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Whalemen, Missionaries, and the Practice of Christianity in the Nineteenth-Century Pacific

NATURAL ENEMIES ABOUND in history. Seldom, however, has there been so lengthy a quarrel as that between missionaries and whalemen in the nineteenth-century Pacific Ocean. The missionaries, British and American, commonly feared and loathed whalemen for their determined attempt to undermine the triumphs of Christian civilization among their charges. The whalemen's arrival, and even worse the deposit of deserters in their wake, was cause for serious alarm. Whalemen, on the other hand, often shared the loathing, and in a rather different sense the fear, of the missionaries' potential power to deny them their rightful leisure pursuits.

As the years passed, finding an island without its resident missionary was increasingly difficult, and expectations were all the less likely to be fulfilled. As the keeper of the log of the New Bedford bark *Avola* put it after looking in at Mcaskill's Island (Pingelap, Pohnpei) in 1873, the men on liberty "got greatly disappointed," since the missionaries "had got glory pumped into the natives good and at both ends."[1]

The traditional image of upright, godly servants of the Lord battling depraved, immoral whalemen is not entirely wrong. But it does require qualification in several respects. Missionary and

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whaleman alike shared important cultural constraints, but they interacted in significant if sometimes unanticipated ways. Devout or irreligious, they shared the same Christian religious heritage and a general hostility to, or at least disrespect for, pagan practices, yet both could experience the awesome might of an indigenous ruler. They shared economic attitudes as well, including a belief in the exchange of commodities and labor for value; neither found appealing the native attitude that their goods were community property. In short, though they may have loathed each other, it was an enmity different from that which might be experienced from a particular Pacific society.

Unfortunately, evidence of this relationship is one-sided. Missionaries were articulate enough in letters to superiors, families, and each other, but whalemen were less so. Logbooks and journals abound, but they were normally kept by officers, captains or mates, and their viewpoint differed from that of forecastle hands, particularly when it was a matter of off-duty activities ashore. When whalemen deserted on some beach, their presence as potentially permanent beachcombers presented a threat to the missionary's self-appointed role as model and reform leader, but logbooks, while remarking commonly enough on desertions, seldom chronicle later effects. Thus, written traces of the foremast view of whaler–missionary interaction are rare.

By the 1840s, whaleman–missionary quarrels were commonplace, having begun with the roughly simultaneous arrival of both groups in the Pacific a half-century earlier. British whalers were operating in the Pacific at the end of the eighteenth century, while at the same time Americans after the same quarry were rounding the Horn. Fur traders and sandalwooders bound for China also left their tracks. By 1819, when the first American whale vessel arrived at Hawai'i, as many as 200 European and American merchants, seamen, and wanderers were resident in the "Sandwich Islands."[2] Australian and New Zealand waters were exploited at first by British efforts, but the first American whalers and sealers had called at Port Jackson (Sydney) in the 1790s. American contacts with the southwest Pacific increased steadily, though fear of Maori hostility in New Zealand and burdensome colonial regulations in Australia kept some from these waters.[3]

Missionaries were close behind. Postrevolutionary religious revivalism in Europe and America, tinged with a hint of escapist romanticism, brought waves of eager toilers in the vineyard in the early nineteenth century. The London Missionary Society (LMS), interdenominational but nonconformist, was founded in 1795; the Church Missionary Society (Church of England) in 1799; the Wesleyan mission organization, a merger of existing Wesleyan groups, in 1817. In 1797 the LMS chartered the *Duff* to carry out 30 missionaries and their wives, and though by no means every early station was successful, a permanent foothold was established on Tahiti. Meanwhile the Church Missionary Society (CMS) pioneered in New Zealand from 1814 onward. To the eastward, in the spring of 1820, the brig *Thaddeus* landed 14 American men and women in Hawai'i, where American mission efforts were to be concentrated for the next 30 years. They were sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Presbyterian- and Congregationalist-supported, headquartered in Boston, where its staff, in the words of Charles Foster, was busy "meticulously plotting the strategy and tactics of world conquest. . . . Here, very probably for the first time in history, was the application of geopolitical thought on a global scale."[4]

Protestant missionaries were never unanimous on doctrinal issues, including whether Christian conversion should precede or follow training in the practical arts of civilization as defined in the West. Doctrine might make no difference at all, of course, where for whatever cause contact brought conflict with indigenous populations. Over time, however, it mattered; in particular, the Calvinist stress on salvation and on the saved as an elect who obeyed godly law and urged its application to others differed markedly from the Wesleyan stress on the spirit of revivalist enthusiasm. The reception given to a particular whaling master, in other words, might depend upon variables other than the behavior of his crew. But between whaleman and missionary, as between whaleman and native, there was not always the chance to explore relationships. Distrust was more likely to be the common denominator.

The reasons for conflict were several and particular. Where indigenous authorities were cooperative with missionary objec-

tives, whalemen could find themselves suddenly faced with denial of the free use of women and grog, which were common features of whaleman–native interaction. In Hawai'i, the first liquor laws were promulgated in 1818, and legislation to control sailors' behavior ashore was passed in 1822.[5] In 1825, the enforcement of the recent prohibition of females visiting aboard whaleships led to what is probably the best-known such confrontation in this island group. At Lahaina on Maui, an anchorage which from the late 1820s into the 1840s was the preferred stopover for whalemen (Honolulu on O'ahu was both more difficult of access and costly in fees), Captain William Buckle of the British whaler *Daniel IV* encouraged his men to take reprisals against the local missionary, William Richards, who was blamed for the edict (Buckle was accused of having paid 10 doubloons—$160—for a young girl, a mission school student, for himself). Richards and his wife were threatened by a mob of sailors; they stood firm through some anxious moments and were not injured.

When three months later Captain John Percival of the U.S.S. *Dolphin* intervened in Honolulu against similar legislation, just when the missionary community had hoped for his support, it appeared that reform in the Hawaiian Islands was in dire jeopardy. Hiram Bingham, the only ABCFM ordained minister on the scene, was roughed up by another mob which surrounded his house and was saved only by an angry group of supporting parishioners. Tempers were calmed with the arrival in October of the U.S. sloop-of-war *Peacock,* whose master, Thomas ap Catsby Jones, was more supportive of Hawaiian kingdom authority.

