when he left for sea, of writing to her many times, of remembering her 21st birthday, and of his first wedding anniversary, December 11, 1843, on which he wrote: "One year ago this evening I was married to her that I regard above all other female kind...I bless God for his protection…in his hands I leave her and hope for the best." [35]

Smith's separation from his wife was the most likely and most reasonable cause of his extreme homesickness. Such an emotion may be attributed to new forms of

[35] Smith, "Smith's Book," July 12, 1843, p. 1; July 16, 1843, p. 2; July 23, 1843, p. 3; July 28, 1843, p. 3; Aug. 26, 1843, p. 7; Oct. 8, 1843, p. 13; Nov. 5, 1843, p. 18; Dec. 11, 1843, p. 25.

American masculinity and femininity that were developing in the bourgeois class during the late 1830s through 1850s, expressed in personal terms in romantic love, in societal terms in the self-made man's and domestic woman's separate spheres, and in marital terms in companionate marriage. As described by Lisa Norling in her study of women and the whalefishery, the development of these values had the affect of greatly increasing the emotional suffering of both whalemen's wives and their whaling husbands during their protracted periods of separation. Whaling husbands found themselves removed from their home authority and marital comforts, while leaving their wives to fend for themselves rather independently. They faced a crisis in masculinity that resulted from the loss of power and influence at home and showed itself in an increased display of sentimental emotion.[36] For men such as George Smith, who saw the husband's role as both a societal duty and a Divine command, protracted absence from home rendered the role of domestic protector an impossibility to fulfill, and coupled with the economic uncertainties of whaling, threatened the role of domestic provider. If George was to succeed financially, so as to establish the permanent domestic home of the emotionally subdued self-made man, he would first have to undergo the emotional suffering of the romantic Victorian male, while testing the resolve of his Christian manhood's charge to provide for, protect, and rule his wife.

Smith's romantic emotions constituted an important part of his masculinity, while at the same time contradicting and threatening another part of it. As an evangelical Christian, Smith's masculinity was put to the strictest self-examination and public scrutiny. The expectations society placed upon these men may be seen in marriage manuals published in the United States during the mid-1800s. These manuals gave advice

[36] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had A Wife*, pp. 165-213.

to respectable young women regarding the qualities to look for in a man when choosing a prospective husband. Central to the emerging ideal was that the husband and wife had to be devout and practicing Christians of the same Protestant denomination. Any marriage that was otherwise was considered to be "intermarriage," and such a marriage would be both sinful and an endangerment to the family.[37]

One Christian manual of 1832 stressed the necessity of a woman's wifely submission to the authority of her husband,[38] which would be nearly impossible during a separation of over three years. The emerging schizophrenic aspect of marriage practice, with separate masculine public and feminine private spheres, was thus further complicated by the prolonged absence of the whaleman husband. The Christian whaleman's husbandly authority existed primarily in the abstract rather than in his physical presence and manly direction over his wife, who asserted a degree of independence as well as reliance upon men other than her husband, such as her father or brother, or her husband's ship's owner. The wife also exercised an important "masculine" role in her husband's absence, acting as a social and financial surrogate for her husband's interests. Additionally, an absent husband would not be able to discipline his wife for her flirtations or infidelities, while at the same time finding himself subject to injunctions by his wife regarding his conduct during his absence.[39] The Christian whaleman was unable to exercise the Christian authority assigned by St. Paul to husbands over wives, by which "the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church."[40] If only

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[37] Michael Gordon, "The Ideal Husband as Depicted in the Nineteenth-Century Marriage Manual," *The American Man*, ed. by Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), p. 150.
[38] Gordon, "The Ideal Husband," in Pleck and Pleck, eds., *American Man*, p. 154.
[39] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had A Wife*, pp. 151-154, 160, 169, 179-180.
[40] St. Paul, "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians," chapter 5, verses 22-23, *The Holy Bible*, King James version .

in his own mind, the absent Christian whaling husband was something of a distrusted cuckold, whose absence put his Christian manhood at doubt.

Another marriage manual, published in 1854, but presenting values that had been on the rise since the 1830s, stated that: "The duties of the conjugal relation cannot be fully discharged without the aid of Christianity. *The parties must be* CHRISTIANS *in order to possess such a spirit as well as ensure peace and joy until they are separated by death*.[41] [original emphasis]

This Christianity was *not* only a matter of compatible acceptance of doctrine, and faith. It needed to be demonstrated in a Christian husband's character; in his performance of Christian masculinity. Such a man would have to be frugal, and abstain totally from all immoralities and vices. These vices included idleness, the drinking of alcohol, smoking or otherwise using tobacco, gambling, swearing, staying out late, and as one manual put it, "*licentiousness in every form*."[42] One Christian whaleman, Alfred W. Foster, an East Hampton, Long Island man who shipped in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Columbia* in 1845, and the Greenport whaleship *Roanoke* in 1857, went so far as to include "The Wife's Commandments" in his journal. In addition to the respectable and comfortable support of his wife, these *twelve* commandments required the husband's total abstinence from womanizing, staying out late, carousing, frequenting taverns, gambling, shooting pool, and indulging in tobacco and alcohol.[43] As these were the vices most associated with mid-19th century seamen, George Smith would have to walk the straight and narrow path

[41] Quoted in Gordon, "The Ideal Husband, *American Man*, ed. by Pleck and Pleck, p. 151.
[42] Gordon, "The Ideal Husband," *American Man*, ed. by Pleck and Pleck, p. 151.
[43] Alfred W. Foster, *Alfred W. Foster's Day Book East Hampton*," unpublished manuscript, Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY], p. 138. [Foster's "Day Book" includes journal entries for his voyages in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Columbia*, 1845-1846, pp. 1-92, and the Greenport whaleship *Roanoke*, 1857-1858. pp. 93-129, with songs, poems and essays following the voyage entries; pages as counted by this writer.]

both aboard the *Thames* and when ashore in the Azores, South America, Africa, New Zealand, and the Pacific islands. The physical longings, social comradery and cultural expressions of the young "masculine" whaleman would have to be held fully in check by prescribed Pauline and Evangelical conduct. For George Smith to achieve the form of masculinity that he sought he would have to resist the temptations he would face in the homosocial but multiply masculine world of the whaleship. He may have been strong, skilled and daring enough to be a successful whaleman, his coopering vital to the success of the voyage, but more than success as a whaleman he sought success as a Christian. Could he achieve both?

"Chart and Compass come from Thee,
Jesus, Savior, pilot me."[44]

For George Smith to navigate successfully through the temptations to be encountered during a three year whaling voyage he would need a good "pilot"; Jesus. He must have felt joy when, on the twelfth day of the *Thames*'s voyage, he wrote:

> Tuesday 18th [July, 1843]
> This day found one that Professed to love the saviour had some cheering conversation with him, may the Lord help us to show those around us by our walk that we have been with Jesus and learnt from him.[45]

Thus, Smith's Christian manhood would not be solely private, confining itself to his unspoken thoughts, his writings, and his readings in moments alone in the steerage. He would "walk" his Christian manhood in front of his shipmates in all its dignity, his Christian masculinity performed on public display. The whaleship would become a space for his testifying through his example and for evangelizing to his shipmates. In the latter

[44] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.
[45] Smith, "Smith's Book," July 18, 1843, p. 2.

endeavor he appears to have had limited success at best, as he makes no other mention of Christians or men converted to Christianity aboard the *Thames*. In his personal faith and actions his efforts appear to have been much more successful.

Religion, for George Smith, was not merely a matter of riding a prolonged ecstatic feeling inspired by a rousing camp meeting or a charismatic sermon. Smith's Christianity was a serious undertaking; a faith whose embrace and practice required continual private study and public renewal. During his voyage he read through the *Old Testament*, indicating that he had completed it on March 17, 1844. His journal records numerous instances of prayer, prayer meetings, and petitioning God for blessings for others or for himself.[46] He recorded several instances of attending church or visiting with chaplains, sometimes twice a day, during the few and infrequent times he received shore liberty. He also read religious publications, relating that while ashore in Honolulu on March 10, 1845, he ""went to see the Seamans Chaplain" and "got plenty of papers and tracts."[47]

The clergyman with whom George Smith met was almost certainly Rev. Samuel C. Damon, who served from 1839 to 1881 at the Honolulu seamen's mission, holding the title of "Seamen's Chaplain." He had been appointed to the mission when it was established by the American Seaman's Friend Society, an evangelical Protestant Christian temperance and reform organization. Damon's duties included holding church services and prayer meetings, preaching, giving instruction and counsel, distributing

[46] Smith, "Smith's Book," July 7, 1843, p. 1; July 18, 1843;p. 2; Aug. 4, 1843, p. 4;Aug. 6, 1843, p. 5; Sept. 1, 1843, p. 8; Oct. 6, 1843, p. 13; Oct. 22, 1843, p. 16; Nov. 3, 1843, p. 18; Dec. 1, 1843, p. 23;Dec. 11, 1843, p. 25; Jan. 1, 1844, p. 29; Feb. 2, 1844, p. 35; Feb. 11, 1844, p. 36; March 17, 1844; July 5, 1844, p. 60.

[47] Smith, "Smith's Book," March 24, 1844, p. 43; March 31, 1844, p. 44; Nov. 17, 1844, p. 80; Jan. 19, 1845, p. 88; Jan. 23, 1845, p. 89; Jan. 26, 1845, p. 89; Feb. 23, 1845, p. 93; March 2, 1844, p. 94; March 10, 1845, p. 95; Sept. 19, 1845, p. 129.

scripture and religious tracts, and writing, editing and publishing the mission's newspaper, *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*. Damon was a strong advocate of whaling captains taking their wives to sea, and proposed that all married seamen be permitted to take their wives to sea, holding that such a practice would greatly improve marital and family life, and prevent "the evil and sad effects" of prolonged separation during whaleships' typical 2 to 4 year voyages.[48] Damon's Christian sympathy and encouragement were intended to give emotional and spiritual support to all seamen, and would have been of special value to Smith and other married Christian whalemen who were undergoing the uncertainties and self-doubts of their long separations from their wives. Damon also would have admonished Smith on the necessity of maintaining his Christian manhood. It is likely that Smith received both oral and written versions of a message that Damon had published six months earlier.

> Open letter to all seamen from Samuel C. Damon, Sept., 1844
> Seamen, - - - In visiting this port, you should feel that you have a character to sustain. You should conduct in a manner becoming your character, as the representatives of other nations, which have long enjoyed the blessings of civilization and Christianity. You should show that you love the House of God, by always attending Public Service, when allowed absence from your vessels. You should remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. You should be patterns of sobriety, temperance, virtue, and religion….
> Remember, Seamen, that you have much to answer for, at the Bar of God, if you neglect to improve the various means which God is placing, in your path, for becoming acquainted with the duties which you owe Him, your fellow men, and yourselves.
> Samuel C. Damon, Seamen's Chaplain.
> Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, September, 1844[49]

[48]Norling, *Captain Ahab Had A Wife*, pp. 240-241.
[49] Samuel C. Damon, "Open letter to all seamen from Samuel C. Damon, Sept., 1844," *The FRIEND. Extra.* (Honolulu), Sept. 24, 1844, p. 87. [Halsey and Foster copy, Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY.]

The separation of sailors and their sweethearts is a common theme in traditional ballads sung and heard by seamen. Lewis Jones, whose Sag Harbor whaling voyage to the Pacific overlapped with Smith's, wrote down the words to five secular romantic ballads on the theme of separation. Two of these ballads, "On Gosport Beach" and "The Dark Eyed Sailor," end in a happy reunion and life together ashore, while a third, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," shows the extremes to which one would go to prevent separation. Two other ballads, "The Nightingale" and "Caroline of Edinburg Town," depict separation as having tragic results. In "The Nightingale," a young man is pressed into naval service. After he is killed his ghost tells his sweetheart of his death, and she in turn falls into dementia.[50] "Caroline of Edinburg Town" tells of a young wife who is abandoned by her husband. He leaves for the sea, stating that he will not return. In her intense sorrow she commits suicide.[51]

Songs in the genre of separation leading to tragedy would have caused a melancholy feeling in happily married men while at sea, especially for those who, like George Smith, carried deep Christian concerns and romantic attachment. "Caroline of Edinburg Town" would have been particularly demoralizing to one in his position. He had left behind his own 20 year old wife, Caroline,[52] when he left Sag Harbor to go to sea for three years. However, the ballads with happy endings could be more challenging than those ending tragically to men of Christian masculinity like George. To this point, it is well worth briefly revisiting three ballads heard by Lewis Jones during his whaling voyage, but now seeing them from the point of view of Christian manhood.

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[50] Song #18, "The Nightingale," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH NY.
[51] Song #23, "Caroline of Edinburg Town," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[52] United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1850*,; New York State, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 405b.

In “The Dark Eyed Sailor,” a sailor and his sweetheart are parted for seven years, during which time she and, by implication, he remain true to one another. Upon his return they settle down happily for a life together ashore, but it is she, not he, who was able to gain land and wealth with which to establish a permanent home.[53] Was this a happy ending? Not, perhaps, for a man such as George Smith who believed that supporting ones wife was an obligation of Christian manhood.

With regard to “On Gosport beach,” an evangelical Christian would likely be put off and quite indignant over the opening verse, in which a sailor drinks and has sex with a prostitute, taking offense at such promiscuity as sinful and directly against the ideal of Christian manhood that men such as George Smith were trying to achieve and maintain, and the virtuous domestic womanhood of the women that they had married or wished to marry. The Christian would condemn the ballad’s sailor as a libertine, displaying carnal lust, intemperance, and using his money foolishly, but would have to change his mind about the sailor, and the prostitute, as the ballad moved from one of “sweet content” in sin, to one of love, devotion, continence, moral reform, husbandly providing, and ultimately, of salvation, as the ballad concludes with:

> Then to church this couple hastened,
> The marriage knot to tie,
> O may they both live happy,
> Until the day they die.[54]

A Christian whaleman might feel confusion regarding his own masculine assumptions upon hearing such a song. Would he, through his Christian virtue, be able to achieve the admirable masculinity of supporting a wife, as was done by the reformed

[53] Song #9, “The Dark Eyed Sailor,” LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[54] “On Gosport Beach,” LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY. [Contextually and rhythmically, the missing word would most likely be two syllables and describing wealth, such as “money” or “silver” or “gold coins.”]

sailor in the ballad, who had transformed himself from a secular libertine into a Christian husband? If a sinner could reform, was it possible that a saint could fall? Would he be able to remain a Christian while seeking financial success, along the lines of the self-centered self-made man? Would his wife or sweetheart remain virtuous in his absence? Such doubts could arise in men of other masculinities, but would be amplified in the man who placed Christian morality at the center of his manhood.

A third of Lewis Jones's songs, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," was discussed earlier as expressing whalemen's critical view of men holding authority as presented in the story of the daughter, "Caroline," in love with a sailor, who exhibits boldness in running off to sea dressed as and presenting herself as a man, finally marrying the sailor and inheriting her fortune, so that "now they live happy and cheerful."[55] Men whose masculine values stressed liberty of action or secular romance would likely have been attracted by the ballad's social transgression in the cause of love, its crossing of separate gender spheres, and its antiauthoritarian attitude, but these would be the very reasons why the song would be upsetting to a man that adhered strictly to Christian prescriptions of both masculinity and femininity. The "Daughter" would be rebuked. She does not know her place, cross-dresses against Christian restrictions, disregards the Biblically sanctioned authority of her parents, and runs away to enter an unchaperoned relationship in an otherwise all male workplace. She would not be seen as a romantic heroine, but as a subversive against the values of true Christian womanhood. The proper conduct of a Christian "Caroline," such as George Smith's wife, would be to remain at home while her Christian loved one labored at sea, the two seeking companionship through prayer, until Providence permitted their reunion.

[55] Song #24, "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

Whalemen's singing on a mid-19th century ship was likely to be quite bawdy at times, as seen in some of the songs collected by Lewis Jones, and in many others located by 20th century folklorists who examined logs, journals, and broadsides.[56] Melville's Captain Bildad, the strict though hypocritical co-owner of the *Pequod* in *Moby Dick*, acted in a representative manner when he forbade the singing of profane songs aboard his ship, an order that was ignored even as it was being given.[57] Profanities and vulgarities in work songs and off-watch songs may have driven George Smith and other Christian whalemen to seek whatever shipboard seclusion or muffling they could find. As a craftsman berthed in steerage, Smith may have found such seclusion as a whaleship could afford, sitting at his bunk reading and using his sea chest as a writing desk for making journal entries while the other craftsmen and the boatsteerers were above.

On October 22, 1843, Smith made a most interesting journal entry. The *Thames* had been at sea 3½ months, and was near the Cape of Good Hope.[58] It was a Sunday evening, and as was often the case on Sundays, he was in a reflective, homesick, and especially religious mood. His journal entry for that date reads:

> myself engaged in reading Baxters dying thoughts thus ends this long day of sacred rest. I long for the Privaleges of my native village and company of the dear friends it contains once more. God speed our return to it once more in his own Good time and to him shall be all the praise.[59]

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[56] Gale Huntington, compiler and editor, *Songs the Whalemen Sang*, (3rd ed., Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2005; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, Inc, 1964). Stan Hugill, compiler and editor, *Shanties from the Seven Sea: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs Used as Work-Songs from the Great Age of Sail* (2nd ed., new U.S. edition, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 1994; original publication London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961). Roy Palmer, compiler and editor, *The Oxford Book of Sea Songs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. William Main Doerflinger, collector and compiler, *Songs of the Sailor and Lumberman* (revised edition, Glenwood, Ill.: Meyerbooks, 1990; original publication as *Shantymen and Shantyboys*, 1951).
[57] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 103.
[58] Smith, "Smith's Book," Oct. 12, 1843, p. 14.
[59] Smith, "Smith's Book," Oct. 22, 1843, p. 16.

What were the privileges for which George longed? Attending Sunday worship and sharing in Christian fellowship in observation of the Sabbath would surely have been among the privileges, the obligations, missed by a Christian whaleman at sea. He would also would have missed the conjugal privileges he held as a husband as his legal right and his Christian duty. On his recent first liberty ashore he no doubt saw women; exotic women; waterfront women together with American sailors, perhaps his own shipmates, acting in the unchristian-like manner that 1840s whaleman-turned-Christian minister Ben Ely described as a "scene of abominations."[60] As a Christian gentleman and husband, George would have to obey God's commandment against adultery, heeding the blunt warning given by Melville's Captain Bildad, and echoed by real-life Christian men in authority, who warned their young seafaring subordinates: "If ye touch at the islands…beware of fornication,"[61] even if such abstinence might make him look unmanly to other whalemen.

There were at least two other reasons for George Smith's reflective and downcast state of mind as he wrote in his journal on October 22, 1843. For one, the voyage was not going well financially. The *Thames* had been at sea for nearly four months, had crossed the Atlantic, and was about to round the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean - - - and she had not yet taken a whale. "Four months out and not a drop of oil yet" he wrote on November 7, 1843.[62] As cooper, Smith's mind would have been more on his work if the *Thames* had been taking whales. Perhaps more importantly, his cooper's lay, about

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[60] Ely, *"There She Blows"*, pp. 44-45, 95, 98. [Ben Ely, who wrote his narrative following his return from sea and his religious conversion experience, gives an excellent account of a Christian whalemen's criticism of American whalemen's fornication with native women forced into prostituting themselves to American whalemen on islands off Africa's west and east coasts.]
[61] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 105.
[62] Smith, "Smith's Book," Nov. 7, 1843, p. 19.

1/60 of the voyage's profits, would come to many hundreds of dollars if the voyage were successful.[63] Instead, after four months, he was penniless, minus any money he owed to the ship for additional supplies he may have already needed on the voyage, such as a hat to replace one that he had lost overboard on October 4th.[64] As a Christian gentleman whose sense of masculinity required that he properly provide for his wife's material needs, he would have seen the voyage's failure as threatening that fundamental principle of the manhood for which he strove. He also risked the danger of putting his economic concerns above his Christian commitment. Bad finances can change one's priority, and the masculinity of the Christian provider could fade into the overriding desire for acquisition of money that was essential to the masculinity of the self-made man.

The ideal of the Christian husband as a modest provider at the head of a Christian family was expressed by another Sag Harbor man, John Quin, in a letter he wrote from sea to his wife Elena. Quin shipped in 1839 in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Ann*, the voyage beginning on August 27th of that year. He spent his first week both seasick ["plenty to Eat but no Stummock"] and homesick.[65] Elena and he had been married on June 27, 1839, exactly two months before the start of his voyage. On March 19, 1840, Elena gave birth to a son, Isaac.[66] John would not see his son for another 14 months, he being on his voyage "a round the globe in hopes of dinging whale."[67] He may not even have known of his son's birth until the *Ann* returned to Sag Harbor on May 12, 1841.

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[63] Davis, Gallman, and Gleiter, *Pursuit of Leviathan*, pp. 154-190. [Thorough discussion of lay system and wages or shares paid, including details on coopers' earnings.]
[64] Smith, "Smith's Book," Oct. 4, 1843, pp. 13, 169.
[65] John Quin, "John Quin onboard the Ship Ann of Sagharbour 1839," unpublished manuscript, Southampton Historical Museum and Research Center [SHMRC], Southampton, New York [SHMP, NY], August 27, 1839, p. 1; September 3, 1839, p. 1; not dated, p. 1.
[66] Quin, "Quin *Ann*," undated entries, pp. 89, 181. [Quin's wife's name appears to be Elena, but it is difficult to be certain due to his poor handwriting. He spelled his son's name "isaac Miler Quin."]
[67] Quin, "Quin *Ann*," January 6, 1840, p.30.

John Quin was a good whalemen, as seen in his promotion to boatsteerer, at a very good 65th lay, for a voyage in the *Sag Harbor* whaleship *John Jay*, which sailed on October 7, 1842.[68] During this voyage he wrote to Elena from the Pacific on January 31, 1843, after nearly 20 months absence from home. His letter perfectly expressing his love for her, his anxiousness to be with her and their child, and his ideal of husbandly duty in a Christian family. Quin wrote:

> My Dear wife I wrote to yu by the Ship Atlantic of Nantucket About a Month agow and promised to write again in ten or fifteen Days as I expected we would be in port by that time… we will Not go in to any place till we get up to Mowhee…as it will be Some time Before we get thare I cannot restrain My impatience till we land but Now wright a gain hoping to speake a ship homeward bound by which I can send an other letter knowing with Delight what Joy you will receive my letters with what Delight you will read them and with what an earnest anxiety you look out for my communications…A few words of advice also given in my formor Epistle I told you to pay the most peculiar care to the X of our child and if he would be old anuf before I get back to send him to School I also told you on no account to giv up to fretting for my absence to remember I will be home in a short time in all probability with eight or nine hundred Dollars that with that Sum I Can get A house & A smawl pease of land which will leave us independent for the rest of our lives and finally to place your whole Confidence in the goodness God who never forsakes this who put their trust in him and whise care is always, the cry of those who seek and have faith in him and without whom we can do nothing I also wish you to be careful and loose no opportunity of wrighting to me by each and every ship coming out to the North west to give me full and faithful account of how you and Isick get along and not to want for clothes as John Gardiner will give them to you I will embrace every opportunity of writing home that presents itself and will send you all the news I can[69]

It is unclear what John Quin meant by "X." Perhaps it stood for Christ, meaning to look after their son's Christian upbringing. Still, regardless of the meaning of "X,"

[68] "List of Officers & Crew of Ship John Jay Oct 7th 1842," in "Ship's Stores, Sag Harbor" (unpublished ledger manuscript, item X BH 9, LIC, EHL, EH, NY), p. 98.
[69] Letter. John Quin to Elena Quin, January 31, 1843, copy in Quin, "Quin *Ann*," pp. 83-84.

John's letter to Elena presents an outstanding example of the concerns and duties of a Christian husband and father, whaling on the far side of the world. His expression shows affection, but manly firmness, as he seeks to both cheer his wife, and prescribe her moral conduct, and as he seeks to comfort her regarding his return, and the care that John Gardiner, perhaps a shipping agent or a friend, would give her should she run into financial difficulty before her husband's return. He also expresses concern for his son's moral and educational upbringing, and seeks to monitor Elena's fulfillment of her motherly obligations through his direction that she write frequently to give him "full and faithful account of how you and Isick get along." John also urges Elena not to fret, but rather to put her faith and trust in God, and comforts her with the thought that upon his return he may have earned enough money for them to establish their own household; not one of luxury, but one in which, likely through farming, they could live independently with his having to leave her again. These, the moral and modest demands of Christian husbandly manhood, were what John Quin sought to achieve.

A second problem also accounts for George Smith's feelings of October 22, 1843. Captain Hedges had been removed due to very poor health. George described October 13, 1843, the day of Hedges' departure, and his replacement as captain by Mr. Bishop, who had been first mate, as "this unfortunate day."[70] It is clear that Smith liked and admired Captain Hedges, who was also a resident of Sag Harbor,[71] and may have shipped in the *Thames* in consideration of Hedges' a character and reputation similar to the captain of the Mystic whaling bark *Leander*, whom Smith praised for his temperance and piety.[72]

[70] Smith, "Smith's Book," Aug. 21, 1843; p. 7; Oct. 8, 1843, p. 13; Oct. 13, 1843, p. 14.
[71] Zaykowski, *Sag Harbor…American Beauty*, p. 347.
[72] Smith, "Smith's Book," Aug. 19, 1843, p. 6.

The voyage was not going well. It was failing financially, and Captain Hedges was gone. There was uncertainty about the new master, Captain Bishop. George Smith was nearly a half a world away from home, his young wife, and his Christian neighbors. It was under these conditions, and in his frequent Sunday somber and reflective state of mind, that he wrote: "myself engaged in reading Baxters dying thoughts."[73]

Richard Baxter, 1615-1691, one of 17th century England's leading clergymen and theologians, was identified by himself and by others of his time as an Anglican, a Presbyterian, a Puritan, a Dissenter, and a Non-Conformist. As an advocate of a unified English national church he strongly opposed the internationalism of the Roman Catholic Church, along with its papal authority, its ornament, and its lack of strict concentration upon Christian necessity as set forward in Scripture, while criticizing the loose interpretation of Scripture by numerous English Protestants as libertine. He strongly objected to both the Catholic ultra-royalist policies of the Stuarts and the religious divisiveness he saw arising under Oliver Cromwell, and spoke out against Levelers and radical religious elements in the Parliamentary army. He was an extremely prolific writer, composing theological treatises and tracts with such telling names as *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, *True Christianity; or Christ's Absolute Dominion*, *A Treatise on Self-Denial*, *The Life of Faith*, and *A Treatise on Death*.[74] Baxter's influence spread beyond

[73] Smith, "Smith's Book," Oct. 22, 1843, p. 16.
[74] Richard L. Greaves, *Saints and Rebels: Seven Nonconformists in Stuart England* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), p.9. N.H. Keeble, *Richard Baxter: Puritan Man of Letters* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. v, 22-23, 157-169. Richard Schlatter, *Richard Baxter & Puritan Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 4-5, 8, 12, 20-21, 26-27, 33, 36.

England and Scotland, with his *Call to the Unconverted* ranking as one of principal religious books read in England's North American colonies.[75]

A Sag Harbor ship off the African coast may not seem a likely place to find a whaleman engaged in reading Richard Baxter's *Dying Thoughts*, but seamen's missions made such tracts available, and through them serious-minded Christian men like George Smith sought to deepen their understanding of Christianity and strengthen their faith. *Dying Thoughts* would have appealed to a Christian in George's circumstance in the *Thames*, where he felt lonely separation from the Christian community, as it held that religion needed to be limited to Scriptural "necessities," and that those who were saved lived a life of faith based upon the fulfillment of these necessities. Baxter also opposed monarchial authority as conducive towards abuse against its subjects, and condemned the immoral libertinism of unbridled democracy, favoring instead a state of saints who testified publicly to God's salvation.[76]

It has been noted that Richard Baxter, who was sickly and suffered much, "seems to have been peculiarly successful in the treatment of melancholy."[77] If so, George Smith certainly stood to gain by reading his work. As one whose shipboard masculinity was performed in reading the Bible and religious tracts, in prayer, and in a dignified Christian "walk," rather than authoritarian bluster or libertine swagger, George may have found masculine reaffirmation in *Dying Thoughts*, written 1683, in which Baxter spoke of the manliness of Christian study, and sharing of Christian thought with other men, stating:

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[75] Ned C. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680-1760*, unnumbered volume, *Twayne's American Thought and Culture Series*, general editor, Lewis Perry (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 42.
[76] Keeble, *Baxter…Man of Letters*, pp. 24, 29, 38-39, 43, 45, 71-72, 77, 151, 154.
[77] J.M. Lloyd Thomas, "Introduction," Richard Baxter, *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, Being the* Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed by J.M. Lloyd Thomas. (unnumbered volume, *Everyman's Library*, series editor, Ernest Rhys (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1931), p. xvii.

"When I die, I must depart not only from sensual delights, but from the more *manly* [emphasis added] pleasures of my studies, knowledge, and converse with many wise and godly men, and from all my pleasure in reading, hearing, public and private exercises of religion, etc. I must leave my library and turn over those pleasant books no more. [78]

George still had nearly three years to go in his voyage. Although his wife may have written to him often, there was no regular mail system. Letters were passed from ship to ship until one came upon the ship of the addressee [such as "George Smith, Ship *Thames*, Pacific Ocean] George received eight letters from Caroline, the fastest reaching him seven months after she sent it, the longest taking two years and eight months.[79]

As the voyage progressed Smith would need all of the support he could muster for his Christian values and masculinity. He had grown increasingly critical of Captain Bishop and the mates, had disputes with them, came to see them as unnecessarily strict, uncharitable, and abusive of their authority, and even came to question their morality and their manliness. He also became more estranged from the ship's men, criticizing their rows and their drunkenness. In terms of George's ideal of manhood, the officers and crew were abusive libertines, the crewmen libertines who suffered their abuses.

Unknown waves around me roll,
Hiding rocks and treach'rous shoal.[80]

George Smith had problems; the "rocks" and "shoals" upon which a soul could be wrecked and lost. The performances of non-Christian masculinities by others aboard the

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[78] Richard Baxter, *Dying Thoughts*, p. 87, quoted in Thomas, "Introduction," in Baxter*, Autobiography*, Thomas, ed., p. xvii.
[79] Smith, "Smith's Book," p. 170. Norling, *Captain Ahab Had A Wife*, pp. 150-151. [Norling relates how one whaleman's wife wrote over one hundred letters to her husband in three years, with only six of them reaching him; p. 150.]
[80] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.

whaleship were inescapable and challenged George's own conceptions of proper masculine values and conduct. On March 19, 1844, barely more than eight months into the *Thames*'*s* voyage, he found the abuses suffered at the hands of Captain Bishop and his mates no longer bearable. On that date he wrote: "myself had some difficulty with our Captain and mate about scouring up their brass asked for to be discharged in Mowee but was refused." The abuses continued, and his complaints became markedly more severe. When the first mate, Joseph Isham, became ill, Smith commented "crew all glad of it." Some of the *Thames*'*s* men deserted or were discharged. Smith again requested a discharge, this time to sign on the New Bedford whaleship *Phenix*, which needed a cooper and whose captain offered to pay him $75 per month. Captain Bishop refused..[81]

Smith was moving in direction of seamen's masculinity performed through shared complaint and resistance against authority. His own masculinity of Christian gentlemanliness would have him obey duly constituted authority, disdain rowdiness, and separate his feelings and actions from those of non-Christian "ship's people," but the differences between George and the "people" were lessened by the presence of a more troubling "second other," the ship's officers. The Christian man's ideals of forgiveness and turning the other cheek in non-combative dignity were starkly missing when, on Wednesday, August 13, 1845, George wrote that he had been "insulted by the second mate J T Horton and gave him no occasion for which I am resolved to remember him if we meet in America there is no manhood in him and such is the opinion of the whole

[81] Smith, "Smith's Book," Dec., 23, 1843, p. 28; Mar. 19, 1844, p. 42; June 29, 1844, p. 59; Jan. 1, 1845, p. 86; Jan., 30, 1845, p. 90; Feb. 26, 1845, p. 93; Mar. 4, 1845, p. 94; Mar. 6, 1845, p. 94; Mar. 9, 1845, p. 95; Aug. 13, 1845, p. 120; Mar. 3, 1846; Mar. 8, 1846, p. 152; Apr. 24, 1846, p. 163; May 7, 1846 , p. 164. [These citations indicate conflicts of crew with officers, conflicts between officers, and discharges and desertions.]

ships company." He also questioned the manhood of Captain Bishop, not from a Christian gentleman's point of view, but from that of the masculinity of seamen's labor.

> Saturday March 7th 1846
> …all hands was called the weather looking a little black took in the fore and main topsail and close reefed the main. Our Captain though more scared than hurt however as usually is the case with him….
> Friday 20th [March, 1846]
> …stiff breezes…a black cloud accompanied with thunder and lightning and rain. Captain B was called he came on deck had all hands called took in all sail and hove the ship too under a main spencer only it is really amusing to see how easily our Captain gets scared he is worse than any old woman…[82]

Smith also found himself on a ship beset with illness and death. Captain Hedges' removal from the *Thames* and Bishop's and Isham's illnesses had already occurred when he made the following entry for August 17, 1844:[83]

> Saturday 17th
> …Mr Isham the first mates Boat steerer darted to a whale The whale struck the boat cut her in two amidships and killed a colored man by the name of Charles Conklin instantly and he sunk to rise no more also hurt another man David Petty some considerable…This is surely an awful visitation of Providence and a warning for all us on board to be also ready….

George saw "Providence" in Conklin's death and Petty's injury. This is not the providence often thought of as God's providing for Man's needs, but rather a Christian concept of God's Divine Will, regardless of whether or not Man sees it as answering

[82] Smith, "Smith's Book," Aug. 13, 1845, p. 120; Mar. 7, 1846, p. 152; Mar. 20, 1846, p. 155. [The spencer is a sail that provides steering stability in a storm, but does not afford speed in running before the wind. Gershom Bradford, *The Mariner's Dictionary* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1952), pp. 251, 284.]
[83] Smith, "Smith's Book," August 17, 1844, p. 67.

Man's desires.[84] Five months later, on January 22, 1845, Smith reported another death.[85]

> Wednesday 22nd
> …Isaac Jones seaman on board died at 8 AM after an illness of 2 weeks aged 23 years an American belonging in Pennsylvania myself and the Carpenter made a Coffin….