Alas, the issue flared again when in December of 1827 the British whaler *John Palmer* lobbed a few nine-pound balls into the town of Lahaina in order to influence the local authorities in yet another disagreement of a similar sort. Memories of these events were long-lived; Bingham, who came to have considerable influence in Hawaiian affairs, was still writing angrily about it all years later. "The enemy," he reported in a collegial letter to the LMS in 1830, "claimed the right of unrestricted and privileged licentiousness and was not ashamed to fight for it."[6]

The *Daniel* and *John Palmer* affairs were very public. In most

cases the struggle left fewer records, until the results chanced to work their way into high-level correspondence. Samuel Marsden, missionary, businessman, and early organizer of New Zealand colonization, wrote to Ralph Darling, governor of New South Wales (1824–31), more than once to complain of the depredations of whalemen on the Maori. In 1830, the presence of women aboard the *Toward Castle,* a whaler commanded by a master of considerable fame (or infamy) by the name of William D. Brind, touched off a small but sanguinary local struggle known as the "girls war," which cost the lives of at least 30 Maori. Marsden urged the presence of an armed vessel, and Darling made the matter a question of high policy, though with little immediate effect.[7]

The occasional visit of a government vessel could do little, particularly as the frequency of visiting whaleships increased. Henry Willams at the Bay of Islands found that the only recourse was to keep at arm's length from the whalemen:

> It has cost me many serious moments, but their moral conduct has been so glaringly bad that it has been considered dangerous to hold any intercourse with them to the peculiar work of the Mission, for while we condemned their conduct to the Natives, they would ask —"Why, then do you allow them to come to your houses?" I hope that by extreme care, such communication may be preserved which shall keep them in their places and allow us to speak unto them the word of the Lord.[8]

Direct appeal to the women seemed to have little effect, as Williams's 1831 journal shows. "In the afternoon went to a party of girls who were congregated together on the beach rolling about in the sun, having come from the vessel. I spoke to them for some time on the danger of their situation. Some ran away, the rest remained quiet, but none spoke."[9]

Conditions on the South Island were little better, though settlement was slower to develop. James Watkin was stationed in 1840 at Waikouaiti (near Otago Harbor), where, as was fairly typical of South Island, a small shore whaling station developed. The settlement, Watkin reported, was

> rivalling in proportion to its population of Bay of Islands in wickedness than which the sun shines not on a worse in the whole world. . . . The white men almost generally are living with native women, and my coming here is looked upon rather suspiciously by them, for they know enough of Xy [Christianity] to be aware that if it prevails, they must either marry the women or lose them. Another objection to the Missionary is that he will make the natives too knowing, i.e., in matters of trade, but from the specimens I have had already I think my duty would be to make them less knowing. If they increase their knowledge of this kind this will be a very expensive Mission indeed.[10]

Watkin's worries were not untypical. Similar views were expressed in the world of islands which lay between New Zealand and Hawai'i, and which became a vast field of conflict between godliness and immorality, or free enterprise and intolerance, depending upon point of view. Polynesia, Micronesia, even less comprehensible and more dangerous Melanesia in turn became battlefields.

Trouble was hard to avoid. George Pritchard on Tahiti, exasperated at the third escape of a quarrelsome deserter from native captors, showed them how to secure him properly with "irons" (handcuffs). "I have no desire to interfere in such cases; but the natives are as so many overgrown children," and as a missionary he held himself bound to counteract the conduct of the beachcombers. "It has been said that Tahiti is like a Paradise. I can say from experience that Wilk's [Wilke's] Harbour is now more like Sodom than a Paradise," at least in 1827.[11]

Missionaries could not prevent the visit of whalers, and until whaling vessels no longer carried cannon a disgruntled captain could always fire off a few rounds. Aaron Buzacott in Rarotonga reported in 1839 that the London bark *Rifleman* reacted in just this fashion when a Rarotongan seaman who had shipped aboard in New Zealand, now having reached home, refused to continue the voyage. Local chiefs provided a replacement sailor along with yams, ducks, and turkeys, but full satisfaction of Captain Davis apparently required two 12-inch cannonballs to be fired into the settlement (one hit a coconut tree, the other was dug out of a hillside).[12]

Issues arising between the two groups did not always involve licentious behavior, regulations to counter it, and cannon fire delivered in retaliation. The economic effects of both whaling and missions could be substantial and complex. As mission work produced a change in lifestyle in a particular society, it was likely also to generate demand for Western-style clothing (or at least the cloth with which to make it), Bibles, tracts, printing presses, paper, and so on. Whaling, on the other hand, created a very considerable demand for surplus agricultural commodities, and then when surpluses proved inadequate, organized commercial production evolved to supply its needs. In Hawai'i, several hundred whaling ships might call in season, each with 20 to 30 men aboard and each desiring to resupply with enough food for another tour "on Japan," "on the Northwest," or into the Arctic. The effect on Hawai'i's economy, particularly in areas in reach of Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo, the main whaling ports, was dramatic and of considerable importance in the islands' history. Lorrin Andrews, missionary and (in 1844) seaman's chaplain at Lahaina, was clear on the immediate effects of the 300 ships that recruited there in 1843–44: "It has been ascertained that on average they have $300 each. Ships 300 × dollars 300 = $90,000. Here is nearly a dollar a piece for every man woman & child on the islands. A great deal of it goes into the hands of church members at Lahaina. Whatever the people have been, *I* cannot *now* call the people poor on Maui."[13] A year later, Cochran Forbes at the same port was somewhat more cautious, at least regarding the distribution of benefits. "Though the standard of living had gone up, most of the wealth, however, of all this trafic [*sic*] goes into the hands of foreigners."[14]

In the late 1840s, many more than Andrews's 300 ships might call at Lahaina, and hogs, goats, yams, bananas, fresh fruit, and above all the Irish potatoes that grew well on Maui were collectively a major industry. But in a small island or shore station in the Pacific even the arrival of one hungry vessel could disrupt the local economy. In such places, like Methodist missionary Watkin's South Island station, prices were likely to become severely inflated, while mission salaries were generally small and likely to increase, if at all, only in small increments.[15]

Whalemen had their own complaints, particularly when they found that "a large nail or a piece of hoop iron"[16] was no longer enough to pay for a fine hog or other commodity the value of which had now been carefully explained by the resident missionary. Whalemen were always disinclined to pay cash money, even assuming they had it aboard and that it was acceptable locally. They preferred to trade for "recruits," especially when they could pay in trade items that originally cost little in New Bedford. Clothing, tools, and other materials might be useful, as could whale oil itself for illumination. Tobacco remained a staple throughout the whaling era. But the demand for such goods was finite (tobacco excepted), and other commodities, such as the hardtack and molasses so popular among Arctic Inuit, were unwanted in Paradise. Firearms were, of course, often in demand.

One other favored item was alcohol. Not surprisingly, trade in spirits was of particular interest to missionaries, for the distribution of cheap rum too easily dissipated the inhibitions so laboriously cultivated by their endeavors. So widespread was the trade that a true temperance ship, one which not only prohibited drinking aboard but also carried no liquor for trade, was at a serious disadvantage. When the *Nathaniel P. Tallmadge* of Poughkeepsie visited Pylstaert's Island ('Ata, an outlier of Tonga) in 1838, rum was the first thing native visitors asked for. "It was in vain we protested that ours was a temperance ship, for they could not, or would not believe that a ship would come from a land where this care-killing nectar could be procured without being amply stored therewith—and they accordingly distrusted our hospitality."[17]

Missionaries certainly opposed trade with whalemen when it undercut their own influence. On the other hand, where exchange could be regulated and controlled to the point of forbidding trade in alcohol, the growth of trade might prove the missionary's promise of the material rewards of godly labor. Conversion produced the demand for Christian comforts; the demand for comforts influenced the rate of conversion, in what Greg Dening has termed the "economic determinism of divine grace."[18]

Beachcombers and forecastle hands on liberty might be much disappointed, but many a whaling master was not really dis-

pleased at missionary-imposed temperance ashore. Sobriety was a partial counter to either absence without leave or actual desertion, though the master might well bemoan the end of a very profitable form of exchange for his resupply. Though sober seamen might not appreciate the fact, it was also the case that crimes such as robbery were less likely to be perpetrated upon them where temperance ruled. The 39 masters and 43 other officers who with their signatures backed the foundation of the Honolulu Marine Association for the Suppression of Intemperance at the Sandwich Islands in 1834 indicate that the influence of antebellum America's temperance movement was felt well beyond continental limits.[19] The attack upon drink was slower to develop than that upon other forms of immorality (missionaries too in the early days liked their alcoholic ration, and it took some time before criticism of intemperance turned to advocacy of total prohibition), but it was no less significant.

The issue of alcohol was not the only aspect of economic and social relationships that created difficulties. Another was the employment of Pacific islanders, generally known as "kanakas." The flow of islanders away from their homes began in the eighteenth century with a few transported to Europe or New England as curiosities, but soon enough considerable numbers served in the fur and sandalwood trades. With this background, and a general cultural familiarity with the sea, it did not require vast effort to induce kanakas to serve aboard whalemen. They proved capable and useful, but it was not their technical whaling and sailing experience to which missionaries objected. Rather it was their close association with the whalemen and with their vices, inducing in them on their return "depraved and vicious conduct," as George Gill of Mangaia (Hervey Islands) reported in 1846.[20]

Charles Pitman on Rarotonga believed that of the men of his island who signed on whalers, "not one in twenty return." The chiefs had prohibited such employment, but it was useless; recruits simply secreted small canoes and paddled off to meet vessels, or just swam out beyond the reef despite the dangers.[21]

Temperance would triumph after a fashion at Tahiti, but restricting the employment of Pacific seamen was not really possible so long as whaling vessels continued to call. The numbers

involved were substantial. The Hawaiian minister of the interior reported to the king in mid-1846 that 651 natives had officially left the island over the past year, and doubtless some left unofficially. An estimated 3,000 islanders were then at sea, and there was no port visited by whalemen which had not its contingent of Hawaiians, many with little hope of ever returning. If the minister's estimate of 15,000 male Hawaiian Islanders between the ages of 15 and 30 was correct, some one-fifth were then in foreign waters.[22]

It is clear then that the missionary–whaleman contest was fought out on several fronts. It is also clear that the relationship was not hostility alone. There was little common ground on liquor or women, but economic relationships were often of mutual advantage, and while each side criticized the behavior of the other, each was not unaware of reciprocal benefits. In many ways each made life easier for the other. Though Hiram Bingham may have altered his opinion later when the presence of whalemen in Hawai'i became much more intrusive, in 1822 he was clear on the positive side of the relationship:

> . . . in addition [to] the friends whom we have found in the merchant service several gentlemen engaged in the whale fishery have also repeatedly called on us & treated us with great civility & kindship & have very obligingly offered to forward to us from Nantucket in future voyages, any supplies, or letters, free of expense, which our friends or Patrons may choose to commit to their care.[23]

Whaling vessels commonly carried missionaries and their families and goods out to their stations and home again as well. They were a principal conduit of correspondence, indeed often the only such link, as at Pohnpei until missionaries raised a subscription to obtain their own vessel, the *Morning Star,* in 1856.[24] Whalers provided needed supplies, large or small. Methodist William White was most happy to buy a ton of good whale oil for use and for barter from a whaler at New Zealand in 1830 (by a bill for £20 drawn on mission headquarters).[25] On the other end of the spectrum, Maria Sartwell Loomis in Hawai'i in 1821 was equally pleased to be supplied by a whaler with common soap, for she had none nor the ashes with which to make it. That same year she was similarly

grateful to be provided with beef, molasses, pork, and butter. "We reckon these Nantucket men among the most substantial of our friends. All who have visited this place since our arrival, have appeared truely friendly."[26] Instances abound of similar courtesies.

Friendly and supportive whaling masters were welcome at the homes of most missionaries. "Many of the masters & even the sailors are now our old acquaintance—numbers call daily—are at our table. We like to associate with them—hope to do them good —but what an amount of time does all this consume!" commented Dwight Baldwin at Lahaina.[27] In their table talk at such meetings, more than one common interest surfaced. Missionaries hungered for news from home, naturally, but the whalers' own activities were worthy of attention. Evidence of this may be seen in *The Friend,* a temperance and revivalist journal established in Honolulu in 1843 to improve contacts with the maritime profession generally, which watched developments in the whaling profession with an eye to their potential benefits for religion. When whalemen reported success in the hunt off the Carolines of the far western Pacific in 1854, *The Friend* happily editorialized that now "the Islands of the Caroline range will be frequently visited by them and become better known; and that our facilities for sending missionaries upon almost all of them will be unlimited."[28]

Such enthusiasm was not always well-advised. In the early days of the Marquesan mission, the first arrivals found that the local situation was not nearly as receptive as had been portrayed to them. In addition to reports of enthusiastic fellow workers who had organized the project, complained a disillusioned ABCFM servant, "the erroneous statements of sea captains at Lahaina turned the scale, so we came in darkness & we now sit down in darkness not knowing whether we ought to remain or return."[29] But as Dening has remarked, missionaries tended to select from among "the advice of whaling captains to suit their desire."[30] Still, the larger possibilities were great, and with this fact in mind, Henry Nott in Tahiti was only being practical when, having urged a friendly captain to call at LMS headquarters, he urged his superiors at home that " . . . it would be well for the Directors to pay him some attention. These gentlemen as they are *well* or *ill* dis-

posed towards us, have it in their power to do us service, or the reverse."[31]