One of the songs Lewis Jones collected, "William Glenn," portrays a ship that can be likened to Smith's description of the *Thames* under Bishop's command, combining illness and death with a captain's cowardice and sinfulness. When Captain Glenn's cowardice and sinfulness were revealed to the crew as the cause of a deadly storm they took mutinous though lifesaving action, throwing him overboard:

> Our treacherous captain being gone,
> And immediately there came a calm….[86]

The men of the *Thames* did not take that degree of drastic action against their captain, but Smith presents evidence that they did perform masculine resistance through collective action against abusive authority. On one occasion a man who had deserted was caught and brought back aboard, causing "a row on board between the officers and men." On another occasion the crew acted to prevent a man from being seized up and flogged.[87]

The fictional Captain Glenn, in confessing to his crimes of rape and murder, states that he profaned the Sabbath,[88] an additional sin that would have had special meaning to a Christian aboard a whaleship, where the Sabbath was routinely ignored or profaned. In

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[84] *The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, Explained, by Way of Question and Answer. Part 1. What Man is to Believe Concerning God.* by Several Ministers of the Gospel. Fourth Philadelphia Edition: Carefully Compared with an Early and Correct Scotch Impression (Philadelphia: William S. Young, Printer, 1840), p. 235. [First Edition by Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher. Glasgow, Scotland, 1753. *The Shorter Catechism* composed by the Assembly of Divines, and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, 1648.
[85] Smith, "Smith's Book," January 22, 1845, p. 89.
[86] Song #14, "William Glenn," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.
[87] Smith, "Smith's Book," March. 4, 1845, p. 94; May 31, 1845, p. 108.
[88] "William Glenn," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

addition to the absence of worship services and the use of vulgar and profane language, the whaleship, as a floating factory engaged in a capitalist enterprise, was the site of Sabbath breaking in the form of forced laboring on the Christian day of rest. Herman Melville exposed the hypocrisy of the Christian patriarchs of the whaling industry in the person of the self-righteous Captain Bildad, co-owner of the *Pequod*, who in giving final instructions reminded Starbuck, the gentlemanly Christian first mate, of the relative position of profit and piety: "Don't whale it too much a' Lord's days, men; but don't miss a fair chance either, that's rejecting Heaven's good gifts."[89]

George Smith, who referred to the Sabbath as "a day of sacred rest," often felt melancholy on Sundays, missing religious services and Christian fellowship. Work, however, was done aboard the *Thames* on Sundays, as it was on all whaleships, especially the basic work involved in sailing the ship while at sea. On at least one Sunday Captain Bishop had the whaleboats lowered in an effort to kill whales that had been sighted. [90] Sabbath labor, particularly the whale hunt, was seen as a sacrilege by Christian whalemen and missionaries, both of which tried to get whaling captains to cease whaling on Sundays. *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* published an eight page article dealing with the issue of Sabbath whaling, tracing the Scriptural history of the commandment for Sabbath rest, and denouncing the abomination of Sabbath breaking through laboring. Ship owners and captains made a Bildadian argument that taking whales on the Sabbath, as "Heaven's good gifts," would shorten voyages by one-seventh, thereby speeding the return home to Christendom. *The Friend*'s reply, like Father Mapple in his sermon on Jonah and the Whale, epitomized the value that lay at the base of the

[89] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 105.
[90] Smith, "Smith's Book," February, 11, 1844, p. 36; January, 11, 1846, p. 142.

masculinity of the Christian whaleman and its variance from the masculinity of the self-made man, the secular libertine, and the materialist proletarian; obedience to God required disobedience to one's own desire. "It may be said," stated *The Friend*, that:

> "We shall get rich sooner by laboring on the Sabbath, because we save a seventh portion of time." That may be or may not be, as God pleases – but would it be *right*? The *robber*, the *swindler*, the *counterfeiter*, all think they shall get rich *sooner* by their practices than by honest labor, but is it *right*? In addition…it has never been proven that breaking God's law results in gaining wealth…But God has not commanded men to get rich, but he has commanded them to keep his commandments. Is it right to do any kind of work on the Sabbath? Is it *right* to take whales?[91]

The Friend's attack on Sabbath whaling appeared during the *Thames*'s stay in Honolulu, and it is likely that George Smith saw it among the religious newspapers and tracts that the seamen's mission made available either then or on two occasions later in the voyage when Smith visited the seamen's mission while the *Thames* was again in port at Honolulu. *The Friend* also attacked the use of alcohol by whalemen, seeing it as destructive of individual men's lives and souls, and often deadly not only to individuals but to entire ships that were wrecked as a result of drunken captains or crews.[92]

George Smith also condemned intemperance. He praised the captain of the whaling bark *Leander* for running a "Temperance Ship," and condemned the drunkenness of men aboard the *Thames* on three occasions, most notably two consecutive nights in Pernambuco, Brazil, when the job of getting men off shore liberty and back to the

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[91] "Is It Right To Take Whales On The Sabbath?, *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), vol. II, no. IV, April 4, 1844, pp. 37-44. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]

[92] Articles regarding drunkenness as the cause of shipwreck and death at sea appear in many editions of *The Friend*. Two exemplary articles appeared in one edition at the time that George Smith was in the Pacific in the *Thames* are: "Temperance. Loss of the English Whale Ship Neptune. Crew all Drunk, and all lost except one!" and "Intemperance and Temperance Among Seamen." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), vol. 3, no. xxiv, December 15, 1845, pp. 187-188. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]

Thames by nightfall appears to have been assigned to the sober Smith. He noted that he "had considerable trouble in getting off our men some beastly drunk," while Captain Bishop spent both nights ashore, perhaps on ship's business or a proper social call, but perhaps, given Smith's characterization, derelict in his duty and engaging in immoral conduct. Fortunately, from Smith's view, the ship would soon be leaving Brazil for Sag Harbor. [93] George had survived the "rocks and treach'rous shoals" of abusive authority, Sabbath breaking, alcohol abuse and bawdiness that permeated the whaleship, but there was one more "unknown breaker" that he would encounter.

> As a mother stills her child,
> Thou canst hush the ocean wild.
> Boist'rous waves obey Thy will
> When Thou say'st to them "be still!"[94]

Although it is likely that she wrote often, George Smith did not receive letters from his wife with any regularity. On one occasion, March 29, 1846, he received a letter carried by the Sag Harbor ship *France*, which had sailed on July 21, 1843,[95] only fourteen days after the *Thames* had commenced its voyage. It was from Caroline, dated July 19, 1843. She had sent it on the next outward bound ship, and it had taken nearly thirty-two months for the letter to reach him. What news might the young bride have sent so shortly after her newly wedded husband's departure?

As news and letters traveled slowly among the whaleships, widely scattered across the world's oceans, it was not unusual for a whaleman to receive no news, news

[93] Smith, "Smith's Book," August. 19, 1843, p. 6; July 4, 1845, p. 113; April. 18, 1846, p. 161; April. 19, 1846, p. 162; April. 22, 1846, p. 162.
[94] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.
[95] The whaleship *France*, under Captain Edwards, sailed from Sag Harbor on July 21, 1843, returning on May 23, 1846. While the dates of her voyages are nearly identical with those of the *Thames*, July 7, 1843 to June 2, 1846, the two ships did their whaling at opposite ends of the Pacific, the *Thames* off the Northwest Coast of North America, the *France* off of Australia. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 406-407.

late or out of sequence, or news that was inaccurate. On March 8, 1845, while the *Thames* was gamming with the Sag Harbor whaleship *John Wells*, Smith received the most important news of the entire voyage. George was a father. Caroline had given birth about seven months after the *Thames* had sailed.[96] With news so slow and so scarce, George could not help but be concerned for the health and well-being of Caroline and of his child. George knew that it would be at least another year before he could would see them, if all three survived.

A noticeable change took place in George Smith after he learned of his fatherhood. He made less mention of religion, and more of disagreements. He also began ending his daily journal entries with gloomy comments on the weather, and made frequent mention of the voyage's length and tediousness. Finally, on February 7, 1846, as the *Thames* prepared to sail from the Pacific towards Cape Horn and its return to the Atlantic, George's melancholy seemed to lift, replaced with tangible hope.

> Saturday February 7th [1846]
> It is 31 months to day since we left home…all are very impatient and desirous to see the end of this long and tedious voyage for my part now appears to go slow I long to see my wife child and… friends once more I think it will be a happy happy day if I am permitted to see it the Lord speed it….[97]

It would take the *Thames* nearly four more months to reach Sag Harbor.

> When at last I near the shore,
> And the fearful breakers roar
> Twixt me and the peaceful rest,
> Then, while leaning on Thy breast,
> May I hear Thee say to me;
> "Fear not, I will pilot thee."[98]

[96] Smith, "Smith's Book," March. 8, 1845, p. 95; March 29, 1846, p. 157.
[97] Smith, *Smith's Book*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 147.
[98] Hopper, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," in Lord, *Seth Parker's Hymnal*, pp. 94-95.

On May 31, 1846, George Smith made his final journal entry: "montauck light-house plain sight distant 10 miles." Two days later he was in Sag Harbor. His voyage in the *Thames* lasted nearly three years. During that time he made a journal entry every day but the last two, June 1 and 2, 1846. Most of his entries are quite short, recording weather, location, and ship's work, with the occasional comment on other activities, observations, and feelings. It may not seem engaging reading, but it is. It reveals the sense of masculinity of Christian gentlemanliness that piloted George's conduct; his performance as a man. Smith's journal, placed into the social, cultural and economic context of factors affecting conditions in Sag Harbor's Pacific sperm whale fishery of the 1840s, tells much about one Christian whaleman. Placed into the theoretical framework of gender construction, the journal provides historical insight into the concepts, values, conflicts and often negotiated performances of the diverse array of masculinities found in the small, isolated, male space of the whaleship. As such, it provides a microcosm for understanding the many ways that men thought of themselves and reasons why they acted as they did in mid-19th century America.

"Amen."

The Prophet Jonah ran away to sea, trying to hide from God so that he would not have to testify against wickedness in the city of Nineveh. Cast into the sea during the tempest, he spent three days in the belly of the whale, then after being vomited upon the shore he set out to do God's will.[99] George Smith did not try to escape from God during the three years he spent in the belly of the whaleship, a place controlled by authoritarian

[99] "The Book of the Prophet Jonah," *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version.

profit-motivated men in a labor that was "not only peculiarly fitted to attract the most reckless seamen of all nations, but in various ways…calculated to foster in them a spirit of the utmost license."[100] When the harbor pilot came aboard the *Thames* on June 2, 1846, and guided her towards the Long Wharf, George may have looked up and seen two aids to navigation. One, the Cedar Island Lighthouse, was built at the entrance to the port in 1839 for the purpose of guiding ships.[101] The second had been built during his absence, and represented guidance for the soul. It was a magnificent steeple, standing one-hundred and eighty-five feet high, atop the newly constructed First Presbyterian Church.[102] Yet, the sense one gets from his journal is that his eyes and mind would have been on the wharf, where his wife Caroline and daughter Anna, would likely be among those waiting to greet the ship. Providing for them as his Christian duty to his family would be the true measure of his manhood. *That* was why he had circumnavigated the world, why he would continue coopering, and why he would return to sea, not as a whaleman, but on shorter trips as captain of a coasting schooner.[103] He lived long enough to have heard Hopper's hymn. He died in 1887, and now lies beside his wife and daughter in Sag Harbor's Oakland Cemetery.[104] The Pilot had brought him home.

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[100] Herman Melville, *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Sea*. Vol. 2, *The Writings of Herman Melville, Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1999), p. xiii. [*Omoo* original publication, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847.]

[101] Harland Hamilton, *Lights & Legends: A Historical Guide to the Lighthouses of Long Island Sound, Fishers Island Sound and Block Island Sound*, ed. by Julius M. Wilensky (Stamford, Conn.: Wescott Cove Publishing Co., 1987), pp. 151-155.

[102] *First Presbyterian Church*, p. 3.

[103] U.S. Census Bureau, *Census; 1850*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 405(b); *Census; 1860*, New York, Suffolk County, Town of East Hampton, p. 489.

[104] "Oakland Cemetery, Sag Harbor, NY." unpublished typed record in Cemetery File, SCHS, RVHD, NY.

Chapter 5

PRAYERS FROM THE FISH'S BELLY:

SONGS AND POEMS AS THE MANLY PRAYERS OF WHALEMEN

"Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly."
- - - *Jonah* 2:1[1]

"Oh God! my heart is full of grief
Now hear my prayers and send relief"
- - - Henry A. Fordham, Sag Harbor Ship *Ontario*, 1850-1854[2]

Whalemen were like the crew that sailed from Joppa to Tarshish in the Biblical account of the prophet Jonah. Their ship was also a carrier of their civilization, sailing from what they may have thought of as the center of the world, for the far watery reaches. It was a diverse group of mariners that manned the ship that carried Jonah, and like whaleships of the 19th century, the ship bound from Joppa to Tarshish was afloat on the sea of profit motive, for as the Bible tells us, it carried "wares," and the fleeing Jonah only went aboard "when he paid the fare thereof." Then the storm arose, and the seamen sought to save themselves as they "cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it to them." That failing, they sought to save their lives through divine intervention, and "cried every man unto his god." Next, they turned to superstition, to

[1] *Jonah, The Book of the Prophet*, chapter 2, verse 1, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version.
[2] "My Sailor Boy," poem, "Mr. Henry A Fordham Ship Ontario of Sag Harbor...Journal," 1850-1854,. unpublished manuscript, Southampton Historical Museum Research Center [SHMRC], Southampton, New York [SHMP, NY], poem dated 1852, p. 95 of manuscript [p. 202 of Xeroxed copy].

fate, and "cast lots" to determine the cause of the storm. When the lot fell upon Jonah, they turned to his Hebrew god, seeking their own deliverance: "We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life." To save their own lives, they cast Jonah into the sea. The tempest ceased at once, and the seamen "feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the Lord, and made vows," while Jonah, the outcast, was swallowed up by the great fish that God had prepared, and suffered in the fish's belly.[3]

An analogy can be drawn between the three days in the whale spent by Christ's forerunner, the prophet Jonah, and the three year voyages spent by Christians who served in the most highly confined, secular, profane, and rigidly hierarchal industrial company towns of the mid-19th century: whaleships. Many Christians who served in these ships embraced the ideals of Evangelical Christian manhood that had arisen out of the Second Great Awakening's responses to the changes in society affected by the demands of industrial capitalism and bourgeois society. In the previous chapter, "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me," we saw how one man, George Smith, sought to maintain his faith and his Christian manhood while coopering in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Thames*, 1843-1846. In this chapter we will examine the experiences of several other whalemen who hailed from the Sag Harbor area or who labored in Sag Harbor ships, seeing their feelings and perceptions, and their songs and poems, as informed by and expressive of their conceptions of Christian manhood and its manly obligations. Christian whalemen, in addition to sufferings in the face of weather, and working under a highly disciplined and controlling system of exploitation, faced isolation from the larger Christian community. Their prolonged absence from home rendered them unable to perform the morally

[3] *Jonah*, chapters 1 and 2.

binding and divinely prescribed duties of a Christian husband and father. Their prolonged presence in what they perceived to be an ungodly environment denied them access to religious guidance and support, and thus endangered their spiritual fulfillment and adherence to Godly moral precepts. To be a Christian whaleman was to live each day's moments within the protracted conflict between service to God and service to industrial authority and its Mammon, profit. The songs and poems they wrote into their journals were often statements of their faith, and of their perceptions and performances of Christian masculinity; their prayers from the "fish's belly."

How and for what did these Christian whalemen pray? We cannot know a person's silent prayer, or the unrecorded prayer recited aloud by a person or group of persons. Prayer may be spoken aloud, or thought silently, in any place and situation, including the seemingly unlikely profane space of the whaleship. To gain insight into the prayers of Sag Harbor's whalemen we can turn first to the 1840 Philadelphia edition of *The Shorter Westminster Catechism*, a major instructive manual for mainstream Protestant Americans of the 1840s, particularly in places like Sag Harbor, with its large, influential, and centrally important First Presbyterian Church. Intended to instruct its readers in Christian precepts and practices, the *Catechism* gave a substantial amount of attention to one's communication with God, stating that: "Prayer is an offering up of our desires to God, for things agreeable to his will, in the name of Christ, with confession of our sins, and thankful acknowledgment of his mercies.[4]

[4] *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, The, Explained, by Way of Question and Answer. Part 1. What Man is to Believe Concerning God*. by Several Ministers of the Gospel. Fourth Philadelphia Edition: Carefully Compared with an Early and Correct Scotch Impression. (Philadelphia: William S. Young, Printer, 1840), p. 212. [First Edition by Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher, Glasgow, Scotland, 1753. *The Shorter Catechism* composed by the Assembly of Divines, and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, 1648.]

The *Catechism* further states that one does not pray to change God's will, as God has known our thoughts from eternity, but rather "we pray to him that we may obtain what we know, and believe he is willing to confer." Prayer, therefore, is a statement of faith in God, and of acceptance of his will, in hopes that God hears us according to His will ["Thy will be done."], and one should pray as a means towards retaining and growing in faith.[5]

While most of the surviving journals kept by mid-19th century Sag Harbor whalemen do not express much concern with religion and the spiritual, a significant number do. This Christian presence might be attributed a greater likelihood that educated "Victorian" whalemen would be practicing Christians, and more liable to keep journals than were less religious, less educated, or less status or advancement conscious shipmates. This interpretation has been expressed by Margaret S. Creighton in her work on the role of gender in maritime history.[6] To this we can add, as Thomas Augst has discussed, that young men of the time period kept journals and diaries as a means toward self improvement and self discipline.[7] Thus, a "Victorian" whaleman whose primary perception was that of an Evangelical Christian, rather than that of a secular bourgeois aspirant, would be more likely to write religious entries, including religious songs and poems, as moral reminders and moral correctives.

Whalemen who kept journals sometimes included prayerful thoughts in their daily entries. Taken within the overall and the immediate context of a journal, many of these entries give the historian a view of a religious reaction to a specific and immediate

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[5] *Westminster Catechism*, pp. 212, 228-230, 234-235.
[6] Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 123-126.
[7] Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 1-2, 7-9.

external condition, or to a state of mind. Song lyrics and poems written into journals add to this contextual understanding of whalemen's general religious outlook, their religious reaction to specific incidents, and their perceptions of masculinity and manhood. A whaleman, through composing a poem or song, or copying a poem or song lyric into his journal, indicates far more to us than that he was passing free time or engaging in an aesthetic pleasure. Far more than a church's formally composed and frequently memorized institutional prayers and hymns,[8] these whalemen's songs and poems express personal faith, praise, confession, repentance, contrition, petition, and thanksgiving.

Once again turning to the *Westminster Catechism* of 1840, we can see how prayer, poem, and song lyric could act as one for the Christian whaleman. In describing prayer, the *Catechism* advises the benefits of secret prayer, that is prayer when one is alone, or private prayer, which is prayer among a small group of like-minded Christians, and may be silent or spoken aloud. In both cases, particularly in secret prayer, the person praying is able to move beyond the sloth-inducing formality of recitation and public hypocrisy by using prayer as a means towards self examination. Within the pattern of petition, penitence, and thanksgiving, the individual who prays secretly, or silently, is able to adapt prayer to his own present circumstance, bringing the supplicant into a closer and more meaningful understanding of faith than had he offered a verbatim prayer aloud.[9] The religious poems and song lyrics that whalemen wrote into their journals express these same concerns, with the highly valuable addition of being personal, as they were copied or composed, often under difficult circumstances, through personal selection or

[8] *The Lord's Prayer*, *The Apostles' Creed*, the *Ave Maria*, the Prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, "Amazing Grace," "The Old Rugged Cross," and "Silent Night" are examples of these.
[9] *Westminster Catechism*, pp. 217, 221-222, 233-234.

creation, and commitment, each becoming an individual whaleman's prayer from the fish's belly.

We have already met George Smith, whose journal provides us with important insights and affords us much for analysis. Several other Sag Harbor whalemen present themselves in their writings as concerned and sincere Christians, and unlike George Smith, many of them include religious songs and poems in their journals. Exemplary among these men is Josiah Foster. When not circumnavigating the world whaling, he resided on Long Island's South Fork, in the vicinity of Sag Harbor. Josiah sailed as a hand in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Jefferson* for a voyage lasting from July, 1847 through May, 1850. His journal presents mostly short, matter-of-fact daily entries pertaining to the routine of the whaleship. Upon reading these daily entries one would not suspect Josiah's strong Christian sentiments. Even his entries regarding shipmates feared captured on a Pacific island, and for a shipmate killed when a whale stove a boat, do not contain a simple prayerful petition, such as "God, help them," or "God, rest his soul."[10] What one does find, however, is that in the rear section of his journal Josiah Foster wrote out a lengthy collection of song lyrics, poems in rhymed verse, and short essays, and that many of these expose and express his Christian faith and his manly Christian concerns. The titles of the poems and songs are themselves revealing: "By a Sailor's Daughter," "Evening Bells," "I Strike My Flag," "The Dead Mariner," "Where is My Brother Gone?," "The Return of the Ships," and "The Burial at Sea," as well as the short essays

[10] Josiah Foster, "Journal of Josiah Foster's Whaling Voyage in the Sag Harbor ship *Jefferson*," 1847-1850, unpublished manuscript, Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum [SHWHM], Sag Harbor, New York [SH, NY], May 1 through 7, 1849, pp. 104-106; September 9, 1849, p. 146. [This dissertation will include discussion of several whalemen having the surname Foster. Therefore each, following his initial presentation, will be referred to by his full name or by his first name, but not by his last name alone. Page listings for this journal are as counted by this writer.]

"Religion, What a Treasure Thou Art" and "Come to the Cross."[11] Several of these, written aboard a rolling ship at sea, go on for three or more hand-written pages, an indication of the importance Josiah Foster placed in them, and of his desire to make a permanent record of each. Josiah's sources for these have not, as of yet, been located. Some may be his own compositions, while others may have been copied from or heard recited or sung by shipmates, or during gams, or while ashore. Works in Josiah's collection may have been taken from newspapers or other printed sources. None, however, have been located in the two most likely sources, *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, published monthly at Honolulu by the evangelical American Seaman's Friend Society, with copies available at the time that the *Jefferson* was whaling in the Pacific and visited the Sandwich Islands, or the Sag Harbor *Corrector*, a weekly newspaper that often included poetry of a moral, particularly Christian, viewpoint,[12] and was likely taken to sea by men on Sag Harbor whaleships, with editions being passed ship to ship during gams or while visiting ports.

An analysis of Josiah Foster's collection reveals much about him as a particular Sag Harbor whaleman and Christian. He had a manly pride, neither conceit nor hubris, in his work as a seaman. He had strong feelings for loved ones at home, particularly as expressed towards female relations. He recognized that the social setting of his work as a whaleman could lead him into immorality. He recognized and was preoccupied with the

[11] Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, pp. 241-242, 264-275, 281-284.

[12] A careful reading of *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* and the Sag Harbor *Corrector* for the relevant time period has failed to find any of the poems or songs in the journals of Josiah Foster or of other Sag Harbor whalemen, the exception being some of the songs found in Lewis Jones's and Melvin P. Halsey's collections. Additional searches of many published works on maritime history, as well as the use of internet search engines, has also failed to locate reference to nearly all of the poems and songs. While further research may find some of these poems and songs in other publications, the failure to so thus far, particularly in the two most likely 1840s sources for whalemen sailing out of Sag Harbor, supports the likelihood that many were composed by the Sag Harbor whalemen themselves, and were not published.

threat of sudden death at sea, and hoped that it would also be a major concern *of* loved ones ashore *for* those at sea. His prayerful petitions show that he looked to God, not so much as a protector from death, as for salvation and for the resurrection of the dead that would reunite loved ones in the afterlife of Heaven, be they departed from earthly life by watery death or while waiting ashore for a beloved sailor's return.

The following selection is taken from a lengthy elegy, "The Sailor," found in Josiah Foster's journal, as introduced earlier in the dissertation. The poem, written from the "fish's belly" during Josiah's three year voyage in the *Jefferson*, clearly presents his manly pride as a seaman, his recognition of seamen's sinfulness, and his prayer for seamen's redemption.

> Of Ocean's Sons, the citizens of earth,
> Of every land the pride, our nation's boast,
> The gallant Tars who guard the sea-girt coast
> Oh Thou! Whose spirit can above inspire
> The soul of man with true poetic fire,
> ...Let holy angels from thine altar bring
> A living coal of thy celestial fire,
> And touch my faltering lips, while I
> ...sing in modest strains the Sailor's glowing praise.
> ...
> But oft, too oft, he scatters wide with pestilential breath,
> Of blasphemy and cursing too, the fire-brands of death,
> The Missionary's labors oft by him are rendered vain
> And his vile conduct tends alone to strengthen error's chain,
> ...
> The Book of God for ocean's sons shall now be freely given,
> And they – too long neglected Tars – shall learn the way to Heaven.[13]

"The Sailor" states both pride in the importance of sailors and shame at their sinfulness. The pride is far reaching. The sailor is not only the most honored of his own country, "our nation's boast," but also "of every land the pride." This pride in the sailor is highly masculine. "Tars," seamen that sail before the mast, are not merely attentive to

[13] "The Sailor," poem," Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, pp. 255-262.

their duty, but beyond dutiful. They are "gallant;" the guardians of the coast. They are not merely men that work on the sea, but an especially elevated part of personified creation; "Ocean's Sons." Although their labors may take them to the far reaches of the earth, they are not disowned homeless wanderers, but possess the highest title of virtuous 19th century democratic manliness. They are "the *citizens* of earth" [emphasis added].

As the virtues of "The Sailor" are manly, so it might be said are his sins. His are not the gentle sins of petty conceits, self-absorbed vanity, trivial jealousies, or idle gossip, but offenses against God so grievous that it would take God's very spirit to touch the sailor's soul and "faltering lips" with the "living coal" of "true poetic" and "celestial fire." The sailor's sins are not, allegorically, spoken softly into the ears of idle listeners, but sins that he "scatters wild with pestilential breath." The blasphemous sailor, strong and vile in his sinful error, embraces the "fire-brands of death." It is for the salvation of these "Ocean's Sons" that "The Sailor" petitions and gives thanks for the spreading of the Gospel to "neglected Tars" who "shall learn the way to Heaven."

Prayer, true prayer, is an expression of faith.[14] Even to ask to be shown the way to faith is expressing faith. Prayer expresses praise, thanksgiving, confession, contrition, and petition. Democratically, particularly in secret silence, it can express the freedom of ones own spiritual yearnings. Spoken aloud with others, it can express the communal fellowship of the prayerful. It is rare to find prayers or prayerful thoughts written into whalemen's journals, even among those whalemen that frequently mentioned Christian belief and practices. Such prayers are most often very brief petitions. Such a petition was

[14] True prayer, as opposed to a faithless recitation, requires faith, or the seeking of faith, and concentration upon the prayer as communication with God. Consider the words of King Claudius in *Hamlet*; "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below: Words without thoughts never to heaven go." William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 3, scene 3.

made, in verse, by James Peirson, master of the Sag Harbor whaleship *Arabella*. Peirson's journal entries for July 23, 1837 and May 22, 1838, include the following:

> Through rocks & sand and every Ill
> May god preserve the sailor Still.[15]

This couplet, a simple petition for God's protection, with an "Amen" added in its second appearance, is the only prayerful entry Peirson made in his *Arabella* journals.[16]

Jeremiah M. Hedges of East Hampton [a younger man, who should not be confused with Captain Jeremiah Hedges of the Sag Harbor whaleship *Thames*, 1843-1846, in which George Smith sailed] was like several other Long Island East End Yankee boys who grew up close to Sag Harbor. As had Lewis Jones, he left his father's farm[17] to go on a whaling voyage, crossing Long Island Sound to ship in the bark *Iris* of New London. Hedges' journal, which records only the first eight months of the *Iris*'s thirty month voyage,[18] shows him to be highly literate and well read, with an almost elegant penmanship. He was also chronically homesick, in poor health, and injury prone; and he was very religious. Unlike the "Ocean's Son" of Josiah Foster's poem, Jeremiah M Hedges was far from a manly seaman, although he did go about their manly labor. The

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[15] James Peirson [Pierson], "Journal kept in Ship Arabella Sag Harbor, 1837-1839," unpublished manuscript and microfilm, Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY.], Sunday, July 23, 1837; Tuesday, May 22, 1838.

[16] James Peirson [Pierson], Journal Arabella 1837-1837. James Peirson [Pierson], "Journal kept in Ship Arabella Sag Harbor, 1833-1835," unpublished manuscript and microfilm, SCHS, RVHD, NY.

[17] Jeremiah M Hedges, "Journal kept on Bark Iris of New London," 1841-1842, unpublished manuscript, Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY], Sunday, February 13, 1842, p. 17.

[18] Alexander Starbuck, *Report of Commission of Fish and Fisheries. History of the American Whalefishery* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1983; original publication 1877), pp. 378-379. [Starbuck gives the voyage dates of the *Iris* as November 8, 1841 through May 9, 1844. During 1841, New London, Connecticut sent out twenty-nine whaleships, placing it third among American ports, a close second to Nantucket, and far behind New Bedford. Sag Harbor ranked a close fourth to New London, with twenty-six. However, Sag Harbor sent out only one ship in November, and two in December, while Long Island's lesser whaling ports of Greenport and Cold Spring Harbor sent out no whalers during November or December, 1841. This may explain why Hedges crossed Long Island Sound to sail out of New London, as the *Iris* may have been the only whaler available at the time Hedges sought employment in a whaleship. See Starbuck, *American Whalefishery*, pp. 372-379 and 382-383.]

performance of his seamanship and values in the *Iris* was in sharp contrast to the unsaved hyper-masculine blaspheming tar of "The Sailor," prior to his redemption, and also in contrast to many of Hedges' shipmates. For Hedges, comradery was to be found in Christian fellowship, and in communion with his own Christian thoughts. On his second Sunday at sea, Hedges reported that while his watch was below in the forenoon "Julius Swift played on his flute Samuel D Webster & Henry Bartlet sang a hymn it appeared very proper to me to hear and hear this observance on the Sabbath."[19]

Hedges' wording indicates what he had heard sung during his first week in the *Iris*. He states that the hymn "appeared very proper to me to hear;" "proper" not only to be heard on the Sabbath, but also "proper to me to hear." This would be in contrast to the bawdy and even blasphemous songs that Hedges likely had been hearing, such as the songs of seduction, prostitution, and graphic sexual analogies found in several of Lewis Jones's songs, and in chanteys. While it is extremely rare for whalemen's journals to make mention of chanteys, these often bawdy call-and-response songs were used when ship's work required various forms of hauling or heaving.[20] The simultaneous performance of the sacred and the profane is presented by Melville in *Moby Dick*. As the *Pequod* weighed anchor, the Quaker piety of Captain Bildad, one of the *Pequod*'s

[19] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, November 14, 1841, p. 2. [Hedges includes a crew list on the front inside cover of his journal, listing Samuel D Webster and Henry E. Barlett. Their placement on the list indicates that they were ship's hands.]

[20] The best description and analysis of the use of chanteys on American whaleships during the period under discussion is found in: Stuart M. Frank, "Cheer'ly Man": Chanteying in *Omoo* and *Moby-Dick*," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 58, no. 1 (March, 1985), pp. 68-82. Two outstanding general collections of chanteys are: Stan Hugill, collector and editor, *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs Used as Work-Songs from the Great Days of Sail* (2nd edition, new U. S. edition, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 1994; original publication London, U.K.: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Inc., 1961); and Frederick Pease Harlow, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* (2nd edition (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2004; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, Inc., 1962).

principal owners, was placed in marked contrast to the profane workplace of the whaleship.

> Bildad, I say, might now be seen actively engaged in looking over the bows for the approaching anchor, and at intervals singing what seemed a dismal stave of psalmody, to cheer the hands at the windlass, who roared forth some sort of a chorus about the girls of Booble Alley, with a hearty good will. Nevertheless, not three days previous, Bildad had told them that no profane songs would be allowed on board the Pequod, particularly in getting under weigh; and Charity, his sister, had placed a small choice copy of Watts [a hymnal] in each seaman's berth.[21]

Stuart M. Frank, a leading authority on the historic uses of music in the British and American maritime trades, has pointed out the significance of the contrast between the two songs being sung in this passage from *Moby Dick*. Realizing that the account is fictional, it must also be recognized that what Melville describes is a very real contrast that existed in the whalefishery. Whaleship owners and captains, seamen's missions,[22] and captains' wives or other female relations frequently distributed religious literature, including hymnals, to whalemen, the hymnals being an encouragement to the singing of sacred songs, both as a means towards spiritual improvement, and as a means of fostering ship's discipline. Chanteys, on the other hand, were profane, both in the meaning of the word as secular, and in the meaning that many were bawdy, either suggestively or explicitly. Rather than originating from those in authority, such as Bildad's psalmody,

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[21] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*. Vol. 6. *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*. ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle. Evanston, Ill.: Northwester University Press and the Newberry Library, 1988; original publication New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), p. 103. [Isaac Watts, 1674-1748, English theologian and hymnist, composed approximately 600 hymns; *Merriam-Webster's Biographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1996.]

[22] For a detailed study of British, American-based and American organized seamen's mission activities, including among American whalemen of the 1840s, see; Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions, Their Origin and Early Growth: A Contribution to the History of the Church Maritime*, Number 14, Study Series, Egede Institute for Missionary Study and Research, Oslo, Norway (Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library, 1986), particularly Part VII – "A Sort of Simultaneous Movement": The New World and the Seamen's Cause, 1812-1864," chapter 21 – "Toward American Multi-Denominationalism, 1828-1864," pp. 46—536.

chanteys originated with the men who labored as subordinates; a conflict between the moralistic dictates of command and the earthiness of democratic expression.[23] As democratic speech, silent prayer and profane chanteying were each others antithesis.

To emphasize the contrast between the sacred and the profane, as in the case of the simultaneous singing of Bildad's psalm and the chanteying of men working the windlass, let us hear in the mind's ear the metallic clanking of the heave and pawl of the windlass, the rattling of the anchor chain, and the simultaneous juxtaposition of Bildad's solo voice, rendering its "dismal stave" in an effort "to cheer the hands at the windlass," with the soaring call of the chanteyman and the loud response of the men as they heaved at the bars and sang of the "girls of Booble alley," the whore house district of 19th century Liverpool.

Bildad's psalm:

> Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood,
> Stand dressed in living green.
> So to the Jews old Canaan stood,
> While Jordan rolled between.[24]

[Chanteyman's call; *crew's chorus response*]

> Ye may talk about yer Havre girls, an' Round-the-Corner Sallies,
> *Way, haul away, we'll haul away, Joe!*
> But they couldn't go to tea with the gals o' Booble Alley
> *Way, haul away, we'll haul away Joe.*
>
> Ah, talk about your Bootle girls, around the corner Sally
> [*Chorus*]
> …the Baltimore whores in purple drawers come waltzing down the Alley.
> [*Chorus*].[25]

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[23] Stuart M. Frank, "Cheer'ly Man": Chanteying in *Omoo* and *Moby-Dick*," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (March, 1985), pp. 75-76, 79, 80.
[24] Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 104.
[25] Frank, "Cheer'ly Man," pp. 77-78. [Frank cites Stan Hugill, *Sailortown* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), pp. 97-99, and Stuart Gillespie, "Haul Away for Rosie O," in Stuart M. Frank *et al*, *Sea Chanteys and Forecastle Songs at Mystic Seaport* (LP recording and liner notes, Folkways #FTS 37300,

In contrast to the profane singing of whalemen at work, Hedges made frequent mention of the type of Christian comradery to be found in hymn singing on the Sabbath among some of the men that sailed and labored in the *Iris*.