But interactions of this sort, once again, were two-sided. Not only could missionaries help in the exchange of commodities through their organizational and interpretive abilities, but they might mean the difference between life and death in organizing rescue efforts in case of a wreck, but not always with the thanks they merited. When the *Tacitus* was wrecked in 1845 on Rarotonga, the cargo was saved by the crew and natives in the night at considerable risk. Aaron Buzacott's parishioners stood guard over the property, only to be accused of theft in the light of day (a search proved that crewmen were the culprits), and then to find that the 30-man crew had very little religion among them.[32]

Saving individuals was more rewarding. Wise missionaries avoided encouraging men to desert, though their aid was often requested. Levi Chamberlain, a secular employee of the mission in Honolulu, was thus approached more than once, but advised return to the vessel, in one case sending back a prospective deserter from the *Globe* who had been recaptured and escaped again and came to Chamberlain at night to ask concealment. The date was November 1823; the *Globe* was soon to be involved in one of the grimmest mutinies on record among whaleships.[33]

Where conflict with whaling masters could be avoided by some arrangement, however, a mutually beneficial result might ensue, as in the case of a sick young man from the *Pacific* who in 1829 was left in the hands of Gerrit Judd in Honolulu. The contract was very specific: the man was a carpenter and a watchmaker and was to work for Judd in return for his room and board. "I shall allow him a little leisure to repair watches in order that he may procure some clothes, &c.," recorded Judd, but the man's main utility was to help Judd in the construction of a new dwelling. He was not discharged from his ship, but was to receive his share of oil at the end of the voyage, and meanwhile Judd was to pay $10.00 a month for a substitute to work aboard. "He promises," added Judd, "to avoid the Oahu company refrain from liquor & be faithful to me. . . . "[34] Some, of course, came never to depart. Captain Peck of the ship *Hamilton* died at Baldwin's house at Lahaina in 1845, "& though thronged with misy [missionary] &

other visitors, yet we could not deny a sick man such accommodation as we had."[35]

More common were short-lived contacts when a seaman or officer stopped by to attend a service or request a Bible. Religious tracts and Bibles were important bridges. Ebenezer Buchanan of Upolu, Samoa, was visited at his infant school by a black whaleman attracted by the noise. He had escaped southern slavery and made his way to New Jersey, where he had been taken in and given some schooling before going to sea. He now wanted a Bible, and Buchanan rejoiced that he was able to help another soul on the way to salvation.[36]

Such accounts demonstrate that, while whalers might not all be friends of missionaries, many were, certainly among the officer class. Even among those who were not, many remained pious, as the evidence of logbooks shows. "Employed as usual on the Sabath [*sic*] reading and meditating on the Goodness of God to us poor miserable worms of the dust . . . ," recorded Benjamin Bradford, master of the *Canton Packet* in 1830 in a typical entry of this type.[37]

Some masters held prayer meetings in their cabin for any who wished to attend; others offered Sunday sermons to those inclined to listen, but I have found no record of any who forced religious services upon their crews in the formal sense, aside from burials.[38]

Forecastle hands had religion too. "Duff for dinner read a chapter in the bible and begun to think of home," wrote Leonard Fairbanks of the *Catharine* of New London, only a few days out in 1843 (duff, a sort of pudding, was a Sunday treat).[39] Charles Perkins, who shipped under a pseudonym on the *Frances* of New Bedford (1850–52), often recorded gloomy fears for his own salvation. Such a man might be horrified by the scene at Bay of Islands:

> . . . there is one thing that shocked me so much which was that of fathers prostituting their own daughters and what rendered it still worse was that it appears to be a common thing for they did it openly before all their own people men & women. I could not help pitying the miserable and unfortunate little girls who were compelled to give themselves up to our [word illegible] and brutal sail-

> ors and I do candidly believe that the white people are more to blame than the natives themselves. There seems to be no bounds to the licentiousness of the whites when they get among these poor benighted beings. . . .[40]

Somewhat ironically, all seamen, whether pious or otherwise, were concerned to preserve their perceived right to leisure time of a sort on Sundays. Tradition said that only essential work was done on shipboard on the Sabbath, but on most whalers essential work included taking and rendering ("trying out") of whales. Normal leisure patterns might include washing clothes, scrimshawing, overhauling personal possessions in one's sea chest, or simply relaxing.

Whaling on the Sabbath was an issue that often excited comment. To the religious community interested in whaling matters, the taking of whales on the Lord's day simply meant that there was no Sabbath at sea—a conclusion that, from the sailor's point of view, was not necessarily correct, for barring the appearance of whales, the routine was different enough in small but significant ways to be important to whalemen.

On this matter, however, owners and masters made the decision. Custom, insofar as it applied at all, dictated that whalers whaled when they found whales, whatever the day. Melville's Captain Bildad, speaking for the *Pequod*'s owners in *Moby Dick,* put it squarely: "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." The actual instructions for the *Condor*'s 1844 sailing were very similar. "I put on board a number of useful books & a large quantity of papers & tracts which you will loan to them [the crew] at all proper times & tho I do not wish whaling to be neglected on Sunday, I wish the men sh'd on that day, clean & dress themselves & perform no more duty than is necessary."[41]

Whalemen who did not take whales on Sunday were rare enough to be exceptions to a general rule, but they did exist. William Scoresby, Jr., who made many successful voyages to Greenland as a whaling mate and master out of Whitby in England, not only did not take whales on Sunday, but also did his best to persuade other masters to follow his example—but then he

ended his career as an ordained minister. The master of the *Commodore Preble* was persuaded in Hawai'i that whaling on the Sabbath was wrong, and according to the missionary who sailed with him, he took no more whales on the Sabbath.[42] Captain Wilbur of the *Magnet* of Warren, Rhode Island, kept a strict sabbath in the 1840s, even refusing to cut in a whale though it might be lost by such restraint.[43]

Pressure to conform to the norm was substantial, despite the argument of Sabbatarians that God would do well by those who observed His day. Owners were less likely to be devoutly certain, and masters feared the scorn of their peers. The captain of the *Martha* of Fairhaven in 1859, as a struggling sinner, would have liked to avoid Sunday whaling, or so he confided in his log, but he had mated with the whaler *Minerva Smith* (i.e., they were whaling in company, with the proceeds to be distributed equally), and her master whaled on Sunday; he was constrained to follow suit.[44]

The position of the missionaries was not surprisingly on the side of the Sabbatarians, particularly among denominations strict in their own observance, and perhaps stricter still on some Pacific stations than their fellows at home. New England captains were familiar with quiet Sundays, but still might be surprised at the extent of regulation in a society where virtually no activities were permitted on the Sabbath aside from religious observances, and certainly not such suspect pagan traditional practices as dancing. That trade on Sunday might be prohibited was no surprise; stores were not open at home either. But other aspects excited comment: "the natives are forbide [*sic*] to do anything not as much as to cook their victuels," recorded Shadrack Freeman of the *Orion* at O'ahu in 1831.[45]

It was in such shoreside situations, of course, that whalemen were most affected by missionaries, and vice versa. But once the struggle over liquor and women was resolved in a specific community, the effect upon New England whaling officers at least might be only to reinforce their own heritage as they mingled with missionaries now secure in their influence. Ironically, crews were less homogeneous as mid-century approached, and such officer–missionary association was likely only to widen the gap between officers and forecastle hands. Whalemen's wives, too, were a fac-

tor; there had always been a hardy few who sailed with their husbands, but the number increased as the century wore on and conditions in ports to be visited were more stable. The lifestyle and role of whaling wives has received considerable attention, but it may still be noted that substantial interaction occurred between these women and wives of missionaries, above all when the former stayed on for a significant period in case of illness, small children, or simply a preference not to accompany the vessel on its standard arctic circuit (though many wives went there as well).[46]

As Patricia Grimshaw has shown, missionary wives had roles of considerable importance well beyond the needs of their families and their own teaching or other mission; this was particularly true in societies such as Hawai'i where native women had chiefly status. A passing visit for a day or two from a whaling captain's wife would have made little difference beyond creation of a "fragile bridge," and Grimshaw rightly stresses the general isolation of most mission wives.[47] But in a port such as Honolulu, where there was a substantial expatriate society, the addition of whaling wives, generally from the same middle-class New England background as their missionary counterparts, must have had the effect of renewing and reinforcing that home culture for both. And the bonds created could be close. As Mariana Sherman put it on joining her husband aboard the *Nimrod* there in 1849, she was most sad to part with many acquaintances "whom I may never see again this side of the eternal world. I shall ever feel interested to hear of Honolulu as I have passed seven long months very happily here."[48]

Though occasionally a captain's wife might distribute tracts and the like (Mary Chipman Lawrence let her daughter go forward with tracts in a baby carriage to hand out),[49] they very seldom did more than encourage their husbands in their own piety or study the Bible with their children. Clara Kingman Wheldon, in a letter written home on board the *John Howland* in 1869, explains why:

> I have been asked why I do not exercise a missionary spirit among those just about me. My answer has been that I do not consider it the part of wisdom for one in my place to attempt to[o] much. The

> dignity of reserve seems to be better understood than any kind of freedom beyond civility. Cold civility and reserve, treating them always the same, is the only way to keep them in place. Our sailors are obedient and kind, and it is seldom I hear cross word[s] from any one of them. I often think of many sermons I have heard about "poor sailors who never have a kind word spoken to them," when I so seldom hear anything but kind words. There are, however, times when sailors need harsh sounding words of command, and the sternest of treatment, without which they would soon be unmanageable. . . .[50]

Only occasionally did missionaries have the opportunity directly to influence a whaler's crew by traveling aboard her or by a visit while at sea. William Richards, with a group of missionaries on their voyage out to the Pacific, fell in with the New Bedford whaler *Winslow* on a Sabbath, and two went aboard to distribute tracts. "This was a mission which we never anticipated, but it was one which animated all our hearts."[51] A religious captain might permit sermons every Sunday from missionary passengers, as did Abraham Gardner homeward bound on the *Zephyr* of New Bedford in 1842–43.[52]

Ashore, missionaries had more leverage upon vessels seeking crewmen or supplies, though how often it was used cannot be determined. Fidelia Coan, acting for her absent husband at Hilo in 1839, is an example. She permitted the signing of two church members as crewmen only on condition that the vessel would not whale on the Sabbath.[53] The effectiveness of this particular prohibition is unknown, but Titus Coan generally did his best at enforcement: "Our young men often shipped for whaling voyages. Noting these cases, I would watch for their return, and then visit them, inquiring whether they chased whales on the Lord's day, used intoxicants, or violated other Christian rules of morality; and I dealt with them as each case demanded."[54]

A more common religious association was the attendance of whalemen at services ashore, as testified to by both mission correspondence and whaling journals. Some missionaries might begrudge the time spent with whalemen, since their primary objective was indigenous inhabitants. Still others enjoyed at least short-term triumphs. Reuben Tinker at Lahaina in 1832 preached

in English between his native-language services and was pleased when a London captain invited him to preach aboard his vessel. "Pious captains are rare," he noted,

> and few are the christians among the crews. Their views on the subject of religion are often obscure. I hope the advice we give them will not be lost. I conversed with one this evening, who said he had been to meeting but once in 14 years, and that was a few years since on the beach by this house in Lahaina. And in all that time no one had given him good counsel. I gave him mine and invited him to call again.[55]

When a master appeared receptive, missionaries might well take the initiative. William Richards and Ephrahim Spaulding asked to be allowed to hold services on the Salem ship *Bengal* at Lahaina in 1833; it was given, and "a general attendance among our own ship's company" occurred, as the log recorded. "An unusual number of officers and seamen here this season who appear to be on the side of Christ," noted Dwight Baldwin in 1835. But it was not always so satisfying; as Lorrin Andrews put it eight years later, "I sometimes have a full house on the sabbath but I fear it is all lost before another sabbath."[56] Even where there was no general desire to attend services ashore, whaling vessels often still set out their flags and bunting on the Sabbath, whether at New Bedford or some remote foreign port.[57]

In larger ports, the irreligion of seamen might be attacked directly through the bethel movement, providing chapels (and chaplains) and reading rooms specifically for sailors. This movement had begun in Europe with the late eighteenth-century Methodist "discovery" of seamen and their needs; in 1818 *The Ark,* a former naval vessel, was dedicated in the Thames as the first floating chapel for this "pariah caste."[58] The first American efforts specifically directed toward whalemen seem to have originated in New Bedford, where legendary "Father Taylor" pioneered a whaleman's mission. In 1825 a Marine Bible Society was founded here (the first such was established in Philadelphia in 1808) and in 1830 a comprehensive ministry.[59] A quarter century later, it was a famous church, as it is today, and attendance by

whalemen bound outward or inward was not uncommon. Edwin Pulver, a restless third mate waiting for his vessel to depart, attended services on a Sunday in 1851: "the discourse was verry [*sic*] good and the signing [singing] beautiful. . . . "[60]