> Experienced much comfort from conversation with Julius H Swift [the flute player] on heavenly things.[26]
>
> Larboard Watch on Deck in the morning from 8 to 10 o clock; some of them engaged in singing hymns & playing on flute.[27]
>
> Oh may I meditations heavenly & divine thought and read the Holy Bible this day acceptably in the sight of God. Harry E Barlett & J H Swift sung hymns while S D Webster played on flute this fore noon while it was our watch below...O it is delightful to hear them unite in singing the praises of God.

Hedges concluded this third entry of the joy of sharing musical praise of God with other men by asking for protection, as well as for a more earthly concern praying "O wilt thou ever keep us in thy Fatherly care and protection and return us safe home to our parents and Friends. after a prosperous Voyage & to His Name be the praise.[28]

Hedges, on this occasion, petitioned the voyage's financial success, perhaps because of a desire for wealth, but also perhaps because of a desire to earn enough pay to avoid further voyages. He did, however, pray frequently for protection and for a safe return home, and not only on Sundays. Consider the petition Hedges wrote into his

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New York, 1978). For additional information on 19th century chanteys, including words to many that are somewhat bawdy, see Stan Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*.

[26] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, November 21, 1841, p. 3.

[27] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, December 5, 1841, p. 6.

[28] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, December 26, 1841, p. 10. [It is unfortunate for the historian that Hedges does not mention what hymns were sung on this and other occasions, as the selection of hymns would add to an understanding of the concerns and Christian approach of the men involved. It was common for religious societies, or individuals, to make hymnals available to whaleman. In *Moby Dick*, Melville's character Charity, the kind-hearted sister of Captain Bildad, places a copy of hymns composed by Watts onto the bunk of each man aboard the *Pequod*. This is likely the best known fictional representation of a widely practiced type of evangelical moral guardianship directed towards whalemen. Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 103.]

journal for a Tuesday, imploring God to protect both his life and his soul. Starting by relating that he had given much thought to his home and his friends, he prayed: " O may I be ennabled to put my trust in God. Thanks be to His Name for all his mercies unto me. Jesus thou great master of assemblies be pleased to hear & bless Us. Wilt thou Intercede with the Father for us. All praise and Glory be given to Father, Son & Holy Ghost.[29]

In some respects Hedges was like George Smith, the Christian who shipped as cooper in the *Thames*, 1843-1846. Both made frequent petitions for God's protection, for those at home, and for steadfastness in Christian faith and action. They also engaged in Christian reading, a reading that was substantial both in quantity and quality. Hedges, a Bible reader, made one journal entry that he had "Read and Meditated on the scriptures and on a tract entitled Churchmans Profession."[30] He also stated that one month into the voyage he had completed reading John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, adding a prayer of petition upon its completion that he would live so as not to lose Paradise himself. He petitioned God for abiding faith and a life based upon his faith, praying "O may I be ennabled to live as I shall wish I had done when I come to die. Jesus thou lovely Chief of all our joys wilt thou Intercede with the Father for Us, Unto thy Name be all the Glory." He closed his entry for the day by adding that "towards Night sung hymns as usual."[31]

Yet, despite his praying and hymn singing, his reading of religious tracts, Milton, and the Bible, and his Sabbath longings for the fellowship of church worship, Hedges was not satisfied with his own performance as a Christian. On December 31, 1841, he took stock of himself, and of his shortcomings, stating his desire "to spend the next year

[29] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Tuesday, December 14, 1841, p. 8.
[30] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, January 2, 1842, p. 11.
[31] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Sunday, December 12, 1841, p. 7.

if I am permitted to live more to the Glory of God. I have on review of the past year come greatly short of my [Christian] duty.[32]

Hedges also presented himself as above or outside the spiritual corruption of those aboard the *Iris* whose performance lacked Christian moral restraint. Two months into the voyage, and writing with a degree of both Pharisaic moral superiority and publican self-doubt,[33] Hedges addressed a plea to Christ, imploring "Lord Jesus O wilt thou preserve me from the evil example of some of my Shipmates. especially in profanity. I am not worthy to take thy name upon my sin polluted lips, much less to expect a place at thy right hand."[34]

Hedges' prayer clearly indicates his own backsliding, or fear of backsliding, into the common use of profanity "from sin polluted lips" found among "some shipmates" in his workplace. Unlike those with whom he discussed religion and sang hymns, he does not identify these profaners by name. They are not good Christian men, but the anonymous men of the sea, like the seamen of the ship bound for Tarshish, or the "Ocean's Sons...of pestilential breath, with blasphemy and cursing, too;" but Hedges did not pray for them!

The view of his "evil" shipmates, together with the openly performed attempt at a shipboard life of Christian piety, exhibits the great disparity between Hedges' own view of the proper and dutiful way for a man to act and the actions of the shipmates he condemned. Hedges' criticism of others, and his openly practiced Christianity, must have been annoying to many aboard, as implied in his statement that despite his many troubles

[32] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Friday, December 31, 1841, p. 11.
[33] St. Matthew, "The Gospel According to St. Matthew, chapter 18, verses 9-14, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version. [The parable of the Pharisee and the publican].
[34] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Thursday, January 6, 1842, p. 12.

only "some of them appear to feel for me."[35] Clearly many did not "feel" for him. It was likely a ship's boy or very young hand named Eugene who, like the young Jeremiah M. Hedges, was openly Christian, critical of shipmates, and lacking in the skills and hardiness of a whaleman, who greatly annoyed Peter H. Howell, a Southampton man who went whaling during the 1840s in the Sag Harbor bark *Nimrod* and the New London ship *Atlantic*. His *Atlantic* journal contains three of the extremely few profane or vulgar comments found in Sag Harbor whalemen's journals, referring to a shipmate as "Eugene Hogturd," "Eugene Holy Ass hole" and "La babe Shit tad."[36] It was, of course, a cycle of conflicting sets of manhood and manners, as this sort of insulting rhetoric would lead, if used aloud towards a Christian shipmate, to indignant condemnation of the profaner, and the profaner's increased annoyance with the Christian's apparent self-righteousness.

Hedges might have had more support among his shipmates if his Christian shipmates and he had been good whaleman, but they were not. They were also a sickly lot, his journal reading like a Christian binnacle list,[37] as seen in the following entries:

> Larboard Watch on Deck...this morning I was very Sick during this Watch with relax [diarrhea] & vomiting.
>
> Samuel D. Webster [played flute to accompany hymn signing] got badly cut by an Iron in the Palm of Left Hand.
>
> Julius H Swift [hymn singer] has been quite unwell for 2 or 3 days.
>
> Harry E Bartlett [hymn singer] quite Unwell.

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[35] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Wednesday, February 2, 1842, p. 16.
[36] Peter H. Howell, "Journals of Voyages in the Sag Harbor bark *Nimrod*, 1841-1842, and the New London ship *Atlantic*, 1842-1843," unpublished manuscript, SHMRC, S, NY, Thursday, May 10, 1842; Friday, May 16, 1842; Saturday, June 10, 1842. [The volume contains both voyages, the *Atlantic* journal following that in the *Nimrod*.]
[37] "Binnacle List": The binnacle is the non-metallic housing for the ship's compass. Names of those injured or too sick to stand duty would be displayed on the binnacle. Gershom Bradford, *The Mariner's Dictionary* (New York: Weathervane Books; original publication Barre Publications, 1952.

> ...three men on sick list [these three appear to be Webster, Swift, and Bartlett]
>
> Felt very Sick aloft vomiting pain in Bowels head ache & diziness. [underlined in manuscript]
>
> God grant that I may be ennabled to keep my mind composed the remainder of the Voyage. My Shipmates at least some of them appear to feel for me.
>
> ...four men on sick list, including Harry E Bartlett.
>
> This morning I suffered from Hernia. Applied a Truss.[38]

It may be that Hedges concentrated on listing his fellow Christians, and that his list of sick and injured men is incomplete. Still, it is significant that ten of the thirteen illnesses or injuries recorded are among the four men identified as Christians, including Hedges himself four of those times, out of a ship's company of twenty-six men. Harry Barlett, who was mentioned twice as a hymn singer, and twice as ill, deserted the *Iris* while at anchor in the Swan River, near the present day site of Perth, Australia.[39] [40]

Hedges' *Iris* journal ends abruptly on July 12, 1842, near Australia, with no outstanding or unusual incidents recorded for that day.[41] It is followed by several blank pages, so he had not run out of space to write. One can only conjecture regarding what happened to him. He may have deserted, been sent home, stopped writing, died of disease, or been killed in a storm, by a whale, by his own carelessness, or given his often

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[38] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Tuesday, November 16, 1841, p. 3; Wednesday, November 24, 1841, p. 4; Friday, November 26, 1841, p. 4; Sunday, November 28, 1841, p. 5; Monday, November 29, 1841, p. 5; Tuesday, January 27, 1842, p. 15; Wednesday, February 2, 1842, p. 16; Friday, March 18, 1842, p. 20; Tuesday, April 26, 1842, p. 24.
[39] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," "List of Names of the Crew of the Barque Iris of New London. Capt Robert L Douglas, Master." p. i.
[40] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," "List of Names of the Crew of the Barque Iris of New London. Capt Robert L Douglas, Master," p. i.; Monday, May 2, 1842, p. 25; Tuesday, May 24, 1842, pp. 25, 27.
[41] Hedges, "Journal *Iris*," Tuesday, July 12, 1842, p. 30.

expressed feelings of homesickness and unworthiness, by his own hand. Each, set into the dangers of whaling, is feasible.

The experience of Jeremiah M. Hedges, a Christian living among profane men in the whalefishery, provides an excellent reference point for the analysis of several of the prayerful songs and poems found in the journals and papers of other Sag Harbor whalemen of the 1840s. Such interpretation is made clear and more meaningful by considering how these prayers were gendered and presented masculine Christian ideals.

One of the concerns that arises in the prayerful poems and songs of Sag Harbor's whalemen was the issue of the pursuit of wealth versus faith. The mid-19th century conception of Christian manhood required that a man be a good provider for the material wants of his family, but it also condemned the unfettered pursuit of wealth, which was seen as an obstacle to faith and to Christian charity. As related in the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, Jesus, when questioned by a rich young man as to what to do to be saved, responded that he needed to give up his desire for worldly wealth, give to the poor, and take up a new Heavenly-centered life as one of His disciples. When the young man chose not to do so, Jesus remarked: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God."[42]

The theme of hoarding of wealth as the obstacle against Christian charity and salvation is repeated in Jesus' parable of Lazarus, the beggar, and the Rich Man, known as Dives in the Catholic Vulgate edition of the Bible and in folklore. In this parable, appearing in the *Gospel of St. Luke*, Jesus told of the rich man who feasted in luxury while scorning the beggar, who died as his gate. After death, the beggar was rewarded in

[42] *St. Matthew*, chapter 19, verses 16-24.

the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man was damned to torment in Hell, crying to God too late to receive the mercy that he denied to others while on earth.[43]

For a Christian engaged in whaling, an industrial business that required great risk and bloodshed, primarily for the profit of others, and in which Sundays were measured in barrels of oil, the whaleship offered little time or place for thoughts of pitying and uplifting the less fortunate. In the vernacular religion of a Christian whaleman who was forced to whale on the Sabbath, the parable of Dives and Lazarus could provide both encouragement to endure suffering, and a reminder that those who inflicted suffering upon underlings would eventually suffer torment as a result of their own material greed. Such vernacular faith is expressed in the journal kept by Philetus Foster during his 1844-1845 voyage in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Phenix*. The song "Come All Ye Poor Sinners" stresses the class difference between the rich man and Lazarus, and the rich man's lack of compassion, but it does not present a proletarian concept of class warfare. Instead, it presents a religious conception of manhood in which the long-suffering and faithful will be rewarded, while the ostentatious misers in authority will be damned. Manhood, in this conception, does not lie in the power generated by wealth, but in the strength that stems from repentance, and salvation through faith preferred to the damning pursuit of wealth.

Come all ye poor sinners and stay not behind
  Ye poor and ye needy ye hurt and ye blind
[illegible] the gospel before tis too late
  Or [illegible] burning eternal must be your hard fate.

The rich man we read did the beggar despise
  But in hell in sad torment he lifted up his eyes
He saw the good Abraham in mansions above
  On his bosom the beggar lay clasped in love

[43] St. Luke, "The Gospel According to St. Luke," chapter 16, verses 19-31, *The Holy Bible,* Authorized King James version.

He cries father Abraham pray send me relief
For I am in torment in pain and in grief
Good Abraham replies son remember of late
You sumptuously faned[?] and boasted your State

At your gate the poor beggar lay sick and distrest
You refused him of food and de[illegible] of rest
The dogs had compassion and licked his sores
While on the poor beggar you barred your doors

A deep and broad gulph is now placed between
Which cannot be passed although you [illegible] seen
In justice you so doomed in that place to remain.
While the beggar re[illegible] to linger in pain.

Come all ye poor sinners take warning by this
For death will soon place you in torment or bliss
Prepare to meet Jesus in meekness and love
That when he appears he'll receive you above.[44]

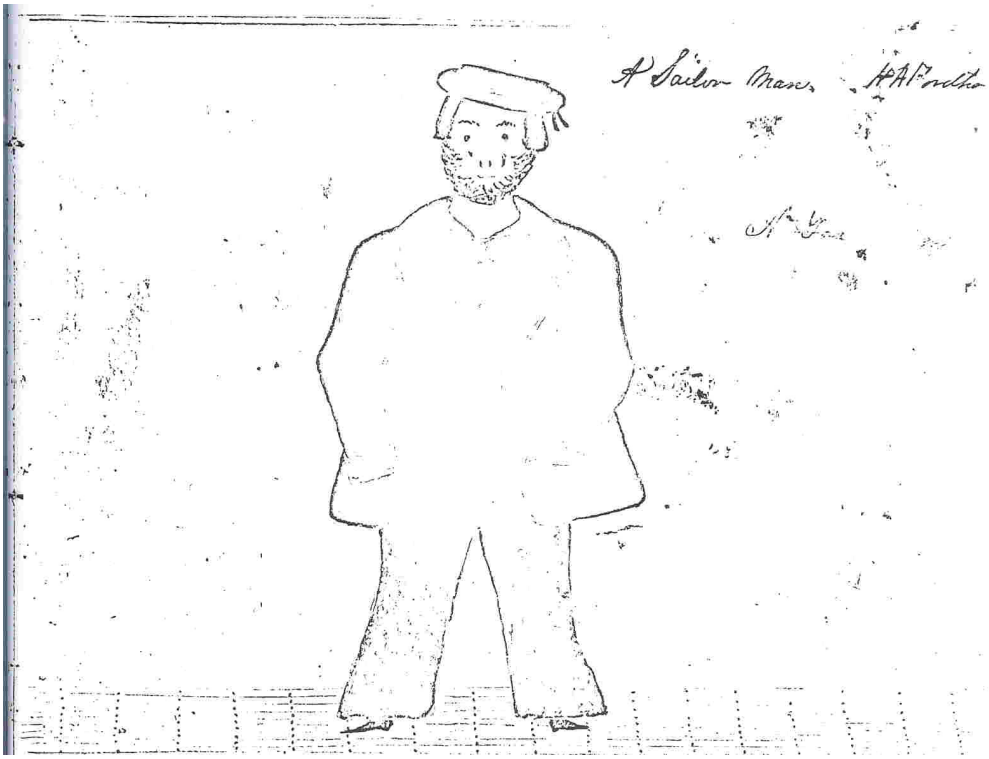
Unlike the Heavenly bosom of Abraham, the whaleship was Hell. For all whalemen it was a hell in which they sought to survive physically, enduring much hardship. The Christian whaleman faced a double task. He sought to survive both the physical hell and the spiritual Hell, with each task made all the more difficult by his service under the command of captain "Dives." Herman Melville, though far from being a devout Christian whaleman, captured in *Moby Dick* the hypocrisy between the Christianity often invoked by those in authority in the whaling industry, and those who labored under them:

> Poor Lazarus there, chattering his teeth against the curbstone for his pillow, and shaking off his tatters with his shiverings, he might plug up both ears with rags, and put a corn-cob into his mouth, and yet that would not keep out the tempestuous Euroclydon. Euroclydon! says old Dives, in his red silken wrapper (he had a redder one afterwards) – pooh, pooh! What a fine frosty night; how Orion glitters; what northern lights!... But what thinks Lazarus? Can he warm his blue hands by

[44] "Come All Ye Poor Sinners," gospel song, Philetus Foster, "Journal kept in Sag Harbor whaleship *Phenix*," 1844-1845, unpublished manuscript, LIC, EHL, EH, NY, pp. 43-44.

> holding them up to the grand northern lights?...Would he not far rather…go down to the fiery pit itself, in order to keep out this frost?
>
> Now, that Lazarus should lie stranded there on the curbstone before the door of Dives, this is more wonderful than that an iceberg should be moored to one of the Moluccas. *Yet Dives himself, he too lives like a Czar in an ice palace made of frozen sighs, and being a president of a temperance society, he only drinks the tepid tears of orphans*.[45] [emphasis added]

Whaling hands also recognized that the fate of women and children ashore, like whalemen at sea, was subject to "Dives" greed. Henry A. Fordham, from Southampton, shipped as cabin boy in September, 1850, in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Ontario*.



"A Sailor Man" by Henry A. Fordham[46]

[45] Melville, *Moby Dick*, pp. 10-11. [Euroclydon is a tempestuous northeast wind of the Mediterranean Sea,. A Biblical reference to "a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon" is made in the 27th chapter of *The Acts of the Apostles*, leading to one of the shipwrecks faced by the St. Paul the Apostle. William Rose Benet, *The Reader's Encyclopedia* (2nd edition, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), p. 327. *The Acts of the Apostles*, chapter 27, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version.

[46] "A Sailor Man," Fordham, Journal *Ontario*, rear of journal, following daily entries.

Fordham's journal for his 29 month round-the-world voyage reveals him to be a contemplative and literary young man, given to romanticism, a fair sketch artist, and a serious Christian, prone to insightful and sometimes cynical criticisms regarding the conditions placed upon those who labored in the *Ontario*. He grew increasingly upset with his captain, particularly after being sent forward where, as a hand doing whaleman's labor, standing watches, and berthed and fed in the forecastle, he became more aware of the captain's mistreatment of the men. His journal includes "The Watcher…A Song," which tells of a female Lazarus and her child, victims of the uncaring wealthy.

The night was dark and fearful
The bitter blast went by
A watcher pale and tearful
Looked forth with anxious eye
So Willfully she gazes
No beam of morn was there
Her eyes to heaven she raises
In agony and prayer…

In yonder cottage lonely
Where want and misery reign
A precious child her only
Lay moaning in his pain
But death alone can free him
She knows that this must be
But oh for morn to see him
Smile once again on thee

An hundred lights are glancing
In yonder mansion fair
And merry feet are dancing
They heed not mourning there
Oh young and joyous creatures
One lamp from out your store
Would give that poor boy features
To his mothers gaze once more

The morning sun is shining
She heedeth not its ray
Beside her dead reclining
That pale dead mother lay
A smile her lips wore wreathing
A smile of hope and love
As though she still were breathing
There's light for us above[47]

Thus, in the ideals of Christian manhood expressed by whalemen Philetus Foster and Henry A. Fordham, abuse of the poor by the wealthy should not result in revolutionary action, but in patient suffering in anticipation of a Heavenly reward. This sentiment required preparation for death, not the seizure of the temporal and material.

The avoidance of hypocrisy was also a concern of Christian whalemen. Jeremiah M. Hedges was critical of his shipmates' profanities, but even more critical of himself, frequently questioning the strength of his own faith, and frequently acknowledging his own sinfulness. George Smith stressed the importance of his own behavior in front of his shipmates, praying that he and his Christian shipmate would "show to those around us by our walk that we have been with Jesus and learnt of him."[48] To profess faith and live sinfully would be contemptible, Christ having condemned hypocrisy when he said: "...whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted...woe unto you...hypocrites![49]

Alfred W. Foster was another Sag Harbor whaleman who hailed from Long Island's South Fork, shipping in the Sag Harbor ship *Columbia* for a whaling voyage that began on July 9, 1845. Alfred never presented himself in a self-righteous manner, his

[47] Henry A. Fordham, "The Watcher.. A Song...," Fordham, Journal *Ontario*, dated 1852, in rear of journal, following daily entries, p. 95 of manuscript [p. 202 on xerox copy]. [This may be Fordham's own poem, as he signed and dated it. Research will continue to look for earlier evidence of the poem.]
[48] George Smith, "Smith's Book," Tuesday, July 18, 1843, p. 2.
[49] Matthew, chapter 23, verses 12-15.

journal showing him to be a thoughtful Christian. However, on one occasion he exposed the hypocrisy of his captain, Samuel B. Pierson.[50] The incident occurred on Monday, December 22, and Tuesday, December 23, 1845, and involved the death of one of the *Columbia*'s hands. Alfred wrote that on Tuesday:

> ...at half past eight in the morning the Captin call all hands aft on the quarter deck and said we will go through what is customary it to the loss of our Ship Mate Stephen L Cook he then opened his prayer book and read as following I am the resurrection and the life saith the lord; he that beleaveth in me, though he were dead; yet shall he live and whosoever believeth in me; shall never die St. John xi. 25 26

This was followed by the reading of several more Bible passages, each with respect to physical death and the hope for eternal life.[51]

But how could this be hypocrisy on the captain's part? He was, after all, conducting a religious service following the death of one of his crewmen, invoking the fundamental Christian belief in the resurrection, and in life eternal. The hypocrisy lay not in the captain conducting the religious service, but in the captain conducting the service in view of the incident that had brought Stephen L. Cook to his death. Alfred states that the men had been sent aloft:

> ...as usual to reef sail and as the men was laying out on the starboard yard arm the sail lated[?] and knocked one man of the yeard overboard the man on the out end of the yard as soon as he see fall he cry out man over board Mr Smith[52] through over the life bouy. It was about half past one in the morning when I was aroused from my slumber by the

[50] Alfred W. Foster. "Alfred W. Foster's Day Book East Hampton," unpublished manuscript, LIC, EHL, EH, NY, Wednesday, July 9, 1845, p. 3. ["Alfred W. Foster's Day Book" includes journal for voyages in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Columbia*, 1845-1846, pages 1-92, and the Greenport whaleship *Roanoke*, 1857-1858, pages 93-185, with songs, poems and essays following the voyage entries. Journal page numbers are as determined by this author. Foster refers to the captain as Samuel B. Persons. The *Columbia*'s captain was S. B. Pierson; see Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, p. 432.]
[51] Alfred Foster, "Foster's Day Book," *Columbia*, Tuesday, December 23, 1845, p. 41-44.
[52] Alfred Foster, "Foster's Day Book," *Columbia*, Wednesday, July 9, 1845, p. 3. [Foster identifies Francis Smith as second mate.]

> officer of the deck crying out with a voice as if some what frighted hard down your helm hard won, hard down. All hands ahoy a man overboard the deck was soon accompanied by all hands our Captain asked who it was they told him and as the wind was blowing a gail from the N.W a very heavy sea and very dark and stormy he we must not lower a boat fore it was not safe to lower for feer they would swamp and lose seven lives a trying to save one. But the crew said that they moust do something I know it said our Captan. I feel as bad as you my Dear fellows to loose him but we lowered a boat as quick as posable. As the boat was hoisted to the heads we was some time lowering her to the water after the boat left the ship with seven good expbreranced men. as the ship could affoard we got lantins and lighted them and hoisted them in the rigging after the boat had ben gone a while it being dark we lost sight of her the Capton frequently asking do you see that boat but the answer was know sir – he then walking the quarter dec fore and aft crying, like a child, and said why did I let that boat leave the Ship, because I was anchious to get the man, [which he was not, as he opposed lowering a boat] oh dear, said he the boat is upset and there are all lost.[53]

Captain Pierson's fears were for naught. The boat returned safely to the *Columbia*, but despite the heroic efforts of the first mate, Jonathan Strutton, and his boat's crew, *in the face of the captain's objections*, the man overboard was lost. Alfred Foster returned to his bunk, but was unable to fall asleep "for thinking of the loss of my unforehant Ship Mate Stephen L Cook son of harry Cook Bridge Hampton who was dearly beloved by all his Ship mats on board of the Barque Columbia of Sag Harbour." The following morning, Captain Pierson, whose delay may have cost Stephen Cook his life, went through the "customary" Bible reading, while sleepless Alfred Foster ended his daily journal entry with "Amen."[54]

Alfred was also a reader of *The Friend*, the Christian newspaper published at Honolulu by the American Seamen's Friend Society, signing his copies and taking them

[53] Alfred Foster, "Foster's Day Book," *Columbia*, December 22, 1845, pp. 40-41.
[54] Alfred Foster, "Foster's Day Book," *Columbia*, December 22 and 23, 1845, p. 41-44.

home to Long Island with him. In one of his issues there is a poem, "What is Religion," which expresses ideals similar to those found in Philetus Foster's "Come All Ye Poor Sinners," rejecting ostentation, and embracing living according to the Golden Rule:

> Its precept is – to others do
> As you would have them do to you.

The lesson: One cannot profess to love all mankind, and treat the poor with scorn, nor speak ill of others. "What is Religion." rejects the idea that true religion is going to church, if it is only "To look devout and seem to pray," and continues

> Does not a phiz that scowles at sin
> Oft veils hypocrisy within?"[55]

To pray for one you have consciously abandoned, as Captain Peirson did over the body of Stephen Cook before consigning him to the deep in the same ocean in which he had been willing to let Stephen Cook drown, is this type of transparent hypocrisy.

Christian whalemen often expressed a prayerful petition for obtaining, or for maintaining and strengthening their faith. This can be seen in Henry A. Fordham's "Far Far at Sea... A Song," likely his own composition, signed "H.A. Fordham at Sea February 1st 1851," This lyrical petition for peace, hope and faith depicts the whaleman as a romantic, laboring in nature and against loneliness and iniquity.

> Star of Peace to wanderers dreary
> Bright the beams that smile on thee
> Cheer the Pilots vision dreary
> Far Far at Sea
> Cheer the Pilots vision dreary
> Far Far at Sea

[55] "What is Religion." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), vol. 3, no. xxiv (December 15, 1845), p. 187. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD, NY.] ["phiz," is defined as "the face, visage, countenance," in: Noah Webster, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (facsimile of the first 1806 edition; New York: Bounty Books, Crown Publishing, Inc., 1970; original publication 1806), p. 224.]

Star of Hope Gleam on the billow
Bless the soul that sighs for thee
Bless the sailors lonely pillow
Far Far at Sea
Bless the Sailors lonely pillow
Far Far at Sea

The sentimental tranquility of peace and hope expressed in Fordham's first two verses is transformed in the third and fourth verses into a desperate plea for Faith to rescue an overpowered victim, too weak to resist, and for God to accept the sinful sailor back into his fold.

Star of Faith when winds are mocking
All his toil he flies to thee
Save him on the billows rocking
Far Far at Sea
Save him on the billows rocking
Far Far at Sea

Star Divine oh! safely guide him
Bring the wanderer back to thee
Sore temptations long have tried him
Far Far at Sea
Sore temptations long have tried him
Far Far at Sea[56]

Fordham's "Song" presents an imagined or generic natural geography as the setting of the seaman's labor and his Christian faith. He is "at sea," literally and figuratively. We know not where, but it is far from home, and from God, and in the presence of temptation.

"Farewell to the Northwest Coast," a hymn published in the January, 1848 edition of *The Friend*, presents a specific natural environment, a specific event, and a specific Christian conversion experience. The hymn is preserved in copies of *The Friend* which belonged to Doyle Sweeney of Water Mill, Southampton Town, New York, located a few

[56] "Far, Far at Sea," poem, Fordham, *Ontario*, p. 99 [p. 211 in xeroxed copy].

miles southwest of Sag Harbor. Sweeney served as captain of the Sag Harbor whaling bark *Columbia*[57] for a voyage lasting from October 12, 1848 through May 17, 1851,[58] He obtained several bound volumes of *The Friend* while in Honolulu, kept them throughout his voyage, and preserved them long after his return to Long Island.

The author of "Farewell to the Northwest Coast" is identified as "Ship Isaac Hicks. W….."[59] Almost certainly he was William Grey, an Englishman who labored in the New London whaleship *Isaac Hicks*. He had undergone a Christian conversion at sea and contributed four hymns and poems to *The Friend* during his time in the Pacific.[60]

"Farewell to the Northwest Coast," read by Sag Harbor's Captain Sweeney and undoubtedly by a great many whalemen from many ports, presents the sea as a site from which one may gaze upon unspoiled and uncorrupted beauty, while at the same time facing life-threatening danger. Together, these forces brought the sinful but powerless whaleman to God. In departing from the whaling grounds off the coast that lay from southeastern Alaska to Oregon, the hymn's whaleman author speaks to Nature, saying "Farewell...far from thy beauties forever I go." And what beauties they were!; beauties so great that he was reluctant to leave sight of them as his ship departed for the tropics:

> No more shall my vision at sunrise behold
> Thy snow-capt hills glisten like mountains of gold –
> No more see yon moon o'er thy glaciers arise,
> While thousands of stars spangle o'er the bright skies.

More importantly for the Christian whaleman hymnist, the beauty of the Northwest Coast manifested the purity of God's creation:

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[57] *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, January 1, 1848, vol. 6, no. 1. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SHMP, NY.]
[58] Starbuck, *American Whalefishery*, pp. 458-459.
[59] *The Friend*, January 1, 1848, p. 1.
[60] *The Friend*, January 1, 1848, p. 1; February 1, 1848, vol. 6, no. 2, p. 9.

May those who henceforth shall your beauties survey
Remember and feel thou art purer than they,
For man's sinful foot on thy breast hath ne'er trod,
Nor sinful acts ne'er hath polluted thy sod....[61]

"W…" had not always seen it that way. He may have seen the beauty of the landscape, but he had not seen it as beautiful because it had not been "polluted" by "man's sinful foot." He had been a non-believer, and it was only when the *Isaac Hicks* faced destruction, and he realized that a whaleman's masculine skill was useless against the storm, that he saw the power of God and his own weakness against it.

"Twas here, while the storm rush'd fierce through the skies,
Jehovah first opened my slumbering eyes;
Even while its fierce power human aid could not check,
But bulwarks and boats were reduced to a wreck,
Still to snatch a lost sheep from a watery grave
His omnipotent arm was stretch'd forth o'er the wave.[62]

Thus, a man who had acted in a sense of detached material self-interest, be he a secular libertine who rejected the encumbrances of wealth, or one bent upon re-making himself in the image of property-based bourgeois success, was brought to a different consciousness; a consciousness of the frailty of man, and the need for reliance on the power of God. The physical landscape that had brought human pleasure was changed by forces beyond the author's control, beyond the capacity of seamen to save themselves, into a setting for the saving power of God, as beauty was transformed from the temporal to the "Divine."

Christian and sentimental manhood among whalemen was also expressed in the feeling that their well-being, both physical and spiritual, relied on the prayers of loved ones at home. Chief among those invoked for giving this prayerful protection were

[61] W----------, Ship *Isaac Hicks*, "Farewell to the Northwest Coast," *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, January 1, 1848, p. 1. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, S, NY.]
[62] *The Friend*, January 1, 1848, p. 1.

sisters, who combined familial love with a love that was not conditional upon the whims or distractions of extra-familial romance. Although mothers, wives and sweethearts do appear in some of these sentimentally Christian poems and songs, it is the expression of sisterly love and attachment, whether real or imagined, that is most often found in the journals of Sag Harbor whalemen of the 1840s. In these verses the faithful sister, seeking the protection of "brother sailor," is pensive, nostalgic for the shared experiences of innocent childhood, and often melancholy in feelings of lonely separation. She often despairs of seeing her brother alive at home again, but reaches beyond despair to faith, petitioning God to protect him, and more importantly to protect his soul from temptation so that he and she can be united forever in Heaven. The expression of the sister is that of an incomplete person, and its appeal to romantic men at sea, particularly those youths yearning for a return to the supposed orderliness and caring of a Christian home and family, may have appealed to a prolonged sense of personal incompleteness during long separation at sea, away from Church and family.

Another poem found in Josiah Foster's journal, "Where is My Brother gone," expresses the whaleman's loneliness, together with Christian prayer, through the surrogate of sisterly loneliness and faith. The poem presents a sister whose brother has left "his early peaceful home" and roams on the "deceitful" deep, where "the storms and tempests weep." She asks the winds, the midnight tempest and the ocean how brother fares, and in each case the answer indicates the mounting dangers he faces at sea.[63] Storms present ill omens to the sailor's sister and their widowed mother in both their waking and their sleeping hours, as they wait for the absent seafarer.

[63] "Where is My Brother gone," Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, dated March 29, 1850, in rear of journal following daily entries, p. 267.

And yet, thou com'st not. In this season so drear.
Our anxious hearts are filled with painful fear,
When the rude winds around our casement sweep,
At thoughts of "sailor brother" on the deep;
And if by chance our weary eyelids close,
'Tis but a transient and disturbed repose;
We see thy gallant vessel amongst the waves,
Then, plunging, sink thee to a watery grave;
And as the billows o'er thy bark do break,
A shriek of horror burst, we startle – we awake –
And find it all a dream.
It is truly thus?
Is it all a dream?

Sister's doubts and fears cannot be relieved except through turning to God, and accepting that the fate of "sailor brother" lies with Him. Her prayer, though, is not for her brother's physical safety, but for his soul.

...I fain would pray
To Him, who rules the sea...
Be Thou, Great God, my much loved brother's guide,
...his anchor sure;
When life's tempestuous voyage shall be o'er
May he arrive at heavens happy shore;
There, in the haven of eternal rest,
May he repose and be forever blest.[64]

Josiah Foster dated this poem "On Board Ship Jefferson at Sea, March 29th 1850."[65] Thirty-two months out and homeward bound from a whaling voyage that had taken him from Sag Harbor, easterly round the world, to the Cape Verde Islands, the Indian Ocean, New Zealand, the Kamchatka Sea, the Sea of Japan, Lahaina, Oahu, Guam, Hong Kong, and around Cape Horn, having spent a week in fear that 18 shipmates had been captured and perhaps killed on a Pacific Island, and having experienced at least

[64] "Where is My Brother gone," Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, pp. 267-268.
[65] Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, p. 268.

once the death of a shipmate in a boat stoved by a whale on the Sabbath,[66] his time in the violent and dangerous labor of whaling was near an end. As home approached, so too thoughts that home *might* soon be transformed from a distant wish to a lived reality, but the whaleman knew that the perils of the sea continued until the ship was safely arrived at home.[67] Home was still over 5000 miles and two months away. Against doubt and distance, and through poetry and song, a whaleman's thoughts of "sister" and her prayers may also have served him as his own prayers for her, and for other loved ones at home, for if he survived three years in "the fish's belly," what would he find at home?