The bethel movement was one answer to landbound temptation. Its evolution in the Pacific was not far behind that in Europe and America. By 1829, missionaries were recommending that particular attention be given to whalemen in Honolulu in the form of a chapel for their benefit, and thus to combat vice.[61] The more seamen might be persuaded to turn to the Lord, of course, the less likely they would be to make trouble ashore or corrupt islanders who had gone to sea. The call was answered within three years by the American Seaman's Friend Society (SFS), which sent out to Hawai'i the Rev. John Diell as chaplain to American seamen in the Sandwich Islands. Diell arrived in May 1833 via the whaler *Mentor* and began at once to plan construction of his prefabricated chapel. To Diell was now consigned the responsibility for English services in Honolulu for foreigners and visiting seamen. Though supported by the local ABCFM establishment, Diell found it necessary to sever formal links with that association in 1837.[62] ABCFM missionaries such as Hiram Bingham did not cease on that account to urge the chapel's support from New England contributors. Bingham was particularly incensed when the SFS cut back its operations as a result of financial stringency. To Bingham, the responsibility for funding such efforts should fall squarely on owners and masters. "The shipping community, like parishes, would doubtless thrive better by paying than by starving preachers or employing some. It is possible however for men to think that catching whales on the sabbath is a much surer way to prosperity than to provide the means of reformation and sobriety for seamen."[63]

Diell departed the next year on a sea voyage designed to improve his failing health. It did not, and after returning briefly in 1840 he left again the same year and died at sea in 1841. Diell's replacement, the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, fresh from Andover Seminary, was appointed chaplain in 1841 and took up his post late in 1842 to serve a remarkable mission of more than 40 years. Once established, Damon continued the tradition of going aboard

incoming whalers to offer his services and those of the facilities ashore. "I think [the sailor's chapel] is a very fine place," recorded one mate in 1856; "they have a large reading room with newspapers from most all parts of the world." Underneath was the office of the chaplain, "for the poor sailors. Many of our crew got several books from Father Damon all of a religious nature."[64]

Damon's influence was substantial precisely because he went beyond formal services and the distribution of tracts, acting as counselor, advocate, even mailman for his charges. In 1843, it was Damon who founded *The Friend* (originally *The Temperance Advocate and Seaman's Friend*); he used its pages not only to urge piety and righteousness, but to offer news and information relating to whalemen. Damon made many friends among them.[65]

Damon was not alone in his efforts. In 1834 a similar chapel was begun at Lahaina, built by subscriptions from whaling officers and men; there were also reading rooms for both groups. Meanwhile Baldwin worked to support the foundation of a temperance boarding house as well, "so that sailors who wish to keep clear of groggy eating houses will be able to do so."[66] Coan and others tried the same at Hilo,[67] and soon the movement spread to several Pacific island groups, but with less speed; other centers, aside from Australian and continental American ports, lacked the same substantial itinerant sailor population to make the effort feasible.

To what did this effort for whalemen avail? Certainly individual whalemen benefited, even if only by having a temperance refuge to which to retreat while on liberty. But at mid-century, many missionaries still bemoaned the impiety and general depravity of whalemen; the movement, in short, had not accomplished all it intended. Separate reading rooms for officers and men were one problem; while they enabled both groups to attend (and neither would have gone to a space dominated by the other), such separation did not promote the brotherhood of man. Many probably would have agreed with a chaplain at Valparaiso in Chile who gave regular meetings for seamen, but found attendance most sporadic and seamen uninterested in religion ashore or afloat. "Now & then a pious captain comes and brings his men with him. But most do not come themselves, and the few who do are often too proud to walk up with the Sailors."[68]

The appeal "To Captains and Owners of Whale Ships" which L. H. Gulick on Ascension (Pohnpei) published in *The Friend* in 1858 is indicative of persistent attitudes. Though he welcomed the arrival of vessels with moral men aboard, few really fit that category. Struck from his draft was the thought that even those few ships "must necessarily bring great evil with them." "I have been surprised by the kind consideration & friendly politeness which I have often received from those whose life among us I deeply deplored & reprobated," he admitted, but in six years some 74 vessels had visited the two harbors controlled by the tribe with which he lived. "Ten only of these vessels have not been the public residences of native females during the whole of their stay in port, some of them always having their homes in the cabin, while others live in the steerage [where boatsteerers stayed] & forecastle." Masters had only to say no, he argued, and they would receive the same supplies as the others, as the experience of the 10 vessels proved. Surely, he pleaded, owners who probably contributed to the missionary society which paid his salary would not knowingly approve of the resulting licentiousness—to say nothing of temporal and eternal damnation.[69] Alas, there exist no data with which to demonstrate that there would have been more or fewer than 10 such ships had there been no mission station at that island or no bethel movement.

The bethel movement may have suffered most in the eyes of the whalemen themselves. Cyrene Clark had sailed aboard the Sag Harbor, New York, brig *Parana* on an Antarctic sea elephanting voyage (they were taken for their oil). Clark was a devout but cynical sailor, convinced that Christians really wanted no contact with his kind, though they might extend a charitable hand in the case of illness or shipwreck:

> Many express a wish to see them brought under the influence of the Bible, and of the religion of Christ, and go so far as to erect some outside shanty, in the vicinity of the wharves, where if they will, they may meet to worship God; that God who is no respecter of persons. The very idea conveyed to the mind by such partial and restrained Christian sympathy, is at once understood by honest Jack. . . .

In other words, he was a pariah, and this form of religion was designed only to insure his quiescence. Jack, well aware of this attitude, responded: " . . . and if they should invite us to church, they would shove us into the nigger's pew, by the threshold, saying 'That will do for you; wait there while I go yonder and worship.'"[70]

So long as whalemen were outcastes, efforts to reform them would bear little fruit. But sailors had long occupied a special, alien niche in Western society, as Marcus Rediker has reminded us in his important study of Anglo-American merchant seamen in the eighteenth century.[71] This paper has attempted to demonstrate not that whalemen were significantly altered by their contact with missionaries, or vice versa, but only that the relationship was more complex than a picture of unqualified hostility represents.

What then is the legacy of this relationship? Aside from the effects of each upon the other as outlined above, the greatest impact came from an aspect not discussed here at all, that is, the presentation of a multifaceted Western society to those Pacific islanders visited over time by representatives of the two groups. Whalemen came in the greatest numbers, but aside from the odd long-lived beachcomber, missionaries had the longest influence, and thus in a general way perhaps the two elements balanced each other. Missionaries were inclined to blame whalemen and other sailors and convicts for their own failures—a useful scapegoat, a known devil to combat—and thus perhaps they could screw up their zeal to continue.[72] That blame was not always misplaced. But was the whaling impact a "bad" thing? Insofar as they did not come intending to alter the lifestyle of their hosts, whalemen were after all more culturally relativistic. Sex was a case in point. As John Garrett, in his study of missionaries, put it: "To the mission, sex meant monogamous life-long marriage; to many sailors and Hawaiians it was a form of boistrous play."[73] Thus, many islanders were brought to see by the whalemen that Western society was not the iron-bound system that the missionary alone would have them believe.