On March 14, 1850, fifteen days before "Where is My Brother gone," Josiah Foster had written a first prayerful sisterly poem into his journal. Even more so than the later poem, "To My Brother at Sea" speaks of physical perils, and of the need for the prayers of loved one at home for the whaleman's soul.

> When mighty loud the bleak wind blows;
> When pattering rain disturbs repose;
> When fiercely beams the lightning's flash;
> When boldly rolls the thunder's crash;
> Then I think of my brother far away
> Alone! On the open sea.
>
> Alone! Did I say? – No, God is there!
> And he will heed a sister's prayer.
> Oh! she can quell each raging storm
> Yea, he can still the heart's alarm;
> Then I'll think of my brother far away,
> With God! On The open sea.

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[66] Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, September 6, 1847, p. 8; December 9, 1847, p. 28; February 13-15, 1848, p. 35; May 27, 1848, p. 50; June 13, 1848, p. 54; November 7-23, 1848, pp. 79-81; January 1-4, 1849, p. 86; January 16-March 17, 1849, pp. 88-94; May 1-7, 1849, pp. 104-106; September 9, 1849, p. 146; October 20-November 7, 1849, pp. 158-162; January 19, 1850, p. 185.

[67] The whaleship *Edward Quesnal* of Fall River, Massachusetts, sailed on May 2, 1836 for three years of whaling in the Pacific Ocean. She whaled very successfully, having 1400 barrels of sperm oil and 800 barrels of (baleen) whale oil. On May 15, 1839, less than one hundred miles from home, she was lost on Long Island. Starbuck, *American Whalefishery*, pp. 330-331. A perusal of Starbuck's listing of whaleships for the years 1784 through 1876 shows many whaleships lost and whalemen killed during the homeward part of a voyage and following a protracted period at sea. Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 180-659.

We shall meet again, - for God must hear.
His promise is, - "I'll answer prayer."
He'll answer it in his own right way,
And who would his gracious purpose stay?
We shall meet in that land so far away,
Where there is no more sea![68]

"Brother" was not alone. He was on a ship crowded with men. But the poem succeeds in presenting the melancholy loneliness and homesickness that Christian whalemen frequently mentioned. Other whalemen, no doubt, also felt loneliness, homesickness, and separation from loved ones ashore, but the sense of manhood that these Christians at sea presented was one of resignation of physical life or death into God's will, and a faith in spiritual reunion with loved ones after death. To be a true man was not accomplished in the skills and bravery of seamanship, in libertine posturing, or in the secular bourgeois accumulation of earthly goods, but through living so as to receive God's saving grace, and to dwell in union with loved ones through eternity. Once safely ashore, with money in their pockets, outside the control of their officers, and facing a new set of earthly temptations, many such men may well have turned into back-sliders, but while at sea they needed to hold in faith through thoughts of an ideally good person, be it mother, wife, sweetheart, or "Sister;" a moral guide to spiritual salvation.

The unidentified keeper of a "Journal of a voyage to the South Atlantic in the Ship Neptune whaling," which commenced on June 25, 1834, invoked another sort of person as an intercessor for men in peril at sea; mariners ashore. In "The Storm.," the comforts of life ashore are contrasted with the dangers faced by those at sea. In making this contrast, "The Storm" appeals to the shared experience of seamen's labors in the face

[68] "To My Brother at Sea," Josiah Foster, Journal *Jefferson*, dated March 14, 1850, in rear of journal following daily entries, p. 280.

of natural danger, presenting the point at which manly seamanship fails, and implies that seamen, when safely ashore, must call this to mind in prayerful remembrance:

> ...to hear
> The roaring of the raging elements
> To know all human skill all human strength
> Avail naught, to look round and only see
> The mountain wave incumbent with its weight
> Of bursting waters o'er the reeling bark; -
> O God; this is indeed a dreadful thing
> And he who hath endured the horror once
> Of such an hour, doth never hear the storm
> Howl round his home but he remembers it
> And thinks upon the suffering mariners"[69]

Such images present a very different picture from those of secular hyper-masculinity, as performed in the gendered content of "As I lay amusing," which portrays seamen as "hearts of gold" who bravely face the perils of the sea, hold appeal for the affections of women, celebrate in drink, and go to sea again.[70] Christian whalemen's poems and songs present that sort of secular masculine self-assurance as failing totally in the face of the truly destructive powers of the sea over the physical frailty of humans. Rather than toasting the power of manliness, "The Storm" calls for contemplation of man's weakness in the face of God's Nature, and invokes a shared sense of maritime manhood that knows its powerless limitations.

The Christian whalemen's hope that those ashore would pray for them was a comfort during their time in "the fish's belly." Likewise, loved ones ashore hoped that whalemen would keep *them* in their hearts. In a poem titled "Our Seamen," Miss Anna Lowell Snelling voiced this hope. Miss Snelling lived in New London, Connecticut, a

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[69] "The Storm," anonymous poem; anonymous journal, "Journal of a voyage to the South Atlantic in the Ship Neptune whaling," unpublished manuscript, SHMRC, SHMP, NY., following March 11, 1836, p. 113.
[70] Song #19, no title given, first line beginning "As I Lay amusing," Lewis Jones Song Collection [LJSC], Lewis Jones File [LJF], Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY].

whaling port from which Long Island whalemen sometimes sailed. Her poem had whalemen far from home as an intended audiences, as it was published at Honolulu in the February 1, 1849 edition of *The Friend*. Miss Snelling began by calling upon those ashore who enjoyed the "downy pillow" comforts and shelter of life ashore to:

> ...remember ye the sailor, when by the social hearth
> Ye enjoy the countless blessings God has shower'd on the earth;
> He is tossing on the ocean amid the billows' roar
> But his heart is with his loved ones, upon his native shore.

Then, amidst her descriptions of the unselfish bravery of seamen in the face of storm and enemy, she calls upon her readers to:

> Remember ye the sailor, at the silent hour of prayer,
> As ye kneel before the altar, his soul remember there;
> For thus has taught your Saviour, when on the stormy deep,
> He smoothed the stormy billows, and lulled the winds to sleep.[71]

A Christian, reading Miss Snelling's words in his own or his ship's copy of *The Friend*, could take comfort. He could believe that he was prayed for by those ashore as he faced the tempest that threatened his body, and the Tempter that threatened his soul.

Christians who shipped in Sag Harbor whaleships were far from the first mariners to call upon God. The master of the tempest tossed ship bound from Joppa for Tarshish implored Jonah, "O sleeper...arise, call upon thy God,"[72] So too did Christ's Disciples when they feared their ship would sink in a storm on the Sea of Galilee until Jesus "rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still," and the sea was calmed. He then asked them: "Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have so little faith?," and they

[71] Anna Lowell Snelling, "Our Seamen," *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, vol. 7, no. 2, (February 1, 1849) , p. 9. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SHMP, NY.]
[72] *Jonah*, chapter 1, verse 6.

asked themselves: "What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?"[73]

What manner of men were these Christian whalemen who voyaged from Sag Harbor in the 1840s? Their journals, and the songs and poems they often painstakingly composed or copied out by hand, took home from the sea, and preserved through their lives, show that most of them embraced the manly pride of seamen in their labors, but they also understood its very limited power. Their Christian sense of manhood called upon them to be fearful of their sinfulness, prayerful for those at home and for their own safe return, and true to their God, so as to gain salvation's eternal rest and reunion with loved ones. This was their faith at sea. Most, like George Smith, Josiah Foster and Henry A. Fordham appear to have been good seamen and truly devout Christians. Many may have been hypocritical or overly pious; a nuisance to non-Christian shipmates, as well as to Christian shipmates who separated private faith from secular workplace.

The Westminster Catechism describes several kinds of prayer, the most spontaneous of which is "ejaculatory prayer," defined as "a secret and sudden lifting up of the soul's desire to God, upon any emergency that may occur in providence…a single thought darted up to heaven…words uttered in the mind, yet so as the voice cannot be heard...."[74] Yet, what would become of faith when men left the whaleship and returned home, freed from fears that arose amidst the ever present dangers of the sea? Freed from the "emergency" of life and labor in the whaleship, would they hold strong in faith? This question was posed by Isaac Sidney Gould, a young Christian who labored in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Fanny*, 1843-1846. Late in 1844 he described the ferocity of a storm at

[73] St. Mark, "The Gospel According the St. Mark," chapter 4, verses 37-41, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version. [Also, St. Matthew, chapter 8, verses 23-27.]
[74] *Westminster Catechism*, p. 217.

sea, deliverance through God's will, the beauty of Nature, and the fragility of the whaleman's faith, wondering if faith could survive the calm:

> But when the storm is gone – is past,
> To our old habits we return.
> Nor cast one thought on God at last,
> Except it is on him to spurn.[75]

In this and the preceding chapter we have met several Christian whalemen of the 1840s. These were men who shipped out of Sag Harbor, or came from the Sag Harbor area, though shipping from other ports. They were alike, not only in their profession as whalemen, but in their profession of faith, as expressed in their journal entries and in the songs and poems they included in their journals, or in the copies of *The Friend* they read during their voyages. Theirs was a masculinity performed on a very personal basis, with an ultimate goal that was neither libertine pleasure nor bourgeois wealth, but the fulfillment of their Christian obligations as husbands and fathers, and as individuals seeking to keep faith in anticipation of salvation. They were, also, quite unlike one another in a great many ways, from George Smith, cooper, the mature Christian husband, to the troubled younger Jeremiah M. Hedges, laboring as a hand in the *Iris*. Each of these men in his own way held to faith while laboring in the whaleship. Amidst the storms of Nature and what they perceived to be the profanity of human wickedness, they called upon God; but like Jonah, each would have to face his own Nineveh once he was vomited onto dry land, and no longer had to say his prayers from the fish's belly.

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[75] I. Sidney Gould, "A Journal Kept On Board Ship Fanny of Sag Harbor H. Edwards Master," commencing January 18, 1844, unpublished manuscript, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities [SPLIA], Cold Spring Harbor, New York [CSH, NY], December 1, 1844., pp. 66-67 transcript. [An accurate typed transcript of the daily entry text is held by the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum, Cold Spring Harbor, New York. The original copy, held by SPLIA, is erroneously filed as "Ship Log Fanny Edwards M 64.4.1 Shipping Log Books."]

Chapter 6

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE DRUNKEN WHALER?

ALCOHOL, TEMPERANCE, LYRICS, AND WHALEMEN'S MASCULINITY

> They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; These see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.
>
> - - - Psalm 107, verses 23-27[1]

> What shall we do wi' a drunken sailor? Ear-lye in the morning!
> Tie him to the taffrail when she's yard-arm under.
>
> - - - traditional chantey[2]

The Psalmist alludes to seamen staggering upon a storm-tossed ship as being "like a drunken man…at their wit's end" who may "cry unto the Lord in their trouble," and He may calm the storm.[3] But once the sea is calm, the seamen will still have to navigate, working the sail and the helm. Though "like a drunken man," they must be sober.

In May, 1845, the whaleship *Neptune* set sail from her homeport and encountered a strong squall before she could clear the harbor. A news account related the incident:

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[1] *Psalms, The Book of*, Psalm 107, verses 23-27, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version.
[2] Stan Hugill, compiler and editor, *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-songs and Songs used as Work-songs from the Great Days of Sail* (2nd ed., Mystic, Conn: Mystic Seaport, 1994), p. 109.
[3] *Psalms*, Psalm 107, verses 28-29.

> All saw that something was wrong on board. An attempt was made to shorten sail, but the ship was then within a cable's length[4] of the shore…The wives and families of the men who were thus hastening to death had assembled near the pier, but all stood in silent horror, broke in a moment by a cry of "She's lost! She's lost!" as the vessel lashed on by the tempest, passed to the outer side of the breakwater, and struck with awful violence between two black rugged rocks. – The cries of the victims were horrible. The dreadful crisis had come, and they were lost indeed…One heavy sea rolling over the wreck for a moment concealed her, and when the people looked again she was gone! Her crew and timbers were hurled against the rocks, and with the exception of one man, who was washed up and lodged on a projecting ledge, none escaped of the 36 who that morning left the shore in health and spirits. From the man who was saved, the melancholy truth was learned that the crew were all intoxicated, and could not manage the vessel.[5]

Whaleships, as in the incident related above, often set sail with members of the crew intoxicated or hung-over. Many whalemen on the eve and even on the morn of sailing took to reveling with alcohol. They would soon be confined to protracted removal from shore society in the confines of a whaleship, facing arbitrary discipline that was often severe and violent, and extremely hard labor of the most dangerous kind, to be performed under the worst of conditions, deprived of privacy, removed from the company of women, enduring a short ration of bad food, and being denied alcohol while laboring in a temperance ship. Even so illustrious a whaling master as Mercator Cooper, who commanded many Sag Harbor whaleships over a long and distinguished career, faced whaling hands who exercised their masculine prerogative to behave in a free manner while ashore on liberty. For such men the definition of liberty included the consumption, often to excess, of alcohol. Consider the confrontation of liberty and

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[4] A "cable's length," approximately 200 yards, is one-tenth of a nautical mile. Gershom Bradford, *The Mariner's Dictionary* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1952), p. 38.

[5] "Temperance. Loss of the English Whale Ship Neptune, *Crew all Drunk, and all lost except one!*," *The Friend Temperance and the Seaman*, December 15, 1845, vol. 3, no. xxiv, p. 187. [Halsey and Foster copy, Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY.]

alcohol *versus* discipline and seamanship that occurred in 1840 upon the start of Cooper's voyage in command of the Sag Harbor whaleship *American*. Cooper recorded that when he went aboard his ship at 10 AM, Wednesday, August 12, 1840, to get underway, he "found the Crew a considerable intoxicated three of them very abusive and kicked up a row…we put two Sylvester Woodman and George Harrington in irons at 11 got under way and steered out of the [Gardiners] bay for sea."[6]

Fortunately, there were enough sober hands for the *American* to put safely out to sea, but Woodman and Harrington remained problems. On September 3, 1840, at Fayal, in the Azores, Cooper put Harrington ashore, replacing him with a "purtuges,"[7] a Portuguese-speaking seamen from the Azores or the Cape Verde Islands. Woodman, who likely saw himself as a manly defender of seamen's rights against Cooper's punishments, resisted his shipmaster's authority, and was seized up in the rigging, given 24 lashes, and then placed into irons for at least two days during October, 1840.[8]

In an effort to prevent drunkenness, suppress insubordination, and keep an orderly and productive ship, Sag Harbor whaleship owners and captains often turned to making temperance, which had come to mean absolute abstinence from alcohol, a contractual condition of labor. With thousands of men whaling each year on ships out of Long Island and New England ports, whaling companies used standardized printed contracts to sign men aboard for a whaling voyage. The whaleman, by signing or placing his mark on the ship's articles, agreed to the terms of the contract, including his position and lay upon

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[6] Mercator Cooper, "Journal of a Voyage in the Ship American of Sag Harbor S & B Hunting, owner, and Mercator Cooper Master bound on a whaleing voyage to the south Atlantic Indian and Pacific ocean and elsewhere," 1840-1842, unpublished manuscript, Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY], p. 5. [Pages in Cooper's journal are not numbered, and are given as counted by the dissertation writer.]

[7] M. Cooper, "Journal *American*," 1840-1842, September 3, 1840, p. 11.

[8] M. Cooper, "Journal *American*," 1840-1842, October 20, 1840; October 21, 1840, pp. 23-24.

sailing, his required duties, his submission in full to the authority of his captain and officers, and his recognition of the penalties he would suffer, physically and financially, for insubordination and for failure to perform duty. He also affirmed that his entering into the contract, which was in fact a labor indenture, was entirely voluntary on his own part.[9] These standard printed contracts also contained a section placed just above where the whaleman was to sign that was made extremely conspicuous both by its position in the document and by a picture in the horizontal of a hand, index finger extended, pointing towards the words:

> NO DISTILLED SPIRITOUS LIQUOR will be put on board this vessel by the Owner, except for strictly medicinal use: - and by their signatures the other parties to this Contract, PLEDGE themselves not to take any of these articles with them as their private stores, or for traffic, either from this port or any other port or place where they may be, during the voyage. And in case of a violation of this Pledge by the Master or any Officer or Seaman, his entire share of the voyage shall be thereupon forfeited to the use of the Owners….[10]

It is important to note that the contractual requirement for total abstinence extended beyond drinking to include possession, transport, and sale, and could give the owners legal cause for enforcing absolute forfeiture of pay against any whaleman, captain included, who obeyed the letter of the contract, but returned to the ship from liberty after drinking ashore. It is also important to note that the printed whalemen's contract of the 1840s made no requirement for observation of the Sabbath, or for total restraint from profanity and blasphemy. These behaviors, along with intemperance, were denounced as sinful by many affiliated with the whalefishery, including owners, captains, clergymen,

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[9] "Whalemen's Shipping Paper, with Extract of an Act for the Government and Regulation of Seamen in the Merchant Service," printed *circa* 1840-1850, p. 1, LIC, EHL, EH, NY., p. 1. [The contract begins with: "1st. IT IS AGREED between the Owner, Master, and Seamen and Mariners of the (name of ship)…."]

[10] "Whalemen's Shipping Paper," p. 1.

Bethel missionaries, whalemen's wives, and by many whalemen themselves. Yet, other than desertion, insubordination, and dereliction of duty, there was only one whalemen's conduct recognized as a contractual violation, that being involvement with alcohol. The contract, as a secular legal document, required no affirmation of faith. It sought to prohibit alcohol from the presence of whalemen as a means toward controlling their behavior as seamen at their duties, thereby facilitating a profitable voyage. The primary reason for a whaleship to require temperance was not to *en*-courage sinners to submit to Christ, but to *dis*-courage men, and make them submissive to their captain. Whaleship temperance can be explained through the application to masculinity of one of Michel Foucault's concepts regarding sexuality. Foucault wrote of sexuality and pleasure, and of the ability to fulfill or to deny pleasure as a "manifestation of power" and a "rational technique that articulates the exercise of power," describing the power of one person to suppress or deny sexual pleasure as the means, the technique, by which that person can appropriate authority to himself, thereby facilitating the exercise of power, authority, over another person through controlling the second person's pursuit of pleasure.[11] This concept can be adapted from the physical and psychological concept of sexuality to the gendered cultural concept of masculinity, and the power of one to enhance or to deny another his masculinity. In this way temperance, the denial to some men of the "pleasure" of masculine performance through the consumption of alcohol, was an emasculating technique of power exercised by those in authority in the whalefishery in order to control men who would otherwise seek to exercise their masculine freedom to the detriment of profitability.

[11] Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: Volume 2 of The History Of Sexuality*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990; original French publication 1984; original English publication 1985), pp. 5-6, 80-82.

Alcohol and maritime labor and masculinity have often been presented as inextricably linked. Drinking was a staple of masculine life for many seafarers, but also a staple of self-destruction. This theme is expressed in "What Shall We Do With the Drunken Sailor," a stamp-and-go chantey used in hauling a long line the length of a main deck, that was used in whaleships during the 1840s.[12] The song presents a nastiness that is absent from most seamen's songs, as seen in the humiliating, torturous, and perhaps fatal punishments to be inflicted upon the drunken sailor in the following verses.

> Put him in a long-boat till he gets sober.
> Keep him there an' make him bale her.
> Trice him up in a runnin' bowline.
> Tie him to the taffrail when she's yard-arm under.
> Put him in the scuppers with a hose-pipe on him.
> Take him an'shake 'im, an' try an' wake 'im.
> Give him a dose o' salt an' water.
> Give him a taste o' the bosun's rope-end.
> Stick on his back a mustard plaster.
> Soak him in oil till he sprouts a flipper.
> Scrape the hair off his chest with a hoop-iron razor.[13]
> Chuck him in the longboat till he gets sober.
> Put him in the lazaret till he gets sober.
> Put him in the coal locker till he gets sober.
> Hoist him to the royal yard till he gets sober.[14]

All of the historic verses known to have been sung by seamen at shipboard labor have two important features in common. First, they severely punish the drunkard, either through severe confinement, or through physical abuse, or through a combination of the two. Secondly, they emasculate the drunkard. His punishment emphasizes and prolongs his inability to perform his manly duties as a seaman. There is no verse that requires the

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[12] Francis Allyn Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage: To Which Are Added Observations on the Scenery, Manners and Customs, and Missionary Stations of the Sandwich and Society Island* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, with the cooperation of the Friends of the Library, Maui, Hawaii, 1969; original publication New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1841), pp. 1-10. [Olmsted was a convalescent passenger aboard the *North American*, a temperance ship out of New London, 1839-1841.]

[13] Hugill, *Shanties*, pp. 109-110.

[14] Frederick Pease Harlow, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* (2nd ed, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2004; original publication, Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Co., Inc., 1962). pp. 25-27.

drunken sailor to "sober up and stand his duty." Instead, rather than standing his place in the watch, eating with his messmates, turning below decks to socialize or to sleep, or lowering for a whale, he is placed into confinement, humiliated, mistreated in a manner that may cause him to beg for mercy. Perhaps most fittingly he has the hair shaved off of his chest, or in some versions, [pubic] hair off his belly. The manliness of drinking could, when overdone, result in humiliation at the expense of one's own supposed masculinity.

Such a manly drinking and then suffering seaman was Ned Myers. who was about 13-years-old when he shipped as cabin boy in the merchant ship *Sterling*, or *Stirling*, of Wiscasset, Maine, John Johnston master, in 1806-1807. Besides Myers, Captain Johnston had shipped another 13-year-old as a green hand, the latter boy being sent to sea by his father as a means towards teaching him discipline and to prepare him for a career as a naval officer. Myers and the young seaman became good friends during their voyage from New York to England and the Mediterranean. Following their voyage in the *Sterling*, the two lost touch with one another. Ned Myers went on to have a life-long and vastly adventurous career as a merchant seaman, as an American naval combatant, and as a naval prisoner of war. Meanwhile, the *Sterling*'s other young seaman remained at sea for a few years, including service as a U.S. Navy midshipman, and then returned to life ashore, taking up a career as a writer. By 1843 Myers, with a U.S. Navy pension, had been admitted to residency at the retired mariners' home at Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island, New York. From there he wrote to a man bearing the same name as the boy with whom he had served in the *Sterling*. The other boy had gone on to distinguish himself as a writer, being the first major chronicler of the history of the United States Navy, and through his novels as the creator of American national maritime adventure fiction. The

author was, in fact, Myers' old shipmate and friend. They were reunited in 1843, and spent several months together, the seaman-turned-maritime author interviewing the former cabin boy regarding his over thirty years at sea. The result was the 1843 publication of a classic of American maritime history: "*Ned Myers; or, A Life Before the Mast*," edited by Myers' boyhood shipmate, James Fenimore Cooper.[15]

Ned Myers served as a sailor in the United States Navy's Lake Ontario squadron during the War of 1812. Captured by the British, and confined to a prison ship, he soon made his escape by getting overboard through his compartment's window, and safely to shore. Relating this experience to Cooper, Myers stated: "I put my crowns [coins] in a belt around my waste. Another belt, or skin, was filled with rum, for the double purpose of buoying me in the water, and of comforting me when ashore. At that day I found rum one of the great blessings of life; now I look upon it as one of the greatest evils.[16]

Thus, Myers, whose life was saved from drowning by the buoyancy of spirituous liquor, came to see liquor as ruinous of both life and of spirit. The masculine comradery that Myers first accepted in men drinking together he later came to see as a falsehood, stating: "I advise all young men, who feel no desire to drink, to follow their own propensities, and not to yield themselves up, body and soul, to the thoughtless persuasion of others. There is no real good-fellowship in swilling rum and whiskey; but the taste, once acquired...pressed me down for all the more valuable years of my life."[17]

Ned Myers described many alcohol-induced actions that he late came to see as evil, including not only acts committed while under the influence of alcohol, but also acts

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[15]William S. Dudley, "Introduction." James Fenimore Cooper, editor, *Ned Myers; or, A Life Before the Mast*, unnumbered title, *Classics of Naval Literature*, series editor, Jack Sweetman (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1989; original publication, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1843), pp. vii-xvii.
[16] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, pp. 120-121.
[17] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, p. 53.

committed in pursuit of alcohol. In one instance, during the War of 1812, Myers led a U.S. Navy landing party against a British position on the shore of Lake Ontario. Myers and his party, which included both white and black American seamen, had no difficulty obeying orders against plunder, and despite their hunger they did not "touch a morsel of food." Alcohol was different. "The liquor...was too much for our weak natures" to resist. Myers and his men plundered and drank to excess.[18] Years later Myers reflected that "The recklessness of sailors may be seen in our conduct. All we received for our plunder was some eight or ten gallons of whiskey...at the risk of being flogged through the fleet![19]

The pursuit of alcohol could also take on a ghoulish aspect. Myers related that during the landing party "we agreed to get a canteen a piece, and go round among the dead, then fill them with Jamaica." What the canteens could not hold, Myers and his men drank on the spot, over the bodies of the slain. So engrossed did they become in the comradery of this vampiral imbibing of rum that "two sheets to the wind" they committed one of the naval sailor's most serious offenses, missing ship's movement, when they were too drunk to notice their ship's departure, temporarily stranding themselves ashore, while leaving their ship short-handed.[20] On another occasion, ashore in Nova Scotia, and short on food, Myers bartered a valuable piece of ivory for half a gallon of rum.[21]

What is striking about Myers' story and reflections is that he clearly ties the use of alcohol, its abuse, and its negative effects, to actions of male comradery. Neither class, race, ethnicity, nor rank is presented as a significant factor. It is, rather, masculine

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[18] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, p. 62.
[19] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, p. 64. [To be "flogged through the fleet" was to be flogged on every ship in ones squadron, flotilla, or fleet, as assembled. It was the most severe punishment for a non-capital offense, but in its extreme severity it could lead to the death of the one being flogged, as a man would receive a large number of lashes on each ship, in immediate succession, from ship to ship.]
[20] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, pp. 68-69.
[21] Cooper, ed., *Ned Myers*, pp. 104.

performance; the group action of men acting as men, or presuming that they are acting as men. These War of 1812 naval combatants performed in a manner described in a song of 1600, and echoed in a song heard by Lewis Jones in the *Hamilton* over thirty years later:

> We will drink and make our country flourish, we will drink and pass it round again.
> And when our money is all gone we will go to sea again.[22]

Sailors drink, or at least it is presumed, even among themselves, that they are supposed to drink.[23] Alcohol, however, prohibits a seaman's ability to carry out the functions of a seaman. Therefore, through a contradiction that Myers eventually came to see, the masculine action of sharing in the overindulgence of alcohol had the contrary result of depriving seamen, individually and as a group, from functioning as men. Ned Myers was less than 20-years-old when he was trusted by his commanding officer to lead an important naval landing party, certainly an indication of the officer's faith in Myers' ability to lead others into combat, but the actions Myers and his men committed in pursuit of alcohol, and then under its influence, proved to be, at best, a sought of juvenile negligence, rather than an acceptance of manly duties. Alcohol turned men into boys.

Ned Myers told his life's story to James Fenimore Cooper at the same time that the Sag Harbor whaling industry in which Cooper had played an earlier part was at its height. Half a century later, and a continent's width apart, Jack London was living a youth filled with seafaring and heavy drinking on San Francisco Bay and on the waterfront of his native Oakland, California. His achievement as perhaps America's most masculine writer, the likes of Ernest Hemingway and Mickey Spillane not withstanding,

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[22] Song #19, no title given, first line beginning "As I lay amusing," Lewis Jones Song Collection [LJSC], Lewis Jones File [LJF], Long Island Collection [LIC], East Hampton Library [EHL], East Hampton, New York [EH, NY].

[23] Such suppositions have continued regarding sailors and the consumption of alcohol. I myself encountered some during my own service as an enlisted man in the United States Navy, active duty 1970-1974. Once, upon my being advanced to radioman second class [petty officer], I was urged by several 1st and 2nd classes to go drinking to celebrate - - - at 7 AM! My refusal met with emasculating profanity.

was built upon his ability to emote the struggles for manly survival in competition against other manly men. London did this in a coherent and a highly readable literary form which, though often romantic, was not encumbered by the presence of women or romantic love. In London's writing one finds the adventurous romance of the struggle, often unsuccessful, to achieve and to assure oneself of one's masculinity.

London's own experience with the sea was long and diverse, starting in his boyhood and lasting throughout his life, as did his drinking. An avid reader, London had become enthralled with sea adventure by the age of ten, and began to watch with envy the actions of tough men at waterfront saloons. He was lured by the triumvirate of masculinity, the sea, and liquor, personifying the last in the English tradition as "John Barleycorn." He drank at waterfront bars, and worked on the water as an oyster pirate, a fishery law enforcement officer, a sealer, and a whaleman. He combined labor on the water with drinking and brawling ashore in pursuit of manhood.[24] Of this pursuit, and his bouts with John Barleycorn, London wrote:

> When I was fourteen, my head filled with the tales of the old voyagers, my vision with tropic isles and far sea-rims, I was sailing a small centerboard skiff around San Francisco Bay and the Oakland Estuary. I wanted to go to sea. I wanted to get away from monotony and the commonplace. I was in the flower of my adolescence, a-thrill with romance and adventure, dreaming of wild life in the wild man-world. Little I guessed how all the warp and woof of that man-world was entangled with alcohol.[25]

Jack London described himself as a sober hard worker at sea, and as a heavy long-spree drinker ashore, but he denied being a "drunk," or an alcoholic. He claimed that such people were "chemically" dependent upon alcohol, had lost both physical and mental

[24] Jack London, *John Barleycorn* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), pp. 25-28. [original publication monthly serial installments, *The Saturday Evening Post*, 1913.]
[25] London, *John Barleycorn*, p. 29.

control over themselves, and were unable to work soberly. London saw his own actions as social, and fully under his own control. As a non-alcoholic, he could work soberly at sea, but go on drinking sprees when ashore with shipmates and fellow watermen, spending an entire payday buying one another rounds and consuming huge amounts of beer and hard liquor. London insisted that he greatly disliked alcohol itself, particularly its taste, and much preferred candy, but drank alcohol in binges with his fellow maritime workers because that was how such men demonstrated their worthiness, each as an individual man, and as comrades in manhood. Writing over half a century before the development of feminist and gender-based deconstruction theory, Jack London had stated that male social drinking, with its concomitant disdain for saving hard-earned money and its proclivity towards brawling, was "an act performed by men." It was in the *performance* of masculinity, by men, for men, that one sought to prove one's manhood to other men, and thereby to prove it to himself. Why did London repeatedly spend his wages drinking alcohol to the point of prolonged drunkenness? "Because," he said, "it was an act performed by men with whom I wanted to behave as a man."[26]

Behaving like a man, particularly for one who chose to follow what London called "the adventure-path," put one into the omnipresence of John Barleycorn. Describing this alcohol-laden route to masculinity, London used language that compared such consumption with boxing or wrestling matches, referring to "occasions when I engaged in drinking-bouts with men." To perform admirably in these bouts was "a matter of pride." They were "endurance test[s], and no man likes to give another best." Drinking among men, therefore, went beyond comradery. It was "competitive and brutal, lustful with strength and desire to outswine the swine." It was to show "who could make most of

[26] London, *John Barleycorn,* pp. 8-9, 22-23, 28, 48-53, 59-60, 87-89, 107, 152.

a swine of himself and show it least."[27] Drinking alcohol, said London, was not something that one did for pleasure, or to improve conviviality. Men, he said, could find companionship and enjoyment in a soft drink. They drank alcohol as competitive display through which they hoped to prove their own manhood to themselves, and to those men with, or rather against whom they drank. London described the motivation for such action as "queer man-pride," using "queer" to refer to the curious, seemingly self-contradictory practice of incapacitating oneself for work while foolishly spending one's earnings through taking part in group drunkenness. "It is," London stated, "a queer man-pride that leads one to drink with men in order to show as strong a head as they."[28]

London, laboring as a sealer and a whaler, experienced this "queer man-pride." Sober men labored long and hard while at sea, under the most hazardous condition of the hunt, and the violent slaughter of the kill. Yet, this performance was not enough to prove manhood. Getting drunk together once ashore was also required, serving as the act by which labor was transformed into manhood through the intercession of alcohol.[29]

This same "queer man-pride," the self-conscious consumption of alcohol to prove oneself in a group consciousness, was present among those whalemen of the 1840s who placed drinking at or near the demonstrative core of masculinity. For whalemen, as for other seafarers, the true test of a man was the performance of one's duties, particularly in the face of the most adverse and dangerous conditions. To perform one's duties and tasks quickly and correctly, with dexterity, strength and courage required a clear head. This was absolutely necessary to one's survival, the survival of one's shipmates, and the safety and performance of the ship. A seaman's pride as a skilled worker, his standing among

[27] London, *John Barleycorn*, pp. 152-153.
[28] London, *John Barleycorn*, pp. 153-154.
[29] London, *John Barleycorn*, pp. 87-103.

his fellow workers, and the self-assured air, even swagger, with which he might carry himself when ashore were based upon the proper completion of his work. The skilled work at the core of the whaleman's manliness required sobriety, but the manner in which that manliness was celebrated among men, the excessive drinking of alcohol, was a hindrance to sobriety, and therefore to manliness.

The "queer man-pride" that Jack London described in 1913 was apparent in the whalefishery of the 1840s where men, not satisfied or certain with the manly performance of their labor, used liquor as the means towards manly achievement and assurance. Alcohol, its use or abuse, and its praise or condemnation, was at the heart of many songs and poems that whalemen sang, wrote, or read. Whether it was to condone, condemn, toast, or chastise, whalemen's lyrics placed alcohol into the context of manhood. This is seen in three of the traditional seamen's songs that Lewis Jones collected during his 1845-1848 whaling voyage in the Sag Harbor bark *Hamilton*; "On Gosport Beach," "Paul Jones Bold Commander," and "As I lay amusing." In each song alcohol is tied to masculinity, but in very different ways.

"On Gosport Beach," embeds the use of alcohol with masculine performance:

> On Gosport beach I landed a place of noted fame,
> I called for a bottle of brandy to treat my flashy dame
> Her dress I [missing] it was all silk
> Her [missing] scarlet red,
> The day was spent in sweet content,
> And at night we went to bed.[30]

In this, the ballad's first verse, the sailor makes four performances of masculinity. First, he displays his manliness in the conspicuous act of a sailor coming ashore, no doubt following a successful voyage as he has money to spend. He then picks up a "silk,"

[30] Song #7, no title given, first line beginning "On Gosport beach I landed," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

"scarlet red" and "flashy" prostitute, her conspicuousness adding to his conspicuous public performance of masculinity. This performance is accompanied by the public ordering and consumption of alcohol, as he "called for a bottle of brandy." Finally, he performs his masculinity, drunk though either or both may be, by taking the prostitute to bed. Thus, both the sailor's public and private performances of masculinity involve not only his own posturing and the exploitation of the subjected woman, but the setting of that posturing and exploitation into the use of alcohol.