It is hard to argue that such benefits of Western civilization as

depravity and drunkenness (though neither was the exclusive property of the West) made a positive contribution to Pacific civilizations, but insofar as they led those civilizations to question the nature of the West, to play off competing elements of invader society, and thus the better to preserve elements of their own precontact culture, however disguised, then perhaps such a perverse conclusion is justified. Its proof, however, must be left to those who study such civilizations. It is enough here simply to speculate that the very conflict between missionary and whaleman raised doubts about each in the collective mind of onlookers.

There can be no question that whalemen brought exposure for Pacific societies to more varieties of world civilization than was ever possible through missionaries alone, and not only by the visits of whaleships but also through employment and subsequent dispersal of Pacific sailors on those same whaleships. Recent Pacific studies by Francis Hezel, K. R. Howe, David Hanlon, and others have made the point very clearly that Pacific islanders, though suffering grievous losses, were able to manage forces for change introduced from the outside.[74] The contrast of whaleman and missionary was definitely a part of the management process.

From the other side of the water, John Quincy Adams noted in an often-quoted speech of 1843 that missionary activity in Hawai'i gave the American people a deeper interest in that part of the world, and a more specific mission overseas, "by a virtual right of conquest, not over the freedom of their brother man by the brutal arm of physical power, but over the mind and heart by the celestial panoply of the gospel of peace and love."[75] But more American whalemen than missionaries by far visited the Pacific and returned to tell tales of distant isles and thus excite interest on their own, and perhaps thus also to inspire from their audiences contribution to the next missionary subscription. That too is a topic that has not been considered here. It is safe to conclude, however, that any assessment of cultural interchange in the Pacific, or of the thrust of Anglo-American civilization into that area, must in fairness take account both of whalemen and of missionaries and their relationship.

NOTES

[1] *Avola,* 13 Mar. 1873, Kendall Whaling Museum (KWM), Sharon, MA, log 26.

[2] Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789–1843* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1942) 34.

[3] This background is discussed in Bradley, *American Frontier* and, from another angle, in Jean I. Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800–1875* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1941). The best recent history is K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1984). On Australia, Nigel Wace and Bessile Lovett, *Yankee Maritime Activities and the Early History of Australia* (Canberra: Australian National U, 1973); on New Zealand, Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1982).

[4] Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790–1837* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 218–19. Useful studies on missions include Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1860* (Cambridge: Harvard U East Asian Research Center, 1969); Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797–1860* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1878); and John Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (Geneva and Suva: World Council of Churches, 1982).

[5] Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 1, *1788–1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1938) 161–62.

[6] Bingham to LMS, 18 Mar. 1830, Council for World Mission Archives (CWMA), box 7, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. The *Daniel* affair is discussed in many sources; see, for example, Rev. Sheldon Dibble, *History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (New York: Taylor and Dodd, 1839) 97ff for a contemporaneous account and, for a more modern summary, Jane Litten, "Whaler versus Missionary at Lahaina," *Hawaii Historical Review,* 1.4 (July 1963): 68–73. Considerable correspondence on these events may be found in CWMA, boxes 6–7, and in the collection of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter ABCFM), 19.1, vols. 1–2.

[7] Darling to Sir G. Murray, 12 Aug. 1830, ms. A 1267–4, Transcripts, Governor of N.S.W. 1833–38 (quoted); Marsden to Darling, 2 Aug. 1830, Governor's Dispatches, N.S.W., vol. 18, both Mitchell Library, Sydney. Brind's role is discussed in Jocelyn Chisholm, *Brind of the Bay Islands* (Wellington, N.Z.: privately printed, 1979) 34f.

[8] Henry Williams to CMS, 16 Oct. 1826, Letters to CMS 1822–51, ms. copy in Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

[9] Henry Williams Journal, 24 Apr. 1831; ms. copy in Turnbull Library.

[10] James Watkin Journal, 14 June and 7 Oct. 1840, ms. copy in Turnbull Library.

[11] Pritchard to LMS, 6 Jan. 1827, CWMA, box 6.

[12] Buzacott to LMS, 1 Aug. 1839, CWMA, box 12.

[13] Andrews to Levi Chamberlain, 26 Apr. 1844, Lahaina Restoration Foundation file (LRF), vol. 9b, HMCS.

[14] Forbes to Castle, 4 Oct. 1845, LRF/9B.

[15] Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989) 104. On the relationship of whalemen to women afloat and ashore, see Briton C. Busch, *"Whaling Will Never Do for Me": The American Whaleman in the 19th Century* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, forthcoming) ch. 8.

[16] Quoted from Peter Turner in 1831 by Sione Latukefu, "The Wesleyan Mission," *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga,* ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1977) 118.

[17] *Nathaniel P. Tallmadge,* 1836–40, 486f, remarks on "visit to Pylstaert's Island," Old Dartmouth Historical Society (ODHS), New Bedford, log 1078B.

[18] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourses on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1980) 184.

[19] Ephrahim Spaulding and William Richards, memorandum of 30 Nov. 1835, "Brief history of the Temperance Movement in Maui, Molokai, and Lanai," ABCFM 19.1, vol. 4. On the movement in general, Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800–1865* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1960).

[20] Gill to LMS, 30 Nov. 1846, CWMA, box 19. Early employment: Janice K. Duncan, "Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees, 1785–1860," *HJH* 7 (1973): 93–110.

[21] Pitman to LMS, 23 July 1851, quoted, and 1 Jan. 1852, CWMA, box 24.

[22] Minister of interior to king and Council, 1 Aug. 1846, AH (Interior), quoted in LRF/9A. Numbers are discussed in minister of interior, file on "Shipping: Hawaiian Seamen 1840–1858," AH.

[23] Bingham to Prudential Committee, ABCFM, 25 Nov. 1822, ABCFM 19.1, vol. 1.

[24] David and Loona Crawford, *Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1967) 93.

[25] White to Methodist Missionary Society, London, 14 Feb. 1830, Methodist Missionary Records, box 524, SOAS.

[26] M. S. Loomis, Journal, 1819–24, entries of 9, 11, and 20 Apr. and 6 Nov. 1821, HMCS.

[27] Dwight Baldwin to Sophronia Baldwin, 12 Feb. 1843, quoted in LRF/9B.

[28] *F,* 6 May 1854.

[29] Alexander to Anderson, 28 Sept. 1833, quoted in T. Walter Herbert, Jr., *Marquesan Encounters: Melville and the Meaning of Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1980) 64.

[30] Dening, *Islands and Beaches* 176.

[31] Henry Nott to LMS, 3 Nov. 1830, CWMA, box 7; the captain was Capt. David of the whaler *Nelson.*

[32] Buzacott to LMS, (undated) Sept. 1845, CWMA, box 18.