Alcohol consumption, as an accompaniment to toasting, is strongly implied in the Lewis Jones version of "Paul Jones Bold Commander." This American Revolutionary War naval ballad, which entered into oral tradition, tells of the battle between the United States frigate *Bonhomme Richard* and H.M.S. *Serapis* from the American viewpoint, describing encounter, combat, destruction, death, and victory. The ballad is set into the first person plural, in the past tense, so "we," the American sailors, have already won the battle. The song, then, is a reflective celebratory account, ending with a series of "here's to" lines that toast pretty girls, widows and sweethearts who must mourn the slain, the slain who have been buried at sea, and the heroism of John Paul Jones and his "brave crew." Thus bravery, death, mourning, womankind and victory are celebrated, and the manliness of the victorious living is expressed, real or implied, or imagined, in the masculine performance of male comradery that is toasting with alcohol.[31]

"As I Lay A-musing," the third alcohol-related song in Jones's collection, is a paean to the bold masculinity of "mariners, poor seamen of the seas," as they withstand the cruelties of nature in heat, cold, tempest, and shipwreck, surviving these tribulations through their manly seamanship. The labor of skillful, brave, sober seamen can withstand

[31] Song #12, "Paul Jones Bold Commander," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

the worst conditions that nature can present; but the survival of these sober men, these "brisk young lads," these "hearts of gold," culminates in the affirmation of their manhood with a pledge that calls for comradery through the drinking of alcohol.

> We will sail to all parts of the world that ever yet was known,
> We will fetch home gold and silver whenever we do come home,
> We will drink and make our country flourish, we will drink it round again,
> And when our money is all gone we will go to sea again.[32]

Drinking as a prelude to sex when ashore; drinking after victory in battle; drinking after braving a storm: the seafarer, alcohol, and the performance of masculinity – intertwined and embedded with one another. But what may be said of drinking and the resulting inability to perform the primary and fundamental measure of maritime manhood; seamanship? The drunken whaleman was a threat all who depended upon him. Whether he was drunk ashore or aboard, the drunken whaleman threatened a voyage's financial success, from the profits of the principal owner on down to the pay of the greenest hand on the longest lay,[33] and to portions of lays that might be due to the mothers, widows or orphans of men killed during the voyage. Drunk ashore, a whaleman could delay the ship's sailing, or cause the captain to pay a fine for his release from jail. Even more importantly the drunken whaleman, if drunk at sea, would be incapable of performing his duties with necessary skill and speed, and thus a threat to the ship, and to the life and limb of his shipmates. Through the contradiction that Jack London later

[32] Song #19, "As I lay amusing," LJSC, LJF, LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

[33] **"**Longest Lay": In the lay system of being paid with a share of the profits, a large share, such as a captain's 1/16, was referred to as a short lay, while a green hands very small share, such as 1/200, was called a long lay. For statistics and explanations on lays in the Sag Harbor whalefishery see: William R. Palmer, *The Whaling Port of Sag Harbor* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1959; facsimile Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services), pp. 113-119. A detailed description and statistical analysis of whalemen's labor billets and the lay system for New Bedford in the 1840s and 1850s, is given in: Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *The Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816-1906*, Unnumbered volume, *National Bureau of Economic Research Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development*, series ed. by Claudia Goldin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), chapter 5, "Labor," pp. 150-213.

called "queer man-pride," the drunken whaleman, using alcohol to celebrate and perform his masculinity, lost his ability to function as a man. He threatened the success of the whalefishery, and he begged the question: "What shall we do with the drunken whaler?"

Overindulgence in alcohol was a problem for the Sag Harbor whalefishery of the 1840s, as it was in the whalefishery in general. On March 18, 1844, the Sag Harbor whaleship *Ontario*,[34] Henry Green, master, was in port at Lahaina, Maui, Sandwich Islands. On that date Captain Green joined with several American whaling captains from other ports, also present at Lahaina, in filing a formal written protest with the island's governor. The protest arose from action taken by Maui's government against drunken American whalemen when ashore. These actions included police beatings of whalemen, both drunk and sober, fines against the drunken men, and damage claims against whaling masters. The captains began their protest by stating that their purposes in putting in at Lahaina were to take on food and supplies, and to ensure the health of their men through these supplies and through liberty ashore. They also assured the governor that they and the men under their command did not intend to violate the peace of the community.[35]

If, as the captains' insisted, the whalemen had "no intent whatsoever of violating the peace of the community," why did they become drunk and disorderly, necessitating the use of violent force and monetary punishment by the government? The problem, the captains asserted, was not that their crews were immoral or uncivilized, stating that "in most cases, the men composing the crews of their ships, are well disposed and well behaved." Rather, the cause was alcohol, as among the whalemen were some "who, when

[34] This was the second Sag Harbor whaleship named *Ontario*, identified by Starbuck as *Ontario* 2d. She sailed in August, 1843, returning in May, 1845. Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 406-407.
[35] "Shipmasters' Protest," *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, vol. II, no. IV (April 4, 1844), pp. 40-41. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]

their passions are raised by ardent spirits, will become dangerous to the peace and well being of the community among which they may be thrown." Furthermore, the captains placed the blame for their crewmen's drunkenness upon the pro-alcohol revenue policy of the government. Whalemen got drunk at "LICENSED GROG-SHOPS" [original emphasis]. These grog shops were owned by "unprincipled men who sell rum to drunken men...so that he [the shop owner] may be able to pay for his license."[36]

The whaleship masters, as expressed in their formal protest, saw their crews as a "class of men" that was particularly vulnerable to "ardent spirits." "Class," within the captains' context, did not refer to an economic position in society, but rather to a specific occupation and its type of masculinity: the practice of the manhood of seamen. These whaling seamen, the captains claimed, were "peaceable men," and they maintained that "the prime, nay, the SOLE CAUSE of their ill conduct, is legally authorized by the authorities of these islands. Prevent the sale of ardent spirits, and we assure you that you will find our crews as peaceable and well behaved on shore, as we find them to be at sea." The captains concluded by restating that it was unjust for government to authorize the sale of alcoholic beverages and then punish drunk whalemen and fine ships [masters and owners] for damages. In retaliation, the whaling captains threatened to boycott Lahaina until it outlawed the retail sale of liquor.[37]

The "Shipmasters' Protest" was printed in *The Friend*, the evangelical temperance newspaper, but the "Protest" was not a religious document. Clearly economic regarding licensing fees, sales, and fines, it also challenged a Pacific island government's authority over American whalemen and ships as opposed to the extraterritorial authority claimed

[36] "Shipmasters' Protest," in *Friend*, April 4, 1844, pp. 40-41.
[37] "Shipmasters' Protest," in *Friend*, April 4, 1844, pp. 40-41.

by American ships' captains. However, the foundation upon which these issues rested was, as defined by the captains, a simple cultural fact: whaling hands performed an occupation-based masculinity that called for the consumption of alcohol. The "Protest," though using economic and legal arguments, and appearing in an evangelical newspaper, is not phrased in terms of bourgeois thrift or Godly morality, but in terms of the masculine performance found among the laborers of a particular occupation. At the heart of the protest lay the captains' desire to control the proclivity of manly seamen towards drunkenness, and to assert this control in the face of men who sought to exploit this proclivity for their own profit and power. In seeking the reform they wanted, the captains justified their protest in the discourse of whalemen's masculinity.

The Reverend Samuel C. Damon dedicated his life to the spiritual and physical well-being of maritime workers, serving as Honolulu's seamen's chaplain from 1842 until his death in 1885.[38] He recognized what Jack London would later call the "warp and woof" of seafarers' alcohol consumption in their masculine performance. "Father"[39] Damon, as he was affectionately called by Christian whalemen, used the pulpit and *The Friend* to call for an end to abuses practiced by captains against their crews. He chastised those whaling captains who used physical and verbal abuses against their crewmen,[40] and denounced captains who engaged in, and thereby forced their crews to engage in, whaling

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[38] Roald Kverndah, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth; a Contribution to the History of the Church Maritime*. Number 14, Studies Series, Egede Institute for Missionary Study and Research, Oslo, Norway (Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library, 1986), pp. 468-474.

[39] "Father," was used as a term of respect and recognition of the paternal role that a minister played in providing a haven of spiritual and moral guidance, and sometimes even physical or legal protection The dubbing of Samuel Damon as "Father" by whalemen should not be confused with the official term of address used for a Roman Catholic priest. Damon was an evangelical Protestant, and not above writing anti-Roman Catholic articles for *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, among which are: "Catholic Relics," Vol. 6, no. 8 (August 1, 1848), p. 63, and "The Pope, vs. the President of Chile," Vol. 6, no. 9 (September, 1 1848), p. 70. Others are listed in the bibliography.[Sweeney copies, SHMRC, SH, NY.]

[40] "Never Call Seamen Out of Their Names." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, Vol. 6, no. 8 (August 1, 1848), p. 60. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]

on the Sabbath.[41] His attack on the destructive tyranny of "King Alcohol"[42] was one of the most frequently presented themes appearing in *The Friend* as it became a staple of reading in Honolulu, among whalemen who touched there and obtained copies, and by extension throughout the whalefishery.[43]

Several Sag Harbor whalemen tell in their journals of visiting Damon while on liberty in Honolulu, attending the Bethel and worship services, and obtaining religious reading material. Erastus Bill, a green hand in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Citizen*, told how upon the *Citizen*'s arrival at Honolulu in September, 1843, the seamen received handbills inviting them to see the chaplain. Bill fulfilled his promise to his mother to do so, and received a hymnal.[44] George Smith, the *Thames*'s cooper, recorded that he saw the seaman's chaplain and got "plenty of papers and tracts."[45] Some whalemen, including Alfred W. Foster, David B. Halsey, and Captain Doyle Sweeney, not only obtained copies of *The Friend* while in Honolulu during their voyages, but took them back to Sag Harbor.[46] Sweeney, master of the Sag Harbor bark *Columbia*, 1848-1851, faithfully and dutifully completed the *Columbia*'s economically successful voyage, which included

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[41] "Is It Right To Take Whales On The Sabbath?" *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, Vol. II, no. iv (April 4, 1844), pp. 37-44. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD NY.]

[42] "Grog Shop Licenses." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, Vo. II, no. iv (April 4, 1844) p. 40. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, S, NY.]

[43] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 472, 474.

[44] Erastus Bill. *Citizen: An American Boy's Early Manhood Aboard a Sag Harbor Whale-Ship Chasing Delirium and Death Around the World, 1843-1849, Being the Story of Erastus Bill Who Lived to Tell It* (Anchorage, Alaska: O. W. Frost, 1978; original publication Sag Harbor *Express*, 1905), pp. 9, 49-50.

[45] George G [S?] Smith. "George G [S?] Smith's Book, Ship Thames Journal of A voyage in the Ship Thames of Sag Harbor commencing July 7th 1843," unpublished manuscript, Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum [SHWHM], Sag Harbor, New York [SH, NY], March 10, 1845, p. 95.

[46] Alfred W. Foster, "Alfred W. Foster's Day Book East Hampton," of voyages in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Columbia*, 1845-1846, and the Greenport whaling bark *Roanoke*, 1857-1858 (unpublished manuscript, Long Island Collection, East Hampton Library, East Hampton, New York. [Foster's "Day Book" includes his voyages in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Columbia*, 1845-1846, and the Greenport whaleship *Roanoke*, 1857-1858, followed by songs, poems, and lectures.]

much time spent whaling off the northwest coast of the United States,[47] even as many whalemen, including captains, were abandoning their ships in San Francisco at the height of the Gold Rush.[48] The completion of his contracted voyage speaks for his character. His obtaining of bound volumes of *The Friend* indicates that he intended it for long-term reading, and its surely met the eyes of men in the Sag Harbor whalefishery[49]

The Friend sought the salvation of whalemen's souls. Under Samuel Damon's direction, it sought the spiritual conversion of whalemen through Bible study and prayer. It preached a moral life of worship, and of fulfillment of duty to family. Its appeals were highly sentimental, especially with regard to the moral guidance of mothers and sisters. The message sought acceptance by whalemen through appeals that were comforting and nostalgic, arousing moral shame against their sinful actions, and holding out hope for redemption and reunion with loved ones in heaven, if not on earth. This gentle and paternalistic Christian appeal ran through most of the writing, but when it came to alcohol, *The Friend* took a different approach, condemning drinking as a deadly obstacle to good seamanship, and phrased its attack as a confrontation between the culture of drinking and the sobriety of good seamanship. Thus, *The Friend* appealed for faith through recalling boyhood, for temperance through challenging manhood.

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[47] Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 458-459.

[48] Many whaleship captains, upon receiving news the discovery of gold in California, abandoned whaling, sailed for San Francisco, and then abandoned their ships. Henry Cleaveland, captain of Sag Harbor's *Niantic*, learned of the gold strike while on Peru on the early spring of 1849. He sailed for Panama, picked up over 200 passengers, and sailed for San Francisco, arriving there in July, 1849. James P. Delgado, *To California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), p. 25.

[49] "The Friend, Bound." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman,* Vol. 6, no. 4 (April 1, 1848), p. 32. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SHMP, NY.] Captain Doyle Sweeney's bound annual volumes of *The Friend* for 1848 and 1849 are held at the Southampton Museums and Research Center, Southampton, New York. Several individual numbers for that time period, also indicated as having belonged to Captain Sweeney, are held at the LIC, EHL, EH, NY.

As copies of *The Friend* made their way through the whalefishery many whalemen and other mariners, as well as residents and workers of the seaports where they touched, became familiar with the work of William Grey, an Englishman, who labored in the New London whaleship *Isaac Hicks*,[50] which had sailed for the Pacific in September, 1844, returning home in May, 1848.[51] Grey contributed poetry and hymns to *The Friend* following his conversion experience while whaling on the Northwest.[52] In October, 1846, he wrote to *The Friend*, describing his sinful past and his coming to religion.

> I had led a very wicked life, one of constant rebellion against the laws of God…On my first coming to sea, I quickly found myself in company with a class of men who seemed to set all laws at defiance, both human and divine. I soon endeavored to be as bad as most of them, when on board ship…they all flocked around me, and as I was counted the best singer in the ship, for profane and almost every description of songs, I soon became the leader of their revels…I went from bad to worse, until I was confined for several weeks below by a very painful gathering in my right hand. One night, during this time, we encountered a heavy gale of wind. Nearly all of our sails were taken in, and the ship hove to. I lay below, totally unable to help myself when suddenly I was awakened by a tremendous lurch of the ship, and saw the water pouring down the hatchway into the forecastle with such violence, as to carry with it several hogs and other things. Such a scene as ensued is past description. All hands rushed upon deck, and I heard the cry, "The boats are gone!" This struck a terror to my very heart, for I could imagine nothing less than that the ship was going down – and there I lay, helpless, and unable from the confusion, to gain the deck. Then, in that hour of peril, I tried to pray to God to pardon me and preserve me from death. I promised to lead a better life in the future. – God did spare me. The storm subsided, and with it my prayers and good resolutions. Some days after this I got hold of a sermon preached by the Rev. F. Wayland, urging the claims of seamen to christian benevolence. I saw from this that Christians were anxious to do me good, and I reflected upon this and asked

[50] Re-opening of the Seamen's Chapel." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), Vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1, 1848), p. 9. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]
[51] Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 418-419.
[52] "Don't Give Up the Sailor." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), Vol. 6, no. 11 (November 1, 1848), p. 86. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]

myself the question, If these people are interested for my soul,
should I not interest myself? I accordingly began from that day –
left off all profane language – song singing, and led a moral life.
I also made it a practice to pray to God and read the bible.[53]

Grey went on to say that, recognizing his "black heart of sin," he confessed his sins to Jesus, and confronted his sinning shipmates.[54]

Prior to the publication of Grey's letter, *The Friend* had published Grey's "Farewell to the Northwest Coast," a poem in which he described his conversion. Addressing the Coast in romantic language, Grey expressed its beauty and its severity:

Farewell thou cold land, with thy mountains of snow,
Far, far from thy beauties forever I go,
No more shall my vision at sunrise behold
Thy snow-capt hills glisten like mountains of gold –
No more see yon moon o'er thy glaciers arise,
While thousands of stars spangle o'er the bright skies.
No more shall I ride o'er thy billowy breast,
Where the fierce howling storm hath oft rock'd me to rest;
Full well please I leave thee and bid thee farewell,
And hasten far hence….[55]

He then explained his passionate attachment for the Northwest Coast:

'Twas here, while the storm rush'd fierce through the skies,
Jehovah first opened my slumbering eyes.[56]

Grey's writings in *The Friend*, presented a similarly sentimental yet militant idea of the penitent sinner in his poem "Pardon Through Christ. Written by a Sailor."

Hark! those notes of glorious measure
Falling on my spirit's ear,
Richly fraught with heavenly treasure,
Come my fainting soul to cheer.

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[53] William Grey to *The Friend*, October 31, 1846. *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), Vol. 6, no. 11 (November 1, 1848), p. 86. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]
[54] Grey to *Friend*, October 31, 1846, p. 86.
[55] W----------, Ship Isaac Hicks, "Farewell To The Northwest Coast." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), Vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1, 1848), p. 1. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]
[56] W----------, "Farewell Northwest Coast," p. 1.

Soul, they say thou art forgiven,
Christ from sin hath set thee free
…Unfurl the glorious gospel banner,
Wide the bleeding cross display….[57]

Grey's poetic celebrations of his newly found joy in salvation were met with great enthusiasm by Father Damon, who had Grey write opening and closing hymns for the service celebrating the re-opening of the Seamen's Chapel at Honolulu, the physical and symbolic center of the evangelical Christian mission to whalemen in the Pacific. Each of Grey's hymns expressed rapturous praise of God in anticipation of the state of eternal grace. In the second verse of the "Opening Hymn," Grey invoked the relationship he sought between God and seafarers.

Here bid the Sons of Ocean meet
To sing thy boundless praise;
Fill them with love thy name to greet,
And strength to seek thy ways.[58]

The invitation to "Sons of Ocean" notwithstanding, there is nothing particularly, or even generally "masculine" about Grey's poems and hymns. Even in "Farewell to the Northwest Coast," the physical setting, storm, and deliverance take on a feeling of poetic allegory more than a sense of actual physical peril, real though the peril was. Grey's appeal is to the sentimental; the spiritual; the sailor boy seeking the shelter of a safe harbor. How very different are these from his "Miseries of Alcohol," a poem that whalemen from Sag Harbor and other ports would have read in the April 1, 1848 edition of *The Friend* as they picked it up in Honolulu, and as it circulated in the whaling fleet.

[57] Wm. Grey, "Pardon Through Christ. Written by a Sailor." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu),Vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1, 1848), p. 1. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]
[58] W. G., "Opening Hymn." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), Vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1, 1848), p. 9. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]

"Miseries of Alcohol" was attributed to a seafarer named "Johnny Haultaut."[59] This pseudonym conjures not only a seaman, generically dubbed "Johnny" or "Jack," but a good seaman; a man whose strength and ability assure the proper performance of his ship as he performs his masculine labor. "Johnny Haultaut" is not tight in the sense of being drunk, but tight in the sense of keeping himself and his ship in proper trim; he allows "no slack." He is the seaman's seaman.

"Johnny Haultaut" was probably William Grey. *The Friend* identified "Johnny Haultaut" as a whaleman aboard the Ship *Isaac Hicks*,"[60] and "Miseries of Alcohol" was published in *The Friend* during the same few months that it published several of Grey's other poems and hymns. This was during and soon after his ship's refitting and liberty visits to Honolulu. If not Grey, it was one of his shipmates in the *Isaac Hicks*, perhaps one brought to temperance by Grey himself. Be that as it may, "Miseries of Alcohol" is specifically and significantly important to the assertion that whalemen's behaviors may best be understood as performances of masculinity, intricately linked with a whaleman's conception of his own manhood as it relates to alcohol, be it through consumption or through abstinence, through praise or through condemnation.

The Friend was the written voice of the evangelical Christian mission to whalemen. Its message called for faith, for repentance, and for turning away from a life of sin. It stated its message in words of Godly morality. But, when attacking the use of alcohol, as in its reporting the wreck of the whaleship *Neptune*, *The Friend* took on a different tone. It did not take the position of a pious and holy stand against the use and

[59] Johnny Haultaut [pseudonym, likely of William Grey of whaleship *Isaac Hicks*], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu) , Vol. 6, no. 4 (April , 1848), p. 25. [Sweeney copy, SHMRC, SH, NY.]
[60] Johnny Haultaut [Grey], *The Friend*, April 1, 1848, p. 25.

overuse of alcohol, as leading to sinful living. Instead, it attacked drinking alcohol as unmanly. It attacked it in the way that Ned Myers had done, denouncing it as causing good seamen to become poor seamen; to fail as men. It attacked alcohol in the way Jack London would for the "queer man-pride" of those who, thinking it the essential masculine performance, placed it at the center of their quest to achieve manhood, and in so doing prevented themselves from being men. That this appeal to the masculinity of seamanship, not the love of Jesus, was the way to sway whalemen to abstinent temperance, is seen in the denunciation of drinking made by "Johnny Haultaut" in "Miseries of Alcohol."

Touch not that sparkling glass, my friend
There's poison in its beam;
'Twill like a serpent, sting at last,
However bright it seem.
Think not thou'lt lose by tasting not,
In this thy loss is gain;
Place but that foe within thy mouth
'Twill steal away thy brain.[61]

The poet asserts that alcohol destroys clear thought. It will "steal away thy brain," preventing the proper performance of seamanship. In its next three verses, the poet turns his attention to the way in which the seductive power of alcohol destroys the physical vitality of manhood, transforming a powerful man into a weak, sickly, pathetic figure; a rotting hulk with a derelict mind.

'Tis like the harlot's heartless smile
That beams but to destroy,
'Twill mar thy prospects, buries thy heart,
And canker all thy joy.
There's ruin, murder, 'neath its brim,
Although it smiles full well,
'Tis a dire curse to those that drink
'Tis beverage of hell.

[61] Johnny Haultaut [Grey], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend*, p. 25.

I could whisper in thine ear
Full many a dreadful tale;
Or I could scenes of horror show
Would turn thy features pale
Come, turn thy steps with me, my friend;
I'll unfold to thy view
And show thee many a direful scene,
But no more dire than true.

Behold within the asylum's walls
Yon wretched maniac lie –
Hear his heart-rending sighs and groans,
List to his bitter cry.
Behold him on yon bed of straw,
Bound with an iron chain.
Know Alcohol laid him raving there,
And never taste again.[62]

Alcohol, the venereal "harlot," once consumed becomes the consumer. In language conjuring the destruction of sexual manliness, the drinker has his "prospects" and "joy" lost to the power of the "canker." Like a seaman abusing liberty, he is put in irons,[63] losing the freedom of manhood to the syphilitic power of alcohol. He is "Bound with an iron chain" and sequestered from free society to an insane asylum, a harmless shell of a former man. But a worse fate would await the drinker who was not so fortunate:

Come to yon prison's gloomy cell
And see upon the ground
Yon pale, emaciated wretch
With heavy iron bound.
He dwelt in joy and comfort once,
With every virtue fraught –
'Till in an evil, tempting hour
He drank the poisonous draught.

[62] Haultaut [Grey], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend* (April 1, 1848), p. 25.
[63] To be "bound with an iron chain" invokes slavery and punishment, and thereby the loss of the freedom that is essential to manhood. For a seamen to be placed "in irons" is to be manacled, shackled, or both. A ship is said to be "in irons" when it is in a position which renders it temporarily incapable of maneuvering. Thus, a drunken sailor doubly lost the masculinity of his own seamanship, and that of working the ship. See W. A. McEwen and A. H. Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge* (Centerville, Maryland: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953), p. 251.

Then all his virtues, one by one,
Did quickly droop and die,
Unheeded passed the sufferer's moan
And hunger's piercing cry.
He quarreled with a faithful friend,
Then drank again once more;
Beneath Rum's influence he fell
And murdered ere 'twas o'er.[64]

From a life of "prospect" and "joy," the drinker, has descended into an "emaciated," it should be said an *emasculated* prisoner, having stripped himself of the true quality of manhood as "his virtues" did "droop and die." He is imprisoned for the murder of a friend, but his true imprisonment is for the murder of himself. He has committed suicide, having wielded the weapon of alcohol against his own manhood.

Alcohol's destruction of manhood does not stop here. It has more victims; those persons most dependent upon the power of manhood for provision and protection against that kind of destitution to which alcohol has reduced him who was formerly a *man*.

Look at his now deserted home,
His broken hearted wife,
Driven to madness by his woe
A maniac for life!
Behold yon lovely, prattling child,
Once his supreme delight;
Now ruined by that demon, Rum,
His sun will set in night.

Add unto this a numerous list
Of broken-hearted wives,
Of ruined children doomed to spend
In misery their lives,
Yet all thy skill will fail to tell
To thee, the thousandth part
of ruin, misery and woe,
Caused by this monster's dart.[65]

[64] Haultaut [Grey], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend* (April 1, 1848), p. 25.
[65] Haultaut [Grey], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend* (April 1, 1848), p. 25.

At the hand of alcohol, the provider and protector has lost his husbandly and fatherly manhood. The "monster's dart" has struck the hearts of wives, and has doomed children to misery. The family, the true man's "supreme delight," has been lost to "that demon, Rum." From man of "prospect," "joy," and "supreme delight," the drinker has been turned into a murderer, a celled prisoner, an institutionalized lunatic, and one who brings suffering and death to women and children through abandonment.

"So, what of it?," or words to that effect. That might be the reply of "the Drunken Sailor," a libertine bent on a masculine freedom that bears no responsibility to others, but only to his own pleasure. "What should I care for those that "Johnny Haultaut" thinks I may ruin? I have no wife; no child; no home ashore. And as to a prison, I dwell within the bulkheads of my ship. It is my "asylum" from the world, and from those responsibilities that the respectable, that *The Friend*, says I should fulfill." To such thoughts, William Grey had an answer. Alcohol, as with the wreck of the *Neptune*, denied the seaman of that which most made him a man; not alcohol, but seamanship.

Behold yon trim and gallant ship,
  How graceful she doth ride;
Mark well how neat her canvas fits,
  How swift she stems the tide.
Behold her now, she's clear from land,
  Her crew are all called aft –
With his own hand the captain pours
  For each the poisonous draught.

The alluring taste incites to more,
  Forward each seaman goes,
With reveling songs and shouts they praise
  The vilest of their foes.
Behold her now, amid yon storm;
  How dire confusion reigns –
They're drunk with rum, not even one
  His senses now retains.

See! 'neath her lee yon iron shore –
The storm still gathering fast,
She nears it now – alas! I fear
This hour will be her last.
Ah! see, she strikes! her masts are gone –
Hark! 'tis the signal gun;
To escape, in vain each seaman tries,
Their earthly race is run.

That maddening draught hath done its work,
Behold amid the gloom
Yon noble vessel, now a wreck –
'Twas rum that sealed her doom.
Go turn thee back while safe, my friend,
Nor stand on danger's ledge,
If thou'ld be saved from such a doom,
Oh! haste and sign the Pledge.[66]

The ship is lost, and so the men; or correctly, manhood was lost, and so the ship. A vessel, like manhood, can be "noble," but for rum. With rum, both are wrecked. Only fulfilling "the Pledge" of abstinent temperance can save both, for in saving manhood, it saves the ship. In this sense "Miseries of Alcohol" is not so much a moralizing poem, as it is a challenge against the masculinity of drink, presenting alcohol instead as that which robs men of the ability to perform the true manhood of seamanship.

Many Sag Harbor whalemen no doubt read "Miseries of Alcohol" in *The Friend*. Many also sang songs such as those found in Lewis Jones's collection, most notably "As I lay amusing," which praised alcohol. The theme of manhood and alcohol is also central to four other poems and songs written in journals kept by Sag Harbor whalemen during the period of the late 1830s through the early 1850s. One of these, "One Glass More," is found in the journal Henry A. Fordham kept during his voyage as cabin boy and then green hand in the Sag Harbor whaleship *Ontario*, 1850-1854. It offers much the same message as Grey's "Miseries," again portraying the degradation of manhood that results

[66] Haultaut [Grey], "Miseries of Alcohol." *The Friend* (April 1, 1848), p. 25.

from the use of alcohol. Although Fordham presents a religious call for the drinker to turn to "the saviours grace," his method, like Grey's, is to show how the drinker renders himself emasculated; a weakling unable to resist "One Glass More."

> Stay, Mortal, stay!
> Thy sure destruction seal
> Within that Cup there lurks a curse
> Which all who drink shall feel.
>
> Disease and Death forever nigh
> Stand ready at the door
> And eager wait to hear the cry
> Oh! Give me one Glass more.
>
> Go view the Prisoners gloomy cell
> Their sin and misery scan
> Gaze Gaze upon those earthly hell
> In drink their woes began.
>
> Oh yonder children, bathed in tears
> And why is mother poor
> They'll whisper in thy startled ear
> Twas fathers – One Glass More
>
> Stay. Mortal stay! Repent; Return!
> Upon thy fate
> Thy poisonous draught for ever spurn
> Spurn, spurn it ere to late
>
> Oh! fly the horrid grog shop then
> Nor linger at the door
> Lest thou perchance should'st sip again
> The treacherous – One Glass More.
>
> Trust not thy deceitful heart
> The saviours grace implore
> Through him from every sin depart
> And touch that Glass no more.[67]

A very different view of drink and its connection with masculinity is presented in "To Toast Be Dear woman," found in the rear pages of the journal kept by James R.

[67] Henry A. Fordham, "Mr. Henry A. Fordham Ship Ontario of Sag Harbor…Journal," 1850-1854, unpublished manuscript and Xeroxed copy, SHMRC, SH, NY, October 19, 1850, p. 103.

Foster during his voyage in the Sag Harbor bark *Nimrod*, 1856-1858.[68] Written in two eight line verses, with a six line chorus, it was most likely a song. It is also likely that James Foster had heard it since he did not sign his name following the last verse, as he did with another set of verses he wrote into his journal. "The Toast" gives praise to women, its setting being that of the company of men, with no women present, sharing in the conviviality of wine and song, invoking Classical gods, and giving rowdy cheers.

> Bright are the beams of the morning sky
> And sweet dew the red blossoms sip
> But Brighter the glance of dear woman's eye
> And sweeter the dew of her lip
> Her mouth is the fountain of rapture
> The source from whence purity flows
> Ah! who would not taste of its magic
> As the honey bee sips from the rose
>
> > Then the toast, then the toast; be dear woman
> > Let each breast that is manly approve
> > Then the toast; then the toast; be dear woman
> > And 9 Cheers for the girls that we love
> > Hip; Hip; hurra; Hip, Hip, Hurra
> > Hurra, Hurra, Hurra, for the girls that we love
>
> Come raise the wine cup to heaven high
> Ye god's on Olympus approve
> The off'ring thus mellowed by womans bright smile
> Out rivals the nectar of jove
> Now drain drain the goblet with transport
> The spell of life's best joys impart
> The cup thus devoted to woman
> Yields the only true balm of the heart.[69]

"The Toast Be Dear woman" presents a very different message from that of "Miseries of Alcohol" and "One Glass More." This is a song of masculine revelry.

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[68] James R. Foster, "Journal kept by James R. Foster, Boatsteerer, of Southampton," Sag Harbor Bark *Nimrod*, 1856-1858, unpublished manuscript, SHMRC, SH, NY, pp. 1-2, and undated, unnumbered pages at rear of journal.

[69] "The Toast Be Dear woman," James R. Foster, Journal *Nimrod*, 1856-1858, undated entry, rear of journal.

Glorying in the pagan joys of wine, woman, and song, even if no women are present among the characters who sing within the song, or among the singers in the *Nimrod*.

"The Jolly Rover," a song in Alfred W. Foster's journal, is perhaps more in keeping with what those not attuned to the diverse personalities in a whaleship crew might expect to find in a whaleman's journal. Alfred was quite eclectic in his tastes and, to judge by the content of his song collection, in his personal values and ideals of manhood. As seen earlier in "Whalemen's Song," he was a Christian, but does not seem to have been as critically circumspect as the younger Jeremiah Hedges, or as seriously studious as George Smith. His journal includes the words to several sentimental songs expressing Christian faith and hope, including "The Dying Wife to Her Husband," and "The Dying Californian," as well as secular parlor and patriotic songs."[70]

"The Jolly Rover," as sung by a character named "Jack," is a celebration of carefree libertine masculinity. The song is set ashore, but would appeal to 19th century sailors, who were often referred to as "jolly," Jack," and "rover," and Alfred W. Foster links it further to sailors by drawing a full-rigged ship on the same page as the lyrics. The song's hero is a rambler who wears worn out clothes and shoes, and has a disheveled appearance, but this is to one who shuns the shallow pretensions of "fops and beaus." He gambles at cards and dice, whether he's drunk or sober, and win or lose he remains a jovial friend. He is, of course, a favorite of the farmer's daughter, who he will marry, and when they grow old they will sit together and drink strong beer. Death, at last, will call him, but even while he is in his grave he will be remembered by "each Jolly lass" who

[70] Alfred W. Foster, "Alfred W. Foster's Day Book," songs at rear of journal, pp. 141-142, 145, 152-153, 184-185.

will "fill a parting glass To Jolly Jack the rover."[71] Throughout the song, the "Jolly Rover," a most masculine of men, leads a life intertwined with the convivial sharing of drink.

"The Toast Be Dear woman" and "The Jolly Rover" are odes to masculinity; men celebrating the performance of manhood through the gendered context of song and the pleasure of drink, and thoughts of the pleasure to be had of women. They epitomize good fellowship. But not all saw good fellowship, at least this type of good fellowship, as good. Some saw it as an outgrowth of evil. Satan, as the *Westminster Catechism* warned, "tempts to drunkenness, under the guise of good fellowship."[72]

A song in the journal kept by the older Jeremiah Hedges in Sag Harbor's *Nimrod*, 1835-1836, presents a clear contrast between these two positions. He wrote out numbers for six verses, but only wrote the first verse and the last two lines of the last verse.

> Come my Landlord fill us a quart,
> Me and my friends do not mean to part,
> Come for my friends I'll tell you why,
> Our thirsty souls to satisfy.[73]

This, the first verse, presents an idea of good fellowship in the convivial drinking of alcohol. Hedges, however, was devoutly Christian, a man concerned with "Christian truth" and salvation from "the horrors of eternal death," who took the time and made the

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[71] "The Jolly Rover," Alfred W. Foster, "Alfred W. Foster's Day Book," pp. 131-132.

[72] *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, The. Explained, by Way of Question and Answer. Part 1. What Man is to Believe Concerning God*. by Several Ministers of the Gospel. Fourth Philadelphia Edition (Carefully Compared with an Early and Correct Scotch Impression (Philadelphia: William S. Young Printer, 1840; First Edition by Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher. Glasgow, Scotland 1753. *The Shorter Catechism* composed by the Assembly of Divines, and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, 1648), p. 246.