[33] Chamberlain journal, vol. 1, 28 Nov. 1823, HMCS. On the *Globe* mutiny, see Edourd A. Stackpole, *The Sea-Hunters: The New England Whaleman During Two Centuries, 1635–1835* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953) ch. 19.

[34] Judd to Chamberlain, 25 Apr. 1829, quoted in LRF/9A.

[35] Baldwin to S. Robinson, 7 Oct. 1845, quoted in LRF/9A.

[36] Buchanan to LMS, 28 Feb. 1846, CWMA, box 19.

[37] *Canton Packet* log, 27 Oct. 1833, Providence Public Library (PPL) log C2333/1832j; *Covington,* 15 Aug. 1853, PPL B785/1839j.

[38] *Arab,* 18 Mar. 1846, ODHS log 945B; see also ship *Caroline,* New Bedford, 17 Jan. 1943 (meetings in cabin), KWM log 596 (tracts); *Lady Amherst,* London, 15 Dec. 1833 (Sunday sermons); *Atlantic,* 15 July 1836 (steward a Methodist minister who held services aboard); Mystic Seaport Museum (MSM) log 822.

[39] *Catharine,* 26 Oct. 1850, MSM log 52.

[40] *Frances,* 7 Feb. 1851 (the keeper's twenty-fourth birthday), ODHS log 994.

[41] *Moby Dick,* any edition, ch. 22; C. W. Morgan to Capt. Jacob Taber, ship *Condor,* 28 May 1844, C. W. Morgan letter copybook, 1844–46, MSM microfilm reel 100. Melville's views on missionaries, which strongly reflect the standard whaleman's criticism, may be found in *Typee,* ch. 26.

[42] Rev. Henry T. Cheever, *The Waleman's Adventures in the Southern Ocean, as Gathered by . . . on the Homeward Cruise of the Commodore Preble,* 5th ed. (London: Darton, 1861) 230; Cheever discusses Scoresby, but see also Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1986) 288 and W. Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Constable, 1820) 222ff for his arguments.

[43] *Magnet*'s policy is mentioned in the log of the *Tiger,* which gammed with her, 22 Aug. 1846, MSM log 38, and also discussed in a letter of Dwight Baldwin, 12 Apr. 1847, who mentions Capt. John S. Barker of the ship *Edward* in the same context; Rev. S. C. Damon Coll., box 2, HMCS. See also *F,* 1 May 1850: 8: 5, noting a letter from the captain of the *Hannibal* on the same point—taking pride in resisting a very large whale which sported about next to his vessels for some hours on a Sabbath as a clear temptation.

[44] *Martha,* 6 July 1859, ODHS log 785.

[45] *Orion,* 20 Mar. 1831, PPL log 2692/1829j. The *Catharine* in the Navigator Islands in January 1844 noted that Sunday trade was prohibited; MSM log 52.

[46] See Joan Druett, "Those Female Journals," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 40.4 (1989): 115–25; Margaret S. Creighton, "The Captain's Children: Life in the Adult World of Whaling, 1852–1907," *The American Neptune* 38.3 (July 1978): 203–15; Emma Mayhew Whiting and Henry Beetle Hough, *Whaling Wives* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1953).

[47] Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty* 57.

[48] *Nimrod,* 3 Dec. 1849, PPL log N713/1848j.

[49] Mary Chipman Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of Mary Chip-*

man Lawrence on the Whaler Addison, 1856–1860 (Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1986) 22.

[50] Clara Kingman Whelden, "Life at Sea with Pen Pictures of the Arctic . . . " ts. ms., 1905, ODHS log 460, 192–93.

[51] William Richards to E. Evarts, 5 May 1823, ABCFM 19.1, vol 1.

[52] *Zephyr,* for example, 27 Nov. 1842 and 15 Jan. 1843; ODHS log 306.

[53] Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty* 120.

[54] Titus Coan, *Life in Hawaii: An Autobiographic Sketch of Mission Life and Labors* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1882) 64.

[55] Tinker to his sister, 28 Apr. 1832, quoted in LRF/9A.

[56] *Bengal,* 12 May 1833, Essex Institute (Salem, MA), log 91; Baldwin to C. M. Fowler, 19 Nov. 1835, quoted in LRF/9A; Andrews to A. S. Cooke, 17 Oct. 1843, quoted in LRF/9B.

[57] *Columbus,* 5 Oct. 1851, for New Bedford; PPL log C726/185Ij; a more remote example in May 1839: the Salem bark *Emerald,* anchored in Ampanan, Lombok Islands (Sulu Sea), Essex Institute, group 47, microfilm reel 8.

[58] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions* 151.

[59] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions* 419f, 454f.

[60] *Columbus,* 1851–52, 21 Sept. 1851, PPL log C726/185Ij.

[61] E. W. Clark to American Seamen's Friend Society, 4 Dec. 1829; *The Sailors Magazine and Naval Journal,* 2 (Aug. 1830): 363–64.

[62] Diell's career may be followed in his letters in subsequent issues of *The Sailors Magazine;* "Records of the Oahu Bethel Church," in the S. C. Damon papers (HMCS), include the separation of 21 May 1837.

[63] Bingham to Anderson, LMS, 1 June 1837, ABCFM, 19.1, vol. 8.

[64] *Baltic,* 10 Oct. 1856, PPL log B197/1856j.

[65] The best source on Damon is the file of his correspondence, including many letters of thanks, in HMCS. See also Daniel Hall, *Arctic Rovings: or, the Adventures of a New Bedford Boy on Sea and Land* (Boston: Abel Tompkins, 1961) 141; W. P. Marshall, *Afloat on the Pacific, or Notes of Three Years Life at Sea . . .* (Zanesville, OH: Sullivan & Parsons, 1876) 118.

[66] Baldwin letter of 7 Dec. 1843, quoted in LRF/9B. In general, such temperance boarding houses were not a success. On this, see Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1982) 235ff.

[67] Coan, *Life in Hawaii* 64–65; Coan claimed 200 volumes in his reading room.

[68] D. Trumbull to Damon, 18 Nov. 1846, Damon Coll., box 2, HMCS.

[69] L. H. Gulick to Damon, 12 Feb. 1858, and enclosure; Damon Coll., box 3, HMCS.

[70] Cyrene M. Clarke, *Glances at Life Upon the Sea . . .* (Middletown, CT: C. H. Pelton, 1854) 74.

[71] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987).

[72] Dening, *Islands and Beaches* 183.

[73] Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars* 44.

[74] Howe, *Where the Waves Fall;* Francis X. Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization; A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521–1885* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1983); David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1988).

[75] Phillips, *Protestant America* 243.