[73] Jeremiah M. Hedges, "Journal of a Whaleing Voyage from Sagharbor to the South Atlantic in the Nimrod," 1835-1836, unpublished manuscript, LIC, EHL, EH, NY, song entry following journal entry for March 17, 1836, p. 24. [This is the elder and more seamanly of the two J. Hedges in the dissertation.]

effort to copy a lengthy sermon on "Christian Obligation" into his journal."[74] Knowing this, we must consider the phrase at the end of the first verse: "Our thirsty souls to satisfy." Where would this verse lead? Would it lead to damnation through "good fellowship," the landlord filling a quart of spirituous liquor?; or would it lead to salvation, the Landlord filling the "thirsty souls" with the Holy Spirit?[75]

Melville's Ishmael pondered the attraction the sea held for young men, as he queried: "Why is almost every robust healthy boy with a robust healthy soul in him, at some time or other crazy to go to sea?"[76] But, Jack London warned, that once they reached the sea: "All ways led to the saloon. The thousand roads of romance and adventure drew together in the saloon, and thence led out and all over the world.[77]

Over a thousand years before Melville and London, the Psalmist had sung:

> They that go down to the sea in ships…see the works of the Lord…
> the stormy wind…and stagger like a drunken man.[78]

Many who went down to the sea in ships, including some who whaled out of Sag Harbor, believed that sailors were best praised by themselves when "we drink and pass it round again."[79] For many others the question of seamanship and manhood remained: What Shall We Do With the Drunken Whaler?

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[74] "A Sermon by the Rev Beriah Green Professor of Biblical Literature in the Western Reserve College Hudson Ohio: Christian Obligation." in Hedges, Journal *Nimrod*, pp. 22-23. [This is the elder and more seamanly of the two men named Jeremiah Hedges whose journals are used as primary sources in this dissertation.]

[75] The song ends: "You will pawn your watch and sell your Clothes. To ramble with those galleous whores." Hedges, "Journal *Nimrod*," p. 24. ["Galleous" is a misspelling of "galleass" a Mediterranean sailing vessel carrying heavy guns, with a high poop and a high forecastle, and could refer to a prostitute of Mediterranean nationality, to a woman engaging in prostitution on the gun deck when a ship was in port, to a woman with stylishly protruding bust and derriere, or to any combination of these, the word as used in the song creating exceptional imagery. McEwen and Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge*, p. 192.

[76] Melville, *Moby Dick*, pp. 4-5.

[77] London, *John Barleycorn*, p. 5.

[78] *Psalms*, Psalm 107, verses 23-27.

[79] Song #19, "As I lay amusing," Lewis Jones Song Collection, East Hampton.

Chapter 7

THE WHALEMAN AS OBSERVANT DEMOCRAT:

THE UNSEAMANLY MANLINESS OF ISAAC SIDNEY GOULD

> IN THE TIME before steamships, or then more frequently than now, a stroller along the docks of any considerable seaport would occasionally have his attention arrested by a group of bronzed mariners, man-of-war's men or merchant-sailors in holiday attire ashore on liberty. In certain instances they would flank, or, like a bodyguard quite surround some superior figure of their own class, moving along with them like Aldebaran among the lesser lights of his constellation. That signal object was the "Handsome Sailor" of the less prosaic time alike of the military and merchant navies. With no perceptible trace of the vainglorious about him, rather with the off-hand unaffectedness of natural regality, he seemed to accept the spontaneous homage of his shipmates.
>
> - - - *Billy Budd*, Herman Melville[1]

> I have now arrived at the height of my ambition. I have the name of being the most careless about my dress and appearance otherwise of any man in the ship, not making a single exception with regard to colour nation or any other particular. This is what I have long wished and I really pride myself upon the fact.
>
> - - - Journal...Ship *Fanny*, 1843, I. Sidney Gould[2]

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[1] Herman Melville, *Billy Budd* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1962; original publication, 1924), p. 5. [Aldebaran, a red star, is the eye of the constellation Taurus.]

[2] I. Sidney Gould, "A Journal Kept on Board Ship Fanny of Sag Harbor," 1843-1846, unpublished manuscript, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities [SPLIA], Cold Spring Harbor, New York [CSH, NY], October 30, 1845, p. 146 transcript. [Gould's journal is filed incorrectly as "Ship Log Fanny Edwards M 64.4.1 Shipping Log Books" at SPLIA's repository in CSH, NY. A typed transcript of the journal, which includes none of Gould's illustrations or other entries following the daily voyage entries, was prepared by SPLIA and is held by the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum [CSHWM], CSH, NY. Page listings for Gould, Journal *Fanny*, are as given in the typed transcript, which this writer has validated for text transcription accuracy against the original. *PLEASE NOTE* that this chapter includes several explanatory footnotes, particularly as regards the routine and monotony of ship's duties that whaling hands, especially green hands such as Gould, had to perform repeatedly. I have included these for the convenience

Herman Melville's *Billy Budd*, first published in 1924, was discovered among his unpublished writings many years after his death. Melville had written *Billy Budd* during the years 1888-1891.[3] His opening invocation of the "Handsome Sailor" gives the novel's narrator the opportunity to recall the "remarkable instance" of seeing one for whom the appellation was particularly apropos, a black sailor whom he had seen near Prince's Dock, Liverpool, "now half a century ago."[4] That would place the narrator's sighting of the "Handsome Sailor" in about 1840, the time of greatly expanding American maritime activity, as the early Republic began maturing into a major industrial and commercial nation,[5] and growing along with the nation were notions of robust American masculinity.[6] It was also the time when Sag Harbor emerged to prominence as a whaling port in both the number of ships it sent out and the exceptional achievements of several of its whalemen. Despite remaining a village in size, Sag Harbor was a world city, its whaleships sailing throughout the oceans and returning with men from far off islands and coasts. They also returned with the oil and bone that brought great wealth to the owners

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of readers not familiar with maritime language and labor. My purpose in stressing the drudgeries described in these explanatory footnotes will become increasingly apparent as the reader becomes more familiar with Isaac Sidney Gould's extraordinarily poor seamanship, and his extraordinarily brilliant mind.]

[3] Regarding Melville's writing of *Billy Budd* and its posthumous publication, see Laurie Robertson-Lorant, *Melville: A Biography* (New York: Clarkson Potter/Publishers, 1996), pp. 587-597; Robert Milder, "Herman Melville, 1819-1897: A Brief Biography," pp. 51-53, and Emory Elliot, "'Wandering To-and Fro': Melville and Religion," pp. 198-200, *A Historical Guide to Herman Melville*, ed. by Giles Gunn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

[4] Melville, *Billy Budd*, p. 5.

[5] For an overview of America's maritime domestic and foreign commercial activities, naval actions, and cultural developments during the period between 1815 and 1860 see Benjamin W. Labaree, William M. Fowler, Jr., John B. Hattendorf, Jeffrey J. Safford, Edward W. Sloan, and Andrew W. German, *America and the Sea: A Maritime History* (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 1998). Of particular relevance are chapter 7, "Maritime Developments in an Age of Optimism," pp. 237-275; chapter 8, "Maritime America in a Wider World," pp. 277-321; and the first part of chapter 9, "Modern Technology, Modern Warfare, and the Troubled Course of American Maritime and Naval Enterprise," pp. 323-335.

[6] For an overview of the development of American concepts and performances of masculinity in transition during the 19th century, see: E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

and captains of Sag Harbor's whaling industry, their profits being displayed in the large and architecturally stylish buildings that made the village "an American Beauty."[7]

Many a "Handsome Sailor" was seen in Sag Harbor. He may have been a local Yankee boy, grown to manhood as a skilled whalehunter, ready for advancement to boatsteerer or 3rd mate, or having proved his manhood at sea, for a wife, a home, and a competency ashore. Or perhaps he was the ship's best harpooner, a South Sea Islander, a Luso-African from Cape Verde, or a Shinnecock or Montauk. Such men's lives were raised beyond romantic notions into legend. *Moby Dick*'s Queequeg, Tashtigo, Daggoo and Bulkington, of the brown, red, black and white races,[8] are but paper versions of their heroic flesh and blood Sag Harbor counterparts. Then there was Isaac Sidney Gould.

I. Sidney Gould, as he identified himself in his journal, was the younger son of Isaac N. Gould, a retail merchant residing in the Stony Brook-Port Jefferson area, to the north of New Village [now Centereach]. The elder Isaac was a charter member and generous financial contributor to the New Village Congregational Church, founded in 1815, serving as its first clerk, and later as a deacon, as Sunday school superintendent, and as a delegate to the District Temperance Convention. Many young men from Gould's hometown area went whaling out of Sag Harbor, including his older brother Albert, who preceded Sidney to sea and, unlike Sidney, was fit for a successful career as a mariner.[9]

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[7] Dorothy Ingersoll Zaykowski, *Sag Harbor: The Story of an American Beauty* (Sag Harbor, New York: Sag Harbor Historical Society, 1991).

[8] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The Whale*, Vol. 6, *The Writings of Herman Melville: The Northwestern-Newberry Edition*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston, Ill.: Northwester University Press and Newberry Library, 1988; original publication New York, Harper & Brothers, 1851), Queequeg, Pacific Islander, pp. 21-30, 49-52; Tashtigo, Gay Head Indian, p. 120; Daggoo, African, pp. 120-120; Bulkington, white American, pp. 15-16, 106-107.

[9] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 25, 1844, p. 5 transcript; September 7, 1844, p. 44 transcript; October 12, 16, 19, 21, 22, 26, 28, 29, 1844, pp. 50-55 transcript; February 15, 1845, pp. 88-91 transcript.

One would find it difficult to discover a real-life whaleman who was as incompetent and seemingly unmanly as was Isaac Sidney Gould; or at least as he portrayed himself to be. He was sickly, going to sea in hope of gaining his health; a hope that went unfulfilled. He was also clumsy, poor at executing his duty, and unable to fit in with his shipmates, Gould described his own considerable shortcomings in such a way as to give one reading his journal a view of him as an unmitigated lubber.[10] In a sea adventure novel of his time he might have been a literary foil to stand in contrast to the manly, able, "handsome" sailors, his character a cross between *Moby Dick*'s black "Pip" and white "Dough-Boy," the former stricken from fear, to terror, to insanity, the latter the hapless victim of threatening jests and ill-humored jibes.[11] Gould, by his own account, took pride in being the most slovenly whaleman in the *Fanny*.

United States Bureau of the Census. *Census of the United States 1830*, New York State, Suffolk County, Town of Brookhaven, pp. 184-185. *Census, 1840*, Town of Brookhaven.. *Census, 1850*, Town of Brookhaven, p. 183. *Census, 1860*, Town of Brookhaven, Village of Port Jefferson, p. 58.

Osborne Shaw, compiler and editor, "Brookhaven Cemetery Data Base" (unpublished compilation, Town of Brookhaven Historian's Alphabetical Listing, ca. 1950), p. 156. M. Lewis Gould, "Eighty-three Years of Church Work. Submitted by Deacon M. Lewis Gould of the First Congregational Church of New Village at a Meeting of the Suffolk Association, November 16 and 17, 1898" (unpublished printed document, New Village Congregational Church File [NVCCF], Suffolk County Historical Society [SCHS], Riverhead, New York [RVHD, NY]. David A. Overton, "First Congregational Church of New Village" (unpublished pamphlet, NVCCF, SCHS, RVHD, NY, no year given, pp. 5-8. [Mr. Overton served as Town of Brookhaven Historian during the last third of the 1900s.] "Historic Sketch of the Congregational Church of New Village" (unpublished manuscript, NVCCF, SCHS RVHD NY, no year given), pp. 5, 8-9. "Preparation and Subscription List building of House of Worship for Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians at New Village, February 7, 1818" (unpublished transcript dated September 7, 1858, NVCCF, SCHS, RVHD, NY.

[10] "Lubber, n. Big clumsy stupid fellow, lout; clumsy seaman...14th c...*lob* bumpkin; dial. Sw. *lubber*; Da. *lobbes* clown." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, ed. by H. W Fowler and F. G Fowler (5th edition, London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 725. "Lubber. An awkward or unskilled seaman...Lubberly, like a lubber; unhandy; slovenly...." in W. A. McEwen and A. H. Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge* (Centreville, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953), p. 312.

[11] Melville, *Moby Dick*, Pip's fear of death, p. 178; Pip, terrified by a whale and told "a whale would sell for thirty times what you would...in Alabama," pp. 411-414; Pip's insanity, pp. 521-522; Daggoo, the African, and Tashtego, the Gay-Head Indian, seize Dough-Boy and threaten to scalp him, pp. 152-153; Dough-Boy abused for not providing hard liquor, p. 322.

Ships' hands, in proper maritime terminology, serve "in" not "on" a ship.[12] One may think of "in" romantically, as sailing to take part "in" an adventure, but as applied to Gould, "in" takes on a sense of physical and psychological entombment, and conjures Edgar Allan Poe's fictional whaleman Arthur Gordon Pym, trapped within the worst and most unimaginable horrors to be encountered at sea at the hands of men of ill will.[13] But Pip, Dough-Boy and Pym, like Billy Budd, and the virtuous Roswell Gardener, hero of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Sea Lions*, were literary inventions; maritime "types" refined to perfection by literary masters. They are ink on paper. Isaac Sidney Gould, though all that remains of him is the ink he put on paper, was real.

Gould may be likened to another fictional whaleman, "Reuben Ranzo," the incompetent land-lubber turned whaleman in a traditional 19th century chantey.

Oh, Ranzo wuz no sailor,
Ch. Ranzo, boys, Ranzo!
He wuz a New York tailor,
Ch. Ranzo, boys, Ranzo!

Though Ranzo wuz no sailor,
He shipped aboard a whaler.

Ranzo joined (name of ship),
Did no' know his dooty.

They put him holystonin',
An' cared not for his groanin'.

They said he was a lubber,
And made him eat whale-blubber.

[12] Samuel Eliot Morison, "Notes on Writing Naval (*not* Navy) English," in *The American Neptune: A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History*," Vol. IX, no. 1 (January, 1949), p. 6.

[13] Edgar Allan Poe, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (New York: The Modern Library; Random House, Inc., 2002; original publication, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, January and February, 1837). Poe's only novel-length work, *Pym* was presented to the public as fact. It relates a disastrous whaling voyage. Beginning as a romantic tale of youths seeking adventure on a whaleship, it quickly degenerates into episodes of entombment in the ship's hold, mutiny, murder, kidnap, shipwreck, starvation, and cannibalism. For literary, social, cultural and historical essays see: Richard Kopley, editor, *Poe's* Pym: *Critical Explorations* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992).

He washed once in a fortnight,
He said it wuz his birthright.

They gave him lashes thirty,
Because he wuz so dirty.

- - - antebellum American chantey[14]

Ranzo undergoes many hardships due to his inability as a seaman, until finally, by learning navigation from and wedding with the captain's daughter, he becomes the commander of his own whaleship.[15] "Ranzo," but for his fortuitous ending, could be used to describe Isaac Sidney Gould: dirty, unable to perform his duty, given the most menial tasks, and complaining; in short, a "lubber."

Isaac Sidney Gould was just a few weeks past his 19th birthday when he shipped for a whaling voyage in the Sag Harbor Ship *Fanny*. Commanded by Captain H. Edwards, the *Fanny* sailed on December 4, 1843. Just over ten months later, on October

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[14] Stan Hugill, compiler and editor, *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs Used as Work-Songs from the Great Days of Sail* (2nd edition, new U.S. edition, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 1994; original publication, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1961), pp. 175-178. [Hugill gives excellent commentary on the chantey "Reuben Ranzo," a traditional American seamen's work song dating from about 1815-1820, commonly sung at the halyards on American sailing ships during the 19th century. For additional commentary and versions of "Reuben Ranzo" see Frederick Pease Harlow, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* (2nd ed, Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 2004; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 89-91; Joanna C. Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen* (revised edition, New York: Bramhall House, 1983; original publication as *Roll and Go, Songs of American Sailormen* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1924), pp. 69-71; William Main Doerflinger, compiler and editor, *Songs of the Sailor and Lumberman* (Glenwood, Illinois: Meyerbooks, 1990, original publication as *Shantymen and Shantyboys*, 1951), pp. 23-25. "Holystoning" was one of the most arduous and unpleasant tasks performed by deckhands on wooden decked vessels. McEwan and Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge*, p. 233, defined a holystone as: "A block of soft sandstone, usually set in a frame with a long handle, for scouring wood decks in combination with sand and water. Origin of the terms appears from first use for this purpose in British navy of fragments of tomb-stones and monuments from St. Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth, England." Peter Kemp, editor, *The Oxford Companion to Ships & the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 392-393, describes the labor of holystoning. "...scrubbing the decks...seamen had to use holystones on hands and knees to get a good result. Large holystones were known among seamen as 'bibles', smaller ones for use in difficult corners were 'prayer books', and these names certainly came into use because seamen had to get down on their knees when using them. A deck scoured by holystones and then washed down with salt water quickly takes a smooth, even surface and the wood becomes almost white."]

[15] Hugill, *Shanties*, pp. 177-178.

9, 1844, Gould wrote: "This is my birthday, being twenty years old. This is the first birthday that I have seen on board the Fanny but probably will not be the last." He was right. The voyage did not end until March 12, 1846.[16] What happened during Sidney's twenty-seven months at sea presents many complicated perceptions of the performances of masculinities in the Sag Harbor whalefishery during the 1840s.

Sidney's first days on the *Fanny* went as badly as would be expected for a 19 year old green hand at the start of a lengthy voyage. On the date of sailing he first experienced being out of sight of land. Four days later he experienced his first destructive gale at sea. He battled seasickness for several days before he was able to eat and stand his first watch.[17] On December 18th he wrote humorously and sarcastically of the forecastle, calling it "splendid accommodations," and relating how he was "Sitting on one chest and writing on another while our sitting room rocks like a cradle. And my head feels a little dizzy but I shall get used to the motion of the ship. Quite an excitement while I am now writing in consequence of finding live stock on board."[18]

Despite his seasickness, the cramped space in the forecastle, and the presence of such "live stock" as cockroaches, bed bugs and rats, Sidney was adjusting to life as a

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[16] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," gives name as "I. Sidney Gould," December 4, 1843, p 1, transcript; birthday October 9, 1844, p. 49, transcript; birthday October 9, 1845, p. 142, transcript; voyage ended March 12, 1846, p. 176 transcript. [Gould's date of birth is recorded as October 9, 1824 in the Gould's "Family Bible," as listed in Osborn Shaw, Town Historian, Town of Brookhaven, Suffolk County, New York, compiler, "Brookhaven Cemetery Data Base, Historian's Alphabetical List," unpublished; compilation circa 1930, Suffolk County Historical Society[SCHS], Riverhead, New York[RVHD, NY], p. 75. Alexander Starbuck, *Report of Commission of Fish and Fisheries. History of the American Whale Fishery* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1989; original publication 1877), pp. 406-407, lists the *Fanny*, Edwards, owned by N. & G. Howell, as a ship of 391 tons (larger than average), sailing from Sag Harbor, New York, on December 4, 1843, with arrival back to New York on March 12, 1846. Shaw's and Starbuck's dates are in agreement with those given in Gould's journal.]

[17] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 4, 1843 (out of sight of land), p. 1, transcript; December 8 (eating, first watch), p. 1 transcript. Watch, as used here, means taking his regular turn in the assigned duty rotation. Watches normally lasted 4 hours, the exceptions being the divided two-hour "dog watches," between 4 PM and 8 PM, and the extended time for the shipboard watch section when the other watch section was ashore on liberty.]

[18] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*" December 18, 1843, p. 1in transcript.

whaling hand. On December 20th he took a trick at the wheel and worked aloft, tarring down the rigging.[19] Things were going well for Sidney. He was improving physically, and he was learning the skills of seamanship that lay at the core of a whaleman's masculinity. His progress, however, was short lived, and one soon sees the anxiety and feeling of isolation that would plague him for the remainder of the voyage. On December 25, 1843, he wrote: "Today is Christmas and how differently spent from the last. Instead of being at home among my friends I am on the wide ocean among strangers...Was obliged to come down the mast on account of sea sickness. The sailors are not in very good humour today because they cannot have as much grog as they want."[20]

Three weeks into the voyage Gould's seasickness returned so badly that he could not perform his duty. His homesickness might still be expected, particularly on his first Christmas away from home, but his shipmates were still "strangers;" men whose idea of Christmas was unlimited rum. Sidney, meanwhile, became emphatic about his own failings as a whaleman, and his journal took on an air of a self-denigrating emasculation. Unable to perform the duties of seamanship he should have been learning, he was reduced almost entirely to menial tasks, such as turning the grindstone, peeling and pickling onions, and braiding sinnett. He grew as a complainer. His homesickness continued, and he contrasted his separation from the comforts of home with the discomforts of the weather, which was either too hot, too wet, too windy, or too calm.[21]

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[19] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 20, 1843, pp. 1-2 in transcript.
[20] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 25, 1843, p. 2 in transcript.
[21] Gould, "*Journal Fanny*," December 27, 1843 (grinding), p. 2 transcript; December 29, 1843 (gale), p. 2 transcript; January 4, 1844 (heat), p. 4 transcript; January 14, 1843 (peeling, pickling), p. 4 transcript; January 20, 1844 (heat), p. 5 transcript; January 23, 1844 (storm, at wheel), p. 5 transcript; January 29, 1844 (a calm; "to the sailor it is the most disagreeable task imaginable...To lie upon the ocean perfectly motionless with the mind fixed upon an object several thousand miles distant [home] and making no advancement...."), p. 6 transcript; February 1, 1844 (braiding sinnett), p. 7 transcript. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., defines sennit, or sinnit [Gould's spelling is sinnett] as "A braid, formed by plaiting rope-yarns or

In January, 1844, the *Fanny* approached the equator. "Old Nep is all the tale at present," Gould wrote on January 6th, and two days later "as we expected we received a visit from the God of the sea. The play was carried out by the shipkeeper. Taking all things into consideration we had a fine time."[22] Oddly, Gould seems to have taken his initiation upon "crossing the line" in stride, although one might expect that because of the continuation of his extreme greenness and of his complaining he would have received harsh treatment at the hands of King Neptune, and thereby another reason to complain.

Nevertheless, Gould did not develop into an able and popular whaleman. His miseries continued. He loathed January's equatorial and tropical heat, complaining that it was "so hot as to blister my feet," and thought of winter sleigh rides on Long Island. Then, as the *Fanny* made headway towards Cape Horn, he complained of missing the warmth of a coal fire at home, and of being wet from watches on deck and from "the sea...breaking over the decks and pouring down into the forecastle." He took advantage of a sunny day, remarking: "I have some difficulty in keeping my clothes from moulding and this afternoon I removed the contents of my chest on deck for the purpose of sunning and airing them which they very much require."[23]

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spunyarn together. Straw, plaited in the same way for hats, is called sennit." Dana also gives a description of the process. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. *The Seaman's Friend: A Treatise on Practical Seamanship* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1997; re-publication of the 14th revised edition (Boston, Thomas Groom & Co., 1897; original publication of 1st edition, 1841.), pp. 52, 120. Excellent instructional illustrations for braiding sennit and other traditional seamen's braids are given in George Russell Shaw [author and illustrator], *Knots Useful & Ornamental* (New York: Bonanza Books, by arrangement with Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, 1933), pp.68-86.

[22] Gould, "*Journal Fanny*," January 4, 6, 9, 1844, pp. 3-4 transcript. [Another young green whaleman, Erastus Bill, crossed the equator in Sag Harbor's *Citizen* a few months before Gould. Although he was from a poor family, had known hardship ashore, and went on to become a good whaleman, Bill found submission to the Neptune ceremony "ridiculous and humiliating in the extreme." Erastus Bill, *Citizen: An American Boy's Early Manhood Aboard a Sag Harbor Whale-Ship Chasing Delirium and Death Around the World, 1843-1849 Being the Story of Erastus Bill who Lived to Tell It* (Anchorage, Alaska: O. W. Frost, Publisher, 1978; original publication Sag Harbor *Express*, 1905), pp. 70-72.

[23] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 4 and 20, February 5, 11, and 17, 1844, pp. 3, 5, 8-9 transcript.

How, then, did Sidney Gould fit into masculine community in the whaleship? By his own account, he didn't. He was a misfit, but in the same way that many, perhaps all of the others aboard the *Fanny*, from captain on down, would have been misfits in the setting that Gould had left, or imagined, and to which he aspired to return. Every man is a misfit when what he considers his manly skills and the values he attributes to his masculinity do not fit into the social, cultural, and vocational setting in which he finds himself. The *Fanny* was not a place in which his ideal of manhood was accepted or valued, but rather where it appeared useless. Accepting his isolation and frustration, rather than seeking to fit in, he used his journal to express his own values, gaining what Michel Foucault called "an intensity of relation with the self,"[24] while showing disdain for those whalemen who he believed deceived themselves with a false sense of manhood.

Gould, as seen in his Christmas 1843 entry, was critical of his shipmates' excessive thirst for rum, and their ill-humor when it was denied to them.[25] He was a man of Christian sentiment and temperance, but his criticism went far beyond annoyance at men who wanted a few drinks to celebrate Christmas. In describing the culture of the whaleship, he attacked the very notions of manhood that he saw the vast majority of whalemen as embracing, even going so far as to challenge their status as men. His perceptions and criticisms developed throughout his voyage despite, or because of, his failure to develop into the type of man, in labor and in behavior, that he saw about him.

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[24] Michel Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. by Luther Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick Hutton (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 18. [For an examination of the culture of mid-19th century young men's diary keeping see: Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). The chapter titled "Accounting for Character: Diaries and the Moral Practice of Everyday Life, pp. 19-61, is particularly applicable to young men who kept journals while laboring in whaleships.]

[25] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 25, 1843, p. 2 transcript.

Through 27 month's labor in the *Fanny*, Gould maintained the distinction between himself as a landsman at sea, and his officers and shipmates as seamen, and more pointedly, as whalemen. He may have been a lubber, but to his mind it was the whalemen who, although skilled at sea, lacked true manhood. Gould's criticisms included the men's misuse of time and space when off watch. He was greatly annoyed with being unable to find room in the forecastle for keeping his journal, as the space was all taken by whalemen in their supposedly manly activity of playing cards. He also pondered their differing manner of speech, remarking: "How different from home is this. Here the man that can curse, swear, halloo, cut around and make the most noise is the best fellow. There I was continuously reproved for speaking in a loud tone of voice but here I am saluted with – Why do not you halloo louder – Sing out- and such expressions."[26]

Speaking loudly at sea is necessary to make audible the commands upon which may rest the safety of the ship and the survival of those aboard, but Gould saw no reason for unnecessary loudness, or for profanity. Indeed, whalemen were so notorious for hallooing, shouting loudly to converse with those at a distance when ashore, that such behavior was outlawed and heavily fined at Honolulu by the Hawaiian government.[27] As for profanity, its use was common not only among hands, but also among whaleship officers. The Rev. Samuel Damon cautioned captains that their own use of such language was sinful and disrespectful, and when directed against crewmen was conducive towards disorderly conduct. Damon stated that:

> A shipmaster or an officer has no more right to apply degrading and insulting epithets to the crew, than the headman of a mechanical or manufacturing establishment

[26] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 3, 1844, p. 7 transcript; January 16, 1844, p. 4 transcript.
[27] *Statute Laws Relating to Vessels and Harbors*. Lahaina and Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, 1846, pp. 4-5. [Copy in Whaling File, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]

> has a right to address his journeymen by using profane, indecent and disgusting language…No master or officer possessing true self respect and becoming dignity, will allow himself to address those under his command in profane, wicked, vulgar and insulting language…No sailor, possessing the least feeling of self respect and manliness, can, with indifference, hear such language addressed to him.[28]

On February 23, 1844, 82 days out from Sag Harbor, the *Fanny* rounded Cape Horn.[29] The passage into the Pacific created for Gould an increased sense of isolation; the first a physical separation from home, the second a separation between himself and what he recognized as a differing perception and practice of manhood among others in the *Fanny*, and their wonderings about him. He expressed this six days later.

> Since we passed the Cape I have felt as if I were completely out of the world. There is now a strong barrier between us and home but I find there is no use in being discouraged. One thing annoys me very much and this is the conversation of the men. From my history it is their opinion that I came to keep out of state prison. This I overheard one of them express a few nights since. But I must make allowances for seamen as they have no feeling in this respect. At any rate they are very different from landsmen.[30]

Gould felt detached. The cramped ship in which he was confined, on deck and within the forecastle, kept him in constant contact with his officers and shipmates, but

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[28] "Never Call Seamen Out of Their Names," *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman*, Vol. 6, no. 8 (August 1, 1848), p. 60. [Sweeney copy, Southampton Historical Museum and Research Center [SHMRC], Southampton, New York [SHMP, NY] [A well known literary example of this is found in Melville, *Moby Dick*, chapter 29, "Enter Ahab; to him, Stubb," in which Captain Ahab calls second mate Stubb "out of his name," degrading Stubb as a "dog," as "ten times a donkey, and a mule, and an ass....", p. 127.]

[29] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 23, 1849, p. 10 transcript.

[30] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 28, 1844, p. 11 transcript. [The aspect of seamen's culture that makes them suspicious or inquisitive of others' motivations for shipping or for making a passage is played upon by Herman Melville in chapter 9 of *Moby Dick*, "The Sermon," in which Father Mapple elaborates upon the Book of *Jonah*, telling how the sailors of the ship for Tarshish immediately suspect Jonah of some great crime, such as robbing a widow, bigamy, adultery, or parricide. Non-patriotic, non-bourgeois and anti-bourgeois motivations for men to go to sea during the Civil War are discussed in Michael J. Bennett, *Union Jacks: Yankee Sailors in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), particularly in the chapter titled "Dissenters from the American Mood: Why Men Joined the United States Navy during the Civil War," pp. 1-27. Bennett cites reasons that often involve suspicion as to the character of Navy enlistees. My own experience as a seaman and petty officer in the United States Navy, active duty 1970-1974, confirms this continuing aspect of maritime culture. "Why did you join the Navy?," always asked of a new shipmate, was concerned less with finding out why he or she joined, and more with finding out what he or she was getting away from.]

this close and constant physical and social contact only added to his isolation. From his frustration at being surrounded by men who, lacking the "scientific" understanding to play chess, indulged in such frivolous distractions as cards, checkers, and dominos, to his repugnance at the immorality and lack of manly honor among the crew's temperance pledge breakers and drunkards, to disgust with living among men whom he thought more to be swine, Gould found the forecastle unfit for human habitation; at least, for *his* habitation. Writing with the sarcastic humor that runs through much of his journal, Sidney referred to the forecastle as "our parlour," and told how "for some time past we have lived more filthy than swine if possible, the dirt of every kind under our berths, chests and in fact in every part being so deep that a shovel could advantageously be used in cleaning it out." On one occasion the *Fanny*'s forecastle was cleaned, but it soon returned to a place in which Gould found himself living "in dirt and filth and vermin," He was also living among thieves, describing himself as "heartily vexed to think that I cannot lay down the most trifling article without its being taken by some one."[31]

Sidney mused on the affect his voyage in the *Fanny* would have upon him, lamenting that it "will prove my ruin – at best it will be time misspent."[32] It was, however, not the voyage and whaling that discouraged him so greatly, but having to live continuously among whalemen, as "the society does not suit me. I am heartily vexed – completely disgusted with it."[33] He condemned it unequivocally, expressing his utter contempt for the men with whom he sailed. In a statement that emasculated and perhaps dehumanized the entire profession, Gould asserted that "Although one myself, I consider

[31] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," November 23, 1844, p. 64; April 13, 1845, p. 98; September 29, 1844, p. 47,; November 16, 1844, p. 47; November 16, 1844, p. 62; pages in transcript.
[32] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 1, 1844, p. 48 transcript.
[33] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," May 18, 1844, p. 26 transcript.

sailors, or rather whalers, the most insignificant class of men in the universe. Men, did I say – let me recall that word – I should have said _____."[34]

What Gould thought at that moment we cannot know, as he censored himself. Was it blasphemy?; bestial?; grossly profane?; scatological?; castrating? Whatever it may have been, it would clearly have denied whalemen the robust masculinity that many presumed and acted out for themselves, and would have placed them below what was manly, and possibly even beneath human. As one within such company, Gould described himself as "dilatory," and as "possessed" of "imbecility, languor and stupidity."[35] Regardless of how one conceived and performed his manhood, be it as secular libertine, bourgeois aspirant, or Evangelical Christian, to be weak, lazy, and dull was unmanly.

Central to whalemen's culture was the ideal of manhood as arising from hard work performed under extraordinary conditions. For a whaleship hand to raise whales from the crosstree, lower for whales, take part in the chase and kill, and labor in the cutting in and trying out was proof of his manliness. Laying aloft in a storm to handle frozen line and sail in the high latitudes, pumping a leaky ship under the profound heat of the tropics, and enduring the discomforts of the forecastle, with bad food, wet clothing, and the constant threat of illness, injury, and death, all added to the whaleman's sense of his masculine accomplishment; to his manhood. Gould, however, saw it differently. He believed that surviving, even thriving under such conditions, was not proof of manliness, but rather of the acceptance of one's unmanly victimization. In the very conditions and performances that others saw as testing a whaling hand's masculinity, Gould saw whalemen's submission to being denied their manhood.

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[34] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 1, 1844, p. 48 transcript.
[35] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 12, 1844, p. 69 transcript.

Recent historiography maintains that Western European and American maritime workers developed industrial proletarian class *consciousness* [my emphasis] during the 17th and early 18th centuries, well in advance of the 1848 publication of *The Communist Manifesto*, a work which Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were writing even as Isaac Sidney Gould labored in the *Fanny*. The whaleship itself was the site of capitalist exploitation, ruled by a shipmaster who, backed by capital ownership, a legally binding contract, and the legally sanctioned application of violent force, exercised unilateral and nearly unlimited authority over his workforce. Whaling hands who labored under such conditions in the 1840s could see themselves as coercively controlled, economically exploited, physically maltreated, poorly paid, badly fed, and disciplined with violent abuse. They suffered, in the language of the sea, the uncalled for misuse at their tasks of "hard usage, and the arbitrary punishment of "cruel usage," being not only physically abused by such punishments as severe floggings and being seized up in the rigging, but psychologically and emotionally dehumanized by such practices as "being called out of their name."[36] Resistance, through petition or direct action, individually or collectively, planned or spontaneous, though rarely successful, was not uncommon.

Yet, whalemen of the 1840s did not express themselves in terms of proletarian class conscious opposition to an exploitive capitalist bourgeoisie. This may be due in part to an important factor within the whaleship that worked against class consciousness, particularly among those educated whalemen who kept journals. This factor was class itself, as economic class ashore was irrelevant and frequently the reverse of one's billet and rank in the whaleship. Rank, not class, was whaling's operative factor, and a career mariner of very modest beginnings, with only some earned wealth, could hold nearly

[36] "Never Call Seamen Out of their Names," *The Friend* (August 1, 1848), p. 60.

absolute authority at sea over the heir to the prestige and power of a wealthy family ashore, and a poor white mate or boatsteerer of color, in addition to receiving better pay and better living conditions, could wield supervisory authority over the "Victorian" sons of prominent fathers. Such was the case with Isaac Sidney Gould, the highly literate son of a well-to-do and highly respected family, who found himself adrift amidst men of differing masculinities in the whaleship. As a result, what *is* present in Gould's journal, as it is in the journals of several of the other whalemen previously discussed, is a conscious sense of an ideal of manhood.

Shipboard rank as related to gender, the production of power and power relationships, and conceptions of self and "the other," leads to ideas expressed by Michel Foucault, who would have done well to have considered the whaleship as a site of totality, such as the prison, the asylum, and the slave plantation. The whaleship, unlike these other sites, was one in which even those who held power, nearly dictatorial in the case of the whaleship captain, were fully isolated from everything outside the ship at almost all times during a voyage. Additionally, unlike the prison, asylum, and slave plantation, nearly all of those who labored under the constituted power of those holding *rank*, including relations and neighbors of those holding rank, were fully isolated under the power of *rank* in consequence of their own consensual and contractual surrender of individual manhood to the authority of rank through the voluntary act of signing a ship's articles. Could one be a *man* under such circumstances? Did one's sense of manhood, particularly one that did not fit into and would not accept the circumstance, serve to liberate, or through obliteration, to emasculate? Could it do both simultaneously? Foucault's concept of *heterotopia*, a site that unlike a utopia exists in reality as a place

with which culture and society are *simultaneously* represented, contested, and inverted, is useful in answering these questions.

Foucault saw the ship of exploration and colonial commerce as the heterotopia *par excellence*; a carrier of power, economic development, and imagination. The whaleship, then, would be the heterotopia *supra-par excellence*. This is expressed in Isaac Sidney Gould's journal, wherein his empirically-based imagination bursts forth against the confines of the economic space of power and isolation in which, through his own consent, he found himself. With regard to Foucault's three points of the heterotopia,[37] the *Fanny* represented an overall society that was based upon the power of rank and the pursuit of wealth. This society was contested by whaling hands through insubordination and the use of alcohol, and for some by desertion. Finally, the society was inverted through the subversively democratic thought of the green hand who took "pride" in being the *Fanny*'s worst whaleman, through his protest against the violation of his manhood by a system that emasculated its workers, physically, morally, intellectually and, most importantly, through the denial of the natural rights of man and the citizen.

Sidney Gould, for all of his severe criticism of his whaleship crewmates, did not go so far as to condemn them as possessing a natural moral depravity and intellectual inferiority. His journal reveals him to have believed that their state arose from the conditions under which they were forced to live, to labor, and to serve. The whalemen's own company, restricted only to each other for protracted periods of time, reinforced their own bad habits, transforming them into and reproducing them as their sense of manhood. Gould described the men of the forecastle, though often dissatisfied, as

[37] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, Vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 24, 26-27.

acquiescing in their own exploitation. They did this by embracing such libertine practices as extended periods of gambling and the overuse of alcohol when it was available, and by their failure to develop a sense of manhood based upon clearly conceived cohesive and coherent action that was not bourgeois, but liberating, if not empowering. The crewmen, as seen by Gould, had a false sense of freedom that manifested itself into a brand of performance individualism. This, in turn, bred discord so strongly and so frequently that Sidney stated: "Wars and rumors of wars are the order of the day."[38]

Throughout his voyage Gould commented upon the crowded, filthy, vermin infested, often wet, and alternately overly cold or overly hot conditions of the forecastle, frequently depicting ways in which conditions were not only horridly uncomfortable and terribly unhealthful, but dehumanizing. Forecastle hands slept on deck, when possible, because "The plague in our forecastle renders it impossible for us to rest in it," adding that "Some of these bugs are monstrous size and myriads of them attacking a person at once, he is in danger of losing his life. I am quite weak at present, which I think is occasioned by the loss of blood which those marauders have robbed me of…."[39]

On one occasion Sidney gave an extended and detailed description of the forecastle, the small space that was living, sleeping, eating, and recreation quarters for the dozen to eighteen men, Gould included, who in accord with a system of free labor, had consensually signed ship's articles to serve before the mast as seamen and green hands in the *Fanny*. On October 18, 1845, he described:

> the residence which we have occupied for the last two years.
> By raising a scuttle similar to the cover of a well or cistern,
> you descend by ladder into the den which is in form of a semi-
> circle and entirely surrounded by two rows of berths in which

[38] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," March 8, 1846, p. 174 ; January 13, 1846, p. 163; pages in transcript.
[39] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 14, 1844, p. p. 70; December 18, 1844, p. 71; pages in transcript.

> is not only the bed but goods, chattels, and lumber of the sailor. Next to these is a row of chests around the whole which serve as chairs, tables, bedsteads…our teabucket resembles a swillpail in colour and appearance and between them on a small shelf stands the oil can. Also two small swabs on each side of them for cleaning pans, etc. Directly in the forward part is our pantry or rather lockers which are not very well filled. In these we put our tubs or kids after we have devoured the contents. Facing about in the afterpart is…the foremast. Between this and the steps is a large tub for discarded scraps, dirt, etc…The middle of the forecastle is occupied by a…chests, breadbarge, kegs, etc. for seats. Overhead we have shelves for out pots, pans, etc but our knives, forks and spoons are generally kept in racks on the front of the births. There are also nets and lines for clothing. We have one broken and miserable skylight to illuminate the whole place but we have plenty of lamps and with these we remedy the defect of light from heaven. The highth too is insufficient for a man to stand perpendicular in consequence of which we have to group around it half bent on all fours, in short, the conceptions that I have of a dungeon are that it is similar to this and not the least inferior but if possible far preferable.[40]

The *Fanny* had been out for 22 ½ months when Gould wrote this description of the "dungeon" in which the forecastle hands lived. It would be nearly 16 months more before they left it at voyage's end. He completed his description by comparing the forecastle with one of the best known places of inhumane incarceration and death, stating that: "The Black Hole of Calcutta certainly can be nothing compared to this. When standing over the entrance the most nauseous smell arises to the olfactory nerves, being sevenfold worse than that which is emitted from a pigsty."[41]

Gould's description of the forecastle combines keen observation with sarcasm. He may have resorted to hyperbole in making his point about the emasculating conditions under which whalemen performed masculinity, but the allusion to the Black Hole of Calcutta is not without merit in condemning the conditions under which whalemen lived,

[40] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 18, 1845, pp. 143-144 transcript. [A "kid" is a small wooden tub in which food rations were served to seamen.]
[41] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 18, 1845, p. 144 transcript.

and often died of illness or infection. The sub-human living conditions faced by the whaling hands were exacerbated by the poor quality of food which was often issued in short ration, spoiled, badly prepared, infested with vermin, and sometimes of so unaccustomed a variety that it must have caused digestive problems and nausea. "What will not a sailor eat?" Gould quipped in response on one memorable and likely indigestible occasion.[42]

Race, though rarely mentioned in Gould's journal, clearly was a factor in life aboard the *Fanny*. American whaleship crews of the 1840s, no matter how "white" they might be, usually included some men of color, most notably Native Americans and African Americans, Luso-Africans, and Pacific Islanders, as well as those who by 1840s' standards were often considered as non-white, including Irish immigrants and Portuguese-speaking white Azoreans. Although it was exceedingly rare for men of these racial or ethnic groups to rise to the status of whaleship officers during the mid-19th century, they could be found in the ranks of many non-officer billets, most notably as boatsteerers (harpooners), but also as experienced or green hands, as craftsmen or shipkeepers, or as stewards. Many whaleships carried an African American cook. So it was with the *Fanny*, whose black cook suffered from the double-edged animosity of prejudice no doubt held by some of his shipmates against his race, and wrath against the bad fare for which he received the blame, although it was more likely the fault of bad and short provisions resulting from the parsimony of the *Fanny*'s owners and captain.

On October 12, 1844, the *Fanny* had put into port at Maui. The officers and men engaged in recruiting supplies and making repairs. Perhaps more importantly, their stay at Lahaina afforded a chance for frequent gamming with other American whaleships in port,

[42] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 28, 1845, p. 103 transcript.

and for much needed and long awaited liberty ashore.[43] On Tuesday, October 29th, several of the other whaleships that had put in at Lahaina, including the *Noble* and the *Daniel Webster*, both of Sag Harbor, put out to sea. As for the *Fanny*, Gould noted that: "We should probably have sailed before this time if our cook had not absconded during the night and we have been looking for him all morning."[44] Gould continued relating the incident of the black man's desertion in his entry for the following day, reporting that: "Yesterday, soon after 12 o'clock, we hove up our anchor and made sail but not until we had made a thorough search for the Doctor.[45] The search however was fruitless and we were obliged to sail without him and even without another to supply his place."[46]

Captain Edwards must have had a good idea as to where his runaway cook had fled. Perhaps he received information from Captain Fordham of the Greenport whaleship *Bayard*,[47] who had come aboard the *Fanny* to speak briefly with Edwards soon after the *Fanny* had gotten underway. Then, off Oahu, where several whaleships were riding at anchor, Edwards briefly left the *Fanny*, and when he returned, "to our surprise brought the lost one with him, who he had found in one of the ships lying off...."[48]

Captain Edwards called all hands to witness the punishment to be administered to the cook, it being customary for all hands to witness a flogging as a means of deterring misconduct throughout the crew. The second mate was ordered to seize up the cook in the rigging in preparation for the flogging. No sooner had he done so than a turkey flew overboard, and the captain had a boat lowered to pick it up. Then, despite the absence of

[43] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 12, 1844 through October 28, 1844, pp. 51-54 transcript.
[44] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 29, 1844, p. 55 transcript.
[45] "Doctor" was a common nickname for a ship's cook.
[46] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 30, 1844, p. 55 transcript.
[47] Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 404-405.
[48] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 30, 1844, pp. 56-57.

the boat's crew, "the skipper gave the delinquent about two dozen." Following the laying on of the lashes, Captain Edwards ordered the cook back to his duty, "which he resumed very quietly,"[49] and was soon preparing such shipboard fare as "goat pot pie."[50]

Another incident involved the *Fanny*'s black cook on April 3, 1845, five months after his desertion, capture, and flogging. Gould related this second incident in a highly descriptive manner and, while not complimentary of the cook, he was extremely critical of the first mate, a man who given the racial demographics of the whalefishery at the time was certainly white, and almost certainly a native-born American of British ancestry. He was also a man that Gould and, by Gould's account, others in the crew greatly disliked due to his mistreatment of the crew and for his pretentious attitude.[51] Gould told of this incident, writing in his journal that:

> Yesterday...In the afternoon the cook went in the chains with an iron intending to fasten to a large shark that was around the ship. He darted and struck the voracious monster but… did not penetrate his body. At the same time loosing his hold, he fell into the sea and struck astride of the animal's back. He bawled lustily for help and commenced struggling but at that instant observing a rope hanging overboard near him, he seized it and was on deck instantly. The cabin boy sang out – Man overboard – and the watch below rushed on deck but the mate, displeased perhaps with the man's folly, peremptorily ordered the watch below and the rest to their work. The same man was overboard once before during the voyage. Fortunate it was for him that he was unsuccessful in fastening, for had he done so the shark would probably have turned and revenged himself by swallowing him, but as it was he fled.[52]

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[49] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 30, 1844, p. 57 transcript.
[50] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," November 7, 1844, p. 59.
[51] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 13, 1845, p. 99 transcript.
[52] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 4, 1845, p. 96 transcript. [The "chains" are iron links or plates, with sets at each side of the ship for each mast. They are secured at the bottom to the ship's timbers, and at the top to the dead-eye block used in securing the rigging. Dana, *Seaman's Friend*, pp. 102, 104. To go in the chains put one at risk of falling overboard. "Iron" refers to a harpoon or a lance.]

Though Gould used the word "folly" to describe the black cook's action, he was far more critical of the white man, the first mate, who he condemned for his "peremptorily" issuing of an order that prevented the crew from leaving its routine duties to try to save the life of a shipmate, an unpardonable act against a fellow seafarer. Known to the crew as "Bully," and hated for his tactics of "squeezing some by the throat" and "threatening others,"[53] he treated his subordinates with utter disrespect, even for their lives, and the extreme case of the black cook not withstanding, he did so without regard to the race, ethnicity, or nationality of the crewmen.

The black cook was not the only man aboard the Fanny who suffered, at least in part, because of the color of his skin. There was at least one more who did so, and that was Isaac Sidney Gould himself. Gould was white, of English ancestry, but he was likely of dark complexion, a term used in the whalefishery to describe northwestern Europeans and Americans of northwestern European ancestry who had black or dark brown hair, brown eyes, and a somewhat darker than fair or ruddy skin tone.[54] He also, as with many other white seafarers, had likely darkened further through prolonged exposure to the sun, and through his skin being stained through working with tar and oakum.[55] At least once his dark complexion had put him into jeopardy, as he: "Was struck by the Skipper this

[53] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 13, 1845, p. 99 transcript.
[54] An excellent listing and description of whalemen's complexions and hair colors, together with surnames, places of birth and of residence, ages, and heights is given in: "List of Persons Composing the Crew of the Barque Emigrant of Bristol whereof is Master James Sherman bound for Indian Ocean & Elsewhere Whaling" pp. 148-149 in Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely, *"There She Blows": A Narrative of a Whaling Voyage, in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans*, ed. by Curtis Dahl (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971; original publication Philadelphia: James K. Simon, 1849. [Ben Ely, a white man from Philadelphia, stated that the *Emigrant* had only one black crewman, whose complexion and hair are listed as "black" and "wooly." The list identifies both Ben Ely, Antone Eigo, a native of Pensacola, Florida who was likely of Cape Verde ancestry, as "dark" and "black" in complexion and in hair color.]
[55] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 27, 1844, p. 74 transcript.

morning through mistake. He had some difference with a darkee…shoved him into the forecastle…I was mistaken for him and received 2 blows with a rope. [56]

The incident of Gould's being mistaken for and beaten as a "darkee," his patronizingly racialist term for a black man, came soon after he had first witnessed a flogging. This was several months before the flogging of the *Fanny*'s cook. The incident occurred when the *Fanny* and several other whaleships were at Maui. A whaleman aboard another ship was to be flogged for insulting his captain. His shipmates acted to protect him. Arming themselves with crowbars and handpicks, they knocked down the captain, preventing the flogging. Such action by whaling hands would be judged by legal authority to be extreme insubordination, possibly mutiny, and could not be tolerated. Almost immediately the consul arrived from the shore, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers. They went aboard and restored order and authority, whereupon the whaleship captain summarily began the flogging of the man who had insulted him, and the seven men who had sought to rescue him.[57] Gould described his initiation into witnessing the unlimited physical brutality of legally constituted maritime discipline, telling how the captain of the other whaleship had "lashed up and flogged 8 of the men, giving them as much as he pleased, and then sent 2 of them ashore and locked them in the fort. We could distinctly hear every lash and also their cries for mercy on board our ship. This was new business for me and I was completely thunderstruck. I could scarcely refrain from sheding tears as I thought on the subject.[58]

Gould makes no mention of the race or races of the men who were flogged. Perhaps their race or races made no difference to him and to his reaction. He had not seen

[56] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," June 21, 1844, p. 31.
[57] Gould, "Journal *Fanny,*" April 25, 1844, p. 21.
[58] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 25, 1844, p. 21.

the flogging, but he had heard it, heard the shrieks of the men being whipped, and hearing it was enough to strike his humane emotions, and almost to bring him to tears. Two months after this Sidney was himself beaten when Captain Edwards mistook him for a black man with whom Edwards was displeased. Halfway between the two incidents Gould wrote "I have taken a good colouring and am a negro in full."[59] In describing his darkening appearance he may also have been subconsciously describing the degradation of his manhood, and his loss of the privileges of whiteness in American society. In calling himself "a negro in full" he made the perfect allusion to how he saw the condition of the men before the mast who, like slaves on plantations, were poorly fed, poorly housed, overworked, ill abused, and labored under the whip of a master.

Gould increasingly gave pen to his strong feelings about the abuse that whaling hands suffered. On the 4th of July, 1844, he began a series of statements contrasting whaling hands' deprivation of freedom and human dignity against the American ideal.

> What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety and hypocrisy – a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.[60]

This critical commentary on the celebration of the 4th of July, presented from the viewpoint of those for whom liberty is denied, is not the work of Isaac Sidney Gould,

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[59] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," May 26, 1844, p. 27 transcript.
[60] Frederick Douglass, "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" in *Great Speeches by African Americans: Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Barack Obama, and Others*, ed. by James Daley (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publication, Inc., 2006), p. 23.

although it does coincide with much of his feelings about the low status of whaleman, but of the great American orator, abolitionist, fugitive slave, and maritime worker, Frederick Douglass, taken from his speech "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?," delivered on July 5, 1852. Douglass began by praising the Founding Fathers' ideals, their opposition to tyranny, their commitment to liberty, and their conception of the American republic. Beginning as celebratory, Douglass's tone quickly changed to outrage against the denial of these ideals to the enslaved. He spoke of the irony of the ideals against the realities, condemning his contemporary American leaders who used their institutional power to betray these ideals by defending or by acquiescing in the continued enslavement and dehumanization of millions. In his impassioned, well-grounded, well-reasoned outrage, Douglass championed the liberation of the enslaved, but did so through a masculine conception. He condemned the reduction of men into brutes, the denial of the rights of man and the male domain of the citizen, and the loss of the freedom to exercise manhood.[61] He closed his speech with a four stanza poem that called for the time when tyranny would end, and "freedom's reign, To man his plundered rights again Restore."[62] In the poem's third and most masculine-centered verse, Douglass proclaims:

> God speed the hour, the glorious hour,
> When none on earth
> Shall exercise a lordly power,
> Nor in a tyrant's presence cower;
> But all to manhood's stature tower,
> By equal birth!
> That hour will come, to each, to all,
> And from his prison-house, the thrall
> Go forth.[63]

[61] Douglass, "What, to the Slave?," in *Speeches*, pp. 14-18, 20-34.
[62] Douglass, "What, to the Slave?," in *Speeches*, p. 33.
[63] Douglass, "What, to the Slave?," in *Speeches*, p. 34.

One is struck by the similarity between Douglass's 1852 oration and the journal entry that Gould had made eight years earlier, on July 4, 1844. In this, and in subsequent entries, Gould contrasted the status of America's free landsmen against that of American whaling hands at sea, the latter stripped of their manhood and denied their freedom.

> July 4, 1844 This is the Anniversary of American Independence. The day on which our forefathers years ago pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour to die or be free. In the States the day is celebrated by the roar of cannon, Parades, Orations, Temperance Lectures, Political meetings, etc., etc... My friends no doubt are enjoying themselves at this moment...on L.I. while here it is quite the reverse...Then I was enjoying felicity compared with this day...but now I am employed in making war against the mighty oleaginous monsters of the deep. This is indeed a dangerous warfare. Dangers surround us on every side.[64]

Gould's Independence Day lament borders on homesickness and self pity, but he goes on to describe the whaleship environment as one of vice and degradation. In both instances it is in striking contrast against his opening invocation of the virtuous self-sacrifice of the nation's founders. He continued through the following twelve months to comment upon bad conditions and bad treatment suffered by whaling hands in the *Fanny* and in other whaleships. One year later, on the 4th of July, 1845, his attitude was again one of homesickness, or rather of frustration at the protracted length of the voyage. His usually low spirits no doubt took an even greater downturn two days later when the *Fanny* gammed with the *Panama*. Both whaleships were owned by N. & G. Howell. The *Panama*, under Captain Crowell, had sailed from Sag Harbor on May 23, 1845, nearly six months after Gould had begun his voyage in the *Fanny*. By common practice, whaleships carried letters for men in other whaleships. This was particularly true of ships leaving at a later date from the same port. The hope of delivering such mail became imperative when

[64] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," July 4, 1844, pp. 33-34 transcript.

the later-sailing delivery ship and the earlier-sailing receiver ships had the same ownership, in which case the deliverer was most likely carrying important business news and instructions for the receiving ship's captain. Several men in the *Fanny* received letters carried by the *Panama*, but for Sidney there was none. His spirits waned further over the next three weeks. Many in the *Fanny* became drunk. He also suffered an injury during this period and feared that he would lose his hand to an infection. There was no medication aboard. Added to his pain and fear of shipboard amputation, and to his repugnance at what he saw as shipboard immorality, was an increase in what whalemen saw as the most monotonous and arduous of labors, working the pumps, as the *Fanny* began taking on water.[65] Then, on July 28, 1845, Gould erupted into a tirade against the maltreatment of men who labored before the mast in the whaling industry.

> July 28, 1845 I have commenced my scribbling by putting down a date as usual, but what else have I to write? What but the same repetitions of misfortunes and unpleasant weather that attend us, and to these I have previously alluded myriads of times. Then why should I again mention what would be uninteresting and hardly fail of disgusting, perhaps of myself *and those few who may chance to peruse this scroll* [emphasis added]. What a life this is, if indeed it can be called living with the accommodations that we have. Plenty of salt pink or beef and pork with the blackest and hardest of sea bread, but sometimes not enough even of these, a wet bed of straw to sleep on, and that too in a box which resembles a coffin so much that I can compare it to nothing else. Exposed to all changes of the weather, frequently obliged to labor in the rain, hail, snow or fog, as the case may be, and that too for twenty or more consecutive hours. What inducements are presented by such a situation for anyone to desire life to continue. I am indeed a slave of slaves, liable to be punished at any moment for an angry look, not alluding to words or actions. I could recommend the States to send their convicts on such a voyage as a much greater punishment than being sent to prison.[66]

[65] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," July 4, 1844, p. 44; July 4, 1845, p. 119; July 6, 1845, p. 120; July 8, 1845, p. 121; July 11, 1845, p. 122; July 17, 1845, p. 123; pages in transcript. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 406-407, 420-421.
[66] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," July 28, 1845, pp. 124-125, transcript.

This statement, together with several others on the deprivation, hard usage and severe punishment faced by whaling hands, confirmed in Gould's mind the most extreme of his statements. He made this statement late in November, 1844. In it, one can glimpse the foundation of Gould's conception of manhood as involving the ability to exercise the rights of citizenship freely, to elevate oneself and one's society to a higher level of civilized dignity, to pursue the increase of knowledge and its productive application, to meet others as an equal, and to be acknowledged for one's merit, not for one's rank. Gould's conception of manhood, and the deprivation of manhood, is again consistent with the reasoned argument made by Frederick Douglass against slavery in his 1852 Fourth of July oration. Enslavement is the denial of one's right to rational manhood. As Gould stated regarding himself and the Yankees who comprised the majority of the men that served in the *Fanny*:

> The greater part of us on board the ship pride ourselves on being citizens of the United States. On being freemen, but this is not the case. We are absolutely in bondage. We are literally slaves and are even called that title by the rude and barbarous natives who inhabit the islands of the Pacific. Say they – there go the Captain's slaves, etc. A foremast hand is not supposed to know anything except what he is told. All he has to do is to obey the orders of his superior officers. Even in doing a piece of work not insinuating that he knows a better way of executing it.[67]

On October 9, 1845, with the *Fanny* twenty-two months out from Sag Harbor, Isaac Sidney Gould reached his majority. He correctly anticipated that the *Fanny* would arrive home in five months, but his 21st birthday saddened him greatly. It did not bring with it the long-awaited liberty and the enjoyment of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Aboard the *Fanny*, under the authority of Captain Edwards and his mates, Gould experienced the continuation of a servile status of deprivation from the rights of

[67] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," November 30, 1844, p. 65 transcript

adult male citizenship that he valued most, and for which he pined. Writing in his journal on this important milestone in his life, Gould examined what he perceived as the low state in which he found himself.

> This is...my birthday. I have now arrived at the age of twenty one, the time to which all young persons look forward knowing that they can then enjoy their liberty. Can do as they please in every particular, but how different are my feelings at present. I am still doomed to slavery and that of the very worst grade for the ensuing five months, subsequent to which I shall probably enjoy the privilege of acting for myself. I had hoped to arrive at home before this memorable epoch in my life but fortune has frowned upon me. Hope has departed and for some time past I have looked forward with dread to the day when I should become a denizen. I now feel that I am an alien – an outcast of the world.[68]

Gould's birthday lament presents two of the most important components of his conception of manhood. The first is his belief in the masculine liberty of self-agency that is bestowed upon a man who has reached adult citizenship. This ideal is contrasted with the condition of the whaleship hand. He is "doomed to slavery." He is to be a "denizen," that is to say merely an inhabitant of where he may eventually dwell upon the shore, and something less than a fully and naturally endowed citizen; something less than a man. He is to be "an alien." This, in turn, led to a second component of manhood as expressed in Gould's birthday entry, a component denied to sailors, particularly to lowly whaling hands. Manhood's fullest exercise, the exercise of the franchise and the manly voice of participation in democracy, required a permanent place of residence - - - ashore. The man who labored in servitude and whose abode was a forecastle had neither place nor voice.

It must be emphasized that Isaac Sidney Gould's severe criticism of whaleship society and culture was not phrased into the discourse of economic class conflict, but into the discourse of masculinity. His was not the language of proletarian labor denouncing

[68] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 9, 1845, pp. 141-142 transcript.

the bourgeois class's extraction of the wealth he, as a laborer, produced. His was disgust with the misuse of power by those holding authority because they denied the rights and dignities of manhood to those over whom their authority was designated. It was not a question of wealth or economic class that lay at the foundation of Gould's anger, but rank. Karl Marx and Marcus Rediker would argue that rank rested upon a system of private ownership, with the agents of ownership holding legally sanctioned power, making Gould and his shipmates the proletariat exploited by capitalists who controlled the means of production. Though not disputing the validity of that interpretation, the concern of this dissertation is with how whalemen perceived themselves, and this comes down to a matter of seeing themselves, for better or for worse, in whatever way, as *men*.

Gould made many statements against the *Fanny*'s officers, always phrasing his criticisms in terms of infractions against manhood, rather than in terms of economic class conflict and ruling class economic exploitation, even when money, supplies, food rations and labor were involved. On January 14, 1845, he criticized the officers for consuming far more than their share of comestibles, quipping that "There are quite a quantity of superfluities in the ship but the after guard are rather tenacious of them." As for the attractions of a life at sea, he used his most sarcastic air. Emphasizing the monotonous routine of tiresome tasks he referred to the *Fanny*'s voyage as "a sinett and yarn cruise," then worsened his appraisal by adding that "perhaps the skimshawning cruise would be more applicable as more of this has been done than anything." This evaluation was far from the hyper-masculine image of whaling that its agents portrayed, but Gould could still find, with sarcasm, a masculine attraction as he queried "Where is the man that would not forsake a farm for whaling when he can have half of the day and three quarters

of the night to himself, and live on boiled ham or at least to have some once a year."[69] Short rations of bad food, together with the endless repetitions of boring tasks, these were the whaling hand's lot. In such a setting he strove to be masculine; to be a man.

As the *Fanny*'s voyage proceeded, Gould's criticisms of the system of rank grew stronger and more perceptive as he attacked the demarcations of space, task, usage and ration that separated the ship's officers from her people. On April 13, 1845, he assaulted the low character of the first mate, whom he described as abusive of the crew, and as a man with "a disposition to be both Skipper and Mate;"[70] to be both ruler and enforcer.

Gould became increasingly frequent and poignant in his criticisms during the final six months of the *Fanny*'s voyage. On November 8, 1845, three weeks after he had referred to forecastle conditions as being worse than "the Black Hole of Calcutta," Gould attacked Captain Edwards' character, stating "Such is the parsimoniousness and avariciousness of the man under whom we have placed ourselves that we now begin to want of the actual necessities of life. Starvation stares us in the face...."[71] Here, we see pivotal and significant changes in Sidney's thought. First, the cause of the crewmen's plight is not their own shortcomings as men, but the captain's own failure as a man, his character flaws coupled with the extreme arbitrary powers of his rank leading to his maltreatment of the *Fanny*'s men. Secondly, Gould has moved, grown if you will, from bemoaning his own insecurities and sufferings, to showing concern for the men with whom he serves forward. He has come to see the hands as an entity separated from the captain, and at one with himself, bound together through mutual misery. Gould's "I' and "me" had become the forecastle hands' "we" and "us."

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[69] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 14, 1845, p. 79 transcript
[70] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 13, 1845, p. 99 transcript.
[71] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 18, 1845, p. 144; November 8, 1845, pp. 149-150; pages in transcript.

The third and most remarkable part of Gould's entry for November 8, 1845, harkens back to the entry he made during his first Independence Day at sea, when he contrasted the state of being on the whaleship against the ideals of the nation's founding principles. For Captain Edwards to mistreat the crew violated the very basis of manhood - - - the right to consent. In Gould's view, signing aboard a whaleship was a social contract in which "we," the whaling hands, "have placed ourselves" under the leadership of the captain for the purpose of the safe and successful prosecution of a whaling voyage. Gould had stated that most of the *Fanny*'s hands were American citizens. Such men, in creating and consenting to an association, acted as citizens, as free men, and did not renounce the dignity and rights of manhood by doing so. This, then, led Gould to the climactic culmination of his statement. The crew's maltreatment at the hands of the captain and officers would continue "unless some decisive and, to us, important measures are adopted by our little fraternity to counteract the measures that have already been taken."[72] Such thought, if put into action, was mutiny. To Gould's mind, it was manly resistance against tyranny, even if only in the form of thoughts conveyed to his journal.

Sidney continued to develop his written discourse in opposition to infringements by those holding rank against the rights of man. On Monday, November 10, 1845, he complained that "Yesterday...Although it was Sunday, we were employed the whole day in cleaning and otherwise putting the boats in order."[73] Such a complaint was common in the whalefishery. *The Friend* published a lengthy article in opposition to Sabbath

[72] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," July 4, 1844, pp. 33-34; November 30, 1844, p. 65; November 8, 1845, pp. 149-150; pages in transcript.
[73] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," November 10, 1845, p. 150 transcript.

whaling,[74] and individual Christian whalemen, such Henry A. Harlow and Henry A. Fordham, opposed that particular form of Sabbath-breaking practiced by whaling captains as sinful against God.[75] It was also common for whaling hands who were not religious to complain about being made to work on Sundays, not because it was sinful, but because they felt they were entitled to a day off from work by cultural custom and social convention.[76] Gould, although he likely agreed with both of these reasons for not being forced to work on Sunday, went beyond Christian dogma and workplace customs in expressing his complaint. He believed that the reason for such labor aboard the *Fanny* resided in Captain Edwards' disregard for the masculine dignity and rights of manhood, "just to gratify the domineering disposition of a despot for by no milder title can I call him when reflecting upon the freaks and fancies of his disposition." Gould continued that it was this proclivity of Captain Edwards to see his hands as "the brutes forward" that led him to feed them upon short rations, while he and his officers dined well on ample portions of fresh fruit, butter, cheese, and meat.[77]

General conditions on the *Fanny* continued to deteriorate. By December 3rd the ship was taking on more water, and the crew was obliged to take to the hated job of pumping every hour. With cold weather and a wet forecastle, Sidney lamented the conditions and prospects that "we," the forecastle crew, faced. Food rations continued to be a problem, as "Our vegetables are now entirely consumed and we are still rather short of provisions, although we have flour twice a week and beans once...."[78]

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[74] "Is it Right to Take Whales on the Sabbath?" *The Friend of Temperance and the Seaman* (Honolulu), vol. II, no. iv (April, 4 1844), pp. 38-43. [Halsey and Foster copy, SCHS, RVHD, NY.]
[75] Harlow, "Journal *Acasta*," March 11, 1849, p. 101. Fordham, "Journal *Ontario*," August 7, 1853, p. 83.
[76] Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, p. 103.
[77] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," November 10, 1845, p. 150 transcript.
[78] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 3, 1845, p. 154; December 8, 1845, pp. 155-156; pages in transcript.

On December 23, 1845, nearly 25 months out from Sag Harbor, Gould wrote the long-awaited words in his journal: "Homeward Bound." There were, however, nearly three months left to the voyage, time for many hardships, complaints, and reflections. On the first day of the new year, Sidney erupted into a diatribe against the totality of the conditions faced by whaling hands. After lamenting the sense of "alienation little better than banishment" from "a civilized country,"[79] he attacked the entire system of the whaleship as a degradation and dehumanization of whaling hands under the "dictates" of those in command, from bad food to the very denying of manhood.

> What a dinner. A miserable pittance of lean and salt horse beef, salty as the mineral itself, and some of the blackest and hardest of black biscuit. Not a mouthful of any thing else. I devoured my meal in silence...Thus fares the poor seaman – seaman did I say – I recall the word, and permitting our despotic masters to dictate, substitute the word "brute." Yes brutes we are considered and in fact called by them. A seaman sinks into insignificance when compared with a skipper's dog. It is this treatment, this degradation on the part of their supervisors that conduces to sink them still deeper in degradation and vice. I said superiours. True. Superior they are in all manner of villainy. Every species of imposition and extortion they are perfectly adept in. They suffer not one opportunity to escape to take advantage of us in every possible form. In fact to a mind unprejudiced after becoming intimately acquainted with the two characters described above, the former would appear the most respectable, if not respected, and of the two the least deserving of the above mentioned epithet.[80]

This may be seen as descriptive of economic class division in that there was a division of accommodation and provision between the officers and the hands. Yet, his attack on abuses is not stated in terms of economic class, but of the mistreatment of men as men.

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[79] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 23, 1845, p. 159; January 1, 1846, p. 161; pages in transcript.
[80] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 1, 1846, pp. 161-162 transcript.

Gould's statement of January 1, 1846, may best be analyzed as a defense of the manhood of whale*MEN*, using the discourse of manhood rather than of economic class division. The people of the whaleship are not "dogs." Neither are they "brutes," a term whose connotation in the 19th century indicated not only work animals, beasts, but also people of mental and cultural inferiority; rude, savage, wild, senseless, without reason.[81] Gould denies the superiority of men in authority over those held under authority. Instead, Gould sees those in authority as "despotic masters," superior only in villainy, imposition, and extortion. The seeming degradation of whaling hands results not from any innate or pursued inferiority, but from their degradation and further degradation at the hands of their "despotic" masters: their "superiours." It is, instead, the captain and mates that are the "brutes," despots who deny the rights and dignity of manhood to those they should lead, but instead abuse. Gould does not voice opposition against his and his forecastle mates' deprivation as stemming from economic class exploitation, but as derived from the misuse of the rank authority of one set of men over another.[82] Whaling hands were grossly exploited workers, but as seen by Gould, the exploitation was not rooted in economic class, but in the power of one set of men to abuse others, and to deprive them of the rights and dignities of manhood.

Much has been seen of conceptions of manhood through the analysis of Isaac Sidney Gould's thoughts, actions, and observations, as told in his journal, while aboard

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[81] Noah Webster, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*. Facsimile of first 1806 edition. New York: Bounty Books, Crown Publishing, Inc., 1970; original publication 1806), p. 38.

[82] A similar railing against abuse as resulting from abuse of authority and disregard for the rights of men, rather than as economic class exploitation, is found in the writings of many whaling hands. For an extremely well thought and expressed statement on this point, see Ben-Ezra Stiles Ely, *"There She Blows": A Narrative of a Whaling Voyage, in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans*, Curtis Dahl, editor (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971; original publication Philadelphia: James K. Simon, 1849), pp. 14-16, 40-41.

the *Fanny*. We must also look at Gould ashore, on liberty, in the Hawaiian Islands, to see further his highly complex conception and performance of manhood.

Isaac Sidney Gould recorded only one set of verses in his journal, although he did make mention of singing songs that the crew made up about the *Fanny*.[83] There are, however, several songs which tell of liberty in the Hawaiian Islands and, though not placed directly onto Sag Harbor ships, were performed in the Pacific whalefishery at the time of Gould's voyage in the *Fanny*. These songs present the "handsome sailor" masculine ideals of strength, skill, and endurance at sea, and present a secular libertine masculinity to be performed ashore through male comradery and conviviality with alcohol, and through the attractions that American whalemen and Native women held for one another.[84] Among these the most demonstrative is "Rolling Down to Old Mohee," a celebration in song of bravado masculinity. The whalemen singers, through the highly gendered content of the song, describe their whalemanship under harsh Arctic conditions, and then their anticipation of the pleasures to be had from Maui's Native women.

Once more we are waft by the northern gales
Bounding over the main
And now the hills of the tropic isles
We soon shall see again
Five sluggish moons have waxed and waned
Since from the shore sailed we
Now we are bound from the Arctic ground
Rolling down to old Mohee

[83] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 21, 1844, p. 71 transcript.
[84] "The Lass of Mowee," in Gale Huntington, compiler and editor, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (3rd edition, (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 2005; original publication Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 148-151, 324. [The Ship *Cortes* sailed from New Bedford for the Pacific whaling grounds on June 30, 1842, returned on July 21, 1846, again sailed for the Pacific on November 15, 1846, and returned on January 14, 1849. Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 386-387, 434-435. Another whalemen's version of the song, dated 1849, is found in a journal kept aboard the New Bedford whaleship *Euphrasia*. It was still being transmitted orally and written down by whalemen as late as 1879, as seen in a journal kept by a whaleman named Smalley aboard New Bedford bark *Andrew Hicks*. Huntington, *Whalemen Sang*, pp. 150, 323-324.

Through many a blow of frost and snow
And bitter squalls of hail
Our spars were bent and our canvas rent
As we braved the northern gale
The horrid isles of ice cut tiles
That deck the Arctic sea
Are many many leagues astern
As we sail to old Mohee

Through many a gale of snow and hail
Our good ship bore away
And in the midst of the moonbeam's kiss
We slept in St. Lawrence Bay
And many a day we whiled away
In the bold Kamchatka Sea
And we'll think of that as we laugh and chat
With the girls of old Mohee

An ample share of toil and care
We whalmen undergo
But when it's over what care we
How the bitter blast may blow
We are homeward bound that joyful sound
And yet it may not be
But we'll think of that as we laugh and chat
With the girls of old Mohee[85]

In the song's concluding verse, the whalemen would be "joyful" to be making sail for New England and home, but if that "may not be" they will content themselves to "chat" with the Native "girls". Two other versions include verses that are more explicit regarding the whalemen's desires, one including a chorus that indicates the comradery of masculine performance as imagined through the gendered content of the song.

Rolling down to old Maui, my boys,
Rolling down to old Maui,
But now we're bound from the Arctic ground,
Rolling down to old Maui.

[85] "Rolling Down to Old Mohee," in Huntington, *Songs Whalemen Sang*, pp. 27-28. *Atkins Adams*'s voyages dates in Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 436-437, 470-471, 516-517, 560-561. Huntington identifies the *Atkins Adams* as belonging to New Bedford [p. 323], across the Acushnet River from Fairhaven.

O welcome the seas and the fragrant breeze
Laden with odors rare,
And the pretty maids in the sunny glades
Who are gentle, kind and fair,
And their pretty eyes even now look out,
Hoping some day to see
Our snow-white sails before the gales
Rolling down to old Maui.[86]

...when ashore and on a tear
We'll paint the beaches red,
And awaken in the arms of a waheena
With a big fat aching head.[87]

The virile masculinity presented in this song is a counter-point to Gould's activities and thoughts at Hawaii, presenting an ideal of certain men, perhaps the majority, in the mid-19th century whalefishery. Response to this libertine manhood is seen in Honolulu laws specifically designed to suppress and to punish the excesses of such actions as drunkenness, fornication, and remaining ashore past sunset.[88] In at least one incident several years prior to the establishment of the 1846 Honolulu statutes the crew of the English whaleship *Daniel*, supported by their officers, had gone ashore on a violent rampage to force the repeal of laws made at the urging of Native patriarchs and Christian missionaries prohibiting whalemen from access to Native women.[89]

It must be remembered, as is central to the thesis of this dissertation, that not all whalemen shared in the ideals of the secular libertine, even when ashore in Honolulu or Lahaina after several months without touching land. Many whalemen performed their

[86] Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen*, revised ed., pp. 197-198.
[87] I often heard this verse sung during the 1980 and 1990s by the late Stan Hugill at Mystic Seaport Museum. In addition to being a well known and respected collector and performer of songs of the sea, Mr. Hugill was chanteyman on many working sailing vessels, including the last commercial sailing ship to round Cape Horn, and during the early to mid 1900s learned many traditional songs of the sea from older or retired mariners.
[88] *Statute Laws Relating to Vessels and Harbors*, Honolulu and Lahaina, 1846, pp. 1-6.
[89] Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 139-140.

duty as highly competent seamen or craftsmen, but took the calm approach of the Christian gentleman while ashore on liberty. As we have seen in preceding chapters many Sag Harbor whalemen, including George Smith, Henry A. Harlow, Henry A. Fordham, Alfred W. Foster, Josiah Foster, Doyle Sweeney, Erastus Bill and the younger Jeremiah M. Hedges wrote or gave other evidence of visits with the seamen's chaplain, church attendance, and practicing temperance while at Maui or Oahu. It should also be recalled that these men themselves varied greatly in the degree and discourse of their references to practicing Christianity, to self-examination, and to the condemnation of the sinful excesses of other whalemen.

Isaac Sidney Gould, at the Sandwich Islands, performed his own brand of masculinity, rejecting libertinism. He, like his shipmates and as presented in many whalemen's songs, had suffered, perhaps more than most, in the cold climate and storms of northern Pacific whaling, and from prolonged separation from life ashore. Like many whalemen, he used his liberties in Honolulu to attend to Christian rites and spiritual concerns, rather than to indulge in liquor and Native women. But with Gould we see something that was not demonstrated with other whalemen. It is his intense observation of the land and society in which he found himself ashore. In the discourse of his observations, we can gain a glimpse of Gould's personal human and masculine values. Perhaps he is not only the contrary of the "handsome sailor," but the contrary of post-modern gender theory and, to some degree, the philosophical basis of this dissertation. Gould's masculinity might be seen not as one of performance, or at least of public performance, but as one of observation and reflection, often in solitude.

The *Fanny* made four visits to the Hawaiian Islands during her 1843-1846 voyage. The concerns and outlooks of Gould's journal entries vary greatly from visit to visit, each presenting us with a different view of his attitudes within his developing and evolving senses of self and masculinity. Only a few days prior to his first visit, and still quite green, he had put in his first full 16 hour day of labor in the *Fanny*. He also showed himself to be a good shipmate, if not a good whaleman, as he set himself to writing letters for illiterate shipmates, the letters to be sent to Sag Harbor by whaleships homeward bound from Maui or Oahu.[90] In writing these letters Sidney began a transition from critic to defender of whaling hands.

On April 20, 1844, the *Fanny* reached Maui. Gould, commenting upon the view of the island from the ship, stated that: "A part of the Island that we passed presented a beautiful appearance. The surface was slightly undulating and covered with verdure. To me who never was out of sight of land before, to have a view once more of land, especially such a beautiful island, it was interesting in the extreme."[91]

Notice Gould's choice of a word to describe his first sighting of land in 4½ months. It was "interesting." It aroused his curiosity for observation, and once ashore he would be able to give "a more particular description."[92] Here we see Gould the observer, a young man of 19 with a keen interest in the sciences, as well as literature, and for the observation of persons and their attitudes and actions, himself most of all. Gould's masculinity is not expressed in seamanship afloat, or bravado ashore, but in the eye, the mind, and the pen. To be a man is to observe, to describe, and to seek to understand.

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[90] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 10, 1844 and April 19, 1844, pp. 16-17 transcript.
[91] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 20, 1844, p. 18 transcript.
[92] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 20, 1844, p. 18 transcript.

On Sunday, April 21, 1844, part of the Fanny's crew was given liberty ashore at "Mowee," Gould was in the section that had to remain on watch. Feeling separation from the comfort to be found on land, he stated that that he had "anticipated going ashore and to church today but I could distinctly hear the church bells ring as I stood on the deck and yet must stay on board.[93] Soon afterwards, Gould had his first encounter with Native Hawaiians. His description of their physical appearance is sparse, referring only to coloration. He even fails to mention if they were male or female. Rather than dwelling upon race or the allure of Native women, as others may have, his interest was with the Native's culture and technology, particularly with their outrigger canoes. He related the incident, stating that: "natives came on board with goats' milk to trade…the natives are a copper colour with straight black hair, black eyes, etc. Their canoes are very narrow and long resembling a hog's feeding troth and are kept from upsetting by another piece of timber at some distance to which it is fastened by cross sticks." Later that day he was permitted to go ashore, but it being too late to attend church service, he spent the afternoon "viewing the church, and talking with the girls in the back country."[94]

Was this a "*chat* with the girls of old Mohee," as the whalemen's song so euphemistically put it, or conversation with girls from the mission? One can only conjecture. Gould does, however, give great detail describing Lahaina's architecture, its soil, crops and flora, and the supper of goat meat and sweet potatoes he had aboard the Nantucket whaleship *Levi Starbuck.*[95] Three days later, again ashore on liberty, he hiked

[93] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 21, 1844, p. 18 transcript.
[94] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 21, 1844, pp. 18-19 transcript.
[95] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 21, 1844, p. 19.

through the countryside, observing the Native Mauians cultivation methods, and contrasting their sociability against the inhospitality of a wealthy white settler.[96]

Gould's account of his first visit to the Hawaiian Islands is neither that of the brash, hyper-masculine libertine whalemen of "Rolling Down to Old Maui," nor that of a devout Evangelical Christian whalemen, such as George Smith, who wrote that he spent most of his time ashore at the Hawaiian Islands at church and in visiting chaplains,[97] and whose only comment upon a visit to Pitcairn's Island was to note the number of Protestant Christians in the population.[98] Instead, Gould is the detached observer, a naturalist, an anthropologist, his writing more like the non-judgmental descriptive passages of Mark Twain's *Letters from Hawaii* than like the stereotypical libertine doings of a youthful whaleman ashore on liberty at a South Seas Isle after months at sea.

By the time of the *Fanny*'s second visit to the Hawaiian Islands Gould's attitude had undergone an important change. He had just turned 20. After more than ten months at sea his experience had worsened, leading him to the conclude that his years in the *Fanny* "at the best will be little better than time misspent."[99] It had been nearly six months since he had been on land, but when ashore at Maui on Sunday, October 13, 1844, he lacked interest. He was again the homesick boy. He related his experience on that day, writing that he had been to church, visited the churchyard, and seen female missionaries.[100]

Several whalemen of libertine masculinity had spent that Sunday ashore by getting into a row with Native men, leading to a show of force by the army to restore

[96] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," April 24, 1844, p. 20.
[97] George G [S?] Smith, "George G [S?] Smith's Book, Ship Thames Journal of A voyage in the Ship Thames of Sag Harbor commencing July 7th 1843" (unpublished manuscript, archive collection, Sag Harbor Whaling and History Museum, Sag Harbor, New York), January 19, 1845, p. 88; January 23, 1848, p. 89; January 26, 1845, p. 89; March 10, 1845, p. 95.
[98] Smith, "Smith's Book," February 14, 1844, p. 37.
[99] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 1, 1844, p. 48 transcript.
[100] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 13, 1844, p. 51 transcript.

order.[101] While that was happening, Sidney Gould was in a churchyard cemetery reading tombstones and speaking with female missionaries, hardly the libertine whalemen's notion of a "*chat*" with the "pretty maids in the sunny glades" of "old Mohee."

Two Sundays later, with the *Fanny* still at Lahaina, Gould attended the American seamen's bethel, hearing a sermon based on the 8th chapter of *Jeremiah*."[102] To Sidney, endangered at sea, poorly fed, sickly, and among men he considered to be of low morals, the sermon must have been quite upsetting, as the Prophet had lamented that: "*When* I would comfort myself against sorrow, my heart *is* faint in me.[103]

During the *Fanny*'s first visit at Maui, Gould had used liberty for observation and discovery, writing detailed descriptions, his masculinity performed as the seeker of knowledge, as rational man, rather than as the secular libertine, or the zealous Christian. Quite differently, on the *Fanny*'s second stay at Maui, he clung to the harbor area, not for the libertine excesses of hyper-masculine sailortown, but to find solace in thoughts of and contacts from Long Island. Maui was no longer a place to explore, but a delay. The longer the *Fanny* lingered, the longer before the return home. After only a week in port, he wrote that he was "getting terribly tired of this place and hope we shall soon leave it for the sperm whale ground."[104] He wanted to be "Rolling Up from Old Mohee."

This second visit to Lahaina could helped Sidney's morale, better suiting him to withstand his ship, his officers, his shipmates, and his duties, but instead of exploring Maui's interior, he spent his time aboard other whaleships, several from Sag Harbor. One

[101] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 13, 1844, p. 51 transcript.
[102] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 28, 1844, p. 54 transcript.
[103] "Jeremiah, The Book of the Prophet," chapter 8, verses 14-18, *The Holy Bible,* authorized King James version.
[104] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 19, 1844, p. 52 transcript.

of these was the *Gem*,[105] but he found her presence troubling. He had sent a letter home by her some time earlier, only to find her tied up a few yards from the *Fanny*.[106]

Gould spent his two weeks liberty at Maui "agreeably," but it would seem rather dully. Unlike his account of his first stay at Lahaina, he gave no details. Most of all, he became *more* homesick.[107] His sentimental lamentations sank to a nadir on October 29, 1844, when the other Sag Harbor whaleships set sail from Lahaina, leaving him, friendless, to face only the officers and crew of the *Fanny* for the next several months. His journal entry for that date stands out as a soliloquy of self-examination:

> ...and so I am left almost entirely alone. At the sight of these ships leaving the port my heart sinks within me. I can scarcely refrain from sheding tears. After being from home and friends for such a length of time and finding old associates to leave them appears as hard as bidding farewell to my dearest friends on earth. I feel it hard but knowing that it is unavoidable I am resigned. The hope of meeting with friends that will welcome me home at some future day buoys up my spirits at such times as this and when in trouble. O thou dear friends at home how little I realized their value until absenting myself from home The want of friends taught me their true worth. What infinite pleasure would it afford me at this moment to hear from that place which is 17,500 miles distant. Home. Home. Sweet, sweet home. There is no place like home. O could I fly, I'd fly to thee...[108]

It would, however, be a long time before the *Fanny* set course for home. Instead, she began another season of Pacific whaling. Then, following nearly three months of hardship at sea, the *Fanny* made sail for a third visit to the Sandwich Islands. Sidney's spirits seemed to rise. He "anticipate[d] strolling through the groves of bananas and reclining on a couch of green grass and wild flowers beneath the cool shade of a cocoanut

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[105] The whaleship *Gem* sailed from Sag Harbor on Sept. 15, 1843, returning to Sag Harbor on May 11, 1845. Starbuck, *American Whale Fishery*, pp. 406-407.
[106] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 12, 1844, pp. 50-51.
[107] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 18, 1844 and October 19, 1844, p. 52 transcript.
[108] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," October 29, 1844, pp. 54-55 transcript.

grove," and once ashore, "enjoy a small share of felicity" along with other members of the crew. [109] Had he turned towards libertinism?

On January 27, 1845, the *Fanny* made the island of "Owyhee" [Hawaii]. Sidney entered into his journal a detailed, perceptive description of the island's topography, vegetation, settlements and cultivation, as seen from the ship. Then he exposed an uplifted spirit as he set life at sea and the masculinity of the "Handsome sailor" against the lure of the land and the true manhood it fostered, regardless of how lubberly one might be when afloat.

> What a contrast between this [gazing at Hawaii] and the prospect that for some time past has met our gaze. Then nothing was presented to our view but the boisterous and dark heaving sea foaming and rolling on in a mass of confusion while its angry waves threatened to overwhelm us but the good Fan rode out the storm triumphant. On the contrary, here all is tranquil and serene while the beauteous landscape before us is calculated to fill our minds with sensations of pleasure. Feelings of admiration possess the whole mind which is led to adore the Author of this sublime work by gazing at the scene presented before us which in my present opinion cannot be rivaled by anything of the kind on the terraqueous globe.[110]

Sidney spent February 9, 1845, ashore at Honolulu on liberty, where he had "the pleasure of perambulating the town" and "stroling through the back country." During his walkabout, dressed in the garb of a whaling hand, he visited Native huts, conversed with Islanders regarding the United States, and then attended a church service at which he

[109] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 24, 1845, p. 80 transcript. Thomas H. Bayly, lyrics, and T. A. Rawlings, music, "Isle of Beauty Fare thee well!," New York: Bourne, 1844.
[110] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 27, 1845, pp. 80-81 transcript.

enjoyed the music, as well as Reverend Damon's sermon based on *Ephesians*: "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby you are sealed unto the day of redemption."[111]

That same evening a different sort of American seafarers' masculine performance raised its head at Honolulu. Gould related that:

> Just before sunset a row ensued between the natives and the whites originating from the constables attempting to take two of the crew of the [United States Navy frigate] Brandywine who were fighting, that being prohibited by law and several were wounded on each side. Some of our crew were in the affray...one of the men was flogged and another placed in irons and confined in the run. I now see the effects of the intoxicating cup among men.[112]

This incident, in comparison with Sidney's day and evening ashore, presents a sharp contrast between the performances of vastly differing conceptions of masculinity; that of the quiet Christian who observed nature and engaged Native Hawaiians in conversation, and that of the intoxicated libertines, who engaged Native Hawaiians with violence. Nine days later, again ashore on liberty, Sidney "had the pleasure of attending a temperance meeting,"[113] but as the *Fanny* remained at Honolulu, Gould observed repeatedly the offenses caused by the drunkenness of his shipmates ashore, and their incapacity to perform their duties on board, noting that: "Since we have been in port we have had more disturbance than all the voyage preceeding. Men have been put in irons, placed in confinement in the lower hold, flogged, etc. and all this mischief has been done by that cursed demon RUM.[114]

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[111] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 9 and 10, 1845, pp. 85-87 transcript. St. Paul, "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the *Ephesians*," chapter 4, verse 30, *The Holy Bible*, authorized King James version.
[112] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 10, 1845, p. 86 transcript. [To be put "in irons" was to be manacled or shackled, or both. The "run" is the narrow, dark, damp, poorly ventilated space between the ship's hull and the ship's hold.]
[113] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 13, 1845, p. 87, February 19, 1845, p. 88; pages in transcript.
[114] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," March 5, 1845, p. 93 transcript.

Isaac Sidney Gould did not seek to achieve manhood through alcohol in the masculine performance of "queer man pride" that Jack London was to write of over sixty years later. Instead he performed a masculinity that did not rely on competition and display performance in the sight of other men. He was a Christian, at times devoutly so, but never so overbearingly so as to cut himself off from open-mindedness. He was an observer of men and nature,[115] of architecture and agriculture,[116] and a student of philosophy, geometry, navigation, cartography, and "the noble science of astronomy."[117] He was fascinated with language, as he studied French, wrote his own lexicon, and practiced a system of shorthand that may be of his own invention.[118] He was an avid and serious reader, his selections including the *Bible*, Goldsmith's poems, "The Debtor's Prison," the contents of the Honolulu chaplain's Seaman's Reading Room, Marryat's diary of his travels in America, a biography of Napoleon Bonaparte, Cobbett's *Advice to Young Men*, Richard Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted*, Blake's *Natural Philosophy*, and Bowditch's *Navigator*.[119] He was also a highly perceptive commentator on the rights of man and the citizen, a journal writer extraordinaire, and a man not above taking sentimental delight and pleasure in hearing a shipmate play the accordion.[120]

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[115] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 21, 1844; August 24, 1845; , p. 72, 131.
[116] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," February 22, 1845, p. 89 transcript.
[117] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," July 26, 1844; August 21, 1844; September 7, 1844; January 12, 1845; April 25, 1845; May 10, 1845; December 11, 1845; pp. 38, 41, 44 , 78, 102, 106, 157 transcript.
[118] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 21, 1844; p. 72; August 24, 1845, p. 131; February 22, 1845, p. 89; July 26, 1844, p. 38, August 21, 1844, p. 41; September 7, 1844, p. 44; January 12, 1845, p. 78; April 25, 1845, p. 102; May 10, 1845, p. 106; December 11, 1845, p. 157; pages in transcript. [Gould's lexicon of complex and erudite words, including many that are scientific or philosophical, and his shorthand entries, thus far not deciphered, run for many pages at the rear of his journal, following his daily entries. They are found only in the original, held by SPLIA, but are not duplicated not in the transcript held by the CSHWM.
[119] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," September 7, 1844; November 16, 1844; December 29, 1844; January 12, 1845: February 19, 1845, June 30, 1845; July 4, 1845; July 10, 1845; pp. 44, 62, 74, 78, 88, 118, 121 transcript. [Maps and island profile sketches are in the rear section, following daily entries, of the original journal held by SPLIA, but are not duplicated in the transcript held by the CSHWM.]
[120] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," May 18, 1844, p. 24. transcript.

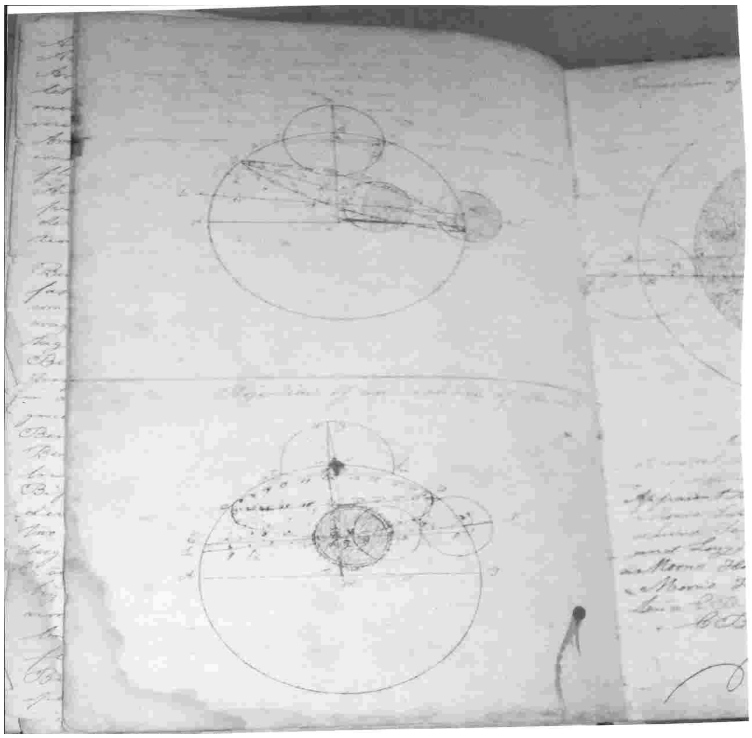
Sidney lived within what he saw as the dismal and humanly degrading culture of the whaleship and the whaling port, and within his own sickly body, from which he cried "O Health, Health, for thee I sigh but sigh in vain,"[121] Within himself, in his outrage, he denounced the tyranny that denied to his shipmates and himself the rights of democratic manhood, but he also rose above tyranny through his own manliness, performed for himself in science, and poetry, marvel at God's creation, and his lived knowledge of human frailty. He frequently expressed these aspects of his keenly observant and multi-faceted mind when observing the moon over the Pacific. His reflections upon these experiences were spiritual, the scientific, and poetic, as seen in the following entries in his journal. On New Year's Day, 1845, following a night watch on deck, he reflected:

> As the hour of midnight drew on the moon arose and as she presented her bulbous face to our view above the somber clouds that floated in air along the eastern horizon added beauty to the scene that was already beautiful. All was tranquil and peaceful. No dark heaving sea and boisterous winds attended us but on the contrary the annual east winds passed us in gentle murmurs scarcely filing our sails and but slightly agitating the bosom of the vast ocean. And then what an interesting view was presented to our gaze by the effulgent splendour and grandeur of the celestial worlds as they appeared in different parts of the heavens. In contemplating a scene like this who would not be led to look from nature up to nature's God. Who for a moment could doubt the existence of a supreme being who formed and put in motion all these worlds and who sustains them each in its proper sphere....[122]

One week later, Gould turned from the beautifully descriptive language of wonder at the Heavens, and at the works of "nature's God, towards the mathematical and scientific, and

[121] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," March 19, 1845, p. 93 transcript.
[122] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 1, 1845, pp. 75-76 transcript.

was "engaged in making some Astronomical Calculations, Projecting an Eclipse of the Moon."[123]



Projection of an Eclipse of the Moon
I. Sidney Gould[124]

One month earlier he had described in verse the inter-relationship of sea, sky, and faith; seamanship, science, and Godliness; the simultaneously conflicting and complimentary essence of the complexity that was the masculinity of Isaac Sidney Gould.

> The moon arose above the ocean's wave,
> And spread her silvery light around;
> While we, protected by that God who gave,
> At his feet in penitence are found.[125]

[123] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," January 12, 1845, p. 78 transcript; the astronomical calculations and projection of the lunar eclipse follow the daily entries. They are in the original document, held by SPLIA, CSH, NY, and are not reproduced in the transcript held by the CSHWM, CSH, NY.
[124] "Projection of an Eclipse of the Moon," Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," rear of journal, following daily entries.
[125] Gould, "Journal *Fanny*," December 1, 1844, p. 67 transcript.

There is almost no record of Sidney after the *Fanny* reached New York in 1846. He went West sometime afterwards, perhaps with other Sag Harbor whalemen to seek his fortune in the gold fields of California. Perhaps he sailed in the ship he hated and loved so much, the "Old Fan," which was used to carry passengers to California in 1849.[126] A man of strong mind, but weak constitution, he died at Sacramento, California, on February 12, 1850, at the age of 25.[127]

Historians who make use primarily of official records, such as court transcripts, ships' logbooks, magistrates' reports, and even evangelical newspapers, encounter episodes of whaling hands' insubordination, drunkenness, trespass and violence, and perhaps rape and murder. These records are concerned with transgressions, and therefore present a particular view of whalemen who acted out their libertine masculinity. A different view of masculinity emerges when the historian examines the personal and private writings of whalemen, such as Isaac Sidney Gould, whose actions went unreported as the performance of their ideals of masculinity transcended rather than transgressed the imposition of order in the whaleship and the whaling port. Gould's journal, which is all that can be found of his own life, is in dilapidated and extremely fragile condition. It was also misfiled as Captain Edwards' log when those involved in acquiring the document were unable to determine who "Gold" was, thinking he was either a passenger or the captain himself.[128] Easily missed, Gould's journal presents its reader with an alternative to the stereotypical hyper-masculinity of the secular libertine.

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[126] Starbuck, *History Whale Fishery*, pp. 442-443.
[127] *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. 21, no. 1 (January, 1890), p. 76.
[128] Letter. Nicea [Boehm] to undesignated addressee [likely Jane Ridenour, no date [likely Fall, 1970]. Letter. Nicea Boehm to Jane Ridenour, November 9, 1970. Letter. Nicea [Boehm] to Jane [Ridenour], November 19, 1970. [Nicea Boehm's letters to Jane Ridenour involve the acquisition of Gould's journal by the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities. They are filed in a document box identified as: "Ship Log Fanny: Edwards: M 64.4.1 a, b, c. Shipping Log Books," at SPLIA, Cold Spring Harbor, New York. This document box also contains Gould's journal. misidentified as Captain Edwards' log.]

His, no doubt, was a minority ideal of manhood among the types of masculinity performed in the whalefishery, but an alternative nonetheless. Above all, when taken together with the other whalemen presented in this dissertation as representative of those who did not perform or aspire to secular libertine manhood, we see that men, specifically men of the Sag Harbor whalefishery of 1840 through 1850, cannot be stereotyped into one view of masculinity, be it through popular culture prejudices or academic theory constructs, except for the theory that men perform masculinity, and the corollary that each man performs his own masculinity, according to his situations - - - differently.

CONCLUSION

Masculinity, as "Whalemen's Song" has argued, is neither natural nor monolithic. Even among a small number of men, Long Islanders of British ancestry who whaled out of Sag Harbor during the 1840s, we see considerable and contested differences of what it meant to be masculine and to achieve manhood. Whalemen's masculinity rested upon seamanship and ability as a whale hunter or whaleship craftsman, but extended beyond these labor fundamentals to include social performance in the whaleship and the whaling port. Central to this dissertation's argument is that whalemen, through their daily journal entries, songs, and poems, expressed themselves in the discourse of masculinity and manhood when commenting upon aspects of life that included seamanship, alcohol, race, authority, mistreatment, labor, women, Native peoples, Christianity, and citizenship.

The use of alcohol, particularly the conviviality of drinking as a male homosocial activity, or as display behavior in the presence of women, was seen as essential to masculinity by some, perhaps most whalemen. The conclusion of "As I lay amusing," in Lewis Jones's song collection, emphatically describes the intricate link between seamen drinking together and their masculine self-conception as individuals and as a group. Yet, several of the whalemen among the over 50 whose journals were examined objected to excessive drinking by shipmates, whether at sea or ashore. These writers saw alcohol use, especially drunkenness, as emasculating, denying men of the proper deportment of manhood, and infringing upon their seamanship. This opinion is firmly expressed in the

songs and poems they wrote into their journals, or read and took home with them in copies of Honolulu's seamen's mission newspaper, *The Friend*. While the position against alcohol sometimes took on a mildly Christian sentiment, it was always expressed, even in *The Friend*, in the discourse of masculinity, presenting alcohol as destructive of the fulfillment of manhood by weakening one physically and mentally, harming one's family, inhibiting one's rational freedom of action, and most importantly, as emasculating seamen by impairing seamanship and leading to actual shipwreck and death.

Sexual performance was a very important and variable element within the conceptions of masculinity found among whalemen. While homosexual preference and performance may have been present among Sag Harbor's whalemen of the 1840s, no mention or implication of it was found in their journals, songs and poems. If such behavior existed, the lack of evidence may be the result of self censorship of one's writing, or of the later destruction of such writings by one's self or by one's heirs in an effort to cover up what could be perceived to be transgressions.

Sexual performance by men with women, whether described in bawdy terms of seduction or mutual lust, or implied within a setting of mutual true love, was an important theme of a several of the whalemen's songs collected by Lewis Jones. None of the whalemen wrote of his own sexual performance with women during his voyage, perhaps through self censorship, but likely for some through genuine self restraint. Several commented upon or strongly implied that many of their shipmates, including at least one captain, engaged in libertine sexual behavior when ashore or aboard ship when in port. Such conduct was an important factor in the masculine conception and performance of some, if not most whalemen, just as criticism of such conduct was important to the

journal writers who condemned it as displaying wantonness and the failure to achieve the self restraints of necessary to manhood. At least two of the whalemen cited, George Smith in the whaleship *Thames* and John Quin in the whaleship *Ann*, were married. While each man expressed his loneliness and his longing to be with his wife, neither mentioned sex. Their longings, however, must have included desire for the conjugal pleasures of marriage as each was already a father, and each who later father at least one more child by the wife he missed so much during his whaling voyage.

Economic class is an important factor in the make-up of society, and the research for this dissertation was started in quest of whalemen's journal entries and songs and poems that clearly expressed proletarian class *consciousness*. What was discovered, instead, was that Sag Harbor whalemen, writing during the radical revolutionary decade of the 1840s, did not present the conscious description of economic class and economic class conflict. Instead their comments, mostly complaints, even when reflective of what may be seen as economic class differences and conflicts, were described not as stemming from class, but from whaleship rank and authority, and the abuse of authority. In many instances the journal keeper who was highly critical of authority and abusive conditions was himself from a respected and well-to-do Long Island family, and held or would achieve higher status ashore than did his shipboard superiors. Whalemen's songs and poems repeatedly and almost exclusively portrayed men holding rank as immoral, through their parsimony, through their abuse of laboring men, particularly sailors, and through their abuse of women, both as female victims and as contextual surrogates for victimized men. Such portrayals in song, poem, and daily journal entry, while frequently

having economic components, were expressed within the discourse of masculinity either as unmanly abuses against men or as failures to protect women from abuse.

Several of the whalemen cited wrote of the rights and privileges of manhood. Gould, in particular, wrote of reaching his majority, but of being denied the rational rights of adult male citizenship as he labored in the whaleship. He and others also demonstrate the high level of interests, self expression and self examination, and moral restraint that are generally associated with young men of the 1840s who were seeking entry into the professions, but not associated with the men who labored in whaleships as seamen, craftsmen, green hands, and cabin boys. In Sidney Gould's poetic description of moonlight on the Pacific; in the romantic prayer-in-poetry of Henry A. Fordham's "Far, Far at Sea…A Song;" in the defiant boldness of "The Rich Nobleman's Daughter" in Lewis Jones's song collection; and in the manly pride in seamanship of Josiah Foster's "The Sailor," one sees a quiet, thoughtful, and highly overlooked conception of manhood and performance of masculinity, often at odds with the stereotypical hyper-masculine performance of the secular libertine, and often critical of the purely secular goals of the status-oriented secular bourgeois.

Whether in performing their own masculinity, or in criticizing what they saw as the lack of masculinity in others, the whalemen whose writings provide the historic texts for "Whalemen's Song" present the historian with a greatly varied and complex view of masculinity. Rather than relying upon official records that concentrate on the misdeeds of whalemen, one must turn to the writings the whalemen themselves created, their journals, their poems, and their songs, to understand how each conceived of manhood, and performed his own masculinity.

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lack of document publication, the presumed remoteness of eastern Long Island, the contributions of Sag Harbor and other Long Island whaling ports has been grossly overlooked by historians, ranging from the elite of academics, to popular history writers and documentary makers, and even extending to writers on local Long Island history. Concentration has been given to the whaling ports of Nantucket and New Bedford, partly because of long-standing efforts at historical museums at those locations, and at Mystic Seaport, Connecticut, to publish large amounts of documents, and to make much of their collections available through the internet. As a result, the activities and contributions made by Long Island whalemen have been largely ignored, thus presenting an incomplete picture of the American whalefishery as Sag Harbor and the other Long Island whaling ports differed in significant ways from the insular whaling culture of Nantucket, and the urban industrial culture of New Bedford. The failure of historians to cite primary documents of Long Island's whalefishery is presented within the bibliography, in which indication is made following the bibliographic entry for several monographs on whaling, and several general maritime histories, of the small degree to which the author or authors cited such sources. The purposes in doing so are to indicate the important degree to which Long Island has been written out of the history of the whalefishery, and the need for increased attention to small, local unpublished archive holdings, not on the internet, as one begins to note the trend towards repetitive use of selected published and on-line documentation by scholars.

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